

Naked and Unashamed:

A Study of the Aphrodite Anadyomene in the Greco-Roman World

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of  
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ABSTRACT

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## Abstract

This dissertation presents a study of the Aphrodite Anadyomene type in its cultural and physical contexts. Like many other naked Aphrodites, the Anadyomene was not posed to conceal the body, but with arms raised, naked and unashamed, exposing the goddess' body to the gaze. Depictions of the Aphrodite Anadyomene present the female body as an object to be desired. The Anadyomene offers none of the complicated games of peek-a-boo which *pudica* Venuses play by shielding their bodies from view. Instead, the goddess offers her body to the viewer's gaze and there is no doubt that we, as viewers, are meant to look, and that our looking should produce desire. As a type, the Anadyomene glorifies the process of the feminine toilette and adornment and as the goddess stands, naked and unashamed, she presents an achievable ideal for the female viewer.

The roots of the iconography of the Anadyomene can be found in archaic Greek texts such as Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Homeric Hymn* from the eighth century B.C.E, as well as in paintings of women bathing on red-figure vases from the fifth century B.C.E. The Anadyomene type provides a helpful case study to consider the ways that representations of Aphrodite were utilized. Consulting archaeological reports and detailed studies of display contexts make it possible to reconstruct and imagine the original settings for these kinds of works. The known findspots for representations of the Anadyomene can be grouped into four contexts: Graves, Sanctuaries, Baths and Fountains, and Houses. Small objects might have been seen, handled, and used daily that carried connotations and meanings which these ancient viewers would have brought to other more elite or public works.

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## Part One: Introduction

Early in the morning of December 28, 1913, a group of young Italian soldiers patrolling the ruins of ancient Cyrene on the North African coast must have been shocked by the vision of a goddess, still evocatively wet from the violent winter storms that had uncovered her, rising from the earth.<sup>1</sup> In fact, what they had found was a life-sized marble Aphrodite Anadyomene, whose name signifies the birth of the goddess from the foam of the sea. (Figure 1) This sculpture had originally been set in the *frigidarium* (or cold room) of a luxurious Roman bath, which the Italian colonial government excavated immediately. The dig revealed an additional twenty-six works, including two groups of the Graces.<sup>2</sup> This newest generation of Italian colonizers recognized the high quality of the sensitively carved Aphrodite and shipped a cast to Genoa for a colonial exhibition. It must have lacked the potency of the original, however, since, as Gilbert Bagnani reported in 1921, “Yielding to the *universal desire*, the Government made an exception to the rule that works of art should remain in Africa, and brought it to Rome, where it was exhibited in the Museo delle

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<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Bagnani, “Hellenistic Sculpture from Cyrene,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 41, part 2 (1921): 232, relates the circumstances of the find. The soldiers were part of an occupying force holding the territory as a protectorate following the Italo-Turkish War (September 1911-October 1912); Cyrene officially became an Italian colony in 1919. For more about Italian archaeology in North Africa during this period see: Stefan Altekamp, “Italian Colonial Archaeology in Libya 1912-1943,” in Michael L. Galaty and Charles Watkinson, ed. *Archaeology Under Dictatorship* (New York, Boston, Dordrecht, London, Moscow: Kluwer Academic/Plenu Publishers, 2004): 55-72, and Massimiliano Munzi, “Italian Archaeology in Libya: From Colonial Romanità to Decolonization of the Past,” in Michael L. Galaty and Charles Watkinson, ed. *Archaeology Under Dictatorship* (New York, Boston, Dordrecht, London, Moscow: Kluwer Academic/Plenu Publishers, 2004): 73-108.

<sup>2</sup> Many of these works are discussed by Bagnani, 232-246; at the time of his article twenty works had been found. H. Mandersheid, *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenlagen* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1981): 100-103, nos. 265-291, provides the final count of 27 total.

Terme.”<sup>3</sup> It remained there as a spoil of war, symbolic justification of colonial domination, enchanting a generation of scholars, students, and visitors alike.<sup>4</sup> The evocative figure finally returned to north Africa in 2008, when Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi transported it to Libya in his private jet, and it stood at the centerpiece of a ceremony celebrating Italy’s agreement to pay reparations to its former colony.<sup>5</sup>

The removal of the statue from Cyrene to Rome in 1914 echoes the centuries-earlier confiscation of another Aphrodite Anadyomene by the Romans. In the late first century BCE, Augustus appropriated from the island of Kos an already famous painting of the goddess rising from the sea, the first representation of the Aphrodite Anadyomene attested in ancient literature.<sup>6</sup> It had been painted in the fourth century BCE by the well-known artist Apelles, a friend of Alexander the Great. The image originally hung within the precincts of the great healing center of the shrine of Aesclepius, established in the mid-fifth century BCE and famous for the medical school associated with the native-born physician, Hippocrates.<sup>7</sup> The great value of the painting is demonstrated by the fact that Augustus

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<sup>3</sup> Bagnani, 233. Emphasis mine. Mus. Naz. Rome, no. 72115.

<sup>4</sup> Bagnani, 232, underscores the deployment of the work as justification for colonialism in his introductory paragraph where he states, “Exactly ten years ago the Italian Government wrested the territory of Tripolitania from the Turks, and the hope was at once entertained that archaeology, safe from the blind fanaticism that had so seriously hindered former expeditions, might reap a rich harvest from the ruins of the famous cities of the Pentapolis, and especially from Cyrene. This hope has not been disappointed.”

<sup>5</sup> For coverage on the ceremony see, for example, Nick Pisa, “Silvio Berlusconi apologizes to Libya for colonial rule,” *Telegraph*, 1 September 2008.

<sup>6</sup> On Augustus’ actions: Strabo, *Geo.* 14.2.19. Similar to the occupation of Cyrene, the island of Kos was also taken by the Italians during the Italo-Turkish war. Hellenistic epigrams preserved in the *Greek Anthology* mention the work: *GA* 15.180, 15.182, 16.182.

<sup>7</sup> The Asclepion was excavated by the Germans beginning in 1902 and is one of the major tourist sites on the island. Interestingly, the island of Kos was taken by the Italians during the Italo-Turkish war, the same conflict

remitted the vast sum of 100 talents from the island's yearly tribute burden in its exchange.<sup>8</sup> Once the painting arrived in Rome, Augustus dedicated it to his adoptive father, the deified Julius Caesar and hung it in the temple of Venus Genetrix, the mythical ancestress of the Julian family, within the newly completed forum of Caesar.<sup>9</sup> These two incidents illustrate the powerful, seductive pull these images of Aphrodite provoked in their viewers, both ancient and modern. While the Aphrodite of ancient myth was portrayed as a formidable goddess who ruled the destinies of humans and gods alike, rendered in sculpture, painting, and mosaic, she became subject to the desires of humans.

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in which they acquired Cyrene. These locations are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. For sources on Hippocrates see: J.T. Valance, s.v. "Hippocrates," *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, 710-11.

<sup>8</sup> It is extremely difficult to estimate the monetary value of a talent in modern terms; in Greece, one talent was equal to 60 *minae*, or 6000 *drachmae*. F.N. Pryce, et al., s.v. "weights," *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, 1620-1, estimates the weight of a talent between 25.86 and 38.80 kg, but does not specify the standard (i.e. silver or gold). W. W. Goodwin, "The Value of the Attic Talent in Modern Money," *TAPA* 16 (1885): 116-19; M. Lang and M. Crosby, *Weights, Measures and Tokens, Athenian Agora* 10 (1964).

<sup>9</sup> Pliny, *NH*35.36.91. The painting remained on display until rot necessitated its removal during the reign of Nero. Modern scholarship on the Anadyomene by Apelles is well-established, see for example O. Benndorf, "Bemerkungen zu griechischen Kunstgeschichte III: Anadyomene des Apelles," *AM* (1876): 50-66; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1921), 740-41. On Apelles in general see J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig, 1868), 344-58; J. Bruno, *Form and Color in Greek Painting* (London, 1977), 53-87; D. Cast, *The Calumny of Apelles* (New Haven, 1981); S. Matheson s.v. "Apelles," *Dictionary of Art*, 217-18.



## Chapter One: Defining the Anadyomene

This dissertation presents a study of the Aphrodite Anadyomene type in its cultural and physical contexts. Fully or partially naked representations of Aphrodite have survived from antiquity in numerous varieties and with great frequency; the sheer numbers of works that have been recovered have provoked comment. For example, in his discussion of the Aphrodite Anadyomene and Diadoumene (which ties her hair back with a band) Adolph Fürtwängler wrote, “No godhead was represented as frequently in such manner in statuette form as the goddess of love, Aphrodite.”<sup>1</sup> Similarly Christine Havelock began *The Aphrodite of Knidos and Her Successors*, “Probably more ancient statues survive of the nude Aphrodite than of any other Greek divinity.”<sup>2</sup>

Most scholarship on the subject of the representation of the naked (and half-draped) Aphrodite in the Greco-Roman world has centered on the *pudica* Aphrodites that cover their genitals. The Knidian, Medici, and Capitoline types are representative of these as they are posed shielding their breasts with one hand and their pubis with the other. (Figures 2, 3, and 4) These versions are famous for the high-quality, large-scale marble examples in major museums. Their dramatic covering gestures, combined with averted gazes, makes the viewer into a voyeur, an effect that has captivated the attention of ancient

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<sup>1</sup> A. Fürwängler, “Aphrodite Diadumene und Anadyomene,” *Monatsberichte euber Kunstwissenschaft und Kunstanstalten*, vol. 1 (1901): 177: “Keine Gottheit ward aber häufiger in solcher Weise in Statuetten form dargestellt als die Göttin der Liebe, Aphrodite.”

<sup>2</sup> Christine Havelock, *The Aphrodite of Knidos and Her Successors: A Historical Review of the Female Nude in Greek Art* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1995): 1.

and modern viewers alike.<sup>3</sup> Many modern scholarly interpretations of such works as these have projected Victorian and patriarchal notions of nakedness onto them and emphasize readings that obscure and limit our understanding of ancient views about the female body. Such perspectives demonstrate a troubling and ideological interpretation of the covering gestures as characteristic of a shame response.

These were not the only naked Aphrodites, however, nor even the most numerous depictions of the goddess in antiquity. Like many other naked Aphrodites, the Anadyomene was not posed to conceal the body, but with arms raised, naked and unashamed, exposing the goddess' body to the gaze. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods many representations depicted Aphrodite either partially or completely undressed, and most had much less furtive-seeming postures than the *pudica* depictions. Rather, Aphrodite was shown adjusting a sandal strap, baring her buttocks, holding a shield, putting on a necklace, crouching and bathing, or arranging wet hair as the Anadyomene.<sup>4</sup> (Figures 5, 6, 7, 8, 9) Since considering each of these variations presents far too large a project to undertake in this particular study, I have chosen the Anadyomene as a representative with implications for the study of these less-modest and less-studied sisters.

As a case study, the Anadyomene is useful in order to re-examine modern narratives and interpretations of many such representations of Aphrodite. It was popular for almost a

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<sup>3</sup>Stories and epigrams from ancient texts recount viewers' experiences, see for example Pseudo-Lucian, *Amores*, 13, 15-16.

<sup>4</sup> These have been variously named, some more evocatively than others, respectively: "Sandal-binding" or Sandal-loosing" (depending on one's choice of perspective), the Callipygian (or "beautiful buttocks"), the Capuan (named for the location of one well-known work), the Pseliumene (or necklace-fastening), and the Crouching. This list is not exhaustive.

millennium, appearing first in the early fourth century BCE and continuing to be represented as late perhaps as the eighth century CE. Furthermore, Anadyomene representations have also been found throughout Roman-occupied and influenced territories from England to North Africa, the Black Sea, and Egypt. Because of its extensive dispersion, the type provides an exemplary model with which to explore the cultural transmission and reception of a popular and much reproduced image of Aphrodite. The Anadyomene appears in a wide range of use contexts, as well as in a wide variety of media, and in examples that range widely in quality. Consideration of the original purposes for Anadyomene figures illuminates the intersections of the erotic with the domestic, the public, and the religious realms. Examining the settings in which these images were used and displayed in antiquity can tell us much about the meanings ancient viewers may have attached to them.

### **The Aphrodite Anadyomene Type: poses and variations**

Within a range of variations, the basic Anadyomene composition can be identified by the figure's action of wringing the hair as if to dry it after a bath.(Figure 10) Sculptors depicted each hand lifting long locks of damp, center-parted, hair, with the right hand raised just above the ear and the left lifted to shoulder height. The head is most often slightly bent. The facial features are typically undisturbed by emotion and regular— widely spaced eyes with horizontal eyebrows, a long straight nose, a small, mouth, and rounded chin. Many examples share other characteristics: the body tends toward thick and pear-shaped with a narrower chest, small, high breasts, and full hips and thighs. These qualities create an impression of youthful fertility. The composition is in most cases planar and

oriented frontally, suggesting an optimal viewpoint directly in front of the image. In addition, the standing Anadyomene is generally positioned in the contrapposto pose with the weight carried on the left leg. The torso twists very little, but is shown leaning toward the left where the arm is sculpted close to the body. Typically the right arm is shown lifted high and nearly square to the torso. The youthful impression of the figure is increased by the lack of folds or creases in the flesh on the compressed left side.

The Anadyomene motif was applied to several variations. Of the three hundred sixty five examples which I have catalogued, approximately thirty percent depict the standing Anadyomene partially draped.(Figure 11) Margarete Bieber called this composition “a good, sensible creation,” because this arrangement logically frees the hands to arrange the hair.<sup>5</sup> The drapery is generally shown tied with a large knot that hides the pubis with the edges meeting and falling in a cascade of ruffles between the legs. At the upper edge, the fabric rolls thickly around the figure’s lower hips, and appears to pull tightly around the legs, outlining the position of the free right leg. The drapery provides some visual interest along the side as well, creating a zigzag movement down the bent right leg.(Figure 12)

Although the standing pose is most common for the Anadyomene, my catalogue also includes twenty-nine crouching and fifteen seated versions. Crouching figures, such as a marble statuette from Rhodes, show the figure kneeling in profile but twisting the upper body and head to the front.(Figure 13) The forward (right) leg is shown folded tightly under, with the foot and toes flexed under the buttocks as if to support the weight. The

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<sup>5</sup> Margarete Bieber, *Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1977): 64.

knee is generally propped by a support, sometimes in the form of a *pyxis* (a small cosmetic box) to hold the leg parallel to the ground. Typically the back (left) leg is drawn up toward the torso with the foot planted flat. Like the standing version, the figure bends to the left, and the torso shows none of the creases and folds that one would expect from the compression. Most of the seated figures were depicted in two-dimensional formats such as mosaic, textiles, or in relief; only three are sculpted in the round and two of these were found in Aphrodisias.<sup>6</sup>

A relief from Aphrodisias shows the best example of the seated Anadyomene. (Figure 14) The goddess sits with legs crossed at the knee, right over left. The body and head were positioned completely in a frontal pose. The arms are both raised high and nearly level with the shoulders to reach strands of long hair and hold them out to the sides. All of these poses (standing, crouching, and seated) emphasize one ideal viewpoint directly in front of the work, which seems to be a unifying feature of the Anadyomene. This flat aspect may indicate evidence for the motif's transmission from a two-dimensional source, but it also likely reflects contingencies of production and display—thus, works intended for display against walls or in niches would not require a more complicated, three-dimensional composition and the less visible backs and sides of such works are cursorily finished.

Although all the works that I have catalogued fall within these three main categories of pose, there are numerous variations within them. Arm and head positions differ and props are often added, all aspects that potentially contribute to or slightly change the overall meaning of the image. For example, although the Anadyomene's slightly down-

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<sup>6</sup> For example see Aphrodisias, Archaeological Museum M 79.10.216 (F. 69.185).

turned head and rather blank facial expression create an impression of self-absorption and preoccupation, there are cases when the figure looks straight ahead with a slight smile or a grin, as if communicating flirtatiously with a hypothetical viewer.(Figure 15) In other instances the figure's torso hunches forward and the arms appear pulled close to the body which creates a sense of increased introversion.(Figure 16) The down-turned head and hunched posture may be an accommodation of a sculptor to the size and shape of block of marble rather than a purposeful comment on Aphrodite's nature. The impression of isolation from the figure's surroundings is inescapable, however.

There are additional variations in body shape, hair styling, drapery, and figures and items that accompany the Anadyomene. The body tends to narrow through the ribcage and widen at the hip and thigh, but some figures are more columnar with little waist and less difference between the upper and lower torso. Such differences may result from a lack of skill for figural work on the part of the maker or individual and/or regional preferences for the female figure. The Anadyomene's hair is also arranged in many ways. At the extremes the hair is shown falling over the shoulders completely unbound, or gathered into an elaborate knot at the back with only tendrils grasped over the shoulders.(Figures 17, 18) A *stephane*, or diadem, often crowns the figure and is particularly popular in depictions from the Near East; some crowns are simple lunettes, while others are more elaborate in design.(Figures 19, 20) In some cases of figures that include drapery, the sculpted fabric no longer adheres to Bieber's logically and securely knotted ideal, as it slips past the pubis, creating dramatic tension and provoking a concern on the part of the viewer as to how it remains up at all.(Figure 21) On other figures the drapery seems to defy gravity entirely,

appearing to float open behind the figure to create the impression of a backdrop.(Figure 22)

Necessary sculptural supports next to marble figures were rendered decoratively and meaningfully as a dolphin, a Priapus, an Eros, a vase, a triton, or a combination of these figures.

### **Previous Scholarship**

To date, scholars have studied the Anadyomene in its sculptural form with a focus on two primary considerations. They have sought first to locate it within a chronological scheme in relation to other Aphrodite types and second to reconstruct a now-lost original which could be assigned to a famous ancient sculptor.<sup>7</sup> Both of these trends are rooted in the origins of the field of art history in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when J. J. Winckelmann, often credited as the father of art history, first attempted to categorize ancient works by style, with a particular interest in the Greek classical period. In the process he unfortunately misidentified many works that had been executed in a classical (or neo-classical) style but in later periods. This foundational desire to identify and assign a chronology to ancient works is evident in the concern of many scholars who look to establish an evolutionary timeline to explain the emergence of naked or partially draped Aphrodite types and the relationships and differences among them.

In his 1873 study on Aphrodite, J. J. Bernoulli set the trend, by positing that a gradual progression from clothed to naked representations of the goddess must have occurred in the fourth century BCE; the sudden appearance of a naked figure would have been too

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<sup>7</sup> Only very rarely in such discussions are the two-dimensional representations in paintings and mosaics considered.

shocking.<sup>8</sup> In this framework, fully-clothed Aphrodites such as the Venus Genetrix type were first and followed by the Aphrodite of Capua type (known by its most famous rendition the Venus de Milo) and the half-draped Anadyomene. He believed that *prudica*, or modest, Aphrodites, like the Knidian covering her pubic area and the Capitoline and Medici Venus types also covering their breasts, preceded fully naked figures such as the Anadyomene and the sandal-binding types. In 1954, Reinhard Lullies, ascribing to this progression and based on stylistic analysis of high-quality, full-scale marble statues, asserted that the half-draped Anadyomene dated to the mid-third century B.C.E. and the naked to the first century B.C.E., with about a century and a half between the two.<sup>8</sup>

In contrast, in 1977, Margarete Bieber argued that the draped version *followed* what she called the “more sensible and beautiful” naked Anadyomenes which were “probably examples of an older type.”<sup>9</sup> In looking for her own original she proposed that the earlier naked representation served as the main cult statue for the deified Arsinoë II, a third-century BCE Ptolemaic queen, and represented her as “an Aphrodite binding up her hair.” As evidence for her hypothesis she cited the many surviving small-scale replicas from Alexandria.<sup>10</sup> Many of these works cannot be securely dated, however, and her theory did not convince others. In his own study of 1978, Dericksen Brinkerhoff carefully noted that Bieber’s theory that the semi-draped type had originated for the cult of Arsinoe II was

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<sup>8</sup>J.J. Bernoulli, *Aphrodite. Ein Baustein zur griechischen Kunstmythologie* (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1873).

<sup>8</sup>Richard Lullies, *Die kauernde Aphrodite* (Filsler-Verlag-München-Passing, 1954): 76-78.

<sup>9</sup> Margarete Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, 64.

<sup>10</sup> Margarete Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955, revised 1961): 98.



tempting but unsubstantiated given there is no historical evidence for the appearance of the cult statue.<sup>11</sup> He further maintained that the semi-draped version preceded the naked image and that the naked version must predate 200 B.C.E. based on his analysis of the handling of the anatomy of the figure in a neo-classical manner.<sup>12</sup> Another scholar, Wiltrud Neumer-Pfau, in 1982, also concurred that the half-draped version preceded the nude, and that its closed and protected form suggested a date around 300-230 B.C.E.<sup>13</sup> In her view, the naked version would have been too risqué and bold for a cult statue, and she therefore dated the small-scale versions first to c. 150 B.C.E., with the monumental works later, appearing by the end of the second century.<sup>14</sup>

Recent scholarship on naked Aphrodites by Christine Havelock provides an important critique of this tradition of chronology and origin-seeking. In her 1995 study she asserted that the late-Classical, fourth-century BCE Knidian Aphrodite was the foundation for all naked representations of Aphrodite. She argued that Roman patronage in the late Hellenistic period was critical to the rise in popularity of representations of the naked female body and it was not for two centuries, until Roman trade expanded in the eastern Mediterranean in the late second century BCE that a variety of naked Aphrodites first

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<sup>11</sup> Brinkerhoff, 65, countering those who would date a prototype after Pergamon.

<sup>12</sup> Dericksen Brinkerhoff, *Hellenistic Statues of Aphrodite: Studies in the History of their Stylistic Development* (New York: Garland Publication, 1978): 60.

<sup>13</sup> W. Neumer-Pfau, *Studien zur Ikonographie und gesellschaft Funktion hellenistischer Aphrodite Statuen* (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GMBH, 1982), 201-12. Such an evaluation is heavily dependent on the comparative examples chosen: the versions which Neumer-Pfau considered closest to the “original” must have had relatively closed postures.

<sup>14</sup> Neumer-Pfau, 212.

appeared, including the Anadyomene.<sup>15</sup> In addition to this critical point, Havelock proposed alternatives to stylistic analysis for a better understanding of the phenomenon of the proliferation of naked Aphrodite images by considering literary evidence, such as love elegy, and archaeological contexts.<sup>16</sup>

Like Havelock, Miranda Marvin emphasized the importance of cultural evidence drawn from ancient literature as well as archaeological studies. In her 1996 review of Havelock's book, she disparaged the chronological approach based on stylistic analysis where draped versions precede naked representations. Comparing it to a striptease where the Aphrodite appears through the late Classical and into the Hellenistic period with progressively less clothing, she called it "a kind of Gypsy Rose Lee fantasy."<sup>17</sup> Indeed, the notion of such a progression is rooted in Victorian ideals of female modesty and assumes that ancient Greeks would have required centuries of preparation before the goddess could be revealed completely naked. Significantly, she contended that Havelock "continues to consider her subject solely as a study of Greek sculpture."<sup>18</sup> She pointed out that while Havelock repeatedly mentioned Roman patronage for these late Hellenistic Aphrodites, she did not fully explore the critical influence of the new wealthy Roman audience whose

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<sup>15</sup> Havelock, 73.

<sup>16</sup> Havelock, 93, 134, 142.

<sup>17</sup> Miranda Marvin, "Review of Havelock, Christine Mitchell, *The Aphrodite of Knidos and her Successors: A Historical Review of the Female Nude in Greek Art*," *BMCR* (6 May 1996). She calls it "a kind of Gypsy Rose Lee fantasy."

<sup>18</sup> Marvin, review.

“requirements shaped the art production of the age.”<sup>19</sup> Here, Marvin suggested that future studies of the intersections of the Greek and Roman worlds in the late Hellenistic period should be carried through to the Roman period.

There are similar problems with studies that rely on *Kopienkritik* to consider the development of the Anadyomene as a particular type. This method was adapted by twentieth-century German scholars in effort to redress the subjective flaws in Winckelmann’s stylistic approach by examining works more “scientifically”. They based *Kopienkritik* on philological approaches to texts that aimed to reconstruct lost originals by comparing extant versions and searching out similarities. Repeated features were interpreted as indications of the appearance of the *Urbild*, or original prototype. Variances or discrepancies between examples were disregarded as aberrations from the model. Applied to the sculptural production of the ancient world, Roman “copies” became evidence for lost Greek originals, many known only from literary evidence. Although the application of *Kopienkritik* differed from the stylistic analysis of Winkelmann, the ultimate goal was the same: to trace a famous original and assign it to a known sculptor. The earliest considerations of the Anadyomene in modern scholarship followed this process.

In 1893 W. Amelung suggested a fourth century B.C.E. date for the Anadyomene and named an Aphrodite from Olympia by Kleon of Sikyon as the missing original.<sup>20</sup> A. Furtwängler (1901), concurred with the fourth-century date, but contended the actual

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<sup>19</sup> Marvin, review.

<sup>20</sup> W. Amelung, *EA*, no. 1144.

original was a work executed in bronze by Euphranor.<sup>21</sup> G. Lippold put forth a later-fourth century date.<sup>22</sup> J. J. Bernoulli put forward Polycharmus as the sculptor of the standing Anadyomene for the first time in his 1873 book, *Aphrodite, Ein Baustein zur griechischen Kunstmythologie*.<sup>23</sup> This idea was highly influential to later scholars and was subsequently adopted by A. Linfert in 1969 and in Barbara Gassowska's 1971 work on Polycharmus, *Polycharmus z Rodos*.<sup>24</sup> On the basis of the attribution to Polycharmus, Gassowska dated the half-draped Anadyomene to the mid-second century BCE.<sup>25</sup> These attributions to Polycharmus have focused on a troublesome passage in Pliny's *Natural History* in which Daedalsas and Polycharmus are named as the sculptors whose depictions of Aphrodite had been placed on display in the Portico of Octavia in Rome: "*intra Octaviae ver porticus . . . Venerem lavantem sese Daedalsas, stantem Polycharmus.*"<sup>26</sup> However, an attempt to attribute the invention of the Anadyomene sculpture type to any ancient sculptor is impossible without more evidence than stylistic analysis or attempting to match surviving

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<sup>21</sup> A. Furtwängler, "Aphrodite Diadumene und Anadyomene," *Helbings Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 1, 4 (1901): 180.

<sup>22</sup> G. Lippold, *GrPI*, 291, 326, 336, cited by A. Delivorrias, s.v. "Aphrodite," *LIMC* vol. 1: 55; I was unable to obtain a copy of this work to examine Lippold's argument myself.

<sup>23</sup> J. J. Bernoulli, *Aphrodite, Ein Baustein zur griechischen Kunstmythologie* (Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann, 1873), 21 and 294.

<sup>24</sup> A. Linfert, "Die Meister der kauernde Aphrodite," *AM* 84 (1969) 158-64; and B. Gassowska, *Polycharmus z Rodos* (Warslaw: 1971), 173.

<sup>25</sup> B. Gassowska, 173. Unfortunately this work was published in Polish with a short summary in French, making the details of her argument remote to the scholarly audience at large.

<sup>26</sup> (*NH* 36.4.35) Debates over this passage have concerned the reading of the name Daedalsas, fragmentary in the text, whether Polycharmus' statue should also be taken as a washing Venus, and if so, what type. Additional disagreements concern whether the crouching work was posed as an Anadyomene, or a rather better known, more common composition of Aphrodite looking over her shoulder. See Lullies for the outline of the argument, and Havelock, 81, for the summary of scholarship since.

works with sketchy literary descriptions. Both techniques, based in subjective opinion, are notoriously fraught.

### **Aims of the study**

The Anadyomene seems to be one of the most flexible of the Aphrodite types, adapting to many variations in pose and drapery. It also accommodated the inclusion of other elements such as mirrors, vases, Erotes, dolphins, tritons, seashells, as well as symbols of other goddesses, such as Isis. The Anadyomene allowed a freedom on the part of the artist to choose among many elements at his disposal to create an image of the goddess. By taking all these differences into account rather than focusing on a generic Anadyomene “ideal,” it becomes clear that the hair-wringing motif lent itself to a wide range of situations and meanings, particularly relevant when examined in relation to its use and context. Such variations and adaptations have often been previously considered as mistakes in interpreting an original work rather than as positive statements about the independence of artisans or the desires of patrons.

Considered in this light, the differences apparent among Anadyomene representations strongly indicate that artists were not attempting to copy a single canonical original work, but rather that the motif of hair-wringing was a recognized and useful motif to portray a feminine ideal embodied in the personality of Aphrodite. For example, a half-draped figure with a vase at her side or a mirror in hand evokes the goddess engaged in the everyday activities of bathing and dressing her hair that many women would likely have identified with or, in the case of poor women, perhaps aspired to. (Figure 23) On the other hand, a naked figure with a dolphin or triton suggests Aphrodite’s mythical birth from the

sea, as she steps onto the shore fully formed, pretty, nubile, and desirable. This kind of representation was possibly considered an excellent gift for a bride, calling on the goddess' example of innocent, yet sexual, allure. An artist in Egypt, hoping to appeal to the widest possible purchasing audience for his goods, could combine the motif of the Anadyomene wringing out her hair with attributes of Isis, a Nile goddess.(Figure 24)

Chapter Two examines the literary and artistic precedents at the root of the Anadyomene motif in order to better understand the mechanism by which such variations and adaptations occurred. As a model of this kind of adaptability within a system of consistent motifs and themes, I draw on the idea of multiformity, a methodology developed from the study of Homeric texts by Albert Lord and Gregory Nagy. Their study concerned the ways that epic songs were learned and created in oral cultures—not through reference to an authoritative original source, but instead deploying a range of themes and formulas to create performances that were unique renditions. The additional motifs and choices of pose and drapery are akin to the themes and formulas which singers use to compose their songs for each unique performance. Ancient texts describing Aphrodite's birth or her bathing are then explored in order to consider the iconographic elements included in the works of subsequent artists and the meanings those elements may have had for viewers.

This is followed by an examination of red-figure paintings of bathers. Before Apelles painted his Anadyomene, the figure of a woman engaged in washing or squeezing out her hair began to appear on late fifth-century red-figure vases.(See Appendix B) These female figures may either crouch or stand; they appear both alone or with other figures and may be represented with items that suggest bathing and toilette, such as vases, drapery, and

mirrors. Whereas such vases all seem to show women bathing, Apelles' use of the motif of the woman squeezing water from her hair for his Aphrodite departed from this tradition by representing instead a goddess at her birth. Considering the iconographic elements of the red-figure vases makes it possible to elucidate some of the underlying meanings implicit in the motif later utilized for the Aphrodite Anadyomene. My discussion then turns to an examination of the painting by Apelles, certainly the most famous rendition of the subject in antiquity, depicting Aphrodite's birth from the sea.

Not only was the Aphrodite Anadyomene flexible in terms of its iconography but in material terms as well. Part Two of this dissertation addresses the physical contexts for the Anadyomene, focusing primarily on the way in which the representation was put to use in a variety of media and scales. The known findspots for representations of the Anadyomene can be grouped into four contexts, and Chapters 3-6, respectively, are dedicated to them: Graves, Sanctuaries, Baths and Fountains, and Houses. My final chapter provides an analysis and summary of this evidence, considering geographic and chronological trends.

The catalogue that I have compiled of three hundred and sixty-five surviving Anadyomene representations provides the source material for my discussion.<sup>27</sup> For my own use, I have maintained an interactive database, which has allowed for the material to be

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<sup>27</sup> I began my catalogue with the works already gathered and presented in three useful articles in the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* on Aphrodite, Aphrodite in the east, and Venus (*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1984), s.v. "Aphrodite," by A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann; s.v. "Aphrodite (in periphēria orientali)," by M.-O. Jentel; and (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1997), s.v. "Venus," by E. Schmidt.). These articles, meant to illustrate iconographic trends and to isolate types and their variations, were helpful as starting points for descriptions, images, and bibliographical references. They do not, however, provide analysis of social or contextual issues surrounding the representations, the primary goal of this dissertation. My catalogue is not exhaustive, and I have continued to add works to it as they come to my attention.

searched and sorted in a myriad of ways. A portion of this catalogue serves to illustrate the works discussed in Part Two. These are organized by category (Sanctuary, Grave, Fountain, Bath, Domestic) are provided with catalogue numbers to allow easy reference for images, plans of their find contexts, and other relevant information.

This large number of examples allows one to see the range of possibilities for the Anadyomene. There are twenty-four life-size and larger-than-life sculptures in marble. In smaller scale, the catalogue includes ninety-one marble, forty-four bronze, sixty-five terracotta examples, and additional figures made of gold, silver, ivory, alabaster, rock crystal, and faience. In addition, images of the Anadyomene have been found on seals, coins, gems, pins, necklaces, paintings, and mosaics. This wide range of available objects and media demonstrates the popularity of, and demand for, images of the Aphrodite Anadyomene for a wide audience, from the elite to the relatively poor. Representations ranged in size from a tiny Anadyomene crouching at the end of a long gold pin, to the over life-size marble sculpture that decorated the Baths at Cyrene.(Figures 25, 1) Because the majority of these works are small-scale or of mediocre or poor workmanship, they are rarely discussed or illustrated in general studies of ancient art or displayed prominently in museum collections. However, I examine the low quality works found in ordinary homes of middle- and lower-income patrons that are typically considered examples of “minor arts” on equal footing with elite examples; this approach allows for a wider, more accurate view of ancient art production and trade.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Setting this trend see: E. Bartman, *Ancient Sculptural Copies in Miniature* (Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1992) and John R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers*



The earliest attested representation of the Aphrodite Anadyomene seems to be Apelles' painting executed in the fourth century BCE. This work is lost, however, and the first extant works datable by their material context are seals from the mid-second century BCE found at Tel-Kedesh in modern Israel; these all portray a naked standing Anadyomene. Marble and terracotta statuettes from the ruins of houses and religious shrines on the island of Delos, from the late second century/early first century BCE, provide the first three dimensional works. From the mid-first century until the late antique period, the Anadyomene appeared in nearly every format imaginable. Paintings and sculptures in marble, bronze, ivory, and terracotta have survived from Pompeii. Second-century bath complexes in Italy and North Africa held marble Anadyomenes. Mosaics from villas in North Africa and Asia Minor have been preserved. Among the last representations of the Anadyomene seem to be a gold and lapis pendant, now in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks, and several woven Coptic textiles preserved in the dry Egyptian climate; these date possibly as late as the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE.(Figures 26, 27)

The Anadyomene is a helpful case study to consider the ways that representations of Aphrodite were used most generally. Consulting archaeological reports and detailed studies of display contexts makes it possible to reconstruct and imagine the original settings for these kinds of works. Small objects that might have been seen, handled, and used daily carried connotations and meanings that these ancient viewers would have brought to other

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Italy, 100 B.C.-A.D. 315 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003). It is a limitation of this dissertation that, in spite of intentions, my discussion is necessarily limited by material that is published and therefore accessible. Many very poor quality or cheap, and therefore widely affordable, images do not have well-recorded find contexts and have been relatively limited in the attention granted to them.

more elite or public works. A small personal object, like a pin, might have been a gift of a lover or of a parent wishing a daughter good fortune in marriage, and while it may have fastened drapery together or held an elaborate hairstyle in place, it would also have made an appropriate dedication at a shrine, as two elaborate gold and bronze pins, dating to the third century, found at the shrine of Aphrodite at Paphos.<sup>29</sup> As epigrams from the Greek Anthologies reveal, precious and personal items such as fans, hairnets, and gold ankle bracelets were considered appropriate votive offerings to Aphrodite by girls and women, demonstrating that they had ritual and religious meaning and significance.<sup>30</sup> The choice to utilize the Anadyomene on seals and amulets signified not only desire on the part of the owner for Aphrodite's guidance in matters of love, but also suggests a hope to invoke a power to bind, just as the Anadyomene binds her hair back.

My focus on contexts takes to heart Brunilde Ridgeway's charge to future students in *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture: The Problem of the Originals*:

"I have perceived what could be a feasible method for future students: tabulation of all replicas of a certain type should be combined with (or even preceded by) tabulation of all the sculptural finds from specific areas and sites. With the aid of the computer meaningful patterns of distribution could emerge, that may aid in pinpointing workshops, centers of diffusion, and regional preferences. I can no longer hope to tackle this program, but I trust that the younger students will accept the challenge and take the lead."<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Herbert Hoffmann and Patricia Davidson, *Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1965), 192-3, no. 72; Paul Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins and their Connexions with Europe and Asia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956) 82-3.

<sup>30</sup> See *GA*, (trans. W.R. Paton, Loeb edition), vol 1, book VI, nos. 206-11, 290.

<sup>31</sup> Brunilde Ridgeway, *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture: The Problem of the Originals* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1984): 4.

While consideration of all the sculptural finds from specific areas and sites is beyond the scope of this study, I have examined a diversity of examples of the Anadyomene to consider trends in distribution, popularity, use, and meaning across the ancient world. Ridgeway's recommendation for the study of such objects in even wider visual contexts provides a guide and direction for future work.

## **Methodology**

Finally, two matters of methodology that guide my study need to be addressed here. The first, relating to the idea of Roman "copies" of famous Greek works, has already been touched upon above. Elaine Gazda has critiqued a prejudice that has favored Greek work over Roman, with the latter considered second-rate or derivative.<sup>32</sup> Recently Miranda Marvin explored the historiographic complications which have affected the study of Greek and Roman sculpture.<sup>33</sup> Most useful for my project, however, is Elizabeth Bartman's argument that comparative studies of repeated images, rather than searching for a lost prototype, should aim "to determine how and why the copies look the way they do. In this analysis stylistic and iconographic changes are used as vehicles for understanding the techniques and attitudes that underlie the practice of ancient copying."<sup>34</sup>

Re-evaluations of previous approaches have emphasized the need to study works on their own terms and as reflections of the period in which they were created, rather than

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<sup>32</sup> Elaine Gazda, "Beyond Copying: Artistic Originality and Tradition," in *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity*, ed. E. Gazda (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2002).

<sup>33</sup> Miranda Marvin, *The Language of the Muses: The Dialogue between Greek and Roman Sculpture* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, c2008).

<sup>34</sup> Elizabeth Bartman, *Ancient Sculptural Copies in Miniature*. (Leiden, New York, Köln: EJ Brill, 1992) 5.

considering them as faulty and flawed stand-ins for earlier images known only from literary description. Such studies have predominantly relied on high quality, beautifully executed, large-scale exemplars, many of which have been extensively restored. Objects of lower quality, smaller scale, or which have been damaged or remain unrestored and more difficult to decipher often remained within the confines of archaeological reports and have not been well-exploited by art historians.<sup>35</sup> The privileging of large-scale, refined, museum display pieces has perpetuated a kind of charismatic and scopophilic art history which seduces the viewer with beautiful, high quality works, leaving the impression that these are representative of ancient art as a whole. But, such works were not the primary production of the ancient world.

In reality, the ancient viewers' experience was more likely to be with objects of modest scale, poor quality, and/or cheap materials. These are the items that most ancient people encountered on a daily basis. Many were decorative and displayed in houses or temples, but others were purchased with the understanding that they were disposable objects, taken to temples as votives to express religious devotion or placed in graves as an offering in the hopes of an afterlife of the dead. By considering this material in context, one comes to a clearer understanding of the everyday connections and expectations the ancient viewer may have had for the Anadyomene, as well as other representations people would have encountered in their everyday lives that also appear in multiple iterations.

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<sup>35</sup>Archaeological studies, while more likely to include images of lesser quality objects also often discriminate in favor of well preserved and well crafted works. Driven by funding needs for excavation and the costs of publishing, less attention is paid both in terms of text and images to objects of poor quality or extensively damaged, and this material can be difficult to consider without personally investigating archaeological storehouses and excavation files.

Fundamental problems that remain, not yet fully addressed or resolved, concern difficulties in terminology. Although the terms “Greek original” and “Roman copy” have been questioned for the implication that Roman work is wholly derivative, there has been a noticeable lack of adequate and more accurate descriptive terms to convey and explore the relationships between Greek and Roman production. The first difficulty with this formulation is that very often the labels “Greek” and “Roman” have been used as oppositional terms. This is particularly troublesome for those who specialize in Roman art history and strive to reclaim works done in Greek styles for the Roman period in which the works were made. The oppositional quality is particularly fraught when considering material such as the Anadyomene, which spans a long period and wide area, beginning in the fourth-century Greek east and continuing in use through the Roman-controlled territories through late antiquity.

In 2005 Ellen Perry acknowledged this problem in her study on Roman aesthetics as she attempted to sort out appropriate definitions for “Greek” and “Roman.”<sup>36</sup> Rather than describing her material in terms of its place of location or the ethnic origins of the ancient artist or patron, Perry determined the parameters of her study by the dates of Roman domination of the Mediterranean (from the late third century or early second century BCE to the fourth century CE, or later as the material required), which settled the question for her in favor of “Roman.” This choice still does not solve the problem, however, as it obscures the very real geographical, chronological, and cultural differences that must have

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<sup>36</sup> E. Perry, *The Aesthetics of Emulation in the Visual Arts of Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 23. She’s not quite successful in defining her terms, resorting instead to establishing dates.

existed in antiquity. Like Perry's, my material falls primarily within the "Roman" dominated world. However, because I aim to trace the roots of ancient notions about the experience and nature of Aphrodite from the Homeric period into the Roman dominated world, rather than adopting Perry's use of "Roman," I prefer the term "Greco-Roman." This term preserves and stresses the continuing inflection of the earlier Greek contributions of the hair-wringing motif and the roots of its meaning throughout later periods.<sup>37</sup>

In addition to the Greek/Roman controversy, the use of terms such as "*copy, imitation, reproduction, replica*" imply a lack of originality and artistic input."<sup>38</sup> Elizabeth Bartman's solution to the problem acknowledges the lack of available positive vocabulary when she writes in her study that "the terms 'copy,' 'version,' and 'replica' will be used interchangeably. . . . The pejorative implication of these terms in ordinary speech should be understood as part of a modern prejudice that hinders our appreciation of the works."<sup>39</sup> While recognizing the problems inherent in using such words, Bartman's method requires the reader to mentally substitute the author's position for the implicit negative connotation. This does not correct the problem and remains an unsatisfactory solution.

It is particularly troublesome when works are identified and grouped by their subject matter and compositions into types, such as the Anadyomene. The implication persists of a

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<sup>37</sup> Recently Mary Beard and John Henderson in *Classical Art from Greece to Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) have explored precisely the period of intense connection and creative innovation resulting from the expansion of the Roman empire into the Greek East. The title of the book is somewhat confusing in its application of the term "classical" broadly and without definition other than specifying that their study covers the period 323 BCE to 138 CE (pg. 3).

<sup>38</sup> Ridgway, 6.

<sup>39</sup> Bartman, 6.

lost prototypical model located somewhere in the distant historical past. My contention is not that such originals never existed. It has been well established that artists in both Greece and Rome *did* closely copy, replicate, and emulate well-known works, such as the Doryphoros, as part of their practice. However, when relationships between similar works are recognized, one should not assume that the works necessarily derive from one common authoritative source. In my opinion, it is more useful to use terms such as “repetition” and “variation” because they carry less connotation of being beholden to such an original source, while still acknowledging that there are discernable similarities and typological connections.

The second methodological concern is also a terminological one. Throughout my discussion I intentionally refer to the works as *naked* rather than *nude*. *Nude*, especially when used to describe the female body in art history, has come to signify a genre of art particular to the modern period that represents the idealized unclothed body, and the term has become burdened with theoretical concerns anachronistic to the ancient material.<sup>40</sup>

Some scholars of ancient art, such as Larissa Bonfante, Eve D’Ambra, and Christopher Hallett, have explored the idea of representational nudity as something that could be put on as a costume.<sup>41</sup> I argue, however, that in the case of representations of Aphrodite,

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<sup>40</sup> For examples of the theoretical discussion of the *nude* see: Kenneth Clark, *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956, reprint 1972); John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin Books, 1972), Chapter 3; Lynda Nead, *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality* (London & New York: Routledge, 1992); Helen McDonald, *Erotic Ambiguities: The Female Nude in Art* (London & New York: Routledge, 2001), Chapter 1 provides an excellent summary of feminist scholarship on the subject.

<sup>41</sup> Larissa Bonfante, “Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art,” *AJA* 93 (1989): 543-70; Eve D’Ambra, “The Calculus of Venus: Nude Portraits of Roman Matrons,” in *Sexuality and Ancient Art*, ed. Natalie Kampen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 219-32; and Christopher Hallett, *The Roman Nude: Heroic Portrait Statuary 200 BC-AD 30* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

nakedness is a state of being and not a costume. *Naked*, in contrast to *nude*, retains a more descriptive quality of a state of undressed versus dressed, and in my usage I follow Andrew Stewart's example: "Because the word *nudity* is so charged, then, in what follows I use *naked* as my basic term to distinguish between unclothed and clothed, but retain *nude* when quoting or paraphrasing others."<sup>42</sup>

In addition to the formal and typological considerations of the Aphrodite Anadyomene's sculptural form relative to other Aphrodite types, it is essential to evaluate the often misleading and negative ways in which such images of the naked goddess have been interpreted. A pervasive trend in current scholarship often projects pejorative meanings into Aphrodite representations and the naked female form, reflecting modern patriarchal sentiments about women, rather than applying judicious and neutral evaluations. For example, Andrew Stewart discusses a naked Aphrodite in very negative terms:

"So this statue ostensibly celebrates the female . . . Yet her *narcissistic* attention to her appearance, her *extreme stoop*, her *spongy, unathletic* body, and her *instinctive deference* to what the public [male] eye would demand could it see her—all these also naturalize her *physical and therefore ethical dependence upon and inferiority to man*."<sup>43</sup>

His use of the word *narcissistic* implies that her self-attention is unwarranted and that any female attention to the body is frivolous and evidence of psychological weakness. He reads into the figure's posture and physique an implicit inferiority.

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<sup>42</sup> Andrew Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 25.

<sup>43</sup> Stewart, 224. Emphasis mine.



Similarly, Nanette Salomon considering the Knidia wrote: “In contrast to the heroic, unselfconscious nudity of Hermes, the Knidia, more naked than nude, is sexually coded by the ambiversive [sic] placement of her right hand in front of her pubis. . . Woman, thus fashioned, is *reduced in a humiliated way* to her sexuality.”<sup>44</sup> To her mind, the Knidia’s modest gesture signifies shame and humiliation rather than a more neutral guarded modesty. Portraits of Flavian women which combine realistic portrait heads with naked Venus bodies are considered in a similar pejorative fashion by Eve D’Ambra who described them as “soft, fleshy, and hairless, the signs of physical weakness, moral laxity, and pampered living that, according to moralists and doctors, required the vigilance of husbands.”<sup>45</sup> Despite such attitudes among ancient Romans, there are problems with accepting such assessments wholesale. Such viewpoints rely more on literary sources than on visual evidence, making natural actions and physical depictions no more than illustrations of misogynistic texts. In contrast, I argue that the visual record counters these negative views of the representations of women and that such works demand consideration in their own rights. Indeed, the Anadyomene and other naked Aphrodite types that do not cover themselves or seem in any way self-conscious belie this perspective and provide for the possibility that not all ancient people thought in such a derogatory way about the female body.

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<sup>44</sup> Nanette Salomon, “Making a World of Difference: Gender, asymmetry, and the Greek nude,” in *Naked Truths: Women, sexuality, and gender in classical art and archaeology*, eds. A. Koloski-Ostrow and C. Lyons (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 204. Emphasis mine.

<sup>45</sup> D’Ambra, 222.

Scholars who have adopted negative views of the body have also emphasized a binary male/female opposition that privileges the male body and the male gaze over that of the female. This is true even for Nanette Salomon who critiques the confusion and conflation between representations of women and real women themselves both in antiquity and in modern scholarship. However, her own argument perpetuates this problem: “The continued and incessant idealization of female humiliation in the Western tradition from c. 340 BCE to the present is the real subject of this paper.”<sup>46</sup> In addition to projecting post-Victorian attitudes about female nakedness on classical art, her argument elides ancient and modern perspectives by encompassing a timeframe of over two millennia. In effect, Salomon proposes that ancient women were affected by the same concerns as modern women, despite social differences, and that they had similar ideological reasons to be humiliated by their naked bodies.

This ahistorical perspective is reinforced by her argument that the Knidia’s covering gesture reflects standards of modesty to which Greek women were subject, not for the sake of the women themselves, but for the sake of the men to whom they were subject: “The Knidian Aphrodite’s stance as the vigilant guard of her single most precious gift on behalf of its rightful owner can be seen as contributing to this discourse.”<sup>47</sup> This statement indicates that the “rightful owner” of her “single most precious gift” (her body? Her sexuality?) is someone other than Aphrodite herself. While it is true that in ancient Greek myth Aphrodite was occasionally punished for the ways she bestowed her “gifts” on others, there

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<sup>46</sup> Salomon, 199.

<sup>47</sup> Salomon, 211.

is little indication that the goddess was understood as subject to any outside restraint on the expression of her sexuality.<sup>48</sup> Such views conflate mythological characters with the lived experiences of ancient people and suggest that actual women in the Greco-Roman world were mindlessly manipulated by male social and patriarchal codes and demands and were systematically reduced to essentialized, dominated bodies lacking individual agency. According to this formula, the unclothed female body signified shame, and images such as the naked Aphrodite confirmed the ideological view that their own bodies were shameful.<sup>49</sup>

Other scholars have contributed to the construction of a more nuanced understanding of ancient experience. Critiquing such pejorative interpretations of Aphrodite as discussed above, Natalie Kampen contended that “Although shame and vulnerability are surely embedded in ideal femininity in the modern West, we cannot be certain that the same is true in the same ways for fourth century Greece, nor can we necessarily assume that a goddess would be the best model for such qualities.”<sup>50</sup> Her

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<sup>48</sup> Two incidents will be discussed in subsequent chapters—Zeus’ punishment of Aphrodite for making gods fall in love with mortals, and Hephaistos’ capture of Aphrodite and Ares *in flagrante*.

<sup>49</sup> Also related is Bella Zweig’s commentary on Old Comedy and naked mute women on stage (“The Mute Nude Female Character in Aristophanes Plays,” in A. Richlin, ed. *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992): 73-89). She contends that overtly erotic vase paintings portraying women engaged in debasing orgiastic activities seem to die out at the same time Old Comedy plays are instituted as part of the drama festivals at Athens. She argues that these comedies, engaged in the debasing and violent portrayal of women’s bodies and their roles in sexuality, demonstrate a cultural assumption that women felt a strong sense of shame about their bodies and sexuality. Undercutting her point somewhat, she observes that the question of the inclusion of women in the viewing audience is difficult: it possibly included *hetairai* and other women, but *not* citizen wives. These plays therefore were written by men, primarily for a male audience. Certainly they may reflect male attitudes and anxieties about women’s bodies and sexualities, but it is difficult to see how that could be extrapolated to female attitudes and experiences.

<sup>50</sup> Natalie Boymel Kampen, “Gender Studies,” in *Contextualizing Classics: Ideology, Performance, Dialogue*, eds. T. Falkner, N. Felston, and D. Konstan (Lanham, etc.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999) 277.

reasoning is critical as it differentiates between modern and ancient concerns, and it clearly separates the realm of myth from the daily experience of actual people. She contends that scholarship must move beyond approaches that have been informed heavily by ancient texts focused on the intentions of the individual artist and the normative male viewer, as imagined by modern scholars. Informed by the critical theories of Judith Butler, Kampen suggests a productive reconceptualization of gender as it is performed by action and repetition rather than as “a reflection of some prior social or biological order.”<sup>51</sup> As part of a complex social system, she argues, images are repeated and thus also seen, touched, and spoken of again and again.<sup>52</sup> By considering such images as part of such a system, one can begin to understand the multilayered meanings and relationships that ancient viewers may have had with them.

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<sup>51</sup> Kampen, 273.

<sup>52</sup> Kampen, 272.

## Chapter 2: Birth and Bath: the themes and motifs of the Aphrodite Anadyomene

This chapter examines the Aphrodite Anadyomene as a multiform, drawing on a methodology borrowed from the analysis of Homeric texts. Unlike some works, such as the Knidian Aphrodite, which were copied in antiquity, it is my contention that the many surviving Aphrodite Anadyomenes do not similarly refer to any single original work. Rather, the range of variations found among them indicates that artists drew from a stock of themes and formulas available to them. Some of these formulas take the shape of formal choices made by the artist (or perhaps an involved patron)—whether the figure should stand, crouch or sit, whether it should be draped or not, and how that drapery should be arranged.<sup>1</sup> Appendix A provides a breakdown of these options. Other choices involved the selection of iconographical elements. While most Anadyomene representations depict the female figure alone without any supplementary embellishment, a significant minority of roughly twenty-five percent includes additional figures or props. Many of these can be categorized into two themes: either the goddess' marine birth, or her bathing and toilette. Eleven percent of the depictions allude to Aphrodite's birth from the sea with the presence of dolphins, tritons, and scallop shells.<sup>2</sup> Seven percent evoke the goddess' bathing and beautifying routine by including drapery placed to the side, containers for water or

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B. These factors were summarized in Chapter 1. Standing figures make up 84% of my catalogue; crouching, 8%, and seated, about 3%. The remainder cannot be determined due to the fragmentary state of the work. Standing figures could be naked or partially draped. Crouching and seated figures are always naked. Nearly 75% of the drapery is arranged in what I term "Anadyomene style," that is, knotted or overlapped at the center, however some depict the drapery in the manner common to the Aphrodite of Arles. A few renditions show drapery covering only one leg or held up in one hand.

<sup>2</sup> Overall, marine elements are included in 11% of depictions.

cosmetics, or mirrors.<sup>3</sup> Other elements such as Erotes, diadems, and other jewelry seem to be evenly distributed among these two categories without contributing explicitly to either a birth or bath scenario.<sup>4</sup> Since such additional iconographic material is supplied in only about a quarter of the representations, the fact that they appear at all indicates that the additional meaning they contribute was already implicit in the Aphrodite Anadyomene type itself, and that these formulaic elements served as reinforcement or emphasis.

By treating the many surviving works as multiforms, instead of evidence of a lost masterwork, this study redirects attention to the relationships among them, rather than their possible reference to a hypothetically recreated original. In this way, common features found among the works are considered in terms of themes and formulas which artists utilized to compose their works, and which viewers relied upon to understand them. Furthermore, these themes and formulas were used to construct an image of Aphrodite at once both innocent and sexually alluring. In appearance, the Anadyomene seems to present Aphrodite at her most pleasing and least dangerous; she is pretty, young, and naked.<sup>5</sup> Despite her nubile approachability, however, the threat of violence is always implicit in the origin and exploits of the goddess.

In the case of representations such as the Aphrodite Anadyomene which appeared in many variants over a long period, I believe that the studies of Alfred Lord and Gregory

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<sup>3</sup> Toilette elements are included 7% of the time.

<sup>4</sup> Eros appears with 7% of representations; nearly 13% of figures wear a diadem.

<sup>5</sup> In this the Anadyomene shares a sensibility with the Sandal-binding or Callipygos types, in contrast with the pudica representations (such as the Knidian, Capitoline, or Medici types) which seem to play a dramatic and complicated voyeuristic game, see Stewart, 100-4. Havelock, 28, argues that “the turn of the Knidia’s head is the consequence of the formal and abstract conception embodied in the contrapposto position of her body”.

Nagy provide a useful model for understanding the way formulas and themes were utilized to create such images. I begin this chapter with a discussion of their method, which can then be applied to the discussion of the referents, both literary and visual, that provided the formulas and themes for the later Anadyomene figures. Ancient literature such as Homeric Hymns to Aphrodite and Hesiod's *Theogony* provide examples of stories of Aphrodite's birth from the sea and episodes of her bathing and grooming rituals, all highlighting the seductive characteristics and aims of Aphrodite. Depictions of women bathing and wringing out their hair from fifth-century BCE red-figure vases provide visual models.

Once the literary and visual sources for the Anadyomene have been considered, I turn my attention to Apelles' painting, and the many representations of the Anadyomene that proliferated after the Hellenistic period. In the late fourth or early third century BCE, for his representation of Aphrodite rising from the sea at her birth, Apelles utilized a gesture similar to that of the hair-wringing figures found on red-figure vases from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Although some subsequent representations likely did intend to reference Apelles' painting that had become famous, there is no certainty that all Anadyomene figures were meant to evoke that, or any other work, in particular. Last, I consider the ways in which these literary and visual precedents were deployed in the portrayal of the Anadyomene, and what that type signified about Aphrodite to the ancient Greeks and Romans.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The theme of the Anadyomene has, since its reemergence during the Renaissance, remained a meaningful and iconic image to the modern viewer as well. In a future project, what the Anadyomene expresses about Aphrodite, classical culture, or ideal femininity to artists and viewers a later period would be a question worth pursuing.

## Multiformity

Our real difficulty arises from the fact that, unlike the oral poet, we are not accustomed to thinking in terms of fluidity. We find it difficult to grasp something that is multiform. It seems to us necessary to construct an ideal text or to seek an original, and we remain dissatisfied with an ever-changing phenomenon. . . . There was an original, of course, but we must be content with the texts that we have and not endeavor to 'correct' or 'perfect' them in accordance with a purely arbitrary guess as what the original might have been. . . . we are deluded by a mirage when we try to construct an ideal form of any given song. If we take all the extant texts . . . and from them extract the common elements, we have constructed something that never really existed in reality or even in the mind of any of the singers of that song. We have simply then the common elements in this restricted number of texts, nothing more, nothing less.<sup>7</sup>

This passage from Albert Lord's *The Singer of Tales* demonstrates the difficulty a modern viewer, perhaps accustomed to the idea of a fixed text or precise mechanical reproduction, might have conceiving of the relationships between multiple iterations without imagining one original model for them all. In Chapter One I outlined many of the difficulties that an approach to many ancient sculptures that considers the common features found among the surviving versions as evidence for the now-lost original. In this kind of analysis, the differences among such works are often counted as aberrant. Thus, the surviving works themselves become evidence for a lost work which can never be reconstituted with any certainty; in the excerpt above, Lord calls such a reconstructed original a mirage. An alternative approach to this kind of analysis or reconstructive process is to approach the problem as one of multiformity, where each extant work provides

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<sup>7</sup> Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, Stephen Mitchell and Gregory Nagy, ed. (London and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 100-1.



important insight and information to understanding the others (as opposed to one ancestor). Freedom from the notion of a singular model liberates one from the search for an archetype, an original copied with exactness or varied only due to willful change or lapse of memory.<sup>8</sup> By reconsidering the idea that multiples necessarily stem from a lost authoritative original, multiformity provides an important analogy for ancient artistic production and can therefore assist in the formulation of a new terminology.

Scholars of Homeric epic have debated the idea, particularly espoused by Gregory Nagy, that there is no original version of the Homeric epics to be reconstructed, but that scholars should work towards a “multitext” edition of such works that takes into account variations rather than striving to reconstruct an authoritative version.<sup>9</sup> Nagy’s work builds on that of his advisor, Albert Lord, who published a study in 1960 examining the way illiterate South Slavic singers composed, performed, and transmitted epic poems.<sup>10</sup> Lord’s primary goal was to discover the processes by which oral epic poets learned and composed their songs, and then to apply those mechanisms to an understanding of the development of Homeric epic poetry. He defined the “oral epic song” as a work evolving over generations by illiterate singers who relied on learned themes and formulas to extemporize their songs in a flexible manner for each individual performance:

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<sup>8</sup> Lord, 11.

