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OF CYCLADIC
ART

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KALLOS

The Ultimate Beauty

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S E A
N

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- Lefkada
- Agrinion
- Thermos
- Mesolongi
- Pyrgos
- Olympia
- Messene
- Pylos
- Larissa
- Lamia
- Atalanti
- Amphissa
- Delphi
- Patras
- Sikyon
- Corinth
- Mycenae
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- Thessaloniki
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Female beauty and ancient art: Divine – Tamed – Triumphant

Angeliki Kottaridi

Enthroned between two felines, the nude plump matron of the early sixth millennium BC, which was brought to light at Çatalhöyük in a building with clear evidence of ritual-ceremonial uses, was considered by the excavator and many others as one of the earliest representations of a divinity¹. A similar, if not the same, female figure, who lifts her hands up to her breasts, touching the nipples, is represented standing by a large marble figurine [fig. 1], impressive in its monumentality but also thanks to the remarkable realism with which the artist treats the volumes of the flesh of an obese body. Sitting or standing, female figures of the same type reproduce the human image in the Neolithic ‘metropolis’ of Anatolia², and not only: from the Tigris and Euphrates as far as the Danube, Thessaly³, Crete, Malta, naked female figures dominate the world of Neolithic figurines and for over three thousand years define, to a considerable degree, the idea of representing the human form.

Fig. 1

Marble Neolithic figurine from Çatalhöyük in southern Turkey. 7100 – 5700 BC.

Although the old, symmetrically conceived interpretative model of Matriarchy has now, rightly, been abandoned, and although several researchers with, to a greater or lesser extent, conscious starting point the existing monotheistic and doctrinal religious models, as well as the misuse of projecting them onto prehistory, are tending to refute any correlation of the figurines with the religious sentiments of their producers⁴, as goddesses or as mortals of outstanding importance for the group, there is no doubting that the figurines embody a model of ‘beauty’ which is expressed through the nudity of the corpulent, mature female body, the accuracy of the representation, the ‘naturalism’ and the monumentality of which depends also on the abilities of the craftsperson. Beyond the local, temporal, but also subjective differentiations of the artificers and their artifacts, notable topos is the tendency for the heads of the figures to be treated in a far more summary, abstract and simplified manner than the corresponding bodies. The blessing of abundant food, which the securing of its production promises, seems to define the model. The female body which enjoys life and ensures its continuity is exposed boldly nude, with the signs of successive births and breast-feeding emphasized, and this becomes a model of beauty for Neolithic people.

In the Bronze Age the testimonies proliferate: narrative representations, confirmed by excavation, cultic contexts, even written texts, allow the recognition of goddesses, for some of whom the names are also known, as well as of priestesses. In the Aegean world the slender female figures ‘with goodly tresses’ wear lavish garments that follow the curves of the body. Belts and narrow bodices cinch the waist like tight corsets, impressively enhancing the bosom⁵. The Minoan snake-goddesses [fig. 2], the goddesses in the wall-paintings of Thera⁶, Knossos, Mycenae and Tiryns, as well as those on the bezels of the superb gold rings, are always bare-breasted, as are their priestesses⁷. Everything shows that bare breasts are characteristic of sanctity⁸, but over and above their symbolic value the images pulsate with ‘naturalism’ and vitality. The pendulous full breasts of the deities denote the female in the mature prime of life⁹. The same holds for the priestesses, as, among other things, is conveyed most eloquently by the modeling of the statues found in the Mycenaean temple at Ayia Irini on Kea¹⁰, which are up to one meter in height.

1 Mellaart 1964; Mellaart 1965; Gimbutas 1991.

2 Hodder 1990; Hodder 2010; Hodder – Meskell 2010; Meskell 1995; Meskell 1998; Meskell *et al.* 2008.

3 Χουμούζιάδης 1994.

4 Summary of the related discussion and extensive bibliography in Goodison – Morris 2013; Hutton 1997.

5 See also Younger 2016.

6 Dumas 1992.

7 Goodison – Morris 2013.

8 Cf. Nikolaidou 2012.

9 Shank 2012.

10 Caskey *et al.* 1986; see also Gorogianni 2011 (with bibliography) and generally Boelle-Weber 2016.



Fig. 1

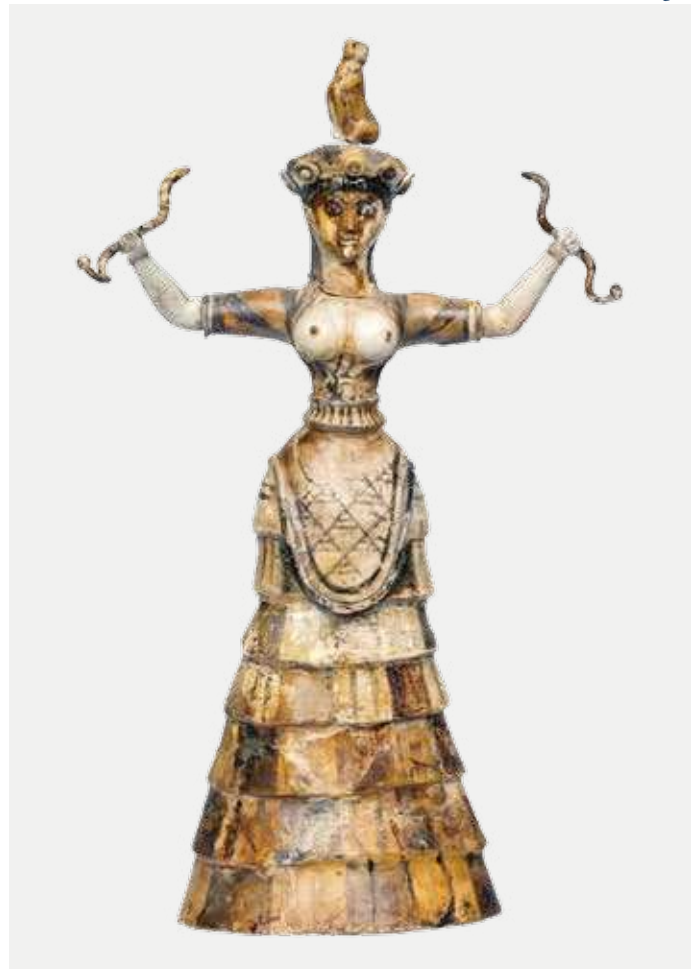


Fig. 2

Fig. 2

Minoan figurine of the *Snake Goddess*, of painted faience. From the palace of Knossos, ca 1600 BC. Archaeological Museum of Heraklion Y 65. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Museum of Heraklion/H.O.C.RE.D. Photograph: Yannis Patrikianos.

However, over time, as the figurines acquire an increasingly abstract form, obeying more the rules of geometry rather than the laws of nature, the volume of the bosom diminishes, together with its naturalism. What remains in the end is no more than a hint, and barely even that, in the characteristic Phi/Φ and Psi/Ψ figurines of Late Mycenaean times.

For all the emphasis on bare breasts, the totally nude female body is virtually non-existent in Minoan and Mycenaean art. Interesting exceptions are the two gold-sheet cut-outs from Grave Circle A (Shaft Grave III)¹¹ at Mycenae, represented on which is a tiny nude ‘*Potnia Theron*’ (Mistress of Animals). In frontal pose, with particularly pronounced pubic triangle and both hands lifting up the bosom, the figure, whose divine nature is confirmed by the presence of the flanking birds, has its models in the East. There, from Hattusa, Phoenicia and Egypt, to Mesopotamia and Susiane, the slender nude figure with rounded hips, slim waist, firm breasts and stressed pubis is for over two thousand years a beloved topos for depicting the human female¹². Although it has been argued that not all these figures represent deities, for some of them there is evidence (wings, animals, iconographic connotations or excavation contexts) that makes their association with the sacred-superhuman world inevitable. Goddesses, priestesses, human role models, symbols of eroticism and fertility, the host of representations and the persistence in their repetition reveals familiarity with, acceptance – we could say respect – of the womanly body with all the characteristics and the particularity of its sex emphasized¹³. On many of these figures both hands lift up the breasts, displaying them in the selfsame way as their Neolithic ancestors did, from Çatalhöyük to Thessaly.

In the dramatic climax of the *Iliad*, when enraged Achilles comes to duel with Hector, Priam begs his son to come back into the city and to continue the struggle from there, prophesying all the woes that will follow if he is slain in combat outside the walls. However, the king fails to persuade Hector and so Hecuba takes action:

μήτηρ δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθεν ὀδύρετο δάκρυ χέουσα,
κόλπον ἀνιεμένη, ἐτέρηφι δὲ μαζὸν ἀνέσχε·
καί μιν δάκρυ χέουσα ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
Ἴητορ, τέκνον ἐμόν, τάδε τ' αἶδεο καὶ μ' ἐλέησον
αὐτήν, εἴ ποτέ τοι λαθικηδέα μαζὸν ἐπέσχον·
τῶν μνήσαι, φίλε τέκνον, ἄμυνε δὲ δῆϊον ἄνδρα
τείχεος ἐντὸς ἑών, ...¹⁴.

“And over against him the mother in her turn wailed and shed tears, loosening the folds of her robe, while with the other hand she showed her breast, and amid shedding of tears she spake unto him winged words: ‘Hector, my child, have thou respect unto this and pity me, if ever I gave thee the breast to lull thy pain. Think thereon, dear child, and ward off yon foemen from within the wall...’”.

There where the arguments of the king-father fail, ultimate weapon is the primeval gesture of the woman, which, as is apparent from the words accompanying it, is something more than the mother’s emotional ‘blackmail’ towards her son. The breast is *λαθικηδέος*

11 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 27 and 28.

12 Green 2018; Tsukimoto 2014; Cornelius 2014; Schroer 2006; Bahrani 2001; Wiggermann 1998; Bahrani 1996; Bahrani 1993.

13 Cf. Gansell 2012.

14 *Iliad*, XXII 79-85.

(*lathikedeos*, from *λήθη-λανθάνω* [lethe-lanthano] meaning oblivion-to forget + *κῆδος* [kedos] meaning care) – that is, it lulls you into forgetting cares, sorrow, troubles, worries. By baring her breasts, the queen of Troy demands of Hector, in the imperative mood, *μνήσαι* (mnesai), to remember them, to respect them and to feel shame, using the verb *αἰδέομαι* (aideomai) derived from *αἰδώς* (aidos = shame) which denotes deference and submission, as well as the feeling of guilt in the event of disobedience to a higher power (gods, law, social dictate, and so on). The words that are chosen are exceptionally strong and decode the meaning of a gesture that functions as an ideogram and is an iconographic topos and axis of reference of representations of the female for so many and so long.

Source of nourishment, the maternal breast is for the baby the archetypal pleasure that defines the emotion of enjoyment. For the infant, being hugged and contact with the breast of its mother or its nurse is the safe haven, the comfort from the difficulties of the first contact with the outside world, the caress and the sweet calm of unconditional acceptance. For the man, the breast is the comforting remembrance of all these things and at the same time the hope and expectation of erotic pleasure, the tender touch, the embrace that will make him forget his troubles, albeit for a short while. The image of the female breast brings to life the paradise of childhood dreams. Contact with it is the pain-relieving topos of erotic ecstasy. Its display, as reminder of all these things, is the canting symbol of the sweet ‘authority’ of women, as ordained by Nature. The conceitedly nude, provocatively feminine body arouses in men carnal desire and the hope of sensuous bliss. The fascination of irresistible yearning is precisely the source of the body’s power. And this makes the goddess(es) who animate it, beyond any changes and remodelings of them, inordinately popular and invincible over the centuries.