<sup>9</sup> Margalit Finkelberg, “The Cypria, the Iliad, and the Problem of Multiformity in Oral and Written Tradition,” *Classical Philology* vol. 95, no. 1 (January 2000): 1-11, provides an excellent summary and critique of the multiformity approach, its reception, and its usefulness.

<sup>10</sup> This study was republished in 2000 with an audio cd. Like Nagy’s current work on multiformity, Lord’s study was founded on the studies of his own advisor, Milman Parry, in the 1930s.

Every performance is a separate song; for every performance is unique, and every performance bears the signature of its poet singer. He may have learned his song and technique from others, but good or bad, the song produced in performance is his own. . . . His art consists not so much in learning through repetition the time-worn formulas as in the ability to compose and recombine the phrases for the idea of the moment on the pattern established by the basic formulas. He is not a conscious iconoclast, but a traditional creative artist.<sup>11</sup>

Lord emphasized here that each performance of a song is unique and stands as an original creation, although made up of standard and traditional formulas and themes. It is essential to understand these performances not as recitations of written texts, but truly oral: learned, composed, and transmitted without any comprehension of fixedness or permanence. The singer who has learned the song by oral transmission conceives of his song as a flexible composition rather than as a text which he may embellish or elaborate.<sup>12</sup> Lord's analysis called for attention to elaboration, simplification, the ordering of elements, and the substitution of one theme for another in order to understand the way that the adjustable components may contribute to the whole and the inherent unity shared by performances.<sup>13</sup>

Each singer uses the themes and formulas he has learned from others in his own creative way, rather than with the aim of imitating the work of others. Once proficient in traditional forms, the singer will be able to combine them to suit the particular exigencies of each performance. Rapid composition is facilitated by a well-mastered stock of themes and formulaic phrases, some essential and some not. These themes and phrases, however, are

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<sup>11</sup> Lord, 4-5.

<sup>12</sup> Lord, 99.

<sup>13</sup> Lord, 119.

not to be thought of as a “bag of tricks,” to be drawn from at random and without reference to established conventions. Rather, they are always used in specific associations and relationships to build a nearly infinitely adaptable song.<sup>14</sup> In spite of the manipulation of themes and formulas, the traditional epic singer aims to preserve tradition; changing the essentials of a song makes it false.<sup>15</sup> Lord therefore credits the changes he observed to a desire of the singer to maintain the essential idea rather than to innovate: “Multiformity is essentially conservative in traditional lore, all outward appearances to the contrary.”<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, elaboration must be considered not as ornamental, but as a contribution which strengthens the tradition from which it stems. Any successful elaboration, therefore must stem from a desire to enhance or re-emphasize the inherent, traditional meaning, otherwise the inherent unity of the composition is destroyed.

Lord’s conceptualization of multiformity is essential to my study of the Anadyomene, and could be helpfully applied as well as to the study of other works produced multiply in antiquity. In his analysis of oral epic poetry, Lord has described something akin to the quandary of the contemporary scholar of ancient art who rigorously applies *Kopienkritik* to artistic production, thinking to discover a lost original from surviving representations. As the opening quote of this section demonstrates, any reconstruction of a proposed original must be considered suspect. There is no assurance that such a stand-in, consisting of the common elements found in a group of similar works, would be any closer to a putative

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<sup>14</sup> Lord, 95.

<sup>15</sup> Lord, 28.

<sup>16</sup> Lord, 120.

original than any of the individual works themselves. The suggestion of some scholars that the Anadyomene type quotes a now-lost famous original statue is based on the flawed assumption that repeated works must necessarily have one root model. In the case of the Anadyomene, no firm evidence of such a work has come to light and it is impossible to recreate that putative original with any security.<sup>17</sup> Lord's caution that such an imagined original can have no more validity than any surviving work is essential to heed. By considering that the changes and differences between images contribute positive information about the meaning of a whole rather than distracting from an essential, elusive truth, one can come to terms with works which appear in multiple versions.

Lord's description of the transmittal and methods of oral epic tradition seems analogous to what is known of ancient artistic production. A singer learned his craft, first by observation, learning how themes, stories, and characters operate within a scheme of rhyming and phrasing. At this learning stage, both content and form are assimilated by the singer. As the singer refined the formal skills necessary for a good performance he acquired new material to expand his oeuvre.<sup>18</sup> Lord noted that singers claimed to be able to replicate another's song with exactness "word for word, line for line," but their actual performances demonstrated considerable variation and the same singers acknowledged that no two men ever sang a song exactly alike. There were limits to a singer's creativity and the adaptability of an epic: a singer who willfully changed the essence of an epic sang a

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<sup>17</sup> See Chapter 1.

<sup>18</sup> Lord, 20-26.

false song.<sup>19</sup> In adherence to conventional forms and content within a flexible frame, the singer's role became one of "preservation of tradition by constant re-creation of it."<sup>20</sup> Originality was another tool to accommodate the exigencies of performance, but not valued in terms of novelty. It allowed for a song to be shortened or lengthened, or for certain themes to be emphasized. If a singer knew a formula that fit his theme and the rhyming scheme of his song, he used it, but if not, he was free to invent one that would suit the circumstances.<sup>21</sup> The key for perpetuation of specific themes or formulas lay in their usefulness.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, Lord found that "All singers use traditional material in a traditional way, but no two singers use exactly the same material in the same way."<sup>23</sup>

The craftsman making images of the Anadyomene in any material or format in all likelihood learned his craft and the range of possibilities for it, by first watching others create and then practicing on his own versions. Unlike a song, however, which was ephemeral before the modern invention of recording devices, an artistic representation in antiquity remained and could be consulted for reference, much as we might a text. Certain works copied in antiquity, such as the Doryphoros, for instance, were authoritative works which were replicated with faithfulness. Others, such as the Anadyomene, however, were depicted in a variety of poses and with many added components such as Erotes or dolphins.

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<sup>19</sup> Lord, 27-28, 99.

<sup>20</sup> Lord, 29.

<sup>21</sup> Lord, 45.

<sup>22</sup> Lord, 65.

<sup>23</sup> Lord, 63.

This kind of artistic production demonstrates flexibility very similar to the epic oral tradition. Just as Lord recommended considering changes and differences among songs as important clues to their essential meaning and tradition, the differences of pose, dress, and iconography of the Anadyomene convey essential information about the traditional meanings of Aphrodite.

Considering differences, in the way Lord suggests, as fundamentally conservative manifestations can contribute to a better understanding of the traditional meanings of the Anadyomene. If the Anadyomene could be likened to a particular song about Aphrodite, the hair-wringing gesture is the significant factor defining this particular song, and the iconographical attributes used to evoke the goddess at either her birth or bath are similar to the themes that make up epic songs. The formulas of the song consisting of repeated phrases within traditional rhyming and rhythmic patterns can be likened to the formal qualities of the figure's pose or state of dress. In the same way a singer might change the elements of the song to elaborate or condense the narrative as needed for each individual performance context and audience, the fact that the Anadyomene appears in a wide range of scale, material, quality, and complexity demonstrates a similar flexibility of the image to suit a great variety of circumstances. In this way the Aphrodite Anadyomene exists in multiform and each rendition stands as its own original. Rather than thinking of these works as copies that for the most part come up short, these creations should each be understood as the end product of a complex process. This conceptualization claims agency on behalf of the ancient sculptors, painters, and mosaicists who responded in myriad ways to a complex web of multiple factors such as the available raw materials and their structural

limits, the maker's skill, the buyer's purse or the patron's wishes, and the destined use.

Furthermore, by conceiving of the Anadyomene as a multiform, the possibility opens up for each work to not only refer to the idea of the Anadyomene, but also to the larger world of the vast numbers of Aphrodite images which existed side by side in antiquity.

### **Aphrodite's birth and bath in archaic literature**

In order to consider the themes and formulas implicit in the Aphrodite Anadyomene representations, it is important, first to consider both literary and visual precedents. In this section, I examine literary myths in which Aphrodite's birth and baths are recounted. I contend that both birth and bathing signify important transitional events in which Aphrodite appears in a seemingly innocent state, like a proper bride being prepared for her (presumably) first sexual experience. At her birth, Aphrodite is at once fully sensual and sexual by nature, but as yet inexperienced. Her baths seem to reclaim that virginal essence for the goddess, a state requisite for a successful seduction.

Stories of Aphrodite's birth are preserved in Hesiod's *Theogony* and a Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, both of which date to sometime in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The *Theogony* recounts how Aphrodite came to be born of an interrupted sexual encounter turned violent family drama: Ouranos (Sky), hating the sons he had fathered with Gaia (Earth), hid his sons inside her. In revenge, she made a sickle and convinced their son remaining Kronos to act when his lusting father came again:

And great Sky came, bringing night with him; and spreading himself out around Earth in his desire for love he lay outstretched in all directions. Then his son reached out from his ambush with his left hand, and with his right hand he grasped the monstrous sickle, long and jagged-toothed, and eagerly he reaped the genitals from his dear father and threw them behind him to be borne away. . . . And when at first he had cut off the genitals with the adamant and

thrown them from the land into the strongly surging sea, they were borne along the water for a long time, and a white foam rose up around them from the immortal flesh; and inside this grew a maiden. First she approached holy Cythera, and from there she went on to sea-girt Cyprus. She came forth, a reverend, beautiful goddess, and grass grew up around her beneath her slender feet. Gods and men call her (a) "Aphrodite," the foam-born goddess and (b) the well-garlanded "Cytherea," (a) since she grew in the foam, (b) and also "Cytherea," since she arrived at Cythera, (c) and "Cyprogenea," since she was born on sea-girt Cyprus, (d) and "genial," since she came forth from the genitals. Eros accompanied her and beautiful Desire stayed with her as soon as she was born and when she went to the tribe of the gods; and since the beginning she possesses this honor and has received as her lot this portion among human beings and immortal gods—maidenly whispers and smiles and deceits and sweet delight and fondness and gentleness.<sup>24</sup>

Aphrodite, coming from such a brutal and sexual origin, is born both "awful and lovely,"<sup>25</sup> combining the charm of smiles and delight with deceit. Although one generally thinks of Aphrodite as one of the Olympian gods with whom she is later represented in the classical period, it is worth emphasizing that in Hesiod's telling she precedes them; all of those gods are all of subsequent generations. Hesiod locates the violence of Aphrodite's origins among the births of Titans and monsters, an aspect which perhaps accounts for some of her fearsomeness. Love (*Eros*) and Desire (*Hymeros*), whose origins are even older than hers, accompany Aphrodite from her birth to her introduction to the gods. Although love, sex, and desire preceded her birth, Aphrodite's subsequent power seems to direct and impose some controls on them.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Glenn W. Most, *Theogony, Works and Days, Testimonia* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 2006), lns. 176-206.

<sup>25</sup> Hugh G. Evelyn-White. *Theogony*. (Cambridge, MA., Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1914), ln. 194, translates αἰδοίη as "awful" versus Most's "reverend". I prefer Evelyn-White's turn of phrase here as it conveys the fearsomeness implicit in her aspect.

<sup>26</sup> The exercise of her powers will be challenged and threatened by Zeus in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (Hymn 5).



Hesiod seems uninterested in what happens to Aphrodite after she comes to the shores of Cyprus and he abandons her myth there. Fortunately, the subject is taken up in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (Hymn 6):

There the moist breath of the western wind wafted her over the waves of the loud-moaning sea in soft foam, and there the gold-filleted Hours welcomed her joyously. They clothed her with heavenly garments: on her head they put a fine, well-wrought crown of gold, and in her pierced ears they hung ornaments of orichalc and precious gold, and adorned her with golden necklaces over her soft neck and snow-white breasts, jewels which the gold-filleted Hours wear themselves whenever they go to their father's house to join the lovely dances of the gods. And when they had fully decked her, they brought her to the gods, who welcomed her when they saw her, giving her their hands. Each one of them prayed that he might lead her home to be his wedded wife, so greatly were they amazed at the beauty of violet-crowned Cytherea.<sup>27</sup>

Here Aphrodite is greeted by the Hours/Seasons (*Horae*), personages who will become common attendants among her retinue; they dress and give her some of their own jewels, including a gold crown and necklace, and earrings of gold and orichalcus, a mythical reddish metal. This finery is what they themselves wear when going to socialize and dance with the gods, and these embellishments seem intended to impress them by adding to her natural allure. Aphrodite is strikingly passive in both accounts of her birth described here. In the *Theogony* she floats along on the sea, past Cythera, until finally coming to land at Cyprus. In the Homeric Hymn everything is done *to* her and nothing *by* her: she is dressed, bejeweled, and brought to be introduced to the gods. One easily imagines a dreamy, detached Anadyomene in this context. (Figure 28)

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<sup>27</sup>*Homeric Hymns*. Trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1914), Hymn 6.

Recountings of Aphrodite bathing bear striking similarities to her birth from the sea. Just as she rose from the sea, dressed and perfumed ready to be presented to the gods as a desirable bride, Aphrodite bathes in preparation for seduction. In a parallel manner another Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (Hymn 5) presents the episode as part of the story of Zeus' revenge on the goddess for repeatedly causing him (and other gods) to fall in love with mortals. As a lesson and retaliation, "lest laughter-loving Aphrodite should one day softly smile and say mockingly among all the gods that she had joined the gods in love with mortal women . . . and had mated the goddesses with mortal men," Zeus "put in her heart sweet desire for Anchises," a beautiful shepherd, "in shape like the immortal gods" who was at the time tending his flock on Mount Ida.<sup>28</sup> The notion of Aphrodite falling in love with an obscure shepherd must be considered sufficiently mortifying for Zeus' punishment to be effective. One must also imagine that hearing this tale of the goddess' seduction of a shepherd gave even the lowliest listener the vicarious hope of a similar romantic fantasy.

For her bath, Aphrodite travels to the place where she had come ashore, but rather than remaining on the beach, she enters her temple to be bathed with perfumed oil and dressed:

She went to Cyprus, to Paphos, where her precinct is and fragrant altar, and passed into her sweet-smelling temple. There she went in and put to the glittering doors, and there the Graces bathed her with heavenly oil such as blooms upon the bodies of the eternal gods—oil divinely sweet, which she had by her, filled with fragrance. And laughter-loving Aphrodite put on all her rich clothes, and when she had decked herself with gold, she left sweet-smelling

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<sup>28</sup> *Homeric Hymns*. Trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1914), Hymn 5, lns. 45-56.

Cyprus and went in haste towards Troy, swiftly travelling high up among the clouds.<sup>29</sup>

This account presents a vivid description of Aphrodite's clothing from Anchises' point of view, described in terms analogous to the natural world:

Now when Anchises saw her, he marked her well and wondered at her mien and height and shining garments. For she was clad in a robe out-shining the brightness of fire, a splendid robe of gold, enriched with all manner of needlework, which shimmered like the moon over her tender breasts, a marvel to see. Also she wore twisted brooches and shining earrings in the form of flowers; and round her soft throat were lovely necklaces.<sup>30</sup>

Aphrodite is brighter than a fire and shimmers like the moon, and wears god-made flowers as jewelry. The bright, glistening gold dress with its elaborate embroidery, twisted pins, flower earrings, and multiple necklaces very nearly defeated the goddess' purpose, however, since Anchises expresses skepticism that she is the high-born mortal she claims to be. Those who heard this tale must have imagined Aphrodite appearing as she was represented in a bronze work of the archaic period now in the British Museum.<sup>31</sup>(Figure 29)

The figure of a young woman is shown wearing a close-fitting short-sleeved tunic with a lightweight, gathered overdress which she holds out to the side showing the drape and width of the fabric. Although no earrings are visible, she wears a short necklace and her long hair is adorned with strands of pearls.

One can imagine the surprise and awe a mountain shepherd might have felt if a woman suddenly appeared adorned in such a fashion. Anchises seems to keep his wits; he

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<sup>29</sup> *Homeric Hymns*. Trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1914), Hymn 5, lns. 57-67.

<sup>30</sup> *Homeric Hymn 5*, 84-90. London, British Museum 493; LIMC *Aphrodite* 97.

seems to know the tales of other men who had been ruthlessly punished for their exploits with goddesses, and he requires further persuasion to overcome his awe.<sup>32</sup> This Aphrodite behaves in exactly the way one would expect from Hesiod's description of her character, full of "maidenly whispers and smiles and deceits and sweet delight and fondness and gentleness" "with face turned away, and lovely eyes downcast" as they move to the bed. This modesty endures only long enough for the consummation of her seduction.<sup>33</sup>

Aphrodite's simulation of virginal reserve is a tool of seduction—an alluring trait which she puts on and takes off at will like the beautiful dresses and golden jewelry. Afterwards, Anchises sleeps; Aphrodite dresses and then prods him awake, demanding that he look at her—this time it is his turn to avert his eyes.<sup>34</sup> Once the seduction is over, her clothing is like armor and her true nature as a fearsome goddess is revealed.

In Book 8 of the *Odyssey* a bard tells another story of Aphrodite bathing. In this case, rather than preparatory, this bath is restorative. Hephaistos suspected that his wife was committing adultery with the god Ares, and so he forged an unbreakable net of fine chain to

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<sup>32</sup> Homeric Hymn 5, lns. 88-150. Aphrodite tells him that she was dancing with nymphs and other maidens of Artemis when Hermes caught her up and delivered her to Anchises to be his wife and she requests that he now take her to his parents and to send a messenger to her parents. Her implausible story and modest assertions are sufficient for him to overcome his initial hesitation. However, rather than doing as she requests and informing the families of their union, he makes a series of disclaimers ("If you are a mortal and a woman was the mother who bare you, and Otreus of famous name is your father as you say, and if you are come here by the will of Hermes the immortal Guide, and are to be called my wife always . . ."), embraces the danger ("Willingly would I go down into the house of Hades, O lady, beautiful as the goddesses, once I had gone up to your bed.") and takes her to bed. Anchises' knowledge of these tales is proven after Aphrodite reveals herself and Anchises begs her not to punish him with death or physical impairment as other men had been (lins. 185-190). For an interesting analysis of the implications of their verbal negotiation, see Ann Bergren, "Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite: Tradition and Rhetoric, Praise and Blame," in *Weaving Truth: Essays on Language and the Female in Greek Thought*, ed. Ann Bergren (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008): 161-212.

<sup>33</sup> Homeric Hymn 5, lins. 155-57.

<sup>34</sup> Homeric Hymn 5, lins. 181-84.

trap the couple when they lay on his bed.<sup>35</sup> Once they were snared, the cuckolded husband summoned the rest of the pantheon to witness her betrayal and his demand for the return of the bride-price he had paid. Although every male god came to mock and laugh bawdily, “modesty kept each goddess to her mansion.”<sup>36</sup> Once freed from the chains, Ares escaped to Thrace,

while Love with her telltale laughter sped to Paphos,  
Cyprus Isle, where her grove and scented altar stand.  
There the Graces bathed and anointed her with oil,  
ambrosial oil, the bloom that clings to the gods  
who never die, and swathed her in gowns  
to stop the heart . . . an ecstasy, a vision.<sup>37</sup>

As at her birth, Aphrodite is once again assisted by female companions, this time the Graces (*Charites*), who bathe, perfume, and dress her. Once again the ritual is set within the precincts of her temple at Paphos in a grove where her altar stood. Aphrodite’s conduct in this situation stands out in comparison with the other goddesses. Although captured by her husband and displayed to the other gods in a fashion contrived for maximum humiliation, she goes away “with her telltale laughter” to her own sacred island, and any damaged dignity is easily and quickly restored by a bath, perfumes, and beautiful clothing. In contrast, the other goddesses, although invited to witness her betrayal, stay away to preserve their own modesty in the face of Aphrodite’s shocking shamelessness.

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<sup>35</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, Book 8, lns 300-410. Ovid retells this story in *Ars am.* 2.560-585.

<sup>36</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, Book 8, ln. 368.

<sup>37</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, Trans. Robert Fagles, (New York: Penguin Books, 1996), 8.405-10.

In these accounts, Aphrodite's toilette is presented as a luxurious, leisurely, effortless ritual in which she is prepared for marriage, seduction, or restored to her full power. These myths of Aphrodite present the goddess at her birth and baths as one whose already considerable inherent attractiveness is merely amplified by arranging hair, dressing, and perfuming. Ultimately, however, the object of the toilette is not for Aphrodite to wear beautiful clothes and jewelry. The point is that if she is successful in her seductions due to her careful preparations, as she nearly always is, then she will take them all off again. Although on their face these passages seem to be about Aphrodite's adornment, in reality, they afford the opportunity for the hearer to imagine Aphrodite naked.

### **Red-figure vases**

While myth and epic stories offered narrative context for the later representation of the Aphrodite Anadyomene, the visual precedent appears as paintings of bathers first represented on red-figure vases in the fifth century BCE. Within the larger category of women bathing, representations of women in the act of washing or arranging their hair are quite rare. I have, however, catalogued eighteen vases, two mirrors, and one cista which picture a total of twenty three women engaged in washing, wringing, or combing their hair with a gesture similar to that of the Aphrodite Anadyomene. Among these images, the crouching pose is by far the most common with sixteen figures positioned similar to the Anadyomene statuette from Rhodes.<sup>38</sup> Six figures stand, and one sits.<sup>39</sup> This distribution provides an interesting contrast to the later Anadyomene representations, which favor a

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<sup>38</sup> Vase Appendix 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

<sup>39</sup> Standing: Vase Appendix 4, 6, 7 (two), 9, 21; seated: Vase Appendix 21.

standing pose by a significant proportion. Twenty-one figures are depicted naked, although many of them are shown with drapery nearby: only one of the hair-washers is dressed.<sup>40</sup> Taken as a group, these representations demonstrate some of the themes and formulae which are apparent in later Anadyomene representations.

Images of women going about their bathing routines began to appear in the early fifth century BCE.<sup>41</sup> While the centuries-old myths and tales in epic literature had presented stories of women bathing, these vase paintings are the first surviving visual evidence for such subjects. In one example of a typical scene three women pose around a tall *louterion* (basin) participating in various activities: rolling clothes into a bundle, holding an alabastron from a ribbon, washing with a sponge on a rod, and washing hands.<sup>42</sup> Each has a different hairstyle: tied up, completely unbound and falling over the shoulders, and pulled away from the face and tied around the crown. The setting of this and other similar scenes are vague, but seem to be interiors. These women are depicted engaged in routine and communal

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<sup>40</sup> Vase Appendix 9.

<sup>41</sup> Ulla Kreilinger has explored the representation of “decent” female nudity on red-figure pottery through representations of washing and bathing in her recent book, *Anständige Nacktheit: Körperpflege, Reinigungsriten und das Phänomen weiblicher Nacktheit im archaisch-klassischen Athen* (Rahden/Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, 2007). See also Robert F. Sutton, Jr. “Pornography and Persuasion on Attic Pottery,” in *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, ed. Amy Richlin (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 22-24; Molly Myerowitz, “The Domestication of Desire: Ovid’s *Parva Tabella* and the Theater of Love,” same volume, 138; Sian Lewis, *The Athenian Woman: an Iconographic Handbook* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 104, 144-149; and Gloria Ferrari, *Figures of Speech: Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 48-53.

<sup>42</sup> Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2411. (Beaz. Archive 213649) Kreilinger, 75, Abb. 75, suggests that the central figure raising the rod is applying perfume to her hair; on this she cites M. Tiverios, “Zur Ikonographie der weiblichen Welt im Zeitalter des Perikles,” in T. Ganschow and M. Steinhardt, eds. *Otium. Festschrift für Volker Michael Stocka* (Remshalden : Greiner, 2005), 382-90.

activities with no sense of concern for a possible spectator.<sup>43</sup> Such vases depict women engaged in some phase of bathing and grooming carrying basins or water vessels, standing with their hands extended into basins as though to splash water on themselves, or holding bundles of clothing either laying them down or preparing to shake them out before dressing again. They are most often pictured with their hair bound up, and in some cases completely covered; hair washing was pictured infrequently. The settings of this and other similar scenes are generally vague, nevertheless, they often appear to be interiors since mirrors, basins, vases, ribbons, wreaths, and bags are painted as though suspended from a wall behind the figures. A *stamnos* from Vulci that dates to the middle of the fifth century BCE is an excellent example of such a typical bathing scene.

Exactly what these scenes meant or were intended to convey to their audience has been a topic for discussion among many scholars. Many have considered them genre images that convey important information about the every-day lives of Athenian women. Arguing strongly for this position, John Oakley and Rebecca Sinos called such red-figure paintings of women at their toilette “a rich documentary source for the Athenian wedding ceremony from the seventh through the fourth centuries B.C.”<sup>44</sup> Others have taken a more moderate approach. Lucilla Burn sees the women as mortals unless specifically designated otherwise, although she acknowledges, as Oakley and Sinos do not, that such pictures cannot be read as straightforward depictions of elite Athenian women. Furthermore she

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<sup>43</sup> In some cases spectators are even provided by the painter in the form of sneaking or cavorting satyrs of whom the women are unaware or whom they resolutely ignore.

<sup>44</sup> John H. Oakley and Rebecca H. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 5. Lewis, 134-35, critiques Oakley and Sinos “documentary” usage, questioning their contention that the abundance of wedding imagery evidences an equal importance of the wedding in a woman’s life.



acknowledges that these figures might have been meant to evoke Aphrodite and her entourage, but “In the absence of inscriptions or of clear evidence that any of the central figures is Aphrodite, there is no reason to suppose that these women are divine, at least not in any straightforward sense.”<sup>45</sup>

In the late classical period the inclusion of obviously mythological elements suggests a removal of the scenes from the real into the ideal realm. Thus Sian Lewis suggested that Eros began to replace servants on vases of this period showing a desire to move away from a realistic portrayal of everyday life.<sup>46</sup> This assessment is in agreement with Burn, who saw an increased idealism in the images which showed the women “uniformly young, and as beautiful and finely attired as their painters could contrive to show them.”<sup>47</sup> Similarly, Robert Sutton argued that such images promoted and perpetuated an archaic and romanticized ideal of love and marriage that stood in stark contrast to the contemporary practices of elite Athenian marriage of the classical period.<sup>48</sup>

Other scholars have considered the difficulty in parsing the real from the ideal or the mythological. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood suggested that many vase images may be neither canonically mythical, nor based reliably in reality, but instead are manifestations of

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<sup>45</sup> Lucilla Burn, *The Medias Painter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 82-84.

<sup>46</sup> Lewis, 140-41.

<sup>47</sup> Burn, 84.

<sup>48</sup> Robert Sutton, “Nuptial Eros: The Visual Discourse of Marriage in Classical Athens,” *JWAG* 55/56 (1997/1998): 27. These scenes are a manifestation of a “romanticized outlook” considering that marriage, among the elites at least, was a contractual agreement and love was “contrary to the ideals presented in most contemporary prose texts, including history, forensic oratory, and philosophy.”

a concept.<sup>49</sup> Both Gloria Ferrari and Ulla Kreilinger have noted the impossibility in many cases of determining whether the subjects of such paintings were mortal or mythological women such as Aphrodite, or nymphs.<sup>50</sup> Most importantly, however, Kreilinger argues that “such a distinction was probably not intended, because it did not correspond to the ancient Greek way of thinking.”<sup>51</sup> Ferrari also critiqued the idea that vase paintings present a picture of ancient reality even though they may show subject matter seemingly lifted from the ordinary and every-day. She states that the typical division of such scenes into the categories of myth or genre is more meaningful to a modern audience “which postulates a gulf between [myth and genre] as wide as that between fantasy and fact,” than to the original ancient audience for whom myth and history were interconnected.<sup>52</sup>

These vases are best understood in a discursive way as a bridge between mythical idealization and the real-life experience of people who owned and used them whether in domestic, ritual, or burial contexts. Rather than seeking a reality based in Athenian practice from the vases with hair-washing figures, it may be more constructive to consider how they reflected mythical ideals about female nakedness and attractiveness, and the ongoing traction and appeal that those ideas had in antiquity. Ferrari’s studies suggest that rather than simply offering a new interpretation, the study of these vase images requires a new

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<sup>49</sup> Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, “Myths in Images: Theseus and Medea as a Case Study,” in *Approaches to Greek Myth*, ed. Lowell Edmunds (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 397-98, 435-36.

<sup>50</sup> Ferrari, *Figures of Speech*, 18; Kreilinger, 54-58: The elision between the concepts was even more likely intended since the Greek word for bride and nymph was the same (νύμφη).

<sup>51</sup> Kreilinger, 238.

<sup>52</sup> Ferrari, “Myth and Genre on Athenian Vases,” *Classical Antiquity* 22.1 (April 2003): 51.

methodology.<sup>53</sup> Similar to Lord's and Nagy's search for themes and formulas in epic poetry, Gloria Ferrari innovatively analyzes scenes of women working wool on red-figure vases. Rather than taking each vase painting as a whole composition, she discovered that the images she studied were composed of twenty-six "meaningful figures" recognizable from their repeated use as formulaic components of larger ensembles.<sup>54</sup> She has suggested that when such figures appeared alone on vases viewers associated them with figures which appeared with them in other scenes.<sup>55</sup> In other words, single figures were capable of functioning as shorthand to convey much of the meaning implicit in larger, more complex assemblages. Considering the larger images and combinations of figures allows for a clearer understanding of the meaning of the singular figure.<sup>56</sup>

Ferrari's singular wool worker provides a useful parallel with the Aphrodite Anadyomene. In a similar fashion to Ferrari's wool-worker, the woman washing or wringing her hair is pictured in the company of other figures which are also engaged in various bathing and dressing activities. Although Ferrari's wool-worker occasionally appears alone, the hair-washing bather is most often in the company of others: women, Erotes, men, and satyrs.<sup>57</sup> In contrast, however, the later Anadyomene representations frequently appear

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<sup>53</sup> Ferrari, "Myth and Genre," 46.

<sup>54</sup> Ferrari, *Figures of Speech*, 26-31.

<sup>55</sup> Ferrari, *Figures of Speech*, 33: ". . . they maintain, in the mind of the viewer, their connection to the richer multified scenes."

<sup>56</sup> Ferrari, *Figures of Speech*, 27: "The richer pictures will define the range within which the notion of wool-working operates."

<sup>57</sup> In this sample of twenty-one works, the only one which seems to depict the woman alone is an inscribed mirror. However, the head of a Pan or satyr is included above her as though looking down. The other side of

alone. By considering the larger visual context of the red-figure hair-washer, it is possible to discern themes and formulas inherent in the motif that may have carried over into the later sculptural representations.<sup>58</sup>

Applying Ferrari's notion of the formulaic "meaningful figure" to the hair-washing bather requires an analysis of the figures that appear alongside, often as attendants who assist her in some manner. Of the twenty-one representations I have identified, eleven include attendants, six women and five Erotes, who pour water.<sup>59</sup> Other attendants also provide assistance. A hydria from Cambridge, Massachusetts depicts a woman dressing her own hair while an Eros hovering in flight holds out a strand of beads and another woman carrying a jewelry box extends a bracelet towards her.<sup>60</sup> On a pyxis from Münster, a naked woman holds out a large rectangle of drapery between her and the bather. Although she could be preparing to dress herself, she could also be holding the clothing up for the crouching woman who is twisting curls over her shoulders.<sup>61</sup> If so, she would be the only naked attendant pictured on any of the vases. Although the bather is accompanied in some cases by other naked bathing women, it is notable that those women who are explicitly represented assisting her are all fully dressed. It is interesting to note that none of the

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the mirror is also carved with the image of a seated Pan facing a seated young woman. One could argue that the mirror depicts different episodes—in one the two figures sit together, in the other he spies on her taking her bath.

<sup>58</sup> Indeed, since many of these sculptures show the Aphrodite alone, perhaps other bathing companions or Erotes should be mentally and imaginatively restored.

<sup>59</sup> Women: Appendix B: 1, 5, 13, 16, 17, 18. Eros: Appendix B: 2, 10, 11, 12, 14.

<sup>60</sup> Appendix B 5.

<sup>61</sup> Appendix B 10.

women represented in any of the scenes are obviously servants; in all cases they seem well dressed, coiffed, and jeweled.

Other women are similarly depicted interacting physically. A lekanis from the Hermitage Museum shows two of these groupings: a standing woman dresses a seated woman's hair, and a pair of women, one standing and one kneeling, reach out to each other.<sup>62</sup> A similar pair is seen on the Cambridge hydria.<sup>63</sup> In both cases, these figures are obviously connected by gesture and touch, and their actions make sense only in these pairs, not as single figures. The cista engraving shows two naked woman in mirroring poses (one holding a strand of hair, the other pulling drapery across her shoulder) who hold hands but direct their attention outward and away from each other.<sup>64</sup> Other figures are connected by proximity and glance, such as those represented on a pyxis at the Metropolitan Museum. Three women, one holding an Eros on her lap, sit together in a porch defined by columns on either side, and two other women face each other across a loutrophoros holding ribbons.<sup>65</sup> In this case, however, despite their shared activities, there is no physical connection that binds any of these women together and they could easily be separated and utilized in other combinations.

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<sup>62</sup>Appendix B 16.

<sup>63</sup> Appendix B 5. Interestingly, the Hermitage pair shows a naked standing woman and a kneeling clothed woman, whereas the Cambridge vase reverses this and places the naked woman in the kneeling position. The standing woman holds drapery above her. In this case the painter has turned the static touching into active dressing.

<sup>64</sup> Appendix B 21. Figures at the right of the image.

<sup>65</sup> Appendix B 11.

The singular figures represented in these scenes engage in leisurely grooming and dressing, each self-contained within the assemblage. They stand and hold ribbons, alabastra, and wreaths.<sup>66</sup> Several look into mirrors.<sup>67</sup> Some pluck at their veils, skirts, or hold drapery, either preparing for bathing or re-dressing afterward.<sup>68</sup> Others arrange their hair by grasping long tresses in either hand after a bath, combing out the tangles, or binding it round with a scarf.<sup>69</sup> A seated position is required to hold an Eros on the lap, fasten a shoe, or have hair dressed.<sup>70</sup> Seated women also engage in some of the same activities as the standing women: and make wreaths, hold mirrors, pull veils around their faces, or reach up as though to fasten an earring.<sup>71</sup> Some figures stand statically with arms folded or a hand on the hip and function as little more than brackets to direct attention toward the center of the compositions.

The most complex scene including a hair-washer is found on the lid of the Hermitage lekani and demonstrates the full range of options for these representations.<sup>72</sup> The twelve women pictured are arranged almost as spokes, with their heads to the center and their feet radiating outward. They appear in various states of dress; three are completely naked

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<sup>66</sup> See Appendix B 3, 11 (4 figures hold ribbons), 14.

<sup>67</sup> See Appendix B 1, 3, 12, 16, 19, 21.

<sup>68</sup> See Appendix B 2, 5, 8, 11, 21.

<sup>69</sup> Holding comb and wrapping hair: Appendix B 14; Appendix B 19 (right figure holds comb).

<sup>70</sup> Fastening a shoe, Appendix B 15 (figure at lower right).

<sup>71</sup> Seated figures: Appendix B 3, 8, 11, 15, 16, 19.

<sup>72</sup> Appendix B 16.

except for their jewelry, five are partly covered by drapery, and four are completely dressed, including one whose face is also veiled. Six women are shown in the pairs mentioned previously: the bather and her water-pouring assistant, one woman who dresses another's hair, and a woman who kneels and reaches up toward another.

The rest of the women do not interact: one regards herself in a mirror, one arranges her own hair, another fastens on jewelry, and the rest simply stand focused on nothing. In addition to the female companions and Erotes, the Hermitage lekanis also includes three representations of children, one nude boy and two dressed girls. The girls cling to the skirts of other women, and the boy looks and reaches up to a woman whose is turned away from him.<sup>73</sup> The presence of children reinforces the overall impression of domesticity. For all the variety of actions portrayed, the scene as a whole lacks energy. None of the women, including the pairs, seem to especially engage with the others or the children, nor do they attend to their own actions with any intensity, but all seem dreamy and self-absorbed.

This same quietness is apparent in many of these scenes. Often the woman washing or combing her hair and the person who pours the water for her are the most active figures represented. Other women stand passively looking on, chatting with each other, or languidly tending to themselves—gazing in a mirror, twisting an earring, and plucking at drapery. Although some of the scenes contain a certain amount of bustling in the activity of washing, arranging hair and clothing, and choosing jewelry, there is no sense of chaotic

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<sup>73</sup> Appendix B 16.

action in any of them. Rather the visual pace is measured and quiet. The mood for these scenes is dreamy, intimate, and relaxed—poses are languid, and direct interaction is limited.

Most of this activity takes place in relatively undefined locales; four seem to be interiors signified by the typical props of wreaths, small vases, or ribbons floating behind the figures' heads which one must imagine hanging from pegs in walls.<sup>74</sup> The Hermitage *lekanis* includes several items of furniture—a chair on which one woman sits while her hair is arranged, and a short couch in front of which two women stand.<sup>75</sup> At least two include architectural elements in the form of columns and a lintel, indicating a porch setting, a space neither definitively in nor out of doors, but a transitional space between the two. The *pyxis* from the Metropolitan Museum depicts three women together, two seated and one standing, within a porch indicated by columns and a lintel.<sup>76</sup> In this way, the separate space of the three women reinforces the interiority of the domestic scene behind them where women complete their *toilette*. The *cista* shows five women all engaged in their *toilette* in a similarly defined space with columns on either side of the frame. A third representation, the *pyxis* from Münster, shows the women in a confined space between two uprights which may also indicate a similar intention of indicating a porch.

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<sup>74</sup> Appendix B 1, 7, 10, 11, 15. Vase 14, a *pelike* from Ruvo, Italy, is somewhat ambiguous. It shows an *oinochoe* floating above a tall basin, but also includes a thin sapling on the right side of the frame.

<sup>75</sup> Appendix B 16.

<sup>76</sup> Appendix B 12.



In contrast to these, at least six representations locate the activity outdoors.<sup>77</sup> Both surviving lekythoi seem to indicate outdoor settings. One from Berlin shows perhaps the most elaborate indications of nature, depicting small trees and a faun which one of the women feeds or caresses.<sup>78</sup> The other lekythos, now in Lausanne, illustrates an outdoor environment by placing the bather next to a shrub, perhaps for a bit of privacy.<sup>79</sup> A mirror in Paris shows the women in a rocky setting—one sitting naked on a drapery-covered stony outcropping.<sup>80</sup> The lone woman on a mirror in Berlin is framed in the center of what seems to be a grotto or cave; the rough surface of its walls is indicated by short, circular, incised lines. The nature setting on a bell krater in Krakow is composed of a pair of ducks or geese, a small spring of greenery, and dancing satyrs.<sup>81</sup>

These satyrs provide an interesting contrast to the women and children which compose these domestic scenes on which I have focused to this point. At least six images include representations of grown males, some satyrs and some human.<sup>82</sup> A Louvre oinochoe decorated with a badly degraded relief shows the hair-washer among fifteen other figures, perhaps various gods of the pantheon. At least three figures are discernibly male: one crouches or sits on the ground, one wears a soft hat and short cloak, and one sits

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<sup>77</sup> Appendix B 2, 6, 8, 12, 14? (see note 63 above), 19, 20.

<sup>78</sup> Appendix B 2.

<sup>79</sup> Appendix B 8.

<sup>80</sup> Appendix B 19.

<sup>81</sup> Appendix B 6.

<sup>82</sup> Appendix B 5, 6, 7, 12, 14, and perhaps 20.

on a low, square stool.<sup>83</sup> A hydria in Cambridge depicts a mysterious male figure at the edge of the frame, standing like an awkward suitor, an outsider looking into the scene, completely naked except for a bit of drapery that falls from his left arm. He holds a thin staff in his right hand and extends what looks like a bracelet in his left hand. A krater from Lecce, in Apulia, shows a fully dressed woman bending over a basin to wash her hair with men on either side—one approaches her holding a strigil and a phiale, and the other stands behind her, carrying a flaming torch and thyrsus which suggests that her washing is in preparation for a Dionysiac ritual.<sup>84</sup>

This Dionysiac mood also extends to three representations where the bathers are spied on by satyrs, seemingly unaware.<sup>85</sup> A pelike from Ruvo shows three women surrounding a basin; one holds an alabastron, one crouches and combs out her hair, and one stands wrapping her hair with a wide band.<sup>86</sup> On the right side of the scene, a young, beardless satyr kneels behind a thin sapling that offers him no concealment whatsoever. His arms reach out towards the naked woman in front of him, perhaps intending to grab hold of her. The woman washing her hair at the center of cavorting satyrs on the Krakow bell

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<sup>83</sup> Appendix B 12.

<sup>84</sup> Appendix B 7. Verena Paul-Zinserling. *Der Jena-Maler und Sein Kreis* (Mainz/Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1994), 117, proposes that this image shows a bride between her groom and Dionysus. The presence of the thyrsus and phiale with offering would seem to infer some kind of ritual context, but there is nothing which seems definitive about this identification of a bride and groom.

<sup>85</sup> Appendix B 6, 14, 20. Ovid's introduction to the month of April in his *Fasti* tells a story of Aphrodite drying her hair after a bath and finding a band of satyrs spying on her. As protection from their prying eyes she caused a myrtle hedge to screen her. (*Fasti*, 4.140-144). Thus, Roman women bathe and redress the statue of Venus hidden behind a myrtle screen. See Richard J. King, *Desiring Rome: Male Subjectivity and Reading Ovid's Fasti* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2006): 132-5. See also R. Ginouves, *Balaneutikè. Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque*. (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1962), 115-16.

<sup>86</sup> Appendix B 14.

krater discussed previously seems completely unaware of their presence even though two loom directly over her. One fondles himself in front of her and the other poses with one foot up as though leveraging himself off higher ground to spring at her.<sup>87</sup> A third dances with abandon behind the woman, and the fourth raises a thyrsus over his head, poised as though to strike either her or the ducks below her. The Berlin mirror includes a somewhat more ambiguous voyeur. Emerging from the rock face above the bather is a head of Pan or a satyr that looks down on her. The reverse of the disc shows Pan seated on rocks facing a young woman seated on a tree stump or branch.<sup>88</sup> Perhaps once the girl entered the cave to bathe, Pan remained to spy on her. The Karlsruhe cista depicts five women bathing on one side, and four men and two satyrs on the other. The artist utilized the cylindrical form to best effect by placing the satyrs at the extremes, poised just outside the columned space which frames the women, to lead the men in from the other side. If they are coming to accompany the women to a Dionysiac revel, the women do not seem to be ready yet.

It is noteworthy that in half of the representations that include male figures the bathing woman is left without the companions, either Erotes or other women, who otherwise accompany her. Among women the bather is safe from uninvited prying eyes. Even in a scene such as that on the pelike from Ruvo where the satyr reaches out as though to spank or grope the naked woman in front of him, there is still safety in numbers and one imagines that he would face immediate reprisals.<sup>89</sup> The isolation of the solitary bather

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<sup>87</sup> Appendix B 6.

<sup>88</sup> The image is not published. I rely here on the description from A. Schwarzmaier, *Griechische Klappspiegel: Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Stil* (Berlin: Mann, 1997), Cat. 59, Pl. 83.2.

<sup>89</sup> Appendix B 14.

reinforces the vulnerability of the woman in each case, especially as the proposition (at least imagined, if not in reality) of washing one's hair without assistance as portrayed on these vases seems awkward at best. The Lecce krater shows the woman clumsily squeezing her hair while hunched over a tall basin with her rather elegant dress tucked between her legs, presumably to keep it out of the way.<sup>90</sup> The emphasis brought to her fully dressed body by her graceless stance contrasts sharply with the composed men who stand naked and confident on either side.

François Lissarague has argued that satyrs who appear in scenes of female toilette are harmless, comical figures.<sup>91</sup> As non-humans, they could go places that adult males would not be allowed, and in this way he parallels the male viewer who, as he looks at a vase, is allowed a glimpse of a female ritual from which he was excluded.<sup>92</sup> Although Lissarague sees satyrs as “eunuch[s] in the harem” in the paintings he considers, the satyrs in these vases do not seem neutered or harmless. Rather, the appearance of these sexualized, hyper-masculine figures who spy on the lone naked bather heightens the sense of her vulnerability. The Berlin mirror with the spying Pan seems playful, particularly since the other side shows the young woman and Pan seated together. However, she has presumably chosen to bathe alone in the cave rather than in his presence, her crouching position makes flight or struggle difficult, and her streaming hair completely obscures her

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<sup>90</sup> Appendix B 7.

<sup>91</sup> François Lissarague, “Satyrs in the Women’s Quarters,” in M. Golden and P. Toohey, *Sex and Difference in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 290-306.

<sup>92</sup> Lissarague, 294.

view. The sense of menace is heightened in the scene on the Krakow krater, where the woman combs out her hair surrounded by the highly sexualized, and perhaps violent, satyrs who, at the very least, seem up to no good. The fact that the satyrs are in every case unseen voyeurs increases the erotic tension of the representations. Although the viewer can watch the bather directly, by watching the watchers, one can vicariously experience the tension, anxiety, and suspense created by their actions.

Among the images I have discussed here there does seem to be some correlation between those appearing on vases intended for a woman's use in contrast to those which seem aimed at a male audience. The earliest bathers appeared on cups and larger pots such as *stamnoi*, *pelikes*, and *kraters* which seem intended for the symposium: men's gatherings and drinking parties. Grown male figures were included only on the pots which are typically associated with these activities. Both *kraters* in my sample include depictions of male figures—one cavorting satyrs, the other naked men.<sup>93</sup> Of the vessels that could be considered gender-neutral, many combine representations of male and female figures. Of the five *pelikes* (large pouring vessels), only one excludes men from their decoration.<sup>94</sup> The oinochoe's band of figures in relief is badly damaged, however three male figures are distinguishable. Although women within the household would certainly have seen these pots, and they could have been used in women's rituals, the images of naked women poised

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<sup>93</sup> Appendix B 6 and 7.

<sup>94</sup> Appendix B 3. Appendix B 1 places women on one side, men on the other;

in the midst of their toilette on these wine pots and cups seem made for the objectifying gaze of the male spectator.<sup>95</sup>

Later, between the fourth and third centuries BCE, paintings of bathers were executed on small pots seemingly intended for domestic use and the feminine toilette.<sup>96</sup> These include a *chous* (a small pitcher), an *epinetron* (a knee covering used for spinning), a *lekanis* (a short, wide, round lidded box), three pyxides (a cylindrical lidded boxes), two *lekythoi* (small, narrow pitchers), and two mirrors. These works, with one exception, exclude representations of grown males; only the mirror with Pan's face includes a male figure.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, they typically include one or more Erotes, which are never included in any of the scenes on the pelikes and kraters with men or satyrs.<sup>98</sup> Although the women who may have seen or owned such vessels would not have displayed themselves for the gaze of all as the women on the vases have been exposed by the painter, they surely could have identified with images of women gathered together in domestic settings engaged in their toilette.

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<sup>95</sup> Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, "A woman's view? Dress, eroticism, and the ideal female body in Athenian art," in *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (2002), 174. Kreilinger, 35 and 237, suggests that women could have used many of these vessels at their own cult rituals.

<sup>96</sup> Lewis, 130-34, helpfully summarizes the current scholarly theories accounting for this phenomenon: a new view of female sexuality, a change in female status, a reaction to the Peloponnesian War, a cultural turn from public to private life. She also cautions against assuming too much about the use of these vessels. While some have been found with traces of cosmetics, "It is not, however, the case that most painted ceramic pyxides come from domestic contexts, far from it." She then cites examples found as grave goods and an example found in the dining space of the Agora. She does not, however, identify whether the graves could be identified as belonging to men or women, and she stresses that pyxides seem to have been largely used in ritual rather than domestic contexts. Neither of these contentions, however, disproves what may be commonly intuited from their abundantly feminine decoration, that these were considered containers appropriate for predominantly female use.

<sup>97</sup> Appendix B 20.

<sup>98</sup> The *lekanis* includes a small boy child who would have been in the care of the women.

Considering all of these representations as a group, repeated themes become apparent. First, these representations portray companionable women of status readying themselves for public view. Although hair-washing woman can manage her task alone, most often she is provided with assistance. Without inscriptions it is impossible to tell whether the artists who crafted these images meant specifically to invoke mythological figures such as Aphrodite and the Seasons or Graces, or whether they are more generally idealized representations of the lives of mortal women. While the bather's helpers are often female, just as often she is assisted by Eros, the embodiment of love, physical charm, and attractiveness.<sup>99</sup> Multiple Erotes represented in the same scene can also be read as depictions of Himeros (desire) and Pothos (longing), who are represented in a similar fashion and can be impossible to differentiate from one another.<sup>100</sup> Their inclusion in the bathing scenes provides rationale for and enhances the meaning of the bathing scenes—motivated by love, desire, and longing the women engage in routines to enhance their attractiveness. While many of these scenes could easily be read as taking place in the mortal realm, the inclusion of obvious mythological characters such as Eros elevates the everyday to the divine.

Second, in a similar vein, many of these representations portray bathing as part of a luxurious, leisurely ritual rather than simply as a means to get clean. Fine clothing, necklaces and bracelets, perfume and ointment bottles, boxes and containers for bathing implements or jewelry, and mirrors are all luxury items, many of which were perhaps

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<sup>99</sup> Kreilinger, 174-5.

<sup>100</sup> H.A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art* (Zurich: Akanthus, 1993), 111, calls these figures “a ubiquitous triumvirate of the late fifth and fourth centuries.”

beyond the means and experience of the bulk of the female population. Furthermore, the activities depicted such as gazing into mirrors, weaving wreaths, arranging clothing or jewelry, or doing nothing at all, implies ample time and an exemption from the burden of physical work. While ownership of the vessels on which they appear may not have been restricted to the very wealthy, many of the objects and leisurely activities portrayed on them may have been attainable only by the women of top rank.

Third, in the company of each other, children, or Eros, the women represented seem comfortable in any state from fully robed and veiled to completely naked. The hair-washing bather is nearly always completely naked. Her companions may also be fully disrobed or wear drapery casually slung over only part of their bodies. The only scene in which the bather is not naked is the very awkward depiction of the woman in the company of two men who are themselves naked. In scenes with satyrs, although the bathers are unclothed in their presence, there is no interaction between the naked women and the observers, nor is there even any sense that she is alert to their presence at all. Together, these images create a sense of appropriate female modesty. Alone, with other women, children, or mythological personifications such as Eros, nakedness is acceptable, expected, and not immodest. With men of similar status, despite the awkwardness of the situation, the woman washing her hair remains fully clothed. In proximity to satyrs, one can infer that nakedness would not be the preferred state, but less for reasons of impropriety than safety. Clothing provides some small protection and resistance against the half-animal creatures whose own conduct is immodest and predatory.



Fourth, these vase paintings situate the hair-washing activity within domestic interiors, the precincts of women and children, or landscapes where women gather among plants and animals (and are sometimes spied on by satyrs). Domestic scenes among other women and children would have been common to many women's experience, although most of them likely did not personally experience the level of luxury and leisure portrayed on the vases. No matter their rank, however, it is unlikely, that women regularly formed parties to languidly wash and bathe in an idyllic wilderness among ducks and deer. One can infer from such depictions, however, that nature was regarded as an appropriate setting for attractive, ideal women.<sup>101</sup> While the scenes of women bathing alone and spied on by satyrs would have been even further from real-life experience, the sense of vulnerability implicit in these images would not have been.

### **Themes and formulas manifest in the Aphrodite Anadyomene type**

The overarching theme defining the Aphrodite Anadyomene type is of the seductive powers of the goddess in fresh, inexperienced youth. These representations drew on the formulas established in archaic texts and on red-figure vases whether additional iconographical elements make either a birth or bath scenario explicit. By the time the Aphrodite Anadyomene type emerges in the late Hellenistic period there was much less interest in the portrayal of Aphrodite's rich clothing and jewelry which dominates the archaic texts. Instead, in a manner following the pictorial formulas established on the red-figure vases, the emphasis is placed on the goddess' nakedness at the moment she steps

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<sup>101</sup> One thinks here of Nausicaa and her maids at the river, bathing and playing while their laundry dries. See *Odyssey*, Book 6, lns. 15-130.

onto the seashore or out of the bath, and wrings out her wet hair. The enhancements of perfumes, lotions, clothes, and jewels are pleasant, but ultimately unnecessary for her allure, and only hints of them remain in the occasional inclusion of drapery, cosmetic boxes, bracelets and crowns with the Anadyomene images. Although certainly the ancient viewer could mentally complete the toilette and imagine an elaborate costume, instead the focus is on the innate charms of the goddess who has just emerged from the water. By presenting the goddess naked, at the beginning of the toilette, the fundamental purpose of Aphrodite's entire grooming ritual, only hinted at in the Homeric texts, is made explicit: to remove everything again with a willing partner.

Furthermore, by redirecting the attention from rich adornment to her naked state, the Anadyomene offers the viewer a vulnerable and approachable representation of a goddess whose feminine allure presented in full regalia could be extremely threatening. An aggressive Aphrodite would be repellent and menacing to the gods and men she aimed to seduce, and this is especially underscored in the archaic texts. Even in her interaction with Anchises, Aphrodite does not overwhelm or overpower her lover, instead she seduces him with her "maidenly whispers and smiles and deceits and sweet delight and fondness and gentleness".<sup>102</sup> Anadyomene representations always present the image of a goddess who is self-contained and sometimes diffident. The nakedness downplays the formidable seductive power she embodies, and the quiet and contained representations make her accessible and enticing. In this way the threat posed by her dominant sexuality is

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<sup>102</sup> Consider, for example, Anchises' cowering reaction to her revelation, previously discussed, or the terrible Aphrodite who takes offense at Hippolytus' rejection and drives the boy and his stepmother Phaedra both to tragic deaths. The myth was popular in antiquity, dramatized by Sophocles, Euripides (twice), and Seneca.

tempered. Similarly, perhaps the Anadyomene presented mortal women with a more achievable paradigm of feminine sexuality to which they could more realistically and easily aspire than the heavily perfumed and expensively dressed and jeweled ideal presented in the myths.

### **Apelles' Painted Anadyomene**

As previously discussed, most surviving Anadyomene representations picture the goddess simply as a naked young woman arranging her hair. Only a quarter of the surviving works include any additional pictorial imagery to support or reinforce the identity of the figure. In the previous sections, I have argued that literary and visual precedents provide the themes and formulas which would have informed ancient (as well as modern) viewers' understanding of the Anadyomene as Aphrodite, either just born from the sea, or tending to her hair after a bath. In this section, I explore the ways in which these were deployed, with a particular focus on the fourth-century BCE painting by Apelles. Considered the masterwork of a preeminent painter, it was mentioned repeatedly in epigrams written in the Hellenistic period and later, as well as appearing in writings by Cicero, Propertius, and Ovid. Additionally, Ovid makes two more references to the depiction of the Aphrodite Anadyomene that do not explicitly reference Apelles' painting, but the type more generally. These texts illustrate the associations which the ancient viewers would have made with the Aphrodite Anadyomene type.

Although his birth and death dates are unknown, Apelles was a well-known painter of the late fourth-century BCE, and his lifespan would have overlapped the creation of the later red-figure vases and mirrors with hair-wringing bathers; he could easily have seen such

images. The identity of the bathers on the vases is unclear to modern viewers, as perhaps it was to ancient ones as well. However, in the Hellenistic period, Apelles' use of the hair-wringing gesture for his representation of Aphrodite (and the fame which his painting subsequently earned) inextricably linked the goddess and the motif. His painting, originally located within the precincts of the shrine of Asclepius on Kos, is the first known and most famous Anadyomene.<sup>103</sup> It is not my intention here to discuss Apelles' painting as a lost original from which all others were descended, but instead to consider how the artist drew on the literary and visual themes and formulas available to him.

The mythical precedent for Apelles' painting is found both in Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns discussed previously, and Apelles presumably was familiar with these accounts. That is not to say that Apelles' intention was to illustrate a text, but rather that his painting provided a new retelling of a more ancient theme.<sup>104</sup> The only evidence for the appearance of the painting survives in five epigrams collected in *The Greek Anthology* which date from the Hellenistic period onward.<sup>105</sup> Three are very similar in both content and

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<sup>103</sup> This setting will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

<sup>104</sup> Hesiod dates to the eighth century and the Homeric Hymns to the seventh and sixth centuries. The stories they tell were presumably not invented wholesale by them, but these texts preserve specific tellings of the myth.

<sup>105</sup> The Greek Anthology has a complicated history. From the Hellenistic period on collections of short verses were frequently published and in the medieval period two main collections were compiled. The first, around 900 CE by Constantine Cephalas is known as the *Anthologia Palatina*. The second, in 1301, was compiled and abridged by Maximus Planudes from the earlier work and is known as the *Anthologia Planudea*. This work was printed during the Renaissance and until the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the earlier *Antologia Palatina* was finally published, stood as the Greek Anthology. The last book of Planudes work is comprised of epigrams about art works, many of which were not included in the surviving Palatine manuscript. Many of these epigrams, therefore, are of uncertain date, drawing on sources widely ranging from the 7<sup>th</sup> c BCE to the 6<sup>th</sup> c CE. See A. Cameron, s.v. "anthology," *OCD3* and A. Cameron, *The Greek Anthology: from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford : Clarendon Press ; New York : Oxford University Press, 1992).

language. The earliest of these, credited to Leonidas of Tarentum and dated to the third century BCE, is the most elaborate and vivid in language, which suggested to Peter Jay that the poet had traveled to Kos and had seen the painting in person.<sup>106</sup>

Apelles having seen Cypris, the giver of marriage blessing, just escaped from her mother's bosom and still wet with bubbling foam, figured in her most delightful loveliness, not painted, but alive. With her beautiful grace doth she wring out her hair with her finger-tips, beautifully doth calm love flash from her eyes, and her [breasts], the heralds of her prime, are firm as quinces. Athena herself and the consort of Zeus shall say, "O Zeus, we are worsted in the judgment."<sup>107</sup>

The verse is above all a panegyric to Apelles' ability to create a beautiful and life-like figure, however, it also conveys the expectations the viewer has of an image of Aphrodite. The poet is gratified to see that Aphrodite is beautiful and graceful, attributes exhibited by her calm yet flashing eyes, elegant actions, and young, firm breasts. As is common in tales and poems extolling artists' representations of Aphrodites, the viewer states that such an accurate and life-like portrayal could only be explained by the artist actually seeing the subject in the flesh.<sup>108</sup> Additionally, the verse invokes the judgment of Paris, the beauty contest when Aphrodite defeated Hera and Athena in a beauty contest and was awarded the golden apple of Discord. The painting is deemed by the poet to do the goddess justice, to the credit of the artist. Each of these aspects (the physical description, the artist as

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<sup>106</sup> On Leonidas of Tarentum see A. Cameron, s.v. "Leonidas (2)," *OCD3*, 844; P. Jay, *The Greek Anthology and other Ancient Epigrams* (London: Allen Lane, 1973), 98.

<sup>107</sup> *Greek Anthology*, trans. WR Paton (London, W. Heinemann; New York, G.P. Putnam's sons, 1916-18), 16.182.

<sup>108</sup> See for example the verses that follow here as well as several others from the *Greek Anthology* which describe the Knidian Aphrodite: 16.159, 160, 162, 163, 166, 168.

witness, and the invocation of the judgment as proof of her beauty and the artist's skill) are repeated in the other short epigrams about the painting.