In the *Iliad*, however, Hecuba’s primeval gesture is to no avail. Hector, obeying the model of ‘male valor’, stays *extra muros* and meets his death. Troy would be destroyed, Priam’s predictions would prove true. The epics echo a world that is absolutely patriarchal, some of the words that define the relations between the sexes, such as the verb *δάμνημι* (damnemi = to tame) with active subject the male and passive object the female, are indicative. The same verb is used also to declare the fate of prey in the hands of hunters, the death of warriors in battle, the capital punishment of mortals by the immortals. A derivative of *δάμνημι* is the word *δμωή* (dmoe), which is used for female slaves, captives of war, who follow the victors, serving their needs, not least sexual – as concubines. Derived from the same verb is the word *δάμαρ* (‘the woman tamed and placed under a yoke’), which in the language of Homer and the poets means wife; only the virgin maids remain *ἀδμηται* (admētai), meaning untamed and ‘wild’.

The female is perceived as a ‘wild’ being who has to be tamed by the male, so as to be incorporated productively into ‘civilization’. The means of taming is the phallus, the manner is coition and inclusion in the man’s house. With marriage the woman passes legally from the authority of the father to that of the husband. The expression and motif *χείρ᾽ ἐπὶ καρπῶ* (grasped by the wrist) denotes the completion of the transfer. From the eighth to the fourth century BC, we see on vases eponymous and anonymous men leading mythical heroines and ordinary brides, covered by veils and heavy coifs [fig. 3]. Sometimes, these men are armed. On an Attic black-figured amphora¹⁵ Herakles, menacingly brandishing his sword, grips tightly by the wrist the queen of the Amazons Andromache, who tries in

vain to escape. On an Attic black-figured hydria¹⁶ Neoptolemos, holding Polyxene by the wrist, leads her to Achilles' grave, bride of a dark marriage. The gesture speaks volubly about mastery. The consent of the female being led (*agomene*) is neither required nor demanded. The tender reciprocity of the handshake, of the *dexiosis* motif, does not appear between spouses until the late fifth century BC, on Attic grave stelai, and does not signify the beginning of conjugal life but its inevitable end.

However, hidden behind the security of patriarchal authority is the fear of its overturning. Intercourse of a male with a female who is by status or nature superior means the overturning of the established order. Mortals who lie with goddesses meet their death. Anchises, who unwittingly couples with a goddess, is blinded. Odysseus escapes this fate but he too is in jeopardy of castration and, heeding Hermes' advice, forces Circe to swear that she will not render him "weak and unmanned" and so the goddess 'tames herself'¹⁷. Of course, it is not fortuitous that monsters lurk around Circe's paradise: the Sirens, Skylla, Charybdis, all of them female, just as Medusa, the par excellence monster of ancient Greek art, is female too. In the horrendous hole that swallows everything and in the wide-open mouth of the gorgoneion with the lolling tongue and razor-sharp fangs, psychoanalysis has identified the archetypal image of the vagina dentate, and, of course, it is certainly no coincidence that images and personae of the ancient myths are mobilized to give name to fears, anxieties and complexes of modern man¹⁸.

If the nude female body and especially the breast is considered a sign of sanctity, power, and even of some kind of authority, then its absence from the strictly patriarchal world of the epos can be readily understood. When it comes to women, Homer, Hesiod and all the other poets of the epic cycle and the ancient hymns 'see' and describe white or rosy hands (*λευκώλενοι* - leukolenoi, *ροδοπήχεις* - rhodopecheis) with rosy fingers (*ροδοδάκτυλος* - rhododaktylos Eos = rosy-fingered Dawn), lovely slim ankles (*καλλίσφυροι* - kallisphyroi, *τανύσφυροι* - tanysphyroi), more rarely beautiful cheeks (*καλλιπάροιοι* - kallipareoi), playful eyes (*ἐλικώπιδες*) with long curling lashes (*ἐλικοβλέφαροι* - helikoblepharoi) or gleaming eyes (*γλανκώπις* *glaukopis* = owl-eyed) when referring to Athena and large ones (*βοώπις* - boopis = ox-eyed) when speaking about Hera, more frequently lovely hair (*εὐκομοί* - eukomoi, *εὐπλόκαμοι* - euplokamoi) and usually fine and rich garments, long robes that form deep overfolds and plunging folds and need to be drawn up so as not to drag on the ground (*εὐπεπλοί* - eupeploi, *βαθύκολποι* - bathykolpoi, *τανύπεπλοι* - tanypeploi, *ἐλκεσίπεπλοι* - helkesipeploi, *κροκόπεπλος* - krokopeplos Eos = saffron-veiled Dawn), scintillating, splendid or red veils (*εἴματα σιγαλόεντα* - eimata sigaloenta, *λιπαροκρήδεμνοι* - liparokredemnoi, *φοινικοκρήδεμνοι* - phoinikokredemnoi), various girdles that cinch the waist (*καλλίζωνοι* - kallizonoi, *βαθύζωστοι* - bathyzostoi), even precious footwear (*χρυσοπέδιλος* - chrysopedilos Eos = golden-sandaled Dawn)¹⁹. In poetry the female body seems to be invisible, as if it does not exist. Female nudity is not comprehended as an element of sanctity or beauty, but as a source of shame, and the careful covering of the female body with rich and valuable textiles is presented as a model of beauty and social superiority.

Fig. 4

Marble statue of the kore Phrasikleia. From Merenta (ancient Myrrhinous) Attica. 550 – 540 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Γ 4889. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/National Archaeological Museum/H.O.C.RE.D. Photograph: Sokratis Mavrommatis.

Fig. 5

Marble statue of a kore. From the Acropolis of Athens. Ca 520 BC. Athens, Acropolis Museum Ααφ. 682. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Acropolis Museum. Photograph: Sokratis Mavrommatis.

16 From Etruria. Ca 510 BC. Berlin, Altes Museum F 1902.

17 *Odyssey*, x 301.

18 Kottaridi 1991; Κοτταρίδη 2007a.

19 Sources: Fantham *et al.* 1994.

Fig. 3

Detail of the decoration of a clay spouted krater with scene of the departure of Theseus and Ariadne from Crete. Perhaps from Thebes. *Ca* 735 BC. London, British Museum 1899.0219.1. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 3

Fig. 4



Fig. 5



In the stylized representations of the eighth century BC, women and goddesses, even the familiar winged 'Potnia Theron', who in her Oriental versions is nude, always appear clothed and are identified by the dress with the long stiff skirt, and the luxuriant hair. The exceptions are few and far between²⁰: a bronze figurine from Crete, another one from Tegea, one from the Acropolis, five ivory figurines from a cemetery of Athens²¹. The last were found in a burial of 735-720 BC, close to the Dipylon. The high polos with meander pattern, which the best preserved figure wears on her head, denotes their divine character. The 'Dipylon Goddess' is correlated with the known nude goddess of the East; moreover, objects from Egypt were found in the same grave. However, despite the exotic material, the strict geometry and the stylistic details of the figurines reveal that they are products of a local workshop: characteristic are the large eyes, the slender torso with broad shoulders, the very slim waist, the narrow hips and the long legs. If it were not for the small breasts, the figure would have been no different from those of men in representations on vases of the period.

In the ensuing years, the images multiply. The Greeks love stories and they are delighted to look at what the poets sing of. So the artists – sculptors, painters, metalworkers, ivory-carvers and vase-painters – never tire of learning, creating and evolving. Only one century and three generations of sculptors separate the plank-shaped Kore, *ex-voto* of proud Nikandre, from the Kore Phrasikleia, who seems about to breathe [fig. 4]. Step by step, the craftsmen conquer their means and materials, succeeding in modeling the human figure ever more convincingly and of making it the reference point of art, an art that develops remarkably rapidly and re-creates the world through the 'ideal' image of man.

Alongside the paintings and the reliefs, large and small, the statues appear. Kouroi and Korai fill temples and sanctuaries, joy of the gods, models of beauty for men. They haunt the streets and triple junctions, and are markers of very lovely graves, immortal monuments to the virtue of the untimely dead. And although the male nude body, in the figure of the Kouros, the eternal youth, would become the ideogram of *kalokagathia*, defining the image of Hellenic Civilization over the centuries, for the female body the exact opposite applies²². The female figures, goddesses and mortals, are attired. Even Aphrodite at the moment of her birth emerges from the waves wearing a flimsy chiton, and the Oceanids, who stand by at the miracle, rush to envelop her in a heavy himation. The female body is now taboo, shame imposes its covering over.

Throughout the seventh and until shortly before the end of the sixth century BC, dominant in depictions of women is the heavy woolen peplos, a simple garment that covers the body completely and is devoid of drapery²³. Equally heavy over-garments (*kalyptra* - phare) frequently cover the shoulder and sometimes also the head of figures, bringing to mind a thick woolen shawl²⁴. The large single surfaces that are thus created in paintings, as well as in statues, invite the artists to give free range to their imagination and their decorative abilities, so creating miniature ensembles of remarkable exactitude and

20 Boehm 1990.

21 LIMC II, s.v. *Aphrodite*, nos 351-354 (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, A. Kossatz Deißmann).

22 Bonfante 1989.

23 For women's attire see generally Llewellyn-Jones 2002.

24 For the *kalyptrai* see Llewellyn-Jones 2003; also Kottaridi 2020.

elegance. Geometric shapes, vegetal ornaments, animals and hybrid creatures, even entire mythical scenes, fill the surfaces of the garments, attesting their opulence and advertising the artistry of women who never ceased to embroider and to weave. The secrets of textile-making were the gift of Athena Ergane to women and, in the eyes of Greeks in Archaic times, women's handiworks, result of the long laborious process from the spindle to the loom and to the needle, are their own memorable contribution to culture²⁵. The precious garment thus becomes part of the concept of *'kallos'* for the woman, at once concealing what should not be seen and enhancing her positive contribution to the economy and the social presence of the house. Opulent jewelry and elaborately-styled long hair, with lovely locks framing the face, falling low on the bosom and on the back and forming orderly curls, complete the image.

In Late Archaic times, together with the development of plasticity in sculpture, the fashion of fine chitons and extravagant oblique himatia with rich deep folds arrives from eastern Ionia, testing the limits of marble as a material. In the hands of accomplished craftsmen the stone becomes finely-woven crinkled cloth that falls loosely, forming chitons with wide sleeves and deep-plunging folds (*βαθύκολποι* - bathykolpoi). Frequently the Korai draw to the side and lift up the light long robes (*έλκεσίπεπλοι* - helkesipeploi), so leaving visible the contours of their buttocks, which are exactly the same as those of the Kouroi [fig. 5]. From the 'Berlin Goddess' (early 6th century BC), to the wonderful Peplophoros Kore of the Acropolis, the impressive Korai by Antenor and the charming 'Chiotisses' (Chian Maidens), [cat. no. 62] the girls with the broad shoulders, the small pert breasts which often disappear under the clothes, and the firm buttocks have bodies of boys. Even the faces of the Korai are difficult to distinguish from those of the Kouroi of the same period and from the same workshops, and so the recognition of the sex of the figures is based mainly on the garments, the jewelry, the hairstyles. In other words, to what could be called secondary 'cultural' features, in counterpoint to physical ones.

After the Persian Wars, Democracy is consolidated as the ideal form of governance of the city which is governed by law and rational discourse. The victory over the Persians generates optimism, pride and self-esteem. Citizens are confident about the correctness of their views and trust in the state, and fashion changes radically. Himatia worn obliquely, chitons with deep-plunging folds and in general whatever recalls oriental indulgence but also aristocratic display, disappear. The 'democratic' austere heavy Doric peplos²⁶ that totally covers the female body, obviating even the curvature of the bosom, returns to take their place. In the newly-built temple of Zeus at Olympia, in the rigid peplophoroi female figures of the east pediment and in the likewise peplophoros Athena on the metopes [fig. 6], all Greeks have the opportunity to admire the Severe Style model of female beauty.