Four additional verses have survived. Two, attributed to Antipater of Sidon, from the late second century BCE, and Archais, of uncertain date, echo Leonidas' verse closely but without the same sense of specificity; this in all likelihood indicates that their poems were perhaps not original, but instead inspired by his.<sup>109</sup>

Look on the work of Apelles' pencil: Cypris, just rising from the sea, her mother; how, grasping her dripping hair with her hand she wrings the foam from the wet locks. Athena and Hera themselves will now say, "No longer do we enter into the contest of beauty with thee."<sup>110</sup>

Apelles saw Cypris herself being born naked from the ocean that reared her, and such he modeled her, still pressing with fresh hands her tresses drenched in the water.<sup>111</sup>

Another epigram, ascribed to Julianus, Prefect of Egypt, utilizes vivid language to express the realism of the scene, despite the fact that the writer, who dated perhaps to the early fifth century CE, could never have seen Apelles' painting:<sup>112</sup>

The Paphian has but now come forth from the sea's womb, delivered by Apelles' midwife hand. But back quickly from the picture, lest thou be wetted by the foam that drips from her tresses as she wrings them. If Cypris looked

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<sup>109</sup> On Antipater of Sidon, see A. Cameron, s.v. "Antipater (3)," *OCD3*, 111; Jay, 123; Jay, 226, states that three poets were called Archais and he places their poems between 90 BCE and 50 CE.

<sup>110</sup> *Greek Anthology*, trans. WR Paton (London, W. Heinemann; New York, G.P. Putnam's sons, 1916-18): 16.178. This is the translation used for all the verses cited here.

<sup>111</sup> *GA:16.179*. A.S.F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams, Volume 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986): 420-421, no. 34, provides a slightly different translation, "Apelles saw Cypris herself being born naked from the ocean that reared her, and such he modeled her, still pressing with fresh hands her tresses drenched in the water's foam." The authors theorize that Archais' verse is modeled on Antipater's which in turn was modeled on Leonidas'.

<sup>112</sup> Jay, 311; Julianus dates to the early fifth century CE, and therefore could not have seen the picture by Apelles which was so damaged by the reign of Nero that it was removed from view (Pliny, *NH35.36.91*).

thus when she stripped for the apple, Pallas was unrighteous in laying Troy waste.<sup>113</sup>

One final epigram, credited to Democritus (of uncertain date), does not mention Apelles' artistic mediation directly. But, instead, the poet himself becomes the witness of Aphrodite's birth through his viewing of the painting:

When Cypris, her hair dripping with the salt foam, rose naked from the purple waves, even in this wise, holding her tresses with both hands close to her white cheeks, she wrung out the brine of the Aegean, showing only her bosom, that indeed it is lawful to look on; but if she be like this, let the wrath of Ares be confounded.<sup>114</sup>

These poems share many commonalities that likely indicate that they used Leonidas' poem as inspiration, rather than the poets' own experience viewing the painting. All but one verse also invokes the artist's mediation in the scene: Leonidas and Archais both name Apelles as an eyewitness to the birth of Aphrodite ("Apelles having seen Cypris" and "Apelles saw Cypris herself"), as though the artist must necessarily have been present in order to capture the event with such realism. Antipater credits the scene to Apelles' skill and craft ("look on the work of Apelles' pencil"), and Julian names Apelles as the goddess' midwife. Democritus alone does not name the painter, but via the painting the poet himself becomes a witness of the goddess' birth.

Although these short poems only describe the painting in the most cursory fashion, some inferences can be made about the appearance of the Aphrodite crafted by Apelles. While they may not all have been eyewitness accounts, since the painting was famous they

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<sup>113</sup> GA: 16.181.

<sup>114</sup> GA: 16.180; nothing seems to be known about the Democritus to whom this poem is credited.

must have been accurate portrayals of the work or they would have failed in their intent.<sup>115</sup>

Each verse repeats and reinforces Aphrodite's freshness, newly born and still wet from a foamy sea. Interestingly, the artist seems to have focused his attention solely on the goddess, excluding much in the way of setting or landscape. There is no mention of the presence of attendants to assist her from the water, ready to help her dress as described in Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns, or like the flock of companions who in some cases accompany the red-figure bathers. Instead, it would seem that Apelles chose one quiet and still moment for his representation: Aphrodite is just born with only the artist present to witness the event.

Each epigram describes Aphrodite rising, escaping, or being born from the sea, although none is explicit about what that looked like: whether Aphrodite stood in the water, floated on the tide's foam, had stepped onto the beach, or crouched on the shore. The verses also make a point of describing the goddess squeezing her hair with both hands. Three verses mention that the goddess is naked, however, this nakedness may be more inferred than explicit. Leonidas mentions the goddess' firm breasts as evidence of her "prime" nubile attractiveness. Democritus qualifies his description of Aphrodite rising "naked from the purple waves," with the statement that only the goddess' bare breasts are visible and "lawful to look on." It is difficult to ascertain what he meant by this statement. It does seem to beg the question of what "naked" signified and seems to imply that all levels of exposure were not equal. Considering the confusion about how much of the goddess

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<sup>115</sup> These poems could also be considered multiforms of the Aphrodite Anadyomene, each varying somewhat, but using similar themes and formulas. Departing from the essential features would make the poems false tellings of the Anadyomene.



was exposed, it is possible that the lower half of her body was obscured to some degree by painted water. This kind of reticence, which describes the goddess as naked, yet not necessarily fully exposed, is perhaps reflected by the surviving Anadyomene representations which were made in both naked and partially draped versions. The narrative background of her birth and its representation by Apelles alluded to in these verses is sufficiently ambiguous to accommodate both versions.<sup>116</sup>

There is no doubt that Apelles' painting of the Aphrodite Anadyomene was influential. A friend of Alexander the Great, Apelles was celebrated in antiquity as the preeminent painter of his time.<sup>117</sup> His fame meant that his works were highly prized, and by the first century BCE his Aphrodite was repeatedly cited as an example of quality and beauty.<sup>118</sup> Cicero, in particular, referred to it as an example of quality artwork, praised it for its life-like quality, and held it up as the epitome of Apelles career.<sup>119</sup> In his accusation against Verres for the plunder of the East, he speculated on the inestimable value of the painting and compared the current miserable state of the republic to the painting if it were

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<sup>116</sup> Sharon Herbert, "The Missing Pieces: Miniature Reflections of the Hellenistic Artistic Landscape in the East," in *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Far East*, ed. Yaron Z. Eliav, Elise A. Friedland, and Sharon Herbert (Leuven ; Dudley, MA : Peeters, 2008): 261, note 12 suggests that stories which describe the exploits of hetairae and suggest them as the model for the Anadyomene, such as Panscape (Pliny, *Nat.* 35.87) or Phryne (Athanaeus, *Deipn.* 13.590) imply that Apelles' painting did show the goddess fully naked.

<sup>117</sup> Strabo, *Geo.* 14.2.19 gives the original location of the picture. Pliny, *NH* 35.36.79, dates Apelles to the 112<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, or 332-329 BCE. No other artist was allowed to paint portraits of Alexander, and over thirty of his works, along with uncounted portraits of Alexander and Phillip were known in the first century CE (*NH* 35.36.92-96). Trained in Ephesus, but known as the Koan painter for his work on Kos, Apelles authored texts outlining the principles of painting. He traveled widely and was aware of the work of his contemporaries with whom he conducted friendly competitions. The evidence of one of these competitions was also taken to Rome where it hung in the imperial Palatine residences until destroyed by fire (Pliny, *NH* 35.36.81-84).

<sup>118</sup> Propertius, *Elegies* 3.9: "in Veneris tabbula summam sibi poscit Apelles."

<sup>119</sup> See Cic. *Nat.D.* 1.27 as a good example.

mud-smear<sup>120</sup>. Additionally, the transference of the painting from Kos to Rome in the early imperial period made it accessible to a new audience. The well-educated and well-travelled Roman poet Ovid, in particular, seems to have been taken with the painting and referred to it repeatedly.<sup>121</sup> In a fashion similar to Cicero's use, Ovid utilized the painting as a trope for quality. In a letter from exile, he compared the relationship between himself and his patron Sextus Pompeius to that between Apelles and his painting of the Anadyomene, "Just as Venus is at once the glory of the Coan artist, as she presses her locks damp with the spray of the sea . . . so I am not the last of your possessions, Sextus; I am known as the gift, the work of your guardianship."<sup>122</sup>

Twice more Ovid mentions the Aphrodite Anadyomene. His repeated notice of it is particularly in character for a poet obsessed with female toilette and seduction strategies. As Peter Green notes, "Every time Ovid mentions it [the Anadyomene] he refers to the goddess wringing out her wet hair, a gesture he seems to have found especially attractive."<sup>123</sup> Ovid's fascination with hair is especially addressed in *Amores* 1.14 where he bemoaned the abuse his lover has inflicted on her own locks which has caused its complete loss. The poet has effusive praise for the hair that now lies in her lap. Soft as silk and as

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<sup>120</sup> Cicero, *Verr.* 2.4.60. For the comparison see Cicero, *Att.* Letter 41 (2.21) dated to after 25 July 59 BCE

<sup>121</sup> Stephen E. Hinds, s.v. "Ovid," *OCD3*: Ovid was exiled from Rome in 8 CE. Since he referred to the picture with such familiarity and with the seeming assurance that his reading audience would know it well, it must have arrived in Rome some time before that date.

<sup>122</sup> Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, 4.1.29-30, 35.

<sup>123</sup> Peter Green, *Ovid, the Erotic Poems* (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1982): 351. For more on Ovid's obsession with hair see also Victoria Rimell, *Ovid's Lovers: Desire, Difference and the Poetic Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

fine as cobwebs, it had been perfectly easy to manage, never causing her to punish her maid.

The color had been a perfect blend of light and dark tones like wet cedar, and in the mornings as she lay on her purple pillows with her hair in disarray, she looked like a Bacchante. But no longer: “Now you’ve destroyed all that gorgeous hair. Hair Apollo or Bacchus would have loved to call his own; full and heavy as the hair I once saw nude Dione lift aside with dripping fingers in a painting.”<sup>124</sup> It is unclear whether this brief mention was meant to evoke Apelles’ work specifically, or the Anadyomene type more generally, however, the arrival of the famous painting in Rome would have made the allusion particularly pointed: this is no everyday Aphrodite’s hair, but the hair of the most beautiful Aphrodite ever painted. Sharon James argues that this poem “identifies the *puella*’s hair as perhaps the major signifier of her state of beauty.”<sup>125</sup> In this case, the lover’s distress is not simply vanity, but, in fact, the loss of her hair threatens her economic survival. Without it she may not be able to attract the wealthy lovers she relies on for support.<sup>126</sup>

By this time, however, images of the Anadyomene in many formats were available and growing in popularity. The fact that one could display an Anadyomene at home is manifest by a reference in the same poet’s *Tristia*. These few lines are embedded in a long

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<sup>124</sup> Ovid, *Am.* 1.14, lns. 31-34. (trans. John Svarlien, in Diane J. Rayor and William W. Batstone, eds., *Latin Lyric and Elegiac Poetry: An Anthology of New Translations*. (New York: Garland, 1995)). Peter Green’s translation is a bit looser, but more fun in its chatty and chiding tone: “. . . Her crowning/Glory, that any mod god might well/Have envied, sleek tresses like those that sea-wet naked/Dione holds up in the picture—gone, all gone.”

<sup>125</sup> Sharon James, *Learned Girls and Male Persuasion: Gender and Reading in Roman Love Elegy* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003): 172. The *puella* is the educated female subject of Roman elegy.

<sup>126</sup> James, 173.

poetic justification of the erotic verses which earned him exile, saying that his verses are not unlike paintings found in the homes of Romans: “Surely in our houses, even as figures of old heroes shine, painted by an artist’s hand, so in some place a small tablet depicts the varying unions and forms of love; there sits not only the Telamonian with features confessing wrath and the barbarian mother with crime in her eyes, but Venus as well, wringing her damp hair with her hands and seeming barely covered by her maternal waves.”<sup>127</sup> Ovid enumerates an interesting grouping of subjects, examples of which have survived from Pompeii and elsewhere: pictures of heroes, lovemaking in a variety of positions, the warrior Ajax, the tragic mother Medea, and the Aphrodite Anadyomene. Ovid highlights interesting counterpoints by bracketing the brutal, obsessive, and self-destructive Ajax and Medea with images of Aphrodite and her works.<sup>128</sup> Indeed, by doubly pairing sex and violence, one is reminded that the charming Aphrodite who appears wringing out her wet hair herself was born from a violent, sexual union.

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<sup>127</sup> Ovid, *Tristia*, 2.521-8 (trans. A. L. Wheeler, revised by G.P. Gould. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1924, second ed. 1988). Peter Green’s translation (*Ovid. The Poems of Exile: Tristia and the Black Sea Letters* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2005): 39) in more direct modern language makes the allusions explicit, but addresses the lines pointedly to the princeps: “Why, your very palace, though refulgent with portraits / of antique heroes, also contains, somewhere, / a little picture depicting the various sexual positions / and modes: there too you will find / not only the seated Ajax, all fury in his expression, / and savage Medea, eyes meditating crime, / but Venus too, still damp, wringing out her sodden tresses, / scarce risen from the waves that gave her birth.” Little has been written about this short passage, as it is commonly dismissed in the larger discussion about the poem. See for example: Bruce Gibson, “Ovid on Reading: Reading Ovid. Reception in Ovid *Tristia* II,” *JRS* 89 (1999), p. 35: “. . . [Ovid’s] comments on the effects of looking at visual images in *Tristia* 2.521-8 need not detain us.”

<sup>128</sup> Both Ajax and Medea are characters explored in some detail by Ovid. His tragedy *Medea* was lost. *Metamorphoses* Book 13 treats the death of Ajax: after faithful service in the Greek cause against the Trojans, battling against Hector in single combat, defending the Greek fleet, and fighting to retrieve the body of Achilles so that he could be buried with Patroclus, Ajax and Odysseus both laid claim to Achilles’ armor. Both spoke of their achievements; Odysseus’ greater eloquence won over the Greek leaders, and he was awarded the armor. In his wrath, Ajax drew his sword and killed himself.

## **PART TWO: The Anadyomene in Context**

The earliest attested representation of the Aphrodite Anadyomene, a painting by Apelles that hung in the Asclepieion at Kos, is also the earliest with a recorded context. Whether this was, in fact, the first time Aphrodite had been portrayed wringing the water from her hair or not, how such images were used and where they were deployed can tell us much about the import and meaning of the Anadyomene in the ancient world. Within a century following Apelles' painting, the Anadyomene type was widely replicated and travelled quickly throughout the Mediterranean. Seals from Tel Kedesh date to the mid-second century BCE and are the earliest preserved representations of the type. Three-dimensional works in terracotta and marble, however, are not securely datable before they appear on Delos in the late second century, early first century BCE. Since these Anadyomenes cannot be securely dated for at least another century and there is no direct link between them and Apelles' painting, it is inappropriate to consider that work "the original" from which the others were descended. It does seem undeniable, however, that Apelles' rendition signifies a tipping point in the transference of the hair-washing motif from a generic woman at her toilette to Aphrodite. Whether Apelles seized a new trend or started it, surely the artist would be gratified that the fame of his work has persisted for at least two and a half millennia.

I have sorted the works with known findspots into four categories and dedicated a chapter each: sanctuaries, burials, fountains and baths, and houses. By considering works within contexts, it is possible to ascertain what kinds of representations were considered useful or appropriate for each. Furthermore, reconstructing the ancient lives of these

representations returns these works to their original purposes as working objects, art which performed a function beyond that of an *objet d'art*, displaced now in a museum or private collection. Each object discussed is accompanied by an entry in the catalogue appended to the dissertation. Which includes bibliography for the work, illustrations, and plans with the findspot indicated.

Although my divisions were dictated by the material, separating them into four discrete categories may seem somewhat arbitrary and artificial. Ancient viewers would have been accustomed to seeing the Anadyomene, as well as many other works, in all their myriad contexts, and it is also quite likely that many works did multiple duties. Works found in houses may have been used for private or family devotion, and indeed, Aphrodite Anadyomene works have been found in *Iararia* in Pompeii. For example, as discussed in the section on burials, the funerary practice of including objects in graves is still incompletely understood. We do not know whether goods were purpose-bought and used once at the grave, or whether some came from the homes of the deceased as personal treasured objects. Furthermore, burial practices were surely inflected by religious practices. A case study presented here as an introduction can provide a useful example of the ways in which these contexts and uses merged in antiquity.

Although Kos offers the earliest historical Anadyomene, the earliest archaeologically datable evidence for the transmission and use of the Anadyomene are a group of fourteen seals found at a Hellenistic administrative center in Tel Kedesh, Israel. (Figures 30, 31) The site is located in Upper Galilee, approximately twenty five miles southwest from Tyre, in a

rich agricultural area inhabited since the Bronze Age.<sup>1</sup> Between 1997 and 2000 the joint expeditions by the University of Michigan and the University of Minnesota found evidence of a large administrative center. Having cleared twenty percent of a large structure, the evidence presented Hellenistic building over Persian construction with evidence of destruction and reoccupation in the mid-second century B.C.E. and even later settlement levels through the Roman and Byzantine eras. The earliest phase of the administrative building dates to the first half of the fifth century B.C.E. This was built in the Persian style, mixing public and residential use similar to other palaces of Persian and Hellenistic governors that combine an eastern plan with Greek decorative elements.<sup>2</sup>

An archive located in the northwest corner of the building was discovered with a cache of approximately two thousand sealings and at least one hundred kilos of pottery, much of which was intact, including a number of Rhodian storage jars with stamped handles dating between 180-145 B.C.E..<sup>3</sup> These, combined with seals showing portraits of Seleucid royals from between 167 and 148 B.C.E. provide a mid-second century B.C.E. date for the archive.<sup>4</sup> Additional finds suggested something of a mystery: the doorway to the room had been sealed, there was evidence of a fire, and the bones of two infant burials (one intact, one disturbed in antiquity) were found, together indicating a period of trauma, perhaps in

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<sup>1</sup> Sharon C. Herbert and Andrea M. Berlin, "A New Administrative Center for Persian and Hellenistic Galilee: Preliminary Report of the University of Michigan/University of Minnesota Excavations at Kedesh," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* no. 329 (Feb. 2003): 13.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert and Berlin, 16-20, 46.

<sup>3</sup> Herbert and Berlin, 20.

<sup>4</sup> Herbert and Berlin 20-24.

the Maccabean revolts circa 145 B.C.E.<sup>5</sup> With the exception of these northwest rooms, other excavated areas showed evidence of resettlement shortly after that date.<sup>6</sup>

For this study, the seals are a critical find due to their secure archaeological context. 2043 seals were found, 1765 of which were legible. Of those, 95% of the designs were Greek in inspiration, including mythological figures and portraits. Few of the seals could be considered definitely official, suggesting that both official and private documents were housed in the archive.<sup>7</sup> Seventy-six sealings from fifty-eight rings show Aphrodite, and fourteen seals, each from individual rings, display the Aphrodite Anadyomene.<sup>8</sup> These seals are the earliest datable Aphrodite Anadyomene representations; they are rare in Hellenistic seal finds, and none of those are as securely datable as those from Kedesh.<sup>9</sup>

Sharon Herbert, one of the lead excavators, has written several articles on the excavations and the sealings, particularly highlighting the representation of Aphrodite.<sup>10</sup> One particularly local type, not in evidence in any other location, shows a naked female figure standing in profile facing right (on the seal stone it would have appeared to face left)

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<sup>5</sup> Herbert and Berlin, 24: the hands and feet of both infants were missing with evidence of amputation; this suggested child sacrifice or purification ritual.

<sup>6</sup> Herbert and Berlin, 25-45.

<sup>7</sup> Herbert and Berlin, 50.

<sup>8</sup> Sharon Herbert, "The Hellenistic Archives from Tel Kedesh (Israel) and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (Iraq)," *Bulletin of the University of Michigan Museums of Art and Archaeology* 15 (2003-2004): 73-75. Herbert, "The Missing Pieces," 260-267.

<sup>9</sup> Herbert, "The Hellenistic Archives," 73, see also note 19: "The Kedesh collection provides the earliest secure date for the gems of this type."

<sup>10</sup> The seals have not been systematically published, therefore this discussion is wholly dependent on the choices of Herbert.



with the back leg engaged and the forward one free.(Figure 32) The right arm of the figure is bent at the elbow and lifted high, as though reaching up to scratch her back, which partially obscures the head.<sup>11</sup> This figure Herbert compares to the Callipygos type which shows the figure lifting the back of her dress up to reveal her buttocks, an action which is accompanied by a coy, over-the-shoulder glance, as though to make sure that the viewer is sufficiently appreciative. The comparison is not particularly apt: while the uplifted arm is reminiscent of the Callipygos type, the figure does not look over the shoulder and the complete lack of clothing undercuts the logic of the Callipygos' action. Instead, these figures standing in profile seem to share more in common with the Anadyomene when considered from the same angle. Unfortunately, such profile views are very rarely published and are, therefore, difficult to access.

Although not intact, a small statue found in the House of the Dolphins at Delos, discussed later in Chapter Six, is helpful in imagining the way a designer and gem-cutter could have adapted the Anadyomene or another similar naked type with uplifted arms, such as the Pseliumene (necklace-fastening) or Duodumene (hair-binding).(Figure 33) When seen from the figure's right side, it shares with the Kedesh seals the portrayal of a long body line from the shoulder down the torso and through the free right leg. The action smoothes and elongates the side, and the Anadyomene's uplifted arm is out of the way of the line of the torso. However, the Anadyomene's right elbow points directly out to the side and would have required foreshortening in a profile representation, likely completely illegible and visually confusing in such a small scale medium as gem-cutting. In raising the arm closer to

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<sup>11</sup> Herbert, 263-5.

vertical and lining it up with the bent head, the artists who cut the stones for the seals at Kedesh solved a visual problem by eliminating the need to foreshorten and improved the profile composition by lengthening the line of the body through the arm as well. It is impossible to know whether the cutters based this type on observations of well-known existing works, which they adapted, or whether it was a completely new local invention, original and imagined within a more general visual context.

The Anadyomene seals seem quite conventional in their representations, standing naked with both hands lifted to arrange the hair and looking directly out at the viewer.<sup>12</sup> What Herbert describes as “an almost frightening apotropaic stare” is perhaps belied by comparison with the bland expressions or slight smile of marble or terracotta figures where the facial features are more clearly discernable than on the tiny seals. However, the possibility that the Anadyomene could function in such a manner to ward off evil could explain the decidedly unbeautiful visages of painted terracottas from Corinth or late Roman terracottas from the Agora in Athens. (Figures 34, 35) The Corinth figurine is poorly made with blurry modeling, indicating a mold several generations from an original model.<sup>13</sup> The painting on the work has survived: green drapery and a mottled and grainy pink-red surface over the area of the exposed flesh. Any detail of the facial features would have been completely obscured by the thick paint, but the eyes were encircled by large black rings.

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<sup>12</sup> Herbert’s assessment (“The Hellenistic Archives,” 75) of the figures as peculiarly knock-kneed and confrontationally frontal in their pose is perhaps colored by the rather narrow comparison with predominantly large-scale, marble works invariably preferred as illustrations for the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* and other major studies on Aphrodite. See Herbert, “The Hellenistic Archives,” 73, note 21, or Herbert, “The Missing Pieces,” 265.

<sup>13</sup> Corinth, Archaeological Museum MF1985-48.

The Athens figurines were made from a mold which seems to have lost nearly all detail, requiring them to be incised in. As a result, they have mask-like, distorted features: low, furrowed foreheads, enormous eyes with pierced pupils, flattened noses, and grimace-like mouths.<sup>14</sup> Although ineptitude could explain the quality of these works, they seem to beg the question of how low the threshold would have been for an ancient buyer. Perhaps the fearsome faces combined with the recognizable pose of Aphrodite provided an added value, combining the power of the goddess with a Gorgon-like guardian.

A prescription for a magical amulet from the fourth century CE text states that an image of Aphrodite tying up her hair should be carved on a stone to be set in a ring with a bit of arugula root and nightingale tongue.<sup>15</sup> This recipe guarantees love, fame, and the power to speak sweetly. In her analysis of this passage, Maryse Waegeman states that depictions of Aphrodite touching her hair perhaps offered to the owner the sympathetic power of binding. As Aphrodite takes and binds her hair, the amulet would bind the owner's desire to him or her.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, David Ogden notes that hair was often an ingredient in binding magic.<sup>17</sup> This may have been one of the connotations implicit in the power of the Anadyomene sealstones.

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<sup>14</sup> Athens, Agora T2254.

<sup>15</sup> *Cyranides* 1.5.27-31;

<sup>16</sup> Maryse Waegeman, *Amulet and Alphabet: Magical Amulets in the First Book of Cyranides* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1987): 41-45. For additional examples, see Armand Delatte and Phillip Derchain, *Les intailles magiques Gréco-Égyptiennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque National, 1964): 233-43 for examples of erotic charms, esp. 243, nos. 334 and 335 which portray an Aphrodite with one hand raised to her head and the other holding a chain binding Ares.

<sup>17</sup> David Ogden, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: a sourcebook* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009): 263-4, no. 253.

The seals from Kedesh are particularly important since many small objects, qualified typically as “minor arts,” lack archaeological contexts that might provide dates or more information about their owners and their use. Items such as coins, seals, and jewelry, even without original contexts, however, are clear in their functions and the relationships they had with their owners. Unlike statuary, the owners of such objects had immediate, tactile, and physical relationships with them. Coins held both private and public meaning—for the singular user, they were objects to be handled, which held intrinsic value in their material, and perhaps most importantly, symbolized personal production and facilitated the exchange of goods and services.(Figure 36) The images placed on them, however, are reflective of the goals of a public entity, carrying information about the minting authority’s civic priorities or pride or religious or political allegiance.

Although seals were also used for public and possibly civic and governmental purposes, they were personal objects selected or given by individuals to be used by individuals. As personal jewelry, they were held and worn, often with the goal of not only pleasing the owner’s aesthetics, but to be displayed to others as a symbol of the self. Verity Platt writes evocatively about the relationship between a seal and its owner. Used as emblems of authority, the seal stood in place of the owner in his or her absence, “as a sign of ratification and authority, to proclaim, ‘I was here, and I assented to this.’”<sup>18</sup> Platt underscores that although the documents sealed are generally legal ones, many of them also govern personal relationships:

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<sup>18</sup> Verity Platt, “Making an Impression: Replication and the Ontology of the Graeco-Roman Seal Stone,” *Art History* 29.2 (April 2006): 241.

“The sealings which survive with these documents ‘stand for’ the individuals bound by such contracts and their witnesses; they are markers of their involvement in certain sexual, familial, legal, and economic relationships. . . . [they are] conveyor[s] of multiple meanings, standing for the identity, authority and responsibility of a specific individual or political body.”<sup>19</sup>

A seal protected the privacy and property of the owner by standing in his or her place; therefore, the emblem chosen to represent the owner must have had some personal meaning. Platt states, “As a representational phenomenon, seals were extraordinarily resonant objects, which acted as powerful metaphors for the individual and his or her engagement with the world.”<sup>20</sup> Although it is impossible to retrieve any individual’s reasons for choosing a particular seal, the choice may signify many things: a portrait of a ruler or depiction of a god announces to the world the affinity or allegiance of the seal-bearer; a seal may be a family heirloom, and its continued use could signify familial pride or legitimate inheritance; the owner may hope that the powers inherent in the symbol will transfer to them.

Not only did a seal stand-in physically for the owner, it was a physical possession, worn and handled. Platt calls attention to the physicality and intimacy of a seal:

“for their tiny dimensions mean that they can only be examined by one or two people at a time. They therefore demand intimacy, a prolonged and careful viewing whereby the tiny image which forms the matrix or impression expands by force of the multitude of signs it carries until it occupies huge dimensions within the mind.”<sup>21</sup> . . . Some images also seem to provoke an awareness of the power of touch; many intaglios depict sensuous bodily forms which, while not entirely visible in the original, are transformed into almost tangible flesh when imprinted in the smooth,

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<sup>19</sup> Platt, 236-7.

<sup>20</sup> Platt, 241.

<sup>21</sup> Platt, 237.

pliable medium of wax or clay. . . . Seal owners also had a very physical relationship with the stones themselves; one had to lick and intaglio before imprinting it in order to make a clear impression, . . .”<sup>22</sup>

The experience of a seal, then, was a sensuous one combining the experience of sight, touch, and taste: the small scale required that it be viewed closely to authenticate it, the choice of material could underscore the meaning of the emblem (such as the common use of blue stones for bathing Aphrodites), the form of the carving could be rubbed as one would a talisman, not to mention the licking of the stone, intensely erotic in the case of a representation of the naked Aphrodite, where the owner provided the bath.

This cache of seals from Tel Kedesh embodies some of the difficulties with classifying the use for many representations. Seal stones could be personal objects, jewelry chosen and worn by an individual, but also used in public and legal settings. Should these, then, be classified as domestic or public? The fuzzy blending of real-life situations should be kept in mind when considering the material covered in the next four chapters. Chapter Three considers Anadyomenes found in religious sanctuaries, beginning with Apelles’ painting on Kos and ending in a hidden Mithraeum in Rome. Chapter Four deals with goods found in graves from three sites. The circumstances of the excavations of two of the cemeteries would make an interesting study in the history of archaeology on its own. Chapter Five concentrates on Anadyomene sculptures, paintings, and mosaics from baths and fountains. These watery contexts are the only in which the Anaydomene seems to have appeared in

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<sup>22</sup> Platt, 250. Platt is the only source in print I have found who mentions licking them. Martin Henig confirmed this as a good way to get the seal wet which makes for the best impression (personal communication November 1, 2010).

public. Chapter Six comprises the largest amount of material: those found in houses. Most of the sites, beginning with Delos and ending in Aphrodisias, yielded multiple examples.

### Chapter Three: The Aphrodite Anadyomene in Sanctuaries

Sanctuaries provide some of the earliest datable examples of the Aphrodite Anadyomene. The first work discussed here, a painting by Apelles which hung in the Asklepieion at Kos, has been held by some to have been the first depiction of the Aphrodite Anadyomene. It is not known where the painter's inspiration came from. A well-travelled member of elite circles, he spent his later years on Kos. It is nearly certain that he would have seen Praxiteles' notorious bathing Aphrodite on nearby Knidos; the Koans had themselves rejected the statue in favor of a more conservatively draped image. Eager to paint his own naked goddess, was he struck by an image of a youthful woman washing her hair painted on a vase or carved into a bronze mirror back? Were small figurines from Egypt portraying the Anadyomene already making their way to trading partners throughout the eastern Mediterranean?<sup>1</sup> The close connection between Kos and Alexandria is certainly a factor to consider in the spread of the image. Perhaps Alexandrians visiting Kos for trade, embassy, or training brought their own Anadyomene representations, which then provoked Apelles' own portrayal. Conversely, perhaps they saw his work and requested similar images when they returned home? Did a Koan, relocated to Alexandria, commission an artist to replicate in three dimensions the painting of Aphrodite by the famous Apelles and thereby stir a new fad with a new Aphrodite? It is impossible to know for certain, and ancient travel and trade patterns make each one possible.

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<sup>1</sup> As mentioned in the Introduction, Margarete Bieber (*The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 98) suggested that the Aphrodite Anadyomene type originated in Alexandria as a portrait of Arsinoe II. Although I do not subscribe to this theory, a significant number of Anadyomene representations have been found in Alexandria and throughout Egypt, many likely dating to the Hellenistic period. Unfortunately, there is no published information about their archaeological contexts to supply concrete information about date or use.



### **Kos: Asklepieion**

The painting by Apelles which depicted Aphrodite in her guise as the Anadyomene, showing her birth from the sea, is arguably the first time the goddess was represented as such, and also the first work of that type with a recorded context. (Cat. Sanctuary 1) It was originally installed in the Asklepieion on the island of Kos between the late fourth and early third centuries BCE; later the painting was removed to Rome by Augustus.<sup>2</sup> Although historical documentation exists, no archaeological evidence of this painting has survived.

An island in the Dodecanese, Kos is situated less than 30 kilometers from the coast of Asia Minor and the ancient city of Halicarnasus (modern Bodrum). Through the third century BCE, it was an important partner for the Ptolemaic empire based in Alexandria. In territorial wars in the late fourth century after the death of Alexander, Ptolemy operated from Kos and his son Ptolemy II Philadelphus was born there.<sup>3</sup> The interchange between Kos and Alexandria was highly intellectual; Koans served as tutors to Ptolemaic heirs, and as doctors in the courts. Representatives from Kos were sent to Naxos as arbitrators and representatives of Ptolemaic interests, and doctors were sent from Alexandria to train at the Koan medical school and travelled between Kos and Alexandria for research.<sup>4</sup> Trade in

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<sup>2</sup> The early excavations of the sanctuary were not published. The best description of the site can be found in Rudolf Herzog and Paul Schazmann, *Kos: Ergebnisse der Deutschen Ausgrabungen und Forschungen*. Band 1: Asklepieion. (Berlin: IM Verlag von Heinrich Keller, 1932).

<sup>3</sup> This relationship remained important to both the Koans and Philadelphus: Herzog and Schazmann, 98-100.

<sup>4</sup> Susan Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos : an historical study from the Dorian settlement to the imperial period* (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1978): 84, 90-107.

products and labor was also important: wine and amphorae were imported to Alexandria,<sup>5</sup> and Koans served in Egypt as soldiers.<sup>6</sup> Increased Roman domination in the eastern Mediterranean from the second century BCE on also impacted the island. Shifting trade led to the decline of Rhodes' influence in this period, but it does not seem to have adversely affected Kos.<sup>7</sup> Although the precise date of Roman settlement on Kos cannot be currently determined, Sherwin-White found no evidence to support a date earlier than the mid-second century. As attested by a dedication from Roman traders in 44 BCE, the fertile wine-producing island and opportunities for trade attracted Romans; by the first century CE Romans were granted the right to own land and established estates, and Romans were admitted to a local priesthood of Apollo.<sup>8</sup> There seems to have been no similar community at Rhodes in the same period—Romans and Italians chose settlement on Kos earlier and in far greater numbers than at Rhodes through the first century CE.<sup>9</sup> During the Roman civil wars in the late first century BCE, Kos unfortunately chose the losing side in the conflict by

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<sup>5</sup> Sherwin-White, 226, 240-41. See also H. Johnsson, "The Export of Koan Wine to the South-eastern Mediterranean Area during the Hellenistic Period," in *The Hellenistic Polis of Kos: State, Economy and Culture*, ed. K. Höghammar (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2004), 133-151.

<sup>6</sup> Sherwin-White, 106.

<sup>7</sup> Herzog and Schatzmann, 72, believed that Kos began to decline along with Rhodes, however Sherwin-White found no evidence to support this (Sherwin-White, 227). Earthquakes at the end of the first century BCE also contributed to the shifting trade patterns.

<sup>8</sup> Sherwin-White, 251-5.

<sup>9</sup> Sherwin-White 253-4.

supporting Antony. Among the repercussions was the removal of the painting of Aphrodite from the island, along with other well-known works.<sup>10</sup>

In his description of the island, Strabo gives the location of the Asklepieion and describes its holdings: “In the suburb is the Asclepīeium, a temple exceedingly famous and full of numerous votive offerings, among which is the Antigonus of Apelles. And Aphrodite Anadyomene used to be there, but it is now dedicated to the deified Caesar in Rome, Augustus thus having dedicated to his father the female founder of his family.”<sup>11</sup>

Excavations begun in the early twentieth century have indicated that during a period of growth and economic development on the island at the end of the late fourth into the early third century BCE, the Asklepieion was designed and built as a unified whole.<sup>12</sup> The complex is situated within three terraces on a hillside approximately 100 m above sea level, and overlooked the town and narrow strait separating the island from the mainland, toward ancient Halicarnassus. The plan reveals a certain desire for symmetry and regularity by the construction of central stairways leading into the lowest and uppermost terraces, and peristyles which delimited the upper and lower levels. The topography of the site seems to have defeated a strictly axial arrangement, however, as none of the terraces and staircases

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<sup>10</sup> Sherwin-White, 72.

<sup>11</sup> Strabo 14.2.19. Translation: H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, Ltd. 1924).

<sup>12</sup> Sherwin-White, 40-90 discusses this period which included the founding or expansion of the town of Kos and its harbor across from Halicarnassus. Previously the population was scattered throughout the agrarian interior with settlements in fortified villages in the hills. The expansion of the economy and the development of trade relationships increased the wealth and population of the new harbor town, resulting in major new construction projects such as the Asklepieion and famous commissions of artworks such as a statue of Aphrodite by Praxiteles or the painting by Apelles. Sherwin-White, 334-359 discusses the cult of Asclepius and the building of the healing shrine. Herzog and Schazmann, 72, date the first phase of building after c. 300 BCE.

are aligned with the others.<sup>13</sup> Approaching the precinct, one climbed the stairs leading through a propylon into the lower courtyard. Wells were found next to the stairway leading to the next level and would have provided the necessary water for cult activities.<sup>14</sup> The top terrace held a sacred grove of cypress trees and later a temple to Aesklepios.<sup>15</sup> It stood open for a sea view, with the peristyle surrounding it at the back. In contrast to these two well-organized spaces, the middle terrace seems somewhat haphazardly planned. This second terrace had no limiting peristyle and held a number of important cult buildings. A small two-chambered Ionic temple and an *abaton* took most of the available space on the right of the stairs leading up to the temple.<sup>16</sup> A monumental altar to the god surrounded by a precinct wall partially blocked the left side of the stairway. Next to the stairway was a semi-circular exedra and further to the east stood a long building constructed as an open porch that faced the town and sea. The function of this building, named Building E by the excavators, has not been precisely determined, however it contained a number of statue bases.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The terraces are numbered in publications from the top down: Terrace One, Two, and Three.

<sup>14</sup> Herzog and Schazmann, 60-9. Subsequent construction took advantage of the available water here: in the Roman period the draw-wells were modified into fountains, and a large latrine was added the west side of the peristyle, and a bath complex was built on the east.

<sup>15</sup> Herzog and Schazmann, 14-21. Second-century BCE modifications included the building of a Doric order temple at the top of the staircase leading up to the terrace and the rebuilding of the altar on Terrace Two in a more monumental, baroque style. On the Altar see Herzog and Schazmann, 3-13.

<sup>16</sup> Herzog and Schazmann, 25-31 (altar), 34-39, (abaton) 49-51.

<sup>17</sup> Herzog and Schazmann, 40-1. Sherwin-White, 343. Kristin Höghammar, *Sculpture and Society: A study of the connection between the free-standing sculpture and society on Kos in the Hellenistic and Augustan period* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Boreas, 1993), 155-182, identified 27 inscribed statue bases from the Asklepieion, 7 of which were still located on this terrace. Sherwin-White, 352, describes the Asklepieion as “a beautiful ‘museum’”.

A description of a busy, cluttered art-filled sanctuary can be found in the fourth mime of Herodas.<sup>18</sup> This short scene, thought by many to have been set at the Asklepieion at Kos, depicts the visit of two women, one pretentious, the other naïve, to the shrine. While they wait for the temple custodian to come and approve a thank offering of a cooked chicken they discuss artworks they see: several sculptures by the sons of Praxiteles including a girl looking at an apple, a statue of an old man, another of a boy strangling a goose, and a portrait of a woman named Batale, daughter of Myttes. They praise the lifelike qualities of the painted figures they see as well, mentioning a naked boy with silver fire tongs, an ox, a herd, a girl, and an old man. Without being clear whether she sees these individuals in the same frame or not, the pretentious woman attributes their excellence to Apelles. Unfortunately, there is no mention of the famous Aphrodite, but the works mentioned provide a sense of the visually stimulating (or overstimulating) surroundings of a rich sanctuary. Additionally, the mime presents evidence that a certain segment of the viewing population would have been well informed about the artists who created them.

It is possible that the Aphrodite Anadyomene was commissioned or purchased specifically to decorate the new temple; perhaps it was a prized object donated later by a wealthy and thankful patron. Unfortunately the circumstances of the painting's commissioning and donation to the temple is lost. It is worth noting, however, that the last years of Apelles' life when he resided on Kos and the initial building phase of the

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<sup>18</sup> Herodas, *Mime* 4. On the author see Herodas, *The Mimes of Herodas*, trans. Guy Davenport (San Francisco: Grey Fox Press, 1981): ix-xiv; Richard L. Hunter, "Herodas," *OCD3*, 695. Little is known about Herodas whose works were only discovered in 1890 when they were discovered on papyrus scrolls acquired for the British Museum. His work seems to date to the middle of the third century and references cosmopolitan Hellenistic life. Two mimes (two and four) seem to be set on Kos.

Asklepieion in the first half of the third century BCE seem to have coincided. Furthermore, a painting showing Aphrodite rising out of the sea would have been a subject particularly well suited to the site considering the excellent views of the sea from the terraced hillside.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the watery theme would have been especially appropriate for the decoration of the healing cult where bathing was an important part of the healing regimen. As to the timing of the work, a rivalry between Kos and neighboring Knidos is often mentioned in the ancient sources as one reason the Knidians were eager to acquire Praxiteles' naked Aphrodite after the Koans rejected it in favor of a more conventionally draped statue.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the notoriety of the Knidian Aphrodite caused the Koans to rethink their conservatism, or at least to accept a naked representation of the goddess, as long as it did not serve as the cult image.

#### **Delos: Serapieion A and C, Bastion Shrine**

Located in the center of the Cyclades near Mykonos where modern travelers must base their visits, the small island of Delos was sacred in antiquity as the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis. An important religious site from the eighth century BCE, it increased its prominence as a cosmopolitan trading center from the late fourth to the late first century BCE. It was dominated by Athens after the Persian Wars, but gained independence by the end of 314 BCE and remained free until 166 BCE. During this period, the cosmopolitan

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<sup>19</sup> Apelles' exact lifespan is unknown, however Pliny mentions that he surpassed all other painters in the 112<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, that he was Alexander the Great's preferred portraitist and that after his death he painted portraits of both Ptolemy and Antigonos and he died at Kos while painting another Aphrodite. Pliny 7.38, 35.36; Sherwin-White, 95 note 60 states that Apelles died by c 280 BCE, but she does not disclose her reasoning of the date.

<sup>20</sup> Pliny, *NH* 36.4.20-22.

environment of the island is reflected by the institution of the Ptolemaia and Philidelpheia festivals for the Egyptian rulers, and the foreign patronage of building programs such as the porticoes of Phillip V and the Pergamene rulers.<sup>21</sup> A connection with Kos is apparent as well: beginning in 282, Kos sent *theoroi* to Delos. The names of 23 of them are preserved in dedicatory inscriptions and merchant records for imports of Koan wines in the early second century B.C.E.<sup>22</sup> The importance of the trade relationship between the two islands is also reflected in the minting of a new Koan coin using the Attic standard, acceptable for trade on Delos.<sup>23</sup> This indicates a shifting of the pattern of trade from the Ptolemaic-controlled south and east towards the west and Rome when the growing commercial and cosmopolitan atmosphere of the island boomed. The close ties between Alexandria, Kos, and Delos suggests a mechanism by which the Aphrodite Anadyomene dispersed across the eastern Mediterranean—perhaps carried primarily as small objects for trade.

In 166 BCE, Rome seized control and expelled the residents. Athenian settlers replaced them, and the port was declared duty-free in order to make it a more competitive trading locus.<sup>24</sup> Merchants and bankers from the Greek East and Italy converged on the

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<sup>21</sup> See *Guide*, 22-23 and 117-8, nos. 3-4.

<sup>22</sup> *Theoroi*: Sherwin-White, 91. 299-300. See also P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque impériale* (Paris, 1970): 97-101. Wine imports: Sherwin-White, 240. For more about the Koan *theoroi*, see K. Rigsby, "Theoroi for the Koan Asklepieia," in *The Hellenistic Polis of Kos: State, Economy and Culture*, ed. K. Höghammar (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2004), 9-14.

<sup>23</sup> Sherwin-White, 135.

<sup>24</sup> Particularly against Rhodes. For an historical overview see P. Bruneau, *Études d'archéologie délienne*, *BCH* Supplement 47 (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 2006), 111-187 (originally published as "Contribution à l'histoire urbaine de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale," *BCH* 92 (1968): 633-709). Also Bruneau and Jean Ducat, *Guide de Délos*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Paris: École française d'Athènes and Éditions E. de Boccard, 1983): 22; J. Tréheux, *Rev. archéol.* (1948): 1008-1032.

island to take advantage of the new favorable trade policies and the population grew to roughly five times the pre-Roman population.<sup>25</sup> Two notable invasions in the first century led to the ultimate decline of Delos: in 88 BCE the island was sacked during the revolt of Mithradates VI against the Romans by the forces commanded by Archelaus. It was attacked again in 69 BCE during the second war of Mithridates, when his ally Athenodoros led pirates to devastate the island.<sup>26</sup> Phillippe Bruneau believes that the archaeology of the site belies the extreme devastation and desolation of the island described in literary accounts.<sup>27</sup> He cites the repairing of mutilated statues, the building of a fortifying wall by Roman legate C. Valerius Triarius, and the reconstruction of buildings, such as the temple of Isis in Sarapieion C, as evidence that purposeful habitation continued on Delos.<sup>28</sup> However, changing trade patterns eventually led to the decline of the population, and extensive cult and commercial activity.<sup>29</sup> Fifteen marble and terracotta Aphrodite Anadyomenes are among the finds at Delos, thirteen of which have findspots recorded. All of the works are small scale, and most are of modest quality. Although all seem to have been discarded and none was found in-situ, the locations in which they were discovered suggest their original use. I discuss here

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<sup>25</sup> Estimated at 25,000 by J. Tréheux, *BCH* 76 (1952): 582. Also *Guide*, 26.

<sup>26</sup> Appian, *De bello Mith.* 28; Pausanius, 3.23.2. Phillippe Bruneau, *Études d'archéologie délienne*, *BCH* Supplement 47 (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 2006), 149-187).

<sup>27</sup> For the pessimistic literary views see for example: Strabo, 10.5.4, who says that the island was left desolate; Pausanius, 3.23.3-4, says that it was razed to the ground, which was clearly not true.

<sup>28</sup> Bruneau, *Études d'archéologie délienne*, 149-187 (*BCH* 92 (1968): 671-709) discusses the later inhabitation of the island, but disagrees that the years 88 and 69 "représentent des heures très noires de l'histoire délienne."

<sup>29</sup> *Guide de Délos*, 27-30: A small population remained on the island until the medieval period when it was raided again in 727, 769, and 821 by the Byzantines, Slavs, and Saracens, respectively. After the attack of 69 BCE a wall was built by the Roman legate C.V. Triarius to protect the sanctuary, markets, and some small part of the residential area. For more on this see *BCH* 32, 418; and Pierre Roussel, *Délos, colonie athénienne* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1916): 332.



three terracotta figurines found near religious shrines; other works found in domestic areas are discussed in a subsequent section.

At Delos, Sarapis was worshiped with other Egyptian gods including Isis, Anoubis, and Harpocrates (a Hellenized Horus), and the town accommodated three Sarapieia.<sup>30</sup> Not especially creatively labeled by those who have studied them, they have come to be known by the appellations A, B, and C. Sarapieia A and B were both private foundations and remained relatively small. Sarapieion C, however, served as the locus for official and public worship.<sup>31</sup> Two fragments of terracotta Anadyomenes were found in the environs of Sarapieia A and C. A2247, an upper torso of dark red clay, comes from an area west of Sarapieion A.<sup>32</sup>(Cat. Sanctuary 2) A1916, an armless torso and head with long locks flowing over the shoulders, was uncovered at the bottom of the Terrace of the Foreign Gods, near Sarapieion C, and seems to come from the same mold as two other fragments.<sup>33</sup>(Cat. Sanctuary 3)

The function of Sarapieion A was identified by a long inscription carved onto a pillar found in the courtyard of the building. This text, dated to the last quarter of the third century B.C.E., documented in both prose and hymn form the foundation of the cult center

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<sup>30</sup> *Guide de Délos*, 219.

<sup>31</sup> *Guide de Délos*, 220. Sarapieion A was established around the beginning of the third century BCE by an Egyptian priest; B is very poorly preserved. Philippe Bruneau, *Études d'archéologie délienne*, 158-9 (*BCH* 92 (1968): 680-1) states that the Temple of Isis at Sarapieion C was repaired after the attacks of 88 and 69 using materials from the Sanctuary of the Foreign Gods and the other Egyptian sanctuaries, indicating that they had fallen out of use.

<sup>32</sup> Alfred Laumonier, *Les figurines de terre cuite* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1958): 161, No. 488.

<sup>33</sup> Laumonier, 161, No. 486. Compare to A395 (Laumonier, No. 485) and A3915 (Laumonier, No. 487) which are discussed below.

and the triumph of the priest over his adversaries in a legal matter. A priest of Sarapis called Apollonius brought the cult from Memphis when he settled on the island in the mid-third century B.C.E. His grandson, Apollonius II, was able under the guidance of the god to purchase land and move the cult from the rooms rented by his grandfather into a permanent, dedicated site. The vacant land, auspiciously located near a small reservoir of the Inopos river in a built-up residential area, had been used as a neighborhood garbage dump.<sup>34</sup>

Built into a slope, Sarapieion A was accessed on the north side by a stairway which led down from the road above into a courtyard around which the activity of the cult revolved. The open space, flanked by covered porticoes on the north and south sides, accommodated a small temple, three altars, and an offering box. Cult practice also required a large room for dining and a flowing water source; a canal brought in the necessary water from the Inopos' reservoir.<sup>35</sup> Because the north portico was at a level higher than the courtyard, it was accessed by a doorway on one of the short ends, rather than through the colonnade, and its walls contained niches where lamps, statues, or offerings could have been held. The colonnade of the south portico was later blocked up by a wall. The sanctuary remained in use until the population of the island declined in the first century B.C.E.

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<sup>34</sup> *Guide de Délos*, 220; inscription text: *Inscriptiones graecae (IG)*, XI, 4, no. 1299; for analysis of the text, see Helmut Engelmann, *The Delian Aretalogy of Sarapis* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975). See also Phillippe Bruneau, *Études déliennes publiées à l'occasion du centième anniversaire des fouilles de l'École française d'Athènes à Délos (ÉD)*, *BCH Suppl.* 1 (1973) 119-136; "Deliaca," *BCH* 99 (1975): 280-83; and *Guide de Délos*, 220.

<sup>35</sup> *Guide de Délos*, 221.

In the late third century Sarapieion C was built across a flattened area on the slopes of Mt. Kynthos, a space which it shared with a precinct dedicated to Syrian gods.<sup>36</sup> Temples to Isis, Sarapis, and Anoubis were located in the most secluded, interior space, and a series of 3 irregularly-shaped, porticoed courtyards carefully controlled the access and movements of the worshipper. The entrance to the precinct was through a gateway on the far south end of the terrace. Within the first, long, trapezoidal courtyard stood a small temple, set askew to the porticoes which flanked it, and the long, sphinx-lined dromos which preceded it. To reach this building, one had to traverse the colonnaded passageways of the first courtyard and enter into a second courtyard. It was only from this location that one could reverse direction and access the dromos.

The most restricted space of the precinct was a third courtyard that held three temples. Porticoes and large rooms, which could have been used to accommodate the ceremonial dining associated with the Egyptian cults, surrounded the space. Inscriptions of the official inventories of these indicate that statues of Sarapis, Isis, and Anoubis were housed together in one temple, but that by 156/5 B.C.E. Isis and Anoubis each had their own naos as well.<sup>37</sup> The prostyle temple of Sarapis sits on the north side of the courtyard, opposite the entrance. The temples of dedicated to Isis and Anoubis were built on the east, against the slope of the hillside, and required two flights of steps to reach them. The temple of Isis seems to have endured the longest. Evidence points to its rebuilding after the surrounding structures were destroyed: stones from other parts of Sarapieion C as well as

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<sup>36</sup> This area has become known as the Terrace of the Foreign Gods.

<sup>37</sup> Roussel, 273.

materials from the neighboring sanctuary of Syrian gods have been found in the rebuilt temple. Bruneau was not at all certain that the damage to the sanctuaries occurred in the mid-first century BCE attacks, but proposed instead that it was as likely that the sanctuaries on the terrace fell into disuse and damage sometime later.<sup>38</sup> A second century CE terracotta lamp from Corinth with the image of Isis Pelagia strongly suggests that the goddess continued to be worshipped at Delos for some time.

Epigraphic evidence points to the worship of Aphrodite along with Isis at the Sarapieia at Delos, and supports the identification of these locations as the original contexts for the terracotta Anadyomenes. At Sarapieion A a small marble plaque reading *Ἀφροδίτης* was found.<sup>39</sup> Two inscriptions from Sarapieion C mention Aphrodite; one uses Aphrodite as an epithet for Isis: *Ἰσιδι Ἀφροδίτη Δικαία*.<sup>40</sup> The other listed Aphrodite along with the three Egyptian gods as those to whom the building of stairs and walls around the temple of Isis was dedicated.<sup>41</sup> As further evidence, an inventory of the temple of Anoubis listed a marine Aphrodite along with other offerings.<sup>42</sup> While the exact type of Aphrodite meant by this cannot be certain, an Aphrodite Anadyomene would surely have suited the description.

The third terracotta figurine found in proximity to a religious shrine was preserved only as a very abraded head and upper torso, nearly identical in appearance and condition

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<sup>38</sup> Phillippe Bruneau, "Contribution à l'histoire urbaine de Délos," *BCH* 92.2 (1968): 681, 706.

<sup>39</sup> *IG* XI 1305; Roussel, 92.

<sup>40</sup> *BCH* VI, 329, no. 24.

<sup>41</sup> Roussel, 120.

<sup>42</sup> *Kallistratos* B, 1, 1.8. See text in Roussel, 277; also in the inventory were statues of Anoubis, an Eros, a wooden Herakles, and "diverses statuettes décoraient le pronaos."

to the figurine found near Sarapieion C.<sup>43</sup> (Cat. Sanctuary 4) According to Laumonier, this piece was found east of the sacred lake and the Wall of Triarius. This fortification was built after the sack of 69 BCE under the supervision of the Roman legate G. Valerius Triarius, and formed a western fortification around the sanctuary and port area. Sequestered within the eastern side, and forming the base of one of the bastions of the wall was a small square building, dating to perhaps the end of the second century BCE. The foundations and western portions of its walls as well as the altar which stood to the east have survived. The eastern portion of the sanctuary as well as the surrounding buildings were nearly completely razed, however. A low gray-blue marble bench has survived against the back wall of the temple and could have held a cult statue and votive offerings. Bruneau suggested that the destruction of the sanctuary was not due to hostile forces, but was a purposeful choice by the defenders. The small temple was a useful foundation for the bastion and by clearing the area to the east of the wall they acquired building materials as well as opening up a clear defensive perimeter.<sup>44</sup> It has been theorized that the structure was dedicated to the worship of a goddess, perhaps Artemis Soteira or Aphrodite.<sup>45</sup> If the latter, this provides a plausible context for the terracotta to be offered a votive.<sup>46</sup>

### **Athens: Sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania**

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<sup>43</sup> Laumonier, 161, Nr. 487, Pl. 51. This figurine could not be located when I examined others at Delos.

<sup>44</sup> Bruneau, "Contribution à l'histoire urbaine de Délos," 685-6, and "Deliaca," 280.

<sup>45</sup> Description from Bruneau and Ducat, *Guide*, 199, n. 72 and P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard: 1970), 307, and 328-29. See also *BCH* 49 (1925) 466-69, 50 (1926) 568, and 99 (1975) 280.

<sup>46</sup> While Anaydomenes have been recovered in sanctuaries belonging to other gods, it seems like the subject would be particularly unlikely as a dedication to Artemis.

In 1980 to 1982 excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens on the north side of the Panathenaic way uncovered the western end of the stoa poikile and a religious sanctuary with a large altar and small temple.<sup>47</sup> The precinct was identified as the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania on the basis of deposits of ash and the burned bones of mostly goats and birds, the main sacrificial victims to Aphrodite. The identification was confirmed by the writings of Pausanius who described a sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania near the temple of Hephaistos and the stoa poikile.<sup>48</sup> In its earliest phases the monumental altar dated to the late archaic period, c. 500 BCE, with a second construction phase c. 430-20 BCE, possibly to repair damage from the Persian sack.<sup>49</sup> It was not until nearly five centuries later in the Augustan period that an Ionic prostyle temple was constructed immediately north of the altar over the foundation of classical houses.<sup>50</sup> Functional for some four centuries, the building was repaired in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps restoring the temple after the attacks of the Visigoths in 396. It was pulled down shortly thereafter, however, and replaced by a portico which linked the existing stoa poikile and the royal stoa.<sup>51</sup>

Although the new temple of Aphrodite Ourania was fairly small, it would have been very visible on a small wedge of land at the busy juncture where the Panathenaic way led

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<sup>47</sup> T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1980-1982," *Hesperia* 53.1 (Jan.-Mar. 1984): 1-57.

<sup>48</sup> Shear, "1980-1982," 37-40. Pausanius 1.14.5-15.1. David S. Reese, "Faunal Remains from the Altar of Aphrodite Ourania, Athens," *Hesperia* 58.1 (Jan.-Mar. 1989): 63-70.

<sup>49</sup> Shear, "1980-1982," 28-32.

<sup>50</sup> Shear, "1980-1982," 33-5.

<sup>51</sup> On the repairs: T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1989-1993," *Hesperia* 66.4 (Oct.-Dec. 1997): 501. On the new stoa section: Shear, "1980-1982," 36-7.

into the Agora. The building shows evidence of an east-meets-west sensibility. In plan it is quintessentially Roman, leading Shear to observe, “More than any other Athenian building . . . the Temple of Aphrodite, with its deep porch and shallow cella, recalls contemporary temples of the Italian homeland and of Rome in particular.”<sup>52</sup> Its Athenian character is demonstrated by the carving on the upper part of a column found built into a Byzantine wall 10 meters away which “exactly reproduces the familiar anthemion on the Ionic columns of the north porch of the Erechtheion.”<sup>53</sup> This detail, as well as similarities to the moldings of the columns of the temple of Roma and Augustus, suggests that stone carvers were able to examine the columns of the Erechtheion, possibly as it was repaired from damage sustained in the Roman attack of 86 BCE.<sup>54</sup> The repetition of the motif from the Erechtheion on the two new buildings was surely meant to create a visual echo tying the three Athenian buildings together.<sup>55</sup>

In addition to repairs on the Erechtheion and the construction of the Temple of Roma and Augustus, a number of Roman-sponsored buildings were also constructed in the Agora: a new marketplace, an Odeion built by Agrippa, a temple to Ares, and several as-yet unidentified temples took over space formerly dedicated to the public assemblies of the democracy. In an article written shortly before the discovery of the sanctuary of Aphrodite

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<sup>52</sup> Shear, “1989-1993,” 498.

<sup>53</sup> Shear, “1989-1993,” 501.

<sup>54</sup> Shear, “1989-1993,” 506-7.

<sup>55</sup> The connection is further strengthened between the repeated Erechtheion motifs and Augustus when one recalls that the caryatids and column capitals were copied in order to be integrated into the architecture of the Forum of Augustus in Rome. See P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1988) 256-7.