In the same period, 458 BC, at Athens, Aeschylus, representing the spirit of the victors' generation, formulates the manifesto of patriarchy in the speech with which Apollo defends the matricide Orestes, who would be pronounced innocent by the court of Athenian

Fig. 6

Marble metope with relief representation of Athena, Herakles and Atlas, according to the myth of the *Apples of the Hesperids*. From the east side (pronaos) of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. 470 – 456 BC. Archaeological Museum of Olympia A 95.
© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of Eleia/H.O.C.R.E.D. Photograph: Sokratis Mavrommatis.



Fig. 6

Fig. 7



Fig. 8



citizens held on the Areios Pagos hill (Areopagus): “The mother of what is called her child is not the parent, but the nurse of the newly-sown embryo. The one who mounts is the parent, whereas she, as a stranger for a stranger, preserves the young plant, if the god does not harm it. And I will show you proof of what I say: a father might exist without a mother. A witness is here at hand, the child of Olympian Zeus, who was not nursed in the darkness of a womb, and she is such a child as no goddess could give birth to”²⁷.

A few years later, Pheidias and his team would represent on the east pediment of the Parthenon the Birth of Athena from the head of her father Zeus, setting his seal on the image of Athena over the centuries. Fully-armed warrior herself, first in battle (Promachos) and protector of her men, Athena is at the same time the goddess of knowledge, she who invents ways and means – the bridle, the loom, the rudder, the cultivation of the olive tree – of taming and controlling Nature and putting it in the service of man. Tutelary goddess of heroes-civilizers, she is herself the par excellence personification of the civilized city. However, in order to respond to her role within the strictly patriarchal frame, she sacrifices a great part of her womanly nature, remaining forever *virgo intacto*: she will never become ‘perfect’ (*τελεία* - *teleia*). Dressed in the heavy peplos, the breasts hidden under the aegis with the snakes’ heads and the terrifying gorgoneion, armed with spear, helmet and frequently with shield, the glittering-eyed maiden who is always victorious over men – on the other pediment of the Parthenon all could see how, with her cleverness, she defeated Poseidon – Athena offers a model of beauty forbidden in reality for women. For as Sophocles states: “silence graces woman” (*γυναιξι κόσμον ἢ σιγή φέρει*) [fig. 7]²⁸.

In 430 BC, in his epitaph oration for the dead in the first battles of the Peloponnesian War, Pericles in a single sentence defines the ideal of women: “And since I must say somewhat also of feminine virtue for you that are now widows, I shall express it in this short admonition. It will be much for your honor not to recede from your sex and to give as little occasion of rumor amongst the men, whether of good or evil, as you can” (*τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χειρόσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἢ δόξα καὶ ἥς ἂν ἐπ’ ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρρεσι κλέος ᾗ*)²⁹. The women who are alive in the city are duty bound to pass unnoticed and unseen, to vanish into the silence of the women’s quarters of the house (*gynaikonites*). Raw virgins, young women, pregnant women, wives and mothers, widows and elderly matrons can appear eponymously only when dead, on their grave stelai [fig. 8]³⁰. Their idealized images, less splendid and rather more everyday and familiar than the statues of deities, follow in general lines the models of monumental art. Alongside the peplos, now distinctive of virgins and brides, the more delicate chiton with the rich drapery appears, as well as the heavy himation that swathes and carefully conceals the body, frequently also the head, and is predominant in representations of women on grave stelai³¹.

Fig. 7

Marble votive relief with the representation of Athena (*Pensive or Mourning Athena*). From the Acropolis of Athens. Ca 460 BC. Athens, Acropolis Museum Aαο. 695. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Acropolis Museum. Photograph: Sokratis Mavrommatis.

Fig. 8

Marble Attic grave stele of a young woman. Provenance unknown. Ca 400 – 390 BC. New York, Metropolitan Museum 36.11.1. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

27 οὐκ ἔστι μήτηρ ἢ κεκλημένη τέκνον τοκεύς, τροφὸς δὲ κύματος νεοσπόρου. τίκει δ’ ὁ θρόσκιον, ἢ δ’ ἀπερὸ ξένῃ ξένη ἔσωσεν ἔρνος, οἷσι μὴ βλάβη θεός. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦδε σοι δεῖξω λόγον. πατήρ μὲν ἂν γένοιτ’ ἄνευ μητρούς. πέλας μάρτυς πάρεστι παῖς Ὀλυμπίου Διός, οὐδ’ ἐν σκότοις νηδύος τεθραμμένη, ἀλλ’ οἷον ἔρνος οὔτις ἂν τέκοι θεός (Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 658-666).

28 Sophocles, *Aias* 293.

29 Thucydides, *Historiae* 2.45.2.

30 For the status of women in Classical Athens see MacLachlan 2012; Patterson 1991; Pomeroy 1995; Pomeroy 1997. Sources: Fantham *et al.* 1994.

31 For women’s attire see generally Llewellyn-Jones 2002.

The so-called *Aspasia/Sosandra*, a statue created *ca* 460 BC, known from many copies [fig. 9], and the Albani ‘*Sappho/Kore*’, the original of which is dated to the middle, or just after, fifth century BC and is associated by many scholars with Pheidias, reveal the models. The first figure is wrapped entirely in her himation, which is thick as if made of felt and covers also the head; despite the majesty of her pose, she literally disappears under the heavy garment with the few folds. The second figure, which stands in exactly the same way, repeating the same basic motif, has the head exposed. The himation, finer than that of the other figure, is swathed around the waist and falls over the left shoulder, leaving visible the rich drapery of the chiton on the bosom. However, once again the lines of the body disappear completely beneath the garments and the figure appears as a weighty inflexible mass. Both statues are correlated by some researchers with Aphrodite, by others with Demeter or Kore. Certainly goddesses, they define the ideal model and determine the appearance or the ‘disappearance’ of mortal women.

In the Parthenon frieze, mythical figures³² or idealized types of a repetitious reality present, congregated, the models of beauty of the ‘golden age’: hearty bearded men, citizens and officials of Athens; priestesses wrapped in peploi, ependytes and heavy kalyptres; beardless youths, the city’s hope in the procession of horsemen; virgins – the ‘brides’ of Athens, future wives and mothers of its citizens – dressed in rich peploi, the kalyptra cast on the shoulders. Striking is the contrast between the nudity of the male torsos and the concealment of the female ones beneath voluminous garments. Here too, like everywhere else from the Geometric period onwards, the male nude body triumphs as the very model of virtue, whereas to the contrary the female is concealed, because her nature is inferior, as Pericles’ injunction implies. Is this because she may arouse uncontrollable desires, posing a threat of disorder and disorganization because she is ‘wild’ and must be tamed, or perhaps for all these reasons together³³?

The exceptions to the rule highlight the picture. Despite the strong oriental influence in Greek art of the seventh century BC, nude female figures are very few and come from sanctuaries in Crete³⁴ (Prinias, Axos, Gortyn), Rhodes and Corinth. In all likelihood divine figures, some of them imports and others products of local workshops, they are correlated with the models of the nude goddess (*Astarte*, ‘*Potnia Theron*’) from the region of Phoenicia and the Syro-Palestinian littoral, with which the places where they were found had many contacts and exchanges³⁵. The wild goats/ibexes and the hybrid creatures which flank the few naked karyatids of the enigmatic votive mirrors from Archaic Sparta, seem to point in the same direction. In Sparta young girls keep the privilege of appearing in public and exercising in very light clothing³⁶.

32 Connelly 1996.

33 Κοτταρίδη 1998.

34 Prent 2005.

35 Boehm 1990; Whitley 2018 (with bibliography); Stampolidis 2014; Burkert 1992.

36 Congdon 1981. Cf. Pomeroy 2002.

Certainly a goddess and indeed a dreadful one appears totally nude with snow-white body and loosened hair, before the mid-sixth century BC on a small altar from Sicily, as well as on some black-figured vases that were produced for the markets of Etruria. In the midst of the metamorphosed men, with cup and magic wand in her hand, stands none other than Circe³⁷, the ‘Hawk-woman’ (κίρκος-kirkos = hawk or falcon) daughter of the Sun, who recalls Egyptian Isis, but also the Mistress of Wild Animals, a Despoina of wild nature, who in the *Odyssey* dwells near the gateway to Hades, and in Hesiod’s *Theogony* becomes genarch of the Latinoi. After mid-century Circe too is clothed, like all the goddesses, but it is perhaps no coincidence that the only surviving nude female statue of the Archaic period, and indeed a cult statue, the enigmatic Cannicella ‘Venus’ [fig. 10], was found in the region where, after the *Odyssey*, the land of Circe is placed, at Orvieto, and in fact in situ in the small temple of the Volsinii sanctuary, which is situated inside a necropolis. Whether an image of Veia, of Venus Libitina or of Aphrodite Epitymbia, it is certainly a product of an island workshop and apparently perplexed the craftsman, who, unaccustomed to such commissions, sculpted a ‘Kouros’ with slightly larger than normal breasts and instead of male genitalia a very discreet incision on the pubis, to which the projected right hand of the goddess seems to point³⁸.

Whereas female nudity as symbol of divinity vanishes, in representations decorating sympotic vases another group of naked women appears. They are neither goddesses nor mythical heroines, but ordinary sex-workers, prostitutes and *aulos*-players. Whether they reveal their hidden charms and the ‘secrets’ of their preparation, or whether they participate in orgies, always as objects, the naked ‘girls’ are there not for their own pleasure but to satisfy the voyeuristic fantasies of the men and to boost their sexual performances. Here the female nude declares exposure, sexual availability to whoever is prepared to pay, and certainly social inferiority. These images, which differ little from modern pornography, appear in black-figure vase-painting in the middle years of the sixth century BC, become particularly popular in Attic workshops producing red-figured vases in the Late Archaic and Early Classical period, and tend to disappear around the mid-fifth century BC. This does not mean, of course, that the demand for and provision of purchased sexual services ceased, quite the opposite in fact³⁹. We learn from texts of the time that nudity, synonymous with vulgarity and lewdness, is characteristic of cheap whores, whereas the celebrated courtesans (*hetairae*)⁴⁰ appear impeccably attired, just like respectable ladies of the house.

One other dimension of female denuding is illuminated by mythical representations which are standardized in the sixth and fifth centuries BC. At the antipode of what has been said, a tragic heroine, a king’s daughter and a priestess, the virgin Cassandra⁴¹, is de-

37 Kottaridi 1991.

38 Bonfante 1993.

39 Glazenbrook *et al.* 2006.

40 As for example Theodote (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.11.1-4).

41 *LIMC* VII, s.v. *Kassandra*, 936-970 (O. Paoletti); Cohen 1993.



Fig. 9

Fig. 9

Marble statue of *Aspasia/Sosandra*. From Baiae, Italy. Roman copy of an original of ca 460 BC. Naples, National Archaeological Museum 153654. © Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Napoli.



Fig. 10

picted fallen down and completely naked, desperately clutching the statue of Athena and imploring the goddess to protect her from her pursuer. The story is well-known: Aias of Lokris has no qualms about raping the suppliant inside the temple, next to the effigy of the virgin goddess. The Greeks avoid punishing the powerful man's heinous crime and Athena, outraged at the defilement, metes out the punishment herself. The actual rape is never represented, but the nudity of the suppliant Cassandra would remain unchanged from the sixth century BC until the end of Antiquity, an iconographic topos of recognition of the subject, as well as an eloquent sign of insult, violence, humiliation and destruction. However, as the persistent presence of the statue of Athena eloquently declares, the issue here is not only the ravishing – all the Trojan women would become slaves, *dmoes*, of the victors – but also the place where it happens, the abomination of flagrant disrespect for the asylum of the temple.

Representations with the Fall of Troy, in which the scene of Cassandra appears, increase for obvious reasons during the years of the Ionian Revolt, the siege of Miletos (494 BC) and the Persian Wars (490 – 479 BC). The same period sees the start of an interesting trend, the presentation of erotic encounters as scenes of 'pursuit', which is recorded in red-figure Attic vase-paintings down until the closing decades of the fifth century BC⁴². Beardless youths or strapping bearded men, heroes and gods, usually armed with a sword or a spear, pursue a young woman who runs away, though without neglecting to turn her head backwards to see her pursuer. Inscriptions or characteristic symbols frequently help to identify well-known mythical couples: Zeus and Aigina, Poseidon and Aithra, Odysseus and Circe, Peleus and Thetis, Boreas and Oreithyia, Theseus with one of his companions. The male figures are usually half-naked, consonant with the general models for the depiction of male figures, whereas the female ones are always 'decorously dressed' in chiton with deep folds and oblique himatia or with lavish peploi, depending on the fashion of the day, and with elaborate hairstyles.

The reference to scenes of the chase is overt and the implication inevitable. With one exception, the goddess Eos (Dawn) pursuing the young herdsman Kephalos, the hunter is always a man and the prey a woman. The notion encapsulated in the epos' use of the verb to tame (*damnemi*) for sexual intercourse and of the nouns *dmoie* and *damar*, here finds its expression in images and becomes an iconographic topos. The hunt functions as synecdoche for the erotic encounter, as well as for the imminent nuptial union. The association of the abductions with the marriage ritual becomes even more explicit with the introduction of chariots into the iconography. Towards the end of the fifth and in the fourth century BC, the would-be suitors – Theseus, the Dioskouroi, Pelops and Pluto – come to take their chosen ones in impressive chariots, and the girls, dressed and

Fig. 10

Marble statuette of Aphrodite
(*Cannicalla Aphrodite*).
From Cannicalla. Ca 530 BC.
Orvieto, Museo Archeologico
Faina. © Fondazione per il
Museo Claudio Faina.

bedecked as sumptuously as brides, not only make no move to escape but in fact stand majestically and serenely in the chariots, next to the grooms, and usually lift up their kalyptra in the typical gesture of unveiling (*anakalypteria*) which denotes the coming completion of the wedding ceremony.

For all the erotic implication, in none of these scenes do the women ever appear nude or half-naked. Very different is the situation in a series of other representations with far more violent and catastrophic references. For the Greeks the victory over the Persians was the victory of civilization over savagery, the prevailing of reasoned discourse and law over chaos, disorder and irrationalism. This was expressed in art by scenes of Centauro-machy and Amazonomachy, which filled the friezes and the pediments of the temples of the golden age, and not only. The Centaurs, half men-half animals, guests at the wedding of the king of the Lapiths, got drunk and, overcome by their bestial instincts, seized the bride and the Lapith women. On the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, next to the superb statue of Apollo, the beast has grabbed the bride by the bosom⁴³ and she struggles in vain to free her bare breast from the painful grip of his hand [fig. 11]. Everywhere the women are thrashing and struggling desperately to escape the Centaurs' defiling embraces and bared female thighs, buttocks and bosoms are visible everywhere. On the frieze of the temple of Apollo in Phigaleia, a Centaur disrobes a woman who, like Cassandra, clutches the statue of the goddess. Violence and sacrilege. Here too, as there, the nudity of the female body signifies humiliation, shame, desecration, a terrible insult that can only be expunged by bloodshed.

The Amazons⁴⁴, wild women who live beyond the bounds of law and order of the democratic city, persist again and again in threatening the society of men. In the representations of the fifth century BC they are dressed in short tunics, like men, and when they are slain or wounded the garment falls, usually baring one of their breasts, as in the statue of the injured Amazon, the original of which was perhaps a work by Pheidias himself [fig. 12]⁴⁵. Certainly here the baring of the female body is synonymous with weakness and defeat, as also in the daughter of Niobe who is denuded as she falls down dead, victim of divine revenge.

With epicenter the human figure, Pheidias, Alkamenes, Agorakritos, Kallimachos, their assistants and apprentices, through developing types of the Severe Style lead their art to the perfection that is admired over the centuries. In reality these sculptors can do exactly as they please, but they choose to respond to the ideological dictate of the age: the Athenian Democracy wants citizens who are ideal, but faceless and interchangeable units. This means that the realistic representation is outside the desired frame. Indeed, it could be considered also disrespectful of the city's laws. The figures, even on grave reliefs, despite their 'naturalism', are more than ever stylized ideal 'types'. The artists' disposition for

Fig. 12

Marble statue of a wounded Amazon. Provenance unknown. 1st – 2nd century AD. New York, Metropolitan Museum 32.11.4. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

43 Cf. Cohen 2000.

44 Sources in *LIMC* and Fantham *et al.* 1994, 4.

45 Cullen Davison *et al.* 2009, 1-20.

Fig. 11

Marble group of Centaur and Lapith (*Deidameia and Eurytion Group*). From the sculptural decoration of the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. 470 – 456 BC. Archaeological Museum of Olympia. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of Eleia/H.O.C.RE.D. Photograph: Sokratis Mavrommatis.



Fig. 11

Fig. 12



originality and expressiveness is fulfilled to a significant degree in the garments and so the drapery of the statues and reliefs of the female figures that we are lucky enough to see in the original, are veritable miracles of art and technique.

From Pausanias⁴⁶ we learn that Pheidias made for the Eleians a chryselephantine cult statue of Aphrodite Ourania⁴⁷ stepping on a tortoise, “symbol of the silence of women and their place inside the house” (*οἰκουρίας σύμβολον ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ σιωπῆς*), as Plutarch⁴⁸ interprets the presence of the animal which the ancient Greeks consider voiceless and exclusively of female gender. In the copies, which precisely because of the presence of the tortoise are correlated with the Pheidian Aphrodite, the goddess wears a chiton with deep-plunging folds and an epiblema swathed around her body like a small himation, in other words, the same attire as the figure of Aphrodite on the east pediment of the Parthenon [fig. 13]. Here the model of female kallos at an aesthetic and ideological level is absolutely consistent with the prevailing view of the period, as expressed by Sophocles and Pericles, and Aphrodite teaches women modesty and celibacy [fig. 14].

A little younger than Pheidias, Kallimachos was to take one step further. His own bronze statue of Aphrodite shone like gold in the warm color of the metal and is known to us from the description by Pliny⁴⁹ and several marble copies, the most famous of which is the Fréjus Aphrodite, who wears a flimsy robe clearly showing all the contours of her body [fig. 15 and cat. no. 37]. With her right hand she lifts up the epiblema – a fine shawl – to cover her head, oblivious to her robe which has slipped off her shoulder, baring her left breast completely. However, here the baring of the goddess’s breast means neither defeat nor rape. The opposite, in fact, for Aphrodite stands haughty and serene, facing the viewer and showing off her beauty. The apple in her left hand declares that she has just won the prize in the beauty contest, beating the mighty mistress of Olympus Hera and the untamed virgin Athena. Corresponding is the way in which Paionios from Mende presents the personification of the victory of the Messenians and Naupaktians over the Spartans, in the statue of Nike at Olympia [fig. 16].

The artifice of the diaphanous garment gets round the taboo of the female nude, creating a fashion that would become particularly popular at the end of the fifth and throughout the first half of the fourth century BC, and was to enjoy various revivals in subsequent centuries. Alongside the richly-embroidered precious textiles that appear again in vase-paintings of the so-called Rich Style, diaphanous garments which show the contours of the female body fall lightly and inundate paintings and reliefs with copious folds. The wind ripples the fluttering garments of the Nikai who set up the trophies of Athens on the Acropolis, the Nereids, the Nymphs and the female spirits that flit through the skies and

46 Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis* 6.25.1.

47 Cullen Davison *et al.* 2009, 29-37.

48 Plutarch, *Moralia* 142D.

49 Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XXXV 156.

alight to become akroteria and pedimental sculptures. Their bodies are described, and now and then a bared breast or a leg projects [cat. no. 1]. But if we scrutinize the bodies and are not distracted by the charm of the drapery, we ascertain again that Aphrodite, the Nikai, the Aurae, the Nereids, the Nymphs, just like the ill-fated nude Niobid, have, apart from the firm adolescent breasts, in reality bodies that appear more boyish than womanly. In Greek the word for the human species is in the masculine gender only: Anthropos. Archaic and Classical art gives substance, ideally of lovely form, to exactly this concept.

In the meantime, the Peloponnesian War sorely tries the Hellenic world. The Athenian Democracy collapses. Successive conflicts, wars and disasters follow, which do not stop until the battle of Chaironeia and the dawn of a new world order. Old convictions, beliefs and values are put to the test, philosophers discuss the efficacy of various systems of governance. Euripides, with ‘honeyed words’, reveals on the theater stage the sicknesses of the system, and Aristophanes does the same, in his own inimitable way. The proverbial, according to the current concept of the period, ‘faults’ of women, among which is sexual voracity, amuse the citizens of Athens, but the *Ecclesiazusae* (Suppliant Women) and *Lysistrata* take power and make many and dreadful things happen, which in the end, however, are perhaps not so terrible. Socrates is executed for impiety. Before that, at the famous Symposium of Agathon, as it was created by Plato, he concedes his place to the sage priestess Diotima and lets her ‘speak’, because she knows better than everyone else the true nature of Love. Plato does not seek only the enlightened ruler, but, by attaching greater importance to the mind than to the body, in the *Republic* and the *Laws* he teaches something utterly revolutionary for his time, that women are capable and worthy of sharing all the works of men, even the works of war, and that they can as Custodians and Philosophers undertake all offices, even the administration of the State, provided they are educated accordingly, decreeing that girls should receive the same education as boys⁵⁰. To the great surprise of his fellow citizens, Plato practices what he preaches, because among the pupils in the Academy there are at least two women: Lasthenia from Mantinea and Axiothea from Phlius⁵¹.

Euripides, select companion (*hetairos*) and guest of Archelaos⁵², is inspired by the primeval rituals of the women of Aigai, the ancient metropolis of the Macedonians, and writes the drama *Bacchae* (407/6 BC). The maenads, singing, bring the young god to the city. Pentheus, representing the established order, repudiates him. Consumed by voyeuristic desire, he spies on the women’s secret orgies, he sees the miracles and himself becomes victim and carcass. The god of women triumphs⁵³, the mystery cults promise another dimension of life and their devotees proliferate. The initiates dance divinely inspired and ecstatically in the Elysian Fields. Euripides’ *Bacchae* inspire artists. On Attic reliefs, on

50 Plato, *Laws* VII 788a – VIII 842a.

51 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers* III, 46.

52 Ridgeway 1926; Revermann 2000; Scullion 2003.

53 Sources for women’s cults: Kraemer 2004.

Fig. 13

Marble statue of *Aphrodite Ourania* stepping upon a tortoise. Original or copy of an original work by Pheidias, of 430 – 420 BC. Probably from Attica. Berlin, Altes Museum Sk 1459. © Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photograph: Juergen Liepe.

Fig. 14

Marble statue of Aphrodite, in the type of the *Aphrodite en Kepois* by Alkamenes. Roman copy of an original of the late fifth century BC. Paris, Louvre MA414. © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre). Photograph: Gérard Blot.

Fig. 13**Fig. 14**

Fig. 15

Marble statue of Aphrodite of the *Naples Fréjus* type. Roman copy of an original of the last quarter of the 5th century BC. Paris, Louvre MA525. © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre). Photograph: Hervé Lewandowski.

Fig. 16

Marble statue of a flying Nike (*The Nike of Paionios*). From the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. 421 BC. Archaeological Museum of Olympia Λ 49. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Museum of Olympia/H.O.C.R.E.D. Photograph: Sokratis Mavrommatis.