Ourania, Shear observed that these new buildings “established the ancient market as an appropriate spot where the new cults of the Roman family might plant themselves most visibly in the city.”<sup>56</sup> Shear calls attention to the parallel of the new marketplace funded by Caesar and Augustus in Athens with the contemporaneous construction of the new fora of Caesar and Augustus in Rome—both projects aimed at relocating the center of business from the traditional loci.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, when one considers that new temples to Ares and Aphrodite were dedicated in the Athenian Agora at the same time as those of Mars and Venus in the new fora in Rome, the comparison is all the more striking. Although it is unknown who funded the building of the temple of Aphrodite Ourania, the choice to augment the sanctuary dedicated to the foremother of the Julii strongly suggests an intention to honor the new princeps.

Subsequent excavations in the vicinity has turned up three Anadyomene figurines, two in terracotta and one in ivory, which span in date from the second half of the first century to the fifth century CE.<sup>58</sup> Terracotta T4367 was found in a pit behind a commercial building northeast of the sanctuary, which was in use as a terracotta manufactory from the classical period through the first century CE.<sup>59</sup>(Cat. Sanctuary 5) Along with this

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<sup>56</sup> Shear, “Athens,” 362.

<sup>57</sup> T. Leslie Shear, “Athens: From City-State to Provincial Town,” *Hesperia* 50.4 (Oct. - Dec., 1981): 359-60.

<sup>58</sup> The three objects were found in a nearly straight line northeast of the temple, between 10 and 30 meters from the back wall. Two other Anadyomene terracottas seem to have been found in the vicinity also, T4407 and T4690, however they have not been published and were not available for examination. They are both mentioned in John M. Camp, “Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 2002-2007,” *Hesperia* 76 (2007):641. They are not included in my catalogue.

<sup>59</sup> John M. Camp, “Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1994 and 1995,” *Hesperia* 65.3 (July-Sept. 1996): 240, no. 18. This figure, according to Camp, is very similar to Agora T4407 which has not been published.



Anadyomene, the coroplast's dump included molds of a warrior, a boar, and a wheel, as well as a cast wheel, the head of a Pan figurine, the head of a grotesque, and a lamp with a gladiator figure. John Camp's analysis concluded that the material found indicated that at least part of the building functioned as a work and sales shop for terracotta production, and these objects were discarded when the building was abandoned.<sup>60</sup> This figure, of a purplish clay, is preserved in fragmentary condition, with only the head, arms, back, and right side of the chest through the upper torso remaining. The mold seems at least a few generations from the original sculpted figure as the body seems overly smooth and tubular and the facial features are shallow and broad. Traces of black paint are visible around the eyes and in the hairline, while red paint is visible on the back and right side. From its findspot, one can imagine that for some reason—perhaps it was broken before it could be offered for sale—the figure was discarded around the time that the workshop was closed, never having fulfilled the intended purpose as a votive for the nearby sanctuary.

Nearly three centuries later another Anadyomene was discarded in another nearby pit or well with remains that seem to indicate domestic habitation such as pottery, lamps, glass, and coins.<sup>61</sup> Figurine T4426 was recovered in two pieces, broken below knee level, but easily mended. (Cat. Sanctuary 6) The work's late date, determined by the accompanying material, is confirmed by the hairstyle: from the front the hair looks as though it has been gathered back in a thick, puffy roll towards the crown, rather similar to the styles worn by

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<sup>60</sup> Camp, "1994 and 1995," 239-41.

<sup>61</sup> John M. Camp, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1996 and 1997," *Hesperia* 68.3 (July-Sept. 1999): 281, no. 61.

sixth century Byzantine empresses.<sup>62</sup> The facial features are pronounced: the eyes are rather protruding and the mouth curves into a large, open smile.<sup>63</sup> The figure is half-draped with a large knot at center-front which obscures the pudendum, however the goddess's modesty is preserved only so far, since the thick roll from the front dips down below the buttocks in the back. Unusually, this Aphrodite seems to be wearing pointed slippers. The craftsmanship of the figurine was not the best—the halves were not carefully joined, creating an oddly thick body and the extra clay was not carefully trimmed from around the figure. The work was covered with white slip which has remained in the crevices and an additional yellow layer was added to the drapery.

In 2005 an ivory figurine, BI 1222, was found only 10 meters northeast of the sanctuary in a drain which had been used for centuries. (Cat. Sanctuary 7) Other recovered material included six and seventh-century lamps.<sup>64</sup> Camp assigns a late fourth-early fifth century date to the figurine, stating that it was likely that the ivory Anadyomene was thrown away at about the time the sanctuary went out of use in the first half of the fifth century CE. At this time a stoa was built over the site in order to link the two stoas on

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<sup>62</sup> The back of the head does not seem to correspond well with the front, showing no indication of the thick roll from the front. Instead, it is parted in the center and seems to cartoonishly swing out to either side. From the back, this work is notably similar to other Agora terracottas, although their fronts do not correspond as closely. See Cat. Terracotta 50, 52, and 53 for comparanda. It is possible that the back was utilized with little change while the more detailed and important front was modified.

<sup>63</sup> Other terracotta figurines from the Agora seem to take this expression to an extreme, becoming much more of a Gorgon-like grimace. See for example Cat. Terracotta 59.

<sup>64</sup> John M. Camp, "2002-2007," 640-2, no.11. The Aphrodite find was the highlight of the season and was featured on both the excavation team's commemorative t-shirts for the season and the cover of the American School report.

either side.<sup>65</sup> The ivory was well carved, with an attention to detail and volume, including a slight sense of foreshortening to create the illusion of greater depth and roundness than the ivory could provide. The figure seems to stand with the right side somewhat forward, emphasized in the larger right breast and the right knee that overlaps the left. Drapery covers the back and wraps under the left arm and around the left hip and thigh to be tucked between the legs. The right arm is missing. The left arm holds out a long lock of hair; a section which would have attached it to the head is now missing. A simple *stephane* is fastened behind the thick strands of center-parted hair. The face is full and round, and although the nose is rather ill-defined and blobby, the eyes and mouth are distinct.

These three figures, all found within thirty meters of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania demonstrate the kind of offerings available to the devoted. Although probably unassuming in a busy and crowded area, the location at the place where the Panathenaic way fed into the Agora would have been difficult to avoid, and in its early years a nearby ceramic workshop seems to have provided the worshipper a convenient location to procure an offering. Perhaps a passerby could have been inspired by the goods for sale and prompted to make an offering at the new little temple. The surprising find of the ivory Anadyomene demonstrates that even in its last phases, when Christianity was increasing in influence, the devoted of means could procure a well-crafted depiction of the goddess in a traditional pose. The quality of the ivory stands in marked contrast to extremely poorly

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<sup>65</sup> Camp, "2002-2007," 642.

rendered Anadyomene terracottas of similar date found in the Agora, many of which look frankly frightening with Gorgon-like features and expressions.<sup>66</sup>

### **Pompeii: Temple of Isis**

The Temple of Isis, located behind the theater of Pompeii, was built to replace an earlier structure damaged in the earthquake of 62 C.E.<sup>67</sup> One entered the sacred precinct through a doorway at the northeast corner and emerged into wide porticoes surrounding the nearly square courtyard in which the temple itself sat. In some ways, the building draws on a quintessentially Roman architectural vocabulary in its use of a high podium, prostyle porch, wide cella, and central stairway. However, the aediculae that abut either side of the cella walls are unique additions to the idiom. Their function to hold cult statues seems to be supported by the placement of altars in front of each. From a design standpoint, however, they seem ill-conceived; looking at the temple straight-on, the pronaos columns impede the view.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, unlike many Roman temples where the axial quality of the building is reinforced by a long open forecourt, in this case, the courtyard is small and crowded. Statue bases flanked the stairs, and with no space directly in front of the temple

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<sup>66</sup> See for example T1224 where the figure seems to have been transformed into a lamp, the anatomy is cursory at best, indicated with inscribed lines; or T2254 with wide staring eyes and a grimace.

<sup>67</sup> CIL 10.846 gives the name of the donor N. Popidius Celsinus, son of N. Popidius. The temple was excavated between December 15, 1764 and September 27, 1766. Peter Hoffmann, *Der Isis-Tempel in Pompeji* (Münster and Hamburg: LIT, 1993) is the best source for all aspects of the temple. For a summary of the architecture see: Lawrence Richardson, Jr., *Pompeii, an Architectural History* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988): 281-5 (calls it overdecorated and shoddy . . . the taste shown here is that of small houses with cluttered gardens . . . the temple itself is rather feminine, almost frivolous in its architectural effect, small and elaborately decorated. It is architecture to be seen, not architecture to be experienced.") See also V. Tran Tam Tin, *Essai su le culte d'Isis à Pompéi* (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1964): Chapter II: "Isis à Pompéi", 30-39. For more on the cult of Isis in the Mediterranean world: François Dunand. *Le Culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée. Études Préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain* 26. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973.

<sup>68</sup> A third niche in the center of the back of the temple held a sculpture of Dionysos.

for an altar, it was shifted to the north. A square, unroofed chamber was built into the east corner of the courtyard and held a deep basin, likely to hold the water necessary for the Egyptian rituals.<sup>69</sup> An uninterrupted view of the temple building would have been continually obstructed by columns and statuary in the portico, and structures and altars in the courtyard. The building was constructed of tufa and brick, and completely covered with decorative stucco work inscribed to look like large stone blocks, molded into acanthus friezes, and light architectural ornament. Lawrence Richardson characterizes the idiosyncratic architecture combined with its ornament as giving the temple “an exotic air.”<sup>70</sup>

As alluded to in the description above, the entire precinct was decorated with paintings and stucco work that depicted animals, small temples, gods, priests, priestesses, cult practices, and scenes of Egyptian mythology.<sup>71</sup> As a whole, the decorative impulse suggested to Richardson a taste similar to that displayed in many Pompeian gardens.<sup>72</sup> In contrast to the cramped courtyard, the portico was wide and spacious and allowed access to many of the working spaces of the shrine. A large meeting room behind the temple accommodated gatherings of worshippers and ritual meals. Its decoration included Egyptianizing landscapes and scenes of Io, and a large, acrolithic statue. Adjacent to it was a room that provided an exit from the shrine around the back of the theater, past the

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<sup>69</sup>For the controversies on the purpose of this chamber (a room for ablutions or purifications, or initiation into the rites) see Tran Tam Tin, 34 and notes 3-10 on that page.

<sup>70</sup> Richardson, 283.

<sup>71</sup>Tran Tam Tinh, 135-146, nos. 29-54. Richardson, 285, notes that stucco and paint made up for shoddy and cheap architecture.

<sup>72</sup> Richardson, 285, “. . . the taste shown here is that of small houses with cluttered gardens . . . It is architecture to be seen and not experienced.” As a comparable example, he cites the House of Marcus Lucretius, which also held an Anadyomene (Cat. Terracotta 15).

neighboring palaestra. More than just a passageway, it also served as a storage space and housed a large number of terracotta vessels, lamps, and figurines, glass, bronze, lead wares, cooking utensils, and fragments of marble statues of varying sizes, some possibly components of the acrolithic statue which had stood in the meeting room.<sup>73</sup> Seemingly no space in the shrine was left undecorated: this was also painted with Egyptian themes, including sphinxes and Egyptian gods. Another irregular space also fit into the curved back wall of the neighboring theater, and was similarly decorated. It seems to have been used as a sacristy or storeroom for cult paraphernalia.<sup>74</sup> In the east corner of the precinct a suite of rooms provided a kitchen, and living accommodations for the priests, as well as a second story.

Six statue bases were found irregularly distributed between the columns of the portico, and other statues were located in niches in the portico wall. A marble statue of Isis was located on the north corner, and a Herm and half-draped marble Anadyomene statue were found along the south wall.<sup>75</sup> (Cat. Sanctuary 8) The Anadyomene is not well carved, and lacks detail and nuance. The down-turned head, arms tucked close to the body, and a hunched torso create a very closed and introverted impression. The statue was originally painted with yellow hair and blue drapery, with gilding applied to the breasts and pubic area. There is some controversy over whether Naples MNA 6298 is, in fact, the statue which

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<sup>73</sup> Hoffmann, 94-106.

<sup>74</sup> Hoffmann, 106-16.

<sup>75</sup> The statue of Isis was donated by L. Caecilius Phoebus; the herm by C. Norbanus Soret. Hoffmann, 124-27; E. Dwyer, *Pompeian Domestic Sculpture: a study of five Pompeian houses and their contents* (Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1982), 63 note 3; 64 note 1, fig. 190; Tran Tam Tinh, 36, 82.

was found here. Eugene Dwyer did not think so, considering the poorly crafted work too lowly to belong to the temple, and assigning it instead to a shop on the Strada del Foro. The original figure, similar in subject, size, and decorative polychromy he believed lost.<sup>76</sup> More recently, however, Peter Hoffmann explored the conflicting accounts and the evidence. He concluded that although the two works seem to be remarkably similar in their description, and while there does seem to have been some confusion in the transferring of the works to Naples, that this statuette was, in fact, the one from the Isis temple.<sup>77</sup>

Paintings on the portico walls continued the Egyptian and cult themes. Directly opposite the entrance to the temple courtyard, a framed niche contained a painting of a priest sacrificing to Harpocrates, the Hellenized version of the Egyptian god Horus. The rest of the walls were covered by figural scenes above red and black panels. These showed images of priests interspersed with sacred and funerary scenes. The pilasters showed a maritime parade and marine theme was further reinforced with images of sea beasts such as hippocamps and dolphins.<sup>78</sup> V. Tran Tam Tinh explained these as depicting Isis' role as protectress of the seas, celebrated by a festival, the *Navigium Isidis*, held at the beginning of March to open sailing season.<sup>79</sup> This festival is described by Apuleius in his story *The Golden Ass*. After being forced to wander and endure trials in the form of an ass, the protagonist of

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<sup>76</sup> E. Dwyer, 63 and 64, note 1. Dwyer's own ambivalence about the work is demonstrated in the fact that his hesitation about the work's provenience is only mentioned in the note, on the previous page he states that it came from the temple.

<sup>77</sup> Hoffmann, 124-7.

<sup>78</sup> Tran Tam Tinh, 98.

<sup>79</sup> Tran Tam Tinh, 99-10. On this aspect of Isis see also: Françoise Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée, vol. 1: Le culte d'Isis et les Ptolémées* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973): 94-98.

the story, Lucian, finds himself at the seashore. There, in the light of the full moon, he immerses himself seven times and calls upon the “all powerful goddess,” whoever she may be, to save him and return him to human form.<sup>80</sup> In response Isis appears and claims an identity “representing in one shape all gods and goddesses.”<sup>81</sup> She then instructs him to find a priest during the festival on the next day. The procession includes men and animals in costumes, light-bearers, musicians, and initiates. Women strew flowers, carry mirrors, sprinkle perfume, and carry ivory combs and pretend to comb out the goddess’ hair.<sup>82</sup> While the character of the Hellenized Isis encompassed and adopted the attributes of many goddesses, at both Delos and Pompeii, one sees the goddess likened to Aphrodite. It is perhaps Isis’ guardianship over the seas which make the Anadyomene, with its own marine allusion, such an appropriate dedication to Isis. Additionally, the image of women processing and re-inacting the toilette of the Isis, especially the combing and arranging of hair, is particularly evocative of the Anadyomene.

### **Rome: Mithraeum, Baths of Caracalla**

In 1911, excavators in Rome discovered an over-life-sized marble Anadyomene in a room that stood adjacent to, and perhaps formed an integral part of a Mithraeum built into the substructures of the outer precinct porticoes on the northwest side of the Bath of

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<sup>80</sup> Apuleius, *The Golden Ass, or Metamorphoses*, trans. E.J. Kenney (London, New York: Penguin Books, 1998): 195.

<sup>81</sup> Apuleius, *Met.* 11.5.

<sup>82</sup> Apuleius, *Met.* 11.9.



Caracalla.<sup>83</sup>(Cat. Sanctuary 9) This shrine remains the largest Mithraeum found in Rome, and the second largest found within the empire.<sup>84</sup> Accessed through underground passages which connected the *caldarium* of the central bath building to the porticoes, the sanctuary was constructed within a series of cross-vaulted rooms that had been repurposed for the rites of the mystery cult. The corridors and rooms originally functioned as service areas supporting the workings of the bath and its surrounding complex of gardens, libraries, shops, and meeting spaces. The baths were likely begun in 211 CE, at least in design phases, and the main bath block was dedicated c 216 CE, although the outer porticoes may not have been completed until later.<sup>85</sup> The construction required a massive terraced and leveled platform, and this foundational preparation allowed for the construction of wide service tunnels and waterways beneath the entire area.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>E. Ghislanzoni, "I sotterranei," *NSc* 9 (1912): 317-25. Notices on the excavations were printed in the "Archaeological News" section of *The American Journal of Archaeology* in both 1913 and 1914 (*AJA* vol. 17 (1913): 118; vol. 18 (1914): 101). M.J Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956): 187-190, nos. 457-463 (the Anadyomene is no. 460). While the baths were long a source of building materials, they began to be earnestly investigated in the 1540s under Pope Paul III (a Farnese) with the goal of uncovering rich building supplies and statuary to glorify the Farnese. Janet DeLaine, *The Baths of Caracalla: a Study in Design, Construction, and Economics of Large-scale Building Projects in Imperial Rome* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997): 40-45, outlines the use and excavations of the baths.

<sup>84</sup> M. Piranomonte, s.v. "Mithra, Spelunca (Thermae Anoniniana; Reg. XII)," *LTUR* vol. 3, ed. E.M. Steinby (Rome: Quasar, 1993-2000):267-268, fig. 179.

<sup>85</sup> DeLaine,15-16, 37. See also: M. Steinby, "L'industria laterizia di Roma nel tardo imperio" in A. Giardina (ed.), *Società romana e impero tardo antico II* (Rome 1986): 108 which suggests that the outer precinct was rebuilt by Aurelian on the Caracallan plan after a fire.

<sup>86</sup> DeLaine, 19: "Extensive subterranean service areas were built as part of the platform, including galleries wide enough for two carts to pass, and a water mill, while one of the largest *mithraea* yet discovered was later inserted into them. There are also narrow maintenance passages running around and under the central block, extending to the cisterns at the rear of the outer precinct; under them at a lower level are the major drains."

Passing down a long corridor, one entered the shrine and accessed the long nave where the main rituals likely took place through a series of vestibules.<sup>87</sup> Entering the first room (A) a water basin was located to the left under a half-dome. To the right, another doorway led into a secondary suite of rooms (E & F), which may have originally functioned as a latrine.<sup>88</sup> Room E was subdivided into two small latrines on the east side, between which stairs led down into a passageway that ended in an opening in the center the floor of the nave. Room F had a long platform or shelf supported by four niches, all brick constructed, along the back wall, and a large round sunken font with steps on either side. These features suggested to Piranomonte that Room F functioned as a site for ritual washings.<sup>89</sup>

A large cross-vaulted room beyond vestibule A was subdivided into a larger room at the front (B) which provided entry directly into the main nave; this room also contained a basin in the corner by the doorway with steps leading down into it. Room C beyond it was roughly half as large, and the findspot of the Aphrodite Anadyomene; this space included a doorway to access the narrow side aisle of the nave.<sup>90</sup> This main sanctuary (D) measures 23 m. by 9.7m (a bit more than 75 by 30 feet) and was composed of four bays divided by thick brick pilasters; the central space was further defined and limited by the raised brick benches that surrounded the open central rectangle. Narrow side aisles behind the benches with

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<sup>87</sup> Plan is Piranomonte's, fig. 179.

<sup>88</sup> L. Lombardi and A. Corazza, *Le Terme di Caracalla* (Rome: Fratelli Palomb, 1995): 139.

<sup>89</sup> Piranomonte, 268.

<sup>90</sup> Ghislanzoni, 324 mentions the finding of the statue, but not its exact placement in the room.

doorways cut into the brick pilasters provided a pathway to circulate around the space without disturbing the activity in the center, and steps led from these side aisles up to the raised platform at the far end. Four pits were evenly spaced down the central axis of the nave. The closest to the entrance was round, with a marble rim and lid, and contained a round pot within it. The second was a deep square shaft surrounded by a larger rectangular edging and was the entrance to the underground passage to Room E. The other two pits were shallow and square—the one closest to the platform at the end included a channel that ran under the bench on the north side.

The system of sequential vestibules and rooms accessible by single doorways provided a system of control and limits for initiates and also prevented access by the uninitiated. In Latin inscriptions found in Italy, a Mithraeum was often termed a *spelaeum*, or cave, and in some locales were in fact situated in caves.<sup>91</sup> As Roger Beck observed, the Mithraeum differed from many other religious sites in being relatively invisible to the outsider, lacking exterior decoration or space for the public's religious participation.<sup>92</sup> In spite of this lack of visibility and because of their cave-like properties, the shrines were not typically free-standing edifices, but instead were often secreted in baths, warehouses, shops, or apartment buildings, conveniently located in easily accessible public buildings. As noted previously, the Mithraeum at the Baths of Caracalla is among the largest; typically the

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<sup>91</sup> Manfred Clauss, *The Roman Cult of Mithras: The God and his Mysteries*, trans. Richard Gordon (New York: Routledge, 2000): 43-4.

<sup>92</sup> Roger Beck, s.v. "Mithras," *OCD3*, 991.

sanctuaries were much smaller and more numerous. It seems that worshippers preferred to split congregations for more intimate gatherings.

Since the cult of Mithras was a mystery religion, very little about the actual rites performed in these spaces is known, leading N.M. Swerdlow to state that “one must admit that nothing is known of the tauroctony and next to nothing about the rituals and beliefs of the cult of Mithras,” although much has been written and debated about the beliefs and practices of its adherents.<sup>93</sup> As expected of a mystery, the literary sources are limited, and much of the evidence for the cult is physical: the structure and décor of the surviving Mithraea and inscriptions left by adherents. The basic mythological cycle of Mithras has been reconstructed from stone reliefs and painted frescoes; the main cult image illustrated the god slaying a bull (or a *tauroctony*) and was illustrated at the end of the Mithraeum, often within a niche. Other representations of episodes from the god’s life show his birth from rock, where the youthful god springs naked from stone; causing water to spring from a rock; hunting and capturing the bull; and sharing a meal with the god Sol, laid out on the skin of the slain bull. Many surviving reliefs and mosaics also include depictions or symbols for the sun and moon, the planets, and the zodiac; at the Mithraeum of the Seven Spheres in Ostia, mosaics covered the benches with signs of the zodiac across the top and symbols

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<sup>93</sup> N.M. Swerdlow, “Review Article: On the Cosmical Mysteris of Mithras” *CPh* 86.1 (January 1991): 62. Swerdlow seems to have a low opinion of the Mithras cult as a religion, and he deals out a sarcastic commentary on both it and studies on the topic, particularly those focused on cosmology; Clauss provides an excellent introduction to the conception of religion in the ancient world, the place of mystery cults, and the nature of the evidence for Mithraism; a helpful analysis of the trends in Mithraic scholarship and state of the field can be found in Peter Edwell, review of *The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire: Mysteries of the Unconquered Sun* by Roger Beck, *BMCR* 2006.12.08; David Ulansey, *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries: Cosmology and Salvation in the Ancient World*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), Ch. 1 and 2, provides a summary of scholarly positions to that date.

of the moon and planets, including Venus, on the face.<sup>94</sup> The five known planets, plus the sun and the moon, were equated to the seven levels of priesthood available to initiates, with each category of priests under the protection of one of the heavenly spheres, and Venus was the protector of the *nymphus*, or bridegroom.<sup>95</sup>

This basic understanding of the cult's belief system and the structure of the Mithraeum at the Baths of Caracalla suggest how some of the features may have been used. Water sources and basins are important features of all Mithraea, and at least two, possibly three, prominent sources of water and facilities for ritual washing were available in this structure—first as one entered room A, second in the corner of room B, and possibly the deep font-like structure of room F. The round pot covered with a marble lid near the entrance of the nave may also have held water, taking the place of a sacred spring.<sup>96</sup> The benches in the nave facilitated ritual banquets, and animal bones of all kinds as well as fruit seeds have been found in many Mithraea, deposited in the pits in the center of the nave, covered with stone lids. It is possible that at least two of the four pits in the center of the served this function.<sup>97</sup> The adjacent suite of rooms running parallel to the nave also would

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<sup>94</sup> Clauss, 52-57, provides an excellent survey of these images. Roger Beck, *The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): 104, fig.3 provides a reconstruction of this mosaic scheme; this author also presents a complete study on the subject in *Planetary Gods and Planetary Orders in the Mysteries of Mithras* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988).

<sup>95</sup> Clauss, 133-138.

<sup>96</sup> Clauss, 71-74. He states that lacking a spring, "A crater might be substituted . . ." and was often illustrated on a relief.

<sup>97</sup> Clauss, 115.

have provided a large and convenient area for preparing the meal.<sup>98</sup> Dario Cosi strongly objected to the suggestion of some that the large pit with the underground passage leading between this suite and the nave would have facilitated the ritual slaying of a bull as part of the rites.<sup>99</sup> Despite the somewhat hand-wringing tone with which Cosi laid out his objections to the mess and smell such a sacrifice would create in the narrow, dark, and airless space, his suggested scenario that the passageway was perfectly sized and arranged for a miraculous appearance, perhaps recreating the birth of the god from the stone, and possibly accompanied by some limited pyrotechnics, seems a good one.<sup>100</sup>

As for the location of the monumentally-scaled statue of the Anadyomene, scholars seem silent as to an explanation, other than to say that representations of the planetary gods in Mithraea are expected. Other Anadyomene have been found in Mithraea, notably, another large marble depiction was found in a major Mithraeum in Mérida, Spain.<sup>101</sup> As Venus was the protector of the *nymphus* priestly order, perhaps Room C served as a location for them to gather and learn their responsibilities; perhaps the doorway, which led out of the room and into the side aisle along the left side of the nave, facilitated their ritual

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<sup>98</sup> Although modern observers may be troubled by the proximity of food preparation to latrines, this was common in Roman architecture and the arrangement is visible in many Pompeian houses. The situation is practical as Roman latrines offered running water and a site for disposal of scraps.

<sup>99</sup> Dario M. Cosi, "Il Mitreo nelle Terme di Caracalla," in *Mysteria Mithrae*, ed. Ugo Bianchi (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979): 933-42, pl. 26-33.

<sup>100</sup> Cosi, 938-9, 941.

<sup>101</sup> Other Venuses in Mithraea are listed by Vermaseren,: nos. 86 (a bronze and a marble) , 241.5, 268.1, 288.7, 299.6, 307, 356, 442 (possibly two), 467, 488, 693.3, 784 (the Anadyomene from Mérida), 785 (the torso of a pudica Aphrodite, also from Mérida), 931. Vermaseren, no. 556, also documents a relief located in the Vatican museum which had restored an Aphrodite Anadyomene in place of the damaged depiction of Mithras' birth from rock—demonstrating the restorers greater familiarity with the depiction of the goddess' birth-myth than that of Mithras. The Mérida Anadyomene is illustrated in Clauss, 161, fig. 117.

duties in some way. Unfortunately without more detailed information about the rituals, such explanations must remain completely conjectural.

There has been some scholarly disagreement over whether the Aphrodite found in the Roman Mithraeum should be considered as part of a discrete and separate edifice, and thus serving a wholly different purpose, than belonging to the Baths of Caracalla proper. Although Hubertus Mandersheid includes it in his inventory of the sculptures found in imperial-era baths, Miranda Marvin states firmly that because of the association of Venus with Mithras, thus adequately explaining the function of the statue in its findspot, “There is no reason, therefore, to associate this statue with the bath.”<sup>102</sup> John Curran, however, argues persuasively that Marvin may have been overly hasty in her assessment that such statuary was wholly unrelated to the main function of the bath complex.<sup>103</sup> By Marvin’s calculations, the bath contained over 100 statuary niches.<sup>104</sup> Curran argues that statuary in the late antique period was regularly moved from areas that had fallen into disuse to be redeployed in other more used contexts. Bathhouses often accommodated Mithraea and thus the two functions may have been linked in the minds of ancient viewers. Furthermore, the relocation and reuse of a statue from the bath parallels the usurpation and repurposing of its service areas for cult rituals. Although there is no evidence to definitively place the

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<sup>102</sup> Manderscheid, 74, no. 49, pl. 17. Mandersheid clearly states that the statue came from the Mithraeum. Miranda Marvin, “Freestanding Sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla,” *AJA* 87.3 (July 1983): 376, note 179.

<sup>103</sup> John Curran, “Moving Statues in Late Antique Rome: Problems of Perspective,” *Art History* 17.1 (March 1994): 51.

<sup>104</sup> Marvin, 353. DeLaine’s accounting seems to be somewhat higher and her register of possible sculptures at the bath is rather less strict than Marvin’s.

Anadyomene among the bath's furnishings, such a representation was common and appropriate for bath décor, and the monumental scale and high quality of the work itself would certainly have fit the work to the scale and quality of the bath's sculptural program.

### **Summary**

As a brief summary of this section, a few observations can be made. The first concerns the notion of quality and permanence. The painting by Apelles was deployed as both a decorative object and a religious dedication, and it seems to have served its purpose admirably, gaining fame and notoriety. In spite of its relocation from Kos to Rome, its essential dual purpose was maintained, and its endurance for at least four hundred years is remarkable. This kind of permanence was not required for a votive offering, however. The terracottas found at Delos and Athens, easily and cheaply obtained, could be characterized as disposable, and many similar works have been found in graves.<sup>105</sup> Certainly the donor of the marble statuette to the temple of Isis in Pompeii did not intend his or her offering to be considered a throw-away, but the low quality of the work is notable and caused at least one scholar to question its suitability for the temple. In light of Richardson's assessment of the precinct's architectural style and decoration as rather showy and cheap, perhaps it was ideally suited to its surroundings.

Secondly, the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania in Athens is the only context for these works which was surely dedicated to the goddess. This shrine also shows the longest span of Anadyomene offerings, from the first through the fifth centuries CE. The identification of the bastion shrine at Delos is unsure, and the other religious sites discussed here were

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<sup>105</sup> This use discussed elsewhere in this dissertation.



those of other gods. As attested by the mime of Herodas, which described a visit to an Asklepieion, possibly the one on Kos, many varied works of art seem to have been appropriate as dedications and were valued perhaps for their quality and the fame of the artists who made them. The adoption of the aspects and roles of Aphrodite within the sphere of Isis in the Hellenistic period explains the presence of Aphrodite at the Serapieia on Delos and the temple in Pompeii. The role of Isis as protectress of the seas, celebrated with a festival in the early spring to mark the opening of sailing season, makes the Anadyomene a well-suited offering. In contrast with these works, the sculpture in the Mithraeum from the Baths of Caracalla, while certainly decorative, likely also served a didactic purpose. It is unclear whether the Anadyomene type, in this case, provides any necessary benefit or function, or whether any Aphrodite representation would have done as well.

## Chapter Four: The Aphrodite Anadyomene in Graves

In this section I examine three sites where terracotta representations of the Aphrodite Anadyomene were found as grave offerings. The first two locations, Myrina and Elaeus, are both located in Asia Minor and were excavated under the supervision of the French School in Athens: Myrina in the 1880s and Elaeus in 1915. The third site, Stobi, located in present-day Republic of Macedonia, was excavated by a joint Yugoslav-American team in the 1970s. Together these three sites comprise an excellent overview of evolving archaeological practices from the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. Many more works in my catalogue must also have come from tombs; however, their archaeological contexts cannot be substantiated. In the latter half of the nineteenth century pressures on the art markets of Europe and the east drove a trade in foreign and looted goods to supply a new vogue for terracottas, but they also led to important archaeological discoveries.

In each case the works described here were included in archaeological reports which provide both secure provenience as well as more complete understanding of the ways they functioned as grave goods. The available reports from each of these excavations are reflective of the state of archaeology as a field at the time in which they were written. The excavations at Myrina took place at the height of a craze for the acquisition of terracottas by museums and private collectors alike, and much of the subsequent scholarship on the finds has focused on them in isolation from their original contexts.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For example: Simone Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs et romains. II. Myrina*. (Paris: Éditions des Musées Nationaux, 1963); Dominique Kassab, *Statuettes en terre cuite de Myrina: Corpus des signatures, monogrammes, lettres et signes* (Paris: Institut Français d'Études anatoliennes d'Istanbul, 1988).

Elaeus was discovered by French troops digging trenches in a major campaign during World War I. In spite of the dangers and inconveniences of the rescue operation, the subsequent accounts of the finds, though dry, are more comprehensive than the information recorded from the Myrina excavations. They include complete descriptions of the graves as they were found, including stratigraphy, burial method, tomb construction, the state of the physical remains, and other goods found. Many of the terracottas from Elaesus were of rather poor quality. Perhaps the archaeologists, trained at the French School in Athens and, therefore, surely familiar with those found at Myrina thirty years previous, were less impressed with them.

The exploration of ancient Stobi, undertaken nearly a century after those at Myrina, were the most scientifically focused and methodically executed of the three sites. Although a few graves turned up a remarkable number of terracottas, many of which were still in reasonably good condition (despite breakage), they are mentioned in the initial reports only briefly as highlights without great description. The graves themselves were analyzed and published in great detail, with emphasis on forms and burial methods, but there has been no comparable analysis of the terracottas. Perhaps in the ninety years between the excavations of Myrina and Stobi, terracotta figurines had become so common and expected that they rated only a mention in passing.

None of these sites or their reports provides a complete view of ancient burial practices that either fully explains the role of terracotta figurines or the significance of the inclusion of the Aphrodite Anadyomene among grave offerings. Furthermore, the rationale and beliefs underlying ancient burial practices have been somewhat elusive to scholars.

Grave gifts, and specifically terracotta figurines, have been interpreted as meaningless, everyday objects arbitrarily chosen, domestic décor repurposed, objets d'art, or treasured possessions of the dead.<sup>2</sup> Countering these views, however, is the work of Daniel Graepler whose thoughtful examination of grave goods from Taranto, Italy, led to a well-formulated theory that they reflected the social standing of the deceased in terms of age, rank, and gender. Most suggestive for this study is his conclusion that objects such as makeup containers, cosmetic tools, hairpins, spindles, loom weights, and terracottas of Aphrodite, Eros, and female figures signified women's roles as maiden, bride, wife, and mother.<sup>3</sup> Ute Mrogenda, drawing on Graepler's work, reconsidered the finds from the necropolis of Myrina by analyzing them in comparison with similar works found in domestic and religious contexts at nearby sites such as Pergamon and Priene.<sup>4</sup> In both Graepler's and Mrogenda's studies the major drawback is the lack of confirmation through additional forensic evidence. For Myrina, although summary accounts of burial methods and the physical remains were

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<sup>2</sup> For summaries of these views and counter positions see Daniel Graepler, *Tonfiguren in Grab, Fundkontexte hellenistischer Terakotten aus der Nekropole von Tarent* (Munich: Biering und Brinkmann Verlag, 1997): 201, and Ute Mrogenda, *Die Terrakottafiguren von Myrina* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996): 4-5. R. A. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines* (London, 1986): 65, "In general, however, it is clear that at some sites that figurines of exactly the same kind were kept in the home, offered in sanctuaries and buried with the dead; a fact which suggests that they were, in the first instance, personal possessions. In fact, whether human or divine in intent, it is most likely that these figurines accompanied their owner to the grave for purely practical reasons. Like the pottery, jewellery, and other personal possessions, they were there to be of use and comfort in the next world as they had been in this."

<sup>3</sup> Graepler, 167-8. Although he believes grave goods signifying males to be more generic, objects from the palestra such as strigils and oil containers are more characteristic.

<sup>4</sup> Mrogenda took his sample from six complete grave assemblages published; It is not clear why Mrogenda chose such a small sample. While the authors of the Myrina reports did not organize their material very well in the publication, certainly more than six graves could have been reconstructed, particularly with Mrogenda's study on Myrina published the year before Graepler's book was based on Graepler's earlier dissertation cataloguing the material from Taranto.

published, this information was very often disconnected from the objects the graves held.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently, while the hypothesis is attractive, without testing it against other sites, for which both grave offerings and information about the physical remains and burial methods have been recorded, the reasoning seems suspiciously circular. In both Graepler's and Mrogenda's studies, the presence of stereotypically feminine objects is taken to signify a woman's grave, and thus those objects are then considered to typify female roles. It is rare, however, that the assemblage of objects in a grave appear so clear cut. As for the material I have collected here, the records for Elaeus are somewhat better and for Stobi, more complete still. While the sample is limited, the graves that contained Aphrodite Anadyomene figures discussed here can be used as test cases for Graepler's theory. First I describe here each archaeological site, the circumstances and results of excavations, and a description of the terracotta Aphrodite Anadyomenes.

## **Myrina**

The convergence of archaeology and the market was described in 1885 by a young French archaeologist in a two-part essay in *The Nation* magazine titled "Asiatic Terracottas in the Louvre Museum."<sup>6</sup> For the previous five years, Salomon Reinach had supervised the excavations of the 128xecute128128 of Myrina and Cyme, on the Ionian coast of Turkey.

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<sup>5</sup> It could perhaps be reconstructed with access to the excavation notebooks.

<sup>6</sup> Salomon Reinach, *Chroniques d'Orient. Documents sur les fouilles et découvertes dans l'orient hellénique de 1883 à 1890* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot et C<sup>ie</sup>, 1891): 234-42. Previously published in *The Nation*, September 24, October 1, 1885. Written at a time in which the field of scientific archaeology was still being defined, Reinach provides a remarkably clear-eyed view of this tension between the antiquarian market and archaeological concerns. The same period is covered thoroughly in Stephen L. Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts: A History of Classical Archaeology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). See particularly Ch. 4: "Nationalism and National Traditions Before the Great War." The excavations at Myrina are touched upon briefly p. 118-20.

From the title of the article, readers likely expected the same kind of thorough, somewhat dry account of the terracotta figurines which Reinach had published in his reports in the French School's *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*. However, the author discussed the figurines themselves only in the most general of terms. Instead, he focused attention on the rise in popularity of terracotta figurines in the art markets of the mid-nineteenth century and their acquisition by collectors and major European museums.<sup>7</sup>

The rising fervor for terracotta figurines was only increased when beautiful figurines from Tanagra appeared in the early 1870s, resulting in the whole-scale pillaging of its necropolis. By the time the Greek government intervened and stationed guards in 1874, the scientific value of the rich site had been irretrievably damaged and very little was revealed by further authorized excavation.<sup>8</sup> By 1876 the supply of Tanagras was dwindling, and among museums and collectors concerns about forgeries began to grow. Works from Asia Minor via Smyrna, such as figurines supposedly from Ephesus, had entered the market to take up the slack, but their provenance seemed doubtful considering that archaeologists working at the site had never seen any.<sup>9</sup> Scepticism about their authenticity led the French

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<sup>7</sup> Reinach, 235. Figurines from Tarsus were acquired by representatives of the British Museum and the Louvre in 1845 and 1852, respectively.

<sup>8</sup> Reinach, 234-5. Newer excavations and more recent publications have provided better contextualization for these orphaned works. See: A. Andriomenou, *La Nécropole classique de Tanagra* (Paris : Éditions du CNRS, 1985), R. A. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), and Lilian Acheilara, *Tanagra: Myth et archeology* (Paris : Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2003). Higgins, Ch. 9, "Dealers, Forgers and Collectors," is particularly interesting reading on the topic of the market and the production of forgeries.

<sup>9</sup> Reinach, 235-6, archaeologists who had excavated at Ephesus were extremely skeptical about the origins of these figurines, having never found such in their work. The practice of disguising the origins of looted finds so as to elude authorities is discussed by Reinach, 235-7.

Minister of Foreign Affairs, William Henry Waddington, himself an amateur archaeologist, to write an acquaintance in Istanbul, Aristides Baltazzi, for more information on terracottas from Asia Minor. As it happened, the Baltazzi family owned an estate north of Smyrna (modern Izmir) where in recent years workers had turned up terracottas on a tract of land previously unworked; he suggested to the minister that if they were interested, they might excavate there.<sup>10</sup>

According to the initial archaeological reports, plows had been turning up terracotta figurines as though they were “fleur de terre” and until 1880 excavations were unauthorized, haphazard, and for-profit.<sup>11</sup> In July of that year the French School began to work in a more systematic fashion. Four campaigns took place between July 1880 and October 1882, uncovering some 3000 graves; only about ten percent held any burial offerings.<sup>12</sup> Reinach and his colleague included a survey of one week’s excavations, 94 tombs discovered between October 28 and November 3, 1881.<sup>13</sup> Of these, twelve held terracotta figurines; either this was a very good week, or it was chosen for publication on the basis of its relative richness.<sup>14</sup> The finds were divided into thirds and shared out to the French School, the Turkish government, and the Baltazzi family who generously donated

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<sup>10</sup> Reinach, 236.

<sup>11</sup> E. Pottier and S. Reinach, “Fouilles dans la nécropole de Myrina. Topographie de Myrina,” *BCH* 6.1 (1882): 197.

<sup>12</sup> Pottier and Reinach, “Les tombeaux,” 419. Reinach, 210: The excavations ceased when Veyries, left in charge, took ill at Myrina and died at Smyrna in October 1882 and subsequently the French permit expired.

<sup>13</sup> Pottier and Reinach, “Les tombeaux”, 419-28.

<sup>14</sup> E. Pottier and S. Reinach, “Fouilles dans la nécropole de Myrina. V. Le mobilier funéraire,” *BCH* 9 (1885): 165.

theirs to the French.<sup>15</sup> Five hundred of the best of these objects were transferred to the Louvre.<sup>16</sup> At least eight were representations of the Aphrodite Anadyomene.<sup>17</sup> (Cat. Grave 1) Fortunately, in the finds for the week that Pottier and Reinach chose to highlight, 3 Anadyomenes were found in two graves.

Found on October 28, 1881, Grave 19 was large, 1.91 meters in length, covered over by four slabs of tufa, and buried 3.2 meters below the soil level.<sup>18</sup> Bone fragments were visible in a layer of powder. It included more than the average number of objects. Above the tufa slabs was the fragmented terracotta of a draped woman. Inside were found an earthen bottle, a naked Ephebe, an Aphrodite Anadyomene with a dolphin, and a seated female figure with an infant.<sup>19</sup> Two each of the following were recovered: naked dancers, Sirens, winged children (Erotes?), and draped women. Five half-draped female figures

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<sup>15</sup>There seems to have been some animosity on the division of the spoils. Pottier and Reinach state that these works “a été abandonné au gouvernement turc” and praise the generosity of Baltazzi who relinquished his third “avec une libéralité et une sollicitude pour la science dont on ne saurait assez le remercier.” (Pottier and Reinach, “Fouilles dans la nécropole de Myrina. Topographie de Myrina,” 198). Reinach hit this point again in his essay for the nation, “The unfortunate terracottas which fell into the hands of the Turks were carried off to the Tchiny-Kiosk museum in Constantinople, where they have been treated with utter neglect and most arbitrarily restored” (Reinach, 210). Unable to let the matter go, a passage in the 1887 volume on the excavations again manifests a grudge and seems to accuse the Turks of swooping in during a break in the excavations and taking their share (E. Pottier, *La nécropole de Myrina: recherches archéologiques exécutées au nom et aux frais de l'École française d'Athènes* (Paris, E. Thorin, 1887), 15).

<sup>16</sup> Reinach, 210, makes a point of stating that at the Louvre the objects will be housed in “a special room” shortly to open.

<sup>17</sup>Mollard-Besques: 19, includes five: Myr 36 (294), 37 (161), 1034, 1035, and 1654, pl. 19-20. Kassab includes eight: no. 46, 52, 53, 114, 150, 155, 179, 180.

<sup>18</sup> Pottier and Reinach, “Les tombeaux,” 420-1, no. 19. The numbers refer to this tomb’s place on the published list, not necessarily the excavation number. From its position on the list, however, it may be assumed that it was the 19<sup>th</sup> (and last) grave opened on October 28.

<sup>19</sup> The figurines were not provided reference or catalogue numbers at the time of their excavations. Since no image of this one was included in the publication, I cannot be certain whether it appears in my catalogue or not. It was likely similar to Cat. Terracotta 20 or 21.



holding an apple—presumably Aphrodites, one of which was smaller than the others, were also found. The excavators made a point of noting that the terracottas were scattered throughout the grave, “pêle-mêle,” and that most of the heads were broken from their bodies and tossed in separate from them. Three pyramids of terracotta with holes in the upper portion were also found placed to the side of the grave, on the outside.

Two Anadyomenes were found on October 31 in the eighth of eleven graves excavated that day.<sup>20</sup> This grave bears significant similarities to the previous. The length was 1.93 meters, and the depth beneath the surface 2.73 meters. It was also covered with four tufa slabs above which were found a small round bronze mirror, a lamp, the head of a comic actor, and an earthen vessel. The bones were poorly preserved with the exception of the skull. Where the feet should have lain were found two Anadyomenes, both with dolphins, two more of the Aphrodites holding apples, and one Knidian Aphrodite.<sup>21</sup> At the center of the grave were two discs of bone, pierced with holes, and at the head were iron fragments, arms and legs of terracotta figurines, and two heads of female figurines.

A few observations on these graves and the summaries of the archaeologists can be made. Ninety-four graves in one week’s time which included a rest-day on Sunday, is a prodigious pace for excavation, averaging more than 15 graves per day. In reality, three days (Friday, October 28, Saturday, October 29, and Thursday, November 3) saw nineteen, twenty-one, and twenty-two tombs examined, respectively.<sup>22</sup> Monday, October 31, saw the

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<sup>20</sup> Pottier and Reinach, “Les tombeaux,” 423, no. 48.

<sup>21</sup> As previously, see Cat. Terracotta 20 and 21 for examples of this type.

<sup>22</sup> Pottier and Reinach, “Les tombeaux,” 419-22, 428.

discovery of ten graves, one of which held the remains of three partially burned skeletons. The grave goods were comparably numerous with over forty terracottas or fragments of figurines.<sup>23</sup> On Wednesday, November 2, only five were opened; it is unclear why as none seems to be particularly noteworthy.<sup>24</sup> There is no doubt that although the archaeologists were more interested in the fuller context than the looters who had been working the necropolis before them, their work was also driven by the search for grave goods.

In the course of the week, the two graves discussed here yielded the eleven representations of Aphrodite found that week: seven holding apples, three Anadyomenes, and only one Knidia. In their final summary of the terracottas, Pottier and Reinach counted a total of fifty three Aphrodites, the second most popular subject after Erotes which numbered seventy.<sup>25</sup> Standing draped female figures came in at third place, with thirty seven depictions.<sup>26</sup> Although they mention that Knidian Aphrodite was the most popular representation of the goddess, they did not cite a final number for that type, and they only included two in their catalogue.<sup>27</sup> Three Anadyomenes were catalogued, though only one was illustrated with a photograph.<sup>28</sup> The three figures described, however, can be traced in other publications. Simone Mollard-Besques included two in her catalogue raisonnée of the

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<sup>23</sup> Pottier and Reinach, "Les tombeaux," 423-5, no. 51.

<sup>24</sup> Pottier and Reinach, "Les tombeaux," 426-7.

<sup>25</sup> Pottier, *La nécropole de Myrina*, 144-5.

<sup>26</sup> Pottier, *La nécropole de Myrina*, 147.

<sup>27</sup> Pottier, *La nécropole de Myrina*, 159, and cat. nos. 19-20.

<sup>28</sup> Pottier, *La nécropole de Myrina*, 160, and cat. nos. 36 (pl.2, no. 3), 37, 46.

Myrina terracottas in the Louvre.<sup>29</sup> These figurines are nearly identical in essentials, but in mirror poses. Myrina 37 stands in the typical pose holding thick strands of hair in either hand. The hair is on its way to being arranged in the nodus style made popular by Livia, encouraging Mollard-Besques to assign a date of the late first century to the figurine. The goddess is nearly naked: a round jewel falls suspended between her breasts, and the dolphin placed to her left has helpfully extended its triangular tail over her pudendum, providing her a modicum of coverage. The right side of the face is damaged, but a small, tight smile, almost archaic in character, has been preserved. The significant difference between this figure and Myrina 36 is that the second holds out a mirror-box in her right hand.<sup>30</sup> Both are rather large, Myrina 37 stands 20 centimeters tall, and Myrina 36 is 25 centimeters.<sup>31</sup>

### **Elaeus (Éléonte)**

In May of 1915, at the beginning of the ill-fated Dardanelles campaign of the Allies against the Ottoman empire, French soldiers digging trenches discovered several ancient graves on a plateau near Cape Morto.<sup>32</sup> Officers took note, recorded the finds, and

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<sup>29</sup> Mollard-Besques, 19: MYR 36 and 37.

<sup>30</sup> This is according to Mollard-Besques' description. I am not certain, however, and the photos available are not sufficient to make a positive judgment. The stump of the lock of hair which should fall over the figure's right shoulder seems apparent under the right ear, and the right arm has been repaired at the shoulder. It is possible that the wrong arm was attached to the figure, or that, missing the tresses which should connect between the hand and the head, the figure was altered.

<sup>31</sup> These seem to share the same jeweled torso which was used for a number of representations, see Kassab, nos. 46, 47, 48, 49, 54, 55.

<sup>32</sup> The failure of this campaign in World War I was dramatized in the 1981 film *Gallipoli*. The excavation report was credited to J. Chamonard, Fernand Courby, and Edouard Dhorme, "Fouilles Archéologiques sur l'emplacement de la nécropole d'Éléonte de Thrace," *BCH* 39.1 (1915): 135-240. Short mentions of the

reported to their superiors. A small team excavated, often under fire, from July 8 until December 12 when the Allied troops were evacuated.<sup>33</sup> It was determined later that the site was likely the ancient town of Elaeus, a colony of Athens.<sup>34</sup> Although its situation at the mouth of the Hellespont was strategically advantageous, it was not a large city or especially prominent, although Xerxes used it for a time as a naval base.<sup>35</sup> It was mentioned by several ancient authors such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, and Pausanius.<sup>36</sup> Procopius last mentioned the town as the location of fortifications built by Justinian.<sup>37</sup> Fortifications on a nearby plateau, which the Turks called “Eski-hissarlik” or “old castle”, are likely the site of this fortress.

The cemetery was exceptionally well preserved. Most graves were found intact and undisturbed since the site had never been reinhabited after the ancient town had been abandoned.<sup>38</sup> The digging uncovered thirty-eight sarcophagi and eighteen funerary jars; proposed dates are based on analysis of the grave-goods. Joseph Chamonard, a former fellow of the French School in Athens had been sent to supervise the excavations for a

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excavations also appeared in William N. Bates, “Archaeological News, 1916,” *AJA* 21.1 (Jan.-Mar. 1917): 93; George H. Chase, “Archaeology in 1915,” *The Classical Journal* 12.3 (Dec. 1916): 201-2.

<sup>33</sup> Much of the actual digging in dangerous circumstances was done by Senegalese troops. First supervising the excavations during this period was Sergeant Edouard Dhorme who had been a professor at the College of St. Joseph at Beirut; he was replaced in August by Joseph Chamonard and Sergeant Fernand Courby, both former members of the French School in Athens. In October the work was taken over by Lieutenant J. Leune.

<sup>34</sup> Chamonard, 136-41.

<sup>35</sup> Herod. 7.22.

<sup>36</sup> Herod. 6.140; Thucyd. 8.102-3,107; Liv. 31.16.5; Paus. 1.34.2.

<sup>37</sup> Procop. *De aedif.* 4.16.

<sup>38</sup> Chamonard, 157.

period and wrote the report which was published in 1915. On the basis of the material within them, he dated thirty-four of the graves to the sixth-fifth century, four to the third-second century BCE, but none could be dated to the fourth century BCE.<sup>39</sup>

Discovered on September 3, 1915, Sarcophagus 24 was unusual in several ways. The covering slab was decorated with a double cross design, the only one with any form of decoration. Although the cover was found *in situ* and the exterior showed no signs of disturbance since antiquity, the interior of the grave showed evidence of reuse. Undisturbed graves had a layer of thick dust under which was found the remains of large bones (most small bones had decayed), and grave goods, however Sarcophagus 24 contained a mixture of stones in the dust, only found in graves with broken lids.<sup>40</sup> Evidence pointed to a dual burial, the first approximately two centuries before the second. There is no way to know why this grave was reused while others were not (Sarcophagus 33 was similarly reused). The first burial was of a person of small stature, possibly a child, whose bones were found in the bottom layers with most of the grave goods. An adult male of advanced age had been buried above, with a coin of Caracalla or Elagabalus on top.<sup>41</sup>

Sarcophagus 24 contained small glass and terracotta bottles, a bronze snake bracelet, black and white glass beads for a necklace, a terracotta loom weight, a bronze spindle, and three terracotta Aphrodite figurines: one naked Anadyomene, one half-draped

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<sup>39</sup> Graves 5, 24, 33, and 34 he dated from the third-second century. See Chamonard, "Fouilles," 177-186 for the evidence and dating.

<sup>40</sup> For the state of the graves see Chamonard, 157, 167-9.

<sup>41</sup> Chamonard, "Fouilles," 204.

Anadyomene, and one Aphrodite Genetrix, a fully draped type.(Cat. Grave 2, 3) The naked Anadyomene was missing its head and no illustration was published.<sup>42</sup> According to Chamonard's description, however, the figurine was of coarse material and workmanship, stood 15 centimeters tall without the base, and held a box or open mirror in the left hand. The naked Anadyomene was similar in workmanship and stood just a bit taller since the head has survived.<sup>43</sup> As seen at Myrina the figure's hairstyle is the *nodus* style favored by Augustus' wife Livia with a bun-like roll of hair above the center of the forehead. The rest is gathered to the back and thick, heavy looking locks lay across the shoulders and are only lifted at the ends in either hand. The work had no paint or added color. The Aphrodite Genetrix figurine, missing the head, hands, and left shoulder and torso, was larger than either Anadyomene. Chamonard characterized the figure's execution as "très delicate" and its design "très pur."<sup>44</sup>

In comparison, Sarcophagus 33 provides helpful information. Most of the graves in the cemetery had relatively few objects, however these two sarcophagi (24 and 33) each held more than twenty items, including terracotta and glass vessels and terracotta statuettes. Chamonard stated that both graves belonged to young girls or young women, although this attribution seems to stem from the grave goods rather than forensic examination of the remains.<sup>45</sup> It was dated to approximately the same period, contained

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<sup>42</sup> Chamonard, "Fouilles," 205, no. 105. Mollard-Besques does not discuss this figure.

<sup>43</sup> Chamonard, "Fouilles," 205, no. 104, pl. XIV.

<sup>44</sup> Chamonard, "Fouilles," 205, no. 106.

<sup>45</sup> Chamonard, "Fouilles," 177, 204, 212.

the remains of a young girl or woman, and was the only other sarcophagus which contained a similar amount of grave goods. In addition to small glass or terracotta bottles, Sarcophagus 33 also contained two terracotta Herms, one of which was identified as Dionysus, three terracotta Eros figurines, and a long iron nail which Chamonard supposed once belonged to a small box.

Since the earlier graves held relatively few goods in each, the increased number of figurines and vessels as well as the addition of jewelry in Sarcophagus 24 may signal either a change in burial practices or to increased prosperity. Alternatively, it is possible that since both graves belonged to girls or young women perhaps the circumstances of their deaths or the fact of their youth called for greater outpourings. There are no comparably furnished graves for men making it difficult to know with any certainty whether the increased grave goods are attributable to the gender or age of the subject. Chamonard dated both Sarcophagus 24 and 33 to the third-second century BCE. However, S. Mollard-Besques who included them in his catalogue of the terracottas at the Louvre Museum believed on the basis of their style and subject matter that the terracottas ought to be dated to the late first century BCE.<sup>46</sup> Since coins of that period were found at the bottom of the sarcophagus that date to the same period, this evaluation is sensible.

## **Stobi**

Modern excavations of the ancient city of Stobi, located in territory now known as the Republic of Macedonia, were begun in the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In an

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<sup>46</sup> Simone Mollard-Besques. *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, étrusques, et romains*. Vol. 3 (Paris : Éd. de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1971-72): 47, no. D 273, pl. 56b (half-draped Anadyomene); no. D 272, pl. 56a.

enthusiastic report submitted to the *American Journal of Archaeology* in 1933, Hetty Goldman recounted the author's visit to the site with the aim "to urge upon travelers to Yugoslavia, and above all upon archaeologists, no longer to confine their journey to the Dalmatian coast and the museums of Split and Salona, but to include in their itinerary the ruins of Stobi."<sup>47</sup> At the time, the site was most famous for the remnants of Byzantine churches, but archaeologists had also uncovered some sculpture of early Imperial Roman date.<sup>48</sup> Joint excavations between Yugoslavian and American institutions began in 1970 and a number of excellent reports detailed their finds.<sup>49</sup>

Ancient authors such as Livy and Pliny both mentioned the city and its location in the northern borderlands at the junction of two rivers made it a strategic site after the Roman conquest of Macedonia in 168 BCE.<sup>50</sup> The city was granted the status of an *oppidum civium Romanorum*, likely in the period of Julius Caesar, and a *municipium*.<sup>51</sup> Analysis of pottery from the site shows that most ceramic was produced locally, but from the second century BCE to the end of the first century CE, Italian imports far outnumber those from Greece or

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<sup>47</sup> Hetty Goldman, "Excavations at Stobi in Yugoslavia," *AJA* 37.2 (1933): 297.

<sup>48</sup> Goldman, 299-300.

<sup>49</sup> See James Wiseman and Djordje Mano-Zissi, "Excavations at Stobi, 1970" *AJA* 75.4 (1971): 395-411; "Excavations at Stobi, 1971" *AJA* 76.4 (1972): 407-24; "Excavations at Stobi, 1972" *AJA* 77.4 (1973): 391-403; "Excavations at Stobi, 1973-1974" *JFA* 1 (1974): 117-148; "Stobi: A City of Ancient Macedonia," *JFA* 3 (1976): 269-302; James Wiseman and Djordje Mano-Zissi, eds. *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi*, 2 vols. (Austin: The University of Texas at Austin, 1973).

<sup>50</sup> See Livy 33.19.3; 39.53.15-16; 45.29.13; Pliny, *HN* 4.34.

<sup>51</sup> Fanoula Papazoglou, "*Oppidum Stobi civium Romanorum et municipim Stobensium*," *Chiron* 16 (1986): 213-37.



Eastern territories, despite their closer proximity.<sup>52</sup> This suggested a “strong Roman presence” in this period to Virginia Anderson-Stojanović, who published the pottery finds from the site.<sup>53</sup> After the first century CE, trade shifted to the east, and evidence from the Late Antique period shows imports from North Africa, Asia Minor, and the Aegean.<sup>54</sup>

Excavations of a cemetery west of the city were undertaken by the University of Texas at Austin and the National Museum of Titov Veles in 1970 and expanded in 1971. The report of the 1971 season by James Wiseman and Djordje Mano-Zissi documents findings from sixty-three graves.<sup>55</sup> Al Wesolowsky considered all ninety-three graves excavated in the West Cemetery in a subsequent study published in 1975 and, based on stratigraphy and grave goods such as terracotta figurines, ceramics, and coins, categorized them into five periods ranging from the first century BCE through the fourth century CE.<sup>56</sup> The graves also evidenced a wide range of burial customs. Both inhumation and cremation was practiced, and Wesolowsky identified several methods of grave construction: those covered by flat or arched tiles, those that were contained within a vessel, or those with no protective covering. Grave 76, described as “the riches burial in terms of funeral offerings found in 1971,” held almost sixty terracotta figurines, at least four of which were representations of

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<sup>52</sup> Virginia R. Anderson-Stojanović, *Stobi: The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992): 17-8, 23, 35-6, 45-6, 185-9, 193; for local production see pgs. 8-10.

<sup>53</sup> Anderson-Stojanović, 185.

<sup>54</sup> Anderson-Stojanović, 193.

<sup>55</sup> James Wiseman and Djordje Mano-Zissi, “1971,” 413.

<sup>56</sup> Wesolowski, 97-137.

the Aphrodite Anadyomene.<sup>57</sup> (Cat. Grave 4) The stratigraphy of Grave 76 placed it in Wesolowsky's second period for the cemetery, between the late first century BCE and the early first century CE, and the largest number of graves, thirty six, dated to this period.<sup>58</sup> Wiseman and Mano-Zissi's original report identified the grave as that of a young child whose cremated remains were placed in a "globular bowl" on top of a Corinthian tile, under which were found the terracotta figurines and some small ceramic bottles.<sup>59</sup> Wesolowsky does not refer to the cinerary vessel, but does mention that among the bones was a small glass bottle, and he classifies it as an "arched tile grave".<sup>60</sup>

While the grave included male figures such as a lyre player, a youth and his dog, and a standing draped figure, female subjects predominate overwhelmingly. Seven types depict seated or standing women, both draped and naked. Recognizable mythological subjects include Europa and the bull, and a muse with a lyre, as well as several recognizable Aphrodite representations: four types of the Aphrodite Anadyomene, three Knidian Aphrodite types, and one half-draped Aphrodite. The report does not make clear whether any of the types mentioned were represented in more than one iteration. Only one of the Anadyomenes was published in any detail.<sup>61</sup> The surface of the figure appears very soft and

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<sup>57</sup> Wiseman and Mano-Zissi, 415-416. The number of figurines is given as "nearly 60," while Al B. Wesolowsky, ("Burial Customs in the West Cemetery," in *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi*, Vol. 1, ed. James Wiseman and Djordje Mano-Zissi (Belgrade: Naučno Delo, 1975): 121) states the number as "over 50." This vagueness must result from the fragmentary state of the figurines.

<sup>58</sup> Wesolowski, 110.

<sup>59</sup> Wiseman and Mano-Zissi, 415-16.

<sup>60</sup> Wesolowski, 120-121. The author also refrains from identifying the remains as a child's or an adult's.

<sup>61</sup> Wiseman and Mano-Zissi, 416, no. 16, pl. 88, fig. 30.

blurred, yet some of the white paint has survived, indicating that the figure has not eroded and degraded, but that the mold from which it was cast was several generations displaced from the casting model. The torso is long and slender in contrast to the plump sturdy legs. The rounded face and small breasts give the impression of a pubescent girl. The naked Aphrodite stands with the right arm raised high, resting the elbow on what the report records as a pillar, but which looks, to my eye, like a herm of Priapus, itself resting on a base similar to a figurine from Smyrna (Figure 37).<sup>62</sup>

### **Summary**

Comparing the finds from the three sites, a few commonalities are clear. First, all of the Aphrodite Anadyomene terracottas are datable from the late first century BCE to first century CE. Those found at Myrina and Elaeus were dated on the basis of the nodus hairstyle they share, which was popularized in that period. The careful stratigraphic analysis at Stobi confirms the dating. Across all sites, the finding of terracottas in graves is relatively rare. While hard statistics are elusive for these sites, some general observations can be made from the information available. At Myrina, from the sample of ninety-four graves excavated in one week, only twelve held terracotta figurines.<sup>63</sup> At Elaeus, the ratio was slightly better: a sampling of fifty-six published graves yielded nine with terracotta figurines.<sup>64</sup> Since the published results for Myrina and Elaeus were based on samples likely chosen to highlight unusually impressive finds, the excavations at Stobi provide perhaps the

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<sup>62</sup> See for comparison Cat. Terracotta 28 which is very close to the Stobi figure and 33, where Priapus is not a herm, but a small figure standing to the Aphrodite's side.

<sup>63</sup> Pottier and Reinach, "Les tombeaux", 419-28.

<sup>64</sup> Chamonard, 188-234.

most comprehensive and accurate representation. There, the distribution of grave goods seems rather more parsimonious: only four of forty-eight graves uncovered included figurines among their goods.

As discussed in the introduction, Daniel Graepler's conclusion that the objects found in graves represented the roles of the deceased is an attractive theory with which to interpret the Anadyomene figurines found at these three sites. A careful consideration of the finds and what can be certainly known about the gender of the deceased from these three sites urges caution, however. Pottier and Reinach included a listing of seventeen graves that they identified by gender. All of these included grave goods. Of these, six belonged to men, four to women, and five were occupied by more than one individual. The remaining two were unidentified. Three of the men's graves held a total of twenty-two terracottas. Of these, seven were Erotes, five were actors, four represented draped females, and there was one each of a naked male, a Gorgon, a Nike, and an Aphrodite on a shell. Female graves seem to have been better furnished; the four graves turned up 106 figurines. Most numerous were draped females and then Erotes. Other subjects included Sirens and a tragic mask. The family graves yielded forty-four figurines, most of which were representations of children but also included images of men and women and Nikes. While women's and children's burials seem to have provoked an increased outpouring, in terms of terracottas, from the analysis of the male graves, it is clear that the presence of a female figurine or an Eros does not necessarily signify a woman's grave as these seemed suitable offerings for men as well.

Similar to Myrina, the gender of the subject may be unclear from the grave goods. Ten graves held terracottas, and the excavators suggested the sex of the deceased for only three. Grave 24, discussed above, held not only three Aphrodites, two of which were Anadyomenes, but also glass beads and buttons, a bronze bracelet, and a loom weight and spindle. This they believed was the grave of a girl. Grave 33 provided an interesting contrast. They believed it was the grave of a woman; however, the terracottas recovered there include two herms and an Eros, none of which seems particularly feminine. In addition to terracotta and glass vessels, a mirror and a key were also found in the grave. By Graepler's analysis, only the mirror would signify the female occupant. Grave 7, also the grave of a child, included terracottas of both male and female figures as well as two bronze bracelets and a gold ring.

At Stobi, excavators were only comfortable identifying gender for a few graves, none of which contained terracotta figurines.<sup>65</sup> The very well furnished grave 76 discussed above, however, belonged to a child, and a good proportion of the figurines there depicted draped or naked females, four Anadyomenes, and two Knidias. While Graepler may be correct in his analysis, the evidence here only demonstrates for certain that children's graves were most likely to hold terracotta figurines. No subject depicted can be taken as absolute evidence for the gender of the grave's occupant.

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<sup>65</sup> Graves 28 and 36 are women's, see Weslowsky, 127-8. Grave 113 was of two women and a child, see Wiseman and Mano-Zissi, "1973-1974," 134.

## Chapter Five: The Aphrodite Anadyomene in Fountains and Baths

In light of the watery associations of the Anadyomene type laid out in Chapter 2, baths and fountains are the most obvious of settings for representations of the goddess at her birth or bath. What seems unusual, however, is that I could discover no uses of the Anadyomene in public settings other than in these two contexts. She did not decorate the facades of public buildings, theaters, or appear on political monuments as did other Aphrodite types.<sup>1</sup> Without the evidence from further archaeological discovery, it seems that although the Anadyomene accompanied the dead to the grave, stood within houses and gardens, and functioned as offerings in sanctuaries, when it came to appearing in the public realm, the Anadyomene was shy. When the Anadyomene was chosen for a public view, it seems to have been always in a context with flowing water nearby. This fact underscores the importance of Aphrodite's marine birth to the understanding of the Anadyomene, and the connection must have been provoked by even those works that did not include additional marine iconography or appear in watery settings. This also suggests the limitations of the Anadyomene and that it was somehow considered less appropriate for public monuments than other Aphrodite types.

This section begins with a discussion of two fountains. The first is a very modest, trough street fountain in Herculaneum where the goddess was portrayed in a small ill-cut relief. The second was a more impressive statue from a nymphaeum near the theater in Leptis Magna. A discussion of six baths follows: two in Ostia—the Baths of Neptune and the

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<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *NH* 36.4.35, mentions two Venuses on display in the Portico of Octavia. For an example of the Aphrodite of Capua type's use in public monuments as a symbol of triumph, see Rachel Kousser, "Sensual Power: A Warrior Aphrodite in Greek and Roman Sculpture," (PhD diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2001).

Baths of the Seven Sages; the bath at Cyrene, whose Aphrodite's dramatic discovery began this dissertation; two baths from Setif, Algeria about a century apart; and finally, a small provincial bath from Langon, France, in Brittany. The bath at Cyrene and the Baths of Neptune in Ostia were built under imperial patronage. The one in Cyrene was initially completed under Trajan and then rebuilt or repaired by Hadrian after a civic revolt. The Bath of Neptune in Ostia was part of a large building program begun by Hadrian and completed under Antoninus Pius. Both of these included sculptures of the Anadyomene, although of widely variant quality. In the category of imperial baths, one ought also to keep in mind the Anadyomene found in the Mithraeum of the Baths of Caracalla, discussed in Chapter Three. It is by no means unlikely that the work originally appeared in the bath and was only later appropriated for the sanctuary.

### **Herculaneum: Fountain**

The public fountains uncovered to date at Herculaneum are remarkably consistent in their design and materials. All consist of large rectangular trough-like limestone basins with spigots located on the short-ends projecting from relief images of gods. Two fountains depict male gods, Hercules and Neptune, but the third was given double spigots, one at each end, with depictions of Venus as the Aphrodite Anadyomene, and another goddess. (Cat. Fountain 1) The identification of this fourth depiction has been somewhat controversial, reflected in the fact that most publications refer to this as the fountain of Venus with little mention of the pairing representation. Maiuri identified it as a representation of Medusa, but this is surely wrong—the figure's hair is neatly rolled away

from her rounded face, and there is no evidence at all for the Gorgon's snaky locks.<sup>2</sup> Jeremy Hartnett, however, has argued that the smooth section and a broken projection at the crown of the head instead represented a helmet, thus making the figure Minerva or Roma.<sup>3</sup>

This figure, Hercules, and Neptune are all represented as large mask-like visages, pouring water from their mouths. A different choice was made for Venus, however. Rather than simply depicting the goddess with a smooth placid face and her carefully arranged hair, instead, the choice was made to make the goddess' identity explicit by representing her as a statuette in relief. The spigot projects from a large shell placed at her side. Perhaps the sculptor or patron believed that the visage of the goddess would be too generic and unidentifiable. Neither the Neptune nor Hercules is particularly specific in its representation. Neptune is identified by flanking dolphins rather than anything particularly sea-like about the god's face. And Hartnett has argued that Hercules was purposely generic, lacking references to his club or the Nemean lion, in order to better stress his identity as the city's founder, for which role there was no specific local iconography.<sup>4</sup> Had the sculptor or the patron been inclined toward uniformity, similar iconographical additions, such as dolphins or doves, could have been utilized to identify Venus. Hartnett is surely correct in his suggestion that the utilization of the Anadyomene type calls to mind Venus' role as a maritime protectress of the seaside town. However, Aphrodite was not just another pretty

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<sup>2</sup> Amedeo Maiuri, *Herculano: I nuovi scavi (1927-1958)*, (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato: 1958): 55.

<sup>3</sup> Jeremy Hartnett, "Fountains at Herculaneum: Sacred History, Topography, and civic Identity," *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* (2008): 83; his possible identification as Roma is not mentioned in his main text, but only in note 51. For reasons which I will make clear, I believe that Roma is a better identification than Minerva.

<sup>4</sup> Hartnett, 80.



face. Heads of Aphrodite often seem placid, dreamy, and lacking in dynamic power. The goddess's true power lay in carnal, corporeal, physicality, and thus the most powerful representation must include her body.

Hartnett's study of the fountains of Herculaneum provides a framework to place them within their religious and civic topography. Each fountain seems to have been situated to visually connect it to other locales in the city, which were also significant for the figure represented on it. For example, the fountain of Hercules was located on the *decumanus maximus* at its intersection with *cardo 5*, and visually functioned as a pivot point to connect two monuments, one on each road, which prominently featured the god.<sup>5</sup> Hartnett fails to take into account as well the placement of the fountain just outside the entrance to a large *palestra*, and that the athletes coming and going from the exercise yard would have found the fountain a convenience; perhaps the image of the founding hero provided encouragement in their own endeavors.

Only a block away, the fountain of Venus stood in the *decumanus maximus*, a twelve-meters-wide pedestrian district, at its intersection with *cardo 4*. This situation makes it the most prominent of the three fountains found to date; notably, it was also the largest of the three.<sup>6</sup> At the far end of that road stood a temple on the seashore dedicated to Venus, in which the goddess was depicted with a rudder. The Anadyomene type

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<sup>5</sup> Hartnett, 79, 85. M. Nonius Balbus had paid for the construction of a basilica decorated with large-scale paintings of Hercules' exploits two blocks down the *decumanus*. In the other direction, at the end of the *cardo*, a monument was dedicated to Balbus that included a portrait statue with the image of Hercules on the shoulder armor.

<sup>6</sup> Hartnett, 86, note 10 provides the measurements: Venus fountain: 2.45 x 1.5 m; Hercules fountain: 2.15 x 1.45 m; Neptune fountain: 1.85 x 1.45 m.

perfectly ties together the marine origin of the goddess with her role as a protectress of the seas and sailors. Adjacent to the temple is a precinct of rooms, which have been interpreted as the home of a confraternity dedicated to Venus.<sup>7</sup> Next to Venus' temple stood another, dedicated to four gods, all of whom had commercial connections: Minerva, Neptune, Vulcan, and Mercury. Harnett suggests that the depictions of Neptune and Minerva connected visually to this temple, however, in neither case is the tie as explicit as it is for both representations of Venus and Hercules.<sup>8</sup>

Since the water project, which connected a major aquaduct to Herculaneum, occurred during the Augustan period with the tacit permission of the *princeps*, if not the financing, Harnett also seeks Augustan connections for the iconographic representations on the fountains.<sup>9</sup> While in this aspect, his argument for the other gods is somewhat weak, the case of Venus is relatively easy to establish—as a member of the Julii, Augustus claimed the goddess as his own ancestress, completed a temple in her honor in the forum of his adopted father, and brought Apelles' painting to Rome with much notoriety.<sup>10</sup> A representation of the Aphrodite Anadyomene in this period, particularly carved on a fountain made possible, at least in part, by the patronage of Augustus might surely have caused the viewer to think of the ruler, his family, and the benefits of their rule. Because this connection seems so plausibly strong, I believe that Harnett was in error in his

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<sup>7</sup> Harnett, 81-2.

<sup>8</sup> Harnett, 83.

<sup>9</sup> Harnett, 77-8; it is unknown who paid for the project.

<sup>10</sup> Harnett builds his case, 82.

identification of the goddess at the other end of the fountain as Minerva; he hedged his argument in a footnote, however, by suggesting that helmet-wearing is also an attribute of Roma. I suggest that if, as Harnett argues, an underlying iconographic program were intended by the designs on the fountains and included referents to the *princeps*, that Roma would be much more suited to a pairing with an Augustan Venus than a representation of Minerva.

Augustus had made prominent use of the personification on the Ara Pacis where Roma sat enthroned on a pile of armor on one side of the entrance, paired with a representation of a female figure, variously interpreted as Pax, Tellus, Italia, or Venus, holding twin children in a lush and peaceful landscape. As Paul Zanker notes, whatever the exact identity of the motherly figure, “The viewer was meant to read the two images together and understand the message, that the blessings of peace had been won and made secure by the newly fortified *virtus* of Roman arms.”<sup>11</sup> Since the aquaduct, which fed the fountains at Herculaneum, was an offshoot of the main line that was constructed to bring water to Misenum and the imperial fleet stationed there, an emblem of the might of Rome and the peace and prosperity seems an appropriate choice to pair with the *princeps*' ancestress.<sup>12</sup>

### **Leptis Magna: Theater fountain**

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<sup>11</sup> Zanker, *Power of Images*, 175.

<sup>12</sup> On the water supply see Harnett, 77. This new water source allowed for the refurbishing of the existing baths, the building of the new suburban bath complex, and the addition of a swimming pool to the palestra. Outside of Rome proper, the goddess Roma was also worshipped in conjunction with Augustus: temples to Roma and Augustus were built in Ostia, Caesarea, and on the acropolis in Athens. For more on this see Zanker, 235, 250 (Caesarea), 298 (Athens), 310 (Ostia).

The city of Leptis Magna on the Mediterranean coast of Africa was already centuries old with Punic and Greek roots, and thoroughly Romanized and prosperous in the imperial period. By the time the fountain discussed here was built in the mid-second century C.E. the city had been a *colonia* for a generation, and native son and future emperor Septimius Severus was about ten years old. An inscription found in the area names L. Hedio Rufo Lolliano Avito, a proconsul from 157/8 C.E. , as the improver of the *lacus* (or pool) near the theater by the addition of marble, columns, and *amorini*.<sup>13</sup>(Cat. Fountain 2) The site was discovered in the course of excavations at the theater, and sculptural fragments and architectural elements began to come to light over several months beginning in the summer of 1937.<sup>14</sup> Since the area around the fountain was used as a sorting place for the theater excavations, a reconstruction was not accomplished until 1949.<sup>15</sup> The fountain fitted into a back corner of the theater and consisted of a podium a little over a meter above the height of the piazza which cut across on the diagonal. A semicircular niche measuring approximately three meters fitted into the corner, with a second smaller niche in the back. A shallow colonnade with six columns ran around the front edge and perhaps supported a broken architrave. Water fell from a spigot at the center of the podium into a narrow channel which ran along its front. The resultant construction does not seem to have

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<sup>13</sup> IRT 533. Giacomo Caputo and Gustavo Traversari, *Le sculture del teatro di Leptis Magna* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1976), 12; Giacomo Caputo, *Il teatro augusteo di Leptis Magna. Scavi e restuaro (1937-1951)* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1987) 60-1; Francesco Tomasello, et al., *Fontane e ninfei minori di Leptis Magna* (Rome, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2005), 48-9, Fig. 16, and 161, n. 319. In the reconstruction this inscription appears at the center of the architrave over the niche.

<sup>14</sup> Caputo and Traversari, 61; Tomasello, et al., 160, n. 308, summarizes; the relevant entries from the excavation notebooks are reprinted in Tomasello, et al., 202-6.

<sup>15</sup> Tomasello, et al., 37-50.

included a pool per se, but perhaps the designation of the fountain as a *lacus* persisted from a previous configuration.

Over the course of the theater excavations several sculptures came to light, and two different assemblages have been suggested as the decoration of the nymphaeum, both of which feature the Aphrodite Anadyomene as the centerpiece.<sup>16</sup> There is no question of the Anadyomene's association with the fountain since the lower half of the body was discovered directly in front of the niche at the level of the podium. This discovery came nearly a year after the first parts came to light in the summer of 1937. On the 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> of July the top of the head and parts of a torso were found, an Eros was uncovered in December, and the lower half of the body was uncovered the following June. Remaining pieces were discovered at the end of August and beginning of September 1938. The Eros allowed the inscription to be linked to this fountain, providing at least one of the *amorini* described.<sup>17</sup> In her discussion of the decorative scheme Marina Albertocchi points out that the *amorini* could have been either sculpted or painted (or both), and one can imagine the additional *putti* painted on the walls, cavorting around the Anadyomene.<sup>18</sup> The reconstructed Anadyomene shows the goddess standing naked with her head turned slightly down and to the left. Her hairstyle is a bit unusual for the type, showing the locks of the hair tied into a bow on the top of the head, more commonly seen in the Capitoline

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<sup>16</sup> Giacomo Caputo, "Sculture da Leptis Magna: III. Venere specchiantesi in acqua," *La Parola del Passato*, 12 (1957): 378-83; Tomasello, et al., 159-61.

<sup>17</sup> Tomasello, et al., 161.

<sup>18</sup> Tomasello, et al., 161.

Venus type. The arms have not been found, although locks of hair have been which show where the hair was grasped extended out above the shoulders. The Eros stood on the back of a dolphin on the goddess' right side, and seems to have held a large shell in front of him. Roughly cut drapery was laid on a similarly unfinished stump attached to the goddess' left leg as a support.

Giacomo Caputo argued that the Anadyomene was accompanied on the podium by two statues, one identified as a shepherd or Daphnis, the other as a nymph or muse, both of which were found nearby.<sup>19</sup> Both figures are posed in similar positions on rocky seats. The male figure depicts a naked youth holding a staff. The small sheep, whose rough coats are barely distinguishable from the rock against which they lay, curl around his feet and identify him as a shepherd. The female figure is naked to the waist with heavy drapery swathing the legs and falling over the left arm. Her right leg is perched higher on the rock to support the right elbow which rested on the thigh. The head was sharply turned to the left. The shepherd's statue was piped for water with the opening hidden on the rough rocky surface underneath the left leg and one can imagine the effect of the shepherd and his sheep resting near a cool stream or pool which the flow of water would have created. Although the figures together did not recreate any known mythical story, Caputo argued that the representations of Venus, Eros, Daphnis, and a nymph or muse would have encouraged a romantic contemplation of nature and love suitable for the intellectual

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<sup>19</sup> Caputo and Traversari, 45-7, no. 25 (shepherd-Daphnis), 51-3, no. 31 (nymph-muse).

Hellenism of the second century C.E.<sup>20</sup> To my mind, however, the presence of the dolphin with the Aphrodite seems to evoke the goddess' birth from the sea rather than a bucolic bathing scenario.

Marina Albertocchi, however, found this reconstruction purely hypothetical.<sup>21</sup> As an alternative, she proposed that two statues of standing nymphs also found in the theater excavations would have been better suited to accompany the Anadyomene. Although both figures were badly broken, it is clear that they are of the same type: mostly naked with drapery slung around the hips and holding a large shell in front of the pubis. Both nymph statues were piped for fountain use so that water could spill out of the shell held in front of them. The nakedness and arrangement of the drapery are features which this type shares with representations of Aphrodite and although the Anadyomene utilized in this fountain appeared naked, viewers would have been abundantly familiar with the many half-draped representations so that the visual echo would have been apparent. One comparable example of Aphrodite with nymph attendants has survived. Although found in far-distant Britain, a relief panel depicts a kneeling Anadyomene between two naked female attendants, one holding a shell-like basin, and the other carrying a vase.<sup>22</sup> The panel evokes a fountain setting as well, showing the water that runs below the kneeling goddess flows from a vase rather than from a natural source. Considering the size of the niche, just under 3 meters wide, Albertocchi's proposal of two standing nymphs flanking the

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<sup>20</sup> Caputo, "Sculpture da Leptis Magna," 382.

<sup>21</sup> Tomasello, et al., 161.

<sup>22</sup> Catalogue: Stone Relief 4.

Anadyomene would seem to be a more lyrical presentation than the two very solid seated figures proposed by Caputo. The strong verticality of the three standing divinities would have echoed the repeated columns across the front of the podium. Furthermore, the presence of nymphs evokes the Graces and other female attendants mentioned in myth who attended Aphrodite at her birth and baths.

### **Cyrene: Baths of Trajan**

Standing slightly over life-size, the beautifully carved Anadyomene discovered by Italian troops on patrol in December 1913 originally stood above a plunge pool on one side of a long frigidarium. (Cat. Bath 1) Excited archaeologists immediately began excavations on the site which continued until 1929. Eventually, some 27 sculptures were uncovered along with the baths, most of which also stood in the frigidarium. For some time, hope was held out that the Aphrodite's head might be found as work progressed.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, however, Richard Goodchild's belief is surely correct that because the statue had fallen backwards towards the retaining wall, the head likely rolled down the gully below and washed away (or perhaps was weathered to unrecognizability).<sup>24</sup> As may be expected, immediately after the discovery and the work's removal to Italy, scholars attempted to formulate an origin story for the alluring Aphrodite, positing when, where, and by whom it had been carved.<sup>25</sup> The high quality of the work led Bagnani to suggest that the work was

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<sup>23</sup> Ernest A. Gardner, "The Aphrodite from Cyrene," *JHS* 40.2 (1920): 204.

<sup>24</sup> Richard G. Goodchild, *Kyrene und Apollonia* (Zurich: Raggi Verlag Zurich, 1971): 131.

<sup>25</sup> See for example, Lucio Mariani, *L'Aphrodite di Cirene*, "Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di S. Luca: Annuario (1914-15): 3-20, and Gardner, "The Aphrodite from Cyrene," 203-5.



Hellenistic and possibly indicated a Hellenistic date for an earlier phase of the bath, however, no subsequent evidence supported this theory.<sup>26</sup>

Two inscriptions have contributed to the piecing together of the history of the building. The first of these names Trajan as the builder of the baths and dates their completion in the first years of his reign between 98-100 C.E.<sup>27</sup> Due to its size, however, it is likely that the plan and initial construction of the complex predated Trajan and was perhaps initiated under Nerva or Domitian.<sup>28</sup> The second inscription documented the rebuilding of the complex by Hadrian following an insurrection in 115/16 by the Jewish community when much of the city suffered damage.<sup>29</sup> The baths were severely damaged and abandoned after an earthquake in 365 C.E. again caused great destruction throughout the city. In the Byzantine period a smaller bath was constructed in what had formerly served as the palestra of the original baths.<sup>30</sup>

Although the baths share a terrace with the sanctuary of Apollo, they were not part of the sacred precinct proper. They were situated in the northeast corner of the terrace, and the entrances to the two complexes were adjacent to one another, nearly at right angles. Built into the northeast corner of the sanctuary surrounded by a retaining wall on

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<sup>26</sup> Bagnani, 241.

<sup>27</sup> Joyce Reynolds, "Four Inscriptions from Roman Cyrene," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 49, Parts 1 and 2 (1959), pp. 95-96.

<sup>28</sup> Reynolds, 96.

<sup>29</sup> Bagnani, 232; Goodchild, 128. Sandro Stucchi, *Architettura Cirenaica*, (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1975), 211.

<sup>30</sup> Goodchild, 130.

two sides, the location was chosen to take advantage of a nearby spring and the buildings overlaid some earlier sanctuary structures.<sup>31</sup> A bather descended a stairway into a large reception hall, and traversed a long colonnaded palestra in order to reach the bathing rooms. The palestra led into a long hall built perpendicular to it, which in the first phase possibly served as a very large apodyterium. Piers and paired columns divided the the space into five nearly equal bays. When the baths were repaired under Hadrian, expansions converted the hall into the frigidarium with a new apodyterium added on the east end, and a pool constructed in an extension on the west. A row of rooms was added along the north side, occupying the space against the original structure and the terrace's retaining wall.<sup>32</sup> Two of these rooms had steps leading down into pools; it was in one of these the Anadyomene originally stood. The warm rooms formed a core nestled into the corner formed by the palestra and long frigidarium.

Hubertus Manderscheid has recorded the sculptures found in the baths and their findspots, nearly all in the frigidarium and the rooms adjacent to it.<sup>33</sup> Many subjects were repeated: no fewer than four representations of Minerva were recovered as were three satyrs and three depictions of Mercury, two nearly identical copies of the three Graces, two Aphrodites (one Anadyomene and one Capitoline), two Erotes (one stringing a bow), and two images of Bacchus. Other representations included a statue of one of the Dioscouri, or perhaps Alexander the Great in that guise, a dancing maenad, an Apollo, and Hygeia. The

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<sup>31</sup> Goodchild, 128. Stucchi, 211.

<sup>32</sup> Goodchild, 131.

<sup>33</sup> Manderscheid, 100-3, nos. 265-291.

pool at the end of the frigidarium was the site of a Bacchus, satyr, Minerva, and Mercury.<sup>34</sup> The Capitoline Venus found herself with Mercury in the first side room off the long hall.<sup>35</sup> The Anadyomene stood with the dancing maenad above a stepped pool that filled a small room about halfway along the side of the frigidarium.<sup>36</sup> The two groups of Graces were located nearby, set across from one another between the piers and columns which divided the second and third bays of the frigidarium. Just beyond them an over-life statue, which has been identified as one of the Dioscouri or perhaps Alexander the Great as one of the Dioscouri, stood in a niche.<sup>37</sup> The precise findspots of other works from this space are not quite as clear, but they included two satyrs, two Minervas, a Mercury, Eros drawing a bow, and an Apollo.<sup>38</sup>

Many of these works, as well as statuary throughout the city, showed signs of repair in antiquity, suggesting that they had been damaged, perhaps in the Jewish riots, and were repaired and reused.<sup>39</sup> One can imagine one of the officials tasked with supervising the construction and decoration of the baths visiting workshops throughout the city looking for suitable works to furnish and decorate the baths. Representations of satyrs, Bacchus, and maenads all evoke a sense of leisure and play. Both the Aphrodite types allude to water

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<sup>34</sup> Manderscheid, nos. 266, 270, 280, 282, 290.

<sup>35</sup> Manderscheid, nos. 274, 279.

<sup>36</sup> Manderscheid, nos. 271, 273.

<sup>37</sup> Bagnani, 237; Manderscheid, 103, no. 287, seems ambivalent about the identification as Alexander.

<sup>38</sup> Manderscheid, nos. 268, 272, 278, 281, 283, 285, 286, 287.

<sup>39</sup> Bagnani, 232.

and bathing in their pictorial narrative, and along with Eros and the Graces, continue the theme of relaxation. The presence of Hygeia naturally underscores the health aspects of bathing and personal care. Minerva's presence in four representations, more than any other subject, is noteworthy for the number of works found as well as for the tone of seriousness she brings, especially in contrast with frolicking maenads, satyrs, and Bacchus, and the more frivolous and luxuriant Aphrodite. Perhaps she, along with Mercury, supervised and guarded the more serious matters of intellectual or business discussions which surely occurred in baths.

### **Ostia: Baths of Neptune, Bath of the Seven Sages**

Representations of the Aphrodite Anadyomene were found in two baths in the port city of Ostia.<sup>40</sup> In the Hadrianic period, the large Baths of Neptune were constructed in the eastern part of the city, not far inside the Porta Romana, the gate that connected the Decumanus to the highway from Rome.<sup>41</sup>(Cat. Bath 2) The building occupied a large city block, with a large palestra on the west, and the bathing rooms on the east side. The location was prime, standing next door to the theater, directly on the Decumanus Maximus, which functioned as the main artery of the town. Along this road, long monumental

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<sup>40</sup> For a thorough overview of life in Ostia, see Russell Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

<sup>41</sup> Excavations of the structure were begun in 1888 by Lanciani and completed in 1909-10 by Vaglieri. See *NSc* 1888: 233, 737-45; *NSc* 1909: 126-7, 164, 197-201, 231. The dates of many buildings in Ostia have been determined by careful analysis of brickstamps: Herman Bloch, "I bolli laterizi nella storia edilizia di Ostia," in *Scavi di Ostia*, vol. 1, "Topografia Generale," ed. Guido Calza (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1953): 215-27. (On the baths of Neptune: 220).

porticoes on both the ground and second stories created a unified façade for the baths and the buildings that flanked it. It also provided shade for the shops along the ground floor and a broad balcony for the second floor which may have been living quarters. The rents from shops and living quarters likely supported the bath operations. The commercial purpose of the site was perpetuated from earlier use phases. In the Claudian period the site had held rows of shops flanking a large cistern for the aqueduct. These were razed in the Domitianic period and replaced by new shops and a bath.<sup>42</sup> The more elaborate Hadrianic baths and porticoes were built contemporaneously with a barracks immediately to the north which housed the Vigiles, or fire fighters, deployed from the Roman cohort to Ostia on 4 month tours of duty.<sup>43</sup> The baths and shops, therefore, were situated perfectly to accommodate the needs of theater attendees, travelers from Rome, and the Vigiles with a venue for exercise and relaxation, as well as providing places to shop and eat.

Many shops had passages or windows into the adjoining spaces and each was also backed by a second room of equal size, with a doorway between.<sup>44</sup> Most of these internal rooms also had wide doorways into the baths or its adjoining palestra. Certainly, doorways could have been closed and locked, but the multiple access points, particularly surrounding the palestra, make its boundaries seem rather permeable and flexible. Even with multiple entry points on all sides of the block, the main entrance to the baths proper seems to have

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<sup>42</sup> Thea L. Hebes, "Una ricerca sulla storia edilizia delle Terme di Nettuno ad Ostia Antica (II, 4, 2) nel periodo post-adrianeo," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 40 (1978): 93-95, 100.

<sup>43</sup> On the Vigiles: Gustav Hermansen, *Ostia: Aspects of Roman City Life* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1981): 223-4.

<sup>44</sup> On the subsequent modification of doorways throughout the baths: Hebes, 98-99.

been through a double-bay from the portico which led into a large room decorated with a black and white mosaic of Amphitrite, the bride of Poseidon, riding on the back of a hippocamp, a creature which is horse on the front end, and sea serpent on the back.<sup>45</sup> She seems rather insecurely perched, facing backward, and her expression could be interpreted as bored and disinterested, verging on the dour. She is naked except for a thin veil wrapped behind her shoulders, the end of which she holds out in her left hand, and a mantle that covers her left thigh. The hippocamp is preceded by a flying naked boy—his identification as Hymenos rather than Eros is indicated by the torch he carries to light Amphitrite's procession to her wedding with Poseidon. Tritons with sea-serpent tails undulate around the border of this room, a motif that is repeated in subsequent spaces as well.

The next room was a large hall decorated with the mosaic of Neptune for which the baths were named.<sup>46</sup> The large and impressive scene shows the god speeding along behind four reined hippocamps, without benefit of a chariot. He is accompanied by a swirling marine thiasos that included Erotes riding dolphins, naked swimming men, Nereids riding sea monsters, and a creative variety of fish, tritons, and sea monsters. Around these two large rooms were arrayed smaller rooms and passages. A large latrine was accessible from both spaces as well as the street, and was decorated with images of stout ithyphallic

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<sup>45</sup> Giovanni Becatti, ed. *Scavi di Ostia: Vol. 4, "Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei,"* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1953): 47-48, no. 69. Hebes, 94-5, numbers this space among the portico shops (D4) rather than among the rooms belonging to the baths proper. The unity of the mosaic decoration in both technique and theme, however, would seem to strongly indicate that this room was meant to be understood as part of the baths.

<sup>46</sup> Guido Calza, "Il Mosaico di Nettuno delle terme Ostiensi," *Bolletino d'arte* 6 (1912): 199-204. Giovanni Becatti, "Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei," 48-50, no. 71. Hebes, 95.

pygmies, some on a boat, another chased by a crocodile. A square room which transitioned from the bath to the palestra showed boxers and wrestlers. Other rooms, either not decorated to the same extent, or whose decoration has not survived, surely functioned as dressing rooms.

Progressing from the Neptune room, one entered the wet spaces of the bath proper, first through the frigidarium. One either end of the room, vaults covered sunken pools with stairs that led into them and the surrounding walls held niches for statuary. The floor of the frigidarium carried on the theme of Neptune's realm, picturing Scylla, for which the room has become known, among the fishes and sea creatures that appeared in the other scenes.<sup>47</sup> The frigidarium led into a suite of two rooms that transitioned not only between hot and cold spaces, but also masked an axial shift in the building. The Amphitrite, Neptune, and Scylla rooms all line up on axis. The warm rooms on the north side of the building line up on their own axis, having been shifted towards the center of the building in order to accommodate the service areas that held the furnaces and water pipes. This two-room suite, which stands between the cold and hot rooms, masks the shift. Each of these rooms has its own entry from the Scylla room; however, the larger room to the right did not permit direct access to the warm rooms. Perhaps it functioned as another rest area, a quiet place to conduct business, or as a massage room.<sup>48</sup> At some later date, the northernmost caldarium furthest from the entrance was separated from the rest of the bathing

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<sup>47</sup>"Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei," 50-52, no. 71; F. Zevi, "Terme di Nettuno, Saggi di scavo," *Bolletino d'arte* 53 (1968): 35.

<sup>48</sup> For these kinds of functions, see Fikret Yegül, *Bathing in the Roman World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 74-9.

establishment when the doorway which connected it to the rest of the bath was bricked up; a new entrance from the street was created for this area's new unknown purpose.<sup>49</sup> In contrast to the exciting mosaic floors from the cold rooms, the warm rooms all had floors of marble slabs, all the better to conduct the radiant heat into the room and to perhaps allow for the occasional repair to the necessary ductwork without disturbing the expensive mosaic work. None of the wall decoration from the warm rooms has been preserved.

Hubertus Manderscheid records fifteen sculptures found in the ruins of this bath.<sup>50</sup> Most notable was a beautifully carved portrait statue of Hadrian's wife Sabina in the guise of the goddess Ceres. It was found in a porch-like chamber in the center of the western side of the palestra along with a marble statuette of a genius likely indicating that this space was dedicated to the imperial cult.<sup>51</sup> Also found in the area of the palestra, but with no find-spot recorded, was the upper torso of a marble statuette of an Aphrodite Anadyomene, broken diagonally across the abdomen and lacking arms and head. Even in this state, the goddess is recognizable from the position of the stumps of her amputated upper arms: the right is tucked close into the body while the left is lifted perpendicular to the torso, exposing the underarm. The head of a Silenus and the colossal head of a god were also found in area of the palestra. Most of the statuary was found in the frigidarium, unsurprising considering its wall niches which would have held the works. These included an athlete, a terracotta nymph, a headless Fortuna, the head of an over life-size statue of

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<sup>49</sup> Heres, 96: she states this room was much inferior to the one which preceded it (which had 2 stepped pools), in spite of the five furnaces which heated it.

<sup>50</sup> Manderscheid, 77-79, nos. 83-98.



Plotina, wife of Trajan, three male portrait busts and one portrait head, and a statue base with an inscription naming T. Petronius Priscus as the honoree. One last work, the head of a youthful Faustina Minor, was uncovered at the entrance to the baths.

Representations of Venus at her toilette were common decorations in baths throughout the Roman world, the subject being thematically sympathetic to the purpose of the establishments. In the case of this bath in particular, the wedding of Neptune and Amphitrite seems to be the theme of the mosaics featuring Erotes and Hymenos among the figures of the marine thiasos. The Anadyomene's birth from the sea would make her a particularly suitable representation to oversee the watery nuptials. The portraits of Plotina, Sabina, and Faustina Minor reinforce the importance of the imperial patronage in the building of the baths, begun under Hadrian and completed and dedicated in the early years of the reign of Antoninus Pius. It is impossible to know whether there were also portraits of the emperors (as well as of Faustina Major, who seems notably absent) in the baths originally; much of the sculpture in Ostia was burned in on-site limekilns. However, portraits of the imperial women, particularly these who played an essential role in cementing the ties between the second century adoptive emperors, were often deployed in the promotion of imperial values and largess.<sup>52</sup>

In contrast to the unified structure and prominent location of the Neptune Baths, the Baths of the Seven Sages stood in a heavily residential area on the western side of

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<sup>52</sup>For an example of this see: Marianne Eileen Wardle, "The Construction of a Dynastic Ideal: The Second-Century *Augustae* in the Guise of the Goddess Ceres," MA Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1997.

Ostia.<sup>53</sup>(Cat. Bath 3) The complicated warren of streets, apartment houses, and other buildings in this district attest to its long habitation and the ongoing modification of the built-up urban fabric to suit the needs of each generation. The baths were situated between two large apartment blocks known now as the Cassegiato (or Insula) del Serapide and the Caseggiato degli Aurighi (or Charioteers). Each of these were composed with courtyards at the center and residents could access the baths through them. The Cassegiato del Serapide, named for its Severan-era shrine to Serapis in the courtyard, was constructed in the Hadrianic period, while the Caseggiato degli Aurighi, so-called for paintings of charioteers in the entrance, was built a generation later in the Antonine period.<sup>54</sup> Occupying the area between the two apartment blocks, the bathing complex and its decoration, which includes a painting of an Anadyomene, dates in its final stage to the Severan period.<sup>55</sup>

In contrast to the Baths of Neptune, which was purpose-built, imperially funded, and with a clear and intuitive plan as part of a unified building campaign, the Baths of the Seven Sages was cobbled together from sections built at different times, many of which were converted for the bath purpose. Thea Heres' careful examination of the architecture of the baths and the apartment blocks which sandwich it is essential to understanding the structure and transitions of the space and she has identified ten distinct building or

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<sup>53</sup> Carlo Pavolini, *Ostia* (Rome-Bari: Guis. Laterza & Figli Spa, 1983): 132-6, provides an overview.

<sup>54</sup> Bloch, 223-24, provides a lengthy listing of the brickstamps and corresponding dating of the three structures.

<sup>55</sup> Guido Calza, *Ostia (Nuovi Scavi)*, (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1947): 5, briefly describes the excavation of the baths in 1937 and describes the Anadyomene painting. Thea L. Heres, "La storia edilizia delle Terme dei Sette Sapianti (III x 2) ad Ostia Antica: uno studio preliminare," 99-104.

remodeling phases in the structures which comprise the baths.<sup>56</sup> The late second century structure might have overlaid earlier rooms of similar purpose, however, the disunity of the plan and obvious repurposing of many of the rooms makes a clear reading difficult. What seems obvious from Heres' study is that this area was a vital, living space, which was built up, adjusted, modified, and retrofit to suit the needs of the neighborhood and residents. Formerly serving at various times as *tavernae*, shops, workshops, offices, and markets, the various rooms were ultimately repurposed as bathing facilities.

The earliest rooms belonging to the baths show a mix of construction datable by brickstamps to the late Flavian and Hadrianic periods.<sup>57</sup> The paintings in these rooms, famous for the scatological sayings attributed to the seven famous philosophers pictured, gave the baths their name.<sup>58</sup> Although at first excavators took the *décor* to signify that the space was a latrine, none of the standard features of water channels or seats are observable, and paintings of amphorae led to the reevaluation of the rooms as a wine shop.<sup>59</sup> Heres suggests that other construction from this period, also adjacent to the *Insula del Serapide*, served as workshops for tradesmen.<sup>60</sup> The large rotunda at this end of the building is its most identifiable and notable feature. For those familiar with the large

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<sup>56</sup> Heres, 99-100.

<sup>57</sup> Heres, 80-1. See also Hermansen: 157-9, no. 22.

<sup>58</sup> John Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003): 171-77, offers an analysis of the humorous aspect of the paintings.

<sup>59</sup> Guido Calza, "Die Taverne der Sieben Wiesen in Ostia," *Die Antike* 14 (1939): 99-115.

<sup>60</sup> Heres, 81-84.

imperial baths of Caracalla and Diocletian in Rome, the domed space seems a natural fit with the bath plan and purpose, and perhaps its circular form suggested the bathing function to the later Severan builders. In its initial Hadrianic phase, however, Heres suggests that it was built as a marketplace. An analysis of its construction reveals that perhaps influenced by the new emperor's love of domes, the builders modified the space from what seems to have been intended as a double-apsed basilica into the circular domed form.<sup>61</sup> The floor of this room preserves its original mosaic decoration in black and white tiles which portrayed scenes of hunting amidst scrolling vegetation that echo and emphasize the shape of the room. As part of the later bathing establishment, a tall water basin may have been located in the center of the room. There were no significant modifications to add pools or heating, and so the rotunda seems to have functioned in the later phases as a gathering space, not a washing room. Instead, basins for cold water bathing were built into the rooms on the west of the rotunda, while behind it to the south were located the new heated rooms.

The Anadyomene painting is located in one of the cold rooms. The room's initial function is unknown, but in order to retrofit it as a frigidarium, a masonry basin covered with a patchwork of marble revetment was built into the back half of the room. The painting was located on the back wall, directly above the pool. The pictorial space the goddess occupies seems somewhat ambiguous as she looks to be standing on the shore where two Eroti assist her in her toilette, offering up a mirror and a jewelry box. The sea rises up behind her, however, with large fishes, a lobster, and a sea serpent or giant eel

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<sup>61</sup> Heres, 85-92.

swimming by, creating the sense that she is either at the bottom of the sea or standing in front of an aquarium window. A skylight in the vault of the ceiling lit what otherwise would have been a very dark interior space, and it is easy to imagine the sunlight flickering across the surface of the water and casting dappled reflections across the painted Aphrodite while girls playfully laughed and splashed under the gaze of the goddess.

### **Langon, France**

The small parish church of Sainte-Agathe in the village of Langon, near Redon, Bretagne, first earned attention in 1839 when architect Charles Langlois published a complete report on his examination of the building, documenting its Gallo-Roman roots and subsequent building phases.<sup>62</sup> (Cat. Bath 4) In the same year, a short report by a M. Pollet focused mainly on the various styles of brickwork of the building and ended with the recommendation that conservation be undertaken to replace the decayed roof in order to protect the structure.<sup>63</sup> In the next year the Commission des Monuments Historiques considered the suggestion at the annual meeting and placed the chapel on its rolls.<sup>64</sup> Two years later, Langlois returned to continue his examination. In scraping the whitewash from the apse, he uncovered a much-damaged painting from the 11<sup>th</sup> century showing the upper left side of a large haloed figure framed in an oval, with a grouping of three smaller figures

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<sup>62</sup> Charles Langlois, "Notice sur une ancienne chapelle" *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences et Arts de Rennes* (1839). I was not able to access this report.

<sup>63</sup> M. Pollet, "Notes: Sur la chapelle de Langon, située dans le cimetière de cette commune, arrondissement de Redon, département d'Ille-et-Villaine," *Bulletin Monumental* 5(1839): 490-93.

<sup>64</sup> Robert Royer, "Un monument gallo-romain en Armorique, la chappelle de Langon," *Archeologia, Tresors des Ages*, no. 157 (1981): 19.

to the right. The trio was seated and the larger middle figure, also wearing a halo, gestured with an uplifted right hand. Because there seemed to be traces of an even older picture underneath, Langlois sought permission, which the local authorities granted, to remove this layer as well. Underneath he found a painting of an Aphrodite Anadyomene surrounded by a sea full of fishes.<sup>65</sup> The north half of the fresco was lost before the subsequent painting was laid over it, and now the work is badly faded. The upper part of the goddess' body is visible, and she seems to float above the aqua sea effortlessly, looking away to her right. Her hair is gathered into an up-do massed at the crown of her head, but two long locks hang from the nape of her neck; the left hand is raised to hold one up, but the other lock lays across her right shoulder. The position of the right arm, missing at the elbow, and the goddess' glance in that direction, indicates that perhaps she held a mirror. An Eros riding a dolphin is located at the right. The figures and fishes share the same brown-red outline and details. Although the fish are pictured in many shapes and varieties, they all share the same coloring: red-brown on top, dark blue on the belly, with a white stripe separating the two zones.<sup>66</sup> In 1977 tests undertaken by the lab of the Monuments Historiques de Champs-sur-Marne revealed that the pigment used for blue was cobalt, previously thought to be used only since the Middle Ages.<sup>67</sup>

The fabric of the building reflects the uses to which it was put and its subsequent repurposing. A simple basilica-style rectangle, it is oriented east-west, with the apse on the

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<sup>65</sup> Royer, 19.

<sup>66</sup> Royer, 20, identifies mullet, swordfish, eels, and spiny urchins among the creatures.

<sup>67</sup> Royer, 20.

east end, and measures internally only 8.1 meters in length by 3.8 meters in width.

Masonry on the lower levels of the east and west ends of the building are original and built in *opus vittatum*: one or two courses of thin brick are topped by thick mortar layers and three or five courses of local sandstone blocks. The apse joins the nave with a brick arch which springs from stone footings. Some reconstruction is evident directly above the brick arch. The west wall and adjacent north and south walls running approximately four meters have also preserved the original brick-and-stone courses up to the level of about two meters.<sup>68</sup> Dates ranging from the second century to the late fourth or early fifth centuries have been proposed.<sup>69</sup> Early antiquarians proposed that the original function of the building was as a funerary chapel or temple of Venus, however, consensus seems to have settled on the likely explanation that it is the surviving *frigidarium* of a small bath, perhaps part of a rural villa.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Léon Maître and Joseph Douillard, "Langon et son Temple de Venus," *Bulletin Monumental* 79 (1920): 10-11, elevation and section by Douillard.

<sup>69</sup> According to James Anderson, *Roman Architecture and Society* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997): 156, this style of brickwork began to appear prominently in Gaul in the second century. Royer, 18, prefers a later date, however, the town's website entry on the building (<http://www.ville-langon.fr/index.php?secteur=26&rub=51&parent=76>, accessed April 13, 2010) gives a date of the second century, but does not cite a source in its support; the website provides some interesting information about the building phases of the church (such as the existence of a bell-tower and possible transept in the early phase, see discussion below) which seems more current than Royer's short 1981 article.

<sup>70</sup> Maître and Douillard's article proposes that the first phase was actually as a church built by St. Melaine, the bishop of Rennes, in the early sixth century, but that subsequently recalcitrant pagans commandeered it as a temple of Venus. This argument was based on their observation that, unlike pagan temples in Rome which were large, Gallic temples were too small to be useful for Christian services which required more space, and the fact that this structure was, indeed, dedicated and functional as a parish church. This opinion was promptly taken apart in the next issue of the *Bulletin Monumental* by Adrien Blanchet, ("L'Édifice antique de Langon," *Bulletin Monumental* 80 (1921): 153-58), for its misreading of the construction and its plan, particularly in light of the careful renderings by Douillard which clearly label successive phases. Blanchet, and general consensus, seem to favor the theory that the building was once part of a bath (specifically the *frigidarium*). Royer, 21, states that until additional excavations discover the expected bath-components that it must remain theoretical. The town website suggests that the structure was abandoned by the fourth century

Under the control of the Abbey of Rennes, the building was consecrated as a church sometime between the sixth and mid-ninth centuries.<sup>71</sup> Dedicated to a putative Irish saint, Saint-Venier, the new identity was an obvious attempt to assimilate the new religion with the older decoration. Between this period and the eleventh century, the center section of the building was reconstructed twice. In the first phase a bell-tower was added before the apse where the earlier brickwork was disturbed, and it is possible that a short transept was also added.<sup>72</sup> A second reconstruction removed the tower (and transept, if it existed), enlarged windows, and relocated the doorway from the west end to the south side, near the apse, and it was likely in this phase that the first painting uncovered by Langlois was executed.<sup>73</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century the church was taken over by followers of the Swiss reformer Huldrych Zwingli, but by 1602 it had returned to Catholic hands. It was

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and therefore useful when Christianity arrived in the early sixth. Albert Grenier, *Manuel d'Archéologie gallo-romaine*, vol. 4, *Les Monuments des eaux* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie, 1960): 242) discussing in general the identification of Gallic ruins as baths cautions against assuming bath function simply from plan, particularly if the site lacks the expected supporting infrastructure such as water supply, plumbing, drainage, and hypocausts. With that caveat, several of the baths Grenier identifies have small apsidal halls similar to that at Langon, and that these spaces are most often labeled caldaria: see p. 247, 299, 325, 332, 346, 381. The configuration is also similar to small baths in London, see Peter Rowsome, "The Huggin Hill baths and bathing in London: barometer of the town's changing circumstances?" in *Roman Baths and Bathing*, ed. J. DeLaine and D.E. Johnston (Portsmouth, Rhode Island: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999): 262-277.

<sup>71</sup> Royer, 18, states that a donation was made to "Ecclesia Sancti Veneris" in 838; the Ville-Langon website states that this was recorded in the Cartulary of the abbey of Saint-Sauveur at Redon which held 391 charters dating from the abbey's foundation in 834 to the beginning of the twelfth century. This collection of documents is now kept by the archbishopric of Rennes.

<sup>72</sup> The Ville-Langon website states that the addition of a tower was part of the chapel conversion, removed later when the larger church of Sts. Peter and Paul was constructed and this building became primarily a funerary chapel. Maître and Douillard,<sup>12</sup> suggest that a transept was part of the original plan (under their theory that it operated as a church, then a temple to Venus). In spite of their flawed reasoning of the motivations for the changes, their analysis of the architectural fabric seems to be sound, and the addition of a small transept and crossing tower when the structure was Christianized is certainly possible. Blanchet suggested in his corrective, that their conjectural timeline was all to the credit of Maître who seemed to willfully misunderstand his co-author's careful architectural renderings.

<sup>73</sup> Maître and Douillard, 12, see also Douillard's plan, pg. 7, and elevation, pg. 11.



rededicated to Saint Agatha at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Although the painting of Aphrodite had been covered for centuries, some vestigial memory of the original decoration must have persisted and resulted in the appropriately syncretic identification with a saint whose iconography features her breasts carried before her on a platter and to whom wet nurses and those suffering from breast maladies prayed.<sup>74</sup>

## **Setif**

The town of Setif (known in antiquity as Sitifis), set on a high plateau in modern Algeria approximately 100 km from the Mediterranean coast, is the setting for two final baths and their mosaics that depicted the Aphrodite Anadyomene as a marine Venus. Both sites were excavated after their accidental discovery during construction projects. Echoing the discovery of the cemetery at Elaeus, both also involved the French military. The first baths found were also the first excavated, during campaigns spanning from 1959 to 1966. A French military engineer named Andre Gaspary discovered a mosaic while erecting a new communications antenna. Gaspary informed the Antiquities service and was reassigned from Cherchel to Setif to supervise the excavations. Because of his military authority, the engineer was able to safeguard the site against further construction, protect

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<sup>74</sup> Royer, 18-9. Royer states that Agatha was the natural choice to explain the portrayal of the topless goddess, however, his rationale is somewhat questionable since the painting of Venus was covered completely in the tenth or eleventh century. It is more likely that in a Counter-Reformation gesture, the identification of the church with a spurious saint whose name strongly resembled a pagan goddess, directed the renaming, but to honor the established pattern of worship at the church, Saint Agatha was a natural successor. Emile Esperandieu recorded examples of folk-worship which persisted around images of Venus surviving from antiquity. For example, a block from Bas-de-Marey, Mesvres, France, was recovered near a spring among the ruins of a small oratory neighboring a chapel. One side pictured an Aphrodite Anadyomene, the other a naked youth, possibly Dionysus, or an Eros. Every Friday devout women would come to pray for sick children or problems conceiving; they would then scrape a bit of the stone away and mix it with water from the spring to drink (*Recueil general des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romain*, vol. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1907-28): 126, no. 1996).

the site during a violent conflict, and conscript some hundred unemployed locals to work on the excavations. Gasparly showed a great enthusiasm for excavation, but not organization. His sergeant, Paul-Albert Février returned to the site after his military service was completed dispatched from the CNRS (Centre national de la recherche scientifique) at first dismayed by the disorder he discovered, quickly imposed an organizational scheme on the site and the finds, establishing a chronology for the site based on stratigraphic examination and ceramic finds.<sup>75</sup> Known as the Northwest Quarter, this area also yielded two Christian basilicas, a cemetery, a circus, and the ancient city walls. A decade later, the second bath was found when the former French military headquarters, established in 1848 in the center of the city, was bulldozed and another mosaic was discovered. This time Algerian archaeologists took the lead, performing surveys and organizing excavations over the next several years. In 1981 they were joined by Elizabeth Fentress, a consultant from UNESCO.<sup>76</sup>

The site of the northwest baths was built over many times over the centuries, and, although the ancient streets and some shops and workshops along them are discernable, the warren of overlapping walls made the area particularly difficult to read.(Cat. Bath 5) The baths were found in Insula 26, adjacent to the city walls. Only four rooms, measuring approximately twelve by nine meters, are discernable, and it was impossible to determine

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<sup>75</sup> Paul-Albert Février, *Fouilles de Setif. Les basiliques chrétiennes du quartier nord-ouest* (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1965): 7-9. It is important to note that this period spanned the French-Algerian war. Setif seems to have been remote from the conflict however. Obviously, Février also took responsibility for organizing the publications.

<sup>76</sup> A. Mohamedi, A. Benmansour, A.A. Amamra, and E. Fentress, *Fouilles de Sétif (1977-1984)*. Algeria: Agence nationale d'archéologie et de protection des sites et monuments historiques, 1991): 15.

whether they were free standing or part of a larger complex. The entrance to the baths was not discovered, but was theorized as laying to the west since the water channels continued to the east.<sup>77</sup> The preserved structure consisted of a large room, not quite square, which held the Venus mosaic and a cold water pool in an apse on its east side. The warm rooms with their hypocaust heating systems were built on the south side, as customary in order to take advantage of the sun's warmth. These were a small rectangular room with a trefoil shaped exedra attached to it. A third room to the east was accessible through both of these. The baths have been dated to the end of the fourth century or beginning of the fifth century based on stratigraphic analysis, the construction over which they were built, and comparison with the nearby Christian basilicas<sup>78</sup>

The square central panel of the frigidarium, measuring 2.5 meters on each side portrays the goddess seated a wide cockle shell with her legs crossed in lady-like fashion, although the pose is somewhat unconvincingly rendered. One could argue that it stretches the definition of the Anadyomene type to include this portrayal as such since Aphrodite has very nearly completed her hair styling and has been captured adding one final hairpin to a coiffeur already wound with strands of pearls. This Aphrodite, self-composed and well-attended, will not step onto the shore with a hair out of place. However, the relationship of this figure and the natural progression of the of the Anadyomene's hair dressing theme is obvious and recognizable.

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<sup>77</sup> P.-A Février, A. Gaspary, R. Guéry. *Fouilles de Sétif (1959-1966): Quartier nord-ouest, rampart et cirque*. Algiers: Ministère de l'éducation nationale (antiques), 1970), 49-50.

<sup>78</sup> Février, *Fouilles de Sétif (1959-1966)*, 58.

Although she is completely naked without a wisp of drapery, she is already bejeweled with stacks of bracelets on her wrists, as well as armbands, ankle bracelets, and two necklaces. Her shell is lifted well out of the water, supported on either side by a serpent-tailed and serious-faced triton; one white haired and bearded, the other young and unusually melon-coifed. Above her head flutter two *amorini*, one offering a mirror and the other shading her with a parasol. Three more float below her on the sea. The central Eros is supported by the twined tails of cooperating dolphins and lifts a diadem up towards the goddess. Another has harnessed his two dolphins, while a third has made his own sailing vessel from a pointed amphora and a sail.

The second baths, located to the south near the Byzantine fortifications, were also small, and built over earlier construction.(Cat. Bath 6) Excavations were carefully performed to distinguish Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic levels on the site. In this case, although the remains were very damaged and much of the plan was unclear, the earlier structure on the site was also a bath, but much larger. The first phase was constructed at the beginning of the third century C.E. and included a long entrance hall with mosaic floors, a large frigidarium, and several vaulted hot rooms.<sup>79</sup> There is no clear archaeological evidence for the reason this structure was systematically and almost completely leveled, but the subsequent building can be dated from pottery sherds and a few coins found in the layer of earth under its floors, all of which date to the first quarter of the fifth century C.E.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> A. Mohamedi, et al., 22-29.

<sup>80</sup> A. Mohamedi, et al., 56.