Fig. 15**Fig. 16**

the Derveni Krater, in countless paintings, the women surrender themselves to ecstasy with unprecedented frenzy. Full of passion, Skopas' Maenad twirls, her hair loose, her body a taut chord ready to snap. She is liberated from the garment, which seems now pointless, and is offered to the invisible god. Beyond conventions and coercions, wild and uncontrolled, the maenads abandon themselves to divine madness. Nudity becomes an element of initiation, a rite of passage to another dimension, a model of otherworldly and savage *kallos*. At Athens⁵⁴ the *basilinna*, wife of the elected *archon basileus*, is the conformist and obedient bride of Dionysos, whose worship was adapted to the requirements and rhythms of the city. In Macedonia, Polyxene-Myrtale-Olympias, scion of the royal house of the Aiakids and Thetis the wise goddess who was forced to lie with a mortal so that the Olympian order was not jeopardized, queen of the Macedonians and mother of the boy who would change the course of mankind, is the devoted high priestess of Dionysos, the mistress of the snakes who leads the women in the arcane rituals⁵⁵.

In the fourth century BC the world changes rapidly, and together with it art and the models of beauty. In 359 BC, a young man, orphaned of father, who was forced to spend his adolescence as a hostage in Thebes, took up the reins of a defeated kingdom that was on the brink of destruction. According to legend a descendant of Herakles, Philip II (359 – 336 BC) very quickly succeeds in turning chaos into an organized state and putting down the foundations of a world empire. His court, where the *crème de la crème* of the intelligentsia gathers, becomes the hearth of new ideas. Victor in many battles, the Macedonian had the opportunity to profess his piety and to publicize his power by dedicating, time and again, statues of himself to the gods, from Delphi and Samothrace to Ephesos and Olympia. In the last sanctuary, according to Pausanias, ivory-and-gold statues of the king, his wife and his son, as well as of his father and mother, were set up in the famed Philippeion⁵⁶. These were works by Leochares, a gifted artist who experimented successfully with materials and techniques. An idea of what the statues of Philip II, Alexander III and Amyntas III looked like is gained from the figures that decorated a chryselephantine couch with representation of a royal hunt, which was found in his tomb at Aigai⁵⁷. Philip, who changed fate, his own and of others, himself became a role model and exemplum, who was portrayed with veracity, with his short beard, his battle scars and the effect of the ravages of time imprinted in his figure. An actual person, not an idealized type. So the realist portrait was born⁵⁸. Dressed in sleeved chiton, chlamys (short cloak) and boots, and with the typical Macedonian kausia (broad-brimmed hat) on the head, each of the other thirteen figures, men and youths, on horseback and on foot, relatives and close companions of the king who take part in the event is a real and recognizable person.

We learn about the female model in the Macedonian court from the peplophoros statue brought to light in the sanctuary of Eukleia at Aigai [fig. 17]⁵⁹. In spite of the relative idealization of the figure, the broad face, low forehead and the loose flesh on the cheeks, which becomes heavier around the mouth and the chin, as well as the deep creases on the neck, reveal a mature woman and certainly not a goddess. The inscription on the pedestal, which from the excavation context is associated with the statue, attests that it represents Eurydike, daughter of Sirrhas, wife of Amyntas III, mother of three kings, grandmother of the ruler of the then-known world. Dressed in a chiton and a heavy 'Argival' peplos

54 Isler-Kerényi 2014.
 55 Kottaridi 2011.
 56 Kottaridi 2020a.
 57 Kottaridi 2013.
 58 Kottaridi 2020b.
 59 Kottaridi 2020a; Kottaridi 2011.

Fig. 18

The abduction of Persephone by Pluto, painting by Nikomachos. From the tomb of Nikesipole at Aigai. 4th century BC. Museum of the Royal Tombs of Aigai. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of Hemathia/H.O.C.R.E.D. Photograph: Sokratis Mavrommatis.



Fig. 17

Fig. 17

Marble statue of Queen Eurydice. From Aigai. 4th century BC. Polycentric Museum of Aigai. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities Hemathia/H.O.C.R.E.D. Photograph: Sokratis Mavrommatis.



Fig. 18

with rich plunging fold and overfold (*apoptygma*), she wore earrings and probably a gilded silver wreath, and a kalyptra that covered the back of the head and the back down to the knees. Over two meters high, majestic and imposing, the queen who at the critical moment took power into her own hands and secured the throne for her sons, is, despite her age, bedecked as a bride, in the scheme of Hera, queen of Olympus. The Macedonian king is protector and promachos (first in battle) of his people. The queen, high priestess and bride of the rite of the Sacred Marriage, brings with her body the diving blessing, giving birth to those who will guarantee the continuity of the royal house and the safety of the Macedonians, thus secures the kingdom and the smooth transition of power. The scheme of Hera, the image of the bride, will become the iconographic topos for the official portraits of queens of the Hellenistic Ecumene on coins, and not only. When the kingdoms collapse, it will pass into the Tyche (Fortuna) figures, personification of cities, and from them to Roman empresses, but also to priestesses who keep alive the local sacred ritual performances, to end up as the ‘Queen of Heaven’ in the new religion – Christianity – thus manifesting the female’s participation in the exercise of power.

In the mid-fourth century BC, in the tomb of Nikesipolis, one of Philip II’s wives, Nikomachos will bring the ancient painting technique of outline to its apogee and the subject of Abduction to its limits [fig. 18]⁶⁰. Like the Centaur on the pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, Hades seizes Persephone by the bust. Kore writhes in his hands and as she struggles to escape the mortifying embrace, her body is bared ... The ultimate humiliation of the formidable Persephone, Mistress of the mysteries of death, excellently depicts the Divine Drama, but it also verges on profanity. Nikomachos depicts the same subject in another painting which, after the subjugation of the Macedonian kingdom, reaches Rome, where it is exhibited in public. A couple of copies of it from Hellenistic and Imperial times have survived, bearing witness to the reverberation of the painter’s daring, but his treatment of the episode did not create a school. The time of violent erotic pursuits had now passed. On South Italian and Attic vases the lovers of the age meet and flirt peacefully in paradisiacal gardens and courts, in an atmosphere that presages New Comedy and the Hellenistic novels.

At the same period in Athens, Mnesarete from Thespieae⁶¹, known to history by the nickname Phryne (= toad), a highly intelligent and charismatic woman who enjoyed a successful career as a *hetaira*, lost no opportunity of challenging establishment views about women⁶². She dedicated a statue of Eros, a work by Praxiteles, in her native city, thus proclaiming the source of her fame and wealth. Alongside Eros was a statue of Aphrodite and one of Phryne herself, also created by Praxiteles, which were perhaps *ex-votos* of the Thespians⁶³. She also offered to rebuild at her own expenses the fortification walls of Thebes and to become great *choregos* (= sponsor) and *euergetes* (= benefactor), on the condition that it would be written that Alexander demolished the walls (336 BC) but Phryne rebuilt them. She, or according to others the inhabitants of Delphi, dedicated a gold or, rather, gilded –certainly in the Homeric color of Aphrodite ‘rich in gold’ (*polychryse*)– statue of herself in the sanctuary of Apollo, which was set up between those of kings Philip II and Archidamos III, close to the statues of Apollo, in a conspicuous position facing the entrance to the temple. Last, at the Eleusinia and Poseidonia festivals, Phryne stripped

60 Kottaridi 2007.

61 She was born ca 370 BC and must have been alive still in 317/16 BC.

62 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XIII 590f, 591b-d; Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis* 1.20.1, 9.27.3-5, 10.15.1; Plutarch, *Moralia* 336d, 401a, 753 ff.; Aelian, *Varia Historia* 9.32; Dio Chrysostom, *Orations* 37.28.

63 Cf. Keesling 2006.

off her clothes in public, loosened her hair and dived into the sea, to emerge from it naked, like Aphrodite. She was put on trial for impiety, like Socrates. At the critical moment her counsel and lover, the well-known orator Hypereides, pulled down her dress, and her nudity – according to others her pleas – so charmed the judges that Phryne was declared innocent. Phryne’s actions would have been considered unthinkable a century before and the reaction of the judges and the citizens generally to them even more unthinkable. At the time, however, her actions portended the major changes that were coming.

In Late Classical times the dedication of honorific statues of women in a public space, such as a sanctuary⁶⁴, was extremely rare and was the exclusive prerogative of queens of the Macedonians, such as Eurydike and Olympias, and of priestesses or girls distinguished in some sacred office, such as the Kanephoroi and the Arrhephoroi of Athens, honored by their prosperous and respectable families. Phryne was a self-made woman, not born into a notable family, and what’s more she was a prostitute. Perhaps she thought of herself as a priestess of the omnipotent and much-loved deity whom she served in practice. It seems, at least from the *ex-voto* at Thespieae, that others probably perceived her as a priestess of Aphrodite. Athenaeus maintains that from the spectacle of Phryne’s ceremonial emergence from the sea “*Apelles took his picture of the Venus Anadyomene; and Praxiteles the statuary, who was a lover of hers, modeled the Cnidian Venus from her body*” (Ἀπελλῆς τὴν Ἀναδυομένην Ἀφροδίτην ἀνεγράφατο καὶ Πραξιτέλης δὲ ὁ ἀγαλαματοποιὸς ἐρῶν αὐτῆς τὴν Κνιδίαν Ἀφροδίτην ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἐπλάσαστο ...) ⁶⁵. Perhaps behind the anecdotal testimony something more is hidden, after all it is known that traditionally in ancient religion the closest –to the degree almost of identification– person to the deity is her/his priestess/priest, who in various ritual performances ‘incarnates’ the goddess/god. What is certain is that the *hetairae* who followed Alexander the Great’s generals and with their beauty and wit brightened the symposia of the generation of the Epigonoi who created the Hellenistic Oecumene became courtesans, and received unparalleled honors from their ambitious lovers. It is also certain that the great Apelles, privy painter of Alexander the Great, painted for the Koans an Aphrodite *Anadyomene*: “Apelles beheld Cypris herself naked emerging from the birth-giving sea and so he painted her, wringing with her tender hands the foam from her curls”⁶⁶. The work became renowned and its echo is apparent in vase-paintings, figurines and statues. Augustus transferred the precious image of the goddess who was considered mother of the dynasty (Venus Genetrix) to the temple of Julius Caesar in Rome, where it was later destroyed. As for the Knidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, this was destined to become the most celebrated and influential sculpture of ancient art.

“Superior to all the statues, not only of Praxiteles, but throughout the whole world, is his Cnidian Venus which multitudes have sailed to Cnidus to look upon” writes Pliny⁶⁷ and adds that Praxiteles made two statues of the goddess, one clothed and one naked. The inhabitants of Kos, who were more conservative and traditional, chose the dressed one, whereas the Knidians took the nude version and earned a great reputation for their city. For an artist to have a stock of works and clients to choose one of them is common practice in Pliny’s day but does not correspond to the situation in the time of Praxiteles.

64 On the subject see generally Ridgway 1987.

65 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XIII 590.

66 *Αὐτὴν ἐκ πόντιοι τῆς Ἀθηναίων τὴν Κύπριον γυμνὰν εἶδε λοχευομένην, καὶ τοίαν ἐτύπωσε, διάβροχον ὕδατος ἀφρῶ θλίβουσαν θαλαραῖς χερσὶν ἔτι πλόκαμον* (Archius, *Palatine Anthology* II.83.16).

67 ... ante omnia est non solum Praxitelis verum in toto orbe terrarum Venus quam ut viderent multi navigaverunt Cnidum (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XXXVI.20).



Fig. 19

Fig. 19

Marble statue the *Knidian Aphrodite (Colonna Venus)*. Roman copy of an original of *ca 360 BC*. Vatican, Museo Pio-Clementino. © Musei Vaticani – Museo Pio-Clementino.



Fig. 20

It seems more likely that the statue was commissioned by the Knidians, who, after the synoecism of 360 BC, needed a cult image of their patron goddess for her new temple, the ruins of which have not yet been identified⁶⁸. It is certain that the Knidia was the cult statue of Aphrodite *Euploia*, who protected mariners and was worshipped and admired by locals and foreigners until the end of Antiquity, when it was taken to Constantinople and, because of its fame, was placed among other masterpieces in the collection in the Lausus Palace⁶⁹, where it was perhaps destroyed in the fire of AD 475. A controversial object in Antiquity, as today, its image is known to us from representations on coins, a few dozen figurines, reliefs, but also scores of marble statues, repetitions and faithful or less faithful copies of Late Hellenistic and Imperial times, the number of which is increasing continuously [fig. 19]⁷⁰.