The construction began with the largest and most well-decorated room, the frigidarium at the center of the building, and worked outwards from there. Entrance to the baths was through a rectangular vestibule on the eastern side of the frigidarium. The floor of the vestibule was completely missing, leading to the suggestion that it was marble and scavenged when the baths were abandoned. Another room was attached to it on the north side, and although its north wall is missing, excavators have suggested that perhaps it led out to a palestra on the north. Its floor was decorated with a pattern of interlocking squares and lozenges. From the vestibule, a wide doorway with doubled columns on either side led into the frigidarium, which here was a slightly skewed square with its south side about 30 centimeters wider than the north, reflecting perhaps poor construction planning and supervision. In a similar fashion to the northwest baths, cool water was contained in apse pools; in this case there were two on opposite sides of the room. This room also featured the dominant decoration, and the Anadyomene filled a square panel at the center of the room. In this case, however, the borders of geometric decoration that surrounded it were significantly wider. Four columns stood on bases in the corners of the room, and it seems as if the bases were cut and placed in an attempt to hide the off-square proportions. A small hypocaust-heated warm room was to the west and it was insulated and protected by a service corridor. Water for the baths was fed from previously used wells and held in an elevated cistern on the north side of the building. These baths seem to have continued in use until the first quarter of the seventh century C.E., and there is no clear evidence for what led to their destruction.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> A. Mohamedi, et al., 58-64.

In design and in setting, the two mosaics are very similar. In both, Aphrodite rides to the seashore on a shell supported by tritons and accompanied by tritons and Erotes. In style, however, they are quite different. The Venus mosaic fills a nearly perfectly square panel slightly larger than that at the northwest baths. When it was found the surface of the whole floor was mostly intact, although slightly marred by random *vaccui*. Shortly after its discovery, however, extreme damage was inflicted by a strip that cut across the panel a third of the way from the top, removing the upper part of the goddess' torso and the head of one triton.<sup>82</sup> With a very similar composition to the previous mosaic, Aphrodite floats in the center of the panel, supported on either side by tritons. In this case, however, the spatial relationships of the shell, tritons, and goddess have become rather arbitrary. The tritons float in front of the shell and extend their arms to support the goddess under her bottom and across her back. Several features seem aimed at emphasizing the divine status of the goddess. Her shell is no longer a seat, but has become a mandorla which frames Venus and her attendants. In this case, she has already put on her diadem, but her head is also encircled by a halo, while a purple mantle with gold border falls over her arms and wraps around her left leg. The *amorini* in the sky hold a long span of drapery above her as a canopy. Small fishermen in either lower corner indicate the shore onto which the goddess is poised to step.

## Summary

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<sup>82</sup> A. Mohamedi, et al., 71, this panel measures 2.64 x 2.65m; The destruction and current condition are mentioned, but there is no explanation for the defacement of the work.

Among the representations of the Anadyomene from baths and fountains, two are paintings of the goddess against a blue seascape filled with fishes, both dating to the third century C.E. or later. Two, later still, are mosaics remarkably similar to each other in subject and iconographic elements but quite different in style. Four are sculptures that demonstrate a wide range of scale and quality. Against the beautiful Venus of Cyrene a small, rough fragment from Ostia, or the fountain relief from Herculaneum can hardly stand comparison. Unexpectedly, seven of the eight works from baths or fountains preserve iconographic elements, firmly creating a pictorial narrative of Aphrodite at her birth and *not* at her bath. The iconography serves to lift the Aphrodite from the physical setting and the real-world context of the bather or water-carrier who stands in front of her. Instead of the goddess appearing to them in their own quotidian realities, viewers are transported instead to a mythical seashore to witness her birth.

## Chapter Six: The Aphrodite Anadyomene at Home

During my coursework, two subjects in particular captured my attention: paintings of gardens from Pompeian houses and depictions of Aphrodite.<sup>1</sup> As I began to narrow topics for the dissertation, it seemed natural to combine them into a study of Aphrodite as a domestic goddess and to examine the convergence of desire, display, and domesticity. While in the initial planning and research phase, I spent three weeks travelling through Turkey, visiting museums and archaeological sites and gathering as many examples as I could find.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Orhan Atvur, a curator at the archaeological museum in Antalya, graciously offered to take me with him on visits to nearby sites at Side and Perge. At lunchtime we met some of his archaeologist colleagues at a seaside restaurant, and I found myself surrounded by grizzled, middle-aged Turkish archaeologists. Eventually I was asked the topic of my research, and I explained my interest in domestic Aphrodites. Immediately an animated exchange began in Turkish among the men at the table, including what looked, to me at least, like a number of disapproving expressions. After some minutes, Dr. Atvur turned to me and said, “We all agree you must not do this.” Wondering if I had crossed a cultural taboo, that perhaps these men were conservative and considered the topic of

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<sup>1</sup> I was privileged to study Roman painting for two semesters with Professor Lawrence Richardson, Jr. in my first year at Duke. I could have had no better tutor.

<sup>2</sup> One of the primary goals of this trip was, in fact, to research another subject altogether. A medieval stone arch from the town of Alife, Italy, in the collection of the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University, had been cut from an ancient sculpture. I was able to identify the original subject as that of a muse. My findings were presented in a paper titled “Consider the Reverse: *Spolia* and Classicism at the Cathedral of Alife” at the Department of Art, Art History, & Visual Studies Symposium, in 2001. One of the few intact representations of this type is held in the museum at Antalya, Turkey. My research on the arch was supported by the museum (then the Duke Museum of Art) which funded testing for the marble, and a Graduate School Award for International Research Travel, from the Duke University Graduate School.



naked female statues inappropriate for a young woman scholar, I asked why. As they united in shaking their heads, looking dour, he explained, “You will never finish.” I am indebted to them. Although I am still very much interested in the topic of Aphrodite (beyond the Anadyomene) at home, my research has demonstrated that this will be, by necessity, a longer-term project than the dissertation allows.

As demonstrated by the length of this chapter in comparison with the others here, representations of Aphrodite in domestic contexts were very popular in antiquity. They have survived in great numbers, thanks in particular to the finds in Pompeii, from which the largest sample here comes. In recent years a number of mosaics have surfaced in Turkey and North Africa. Many more works in my catalogue came from household contexts, some known and more suspected. My discussion here, however, has been limited to those works for which publications could be most easily obtained. In terms of chronology and material, the domestic contexts provide the widest range of all the contexts discussed. I begin with small terracotta and marble figurines from Delos, which likely date from the late second century to first century BCE. The latest Anadyomene representations are mosaics from Carthage and a relief from Aphrodisias, both of which probably date as late as the fifth century CE. Between these lie many more examples in terracotta, bronze, ivory, marble, fresco, and mosaic from Sicily, Pompeii, Turkey, North Africa, and southwestern Gaul.

## Delos

Excavations of Delos were begun in 1873 under the supervision of the French School at Athens.<sup>3</sup> Between 1904 and 1913 Joseph Chamonard uncovered a large residential area between the theater on the southeast and the religious and commercial port to the northwest. The plan of the Theater Quarter is irregular, or “anarchique” as Phillipe Bruneau called it, evidence of its early date and long habitation, growing little by little, with insulae of varying sizes composed of mostly modest houses faced by shops on the street sides.<sup>4</sup> Habitation in the quarter began in the third century along Street 5 growing from the port and the sanctuary of Apollo uphill towards the theater where it eventually merged into the so-called Street of the Theater.<sup>5</sup> Of the ten Anadyomenes for which the find spots were recorded at Delos, six are from this area: four (A319, A395, A424, and A1789/A400) were stray finds from the Street of the Theater, one (A5158) came from a shop along Street 5, and one from House VI, O (A411).

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<sup>3</sup> Excavation results were published in the volumes of *Exploration Archéologique de Délos (EAD)* produced by the French School of Athens, and *BCH*.

<sup>4</sup> Bruneau, *Études d'archéologie délienne*, 117-18, 145 (*BCH* 92 (1968): 639-40, 667).

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Chamonard, *Le quartier du Théâtre; étude sur l'habitation délienne à l'époque hellénistique. Exploration archéologique de Délos*, vol. 8. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1922-24), 37; notes evidence of earlier inhabitation from archaic period including pottery fragments and remnants of earlier walls below street level, but that the overbuilding of the site creates a rather incoherent and chaotic picture of the earlier structures and the archaeology team determined that it was impossible to understand or construct a plan for the earlier phases. Additional information about the architecture of Delos can be found in René Vallois, *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos jusqu'à l'éviction des déliens (166 Av. J-C)* (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1944, 1966, & 1978), which with the subtitle “grammaire historique” of the second and third volumes takes a strict approach to the architectural forms used until the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century. Helpful for understanding some of the more complicated domestic remains is Monika Trümper, *Wohnen in Delos: Eine baugeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Wandel der Wohnkultur in hellenistischer Zeit* (Rahden/Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, 1998). Trümper examines the architectural forms to consider what a Delian house is, and use vs. prestige of forms. Her detailed catalogue of the Delian houses, particularly the minor ones, is a most useful supplement to Chamonard.

A319, A395, and A424 were all found relatively near to each other, to the west or northwest of the Dionysus House. A319 comprises only the head and part of the right hand of a marble statuette.(Cat. Domestic 1) A395 is the upper part of a terracotta figurine.(Cat. Domestic 2) A424 is also terracotta and preserves the lower half of a crouching Aphrodite type.(Cat. Domestic 3) Marble pieces A1789/A400 found in the street between Insulae III and IV comprise a naked Anadyomene statuette missing the head, right arm, and left hand.<sup>6</sup>(Cat. Domestic 4) Although there is no certainty to which houses or shops in the quarter these figures belonged, such objects did often figure in domestic decoration. The marble statuette is more likely to have come from one of the middle to larger houses, but the terracottas could have been well within the reach of a poorer client, or even perhaps a slave working in one of the larger houses.

The find spots for the first three (A319, A395, and A424) are indistinct and noted only as west or northwest of the House of Dionysus (House VI, I), while the fourth (A1789/A400) was found on the south end of the street in front of Insula IV. Insula IV is a narrow block, comprised of only 3 houses built one above the other going up the hillside; Chamonard notes that there is no evidence that this block was inhabited before the Hellenistic period.<sup>7</sup> Of the three houses the second is the largest and richest, with entrances on both sides of the block opening onto a peristyle courtyard. Traces of wall

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<sup>6</sup> Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos*, 232-233, Pl. 46; Gassowska, *Polycharmos z Rodos*, 107 Nr. 36; Kreeb, *delischer Privathäuser*, 308, no. S54.2.

<sup>7</sup> Chamonard, *Le quartier du Théâtre*, 50.

paint in red, black, and white bands remain in one of the rooms (*i*).<sup>8</sup> Another of the houses on the block opens onto Street 2, but has three shops opening onto the main street, two of which communicate to the house proper through its entrance corridor. The third shop was once part of the house, but had been completely separated from it at the time of its destruction.<sup>9</sup>

Insula VI included the whole range of Delian house types, from the richest to the humblest in close proximity. The richest domicile in the quarter, the House of Dionysus, became a landmark for excavators, as attested above by the notations of the three sculptures found in the street nearby with no other findspot details noted.<sup>10</sup> The house is so called from the mosaic in its courtyard's pool, the only such found at Delos, in the center of a large peristyle courtyard with 5.6 m tall columns. The house was entered by two doors, both on the main road, one a wider doorway opening into a vestibule leading to the peristyle; the other door was smaller and led into a narrow passageway as a service entry; a third doorway once connected a shop on the street to a room off the peristyle, but had been blocked off.<sup>11</sup> The house's second floor was accessed by a stairway located next to the entrance; it had once had its own door to the street and the ground-floor space possibly

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<sup>8</sup> Chamonard, *Le quartier du Théâtre*, 51, theorizes that some of the marble used in the house was reused from other sites: "Ce sont des matériaux apportés de quelque grande habitation ou, plus probablement, de quelque important édifice."

<sup>9</sup> Chamonard, *Le quartier du Théâtre*, 51.

<sup>10</sup> Chamonard, *Le quartier du Théâtre*, 58-9; *BCH* 30 (1906), 486-562; *Guide*, 255-56, no. 120.

<sup>11</sup> Chamonard, *Le quartier du Théâtre*, 58.

functioned for a time as a shop with living quarters above.<sup>12</sup> To keep things in perspective, one of the smallest houses of the quarter (House VI, K) sits next door. Measuring roughly 7 by 8 meters, it comprised a tiny courtyard, one main room, and 3 small rooms—and the entire space would have almost fit into the Dionysus House’s impluvium. The other houses in Insula VI that opened onto the main street (House VI, A; VI, L; and VI, M) are all of middling size and somewhat irregular in plan.

The houses of Insulae IV and VI are more distinct in plan and of a better size than the tangled confusion of Insula III, and Chamonard noted that, unlike their neighbors across the street on the uphill side, residents of Insula III were a more modest population, without pretension to luxury.<sup>13</sup> The *Guide de Delos* only notes two houses of significance in this large insula, the House of Cleopatra (House III, J) with its marble peristyle and famous statues, and House III, N.<sup>14</sup> With 24 houses and some 30 shops, the lives of the inhabitants were mixed with commerce. In fact, the commercial aspect of life dominates the Street of the Theater as only 3 houses (G, H, and N) even open into the street.<sup>15</sup> House III, G is only really a courtyard and one large room entered through the shop on the street; House III, H had a larger courtyard and two rooms;<sup>16</sup> House III, N mentioned above, was a strange space

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<sup>12</sup> Chamonard, *Le quartier du Théâtre*, 59.

<sup>13</sup> Chamonard, *Le quartier du Théâtre*, 36.

<sup>14</sup> *Guide*, 256; Bruneau, *Études d’archéologie délienne*, 143 (also printed in *BCH* 92 (1968): 665).

<sup>15</sup> Chamonard, *Le quartier du Théâtre*, 69.

<sup>16</sup> For careful descriptions of these houses see also Trümper, 271-2, nos. 57-58 for G and H.

which seems to have been renovated from an earlier structure.<sup>17</sup> The renovations included marble pillars and columns and quality marble goods: a herm probably of Dionysus, a large couch, and a large round table.<sup>18</sup> A number of small alleys penetrate into the interior of the block from the Street of the Theater, allowing access to houses in the center—Ruelle  $\alpha$  allows entry to the back spaces of shops 27 and 29; accesses shops 31 and 33 and House Y; House III Q is accessed only by Ruelle  $\gamma$ , which also provides a back entry to III X; and Ruelle  $\delta$  is the only way by which one can access the confusing conglomeration of rooms belonging to the shops at 47, 49, 51, and House Y.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Chamonard, *Le quartier du Théâtre*, 43-45, Trümper, 277-79, no. 63; the house is notable for a large irregular space which was divided into three bays first by a pair of pillars, roughly oval in section of blue marble with white capitals, and then a pair of columns half of blue, half of white marble. The first of the three bays has a channel cut through the floor running its length, and the third of the bays has on either side three squarish basins made of concrete and rubble, varying in size from .7 meters to 1.6 and from .8 meters to 1.4 meters deep. Each of the three on the south side of the room has a bench along the back. The courtyard of the house was all the way to the back in a corner and was only accessible if one passed through the rest of the rooms. In order to make sense of the plan, Chamonard theorizes that the doorway of the house was once at the back (possibly opening from a long corridor on Street 6) and that the rooms closest to the Street of the Theater were originally shops which were closed and reoriented toward the house, and that the basins and the channel cut into the floor suggested some kind of cloth processing—perhaps dyeing or fulling. The marble columns and oblong pillars were from a subsequent phase of the house when walls were removed and the interior partially renovated. Chamonard does hedge his theory by listing the refinements of the house including the marble architectural additions, a marble herm, a large marble couch and a large round table and stating, “Tout ce qui reste du décor intime de l’habitation atteste des goûts raffinés et peu compatibles avec l’hypothèse hasardée plus haut.” It is not inconceivable, however, that the prior family prospered, moved their center of production out of the home and renovated it, or that new owners took the renovations as far as their budget would allow, and found some use or benefit for the strange basins left. Trümper theorizes that the space was a bathhouse. Whatever the final purpose of the house, it was not purpose built for its final phase. In either case, the renovations did not create a completely cohesive space.

<sup>18</sup> Chamonard, *Le quartier du Théâtre*, 45.

<sup>19</sup> It is important to note that shops (rooms with direct access onto the streets) with additional rooms behind such as 27, 31, 35, 37, 39, 41, and 43, are not discussed as houses, and therefore fall out of the discussion nearly altogether. In the original labeling and subsequent scholarship there seems to be a distinct divide between commercial and living spaces taking for granted designations such as “shop” or “house”, and privileging the domestic over the commercial. In consequence, these smaller, commercially-oriented spaces have been unstudied and unpublished. This problem also affects the structures on the port called *magasins*, which have not been examined in the context of the houses nearby in the Theater Quarter, despite their common physical structures. See discussion below.

**House VI, O:** Martin Kreeb identifies the findspot of A411, a good-sized marble torso, as House VI, O, room d.<sup>20</sup>(Cat. Domestic 5) Sitting at the corners of the Upper Street of the Theater and Street 4, Chamonard called this one of the most “disconcerting” of the quarter—having two entrances (one on each street), obvious traces of remodeling, and only two “useful” rooms in addition to the courtyard.<sup>21</sup> Room D is a large room oriented with the door facing into the peristyle courtyard and Chamonard determined that it was the most important due to its surviving wall decoration consisting of a marble frieze which alternated colored and white marble panels.<sup>22</sup> Pieces of figured marble friezes were found in both Rooms d and e as well as from the cistern and are described by Kreeb as including depictions of a draped woman sleeping on a bed with a winged figure above (Deonne or Ariadne with Hypnos), a fragment with a ship’s prow and a man seated on a rock (Theseus), a half-draped man seated on a chair or bed (Dionysus), and 2 now lost pieces with a

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<sup>20</sup> Kreeb, 263-4, no. S42.1, on the basis of conversations with the French: “FO: Angabe nach dem französ. Inventar, Inv. Nr. 7811. Die Angabe Marcadés ist wahrscheinlich durch einen Druckfehler entstellt: Das griechische Inventar nennt als FO “nordöstlich des Dionysoshauses”. The publication of the house by Chamonard, *Le quartier du Théâtre*, 63-6, does not mention this work, but generally disregarded fragments that were perhaps not clearly identified at the time, favoring clearly identified works such as the portrait statues from the Cleopatra House. His chapter documenting the finds from the excavations in the quarter notes only the most intact and highest quality works, 219-25. Marcadé, 233, note 1, indicates that the findspot is northwest of the Dionysus House, which would group it with the previous four works, however Kreeb (quote above) clearly felt that this was a typographical error in the text. Trümper, 312-13, no. 86, notes that 2 statues were found in the room, but does not describe them.

<sup>21</sup> Chamonard, 63-64. A shop (no. 18) which does not communicate with the house is at the corner of the two streets—the house fits around it in an L. The entrance on the Upper Street is a double door with a large masonry pillar in the center of the doorway, a wide flight of steps leads down into the peristyle courtyard with an impluvium measuring roughly 9m<sup>2</sup>. A marble well head decorated with garlands of hanging grapes and deer heads was found in the courtyard and visible in Chamonard’s Fig. 31. The other entrance onto Street 4 was an archway resting on marble pilasters. A door leading into room 4 directly from this entrance vestibule was walled off.

<sup>22</sup> Chamonard, *Le quartier du Théâtre*, 66. He neglects to mention the Anadyomene and the statue support which Kreeb list together from the room; Trümper 312, no. 86, lists 2 statues found in the room, but does not specify what they were.

procession—in sum constituting references to the mysteries of Dionysus.<sup>23</sup> Clearly, the occupants of this house had the income and will to purchase interesting marble decorations for their home. Trümper notes a number of wall niches in the house, 1 in each of rooms b, d, and e, any of which could have held statuary for display.<sup>24</sup>

**House of the Dolphins:** The best preserved and largest Anadyomene from Delos (A4150) possibly came from the House of the Dolphins.(Cat. Domestic 6) Standing just over half a meter from the knees to the uplifted right hand, the mended statuette is one of the works prided by the Delos Museum, featured on the back of the catalogue of Delian sculptures by J. Marcadé and his colleagues. The House of the Dolphins sits on its own small block on the slope of Mt. Kynthos in the area between the theater and Sarapieion C. It is relatively large, about the same size as the larger houses down the hill in the Theater Quarter such as the House of Dionysus or the House of Cleopatra, but somewhat smaller than the neighboring House of the Masks. Because the quality of the sculpture seems suited to the house, it has been surmised to belong there. However, its actual context is rather fuzzy and the statue would have made a splendid dedication in one of the nearby religious shrines.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Kreeb, 264-5, no. W42.1. Also notes the arrangements of the frieze into metopes. I have not seen these pieces. Inv. 6.1-23.

<sup>24</sup> Trümper, 312.

<sup>25</sup> Marcadé, 232, note 7 states: “Les elements retrouvés proviennent de la grande habitation au S.-E. du Théâtre.” Philippe Jockey’s entry for the work in *Sculptures déliennes*, written under the direction of Marcadé, states that the statue “proviendrait peut-être de la Maison des Dauphins,” 144, no. 62. Kreeb overlooks the sculpture in his work, and only lists mosaics and wall decoration from the House of the Dolphins (227-230, Cat. No. 28). The house itself is published by Pierre Paris, *BCH* 8 (1884): 475-86, he lists no objects found in the house; see also Chamonard, 404-410, on the last page he stated that Paris, who excavated the house, “ne signale aucune trouvaille d’objets mobiliers ou autres dans cette habitation. Les fouilles complémentaires non



Almost a prototypical Delian House, the rooms are arranged around a large rectangular room with a square peristyle which had two avenues of access—through the vestibule passageway on the axis of its south side whose door was marked by columns, and through a secondary entry directly into the peristyle from the street on the west. A large room *h*, which Chamonard believed to be a reception room, was roughly half the size of the peristyle and located on its north side. A row of smaller rooms (*i* and *j* were entered only through *h*; *e*, *f*, and *g* were entered from the peristyle) runs along the long east side of the house. A suite of service rooms was located at the southeast corner of the house with access directly from the vestibule and included a latrine, kitchen, and storeroom with storage vessels still in situ.<sup>26</sup>

Chamonard stressed the luxury of the house and posits a rich Syrian trader merchant as its builder due to the mosaic symbol of Tanit in the floor of the vestibule.<sup>27</sup> Bruneau concurred with the assessment of the builder as a Phoenician, but suggests that the later inhabitants were Italians due to “les peintures liturgiques.”<sup>28</sup> Some traces of wall decoration have remained: the vestibule had red and black zones, room *c* was painted white entirely,

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amené que la découvert, dans la salle *b*, d’une grande cuvette de marbre . . .” *Guide*, 240-3 no. 111, rather confusingly discusses it with the Theater Quarter habitations, while the plan is on the map for the Inopus and Terrace of the Foreign Gods. See also M. Trümper’s discussion of the house, 244-47, no. 38, for finds in the house she lists only the mosaics and fragmentary wall decoration.

<sup>26</sup> Chamonard, 408. Trümper, 246-7, sees these rooms as a small remodeled bath suite which was transformed from a suite of 3 rooms open to the street, but closed off to be accessed from the vestibule.

<sup>27</sup> As well as the evidence for well-off Syrians in Delos such as the establishment of the Poseidoniasts of Berytos and the proximity of the Sanctuary of the Foreign Gods, Chamonard, *Le quartier du Théâtre*, 404.

<sup>28</sup> Bruneau, *Études d’archéologie délienne*, 144 (also *BCH* 92 (1968): 666).

and *g* had black panels with white borders on a lower zone of undetermined color.<sup>29</sup> The mosaic of the impluvium in the peristyle is the one for which the house is named and is the only signed Delian mosaic.<sup>30</sup> The eponymous dolphins are fierce, saber-nosed, teeth-baring creatures harnessed in pairs with a rider on the near dolphin in each pair set into the corners of the square on the outside of the concentric bands of decoration surrounding the badly damaged central medallion. Little of any other decoration in the house survives, which Chamonard credited to the pillaging of 88 BCE that reduced a number of houses to a similar state.<sup>31</sup>

**Insula V *Magasin*  $\gamma$ :** A5158, a marble head with the extended locks of hair on either side and the right hand still attached, was found in *Magasin*  $\gamma$ , Insula V along with the torso of a small Athena (A5186).<sup>32</sup> (Cat. Domestic 7) Insula V sits between Street 5 and the sea shore, built on land reclaimed from the sea in 126/25,<sup>33</sup> made up of a row of shops opening to Street 5 and a series of larger buildings entered from the sea side of the block, called by

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<sup>29</sup> Chamonard, 409.

<sup>30</sup> Chamonard, 409, signed by Asklepiades of Arados. See also P. Bruneau, *Les mosaïques, EAD*, vol. 29 (Paris, Éditions E. de Boccard, 1972): 232-39; M. Bulard, *Peintures murales et mosaïques de Délos, Monuments et mémoires Piot*, vol. 14 (1908): 192-94, 197-98, fig. 68, pl. 12 and 14.

<sup>31</sup> Chamonard, 409.

<sup>32</sup> Kreeb, 315, no. S55.10.

<sup>33</sup> P. Bruneau, "Deliaca. 36: Premier propos sur le front de mer: la façade maritime du Quartier du theater," *BCH* 105 (1981): 107. Bruneau's maps are helpful but ought to be used with caution—although he clearly labels the structures and shows how they connect to the Theater Quarter behind them, he has labeled them incorrectly, as comparison with the original plans included with Jardé's discussion show that Bruneau's map should have located  $\alpha$  where  $\beta$  is labeled,  $\beta$  for  $\gamma$ , and  $\gamma$  at the next building down. This confusion and with the relative disinterest of scholars in these buildings makes them somewhat difficult to get a handle on.

excavators *magasins*  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , and  $\gamma$ .<sup>34</sup> Between *magasins*  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  is a small alley which connects the sea front with the Theater Quarter behind. Despite their designations as *magasins*, these buildings are distinctly house-like: their sizes rival the major houses of the Theater Quarter such as the Dionysus House and the House of Cleopatra. They are configured with long corridors leading from the entries into large courtyards around which rooms are arranged rather symmetrically, and their decoration is not unlike other houses. *Magasins*  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  both have large peristyle 190x190, which Jardé notes is like a Delian house.<sup>35</sup> The location of shops in the front rooms of each of the *magasins* is similar to many of the houses in the Theater Quarter. Although  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  all have doorways out to the quay without communication into the interior spaces, the front rooms of  $\alpha$  were at some point remodeled and reoriented away from the street by closing off the outside doors and cutting a door from room 3 into the entrance corridor and creating a door between room 4 and room 5.<sup>36</sup> There is evidence for second stories preserved; *magasin*  $\gamma$  had a stairway in the entry vestibule and remains of stairs were found in  $\beta$  room 4 and  $\gamma$  room 1.

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<sup>34</sup> For discussions of this area see the initial publication in A. Jardé, "Fouilles de Délos. I: Le Quartier marchand au Sud du sanctuaire," *BCH* 29 (1905): 6-21; a follow-up analysis was provided by P. Bruneau, "Deliaca. 36: Premier propos sur le front de mer: la façade maritime du Quartier du theater," *BCH* 105 (1981): 107-112, where the author reexamines the geological, epigraphical, and topographical evidence of the area demonstrating that Street 5 was the seashore prior to 126/5. This area is somewhat difficult to understand due to the lack of in-depth analysis of the structures. The relative lack of interest in them is demonstrated by the fact that the *Guide de Délos* ignores them entirely; Monika Trümper fails to consider them, despite their obvious architectural parallels to the domestic structures she carefully dissects. Perhaps the early labeling of the buildings as *magasins* has limited investigations to their obviously complex plans which clearly accommodated multiple purposes, including commerce.

<sup>35</sup> A. Jardé, 8-9, 11.  $\beta$ 's measures roughly 6.4 m x 7.2 m, and  $\gamma$ 's 6.17 m x 6.75 m, both of a size to compete with the House of Dionysus.

<sup>36</sup> Jardé, 12. The front rooms of  $\alpha$  were at some point remodeled and reoriented away from the street by closing off the outside doors and cutting a door from room 3 into the entrance corridor, and creating a door between room 4 and room 5.

Jardé lists the works in groups by findspot and mentions that they were found “comme les maisons d’habitation”.<sup>37</sup> Group O comprised a list of objects with undefined locations including five marble pieces (a herm of a draped child, a bust of a veiled woman, the torso of a naked woman, a small female head, and a large unidentified head) and two terracottas (upper part of a draped woman, and the head of a woman wearing a diadem). A marble stump identified as a tree trunk was found in *magasin β*. *Magasin γ*’s collection included statuette-sized marbles of a draped woman with the head missing, the torso of a draped woman subsequently identified as Athena, a female head, the head of an Anadyomene, and the head of a faun.

The identification of these buildings as *magasins* by Jardé, despite their clear similarities to large Delian houses, relies largely on two considerations: their proximity to the port, and an inscription with a dedication by the *Olearii*, a corporation, to their patron and friend C. Julius Caesar, who was the proconsul of Asia between 98 and 90 BCE.<sup>38</sup> Their classification as commercial properties has perhaps limited the views and consideration of what were likely multipurpose structures providing shops at the street, secure space for storage and trade in the interior rooms arrayed around the courtyard, and possibly living space in the upper levels, not unlike the *fonduk* or *caravanserai* in Islamic architecture.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Jardé, 15.

<sup>38</sup> Jardé, 17-19.

<sup>39</sup> See for example Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, and Meaning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994): 331-76.

Delos was a crossroads for traders, travelers, and worshippers from both the East and West and the finds tell us several things about the production, consumption, and use of the Aphrodite Anadyomene in the Hellenistic period. Although none of these works were found *in situ*, they were not evenly distributed on the island, but rather concentrated in the southern area of the Theater Quarter and shrines to Egyptian gods. The three works found near religious shrines (Sarapieia A and C and the Bastion Shrine) were all terracotta—marble was perhaps too expensive for most residents or visitors to give as a necessarily temporary, disposable temple offering. None of the Anadyomenes were found near the sanctuary of Apollo or Artemis. One work (A5158) was found in what has convincingly been identified as a portside warehouse, possibly a new arrival awaiting sale.

There were no full-size Anadyomenes found on the island.<sup>40</sup> The largest figure, A4150 discussed just previously, is also of the best quality with good proportions, careful modeling and subtle transitions; however, it would have originally stood not much more than one meter high complete. Overall the works were of small size and modest quality, and two (A5656 and A1789/A400) seem unfinished.<sup>41</sup> All the figures are naked, and only two (A5418 and A1789/A400) include any additional iconographic embellishment, both in the form of vases and drapery that acts as a support. Six works preserve legs, five of them

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<sup>40</sup> Full-size naked Aphrodites were available to a Delian audience, for example see the group of Aphrodite, Eros, and Pan (the Slipper-Slapper) found in a small room, perhaps in storage, in the establishment of the Poseidoniasts of Beirut. This work was accompanied by an inscription which named it as a private donation to the gods of the homeland. The work is now in the National Museum in Athens, Mus. No. 3335. See M. Bulard, *BCH* 30 (1916): 610-631; C. Picard, *Berytus* 2 (1935): 11-24; inscription: *ID*, no. 1783.

<sup>41</sup> A5656 is heavily abraded, but even so the hands and hair seem cursorily blocked in. The vase and drapery of A1789/A400 are also only blocked in and retain chisel marks, particularly noticeable compared with the figure which had been polished to a velvety surface.

in a standing pose, one terracotta (A424) crouches. Two of the terracottas (A395 and A1916) were either made from the same mold or from sister molds. It is impossible to know whether any of the work was local or in what state it was imported. To accommodate the numbers of religious shrines and necessary dedications there must have been coroplasts on the island providing terracotta figurines to the worshippers. The small island has no local marble, but there must have been local sculptors carving imported stone. Aphrodite seems to have been the most popular subject for domestic works and although the Anadyomene was not the most popular Aphrodite type on Delos, it seems to have been second only to the Sandal-binding type.<sup>42</sup>

#### **MORGANTINA: West Hill, House of the Tuscan Capitals, “Public House”**

Numismatic study and historical evidence led Kenan Erim to suggest in 1958 that modern-day Serra Orlando, in south-central Sicily, was ancient Morgantina; subsequent excavations seem to have strengthened his hypothesis.<sup>43</sup> The town was originally settled by an Italian tribe in the prehistoric period, and traded hands in subsequent conflicts. It featured in the Punic Wars and after 211 BCE it was settled by Spanish soldiers.<sup>44</sup> According to Strabo, the town was defunct by the late first century BCE.<sup>45</sup> Shelley Stone argues that

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<sup>42</sup> See Kreeb, 58-9, and 73. Of 39 small scale marble Aphrodites represented in 10 types, 13 were Sandal-binders, 5 were Anadyomenes.

<sup>43</sup> Kenan Erim, “Morgantina,” *AJA* 62.1 (Jan. 1958): 79-90. The excavations at Morgantina have been extensively published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* since 1958 and in the *Morgantina* volumes. See a summary of the excavations and publications up to 1979 in William A. P. Childs, “Morgantina, Past and Future,” *AJA* 83.4 (Oct., 1979): 377-79.

<sup>44</sup> Livy 26.21.17.

<sup>45</sup> Strabo 6.2.4.

the prosperous little town was abruptly abandoned in the third quarter of that century, attested to by evidence of burnings.<sup>46</sup> Some pottery and coin finds indicate minor activity after that period.<sup>47</sup> Although Morgantina was not the cosmopolitan and multicultural crossroads that Delos was, its terracotta evidence provides a sense of late Hellenistic production during roughly the same period west of Italy in a much less accessible site where a certain conservatism might be expected. Four Anadyomenes were recovered in the excavations at Morgantina in Sicily, one head, two standing, and one crouching. The evidence from this site is particularly useful as the excavations were conducted carefully with findspots meticulously recorded. The terracottas were published in 1981 by Malcolm Bell III who thoughtfully included good photos, and clear descriptions and analyses of both the terracottas and their findspots.<sup>48</sup>

**Stray finds from the West Hill:** Two Anadyomene fragments were recovered from an area of late Hellenistic fill on and around the West Hill, a residential area inhabited from the fifth to the first century BCE.<sup>49</sup> First excavated in 1884 by L. Pappalardo who discovered a Hellenistic house, the hill has been more extensively investigated since 1957 when the House of the Tuscan Capitals, discussed below, was uncovered. Since then a number of

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<sup>46</sup> Shelley C. Stone, "Sextus Pompeius, Octavianus, and Sicily," in *Sextus Pompeius*, ed. Anton Powell and Kathryn Welch (London : Duckworth ; Oakville, CT : David Brown Book Co.: 2002):141.

<sup>47</sup> See also Childs, "Morgantina, Past and Future," 379.

<sup>48</sup> Malcolm Bell III, *Morgantina Studies, vol. 1: The Terracottas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981): 159-60, catalogue nos. 232, 233, 234, and 236.

<sup>49</sup> Bell, 160, no. 234, 233; for findspots: 244-45 (II A) and 242-3 (I Q). See Hubert L Allen, "Excavations at Morgantina 1967-1969," *AJA* 74 (1970): 362-3 for the dating of the earliest inhabitation to the second quarter of the fifth century.

houses have been excavated. The 1959 season ran trenches through five or six houses; by the 1966 season the buildings across the street from and adjacent to the House of the Tuscan Capitals had been explored.<sup>50</sup> The area was laid out on a rough grid and was composed of variously sized houses, some quite rich and good-sized with peristyle courts and decorated rooms.<sup>51</sup> One with two peristyles, the House of the Arched Cistern, was quite large and located on the block kitty-corner to the House of the Tuscan Capitals. The mixed-use neighborhood was complete with a row of shops on the corner, one which may have been a metalworker's shop and another with a bake oven.<sup>52</sup> Stillwell hypothesizes a sanctuary also somewhere in the area based on two smashed busts of Kore and two colossal terracotta toes found in the northeast section of the excavations, which overlooks the Agora.<sup>53</sup>

Morgantina 58-1123 is a large terracotta head measuring nearly 7 cm including part of the neck.<sup>54</sup> (Cat. Domestic 8) The Aphrodite wears a high curved diadem with a painted stripe around the edge preserved. The hair is parted in center and rolled back loosely, with locks projecting out to the sides, which is particularly easy to see on the left side where the strands have been wound up and broke as they came away from the larger mass of the head. Her face is long and oval with a high forehead echoing the shape of the stephane she

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<sup>50</sup> Richard Stillwell, "Excavations at Morgantina 1966," *AJA* 71 (1967): 246-50.

<sup>51</sup> Allen, 362, dates the street grid to the third quarter of the fourth century.

<sup>52</sup> Stillwell, 247. Allen, 363, states that from the ceramic and numismatic evidence the shops were in use well into the first century.

<sup>53</sup> Stillwell, 249.

<sup>54</sup> Bell, 160, no. 234.



wears, rather full cheeks, and round, soft jaw and chin creating a childlike impression. The large size allows for more detailed handling and the features seem rather more distinctive than typical and show the evidence of crisp and careful detailing, particularly in the articulation of the eyes with their well formed eyelids and the crisp detail of the hair.

Another stray find from the West Hill area, Morgantina 60-1086, preserves the upper half of a standing, draped Anadyomene.<sup>55</sup>(Cat. Domestic 9) The figure is broken along the left side of the torso and at the level of the drapery, visible only in the area of the right hip across to below the navel. The upper part of the figure is nicely preserved, clearly showing the Aphrodite pulling the long strands of hair out close above her shoulders in a gesture that seems more like arranging a cloak than dressing hair. The torso is long and lean with quite small, high breasts and a slight fullness in the lower abdomen. The head crowned with a stephane looks down and to the right with somewhat coarse features and a vaguely distant smiling expression. At just over 10 cm, the fragment is a bit larger than the average figurine.

Although a particular building for these Anadyomene fragments cannot be identified, the location is typical of residential areas and is very similar in makeup, date, and amount and quality of stray finds to the Theater Quarter at Delos. Other similar terracotta fragments found scattered on the hill include an assortment of youthful goddesses (Persephone, Artemis, and Aphrodite), Erotes, standing and dancing women (and a large

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<sup>55</sup> Bell, 160, no. 233.

number of their disembodied heads), and comic actors.<sup>56</sup> All of these seem appropriate to a kind of light-hearted domestic décor.

**House of the Tuscan Capitals:** The House of the Tuscan Capitals was discovered during the 1957 season on the western side of the West Hill, probably built sometime in the middle of the second century, and then abandoned probably around 30 BCE.<sup>57</sup> (Cat. Domestic 10) A good portion of the large house was uncovered and showed an entrance from the cobblestone street through a square vestibule with small rooms on either side. A three-sided peristyle with an impluvium and two brick columns forms the core of the house. Larger rooms are located adjacent to this space, one of which has a small podium in the center of the back wall. A narrow corridor leads from the courtyard to a larger peristyle garden at the back and additional rooms beyond were later divided from the house into a separate dwelling. Many of the rooms had mosaic floors, with one of colored marble tesserae in a random textile pattern, and rooms adjacent to the peristyle had First Style painted walls in white, blue, and red. Equipment for pressing both olives and wine were located in rooms at the front of the house. In 1966 the north east corner of the house was uncovered, revealing that a small house centered around a little square impluvium had at some point also been incorporated into the larger complex.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Bell, 242-3 (I Q) and 244-45 (II A).

<sup>57</sup> Eric Sjöqvist, "Excavations at Serra Orlando (Morgantina) Preliminary Report II," *AJA* 62.2 (April 1958): 160-61. For Aphrodite, see Bell, 159, no. 232.

<sup>58</sup> Stillwell, 250.

Three figures, an Anadyomene, a Sandal-binder, and a reclining female figure, have been assigned to the Catania Group of coroplasts and were found to the left of the entrance in the suite of small rooms Sjöqvist called “service quarters”.<sup>59</sup> It is possible that together all of these figures were meant to represent some aspect of Aphrodite. Each is somewhat unusual in execution, revealing, perhaps, a great deal of originality in interpreting the standard motifs. These are similar to many terracottas found throughout Sicily that have been identified as part of the Catania Group, named for the similarities in style and workmanship to terracottas found in Catania in 1766.<sup>60</sup> Bell suggests that the Morgantina three were produced in the Roman town at the end of the first century following a more eastern inspiration.<sup>61</sup>

The Anadyomene is posed uncommonly with her left fist on her hip. Drapery completely envelops the left arm and seems to weightlessly swoop behind and around the body and thighs. The figure’s right arm is lifted high, nearly at a right angle to the torso, squeezing out the hair. The round head, lumpy nose, and vacant staring expression are somewhat homely. The Sandalbinder also departs from typical typology with impossible anatomy—the right leg that kicks out sideways from the knee at a bizarre angle and an unnaturally long and poorly executed right arm that reaches down to the ankle. The left

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<sup>59</sup> Sjöqvist, 160.

<sup>60</sup> Bell, 78. Specifically, the comparable Aphrodite and Erotes were found in the courtyard of the Bishop’s Palace, July 1766, and later in the collection of the Prince of Biscari.

<sup>61</sup> Bell, 78: “Had the Catania Group turned up in Asia Minor instead of Sicily, no one would have been surprised. . . on the whole the Catania Group is something of a hybrid, perhaps more a manifestation of Roman culture than of Greek.”

arm is covered by drapery, and the round face with small chin and mouth, lumpy nose, and small, beady eyes is extremely like the Anadyomene. The third work found was categorized by Malcolm Bell as a “miscellaneous woman” in an indolent reclining pose.<sup>62</sup>

**“Public Office”:** This kneeling Anadyomene was found within the fill of a building in the Agora located at the end of the south corner of the East Stoa.<sup>63</sup> (Cat. Domestic 11) A group of small rooms were added onto the stoa to create a three-sided peristyle surrounded by small rooms, one of which contained a hearth and another with a serving bar. The function of the stoa and its addition seems to have changed numerous times, and its use has been variously interpreted since its excavation, although it was originally thought to be the prytaneion. The terracottas were found in room IV, next to the hearth room, and one of the smallest. Steven Miller suggested that this room was used as a “house-altar room”<sup>64</sup> and this theme of the typically domestic is carried over in the plan and arrangement, which Miller finds “basically domestic,” stating that “its accoutrements (basin, bar, hearth, etc.) can more easily be understood as the outfittings for a ‘public house’ than for a prytaneion.”<sup>65</sup> A subsequent study of the space by Malcolm Bell examined the uses of the structure which has now officially been relabeled as a “Public Office.”<sup>66</sup> Originally

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<sup>62</sup> Bell, 189, no. 483, notes “Figure of uncertain sex, probably female . . .” and 246, no. II F.

<sup>63</sup> Bell, 160, no. 236; Stephen G. Miller, *The Prytaneion: Its Function and Architectural Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978): 115-17.

<sup>64</sup> Bell, 241, quoting from unpublished ms. of Stephen G. Miller.

<sup>65</sup> Miller, 117.

<sup>66</sup> Bell, personal communication, August 17, 2005: “The building at Morgantina once referred to as a Prytaneion is now called a Public Office; in its original Greek form it may also have served as a bank. In its later, Roman phase (post-211 B.C.), it underwent a transformation, and when it was abandoned at some point

functioning as a bank, by the time of its destruction in the late first century BCE it had been given over, at least in part, to a domestic purpose.

Although some of the terracotta finds from upper layers of the excavation from this building may have slid down from the House of the Doric Capitals from the hill above to the east, below the roof tile layer were found a small altar and several figures: a fragmentary kneeling Anadyomene, a Persephone, a female head, and 2 fragments (a left leg and an arm holding a ram).<sup>67</sup> The very fragmentary work is missing key pieces—the head, right shoulder and chest, the left side of the midriff, and a piece from the middle of the upper thighs. The preserved lower legs show the standard pose of the kneeling Anadyomene resting on the tightly folded right leg, and balancing the left elbow on the left knee, turning the torso frontally. The figure was coated in white slip and traces of pink paint were preserved in the strands of hair in the right hand and on the roughly rectangular base.<sup>68</sup>

The four Anadyomenes from Morgantina likely date near those of Delos, and their findspots, all in domestic situations, are also similar to the majority of those from Delos. Despite their comparable contexts, the figures themselves show some clear differences.

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in the I c. B.C. (perhaps ca. 30 B.C.), it was at least partly occupied as a house. The terracottas come from a room occupied in this late phase, perhaps used for a domestic cult. The Aphrodite belongs to the Catania Group, which I have dated to the second half of the I c. B.C.; at this remove I see no reason to doubt this general dating, though I would think now that the abandonment of the building should be associated with the near-destruction of Morgantina ca. 30 B.C. It seems probable that the abandonment of the House of the Tuscan Capitals, where the other Aphrodites came from, took place at the same time." See Bell, "Una banca pubblica sull'agora di Morgantina?", in *Nuove prospettive della ricerca sulla Sicilia del III sec. a. C., Archeologia, numismatica, storia* (Messina 2004) 135-142.

<sup>67</sup> Bell, 240-1, see "1 K. Agora: Prytaneion".

<sup>68</sup> Bell, 160, no. 236. Bell suggests from the evidence of an unpublished crouching Anadyomene in Bari from Taras that the terracotta versions are earlier than the execution of the composition in marble, and "it may have been first given plastic form by Tarantine coroplasts."

The two standing figures (57-3018 and 60-1086) are both half-draped; 60-1086 is broken at the hip, just below where the drapery begins, but what remains seems to show the typical arrangement of drapery, likely knotted or overlapped at the center and completely covering the legs. In contrast, the drapery of 57-3018 is unique and completely fantastical as it wraps around the back of the figure with a loop of drapery that seems to float weightlessly over the right thigh. The drapery serves to conceal only the left arm of the figure, while the pubic area is emphasized by long, deeply incised creases between the thighs and abdomen. There seems to be a local preference at Morgantina towards drapery, even if it does not conceal the body—in addition to these Aphrodites, there is also a Sandal-binder from the site that is draped, very unusual for that type.<sup>69</sup> Additionally, two of the figures wear simple half-moon diadems on top of their hair, which has already been parted and rolled back from the face; none of the Delos Anadyomenes wear any headdress. Perhaps the addition of the crown elevated the figure from the realm of the everyday. Although it is difficult to determine the use for most of these figures, the crouching Anadyomene found with other terracottas and small altar provide solid evidence for a religious significance.

## **Pompeii**

Since its discovery, Pompeii has captured the imagination and has stood as the quintessential Roman town, forever frozen in time by the eruption of Vesuvius, and its history hardly needs to be rehearsed here.<sup>70</sup> The excavations have provided scholars an

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<sup>69</sup> Bell, 159-60, no. 235 is a similar figure from Syracuse, not an Anadyomene, but leaning the right arm on a pillar. The arrangement of the fantastical, gravity-defying drapery is remarkably similar.

<sup>70</sup> Mary Beard, *The Fires of Vesuvius: Pompeii Lost and Found* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008): 9-18, points out that in addition to the evidence of sudden flight, many of the

immense amount of information about the ways ancient Romans lived. While many objects may have been created much earlier than the city's destruction, their ongoing use can be assumed, and thus provides a picture of life in a Roman town in the first century CE. Early excavations were chaotic and mostly concerned with retrieving works of art, leading to a problem of decontextualization when many were removed from their original location without careful recording. Subsequent publications therefore tended to focus on them as *objets d'art* rather than material finds which performed a specific role in their contexts.<sup>71</sup> More recently scholars have attempted to reconstruct a more holistic view of the lived experience in relation to the architecture and its décor. In the last decade alone, dozens of books considering Pompeii from nearly every angle have been published.<sup>72</sup>

One project in particular, the multivolume *Pompei: Pitture e Mosaici*, has begun the work to gather the evidence to reconstruct material contexts.<sup>73</sup> The authors of this valuable work have systematically catalogued all the paintings and mosaics found throughout the city, many of which were removed at time of excavation or which have subsequently disappeared due to exposure. By relying on the original excavation reports,

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inhabitants certainly gathered their belongings and were able to safely evacuate the city in the days or even weeks prior to the eruption. Because of this, later looting, and treasure hunting, not all archaeological evidence can be taken at face-value.

<sup>71</sup> For an outline of some of the difficulties in accessing and interpreting Pompeian material, see P. Allison, *Pompeian Households: An Analysis of the Material Culture* (Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology University of California, Los Angeles, 2004): 3-8. She notes that works have been "segregated into architectural, art historical, or artifact typologies."

<sup>72</sup> Culminating most recently with several volumes timed to coincide with the exhibition "Pompeii and the Roman Villa," at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., October 19, 2008-March 22, 2009.

<sup>73</sup> *Pompei: pitture e mosaic*, ed. Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli and Ida Baldassarre (Rome : Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1990-2003). This will be abbreviated in the notes as *PPM*.

photographs, drawings, and paintings, many of which they have reproduced, along with clear and detailed maps and descriptions, they have produced an invaluable encyclopedic reference. In the realm of domestic sculpture, in 1982 Eugene Dwyer published a study of the sculptural finds of five houses. It would be immeasurably helpful to have more such catalogues. Among the works he discussed were four Anadyomenes.<sup>74</sup> Also helpful is the work examining the forms and contents of *lararia*, or household shrines, providing a view of domestic religious practices, as well as helpful catalogues. In 1937, George K. Boyce published a compendium of them, and they have been examined again recently by Federica Giacobello.<sup>75</sup> One can hope that following these examples, other remains might be similarly organized and examined for more thorough reconstruction of original contexts.

For the Anadyomene, Pompeii provides examples in a wide range of diverse media including both painting and sculpture. Additionally, while many depictions of the goddess in domestic settings certainly must have been valued for their decorative properties, a number of small Anadyomene figurines were found in contexts that imply religious use. Three are bronze figurines of the type commonly found in *lararia*. A fourth figurine, in ivory, was found with a bronze Jupiter. Other works were also found in situations that might indicate religious significance: a marble statuette was stored away for safekeeping

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<sup>74</sup> Eugene Dwyer, *Pompeian Domestic Sculpture: A Study of Five Pompeian Houses and their Contents* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1982):34, no. xvi, fig. 16, 63-4 no. iii, fig. 79 (see also notes 3 and 4).

<sup>75</sup> George Boyce, *Corpus of the Lararia of Pompeii* (Rome: The American Academy, 1937). Federica Giacobello, *Lararia Pompeiani: Iconografia e culto dei Lari in ambito domestic*. (Milan: LED, 2008). A comparable study analyzing similar material from Augusta Raurica (Augst, Switzerland), was published a decade earlier: Annemarie Kaufmann-Heinimann, *Götter und Lararien aus Augusta Raurica: Herstellung, Fundzusammenhänge und sakrale function figürlicher Bronzen in einer römischen Stadt* (Augst: Forschungen in Augst, 1998). The finds from Augusta Raurica date several centuries later and include at least one Anadyomene: a small silver figure (Cat. Silver 1) found with an impressive cache of household silver serving pieces (135-7.)



with bronze lararium figurines; a terracotta was discovered in the vicinity of a kitchen where household shrines were often located; the Anadyomene was painted in the entrance hallway of a small house where protector figures are often depicted. This evidence for domestic religion supports the parallel use of the Aphrodite Anadyomene as votives in sanctuaries in Pompeii and elsewhere as previously discussed, and also cautions us that representations of the gods, even when used as décor elements (whether in households, fountains, baths, or temples), may never have been thought of as merely ornamental.

In this section I will first discuss sculptures, and then paintings. For lack of a better system, these are presented in the order of the building numbers they have been assigned by the excavators.<sup>76</sup> Not every work's original findspot is known with specificity and not every house has been well documented. Items found in *lararia* or in gardens tend to share qualities of material and scale with others found in similar circumstances, allowing works within each category to be easily compared.

### **Sculptures:**

**II 9.2:** This bronze shows the goddess holding a strand of twisted hair over her right shoulder and covering her pubis with her left hand, combining the characteristic gestures of the Anadyomene and the pudica Aphrodites. (Cat. Domestic 12) The typical swaying and twisting contrapposto of the Anadyomene is here minimized, and the figure seems to stand flatfooted with her legs clamped tightly together. The lack of space between the left arm and the body as well as the position of the right arm, separated from the body no more

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<sup>76</sup> Every building in Pompeii has been assigned a three-digit number. The first, Roman, numeral indicates the region of the city. The second and third numbers provide the block and door number through which one could enter the building.

than absolutely necessary, increases the impression that this goddess is rather reluctantly exposed. Were it not attested to have come from a particular house in Pompeii, the work's rough style and flat handling might suggest a somewhat later date. The face seems rather stylized with large inlaid eyes (only the left remains) under sharp wide brows that connect to the long straight nose. The small parted lips create a sour, almost sneering expression. The goddess' hair looks slicked-down on either side of a straight central part and the fluffy, loose roll of hair that often frames the face is here thin and rosy. One can discern bands embellished with incised lines crisscrossing the chest and tying into a wider similarly decorated band beneath the breasts. A round brooch, amulet, or other ornament is fastened where the straps meet between the small breasts. This apparatus perhaps represents Aphrodite's *kestos*, a mysterious article of clothing that seems to have augmented the sexual allure of the wearer.<sup>77</sup>

Insula II 9 where this house was located suffered damage during World War II and was explored only briefly during the 1950s. More significant excavations and repair work were performed in the 1980s.<sup>78</sup> The insula backed up to the palestra adjacent to the amphitheater and on event days the surrounding streets would have been congested with foot traffic coming and going from the venue. Only House II 9.2, where the Anadyomene

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<sup>77</sup> The properties of the *kestos* have been discussed by C.A. Faraone, "The Aphrodite's *Kestos* and Apples for Atalanta: Aphrodisiacs in Early Greek Myth and Ritual," *Phoenix* 44, No. 3. (Autumn, 1990): 219-243. See Faraone, 220-1, notes 1-2, for various authors' proposals as to its appearance. An episode in the *Illiad* (Book 14) relates Aphrodite's lending of it to Hera who then uses it to seduce and distract Zeus. A Sandalbinding Aphrodite, also from Pompeii, perhaps depicts another artist's interpretation of the *kestos*. In this case, the artist has drawn a lattice-patterned bikini-like ensemble in gilt paint on marble. Painted chains connect the top with the bottoms, crossing at the navel which is outlined with a starburst. See John Ward-Perkins and Amanda Claridge, *Pompeii AD 79: Essay and Catalogue* (New York: Knopf, 1978): 64, 189, no. 209. The work was found on a table in the tablinum of House II 4.6.

<sup>78</sup> Anna Maria Sodo, "Regio II, insula 9," *Rivista di studi pompeiani* 2 (1988): 195-202.

was found, and the one adjacent to the south (II 9.1) seem to have maintained something close to their original plans. They were constructed in shotgun fashion running the width of the block. The domestic arrangement was typical with atria at the front, reception or dining rooms at the center, and gardens at the back of the property. In the atrium were found a lararium that held the Venus alongside a stocky, baby-faced Bacchus, and a herm of Apollo.<sup>79</sup> Nearby laid two bronze boxes containing gems and tools, which has led the house to being known as that of a gemcutter. Traces of a stairway just off the entrance indicated a second floor, which would have greatly magnified the living space of the house. The garden was shaded by a pine, and a built-in concrete triclinium in the back corner would have been a nice place to dine and enjoy fine weather.<sup>80</sup>

**III 2.1:** The smallest bronze from Pompeii, measuring only 8.6 cm, is perhaps the most classical, and portrays the goddess standing naked with both arms raised to hold locks of hair on either side of her head.(Cat. Domestic 13) She wears a simple high diadem. The figure is full through the thighs and somewhat thick-waisted—a body-shape shared by Anadyomenes in general. The work was found in the company of representations of Mercury and Hercules, and all stand on round bases with concave sides. Also similar are the long noses, large eyes and pursed lips in inverted triangularly shaped faces, features which suggest, in combination with the repeated base shape, that they were products of the same workman or shop; perhaps they were bought as an ensemble.

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<sup>79</sup> Giacobello, 216, no. GFV14, fig. 158. Sodo, 200, identifies the Venus as a Fortuna.

<sup>80</sup> One the pine, see Sodo, 200.

They were found in a small room (u) west of a large courtyard of House III 2.1. The front half of the house follows the typical Roman atrium house plan: a short entrance corridor leads into a large atrium with a central pool, or *impluvium*, and smaller rooms are arranged around this open space. A larger reception room located at the back of the atrium served as the *tablinum*, where the master of the house would attend to his business affairs. A narrow corridor on the east side of the *tablinum* leads to the back half of the house, a space which was perhaps modified from an adjacent house in the middle of the first century BCE.<sup>81</sup> Sharing a wall with the kitchen, the installation of a tiny two-room bath made the most of a shared heating system. A large rectangular peristyle courtyard took up most of the back part of the house and it included a triclinium with concrete couches sheltered under a pergola and serviced from a secondary kitchen in the back corner. The doorway of room u was oriented to the south, opening onto the long, wide passage between the front and back halves of the house rather than onto the adjacent yard. They stood on a rectangular marble table supported by a square pilaster in the form of a herm; the pilaster was carved of gray veined marble, but the attached head of Dionysus was cut from yellow marble. Along with the bronzes, the table held terracotta and glass vessels as well as coins struck during the reigns of Vespasian and Galba.<sup>82</sup>

**V 1.18:** An ivory Anadyomene was found along with a jovial bronze Jupiter in the *tablinum* of a large house called the House of the Epigrams for the Greek sayings painted on

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<sup>81</sup> Irene Bragantini, *PPM*, vol. 3.

<sup>82</sup> G. Spano, "Casa di Trebio Valente," *NSc* (1916): 119-22.

the walls of a small room near the back of the house.<sup>83</sup> (Cat. Domestic 14) The ivory figurine shows a short, plump Aphrodite twisting out her hair with a dolphin planted on its nose to her left. Were it not for the very small pointed breasts, the stocky proportions of the figure and the somewhat knock-kneed pose would more resemble those of a toddler child than a pubescent girl. The Venus' right arm is missing just below the shoulder joint, but it is clear from its position that the arm was lifted high out to the side. A mantle hangs behind the figure, functioning as a backdrop rather than convincing clothing as it defies gravity by resting with one loop over the right shoulder and another pinned against the left hip with her elbow. This kind of floating cloak is an unusual, but not unknown element; in a house on the block just behind this one, a painting showed Aphrodite playing with her necklace and wearing a similarly gravity-defying mantle.<sup>84</sup>

The house, originally a modest one built in the third to second centuries BCE, was expanded at the end of the republican period to take over what may have been one or even two houses behind.<sup>85</sup> This space was remodeled and converted to hold a large peristyle garden with adjacent reception and dining rooms. A separate entrance was preserved allowing easy service access to a cluster of small rooms that functioned as the kitchen and work areas, accommodating the necessary operations of a busy and prosperous house. The front of the *domus* remained conservative in plan with a long entry corridor, flanked on

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<sup>83</sup> *PPM*, vol. 3, 539-47.

<sup>84</sup> Discussed on the next page. See Cat. Ivory 2—an ivory pin was found in the same house. The gesture of the necklace-wearing Aphrodite is not unlike the Anadyomene, and from time to time the types have been confused.

<sup>85</sup> *PPM*, vol.3, 539-41.

either side by shops, opening into an atrium with an *impluvium* at the center. A row of small rooms ran along the north and west sides and the south side was decorated with six roundel paintings of gods: Mercury, Hermes, Athena, Juno, Jupiter, and Ares. The *tablinum* was located just off center on the west side and without a back wall, allowed passage and a view through to the large peristyle garden just behind. The paintings of the *tablinum* were preserved only in part; those on the south wall were completely obliterated. The north side, however, showed small figured scenes set in larger light colored panels, in the third-style manner. Although now very faded, one scene was identified as Venus and Adonis. A frieze along the top of the wall showed a garland of fruits and flowers held up by putti. The little Anadyomene would have been right at home in such a setting.