“In the midst [of the temple] sits the goddess – she's a most beautiful statue of Parian marble – arrogantly smiling a little as a grin parts her lips. Draped by no garment, all her beauty is uncovered and revealed, except in so far as she unobtrusively uses one hand to hide her private parts”⁷¹. This is how Lucian sees the Knidia⁷². The copies fill in the picture: the goddess stands with body in frontal pose, the head turned to her left, the legs close together, with the weight falling on the right leg and the left one relaxed, drawn barely backwards and on tiptoe so as to create the characteristic *contrapposto* which imparts vitality and motion to the figure. Here, however, this is much more restrained than in male statues associated with the same sculptor. With her right hand Aphrodite simultaneously ‘points to’ yet half hides her pubis, while with her left she holds a textile that falls freely onto a hydria and is obviously the small himation which becomes an attribute of her from the time of the Parthenon and Kallimachos. The textile, which is part of the goddess's attire, together with the vase secure both the static and the visual balance, closing the composition, as is the case also in the Hermes at Olympia, and lead the viewer's eye to the goddess's head, which half a millennium later would still define the absolute model of beauty: “The hair, the forehead, the exquisite eyebrows, she will keep as Praxiteles has rendered them; the eyes, too, those soft, yet bright-glancing eyes, she leaves unaltered”⁷³, thus Lucian describes the ideal image of a woman in the second century AD. The luxuriant curly hair of the goddess is parted down the middle of the forehead, harmoniously framing her perfect oval face and, held in place by a double ribbon, drawn to the back of the head in a small bun [fig. 20 and cat. no. 36]. Thanks to a Hellenistic figurine from the ‘tumulus of Dardanos’⁷⁴, which copies the Knidia and preserved its colors, but also thanks to all the images of the goddess in the wall-paintings of Pompeii⁷⁵, we learn that Aphrodite was for her devotees a genuine Mediterranean maid, with curly brown-black hair and dark luminous eyes, totally different from the idealisms and the post-hoc projections of artists and scholars who want her fair and blonde.

Fig. 20

Marble head of the Knidian Aphrodite. Provenance unknown. Hellenistic (ca 150 BC) copy of an original of ca 360 BC. Paris, Louvre MA3518. © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre). Photograph: Hervé Lewandowski.

68 The initial association with the remains of a tholos (Love 1978) was shown to be erroneous by the continuation of the excavation: Ozgan 1989; Mellink 1992; Bankel 1997; Montel 2010.

69 Guberti Bassett 2000.

70 Seaman 2004.

71 ... ἢ μὲν οὖν θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ καθίδρυνται – Παρίας δὲ λίθον δαιδαλμα κάλλιστον – ὑπερήφανον καὶ σεσηρότι γέλωτι μικρὸν ὑπομειδιῶσα. πᾶν δὲ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ἀκάλυπτον οὐδεμιᾶς ἐσθήτος ἀμπεχούσης γεγύμνωται, πλὴν ὅσα τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ τὴν αἰδῶ λεληθότως ἐπακρύπτειν (Lucian, *Amores* 13).

72 For the authenticity of the text see Jope 2011.

73 ... τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν κόμην καὶ μέτωπον ὀφρύων τε τὸ εὐγραμμον ἑάσει ἔχειν ὥσπερ ὁ Πραξιτέλης ἐποίησεν, καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν δὲ τὸ ὕψος ἅμα τῷ φαιδρῷ καὶ κεχαρισμένῳ, καὶ τοῦτο διαφυλάξει κατὰ τὸ Πραξιτέλει δοκοῦν ... (Lucian, *Imagines* 6).

74 Ovadhah – Mucznik 2012.

75 Dierichs 1998.

The goddess wore glittering gold jewelry, certainly an armband, most probably also earrings, perhaps other pieces too, such as these we see on the figurine from the Troas but which do not exist on the copies, while the off-white of her body would be offset by the lilac shade of the textile, since from the time of Sappho murex purple was the typical color of Aphrodite's garments⁷⁶. Unfortunately, in the copies we cannot see the perfect finish of the marble, the famed *γάνωσιν* (luster, sheen) thanks to which the marble emitted the sense of living skin and is considered one of the greatest virtues of the works by Praxiteles. We can, however, on observing each copy separately and all together, recognize what, beyond the nudity, was the revolutionary innovation of the work that set its seal on the history of ancient art and was loved more than any other: in creating the Knidia, Praxiteles modeled for the first time a truly womanly body, not the body of an adolescent with breasts, not even the body of a virgin, but the body of a woman at the height of her golden maturity, a *teleia* ('perfect') woman who embodies the model physical and social characteristics of the archetypal female being, renegotiates them and renders them as the ultimate ideal of womanly beauty.

The rounded shoulders, the soft curves, the heavy pelvis, the voluminous fleshy buttocks and thighs, the total absence of musculature, the abdomen and the 'plump' pubis, the not particularly full bosom are the physical features that make each part of the statue recognizable as belonging to a female body which is certainly not of athletic type. The 'closed', constrained loose pose that differentiates completely the nudity of the goddess from its contemporary nude male figures of gods and heroes, her carefully-styled hair and the jewelry embody the social conventions that define the model of propriety, status and 'civilization', as by the same token the much-discussed absence of obvious denoting of the genitalia, given that in Antiquity and not only, for reasons of personal hygiene and mainly beauty the systematic depilation of the female body was the rule⁷⁷. It is known that, although the male nude dominates diachronically in ancient art, the genitalia of the figures are disproportionately small and the pubic hair always stylized and carefully arranged. The opposite would denote barbarity and savagery and would be considered insulting for the depicted figure. Obviously something analogous applies in the case of Aphrodite, who, embodying the ultimate model of divine *kallos*, could not be correlated with anything brutal, vulgar or cheap⁷⁸. As for the celebrated gesture of supposed modesty and shame (*Pudica gestus*), the exact meaning of which, as we try to include it in our own cultural context, seems to elude us, it is certainly a 'visual formula', a 'topos' which we find also in the statue of the Archaic 'Aphrodite' from Cannicella, but also in the figurines of the eastern Mediterranean. It may well be a conscious reference by the artist to the sacred-cultic tradition that evidently was not unknown to him or to the Knidians and

76 *ιοκόλπω* (Sappho, Fragm. 30.5 Voigt). See also ...*τῆς δὲ ἐσθήτος οὐ πάρεργον εἶχεν ἢ πορφύρα τὴν βαφήν, ἀλλ' οἶαν μυθολογοῦσι Τύριοι τοῦ ποιμένους εὐρεῖν τὸν κύνα, ἢ καὶ μέχρι τούτου βάπτονται Ἀφροδίτης τὸν πέπλον* ("... As for the garment, the purple did not have second-rate dye, but such a sort that the Tyrians say a shepherd's dog found, with which even now they dye Aphrodite's peplos", Achilles Tatius, *The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon* 2.11.2-4).

77 Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 12-13, 724, 904; *Lysistrata* 51; *The Frogs* 516, etc. Also, Lavergne 2011; Lee 2015, 69-82. The sources are clear and do not seem to support the view that the removal of pubic hair weakens sexual pleasure: "Although female genital depilation seems to have been a common a priori practice in ancient Greece, it is not clear what practice would be appropriate for Aphrodite. The Knidia and Hellenistic Aphrodites represented the goddess of sexual love as such, but for whatever psychological reasons, she was at the same time, in this crucial detail, 'underrepresented' by art" (Smith 1991, 83).

78 The cleft of the pubis could be shown discreetly by the shadow of the encaustic, which enlivens in painterly manner the surface of the marble, as was done for the eyebrows or the iris of the eyes and other details. After all, on some copies such traces are visible.

the rest of the inhabitants of southeast Asia Minor⁷⁹, which is why it should be ‘read-recognized’ in this framework.

For all the anecdotes about Phryne, the Knidian cult statue of Aphrodite⁸⁰ was not and could not be a portrait. Nonetheless, the artist’s novel and persuasive treatment of the features of the female sex created an exceptionally impressive result, unprecedented for his contemporaries. Desirous of seeing her image, Aphrodite voyaged over the waves to Knidos, entered the cella of her temple, looked carefully all around and exclaimed: “Where did Praxiteles see me naked?”⁸¹. The epigram is attributed to a poet by the name of Plato, whom some researchers correlate arbitrarily with the philosopher. Work of the same poet is another epigram which in words of praise captures the impression of the ancient Greeks:

Τίς λίθον ἐψύχωσε; Τίς ἐν χθονί Κύπριν ἐσείδεν;
 Ἴμερον ἐν πέτρῃ τίς τόσον εἰργάσατο;
 Πραξιτέλους χειρῶν ὁδὲ που πόνος,
 ἢ τάχ’ Ὀλυμπος χηρεύει, Παφίης εἰς Κνίδον ἐρχομένης

‘Who gave a soul to marble? Who saw Cypris on earth?
 Who wrought such love-longing in a stone?
 This must be a work of Praxiteles’ hands,
 or else perchance Olympus is bereaved
 since the Paphian has descended to Cnidus.’⁸²

The superb artistic achievement acquires supernatural properties, the cult image tends to become permanent home of the deity, the beauty enchants, overturns and dominates. The Knidia spreads her allure and enslaves the whole world. Not even modern research escapes her web. Even before the nineteenth century the nude Aphrodite is at the epicenter of the debate about ancient art, and scholars, themselves captives, some more consciously than others, of Puritanism in one form or another, search to find for themselves a plausible explanation of nudity in the narrativity. The vase, the garment and the gesture of the right hand are combined and the explanation that Aphrodite is surprised at the moment she is preparing, taking or finishing her nuptial bath traditionally prevails⁸³. Gender Studies and feminist/antifeminist approaches in the late twentieth century bring her back to the epicenter of a major discussion which is didactic for the intentions and the roots of the interlocutors; nonetheless, Aphrodite seems, as has perspicaciously been pointed out⁸⁴, to be almost indifferent to the status quo of the world that created and is expressed through the work⁸⁵.

79 Barrow 2018, 41 ff.

80 For the concept of cult statue see Burkert 1997.

81 Ἡ Παφίη Κυθήρεια δι’ οἰδματος ἐς Κνίδον ἦλθεν βουλομένη κατιδεῖν εἰκόνα τὴν ἰδίην πάντῃ δ’ ἀθρήσασα περισεπέπτω ἐνὶ χώρῳ φθέγγετο· ποῦ γυμνὴν εἶδε με Πραξιτέλης; (“Paphian Cytherea came through the waves to Cnidus, wishing to see her own image, and having viewed it from all sides in its open shrine, she cried, “Where did Praxiteles see me naked?”, *Greek Anthology* XVI.160 Plato).

82 *Greek Anthology* IV.168.245.

83 This view is summarized by Seaman (2004), who cites analytically the relevant bibliography.

84 “It was a religious icon ... not narrative or anecdotal but symbolic and powerful, an object of awe in its nudity used as an attribute... the goddess – in an epiphanic rather than a momentary pose ... pointed to her reproductive organs ... Her image at superhuman size, aloof and unconcerned, dangerous because naked, would have inspired respect and even fear in those, male and female alike, who went to her temple openly to worship – not prudently to peep, since the consequences of seeing a goddess naked against her will were terrible and well known in antiquity”. (Ridgway 2001, 257).

85 Osborne 1994; Blundell 1995; Stewart 1997, 44, 101-107; Bell 1998; Havelock 1995; Salomon 2000; Stewart 2014, 179 ff.; Lee 2015, 186-190; Lee 2015a.