**V.2.d:** A second ivory Anadyomene was also recovered, this one standing on the end of a hairpin. (Cat. Domestic 15) The figure was standing and naked; however, the published image is quite small and other features are difficult to make out.<sup>86</sup> The right arm seems to be missing, but the head tips to the left and it is clear that the left hand is squeezing out locks of hair on that side. The Anadyomene, which shows the goddess fixing her hair, is an apt decoration for a hairpin, and other versions in gold, silver, bronze, and bone have been recovered elsewhere.<sup>87</sup>

The plan of the house was irregular, and likely transformed significantly in the course of its history; the paintings throughout are Fourth Style, signifying that it was

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<sup>86</sup> John Ward-Perkins and Amanda Claridge, *Pompeii: AD 79* (New York: Knopf, 1978): 138, no. 60b. The same image also illustrates a pudicitia Aphrodite type; its findspot is not given, however.

<sup>87</sup> See for example: Cat. Bone 6; Bronze 14; Gold 2, 4, 6; and Silver 3.

decorated in the last decades before the city's destruction.<sup>88</sup> The entrance led into a small atrium surrounded by moderately sized rooms. A vaulted corridor (where the ivory pin was found) led from the atrium to the back of the house, which included a small garden (I). A staircase on the back eastern wall led to a second story. A triclinium (m) at the back of the property seems peculiarly isolated and was entered through the courtyard garden. Its paintings, preserved only in sketches made at the time of excavation showed an Aphrodite, partially draped, leaning on a pillar, with a herm of Priapus, a staff, and a dove at her sides. Another painting from the same room was only discernable at the bottom, but appeared to show a hunter, perhaps Narcissus, at rest.<sup>89</sup> Since the vaulted corridor survived, the Anadyomene pin could not have fallen from the second floor. One can easily imagine, however, that it may have been packed in a bundle or fixed in a girl's or woman's hair and that it was dropped or fell as the residents hurried to leave.

**V.4.3:** A marble statuette standing 36 cm tall was included by Giacobello in her catalogue of *lararium* contents, likely because it was found with three bronze figurines stored near the house's large and elaborate painted stucco *lararium* in the atrium.<sup>90</sup>(Cat. Domestic 16) Although it was severely damaged when the building was bombed during World War II, photographs document the shrine's earlier appearance. A niche cut into the wall was highlighted by applied stucco architectural elements to create a small temple façade. Painted gods flanked the central niche with Venus Pompeiana and another

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<sup>88</sup> *PPM*, vol. 3, 627-35.

<sup>89</sup> *PPM*, vol. 3, 635, figs. 12 and 14.

<sup>90</sup> Giacobello, 218, No. GFV23, Fig. 163.

(obliterated) god stood to the left, with Fortuna and Bacchus to the right. Representations of Mercury, Victory, Hercules, and Minerva stood in the band below. Eagles, symbols of Jupiter, flew above the pediment, with peacocks, symbols of his consort Juno, were placed in panels in the upper corners.

The marble figurine portrays the naked goddess standing and wringing her hair with both hands; at her side is a dolphin posed on its nose and holding a bundle of drapery up on its tail. In this case, the animal is less a companion from the sea than an article of furniture. The Anadyomene's tucked head and raised arms that are brought forward rather than out to the side create a pose that is closed and tight. The work was found, along with number of other valuable objects, in cabinets located in a room connected to the atrium. One cupboard held silver objects, spoons and serving pieces, and 130 silver and 54 bronze coins. The other held statuary (the Venus, three bronze figurines depicting the *lares* and a *genius*, three amber figurines including an Eros and a hippo), as well as jewelry (gold earrings, a bronze arm band, and glass beads), 30 glass vases and one terracotta vase, and a number of other personal and household metal objects (most notably 104 paired bronze hinges). Clearly, this is where the family stored valuable objects when not in use. Either, at the time of eruption, the Aphrodite was not in use, or, taking heed of the early warning signs, valuable objects around the house were gathered and locked up for safekeeping. It is perhaps surprising that easily carried coins should be left behind if the residents successfully escaped, but they likely expected to return and so left the cache for later convenience.

Other than its interesting painted lararium, the house is not especially remarkable. It is of the relatively common, long shotgun plan, with a few rooms bumped out to the



sides. The façade originally had a roof supported by columns that covered the entrance as well as those of the two adjacent shops. The addition makes one wonder whether the house's owners also owned the shops or whether several owners cooperated together for the improvement. A staircase to the second story was located in the long entrance corridor, but it too was destroyed by the bombing, along with any other evidence of the second floor. The stairway could have been utilized without accessing the house proper. The painted *lararium* was located at the back of the atrium and one could pass through it to a room beyond, possibly used as a *tablinum* or as a dining room. Normal traffic through the house was likely directed through a narrow corridor on the right side. A large open garden at the back of the house provided fresh air and green views to the suite of smaller rooms adjacent to it. Any number of locations in the house could have been suitable for the display of the marble figurine. It is rather too large for use in the household shrine, but it could have stood on a table in the alcove nearby. Placement in the garden or one of the reception or dining rooms would also have been consistent with other Anadyomene images found in Pompeii.

**VII 3.4-7:** Two marble statuettes, both portraying half-draped Anadyomene were found in household gardens. The first, from House VII 3.6, was three-quarters of a meter tall.<sup>91</sup>(Cat. Domestic 17) The head, turned slightly to the right with the gaze directed downward, seems rather too small for the sturdy wide-hipped body. The right arm is missing just past the shoulder joint but was clearly lifted high, completely exposing the

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<sup>91</sup>E. Dwyer, *Pompeian Domestic Sculpture*, 63 note 4, fig. 189.

underarm. The left arm was shown brought to the front rather than lifted out to the side. The fabric was depicted rolled at the top and slung around the hips and tied into a large knot at the center, covering the junction of the thighs. The carved edges of the fabric fall toward the floor in flattened angular folds, an impression possibly increased by abrasion. The feet were either completely obscured by the drapery or were later broken off.

This house's configuration indicates that adjacent structures were joined. The building on the south served as a <sup>213</sup>cut and held stairways to a second story. This portion seems to have been the working side of the property with a complicated plan of variously sized rooms that included storage rooms, a triclinium, and a small garden and a kitchen.<sup>92</sup> It connected to the domus on the north side via a small doorway. The house on the north seems to have been the main living space. Its plan was relatively typical for a Pompeian house with a long vestibule (flanked on either side by shops), atrium, and tablinum, arranged in succession. The garden and triclinium were at the back of the house with a large window in the dividing wall. The marble statuette was found in an elaborate niche with an aedicula in the center of the back wall of the garden. The interior of the niche had been painted yellow, and a conch shell canopy at the top sheltered the goddess. The platform was built out from the wall with its stucco columns and was painted in shades of red and orange. Two long niches to either side possibly carried bronze candelabra.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> *PPM*, vol. 6, 838-45; Wilhelmina Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and the villas destroyed by Vesuvius*, Vol. 2 (New Rochelle, N.Y. : Caratzas Bros., 1979-1993): 176, no. 334.

<sup>93</sup> *PPM*, vol. 6, 842; Jashemski, 176, no. 335, fig. 211.

**VII 12.23:** The second marble statuette from a garden is well preserved with traces of red paint in the hair and on the drapery.<sup>94</sup>(Cat. Domestic 18) The pose of the figure is somewhat unusual with the arms brought to the front as they reach up to dress her hair rather than the more typical position further out to the sides. The gesture arranging the hair is also unusual. More typically, Anadyomene statues show the figure grasping similar sections of hair from either side of the head that can be understood as being squeezed out or drawn back in a roughly parallel gesture. This figure, however, takes a large section of hair from the crown of the head in the left hand, while on the other side of her part the hair from the crown seems already drawn back into a bun. The right hand grasps a much smaller lock low down near the right ear in order to incorporate it. This gesture would create an awkward situation for any mortal woman arranging her hair as there is no clear way for this Anadyomene to complete either action without the help of the other hand.

House VII 12.23 in which it was found had a complicated L-shaped configuration with multiple entrances. A small atrium is entered through a narrow passageway from the street in the standard manner, with small rooms on either side of the front corridor. A secondary entrance, however, parallels this hall and also accessed the atrium. The small atrium functioned really as a node to funnel traffic into the different sides of the house: directly opposite the main doorway across the small atrium was a triclinium. A narrow passageway leads past this and opens into another suite of rooms configured with a second atrium-like space that had built-in benches on two sides, and two other rooms. The true focus of the house, however, was the garden on the west side of the atrium. It was

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<sup>94</sup> Dwyer, 63.

accessed, and set apart from the rest of the house, by a short flight of three steps. With large windows on 3 sides, the garden provided light, fresh air, and green views to the adjacent wings.<sup>95</sup> Doubtless it was a restful center to what seems to be a busy, working complex.

The Aphrodite statuette was found in one of three niches on the northern wall of the garden. The room was painted white, with the interiors of the niches in the northern wall painted blue for contrast.<sup>96</sup> The Anadyomene was located in the left niche, a standing nude male figure of white marble was found in the center, and the right held a marble statuette of a child with a hare.<sup>97</sup> A fluted marble 215x215x215g functioned as a fountain with the addition of a serpent-shaped tube as the spout; this stood in a square pool at the center of the garden. Other statuary in the space included a bronze Mercury seated on a marble rock, a white marble antelope being attacked by a dog, and a herm. Two works portraying satyr-children were plumbed for water, and a marble table used the figure of a Persian youth as the support.

Additional decoration in the house comprised paintings in the triclinium I with bust paintings and panels featuring Paris with Eros, and Hermaphrodite.<sup>98</sup> Rooms d and f, also adjacent to the garden, had black and white mosaic floors in complicated geometric

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<sup>95</sup> Dwyer, 58, and Jashemski, 193, no. 383, both note this space as the central focus. The building to the west of this house (entrance 24) has been considered part of the larger complex (entrances 22-23) because of the large window which opens into the garden.

<sup>96</sup> Dwyer, 61-7; Jashemski, 193-96.

<sup>97</sup> Dwyer, 63.

<sup>98</sup> Dwyer, 58; *PPM*, vol. 7, 542-7.

patterns.<sup>99</sup> A number of decorative fountain pieces were found in room d: five spouts including those cast in the forms of a peacock, a pinecone, and a pyxis.<sup>100</sup> Room f had stucco moldings and a now faded panel painting that once figured Hermes heralding the competition of the three goddesses to Paris and another, still visible, with Apollo and a semi-nude woman in an outdoor setting.<sup>101</sup> Room g was decorated in the Fourth Style with zones of color and artificial architecture.

**VII 15.3:** The largest bronze shares a softly rounded physique with that from III 2.1, previously discussed. (Cat. Domestic 19) Her hairstyle, parted in the center and drawn in fluffy soft waves away from the face, is nearly accomplished, and in an unusual fashion she holds one remaining lock of hair falling over the left shoulder. This leaves the large right hand free to extend out with the palm up. Many lararium gods are portrayed with one or both hands extended, sometimes holding out objects or with empty hands, and this feature is shared by five of the other six figurines found with this Aphrodite. This is the only Anadyomene found depicted in this manner, which indicates that it was likely made explicitly for this purpose.<sup>102</sup> Accompanying the Anadyomene were Priapus, Silenus, Eros, Hercules, and a pair of Lares.<sup>103</sup> All were found in the atrium of the House VII 15.3, and notably, a large painted Anadyomene, to be discussed below, was found in the same house

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<sup>99</sup> *PPM*, vol. 7, 548-9 and 551.

<sup>100</sup> Dwyer, 59-60.

<sup>101</sup> *PPM*, vol. 7, 549-56.

<sup>102</sup> One other figurine (Cat. Bronze 41) may have been depicted with the hand extended, however the forearm, which was attached as a separate piece, has been lost.

<sup>103</sup> Only the Priapus keeps his hands tucked in. All the other figures extended a hand.

in a large reception room found at the front of the atrium.<sup>104</sup> The duplication of the Anadyomene motif in the household, the prominence of these depictions, and the unusual modification of the bronze's pose suggest that the Anadyomene perhaps had a special significance to the owners which led them to favor it over other representations of the goddess.

Two terracottas remain of the three-dimensional Anadyomene representations.<sup>105</sup> Their shared form indicates that they came from the same mold series, if not the same mold. The coarsely featured terracotta figurines depict Venus standing with her arms lifted up grasping stringy hair on the sides of the head with large, poorly crafted hands.<sup>106</sup> Although the face of one has been smashed and lost, the other clearly shows her looking out and smiling slightly at the viewer. The torso is slim and connects to full hips and thighs. The swaying pose is supported and balanced by a herm on the left side. The surface of figurine from VII 16.18 is blurred and indistinct in comparison to the detail of the other from IX 3.5. This may be a result of casting from a mold several generations earlier than the other. In contrast, the other is in nearly pristine condition and was therefore perhaps better protected from surface abrasions.

The house at **VII 16.18** had no paintings and was therefore not included in *Pompei: pitture e mosaici*. (Cat. Domestic 20) Furthermore, the findspot of the figurine was not recorded. In plan, however, one can see some of the complexities of the site: VII 16.18

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<sup>104</sup> Cat. Painting 5. *PPM*, vol. 7, 774.

<sup>105</sup> Cat. Terracotta 14 (House IX 3.5) and 21 (House VII 16.18).

<sup>106</sup> Dwyer, 34, no. 16.

stands adjacent to the largest house in Pompeii, that of M. Fabius Rufus.<sup>107</sup> Its configuration with a long entrance corridor opening into a modest atrium with enclosed rooms on the front and back are those of a small modest house. A stairway in the back northwest corner connected it to the four-story mansion behind, so perhaps this was a rental property, a workshop, or living quarters for someone attached to the household who rated extra space and privacy. In their catalogues of Pompeian terracottas, Antonio d'Ambrosio and Mariarosaria Bornello refer to it as a shop.<sup>108</sup> In either case, this terracotta was a modest work both in terms of quality and materials, and likely not a costly item. It is most likely, therefore, that the owner of the work was one of modest means.

**IX 3.5:** This figurine was found in a suite of small, secluded rooms which made up the service areas including a kitchen, a latrine, and storage rooms.(Cat. Domestic 21) The excavation of the house in 1847 was well documented by Edward Faulkener, an Englishman who was allowed to observe the work. Eugene Dwyer also chose it as one of the five he considered in his study of domestic sculptures from Pompeii and he relied on Faulkener's observations in his research to track down as many of the finds from the house as possible.<sup>109</sup> Made up of two houses joined at a later date, the house was rather large, and held a quantity of terracotta and marble statuary. Although not of the highest quality, the

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<sup>107</sup> The house of M. Fabio Rufus has received a surge of attention lately, see for example: Masanori Aoyagi and Umberto Pappalardo, eds. *Pompeii. (Regiones VI-VII) Insula Occidentalis*. 15-29 (Naples: 2006). The small house is ignored, however.

<sup>108</sup> Antonio d'Ambrosio and Mariarosaria Bornello. *Le terracotta figurate di Pompeii. Ministero per I beni culturali ed ambientali soprintendenza archeologica di Pompeii*, Catalogue 4 (Rome: "L'ERMA" di Bretschneider, 1990): 30, no. 28, Pl. 8, fig. 28.

<sup>109</sup> Dwyer, 19-20.

extensive decoration and sculpture indicates the aspirations and taste of the owner. An axial plan that aligned the most important rooms created an impressive view. Visitors to the house would have been able to see from the doorway straight through to the master of the house seated in the tablinum with a raised garden at his back. The tablinum itself must have been an impressive sight with a stucco ceiling that was gilded and painted in bright colors.<sup>110</sup> The garden was filled with small-scale herms and marble statuary of animals, satyrs, fauns, and Pan creating the impression of a playful woodland idyll. Overseeing all was a Silenus standing in a niche at the top of a waterfall leading into a round marble pool with a jet.<sup>111</sup>

The large atrium was encircled by smaller rooms; the kitchen suite on the north side was likely a later addition to the original plan.<sup>112</sup> The raised garden was part of the second house added at a later date, which required the construction of a stairway on the north side of the tablinum to access the addition. The second atrium which opened from entrance 24 maintained its original plan with an atrium surrounded by its own smaller rooms, however, the function of these spaces changed to accommodate storage and service; the original tablinum held a wagon or chariot.<sup>113</sup> Other stairways in the back part of the house led to a second story and to a basement level.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Dwyer, 37.

<sup>111</sup> Dwyer, 38-48.

<sup>112</sup> Dwyer, 21.

<sup>113</sup> Dwyer, 52.

<sup>114</sup> Stairs in rooms 26 go up, in room 24 go down.



The Anadyomene terracotta was found, as mentioned previously, in the area of the kitchen and latrine to the north of the atrium. Unfortunately, precise findspots were not recorded, and the items found together may have come from any one of the four rooms excavated at the same time—the kitchen, latrine, and two storerooms. Furthermore, the excavators did not carefully examine the levels at which items were found. Thick pilasters between the rooms on this side of the house indicate that the second floor covered at least part of the north side, and therefore objects could have fallen when the roof collapsed.<sup>115</sup> Other finds from this area include a small marble altar (now lost), a bronze mirror, fragments of bronze candelabra and cooking vessels, a number of glass bottles, and several other small terracotta figurines: two draped females, two fragments of female figures, a male carrying a chest and two males carrying a shrine with the figure of a god, and a gladiator.<sup>116</sup>

It is impossible to know to whom this Anadyomene belonged and exactly how she functioned, however, a few scenarios could be imagined from these finds. The terracottas may have been used in conjunction with the altar in household worship, common in kitchen areas. Alternatively, the terracottas, especially the Anadyomene and draped females along with the bronze mirror and glass bottles might have come from the bedroom of a wife or daughter. The objects could have been in storage; some of them might have belonged to servants or slaves who worked in the space. The use of terracotta does not necessarily point to ownership by servants or slaves, however. Other terracotta figurines were found

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<sup>115</sup> Dwyer, 21.

<sup>116</sup> Dwyer, 32-6.

elsewhere in the house: two draped female figures with preserved gilding were found in the tablinum and a figurine of Bes was left in one of the rooms on the south side of the atrium.

### **Painting**

Three houses held paintings of the Aphrodite Anadyomene in reception or dining rooms; one was found in an entryway. **House I 13.16** was small and basic in plan.<sup>117</sup>(Cat. Domestic 22) The entry was flanked on either side by small rooms, as is typical. There is no atrium per se, only a small open area between a triclinium and another small room. Walls dividing the space along the south side of the house were almost completely obliterated; a garden filled the back corner on the north side, adjacent to the dining room with its built in couches. Walls throughout the house showed some remnants of fourth-style paintings, showing that the owners had decorated it in the last years before Pompeii's destruction.<sup>118</sup> The Anadyomene was painted on the wall on the north side of the triclinium, immediately opposite the entrance to the room where it would have been most visible. According to John Clarke's description of the hierarchy of seating at a Roman dinner, a painting in this location would have been directly over the guest of honor, and paintings in this location are often the most important in the room.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> *PPM*, vol. 1, 928-34.

<sup>118</sup> *PPM*, vol. 1, 928.

<sup>119</sup> John Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-elite Viewers in Italy, 100 BC-AD 315* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003): 224-6.

This image of the Anadyomene is unusual in that instead of depicting the goddess at her toilette, the work portrays a statue of the goddess, executed in a chalky white-gray tone, standing on a tall, narrow pedestal. The figure holds locks of hair in the right hand and in the left she holds out a mirror at an angle that one would expect to capture the back of her head; instead her face is impossibly reflected. A swath of crimson drapery is looped over the left arm and is discernable fluttering behind the figure on the opposite side. The painting is not especially skillful, but there is something strangely fresh and lifelike in the representation, and a sense of unease is created watching a young woman balance so awkwardly on such a small platform with her legs and feet pressed close together. An ithyphallic Priapus stood facing the goddess on the left, and a peacock filled the space on the right. Sex as a decorating theme is carried over to a bouquet of painted phalluses that anchored the painted garland in the upper corner of the room, and a small erotic panel to the right of the Anadyomene. Marble heads of Hercules and Dionysus are placed in rectangular niches high on the north and west walls and seem to manifest a certain disregard for pictorial unity. They disrupt the painted decoration rather than complementing it.

**II.1.12:** The Anadyomene painting found at II 1.12 was found on the façade to the north side of the entrance doorway; a panel picturing Mercury and Dionysus together stood on the south side.(Cat. Domestic 23) As one entered, an erect Priapus guarded the corridor. The Anadyomene stood half-draped with a large dolphin curled behind her and a little Eros on her left shoulder. The goddess' hair sticks out here and there, a knot has been gathered on the top of her head from which ends fly in both directions. She holds strands in

her right hand and a mirror in the left. The body is quite straight and slim, with the waist minimally defined. The head is large and with facial features that have blurred and faded, combined with the haystack- hairstyle, the general effect is rather cartoon-like. A garland frames the scene. In addition to this painted decoration, first style paintings that imitated stone were found in the large room (9) off the peristyle. This was the only example remaining in the whole block of the oldest and most conservative of wall painting styles. A room near the entrance (3) was decorated in the later, more fanciful third-style.<sup>120</sup>

These gods are seen, frequently in company and in various combinations, in Pompeian *lararia* and gardens. In this case, the precise function of the space in which they appear is unclear. It has been named the “Complex of the Magic Rites,” due to the unusual plan and the finds located inside. Passing by the Priapus in the entrance hall, to the left was located a triclinium, and straight ahead one passed through a large peristyle courtyard. On axis with the doorway stood a brick altar. Iron rings attached to the altar supported two posts on which bronze hands used in the worship of Sabazios were mounted. A room at the back of the peristyle, still on axis with the entrance, was configured as a covered porch with multiple doorways. A platform at the back was deep enough, Robert Turcan notes, to accommodate theatrical presentations.<sup>121</sup> A doorway in the south wall of the peristyle allows access to the neighboring building, and both share a large room between them, accessible from either side.

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<sup>120</sup> *PPM*, vol. 3, 19-21.

<sup>121</sup> Robert Turcan, *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1989) 318.

The precise identity and function of this building is unclear. Turcan uses the term “sacellum” to describe the porch-like room, noting that small chambers adjacent could have been used to instruct initiates and as kitchens to prepare ritual meals.<sup>122</sup> Mariette de Vos, who wrote the entry in *Pompei: pitture e mosaici*, chose the more neutral label “oecus” for the room.<sup>123</sup> Turcan, however, demonstrates some ambivalence by subsequently describing the building as a whole as a “maison”.<sup>124</sup> He suggests that the location near the amphitheater and the palestra would have made it a convenient location for gladiators who were adherents of the cult to practice their rituals.<sup>125</sup>

**House VI 15.7-8** was formed, as many others discussed here, by the merging of two smaller houses in the block.<sup>126</sup> (Cat. Domestic 24) The house behind door 8 lays out in a rather regular Pompeian configuration with small rooms flanking the entrance into an atrium. Four rooms are subdivided at the back of the house, which included the kitchen and other service areas. The other half of the house held the garden with a portico, rooms for entertaining, and possibly some shops at the front. Stairways to a second story were accessible from both the main and secondary entrances. A lararium was located in the garden and windows and doors in the house were placed throughout so that a view of the shrine was possible from every room. The shrine was constructed as an aedicula with a

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<sup>122</sup> Turcan, 318.

<sup>123</sup> *PPM*, vol. 3, 19.

<sup>124</sup> Turcan, 320.

<sup>125</sup> Turcan, 319-20.

<sup>126</sup> *PPM*, vol. 5, 647-66.

blue-painted pediment held up on a platform by red and yellow colonnettes. A triclinium (m) seems to have been constructed next to the garden as an afterthought, dropped into the space between the last portico column and the wall.<sup>127</sup> The Anadyomene painting was positioned in this room on the wall that divided it from the garden and a window cut through the picture's frame on the left side. Although this Aphrodite may not have been in the garden, she was inextricably visually connected to it.

The naked Anadyomene is painted on a white ground standing in contrapposto gathering her thin, lank hair in either hand. The arrangement of the legs is awkward, particularly as the left thigh angles into the center, but the lower leg impossibly bends and turns below the knee. Turned to the right and tipped slightly down, the face seems mask-like with little modulation or nuance. She wears jewelry: a gold necklace with pennant-shaped links, thick tubular bracelets on each wrist and ankle, and a flat band with a gem on the upper right arm. The decorative scheme of the room is Fourth Style with white ground panels and the typical garlands and *pinakes*. A similar panel frames a large figure of Bacchus, on the south wall of the room, opposite the doorway, a suitable subject for a dining room. The wall opposite the Anadyomene was decorated with a small painting showing putti unpacking a chest; one lifts a large mirror and the other reaches for what looks like bracelets, possibly to help the goddess as she dresses. A larger room to the east (k) was decorated by a more technically proficient painter, but continued the theme of

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<sup>127</sup> Jashemski, 157, description and photo (fig. 181) make this relationship clearer than the photos used in *PPM*.

pleasure and love: its paintings depicted Venus and Adonis, and Helen and Paris with Eros, and Perseus and Andromeda.

**VII 15.3:** The final Anadyomene painting was located in a large reception room adjacent to the entryway and atrium of House VII 15.3.<sup>128</sup> (Cat. Domestic 25) As previously discussed, a bronze Aphrodite was found in the atrium with six other household gods. The house is rather small and it appears that at some point rooms on the northeast side were ceded to the neighboring home. The resulting configuration was a bit awkward with one large and four very small rooms surrounding the large atrium. The back of the house held a stairway to the second floor, another large room, and a large garden. The interior decoration of the entire house has completely disappeared. However, sketches made when the house was excavated record that the large room at the front of the house, used possibly for receiving guests, dining, or entertaining, held pictures of Meleagar hunting a boar, and an Anadyomene. The goddess was half-draped and arranged her hair with both hands. On the left an Eros offered her a mirror. Another on her right was damaged and only the lower body remained. No other paintings were discovered.

## **Zeugma**

Zeugma was founded c 300 BCE by Seleucus I, one of the heirs of Alexander's empire, as twin towns on either side of the Euphrates river. Named Seleucia and Apamaea after himself and his Persian wife, Apama, eventually, the locale came to be known better

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<sup>128</sup>PPM, vol. 7, 766-74.

by the bridge that connected the divided towns.<sup>129</sup> The site was well chosen—the surrounding plain was well-watered and fertile, the river provided a natural avenue for trade, and with hillsides at its back it was easily fortified.<sup>130</sup> By the 60s BCE, Romans had gained domination in the area, holding it with the Euphrates as a boundary between their territory and the Parthian empire. Its natural resources and defenses made it the perfect base for a Roman legion (first the Legio X Fretensis, then the Legio IIII Sythica) in the first century CE.<sup>131</sup> Excavation has shown that Zeugma had become a rich fortified Roman city in the second century. The establishment of 5000 Roman troops and the infrastructure necessary for their support strengthened the local economy, but by the third century the town showed signs of decline. The Roman armies had moved on, following the frontier further east, and in 256 CE Sassanids attacked and burned the town. The destruction and lack of rebuilding of formerly rich houses can be dated to this period and provides evidence for the town's decline.<sup>132</sup> In spite of this, the town did survive on a much-reduced scale, and it was known through the medieval period with its location recorded on the Peutinger Table.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> An excellent survey of the town's history and excavations in the 1990s is found in David Kennedy, et al., *The Twin Towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates: Rescue Work and Historical Studies* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1998). See in particular: 7-13, 237-40.

<sup>130</sup> Kennedy, 237-40.

<sup>131</sup> On the military legions at Zeugma see Michael Alexander Spiedel, "Legio IIII Sythica, its movements and men," in David Kennedy, *The Twin Towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates: Rescue Work and Historical Studies* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1998):163-204, and Hubert Devijver, "Commanders and officers of Legio IIII Sythica," same volume: 205-32.

<sup>132</sup> Kennedy, 10.

<sup>133</sup> Kennedy, 157-8, Fig. 9.1.



Zeugma was identified definitively by Franz Cumont in 1915; however the site was not systematically excavated until dams built on the Euphrates (completed in 2000) threatened to submerge it.<sup>134</sup> Field surveys were conducted in the early 1990s followed by excavations between 1993 and 1997; these were suspended when funding ran out. Shortly before the plain was permanently flooded, however, rescue excavations were organized and carried out in an extended campaign in 1999 through June 2000. The waters over took the excavations in July of that year. The international teams working hastily, yet carefully, were able to uncover several houses built onto terraces on the north bank of the river.<sup>135</sup> Two Aphrodite Anadyomene representations were discovered at this time: one small bronze figurine and a floor mosaic.

The bronze figurine depicts the standing goddess with drapery wrapping around her left leg and across the back and right hip, improbably defying gravity. (Cat. Domestic 26) Although she wears a diadem, she is still in the process of arranging her hair, grasping locks in either hand. This was found in Trench 18, which uncovered a house on the south bank of the Euphrates. Because of the limited excavations, the orientation of the house is somewhat unclear, however, on the north side of the building a gravel alleyway led into a vestibule that in turn opened into a series of internal rooms and courtyards. The house had two phases of construction; fragmentary wall paintings that imitated stone come from small

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<sup>134</sup> Franz Cumont, "I. Villes de l'Euphrate — Zeugma, Néocésarée, BIRTHA," in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 35 (1915): 161-190.

<sup>135</sup> Robert Early, "Rescue work by the Packard Humanities Institute: interim report, 2000," in *Zeugma: Interim Reports*, by R. Early, et al. (Portsmouth, R.I.: Journal of Roman Archaeology, c2003): 9-11. The speed of the excavations has been complemented by equally expeditious and thorough publications.

rooms at the back of the property.<sup>136</sup> A later remodeling phase changed and enlarged rooms throughout the house. The house was destroyed by fire, likely while still occupied, in the mid-third century C.E.<sup>137</sup> The Anadyomene was found in one of the small rooms at the back of the house with the earliest painted decoration along with other small objects: two terracotta lamps, a bronze candleholder, coins, parts of a glass vessel, two bone figurines (subjects unspecified), a bone pin, and a glass finger ring. These finds and the size of the rooms suggested to Robert Early that these were personal objects and the space was likely a *cubiculum*.<sup>138</sup>

The Anadyomene mosaic was discovered in the same rescue excavations. (Cat. Domestic 27) In this case, a mosaic which depicted Pasiphae and the minotaur was discovered by a team of Turkish archaeologists from the Gaziantep and Şanlıurfa Museums at the end of the 1999 excavation season. Rather than abandoning the site to looters, the archaeologists rallied help from the French and work continued until the waters obscured the site in July 2000.<sup>139</sup> The dig turned up a complex of houses with thirteen well-preserved

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<sup>136</sup> Early, 20, notes that these styles were used at Delos and Pompeii in the 1<sup>st</sup> c B.C.E., perhaps suggesting the same date for the early phases of this house although he avoids making the claim outright.

<sup>137</sup> Early, 20. The date is determined by coins; the judgment on the state of occupation comes from what Early terms “charcoal-rich deposits,” which suggests that the house was full of furnishings when it burned.

<sup>138</sup> Early, 20.

<sup>139</sup> Nezhil Başgelen and Rifat Ergeç, *A Last Look at History: Belkis/Zeugma, Halfeti, Rumkale* (Istanbul: Archaeology and Art Publications, 2000): 40-5.

figured mosaic floors, wall paintings, and a large bronze Mars.<sup>140</sup> The Anadyomene mosaic was uncovered the week before work on the site ceased.<sup>141</sup>

Catherine Abadie-Reynal, who led the French team, reports that this was one of four contiguous houses, and that the plan is complicated by a number of building phases, the earliest being from the first century C.E.<sup>142</sup> The last period shows significant modifications to the underlying structure. The house seems to have been organized originally around one or two peristyles which allowed movement and circulation to separate sides of the house.<sup>143</sup> At some point between the end of the second century and the middle of the third, the eastern peristyle was divided and the western half was occupied by a series of three rooms which held figural mosaic floors.<sup>144</sup> Although they had windows into the eastern peristyle,

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<sup>140</sup>On the mosaics and paintings: Catherine Abadie-Reynal, “Les maisons à décors mosaïqués de Zeugma,” in *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’année. Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 146.2 (2002): 743-771. Alix Barbet, ed. *Zeugma II. Peintures Murales Romaines*. (Paris: De Boccard Édition—Diffusion, 2005). On the Mars statue: Roberto Nardi and Mehmet Önal, “The Bronze statue of Mars: interim report,” in *Zeugma: Interim Reports*, by R. Early, et al. (Portsmouth, R.I. : Journal of Roman Archaeology, c2003): 69-78. Frustratingly, it seems that the various teams and authors did not agree on terminology for the houses and nearly every author discussing them calls them by a different name. Başgelen and Ergeç call them simply “the twin villas.” Abadie-Reynal refers to the house to the west as the “maison de Pasiphae” after the first mosaic discovered; the house to the east she calls the “maison de l’Euphrate”. Nardi/Önal, and Barbet call the east house the Poseidon villa for the largest mosaic in the house’s courtyard. Early, 51, refers to them as three, dividing the east house into two: the villas of Poseidon and Mars.

<sup>141</sup> Başgelen and Ergeç, 44-5.

<sup>142</sup> The best plan showing parts of all four houses, each color coded, can be found at the end of Barbet’s volume.

<sup>143</sup> Abadie-Reynal, 748-51. The original foundations and façade walls were overbuilt, obscuring the earliest plan of the building(s). She states that the construction of the second peristyle (on the west side of the house) dates to the first century C.E. She also suggests that rooms around the western peristyle were the private spaces, while the eastern peristyle was the public part of the house. The reasons behind this determination are not clear, however.

<sup>144</sup> The three western rooms’ floors showed Dionysus and his daughter Telete, Perseus and Andromeda, Zeus and Antiope, and Galatea riding a sea-panther. Since Galatea was a sea nymph and the panther is an emblem of Dionysus, this last panel handily combines the two motifs. The floors on the eastern side of the house

their doors were to the west. After this time, the house suffered some violent damage, and the western half was abandoned.<sup>145</sup> This damage perhaps inspired the work modifying and redecorating the eastern side of the house in the early third century which included the addition of another fountain in a room to the east of the peristyle.<sup>146</sup> Abadie-Reynal suggested that these structural changes were aimed at a “westernization” of the house—shifting the function of the peristyle from a functional space which facilitates circulation and movement throughout the house to a space intended to be looked at.<sup>147</sup>

Themes that seem to have generally guided the choice of the floor mosaics throughout the house were the realms of Dionysus, Aphrodite, and Neptune. The three western rooms’ floors showed Dionysus and his daughter Telete, Perseus and Andromeda, Zeus and Antiope, and Galatea riding a sea-panther. Since Galatea was a sea nymph and the panther is an emblem of Dionysus, this panel handily combined two motifs. The floors on the eastern side of the house depict Pasiphae either commissioning the building of a wooden cow, or organizing the wedding of her daughter Ariadne to Dionysus, Achilles at Skyros disguised in girls’ clothing, Poseidon with Oceanus and Thetis (labeled incorrectly on the floor as Tethys), Eros and Psyche (or Dionysus and Ariadne), and the Aphrodite

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depict Pasiphae (either commissioning the building of a wooden cow, or organizing the wedding of her daughter Ariadne to Dionysus), Achilles at Skyros disguised in girls clothing, Poseidon with Oceanus and Thetis (labeled incorrectly on the floor as Tethys), Eros and Psyche (or Dionysus and Ariadne), and the Aphrodite Anadyomene.

<sup>145</sup> Abadie-Reynal, 751.

<sup>146</sup> Abadie-Reynal, 755.

<sup>147</sup> Abadie-Reynal, 758: “. . . l’aire central du péristyle n’est plus faite pour qu’on s’y promène, mais pour qu’on la regarde.”

Anadyomene.<sup>148</sup> Even Mars was tamed—the bronze statue converted his traditional spear to a candelabrum and he carries a bouquet of flowers as though he were a modern suitor.<sup>149</sup> Wall paintings were preserved in part from both sides of the house. Those on the west side included faux stone, garlands, birds, and representations of the Seven Sages, orators, and standing draped women.<sup>150</sup> Walls throughout the east side were painted with a garden theme, and personified seasons decorated the walls around the large peristyle. Summer was located just outside the southeast room that held the Anadyomene mosaic.<sup>151</sup> The west peristyle's fountain was a two-story structure painted with faux marble in red, yellow, and green.<sup>152</sup>

Cut into the hillside, partially out of the bedrock, the room holding the Anadyomene mosaic was part of a suite located at the back of the house, behind the peristyle. The rectangular central panel showing the Anadyomene was surrounded by a border of hunting *putti*. Although the goddess's head and upper shoulders are missing, the position of the bent right arm and the remaining loose curls which fall over her left shoulder, as well as the similarities of the composition to others, such as the two from Setif, are enough to identify it as an Anadyomene. As seen in the Setif mosaics, the goddess is seated on a large shell supported by two tritons, an older gray-haired one on the left, and a younger one on the

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<sup>148</sup> Abadie-Reynal, 748-60.

<sup>149</sup> See Nardi and Önal, 70.

<sup>150</sup> Barbet, 23-74.

<sup>151</sup> Barbet, 75-126.

<sup>152</sup> On plans of the site this room is labeled either P37 or A14, depending on the team. For the fountain, see Barbet, 93.

right. Typically, Aphrodite is seated with her legs to the right of the panel; however, in this case, she faces to the left. Two *Eroti* fly above her, turning loop-de-loops in the air. Unfortunately, their extended hands are missing and it is impossible to see what they carried or offered to Venus.

Overall, the work is bold and graphic. Figures are given black outlines, and shading is done with wide stripes of color. In this case there is no convincing sea, instead the figures glide across thick bands of black, tan, and ivory, with only a sprinkling of bluish grey throughout. A dolphin below the shell seems stranded on the shore rather than swimming free. The anatomy of the young triton on the right side is not especially well wrought, however that of the female figure and the *putti* is much more sensitively handled. The seated position of the goddess is much more convincing than either of the works from Setif. This mosaic, in a fashion similar to others in the house, includes inscriptions identifying the figures. The older triton is named Aphros (foam), and the younger Bythos (depths); Abadie-Reynal notes that this is opposite of the convention.<sup>153</sup> The mosaic is also signed by Zôsimos of Samothrace whose name is also attached to another mosaic in the city that depicts three women from Menander's comedy the *Synaristôsai*. Since this second mosaic is of such better quality than the Anadyomene, Abadie-Reynal suggests that the Anadyomene is a replacement for an earlier work, but that the original artist was credited.<sup>154</sup> After the mosaic was laid the walls of the room were decorated with white

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<sup>153</sup> Abadie-Reynal, 760.

<sup>154</sup> Abadie-Reynal, 762. Here she does not specify where the other mosaic is, however, she discusses it elsewhere: Catherine Abadie-Reynal and Jean-Pierre Darmon, "La maison et la mosaïque des *Synaristôsai* (Les

molded stucco garlands of ribbons and foliage and pilasters with acanthus capitals on a ground of yellow and red ochre. Barbet found the scheme light in both color and scheme and perhaps backward-looking for the period.<sup>155</sup>

### **North Africa**

Five mosaics, generally well-preserved, have survived from four sites in North Africa. All are attested to have come from domestic situations; however, for the most part the sites were either incompletely excavated due to modern building activity, or extremely damaged and therefore poorly understood. Because of this, the dates assigned to the works are necessarily broad. Two works come from Timgad and have the clearest archaeological contexts; there is one each from Leptiminus, Khenchela, and Carthage. The two from Timgad also seem to be the earliest, dating to the second or third centuries. The works from Leptiminus and Khenchela perhaps date to the third and fourth centuries; that from Carthage may be as late as the early fifth century. In spite of the wide range of dates for these works, because of the similarities between these works and their contexts, I will discuss them here as a more or less unified group, in the order in which they have been presented above.

**Timgad:** Timgad was established as Thamagudi in the second century as a colony for veterans by Trajan; the nearby town of Lambaesis, only twenty miles away, was the headquarters of the Legio III Augusta, and so the new town required only minimal

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*Femmes au déjeuner de Ménandre*)” in *Zeugma: Interim Reports*, by R. Early, et al. (Portsmouth, R.I. : Journal of Roman Archaeology, c2003): 79-99.

<sup>155</sup> Barbet, 121.

fortifications.<sup>156</sup> The city plan is clearly discernable in the ruins and unsurprising in its tidiness as military order was made permanent on the landscape. A nearly square area of about sixty hectares was surrounded by an exterior wall, which survives to only about a meter in height. The town was divided into blocks, twelve on the north/south axis by eleven on the east/west. A large forum was located near the center of town with a theater immediately to its south. Gates led out of the city at regular intervals and as the city prospered it naturally expanded along the roads leading out of the original core. The two Anadyomene mosaics were both found within the city walls, in block 24, in the northwest quadrant of the city, and in block 81, in the southeast quadrant. The newly established town prospered through the second and third centuries from thriving trade and fertile lands which grew olives and grains. In the fourth and fifth centuries, Timgad was a center for the controversial Donatist sect. In the fifth century the area was conquered by Vandals, and the town was sacked and burned by Berbers. The Byzantine army constructed a fortress nearby in the mid-sixth century, and the site was a convenient source of building materials for both fortress and monasteries in the area.<sup>157</sup>

Both Anadyomene mosaics were discovered in the excavations of 1908, which were reported by Albert Ballu the following year.<sup>158</sup> The house that comprised Block 24 was almost completely demolished and little remains of its original plan. Indications of three

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<sup>156</sup> See Roger J.A. Wilson, s.v. "Lambaesis," *OCD3*, 821 and "Thamagudi," *OCD3*, 1491-2; Albert Ballu, *Guide Illustré de Timgad (Antique Thamugadi)*. (Paris: Levy et Neurdein Réunis, Éditeurs, 1910): v-viii.

<sup>157</sup> Ballu, vii.

<sup>158</sup> Albert Ballu, "Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées en 1908 par le service des monuments historiques de l'Algérie," *BCTH* 1909: 75-111.



rooms in the southeast corner remain, and the Anadyomene mosaic was found in the northeast corner adjacent to them.<sup>159</sup>(Cat. Domestic 28) Unsurprisingly, the damaged state of the remains is reflected in the mosaic also, and large patches of the design are missing.<sup>160</sup> What is visible shows the goddess seated on a wide scallop shell. Her legs are turned to her left, however, the upper body turns toward the viewer and the arms are held out on both sides to hold up locks of hair over the shoulders. The goddess' head and right hand are missing. Two Eroti, scaled as young men rather than toddler boys, fly on either side of the shell; the one on the right side of the panel is preserved well enough for his wings to be discerned. A dolphin leaps under the shell on the left side, and another similar marine animal surely occupied the *lacuna* in the lower right side.<sup>161</sup> Notably, in this case, the Aphrodite lacks the tritons who accompany her in the Zeugma and three of the five North African works.

Although more of the structure remains of the house in Block 81, the original plan of the house was disrupted when a large furnace, measuring over four meters across its base, was constructed within it.<sup>162</sup>(Cat. Domestic 29) From the remains, it is clear that the space originally revolved around a central peristyle courtyard. Smaller rooms ranged on the north side, a long gallery fully occupied the west side, and a few large rooms were located on the

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<sup>159</sup> Ballu, *BCTH* 1909, 95.

<sup>160</sup> My discussion of both mosaics is limited by the poor quality of the available images and Ballu's cursory description of the works (Ballu, *BCTH* 1909, 105-6).

<sup>161</sup> Ballu, *BCTH* 1909, 105, states that there are two dolphins. It is possible that the second was lost when the mosaic was removed and installed in the archaeological museum.

<sup>162</sup> Ballu, *BCTH* 1909, 90-2.

south side of the block. It was in one of these that the Anadyomene mosaic was found in near perfect condition. The panel shows the goddess with her legs crossed to her right, this time sitting on the tail of one of her triton attendants rather than the shell to which we have been accustomed. In this case, the shell's form is hinted at by the striations in the drapery canopy that the two sea-men hold above Aphrodite's head. In addition to this, they also each hold an arm behind the goddess' back to support her, in the process also displaying an elaborate panel of drapery behind her. The pose with arms upraised at an equal height out to the sides to hold up lank locks of hair above the shoulders is nearly identical to what remains from the Block 24 figure. Because this work is so well preserved, it is possible to see the almost completely frontal face and direct gaze of the goddess. The manner in which she holds her hair, with the strands laying across open up-facing palms, seems to be a gesture more about display than wringing or beginning a coiffeur. In contrast to the schematic sea of the Block 24 panel, its waves indicated by dark thick irregular lines, the Block 81 artist took more care in indicating water with a variety of tones. Additionally, a convincing sense of pictorial space and depth is created by the placement of the horizon line at the level of the figures' shoulders.

These works share a similarity in the way in which the floors were designed. Both Anadyomene scenes were contained in small panels that were surrounded by a field of elaborate, lush, swirling vegetation on a dark ground. In contrast, however, the vegetation in Block 81 is carefully designed to frame and direct attention towards the Anadyomene panel, leaving a narrow bit of black around the rectangular panel. The panel of Block 24 has the effect of a throw-rug dropped on top of the repeated circular pattern, obscuring and

disturbing the pattern which it overlays. It is clear that the floor of Block 81 was designed all as a piece, by an artist interested in adapting and modifying the motifs to suit. On the other hand, it is easily conceivable that the Anadyomene panel from Block 24 was a later addition, either to a previously laid design, or to a work-in-progress, and neither the patron nor the artist saw the need to redesign the vegetal scrollwork to accommodate it.

**Leptiminus:** The city of Leptiminus, modern Lamta, is located on the Mediterranean coast of Tunisia and served as a port in Punic and Roman times. A survey of the archaeology of the city has been published in two volumes.<sup>163</sup> Although the authors of the report state that the two goals of their project were “excavation and intensive field survey,” in reality, life in a growing modern city on an ancient site result in regular discoveries of ancient remains. Keeping up with the rescue excavations and their documentation seems to prevent a more systematic approach. Archaeological surveys of the harbor have been undertaken in a systematic fashion, but most of the finds from the ancient city and most of the ongoing archeological work stems from accidental discoveries.<sup>164</sup> The Anadyomene mosaic was discovered in July 1992 when building work commenced in the area to house residents who were being displaced due to municipal works in other parts of the city.(Cat. Domestic 30) Although work was halted temporarily and the Institut National du Patrimoine of Tunis, partnering with the University of Michigan, was able to access the site,

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<sup>163</sup> N. Ben Lazreg and D.J. Mattingly, *Leptiminus (Lamta): a Roman port city in Tunisia. Report no. 1* (Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1992) and L. M. Stirling, D.J. Mattingly, and N. Ben Lazreg, *Leptiminus (Lamta). Report no. 2* (Portsmouth, Rhode Island: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2001).

<sup>164</sup> Indeed, the second volume, published in 2001 is dedicated solely to the publication of sites “threatened by the expansion of the modern town of Lamta” over the preceding quarter century, 7.

it was incompletely explored due to time constraints. They were able to remove the Aphrodite mosaic and dig six exploratory trenches without disturbing the modern foundations.<sup>165</sup>

In spite of the limitations of the excavations, the composition of the figural mosaic hints at the purpose of the room in which it was discovered. The large figural panel, which measures two meters wide, shows Aphrodite standing naked on a small flat island. The artist attempted to create movement and drama through a twisting pose that turns the goddess' body away slightly in a three-quarters view with the goddess' plump left hip and leg forward, with the head turned dramatically in the opposite direction so that the goddess must regard her audience somewhat obliquely. In spite of this, however, the impression is overridden and flattened by the arms, which hold the long locks of hair above the shoulders, directly out to the sides. This gesture where the hair is held up high above the shoulders in both hands, almost as though it were being displayed to the viewer, seems particular to these North African mosaics.<sup>166</sup> To Venus' right a small winged Eros holds out a jewelry box. Another floats on a nearby small island and extends a mirror towards her. Additional putti are fishing in the sea around her, however, instead of creating a unified pictorial space, the artist has instead turned each grouping away from the goddess, breaking the sea with its waves indicated by parallel zigzagging lines, into segments

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<sup>165</sup> Nejib Ben Lazreg, "Découvert d'une mosaïque de Vénus: rapport préliminaire," in *Leptiminus (Lamta), Report No. 2: The East Baths, Cemeteries, Kilns, Venus Mosaic, Site Museum, and other studies* by L. M. Stirling, D. J. Mattingly, and N. Ben Lazreg (Portsmouth, Rhode Island: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2001): 261-2, note 10 gives the circumstances of the discovery.

<sup>166</sup> The gesture is shared by four here (both Timgad, Leptiminus, and Khenchela) as well as a mosaic from El Djem where the Anadyomene is actually a statuette in a shrine.

oriented towards the outer borders. Thus, putti fish from boats turned upside down above the goddess's head. To her left and right, the sea turns perpendicular and on one side an Eros uses a net to snare his prey of large fishes and the Eros on the other aims his spear into a sea that holds two squids and an enormous eel.

The wide outer border around the panel repeats this U shape—around the top and partway down each side the pattern is a black and white geometric design. Near the bottom of the frame, however, it shifts to a multi-colored more complicated and irregular pattern. These features led the excavators to surmise that the room this mosaic decorated was a triclinium where dining couches would have been placed in a U formation around the scene.<sup>167</sup> By disrupting the pictorial space, diners would have seen the goddess as they entered and then had at least part of the scene oriented to be enjoyed from the viewpoint of their dinner seats. The couches would likely have covered most of the cheaper black and white design, leaving the more complicated, expensive, and impressive multicolored sections visible.

The report indicates that the area in which this house was discovered was in the suburban regions of the ancient city, mostly given over to agricultural and industrial use during the Punic and Roman periods.<sup>168</sup> Its location on a ridge, however, may have been specifically chosen for its views of the seashore; notable especially since this mosaic is the

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<sup>167</sup> Nejib Ben Lazreg, 268.

<sup>168</sup> Ben Lazreg, 259-60. Joseph L. Rife, "Excavations adjacent to the House of the Venus mosaic," in *Leptiminus (Lamta), Report No. 2: The East Baths, Cemeteries, Kilns, Venus Mosaic, Site Museum, and other studies* by L. M. Stirling, D. J. Mattingly, and N. Ben Lazreg (Portsmouth, Rhode Island: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2001): 294-6.

only sea-themed one discovered in Leptiminus to date.<sup>169</sup> Fourth century pottery was found in the layers above the mosaic and in 1994 additional excavations were undertaken adjacent to the site in hopes of finding the rest of the house to which it belonged.<sup>170</sup> They found an unpaved mortar floor surface at the level of the Venus mosaic, but no evidence of walls, suggesting that perhaps they had uncovered the courtyard of the house. Above this is mixed debris fill and a cemetery which dated to the fourth through sixth centuries, indicating that the house was abandoned before the fourth century.<sup>171</sup> Comparisons with other mosaics suggested that the schematic representation of the sea as a field of short parallel zigzag segments became conventional in North African mosaics after the end of the second century.<sup>172</sup> This floor, therefore, was likely laid in the third century and the house was abandoned within about a century.

**Khenchela:** The mosaic from Khenchela, Algeria, in antiquity known as Mascula, was discovered in a similar scenario as at Leptiminus, when new houses were constructed; exploration was similarly restricted by the existing buildings.(Cat. Domestic 31) Unfortunately, it seems that the same resources were not available—the discovery and site were described briefly twice by Jean Lassus in the early 1960s, but never published

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<sup>169</sup> Ben Lazreg, 290. Rife, 324.

<sup>170</sup> Ben Lazreg, 291-2.

<sup>171</sup> Rife, 319-21.

<sup>172</sup> Ben Lazreg, 272.

independently.<sup>173</sup> He states that the room in which it was found was a “salon” which opened into a large rectangular courtyard, at the center of which was a stone basin decorated with dolphins and vegetal designs. Additional mosaics in geometric patterns and one with a charioteer were also found. Lassus notes that they were all of good quality but did not resemble those found nearby in Timgad.<sup>174</sup>

In contrast to many of the other mosaics of this subject, the artist designed his panel vertically, placing Aphrodite at the top of the frame. As in the work from Timgad, Block 81, the artist has dispensed with Aphrodite’s shell-seat and has seated her on the twined tails of her triton escorts on a fall of deep burgundy drapery. They support her back with their arms. While the pear-shape of the Leptiminius Venus departed from classical conventions, this Aphrodite’s body is nothing short of mannerist. The upper torso is very long and narrow with very small, very high breasts, indicated by a dark line running across the chest. Although proportioned for the body, the head seems small in contrast to the thick neck which holds it up. The facial features are almost Byzantine, with large dark eyes, a long straight nose, and tiny mouth. In spite of the three-quarters view of the head, which turns to the figure’s right, heavy, dark, seaweed-like tresses are extended in both hands out across the shoulders, again creating an impression of frontality and flatness. The lower body below the waist swells and seems to belong to a different body entirely. The crossed

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<sup>173</sup> Jean Lassus, “Les mosaïques découvertes récemment en Algérie,” *CRAI* 106, no. 2 (1962): 127-8; “Vénus marine,” in *La mosaïque gréco-romaine* (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1965): 175-7.

<sup>174</sup> Lassus, “Vénus marine,” 176. His statement is not qualified, but seems to refer to style and not subject or compositional elements.

legs, always tricky to execute convincingly, here seem boneless, as do the arms. The goddess wears bracelets, armbands, pearl earrings, and a heavy necklace with a spiky pendant. The modeling of the figure, only well-seen in a small detail which includes the goddess' calves, was patchy and not especially nuanced. Lassus, in fact, compares Venus' banal gaze and the flat handling of the body to Manet's "Olympia".<sup>175</sup>

Immediately below the tritons and Aphrodite two sea creatures, one with the head of a horse, the other of a bull, seem to rush at each other to battle. The lower third of the panel comprises a coastal scene with a young fisherman standing on the left with a fluffy tree to his back. On the right side reclines an older man with only a bit of drapery across his lap and wearing a tricorn hat. . There seems to be an element of *horror vacui* guiding the composition as a whole and the artist completed it by crowding any empty space between the large figures with fishes and the now-expected zigzags to indicate the sea. In contrast to the rather clumsy execution of the figures, the fishes are distinct, individualized, and full of life. Unfortunately, only a detail of the work was published in color, however, this small part shows that the artist had a wide range of colors available to work with and he used them to create a vivid sense of movement and drama.

**Carthage:** The mosaic in Carthage is the most damaged of the five discussed here, and perhaps the one which has garnered more attention for its context than for its subject matter.(Cat. Domestic 32) It was discovered in the 1890s by archaeologists who had recently negotiated an agreement with a local landowner to explore an area adjacent to where Punic tombs had been first discovered in 1885. Rather than Punic graves, however,

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<sup>175</sup> Lassus, "Vénus marine," 176.



they found Byzantine tombs, and below those, the remains of a Roman house which they tentatively dated to the Constantinian era. An interesting feature of the house was its central courtyard with a large cistern that fed into a concrete holding tank and then to an octagonal basin covered in mosaics with fishes. To the south of this courtyard were two rooms with decorative mosaics. The largest room measuring four by five meters held the Anadyomene mosaic. Once the mosaic was lifted, however, the most interesting finds came to light. The floor had covered a cellar where pagan statuary and cult paraphernalia had been concealed. The house has therefore become known in publications as “La maison de la cachette.”<sup>176</sup>

Though damaged, one can easily see that the artist of this panel shared the same tendency to overcrowding as those responsible for the works from Khenchela and Leptiminus. The scene is fully populated by busy little putti, fishes, ducks, and sea snakes amongst the zigzag waves, to the point that the Venus seems almost an afterthought. Some of the Eroti stand on their own tiny islands to catch fish with nets, lines, and spears, others sail in ships, and at least one floats along holding onto a duck. A fortified building with thick walls and at least three towers fills an island at the center of the image, and it is perhaps to this which the tritons carry Aphrodite on her shell from the bottom of the frame. Her position in the shell is somewhat confusing—she is not seated cross-legged as is customary, and she may be stepping out of her cockle-vessel out onto the lower frame of the image. Her hair is arranged in the empress-style seen at the Setif-baths, pulled away

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<sup>176</sup> Paul Gauckler, “Découvertes à Carthage,” *CRAI* 43, no. 2 (1899): 156-7. Gauckler does not specify when the discovery was made, nor does he use the name, however in the discussion notes following Lassus’ paper (Lassus, “Venus marine,” 189-90) Picard calls it by that appellation and gives the date of the find as 1893.

from the face into a smooth knot at the crown of the head and adorned with a swag of pearls. She wears a heavy necklace and pendant that falls to just above her navel. Her arms have layers of bracelets and armbands, and the goddess' drapery wraps around her hips, concealing the left leg, and is fastened at her right hip by a large round pin. She holds a mirror in her left hand, but she looks directly out towards the viewer coquettishly. Due to damage and poor reproductions, it is unclear whether this figure should perhaps be considered a true Anadyomene. Certainly, her right hand plucks something to the side of her head, but it is difficult to tell whether it is a bit of her mantle, her hair, or perhaps a hairpin.

### **Southwestern Gaul**

Three Anadyomenes were discovered in late antique villas in southwest France. One was well-preserved and nearly intact but from an unexcavated and incompletely known site. The other two are very badly damaged, yet from a well-documented excavation.<sup>177</sup> The well-preserved work was found in 1843 in fields near Bordeaux, France and seems to have come from a sprawling ancient villa that covered approximately twenty-five acres.<sup>178</sup>(Cat. Domestic 33) Although the finds were announced almost immediately and the *Commission des monuments historiques* commissioned a report on the site in 1845, no further excavation was ever completed. This summary report, along with an inventory of the objects and photographs of the sculpture found, were published in 1904 by Th.

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<sup>177</sup> G. Fouet, *La villa gallo-romaine de Montmaurin (Haute Garonne)*. *Gallia* Supplement 20. (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1969).

<sup>178</sup> Lea M. Stirling, *The Learned Collector: Mythological Statuettes and Classical Taste in Late Antique Gaul* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 30.

Amtmann, and provide the fullest account of the site and the artifacts.<sup>179</sup> Since that time, the collection of objects has been broken up, some sold to private collectors and some to museums. The two best preserved are marble statuettes portraying the Aphrodite Anadyomene and Diana hunting, now owned, respectively, by the Louvre and the Musée d'Aquitaine.<sup>180</sup> In addition to these works, parts of at least four other works of similar size and mythological subjects were also discovered: three heads depicting Apollo, Mars, and an unidentified female, possibly a maenad, and a male torso wearing a chlamys, perhaps a depiction of Meleager.<sup>181</sup> Other finds included a sculpted base of limestone, a relief of Hercules or Polyphemus, a relief of Minerva, the head of a bull, the head of an eagle, parts of columns and other marble architectural elements, mosaic tesserae, a four-sided bronze bell and other bits and pieces "sans importance", pottery, coins, tiles, and bricks.<sup>182</sup>

Standing naked, the Anadyomene lifts both arms out to her sides. She has already accomplished the first stages of her hair arranging, it has been pulled to the back and a tall diadem has been secured. In the right hand she grasps a thick lock of hair over her shoulder, and in the left she holds the handle of a mirror, a now-lost metal attachment.

This handle is also supported by an Eros who himself is lifted up on the shoulder of a young triton. Although the Aphrodite seems static, a sense of movement is conveyed by the

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<sup>179</sup> Th. Amtmann, "Les statues de la villa du Petit-Corbin (Gironde)," *Société archéologique de Bordeaux* 25: 72-83.

<sup>180</sup> Anadyomene: Louvre inv. MA 3537, Diana: Musée d'Aquitaine, inv. 71.16.1.

<sup>181</sup> Stirling, 30-37. See her additional discussion by the same author, "Divinities and Heroes in the Age of Ausonius: A late antique villa and sculptural collection at Saint-Georges-de-Montagne (Gironde)," *RA* 1996: 103-43. See also Catherine Balmelle, *Les demeures aristocratiques d'Aquitaine. Société et culture de l'Antiquité tardive dans le Sud-Ouest de la Gaule*. (Paris, Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2001): 233-7.