Born at the beginning of Time and fruit of the union of the primeval elements of Sky/air and Sea/water⁸⁶, Aphrodite, with archetypal roots, is one of the greatest deities of the ancient world and certainly the most popular⁸⁷. Wherever the goddess walks the earth fills with flowers, the trees sprout green leaves and produce fruits, the birds twitter, paradise opens its gates Her presence makes the wild beasts find a mate, and gods and men the same. Aphrodite is not merely the goddess of beauty and love⁸⁸ but the very fount of life and creation. She is the cause and she alone controls erotic-sexual desire that leads to intercourse, birth and the perpetuation of the species. Mother of Hymenaios, her blessing is essential for marriages to bring children, yet she herself is not restricted by the bonds of matrimony. Like Zeus, she keeps the privilege of the amorous object: she selects mortals and gods, lies with them and becomes founder of dynasties in Cyprus, Rhodes, Phoenicia, Sicily, Rome, and for all the creditable efforts of the epic poets she is never assimilated fully to the patriarchal hierarchy of the Olympians. Fruit of her union with Hermes is Hermaphrodite, the fascinating creature who melds the attractiveness of both his parents and legitimizes phylogenetic particularities; with Dionysos she bears Priapos who pictorializes the fertilizing power of the phallus, Hymenaios who blesses marriage, and the mystical Iakchos; she unites with Hephaistos because art needs the blessing of beauty; with Ares because Neikos must be united with Philotes for Harmonia to be created. Aphrodite *Areia*, Armed and Victorious, is a martial deity to whom the generals make sacrifice in expectation of victory, since she, as the mother of Phobos and Deimos, the terror that paralyzes warriors in the hour of battle, can control the outcome of the conflict⁸⁹. Much more charming, but often even more terrible in the consequences of their action, which leaves not even immortals unscathed, are the other sons of Aphrodite, Eros and Anteros, Himeros and Pothos.

As mother of Harmonia and Peitho, the goddess can join together the opposing forces, reconcile the people, 'bless' the prudent government by the Demos. In any case, her faithful acolyte from the Hours is Eunomia and so Aphrodite *Pandemos*, whose cult at Athens, tradition has it, was established by Aegeus and Theseus, is a political deity to which the elected archons sacrifice. As sea-born Cypris and Cytherea she is *Euploia*, *Pontia* and *Xenia*, protectress of seafarers, foreigners and travelers, but also of maritime ventures, and is honored particularly by admirals⁹⁰. As *Akraia* and *Limenia* she protects cities and blesses the harbors that bring wealth and goods. In Praxiteles' day sanctuaries, temples and cults of her existed everywhere, from the Euxine Pontus to Sicily. There were at least five in Athens itself and others in the Piraeus and the rest of Attica⁹¹. Important cities, such as Corinth, Paphos, as well as Knidos, honored Aphrodite as patron and central deity.

Apart from her cultic epithets, the names of her offspring/acolytes are indicative of the space and the manner of the goddess's action, but also of the expectations of her devotees: apart from the Eroles, Himeros and Pothos, Harmonia and Peitho, she is accompanied by Hebe, eternal youth, Antheia, lady of the flowers, Eunomia, Eudaimonia and Genetyllis, the good spirit of births, Chrysothemis, Hedylogos and Paregoros, the spirits of good habits, sweet words and compassion, Paidia, Pandaisia and Pannychis,

86 For the myths of origin and kinship see Pickup – Smith 2010 (with sources and bibliography).

87 For the nature and worship of Aphrodite see Pirenne-Delforge 1994; Pirenne-Delforge 2010, and generally Burkert 1985.

88 As is maintained by some scholars. For this trend see indicatively Tully 2011.

89 Pironti 2007; Pironti 2010; Budin 2010.

90 Papadopoulou 2010.

91 For the sanctuaries and the cult of Aphrodite in Attica see Rosenzweig 2004.

the spirits of play, games, the symposium and the all-night revels, many happy Nymphs and, of course, the Three Graces, Aglaia, Thaleia and Euphrosyne. Celebration, beauty, harmony, love, happiness, the joy of life, earthly paradise compose the world of Aphrodite and are for her –the almighty and much-desired goddess, the *καλή* (kale = beautiful), *γλυκυμείλιχος* (glykymeilichos = sweet and gentle) and *φιλομμειδής* (philommeides = laughter-loving), the stunningly beautiful Mistress of the smile– for whom the much-lauded statue was created as cult image in a period when her worship was spreading, her influence was growing and her blessing was ever more sought after in a world tired out by endless conflicts.

From the moment Praxiteles decided to take the major step, a step that was prepared gradually over the eighty or so years that separate Kallimachos' Aphrodite from the Knidia, there was no need of any further narrative or anecdotal justification for Aphrodite's nudity than for the nudity of Hermes at Olympia or of Apollo Sauroktonos. The cult statue-image of the deity is for the devotee the sacrosanct point of the temple, the point where the encounter with the divine presence, the actual recipient of the invocation, the prayer and the expectation that leads him to the sanctuary is felt. More than anything else, the cult statue is the epiphany in glory (*ἐπιφαινομένη ἐν δόξῃ*) of the deity and obviously this is true for the Knidia too. The iconographic type responds to the prowess (*aristeia*) of the depicted deity as an ontological state rather than as a momentary action.

The mythical prowess of Aphrodite, which indeed has a very great iconographic tradition, is in her competition with Athena and Hera. The apple in the hand of Kallimachos' statue is the proof that this was the subject there. Could the same apply also to the cult statue of the Knidians, even though the obvious external reference is missing? At least two epigrams lead in this direction. The first directly: "Neither did Praxiteles nor the chisel work thee, but so thou standest as of old when you came to judgement"⁹². The second more indirectly: "Pallas and the consort of Zeus said, when they saw the Cnidian, 'we are wrong in finding fault with Paris'"⁹³. The story is usually told as a beauty contest between the three goddesses but in reality it is much more than that. Like the quarrel between Athena and Poseidon over Athens, here too it is a contest of choice between the gifts that the three goddesses offer and which express their essence as beings: Hera promises power and wealth, Athena military victories and knowledge, Aphrodite love and personal happiness, and she is the winner⁹⁴.

Her very essence, her beauty and her nature as archetype of the female Being – source of erotic desire and regulator of the continuity of life – and, in the end, the blessing of joy and felicity that she bestows on her worshippers – men and women – are the true and constant prowess of Aphrodite. This 'naked truth' of the worshipped deity is what Praxiteles' genius was able to represent and, as it seems, people were ready to overcome the taboo of female nudity and to accept it. The vase next to her, not fortuitously a hydria, a shape with direct references to the image of the womb⁹⁵, is the traditional symbol of the womanly mode that defines the connotations, her very body is the absolute ideal, spectacular and admirable.

92 *Οὔτε σε Πραξιτέλης τεχνάσατο, οὔθ' ὁ σίδαρος· ἀλλ' οὕτως ἔστης, ὡς ποτε κρωιομένη* (Greek Anthology XVI.161 Plato).

93 *Παλλάς καὶ κρονίδαο συνεννέτις εἶπον ἰδοῦσαι τὴν Κνιδίην ἀδίκως τὸν Φρύγα μωφόμεθα* (Greek Anthology I.97.8 Euenus).

94 Apollodorus, *Library* E3. 2; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 92.

95 Seaman 2004, 566 ff. (with extensive bibliography and relevant sources).

As the Colonna copy shows, the Knidia was 2 meters high, if not more. If to that is added the height of the pedestal, which from known examples of comparable dimensions would have been no lower than two feet, it is certain that the eyes of the beholder-pilgrim would be just about level with the goddess's pubis. So, it seems that the gesture of her hand did not protect herself but the viewer from seeing ἄμῃ θεέμυς, what he/she should not see, and to come into direct contact with the source of the divine power and authority. It is worth remembering that even her beloved Anchises, who has the privilege of seeing her as a mortal virgin and not as a goddess, is blinded.

Although the Knidia's body is revealed frontally, her smiling countenance is turned to the side and does not 'face' the devotee. This holds also for the Hermes at Olympia, the Apollo Sauroktonos and various other statues of gods in the fourth century BC, and indeed not only works by Praxiteles but by other artists too. The deity is in epiphany and permits pilgrims to enjoy her image, yet she remains concentrated in her own world, above and beyond the cares of the world of mortals, and this is not a singularity of the Knidia but probably a commonplace of the period.

At the same period as Praxiteles created the nude Aphrodite, he, as well as other significant sculptors, such as Lysippos, and perhaps Skopas too, create also a particularly interesting himation-clad version, with different variations, which is known from copies such as the Arles and the Capua Aphrodite [fig. 21], as well as many Hellenistic repetitions, the most famous being the Aphrodite of Melos (Venus di Milo)⁹⁶. The goddess wears a heavy, large himation that is swathed low around her hips and falls down covering her legs but leaves her upper torso bare. It would appear from coins and gemstones that some Aphrodite figures of this type held weapons and are correlated with Aphrodite *Areia* and *Enopla*, who was worshipped at Corinth and elsewhere. This heavy himation was worn as a mantle over the robe – chiton or peplos – and never by itself. For someone to wear only a himation and indeed with naked torso is the characteristic of mature male figures, particularly of gods such as Zeus, Poseidon, Asklepios, Hades. The representation of Aphrodite in this 'male' type is perhaps related more to her 'martial-political' manifestations and it is probably not coincidental that in addition to weapons she is frequently associated also with the presence of supports in the form of herms or pillars that clearly denote public space. What is certain is that it constitutes the counterpoint to the image of himation-clad male figures, just as the Knidia is the counterpoint to the image of male nudes.

By using as model the supreme female being, the gifted artists of the fourth century BC succeeded in freeing the female body from taboos and placing it as a different but essentially equivalent model of *kallos*, alongside the male, harbinger of the new world that was dawning. The Athenians of Pericles' generation condemned their women to silence, Philip and his close companions, like the companions of Alexander, gave their daughters names that declare the exact opposite: the Kleopatras bring glory and fame to their fathers, the Berenikes and the Stratonikes the much-desired victory, the Laodikies guarantee justice for the people and the Arsinoes bring intelligence to power. These names would become exclusively dynastic names and would define the qualities of the power of their bearers, who are by no means content to stay behind the scenes and frequently enjoy a leading role in historical developments⁹⁷. Alexander's conquests open up new horizons, the Hellenic world becomes Hellenistic, the new cities open new roads and new opportunities, life is

96 For an indicative inventory of the type of *Aphrodite with himation* and its variations see LIMC II, s.v. *Aphrodite*, nos 526-757 (standing) and nos 864-891 (seated) (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, A. Kossatz Deibmann).
97 Cf. D'Agostini 2016.

changing and together with it the place of women. The queens define new models⁹⁸, the women of the Ecumene follow their example, they come out of their house, they circulate in the city, they work, attend festivals and fairs, demand respect from their husbands and if they do not get it can ask for a divorce and together with their freedom take back also their dowry. Women can inherit and manage their property, become wealthy, some succeed in participating in communal affairs, acquire offices, perform benefactions and win public acclaim. They are educated, become ‘grammatikai’ (literate) and poetesses, gain fame, travel [fig. 22]⁹⁹.

The presence of their image is no longer limited to grave stelai and, in addition to queens, many ladies have the opportunity of seeing their statue set up in some sanctuary or peristyle¹⁰⁰. The sculptors pay great attention to their hairstyles, their jewelry and mainly their lavish garments. The archaizing peploi are rare and worn by queens, goddesses and mythical figures¹⁰¹. Chitons dominate, with their dense pleats discernible beneath the fine himation and the epiblemata that are rather like shawls, which successfully imitate precious silk and linen textiles. There are fringes and tassels, while the figurines¹⁰² that preserve coloration convey an impression of the initial picture: vivid blues, purple and rose hues, golden borders and details underline the wealth and indicate luxury [fig. 23]. However, contrary to what happens with men, in the faces of the women realistic references are limited and the features obey a more general trend of idealization, whereas the disposition for realism dominates in the pose and movement of the body and the treatment of the attire¹⁰³. Women, like queens too, are always dressed and in fact often cover their head with coifs or hoods or ‘little roof veils’ (*tegidia*)¹⁰⁴.

Nevertheless, the female nude is not absent. To the contrary, it reigns and triumphs from the Mediterranean to the Indus and from the Euxine Pontus and Macedonia to the Sahara and Arabia¹⁰⁵. In temples and sanctuaries, in squares and peristyles, in agoras and nymphaea, in palaces, houses and gardens, in public and private space the nude Aphrodite prevails and together with her the female body is exulted. In all probability the first free repetition of the Knidia was created by Praxiteles’ heirs and it has reached us through the exceptional copy known as the Capitoline Venus [cat. no. 13]¹⁰⁶. From that time until the end of the ancient world, artists and craftsmen never ceased to reproduce naked and half-naked Aphrodite figures, as cult statues and ex-votos, individual images and groups, reliefs, figurines, paintings, mosaics, jewelry and precious vessels; Aphrodite appears in epiphany, emerges from the sea, enjoys her bath, travels over the waves, embellishes herself, admires her own beauty, puts on her sandals, takes up her weapons, delights in love¹⁰⁷ Her example is surely followed by others in her circle. Easily recognizable are the Three Graces who dance completely naked. However, without inscriptions or other indications it is difficult for us to say whether the *Kallipygos* (with fair buttocks) [cat. no. 14] or one of the bathers [cat. no. 141, 269, 270] is perhaps a Nymph or one of her companions and not the goddess herself. It is certain that these nude figures incarnate for their

98 Bielman Sanchez – Lenzo 2021; Olbrycht 2021.

99 Fantham *et al.* 1994, Lefkowitz – Fant 2005; Ramsey 2016; Parca 2012; Bielman 2012; Deslauriers 2012 (with bibliography); Rowlandson – Bagnall 1998; Pomeroy 1990; Pomeroy 1997.

100 Cf. Linfert 1976; Ma 2007.

101 Kottaridi 2020a.

102 Cf. Dillon 2012a.

103 Dillon 2010; Dillon 2012b.

104 Llewellyn-Jones 2002.

105 Jentel 1984; Zayadine 1984; Kropp 2016.

106 Stewart 2010.

107 Spivey 1997.

Fig. 21

Marble statue of Aphrodite (*Capua Aphrodite*). From Capua, Italy. Roman copy of an original of the late fourth – early third century BC. Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6017. © Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig. 22

Marble statues of Dioskourides and Kleopatra. From Delos (*House of Kleopatra in the Theatre Quarter*), 138 BC. Archaeological Museum of Delos A.07763, A.07799. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of the Cyclades/H.O.C.RE.D. Photograph: Yannis Patrikianos.

Fig. 21**Fig. 22**



Fig. 23

Fig. 23

Terracotta figurine of a Tanagraia (*Lady in Blue*). From Tanagra, Boeotia. 330 – 300 BC. Paris, Louvre MNB907. © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais. Photograph: Anne Chauvet.



Fig. 24

Fig. 24

Marble group of Aphrodite, Eros and Pan. From Delos. 100 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Γ 3335. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/National Archaeological Museum/H.O.C.RE.D. Photograph: Yannis Patrikianos.

period the model of beauty and sensuality, but their superior nature itself prevents them from becoming objects of pornography in the way that the female nude is perceived today. Didactic, even though it is not usually mentioned in the relevant scholarly discussions, is the end of the story, which the priestess of Knidia narrates to Lucian's friends about the madman who tried to 'rape' the statue and 'soiled' the goddess's buttocks with the result that, although scion of a respectable family, he was crushed by the waves or on the rocks, so suffering the usual punishment of defilers¹⁰⁸.

Contrary to what happened with Cassandra, the Amazons or the ravished women and the harlots of Archaic and Classical iconography, and with what happens frequently even today, the nudity of the Graces, of Aphrodite and of her acolytes is in no way a sign of defeat, sexual submission, humiliation or disgrace, but neither vulgar provocation. Indicative of this is the narration of the Late Hellenistic group of Aphrodite and Pan, which was found in the Lesche of the Poseidoniasts of Berytos on Delos [fig. 24]¹⁰⁹. Pan, symbol of bestial male sexuality, attacks with obvious intentions the nude Aphrodite, a quite faithful repetition of the type of the Knidia; indeed, he has grasped her firmly by the left wrist, as in the ancient nuptial gesture of hand on wrist ('χείρ' ἐπὶ καρπῶ'), which declares the unquestioning submission of the woman to her fate. Here, however, it loses its meaning as Aphrodite, smiling playfully, lifts up her sandal and is ready to fling it at the intruder. The male 'beast', who barely reaches her shoulder, appears bewildered, his erection withers and a tiny Eros peeking out from his mother's shoulder grabs him by the horn and is poised to subjugate him. Aphrodite and the creatures in her entourage are by nature and position superior beings, their nudity, like that of the male deities, has no crudity nor is it something profane. Quite the opposite, it is a blessing and gift for those who see them and complements with the concept of joy the ancient ideal of *kalokagathia*, which was embodied until then only by the nude statues of young men.

The Hellenistic Ecumene was an open world that favored the tempering of oppositions. And this held also for relations between the sexes. The aggressiveness of the pursuits and abductions in the erotic iconography of the sixth and fifth centuries BC, already by the fourth century began to give way to the idyllic atmosphere in which Aphrodite and her entourage dominates. This is intensified in Hellenistic times and is imprinted both in the erotic tales of the romances and New Comedy, and in the images known mainly from the wall-painting of Pompeii, where sexual aggression is replaced by eroticism and tenderness, while, occasioned by Aphrodite, in the erotic scenes the female element takes pride of place¹¹⁰. Indicative is the use of old schemas that acquire obviously new meaning: thus, the touching of the goddess's breast by her lover, which becomes a sweet stroke intended to be pleasurable for both and has nothing of the violence of the same gesture of Pluto or the Centaurs to their victims.

And whereas people seek more and more fulfillment in personal happiness and love, more and more Aphrodite is enhanced as principal deity. For the women, who are associated

108 ... και τί γάρ ἀρρήτου νυκτὸς ἐγὼ τόλμαν ἢ λάλος ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ὑμῖν διηγούμαι; τὸν ἐρωτικὸν περιπλοκὸν ἴσθη ταῦτα μεθ' ἡμέραν ὄφθη καὶ τὸν σπύλον εἶχεν ἢ θεὸς ὢν ἔπαθεν ἔλεγχον. αὐτὸν γε μὴν τὸν νεανίαν, ὡς ὁ δημόδης ιστορεῖ λόγος, ἢ κατὰ πετρῶν φασιν ἢ κατὰ πελαγίου κύματος ἐνεχθέντα παντελῶς ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι, (Lucian, *Amores* 16). See also D. Konstan in the present volume, p. 92.

109 It seems that the subject was widely disseminated: see *LIMC* II, s.v. *Aphrodite*, no. 514-517 (A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, A. Kossatz Deißmann). This particular group is exhibited in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens (EAM 3335).

110 As for instance in the representation with Aphrodite and Ares in the *Casa di Marte e Venere VII* in Pompeii.

with the goddess through their feminine nature, who each year at the Adonia festival¹¹¹ mourn together with her their lost loves and share her passions, whom poets and lovers -when they praise them- liken to her, Aphrodite is the model and the reference point. Her vindication in the pantheon of the Ecumene and the triumph of her sacred body tends to free these too from the fetters of patriarchal prejudices. Their body, which is idealized by the divine model, is no longer a source of shame but can become a topos of delight and pleasure. The texts, the inscriptions and the images attest that the world becomes better for them: the value of the role of mother is acknowledged, women acquire liberties and possibilities for action and participation, the female element gains the right to fame and to the collective memory, and above all, the right of women to exist as erotic subjects is recognized. Psyche falls in love and struggles for her love. Her adventures are like those of Odysseus, her labors like those of Herakles, the prize of her prowess will be the much-desired union with the Beloved.

The tale of Psyche¹¹² was to become the most popular narrative of the Ecumene, until the fanatics who believed that woman is the root of all evil (*ἐκ γυναικὸς ἐρῶύει τὰ φαύλα*) gained power and authority. Then the hands that set fire to the Library of Alexandria, that tore to pieces the martyr Hypatia, the great astronomer, mathematician, philosopher and teacher, will concentrate their hatred on the lovely but unprotected nude statues of the goddess. The female body will be condemned once again to obscurity and many centuries will pass until Aphrodite emerges triumphantly nude, from the paintbrush of Sandro Botticelli, and brings with her the Renaissance, at least of Art.

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111 Sources: Kraemer 2004.

112 Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 4.28.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations of Journals

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger.
AAA	Athens Annals of Archaeology.
<i>ActaAArtHist</i>	Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia.
<i>ActaArch</i>	Acta Archaeologica.
<i>AΔ</i>	Archaeologikon Deltion.
<i>AE</i>	Archaeologikē Ephēmeris.
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology.
<i>AM</i>	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.
<i>AnalRom</i>	Analecta Romana Istituti Danici.
<i>AnnArchStorAnt</i>	Annali del Seminario di Studi del mondo classico. Sezione di archeologia e storia antica.
<i>AntCl</i>	L'Antiquité Classique.
<i>AntK</i>	Antike Kunst.
<i>AntP</i>	Antike Plastik.
<i>ASAtene</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente.</i>
<i>AURA</i>	Athens University Review of Archaeology.
<i>BABesch</i>	Annual Papers in Mediterranean Archaeology (formerly Bulletin Antieke Beschaving).
<i>BCH</i>	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.
<i>BdA</i>	Bollettino d'arte.
<i>BÉFAR</i>	Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.
<i>BICS</i>	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London.
<i>BJb</i>	Bonner Jahrbücher des rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande.
<i>Boreas</i>	Boreas: Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie.
<i>BSA</i>	British School at Athens Annual.
<i>BullCom</i>	Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma.
<i>ClAnt</i>	Classical Antiquity.
<i>ClRh</i>	Clara Rhodos.
<i>ClQ</i>	Classical Quarterly.
<i>CP</i>	Classical Philology.
<i>Gaia</i>	Gaia. Revue interdisciplinaire sur la Grèce Archaique.
<i>Gnomon</i>	Gnomon - Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft.
<i>GRBS</i>	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
<i>HASB</i>	Hefte des Archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern.
<i>Hephaistos</i>	Kritische Zeitschrift zur Theorie und Praxis der Archäologie und angrenzende Wissenschaften.
<i>Hesperia</i>	Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
<i>JdI</i>	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
<i>JHS</i>	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
<i>JRS</i>	Journal of Roman Studies.
<i>JWalt</i>	The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery.
<i>Klio</i>	Klio - Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.
<i>Ktema</i>	Civilisations de l'Orient, de la Grèce et de Rome antiques.
<i>MonAnt</i>	Monumenti Antichi.
<i>MonPiot</i>	Monuments et mémoires: Fondation E. Piot.
<i>NC</i>	Numismatic Chronicle.
<i>NSc</i>	Notizie degli scavi di antichità.
<i>NumAntCl</i>	<i>Numismatica e Antichità Classiche.</i>
<i>ÖJh</i>	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien.
<i>ΠΑΕ</i>	Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias.
<i>RA</i>	Revue archéologique.
<i>REA</i>	Revue des études anciennes.
<i>REG</i>	Revue des études grecques.
<i>ZPE</i>	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.

Abbreviations of Volumes and Book Series

<i>ABV</i>	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-figure Vase-painters</i> , Oxford 1956.
<i>Add2</i>	T. H. Carpenter, <i>Beazley Addenda. Additional References to ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena</i> , 2 nd edition, Oxford 1989.
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- AVI Attic Vase Inscriptions.
- BAPD Beazley Archive Pottery Database.
- CAVI H. R. Immerwahr, *Corpus of Attic vase inscriptions*, 1998.
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