<sup>182</sup> Amtmann, 76-82.

striding position of the triton and the dolphin ridden by an Eros on the opposite side. It seems almost as if the dolphin has skidded to shore on its chin, and the Eros holds on to fins on the head and tail, seemingly trying to keep from being bucked off. The composition of the multi-figured work is very planar, as seen from the side, a characteristic shared with the Diana. It is difficult to imagine that the sculptor of these works was not constrained by the shape of the stone blocks he was given. Because of the poorly preserved site and lack of additional excavation, it is impossible to know in what settings the Anadyomene and other statuettes were displayed. Considering the finds and villa from Montmaurin, however, provides helpful comparanda.

Montmaurin and its villa are located in the foothills of the Pyrenees. Evidence suggests that the villa was abandoned sometime after final renovations were made in the late fourth to fifth century C.E.<sup>183</sup> Over the course of centuries, the villa continued to be visible in the landscape, with the buildings disassembled for their building materials, and the fields encroaching gradually.<sup>184</sup> A map of the local cadastres from 1833 outlined the area, and they were documented as ruined buildings and communal property.<sup>185</sup> The Miro

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<sup>183</sup> Stirling, 47-9, counters Fouet's (92-93) determination that the villa was destroyed by fire in the third quarter of the fourth century C.E. She counters that the fire of that date was limited to a small temple in the front courtyard, and that there is no other archaeological evidence for its spread throughout the rest of the villa. Fouet's argument was based on evidence from coinage, which Stirling points out only provides a *terminus post quem*, and ceramics, the study of which has been refined since Fouet's study. Furthermore, the sculptures seem to date very close to this period, and the last mosaics in the villa seem to date to the fifth century. Her argument is supported by Balmelle, 379-85.

<sup>184</sup> Fouet, 19, n.10, comments that many of the village walls show the reuse of *spolia*.

<sup>185</sup> Fouet, 19-21. Fouet also mentions local legends about the place being associated with "Hommes Rouges," religious men who appeared suddenly and took over the site, and then disappeared again mysteriously some time later. A traveller's account from 1864, which Fouet quotes, identified these men as Templars of the thirteenth century.

family acquired the ruins in 1879 and with the encouragement of the local curé who had show great interest in the property, excavations were begun in June 1881 under the supervision of the *Société archéologique du Midi de la France*. Work continued piecemeal, however when the priest moved to another parish in 1884 official excavations halted. Just before World War I, two portrait busts were found and sold, and material continued to be discovered for several decades. The owners were also apparently quite generous in allowing the retrieval of building materials from the site. Methodical excavations of the site did not begin until 1947 and continued through the early 1960s.<sup>186</sup>

The first phase of the site, called by Fouet a *villa rustica*, consisted of a perimeter wall that enclosed eighteen hectares of land and protected many small buildings within its precincts.<sup>187</sup> The second phase, which Fouet terms a *villa urbana*, despite it being nowhere near any urban center, demonstrated the centralized plan around a courtyard that one might expect from the “villa” appellation. Based primarily on numismatic evidence, this structure dated to the first and second centuries C.E., and underwent some remodeling in the mid-third century C.E.<sup>188</sup> In the early- to mid-fourth century the villa was largely rebuilt.<sup>189</sup> In its final form, the villa comprised several peristyle courtyards, gardens, a bath,

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<sup>186</sup> Fouet, 21-28.

<sup>187</sup> Fouet, 31-46.

<sup>188</sup> Fouet, 46-59. Stirling, 46.

<sup>189</sup> Fouet, 59, is much less precise with dating; Stirling, 47-9, identifies two distinct phases: rebuilding at the beginning of the century and some remodeling in the middle of the century and argues for a later date based on additional evidence. Balmelle, 384-5, believes that the villa survived until at least the late fourth-early fifth century. Her studies of mosaics there provide comparanda dating to the fifth-sixth centuries, *Recueil general des mosaïques de la Gaule*. Vol. 4: *Province d'Aquitaine*, Pt. 1: *Parie méridionale (piedmont pyrénéen)*. *Gallia* Supplement 10. (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1980): 74-84, nos. 74-6.

and an elaborate nymphaeum. One entered the villa through a semi-circular peristyle courtyard, which also held a small unusual polygonal temple on the left side.<sup>190</sup> The main rooms of the house seem to be arrayed along the axis established at the front entrance, and one would have passed through a series of courtyards of progressively decreasing size; gardens and decorated rooms were arranged around them. At the very back of the property a small suite of rooms centered another courtyard and small garden featuring geometric mosaic floors perhaps served as the intimate personal chambers of the owner.<sup>191</sup> A wing on the northwest side of the complex held a nymphaeum and a small bath with additional attached gardens.<sup>192</sup> The semicircular motif from the entrance courtyard is carried throughout with an exedra garden in the nymphaeum and double exedrae gardens near the back of the complex. An irregularly shaped courtyard accessed primarily from the northwest wing hidden from view from the main rooms of the house served as workspace for maintenance of the house and included a forge appended to the exterior wall.<sup>193</sup> The villa's multiple gardens, ambulatories, fountains, baths, and interior chambers speak to luxury and ease which the wealthy owners and their guests likely enjoyed. The large

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<sup>190</sup> Fouet, 59-60, calls this first courtyard a "*cour d'honneur*". Balmelle, 149-52, documents a number of similarly shaped courtyards. On the temple see Fouet, 151-68.

<sup>191</sup> Fouet, 65-77; on the decoration of the building including architectural decoration and mosaic floors see 99-132. Two other rooms on the left side of the largest square peristyle and located on either side of a room with an impluvium also had geometric mosaic floors. Many of the other formal spaces of the house including the baths, nymphaeum, and peristyle ambulatories had marble paving. See Balmelle, 447, fig. 334, for a plan which codes the spaces. (See Cat. Stone 113 and 114)

<sup>192</sup> Nymphaeum: Fouet, 78-83, 109-10. Baths: Balmelle, 187-9.

<sup>193</sup> The location on an exterior wall is convenient to access from a doorway from the outside as well as taking fire safety into consideration.

courtyard hidden from view, yet relatively easily accessible to those with need speaks to the house as a thriving economic concern.

As mentioned above, the two Anadyomene statuettes from Montmaurin were found in very badly fragmented states. (Cat. Domestic 34, 35) In fact, pieces of them were scattered across three locations of the villa. Several parts were found in the area of the nymphaeum; however, additional pieces were also found in each of the square peristyles.<sup>194</sup> The fragments belonging to the goddess include one torso, two arms, and one head. Other pieces, parts of trees, two small male figures, and a boar, relate to the myth of Adonis. Although it was attempted to construct one Anadyomene from the surviving parts, Stirling's careful examination of the pieces has led her to reconstruct two separate works—one showing the Anadyomene attending the birth of Adonis, and the other presiding over a scene of his death.<sup>195</sup> The other sculptural works found at the site include a marble portrait bust of a youth with a Trajanic hairstyle, a marble statuette of a draped Venus-Victory, and two small bronzes: the figurine of a young man and the head of Helios-Serapis.<sup>196</sup> The breakage and scattering of the works and their pieces throughout the villa, particularly the wide dispersal of the fragments of Anadyomene statuettes certainly indicates a traumatic event at the end of the life of the villa. Indeed, a thick layer of ash and tiles overlaid the

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<sup>194</sup> Stirling, 38, Fig. 11, marks the findspots of sculptures. Those for the Anadyomenes have been transferred to the plan in the catalogue.

<sup>195</sup> Stirling, 40-6. See also her discussion in "Gods, heroes, and ancestors: sculptural decoration in late-antique Aquitania," *Aquitania* 14 (1996): 209-30.

<sup>196</sup> Portrait of youth: Fouet, 92, Balmelle, 230, 168-72 (bronzes). Stirling, 45.

remains of the villa.<sup>197</sup> One can easily imagine the inhabitants attempting to salvage some of their belongings, either during or after the fire. Either scenario could explain the subsequent scattering. Considering that most of the pieces of the Anadyomene statuettes were found within the nymphaeum, it is safe to postulate that they were displayed here in the setting of a water garden. Such a setting within a garden, and proximate to a fountain is certainly in keeping with what we know of the display of the Anadyomene in gardens in other domestic contexts, and is also, as we have seen, consistent with its use as a fountain decoration.

### **Aphrodisias**

The 1981 excavations of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias uncovered a complex to the north that has since been labeled the Atrium House. The finds were first distinguished by the uncovering of “an usual cache of sculpted busts and small statuary” between the north back wall of the Sebasteion and a curved wall thought to be one side of a rotunda, and some decorative architectural elements from the interior, including a lunette showing an Anadyomene seated on a shell (somewhat unconvincingly) borne by two tritons.<sup>198</sup> (Cat. Domestic 36) The overall simplicity of the handling of the Anadyomene’s figure with smooth, unmuscled physique, lank hair, and generic facial features is contrasted strongly by the detail and articulation of the tritons’ knotty muscularity, chunky windswept hair, and exaggerated physiognomy. The relief is framed on the inside edge by a band of vegetation

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<sup>197</sup> Stirling, 48.

<sup>198</sup> Kenan J. Erim, “Aphrodisias, 1981,” *Anatolian Studies* 32 (1982): 12-13.



punctuated by acanthus corbels that emerge from the flat background; the carving is flat and sharp-edged and more decorative than illusionistic.

Further archaeological exploration uncovered the extent of the structures to the north of the Sebasteion. The Atrium House, discussed in detail by Smith in his analysis of the shield portraits and busts found in 1981, was a complicated and elaborate series of spaces built and altered between the first and sixth centuries CE.<sup>199</sup> The original house was centered around an atrium on the north side, and was extended by the third century to include a series of apsidal structures to the south, between the original atrium and the Sebasteion. This “more public area” in fact was connected to the Sebasteion’s temple podium through a large marble-framed doorway.<sup>200</sup> In his analysis of the building sequence, Smith posits that the large apse where the Aphrodite was found was renovated in the fourth to fifth century with black and white revetment and aediculae fronting square and round niches. Three of the pediments of the niches have been recovered: the Aphrodite lunette, another lunette with a shell, and a steep triangle with an acanthus leaf. In contrast to the black and white surrounding marble work of the walls and aediculae, the pediments and the sculptor portraits were all done in a more naturally colored stone.<sup>201</sup> Based on the luxuriousness and theme of the décor, Smith suggests that the house would have been appropriate for a philosopher’s school, perhaps of Asklepiodotos who married the daughter of a wealthy Aphrodisian also named Asklepiodotos. The Aphrodite relief would have been

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<sup>199</sup> The full and very detailed publication of the space along with the collection of portraits there is found in R.R.R. Smith, “Late Roman Philosopher Portraits from Aphrodisias,” *JRS* 80 (1990): 127-55.

<sup>200</sup> Smith, 129.

<sup>201</sup> Smith, 130, calls this a “‘liquorice’ setting.”

part of a “thoroughly committed pagan atmosphere” which also demonstrated “the fidelity of its owners to the city’s goddess” by, in addition to the relief in question, a portrait bust of a priest carrying a statuette of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, three small altars, and the connection with the Sebasteion temple which was dedicated to Aphrodite along with the Julio-Claudians.

### **Summary**

A few observations can be made from the depictions of the Aphrodite Anadyomene that appeared in domestic contexts. First, the earliest representations at Delos and Morgantina are overwhelmingly modest in material and scale: easily produced, easily afforded, and easily transported. Only one example from Delos, a slightly under-life-size marble figure found near a large house, is exceptional.<sup>202</sup> Overwhelmingly, the naked standing type predominates, although each site had one naked crouching version as well. At Delos, no works were found in situations well-enough preserved to indicate exactly how they functioned in the household. At Morgantina and subsequently Pompeii, the Anadyomene begins to appear in ritual settings within the home. At Morgantina, a terracotta was found with a small altar in a building that had a complicated history but seems to have ended as a residence.<sup>203</sup> Pompeii yielded numerous bronze figurines of the type found in *lararia*, and the idea of the Anadyomene as a protectress whom one would invoke for the well-being of the family is further demonstrated by the figure in a wall

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<sup>202</sup> Cat. Stone 19.

<sup>203</sup> Cat. Terracotta 74.

painting flanking a doorway.<sup>204</sup> One also should not forget the magical properties ascribed to the Anadyomene's binding powers when engraved on an amulet. The choice of the Anadyomene as one of the household gods may have been intended to invoke her powers of persuasion and binding in order to maintain relationships, both familial and business. Even marble statuettes found in gardens become more than simple pretty decorative objects when their settings are niches and aediculae, forms which also sheltered household worship.

There is a gap in the evidence between the representations found in Pompeii and those of the late second-to-third century from Zeugma. Continuity in use and production is demonstrated, however, by the small bronze figurine, not unlike those found in Pompeii. The iconography of the mosaic shows an increased development of the pictorial narrative, however. Two-dimensional pictorial formats lend themselves to more expansive storytelling than two-dimensional representations, but at Pompeii the paintings of the Anadyomene are relatively straightforward and uncomplicated. Of the four, one portrays a statue of the goddess rather than the goddess herself, and one shows the goddess standing alone. Two Eroti help the goddess in one scene by offering mirrors and boxes. Only one painting includes a reference to the marine birth by incorporating a dolphin behind the figure. By the time the mosaic was executed at Zeugma, a more complex and comprehensive marine iconography had been developed, which included named triton attendants. This trend towards a more inclusive pictorial narrative and growing supporting cast is apparent in all the later works, including the sculptures from southwestern Gaul, and

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<sup>204</sup> Cat. Bronze 24, 25, 26; Painting 3.

the relief from Aphrodisias. In terms of use, again one perceives continuity from Pompeii. Just as paintings of the Anadyomene were found in rooms suitable for dining, so too were the Zeugma and North African mosaics.

## Chapter Seven: Conclusions

This dissertation has offered an examination of the Aphrodite Anadyomene and the wide range of archaeological contexts in which the subject was found throughout the Greco-Roman world. As a visual subject, the Anadyomene was relevant for nearly a millennium in antiquity, from Apelles' painting at the end of the fourth century BCE until well into the Common Era. While it can be attested from archaeological evidence until at least the fifth century CE, some examples may be even later. For example, it has been suggested that a gold and lapis necklace from the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington, D.C., may date as late as the seventh century, and a textile from Egypt held in the Louvre has been assigned a date in the eighth. (Cat. Gold 5, Textile 4) As may be suspected, I am leery of placing too much trust on dates assigned without archaeological evidence to support them; however, the persistence of the Anadyomene into the early Christian period is intriguing.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the sources for the representation of the Anadyomene were centuries earlier than Apelles' painting. The roots of a depiction of Aphrodite emerging from the sea and pausing on the shore to wring the sea from her hair are found in Hesiod's *Theogony*, dating as early as the eighth century BCE. An interest in the dressing and adornment of the goddess as a preparation for seduction is further explored in a Homeric Hymn. Paintings of women bathing became a popular subject on red-figure vases of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. These offered a visual motif to be combined with the ancient myths in the artistic imagination, culminating in what became a recognizable and particular portrayal of Aphrodite at her birth. The range of variation with which the motif of

the hair-wringer was deployed proves, I believe, that representations of the Aphrodite Anadyomene were not intended to quote from one authoritative original work. Instead, artists freely chose from a set of poses, dress, and iconographic elements to create their own originals, fresh yet familiar.

Previous studies have focused primarily on stylistic components of representations, particular those of Aphrodite, and have limited themselves to the construction of conjectural timelines and relationships between the works. Rather than looking for an original, what interests me most is the manner in which the Anadyomene became a living, working representation, one that coexisted alongside many others. Indeed, a comparison of a variety of Aphrodite depictions across a shared physical context would be a productive direction for future study. The typical ancient viewer was likely unconcerned with which representations came first and which followed. They would have been very accustomed, however, to encountering many different depictions of the same gods in a variety of situations, and each would have contributed another set of connotations.

Looking across the contexts laid out in Chapters Three through Six, the domestic and religious uses of the Anadyomene persist the longest. Her appearance as a grave offering is relatively short in comparison, lasting at the most two centuries—from the first BCE to the first CE. This is less a reflection of the usefulness of the Anadyomene than it is of changing burial practices; grave offerings of terracotta figurines do not range far beyond these dates. The demand for large-scale public representations of the Anadyomene seems limited, and the type is only deployed in contexts in which water is included: baths and fountains. Although a number of large works have been found and, indeed, are included in the

catalogue, only a few of these can be documented from public monuments. The Aphrodite of Cyrene from the imperially funded Baths of Trajan and the figure from the fountain behind the theater at Leptis Magna are the notable exceptions with firm findspots.

While it is tempting to suggest that the Anadyomene was more frequently deployed in baths in the form of paintings and mosaics rather than sculptures, one must be cautious. Wall paintings and floor mosaics are less likely to become disconnected from their sites than more easily moveable sculpture. In religious settings, the Anadyomene is nearly always small-scale: a votive offering or personal item rather than a large-scale cult depiction. The one exception to this is the large marble statue found in the Mithraeum at the Baths of Caracalla in Rome—one could easily assume, however, that this place was its second home, after an earlier life in the baths. Many of the finds from sanctuaries are notable for their poor quality, strongly hinting at their perceived disposability after their votive purpose was fulfilled.

Because my context-based study has required the inclusion of such a wide range of examples, many Aphrodite Anadyomenes of low quality and poor workmanship have received a great deal more attention than they otherwise might. This has provoked from time to time the question of exactly how badly made a work could be and yet still operate as a valid representation of the goddess of beauty and erotic love. At some times the threshold seemed quite low indeed.(for example Cat. Terracotta 33, 34, or 59)

Furthermore, by considering a wide range of representations in different media, produced in different locations and times, a similarly wide variety of body types and features were included. There is no denying that there are significant differences between the mosaic

representation from Khenchela that depicts the goddess with tiny breasts, fleshy hips, and a thick mop of hair, and something like the Aphrodite of Cyrene, which perhaps adheres more closely to our notion of the classical ideal and what constitutes “art”. In reality, however, for the Khenchela mosaic to work effectively at all, it too must have tapped into an essential ideal. I suspect that a significant lesson is missed when only high-quality works of art are utilized to examine the ancient feminine ideal, and we neglect to observe that the limits of what was acceptably sexy and aesthetically acceptable were very broadly defined indeed.

Representations found in or around domestic areas make up the largest numbers of works with contexts. Many of these works, however, share similarities with those in other locales. For example, in terms of style there is no discernable difference between the terracottas found at Delian sanctuaries and those in the houses of the Theater Quarter. The mosaics from North African houses are not strikingly different from those found in its baths. The evidence from Pompeii, furthermore, demonstrates that domestic Anadyomenes were not simply decorative, and many of them functioned as household gods. No doubt, a marble statuette of Venus in a garden was a pretty thing meant to enhance the beauty and ambience of the site. At the same time, however, it is not unlikely that a passerby might offer a prayer to the goddess to watch over them in love and business. In the introduction to Part Two, the seals from Tel Kedesh were discussed in order to illustrate the multivalent ways in which these images may have operated. One can easily imagine that the Anadyomene’s powers of binding may have been invoked anytime her image was seen.

The depiction of the Anadyomene does seem to transform over time and show an increasing trend towards the inclusion of elaborate iconography. The seals from Tel Kedesh



show the figure simply wringing out her hair. One might argue that perhaps this is due to limited space, but many gems include a wealth of detail. The descriptions of Apelles' painting do not mention any supporting figures greeting or assisting the goddess. This may have been left up to the imagination of the viewer, informed by reading or hearing the myths of Aphrodite like those recorded in the *Theogony* and Homeric Hymns. Three-dimensional works from Delos and Pompeii limit the accompaniments as well. In contrast, works from later centuries are well-populated with additional figures, mostly filling in the scene of Aphrodite at her birth. It must be noted that most of these striking examples are paintings and mosaics, media that encourage narrative pictorial development.

Although these are eye-catching, the vast majority of Anadyomene representations either included no additional iconographic elements or none have survived. Thirteen percent incorporated sea-motifs such as fish, tritons, or shells, which could be classified as contributing to a marine theme. Seven percent limit the additions to drapery, jewelry, or vases, which trend towards a toilette iconography. Eros is Aphrodite's most constant companion and appears (sometimes in multiples) in nine percent of the depictions. The Anadyomene's affinity for other gods cannot be stressed enough, particularly considering that in the majority of the religious contexts she appears in connection with other gods, particularly Isis.

The increasingly elaborate depictions of the Anadyomene have forced some difficult choices as to which works should be included in, or excluded from, the catalogue. This challenge points perhaps toward a particular modern anachronistic problem—whereas scholars have attempted to define discrete types among Greek and Roman representations,

it is by no means clear that we discern the same boundaries as ancient viewers. A naked figure grasping the hair on both sides of her head seems unproblematic for either the ancient or modern viewer to identify as an Anadyomene. What happens, however, when the goddess' hair is already arranged, and she simply fixes a pin in it as she does in the mosaic from Setif? Should this work perhaps have been disqualified? To my mind, the iconography of Venus seated on a shell carried by tritons trumped the stage of her hairdressing. However, a selection of paintings from Pompeii, which showed the goddess seated and grasping her hair, did not. In these cases, she was accompanied by a seated Mars and/or a female attendant who assisted her. The intent in these cases, therefore, seemed to be to depict Venus' desire to attract her lover Mars. The overlap between such representations points to a direction for an expansion of this study. Many works share a sensibility with the Anadyomene in depicting Aphrodite busy at her toilette, fixing her hair or arranging a cloak or jewelry in similar gestures. Including these works might further illuminate aspects of Aphrodite's nature as a paradigm of female beauty.

This leads to one last consideration. At the outset of my project it was my intent to explore notions of female shame, particularly as it has been applied to the study of the idealized naked Aphrodite. Many of these problems were outlined in Chapter One. As this study grew, it became clear that my primary focus should be on the uses and contexts in which the Anadyomene is found, and the more theoretical discussion of shame would need to be shelved for a later project. At the same time, this dissertation and my view of the Anadyomene's significance in ancient visual culture has been strongly informed by those

considerations. An expanded study that encompassed a wider range of images of Aphrodite at her toilette would also provide the foundational visual material to consider shame.

In Chapter One, I quoted a passage by Andrew Stewart in which he analyzed the depiction of another Aphrodite type in the most negative terms. He called attention to features “ostensibly celebrat[ing] the female” that were characteristically feminine, calling her body “spongy and unathletic” and her attitude narcissistic and deferential.<sup>1</sup> It seems to have escaped Stewart’s grasp that, taken in another light, these same features in reality offered a positive feminine ideal. Depictions of the Aphrodite Anadyomene present the female body as an object to be desired. The Anadyomene offers none of the complicated games of peek-a-boo that the *pudica* Venuses play, shielding their bodies from view. Instead, the goddess offers her body to the viewer’s gaze. There is no doubt that we, as viewers, are meant to look, and that our looking should produce desire. As a type, the Anadyomene glorifies the process of the feminine toilette and adornment, and as the goddess stands, naked and unashamed, she presents an achievable ideal for the female viewer.

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<sup>1</sup> Stewart, 224.

**Appendix A: Options for the Aphrodite Anadyomene**

	Pose	Drapery	Drapery style	Iconographic Elements	Totals				
<p align="center">Aphrodite Anadyomene</p> <p align="center">Total: 365</p>	<p align="center">Standing (302)</p> <p align="center">83% total</p> <p align="center">13% with unknown drapery</p>	<p align="center">Naked (163) 45% total 54% standing figures</p>		None/none surviving (107)	<p>None/none surviving (264) (73%)</p> <p>Marine (46) (13%)</p> <p>Toilette (24) (7%)</p> <p>Marine/Toilette combination (7)</p> <p>Eros (33) (9%)</p> <p>Eros and Psyche (4)</p> <p>Priapus (3)</p> <p>Adonis (2)</p> <p>as Isis (2)</p> <p>Hecate (2)</p> <p>Ares (1)</p> <p>Graces (1)</p> <p>Gorgon (1)</p> <p>Seth (1)</p> <p>Anubis (1)</p> <p>Lion (2)</p> <p>Crocodile (1)</p> <p>Diadem (47) (13%)</p> <p>*Eros: includes appearance with other iconographical elements; Marine: includes appearance of dolphins, shells, tritons, fish; Toilette: includes appearance of mirrors, drapery, vases (water or cosmetic), basins</p>				
				Eros (13) Eros and Psyche (2)					
				Marine (32)					
				Toilette (14)					
				Marine/Toilette combination (4)					
				Priapus (2)					
		<p align="center">Half-draped (98) 28% total 34% standing figures</p>		<p align="center">Anadyomene Style (knotted or overlapping at center) (75) 74% of draped figures</p>		None/none surviving (67)			
						Eros (8), Eros & Psyche (1)			
						Marine (8)			
						Toilette (7)			
						Priapus (1)			
						as Isis (1) with Seth and Anubis			
				<p align="center">Arles Style (6)</p>		<p align="center">Covering one leg (11)</p>		Hecate, lion (1)	
								Hecate, Graces, Gorgon (1)	
								None (6)	
				<p align="center">Holding drapery (9)</p>		<p align="center">Hips draped, legs bare (2)</p>		None (7)	
								Marine (5)	
								Toilette (2)	
								Marine/Toilette combination (1)	
	<p align="center">Crouching (29) 8% total</p>		<p align="center">Naked (29)</p>		Eros (2), Eros & Psyche (1)				
					None (2)				
					Eros (3)				
					Marine (1)				
Toilette (4)									
<p align="center">Seated (15) 4% total</p>		<p align="center">Naked (12) Half-draped (3)</p>		None (23)					
				Toilette (4)					
				Marine (1)					
				Eros and Psyche (1)					
				Isis (1) with crocodiles					
				None/none surviving (1)					
<p align="center">None (12) Half-draped (3)</p>		<p align="center">None (2)</p>		Marine (8)					
				Marine/Toilette (2)					
				Eros (6)					
				Ares (1)					

AppendixB: Hair-Washing Bathers on Vases, Mirrors, and Cistae

Number 1

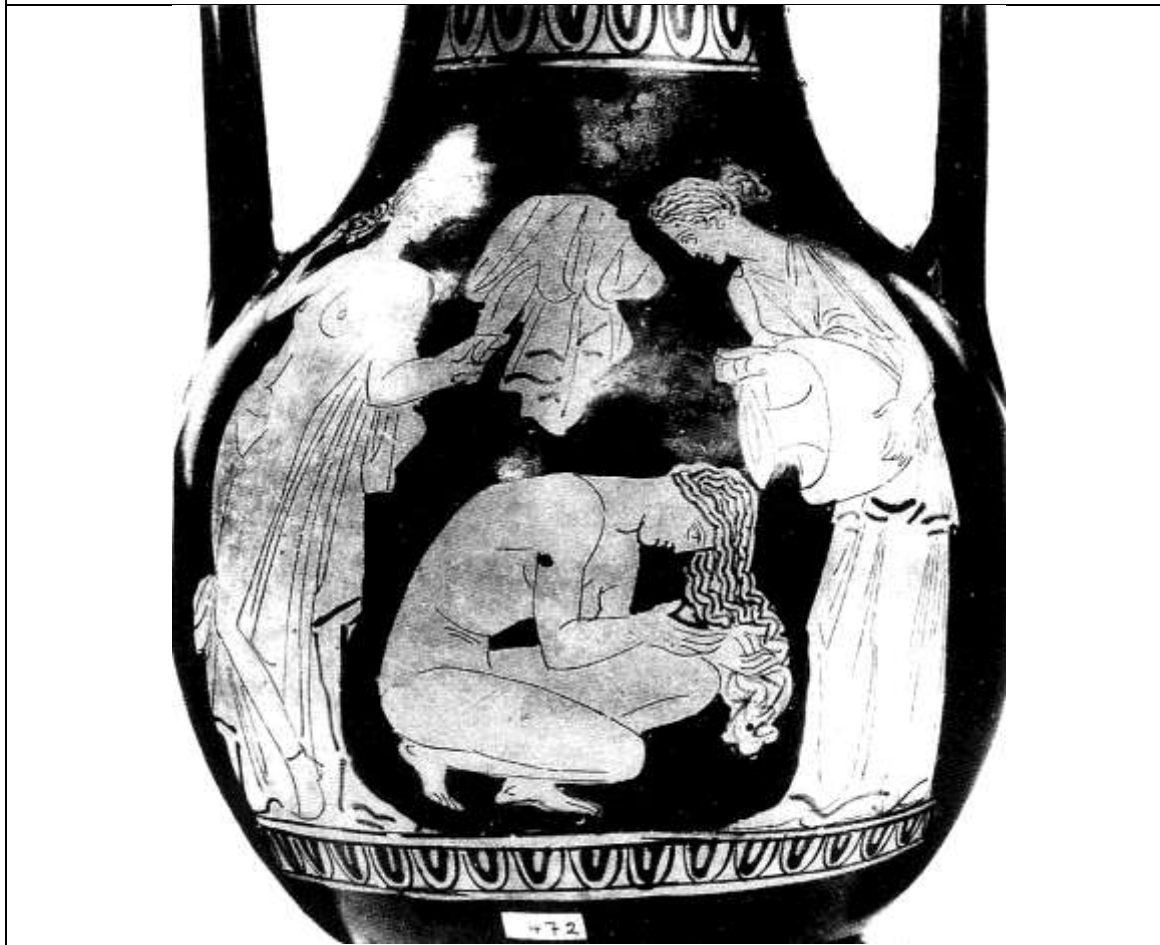
Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Athens, National Museum 1472	230434		Pelike	B: 400-300 BCE Kr: last quarter of 5 <sup>th</sup> century		Painter of Athens 1472 (Beazley)

**Description:** Very much like St. Petersburg ST1928; Beazley credits to the same painter, named for this vase.

A: Two women stand on either side of a crouching naked woman whose hair is pulled over her head to the front for washing. A bundle of drapery floats above her. The woman to her right wears a chiton and holds a hydria to pour water over her head. The woman on the left stands in an elegantly curving contrapposto with her head turned back over her shoulder looking into the scene as she looses her hair from a bun with her right hand. She is nearly naked and her drapery floats between her legs and behind her implausibly.

B: On this side two draped youths stand on either side of a post, one holding a discus up in his left hand and the other holding an aryballos.

Bibliography: Paul-Zinserling (1994) Fig. 63 a-b; Kreilinger, Fig. 118



**Number 2**

Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Berlin, State Museum 2707	220626		Lekythos	B: 450-400 BCE Kr: last quarter of 5 <sup>th</sup> c BCE	Athens	Medias Painter (Beazley); Manner of Medias Painter (Burns)

**Description:** This acorn lekythos shows three women, accompanied by Erotes in an outdoor setting. The space directly under the handle is decorated with palmettes and tendrils. To the right a naked woman stands in contrapposto with her right arm up and her left down by her side. She holds drapery decorated with small x's open and fluttering behind her. Her hair is arranged so that curls frame her face but the back part is bound up with a band tied around her head. An Eros standing next to her looks towards her and reaches out his right hand seeming to touch her left thigh. Directly above the Eros' head is a pile of drapery seemingly from two garments—one is a banded panel decorated with small circles, the other with a gauzy, wrinkled texture and a dark border. Behind the Eros a woman crouches without her knees touching the ground. Her hair flows loose over her back and down across her left shoulder to the front where her hands seem to be untangling the ends. Above her and to the right an Eros stands in a lunging pose and pours water over her head from what looks like a bucket with a handle (bell krater shaped, but looks like bucket handle over the top that Eros holds). The final figure frames the scene as she faces left and her body curves in. Her right foot is propped up on an invisible support and she bends to play with a small faun in front of her, caressing its head with her right hand. Her hair is pulled back in waves and gathered into a knot high at the back of her head. Her clothing is sheer and gauzy, fastened on the right shoulder, and tied with a ribbon at the waist. Unlike the other women who are barefoot, she wears sandals.

Bibliography: CVA Berlin 8, Fig. 47.1-2; Kreilinger, Fig. 126 a-b



Number 3

Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Berlin, State Museum, Misc. 8148		994	Mirror	c. 280 BCE	Athens	

**Description:** Bronze mirror back. A naked woman kneels on her left knee, in profile, facing left. Her hair falls forward over her head and obscures her face leaving only the nose and small mouth visible. Both hands lift her hair in front of her. In front of the woman is a low basin filled from an animal head spigot. The setting seems to be a fountain within a grotto setting—the spigot is attached to an undulating, irregular wall surface and the ground is similarly articulated by a series of curved lines. From the ceiling behind the woman hang leafy garlands.

**Bibliography:** A. Schwarzmaier, *Griechische Klappspiegel : Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Stil* (Berlin: Mann, c1997), No. 59, Fig. 83.2; Kreilinger, Fig. 235 a-b



Number 4

Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Biscari 1735 (Catania, Museo Civico Castello Ursino)			Pelike .57 m	1 <sup>st</sup> half of 4 <sup>th</sup> century		

**Description:** This pelike shows the only example in vase painting I have found of a naked bather standing in a true Anadyomene pose. In the center of the scene on the B side of the vase, stands a louterion on a high pedestal at the base of which sits a large hydria. An Eros with short hair flies over the louterion, carrying something (? Is he filling the basin?). To the left of the basin stands a slender naked woman in 267 contrapposto arranging her hair in the typical Anadyomene pose. Her right arm is lifted high up while the left is tucked into her side arranging the hair hanging over that shoulder. Behind her stands a woman dressed in a peplos looking into the scene. On the other side of the basin sits a woman with drapery wrapped around her legs and gathered into her lap. She holds up a mirror in her left hand. Above her to the right a woman walks toward the center, lifting her dress with her left hand and presenting a wreath to Eros with her right. The setting is indistinct, but a the woman who gazes into the mirror is seated but has no chair or stool, seemingly indicating as on the reverse that the scene is out of doors and she is perched on a rocky outcropping.

A: The other side of this vase shows women in a garden setting. The obvious focus of the panel is a fruit tree with a large snake twined around the trunk. Two women at the top and outside edges of the frame pick fruit from the tree. Two women are seated on the ground below the tree. The one on the left pets the snake's head, the one on the right opens a large box on her lap. At the bottom of the panel two chests stand. On the left side a young woman bends towards one, on the other side an Eros walks in holding a duck. This scene has been interpreted as the garden of the Hesperides.



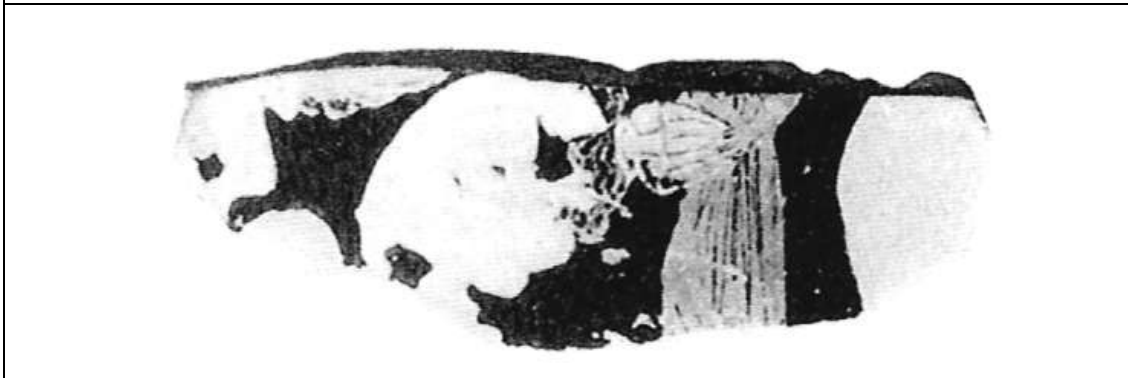


Number 5

Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Brauron A 52			Pyxis	Kr: 1 <sup>st</sup> quarter of 4 <sup>th</sup> century BCE	Brauron, near altar	

**Description:** This fragment preserves a woman crouching in profile facing. A dressed woman in front of her, to her right pours water from a large hydria. Behind her another figure with bare legs, wearing a short dress holds a bundle of drapery.

Bibliography: Kahil (1963) 24, Fig. 13.8; Kreilinger, Fig. 127



Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Cambridge, Mass. 60.248			Hydria	Kr: 2 <sup>nd</sup> quarter of 4 <sup>th</sup> century BCE		Circle of the Hippolytos Painter

**Description:** A woman squeezing out her hair stands at the center of this panel next to a basin on a tall pedestal. Her hair has been gathered off her face, but still falls down her back. She stands in contrapposto, with a strong twist at the waist. A young woman on the other side of the basin hands a bracelet towards her. She is fully dressed and her hair is bound up. In her left arm she holds a box. An Eros with outstretched wings flies between the two women to bring the naked woman doing her hair a necklace of beads. On the left side of the panel a tall, slim woman in a belted chiton holds a bundle of drapery above a naked woman who kneels at her feet with her right arm outstretched. The woman's left arm is folded in closer to the body and her gesture seems almost suppliant. Her hair is fastened in a knot on top of her head. Behind this group an Eros with open wings sits without visible support. On the right side of the panel two figures look on. A tall, thin woman stands with her body turned to the right, but looks back over her shoulder to the activity at the center of the panel. The last figure is a naked youth with a staff. Some thin drapery flutters over his left arm. The body is arched back with the hips thrust forward. The physique is somewhat unusual with full hips and thighs.

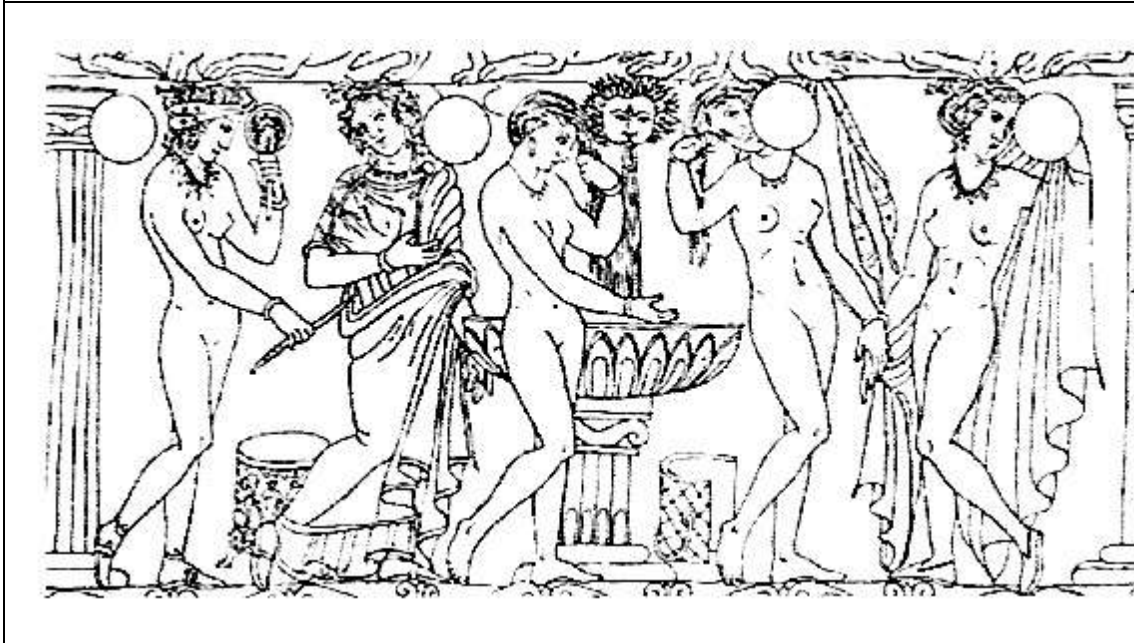
Bibliography: CVA Robinson 3, Fig. 15.1; Kreilinger, Fig. 140



Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Karlsruhe F 1859			Cista		Italy, Praeneste	

**Description:** This bronze cist shows a group of women engaged in their toilette framed by columns at either side. At the left a naked woman stands holding a mirror in her left hand and a rod in her right. Her hair is loosely tied up with a band. She wears a necklace, bracelet, and sandals. A dressed woman with curly loose hair looks toward her over her right shoulder, although her legs are turned in profile and she seems to be walking to her left. She wears a chiton with a mantel draped over her left shoulder and arm. Between the two women a cista stands on the floor. In the center, two woman stand over a tall basin into which water flows from a lion-head fountain. The woman on the left stands with the body in three-quarter view facing the basin, the head is in profile. She holds hair in her left hand; her right hand is stretched out in front of her. She wears earrings and a necklace. The woman on the other side of the basin stands also facing left, although her head is bent toward the right at an unnatural angle in order to accommodate the placement of the cista's handles. She holds her long hair over the basin in her right hand. With her left hand she holds the hand of the woman next to her. She is also naked, although she holds a large piece of drapery behind her which she seems to pull across her left shoulder.

Bibliography: G. Bordenache Battaglia, *Le Ciste Prenestine I Corpus I* (1979) 158-160, Fig. 217



Number 8

Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Krakow, University, 1053	215285		Krater, bell	450-400 BCE; Kr: last quarter 5 <sup>th</sup> century BCE	Italy, Naples	Dinos Painter

**Description:** This vase shows a woman bathing while around her cavort a group of wreathed satyrs, 3 of which are shown with erect penises. The bather is placed at the center of the scene, posed in profile with her hair hanging in waves over her shoulders. Her right hand is lifted to her hair and the left is in front of her. Above her floats a small bundle of drapery. Below her two ducks flank a small sprig of vegetation. The satyr on the far left stands in a lunging pose with a thyrsus lifted dramatically over his head as though ready to swing it down onto the woman or the ducks at the bottom center of the panel. The next satyr stands over or walks slowly toward the bathing woman. The left hand is lifted to his mouth, while the right hand holds his genitals. Behind the woman, a third satyr stands over her with his arms outstretched, one foot seemingly propped up on a rock or ledge. On the far right the fourth satyr dances with his left leg out. He lifts his right hand to his mouth. This scene is different from the others by locating its bather in the company of satyrs. Overall, the impression seems more menacing than festive, with two satyrs poised to pounce on the woman and two others, one already erect, the other possibly masturbating. The woman's awareness of her situation is questionable. Her vague expression with eyes focused on her left hand and mouth open, combined with the right hand on her head, almost seems to indicate that she has already been struck by the thyrsus.

**Bibliography:** Paul-Zinserling, Verena. *Der Jena-Maler und Sein Kreis*. (Mainz/Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1994), Fig. 56, 4; Kreilinger Fig. 143



Number 9

Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Lecce, Mus. Provinciale 620			Krater	Kr: 4 <sup>th</sup> century BCE		

**Description:** A woman dressed in a gauzy chiton bends over a basin set on a large thick pedestal. Her stance is awkward as her knees are pressed tightly together with the drapery tucked between them. Her hair is pulled over the head to wash over the basin. Above the basin hangs either a fillet tied with long tails or a handled mirror. This is the only example of a woman washing her hair over a basin while standing and while dressed. On either side of her stand two nude male figures posed symmetrically in contrapposto with drapery swagged over their arms. The man on the left wears a wreath around his head, and holds a strigil in his right hand and a dish with what looks like 2 feathery leaves and a round fruit in his left hand. The man on the right has a wide scarf tied with a loopy bow over the left ear. He holds a flaming torch in his right hand and a thyrsus in his left.

Paul-Zinserling suggests that the man on the left is a bridegroom and the one on the right is Dionysos.

Bibliography: Paul-Zinserling, Verena. *Der Jena-Maler und Sein Kreis*. Mainz/Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1994. (pg. 117, Pl. 64.1); Kreilinger Fig. 435




Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Lausanne, private collection	275533		Lekythos	B: 450-400 BCE; Kr: c 410 BCE		In the style of the Medias Painter

**Description:** Squat lekythos. The vase shows women in a natural setting. To the right of the handle sit two women. The upper figure sits in a twisting pose leaning on her outstretched left arm looking towards the activity to the right. She is dressed in a voluminous gauzy dress with indistinct details. With her right hand she plucks her mantle as though to pull it closer around her. The woman seated below her bends a leafy branch, seemingly from the small bushy tree in front of her, into a wreath. Next, near the top of the frame above the tree, an Eros pours out water from a hydria onto the head of a naked crouching woman posed looking toward the tree. Both of her arms are raised toward her tucked head, and in her right hand she holds a comb. Above and to the right stands a faintly smiling Eros looking into a mirror he holds out in his right hand. In his left arm he carries a large box on top of which is a small bundle of patterned drapery. On the far right of the scene, below the Eros, stands a woman who looks and moves back toward the left. She wears a bordered peplos fastened to bare her arms and arranged with a deep v in front. Additionally, she also wears bracelets, and a crown. Her right arm is stretched out toward the Eros, seeming to touch his leg with her fingertips, and in her left hand she holds a thin staff. All of the figures are barefoot.

Bibliography: A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Schuwalow-Maler* (1976) Fig. 140; Kreilinger, Fig. 121 a-c



Number 11

Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Marzabotto, Museo Nazionale Etrusco Pompeo	231046		Cup frag	B: 400-300 BCE Kr: 1 <sup>st</sup> quarter of 4 <sup>th</sup> c BCE	Italy, Marzabotto	In the Style of the Jena Painter
<p><b>Description:</b> This is a very weathered fragment of a cup and fine details have been lost. A woman crouches to the left of a louterion on a high pedestal, balancing on the balls of her feet. Her hair falls over her head to the front where she holds it in her hands. The fragment preserves the hands and legs of an Eros who seems to be kneels on one knee inside the louterion as he pours water over the woman's head from a skyphos.</p> <p>Bibliography: Paul-Zinserling, Verena. <i>Der Jena-Maler und Sein Kreis</i>. (Mainz/Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1994) Fig. 63 a-b; Kreilinger, Fig. 125</p>						
						

Number 12

Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
New York, Metropolitan Museum 1972.18.148	44750		Pyxis	B: 450-400 BCE Kr: 4 <sup>th</sup> quarter of 5 <sup>th</sup> century BCE		
<p><b>Description:</b> The side panels of this pyxis depict several women and Erotes arranged in small groups of 2 or 3 figures. A drawing made of the scene begins on the left with an Erote pouring water from a hydria over the head of a woman crouching supported on one kneeling knee with the near leg bent with the foot flat on the ground. The torso twists, bending to the right at the waist and turning frontally, both arms reach up to the head with the right elbow lifted high and the left tucked into the bend of the body. Her hands are placed on either side of her head. Above her float two vases. Behind her to her right stands a woman with her hair pulled back, but unbound over her shoulders. Her dress is simple and undecorated. She holds a ribbon or a belt in front of her as she looks to an Erote, who stands looking at her, although he holds a box out to the opposite side, helpfully moving the viewers attention in that direction. The next group shows three women, all dressed in belted peploi, standing holding scarves or ribbons. The first 2 face each other while one holds out her ribbon as though asking an opinion; her companion pulls her ribbon back as though she were going to quickly snap it at her friend. Behind the first woman is a klismos chair with drapery slung over the back; and between the women stands a loutrophoros with ribbons tied to the handles. The third woman of this group seems oblivious to her companions and stands frontally in front of a padded stool. Unlike the other 2 women whose hair is bound up, her hair hangs over her shoulders and she is tying her ribbon around her forehead. The last group is framed by Doric columns which support a roof, creating a porch-like setting. The first woman on the left inside the columns sits on a klismos gazing into the face of the Eros she holds in her lap; her hair is fastened up with a patterned scarf, she wears earrings, a gauzy, wrinkled, somewhat transparent chiton with a mantle over it. The central figure in this group sits with her body facing right, but with her head turned left, as though distracted by the woman and Eros behind her. Although her dress seems simpler, she wears a crown and reaches her left arm to pull her mantle up high over her head. The third woman helps to frame the scene by standing facing left towards her companions, just overlapping the column. She is completely enveloped in her bordered mantle which is pulled over her head and obscures the right hand lifted to her chin. Although there is no indication that these activities are not all occurring simultaneously, it is also tempting to read the combined figures as showing the successive steps of toilette.</p> <p>Bibliography: Oakley-Sinos (1993) Fig. 20f; Kreiling, Fig. 123 a-b</p>						





Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Paris, Louvre CA2271		1181	Oinochoe relief	325 BCE, Kr: 3 <sup>rd</sup> quarter of 4 <sup>th</sup> century)	Kerch	

**Description:** This narrow band of relief decoration from the shoulder of an oinochoe is poorly preserved and the figures are difficult to identify. On the far left a half-draped figure with drapery slung over the left arm stands next to a tree with round fruits. At the foot of the tree a woman reaches out with her right hand to pick up a fruit lying on the ground. Her hair is arranged in a knot on top of the head, and she sits with one leg tucked under and she leans her left elbow on the other leg which is bent up in front of her. Next stands a tall winged figure, likely male, turned toward the right with the right hand placed on the hip and the left lifted to chest height in gesture that seems to convey speech. At its feet a male figure, possibly bearded, crouches, looking up and reaching out to the winged figure. Behind him stands a woman, possibly naked to the waist, holding and looking into a mirror held in her left hand. A male figure, possibly Hermes, wearing a floppy traveling hat and chlamys strides toward her from the right. Next is a symmetrical group posed under the spout of the vessel. A naked female figure stands posed frontally with her arms stretched out to the sides and her legs pressed tightly together. Over her arms drapery stretches out behind her. Her hair is unusually styled, coming straight down on either side of her head and flipping up over her shoulders, reminiscent of a 1960s flip. On either side fly winged figures, possibly Nikes from the hair pulled back into a bun. Each points gracefully toward her while flying outward with drapery fluttering over her outstretched arm. To the right of this central group sits a naked male figure on a backless chair, casually leaning supported on his right arm. His left arm is bent up square. Above and to the right and Eros is posed ambiguously—his wings are outstretched, but his legs are crossed at the ankles as though he were seated, reclining. Below him a woman is kneels on one knee with her hair pulled to the front to wash as a draped woman, who seems slightly too large for the space, bends to pour water from a hydria over her head. The final two figures stand on either side of a louterion on a tall pedestal base. The figure to the left of the basin seems to be naked and may possibly be a woman wrapping a breast-band around her chest. The woman to the right is fully draped and gestures toward her companion as she leans on a pedestal or a thick staff.

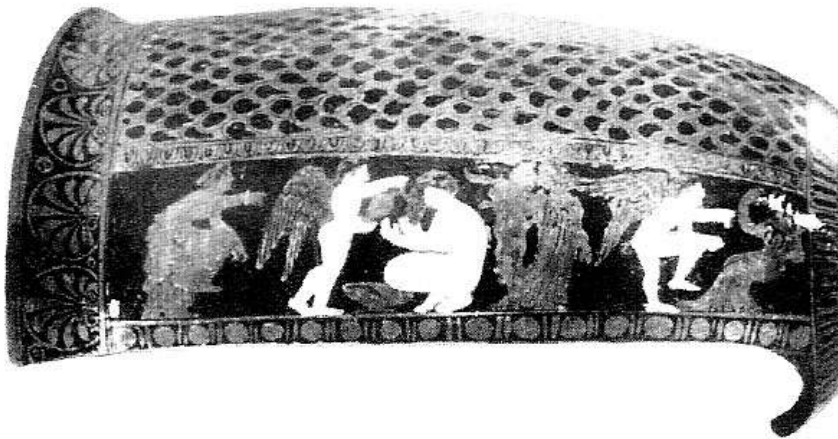
Bibliography: Lullies, *Die kauerende Aphrodite* (1954), Fig. 42; Kreilinger, Fig. 128, a-c



Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Rhodes 13886	230890	990	Epinetron	B: 400-300 BCE: Kr: 1 <sup>st</sup> quarter of 4 <sup>th</sup> century BCE	Rhodes, Chalki	Chalki Group (Beazley)

Description: Side A: A seated woman on the left, compositionally constrained by the narrow decorated band, points her left arm towards the center where a white-painted Eros pours water from a chous over the hair of a naked, crouching woman, who is also painted white. Her hair is pulled over the top of her head and she holds the ends in her hands in front of her. A shallow, footed basin stands on the ground between them. Another female figure stands behind the crouching woman, bending towards her to hold out drapery towards her. Side B: On the far left, a winged female figure standing in profile reaches her right arm out toward the center where two white painted Erotes flank a seated woman. The Eros on the left stands with his left foot propped on an invisible support and faces the seated woman. He seems to be handing her something which she takes with her left hand. The Eros behind the woman stands with his body facing away, but his head turned back toward the center. Another female figure on the far right side holds a bundle of drapery in her left arm, and seems almost to be dancing dramatically toward the edge while she looks back toward the figures in the center.

Bibliography: CIRhodos II 133, Fig. 116, no. 4; Kreilinger, Fig. 124 a-b

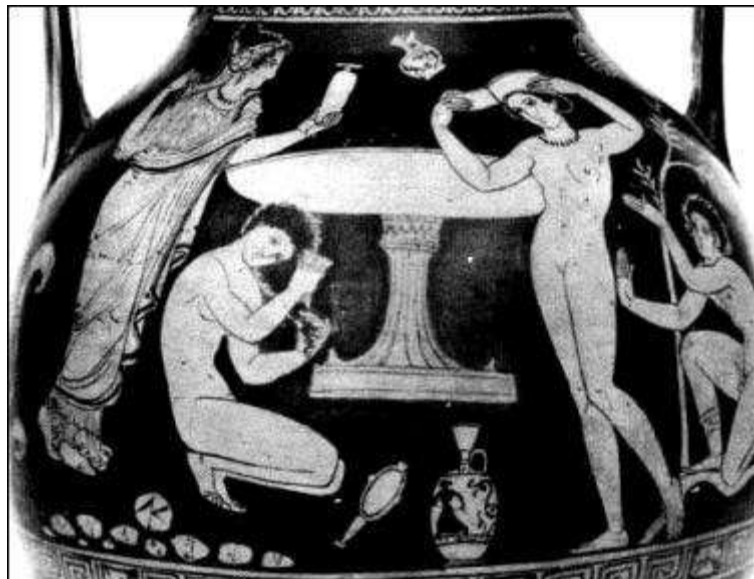


**Number 15**

Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Ruvo, Museo Jatta 653 (Kreilinger lists as 654)		1567	Pelike	400 BCE; Kr: 4 <sup>th</sup> century BCE	Italy, Ruvo	

Description: A group of figures are arranged around a large central louterion on a tall fluted base. On the left of the scene woman stands dressed in a gauzy chiton and mantle which she pulls completely around her and across the back of her head with her right hand. Her hair is pulled up and bound around with a patterned scarf. She wears long dangling earrings and a necklace. In her left hand she holds an alabastron over the basin. Below her to the right in front of the basin a naked woman crouches in profile with her head turned out toward the viewer, and pulling her hair down and over her left shoulder to comb it out. Below these two women a row of small irregularly shaped objects range across the lower edge of the frame, possibly representing stones. A mirror lays on the ground in front of the crouching woman, next to which is a large, round squat lekythos with black painted decoration showing a woman in a full dress striding across the surface. To the right of the basin a woman stands in contrapposto, naked with the exception of a beaded necklace. Her arms are raised and she wraps a wide band around her head. The final figure is a young male who kneels behind her on one knee on an undulating ground line. A thin sapling grows up next to his right foot which he overlaps. His arms stretch out toward the standing woman as though to slap her bottom or grab her around the waist. He wears a decorated cuff around the right ankle. Unfortunately, since the image is cut off on the right side it is impossible to tell whether he has a tail, however the LIMC entry labels this figure a satyr. His odd pose, could be interpreted as a sneak attack from the bushes and would be appropriate for a satyr. See the Krakow vase for a comparison of a scene with satyrs who seem to be attacking a woman unawares.

Bibliography: Paul-Zinserling, Verena. *Der Jena-Maler und Sein Kreis*. (Mainz/Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1994) Fig. 64.1; Kreilinger, Fig. 214

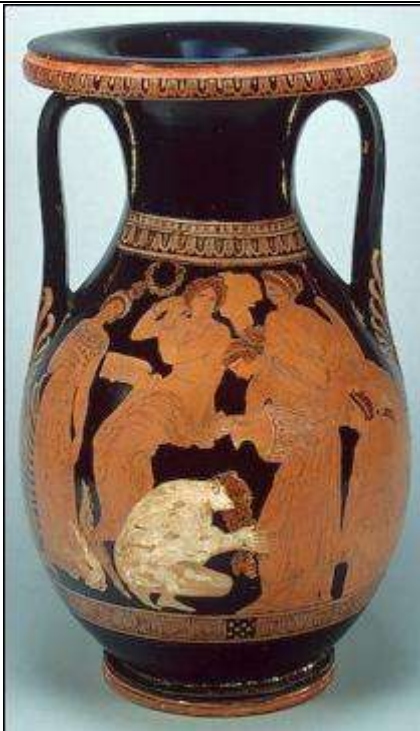


Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
St. Petersburg, Hermitage ST1795, KEK8	230421		Pelike	B: 400-300 BCE; Kr: 1 <sup>st</sup> quarter of 4 <sup>th</sup> century BCE	Russia, south, Kerch	Marsyas Painter (Beazley)

Description: Side A: Shows Apollo crowned by Nike standing on a rectangular base in the center holding a kythera. On the right Marsyas sits on a rock and Artemis stands behind holding torches. On the left A woman wearing a crown and holding a staff sits, while a naked youth with a Phrygian cap reclines with his right arm over his head.

Side B: At the center of this panel a half-draped woman sits with her hands raised to her right ear, possibly to fasten an earring or to adjust her hair. She wears a crown that has been highlighted with gold. Behind her head on the right a bundle of drapery floats, and a wreath hangs on the left. A small box sits below her arms. On the left side of the panel a woman in a patterned dress arches her body to bracket the scene. Her pose is elegant, with the head tilted in and the body curved following the shape of the pelike to bracket the scene. She grasps her dress with her left hand and pulls it out to the side slightly. A white-painted Eros kneels at her feet, turned toward her in profile. Below the centrally seated woman a naked woman crouches with her hair brought over her head to the front where she grasps it in her hands. Because this figure is painted white, it stands out dramatically in the scene. A woman dressed in a chiton stands over her holding a vase poised to pour water over her head. On the ground line to the outside right a woman kneels or crouches (hard to tell), possibly bent to adjust her sandal. Above her reclines another woman with a veil pulled over the lower part of her face, looking into the scene. Above her left shoulder and hand a ribbon seems to hang from the wall.

Bibliography: Paoli (1955) Fig. 20; Kreilinger, Fig. 119



Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
St. Petersburg, Hermitage ST1858	230425	993	Lekanis	B: 400-300 BCE; Kr: 1 <sup>st</sup> quarter of 4 <sup>th</sup> century BCE	Russia, south, Kerch	Marsyas Painter (Scheffold)
<p>Description: This lekane lid is a densely populated gathering of well-attired women and Erotes. Working around the lid from the bottom of the drawing, a well-dressed woman stands in front of a white-painted naked crouching woman and pours water from a large oinochoe over her head. A small naked boy, painted white, stands behind her to the left and looks as though he is walking toward her with a hand outstretched to take hold of her skirts. The woman to the right is crouched with her left leg completely tucked under her but balancing on her toes wears only a jeweled necklace and band that crosses her torso. Her hair is pulled around the right side to the front where she grasps it. A small Eros with hair arranged in a top-knot sits above looking down at her. A tiny woman, less than half-sized, stands behind her to the right looking towards her, and is posed tucked into the side of the next figure. This woman stands facing right dressing the long unbound hair of another woman who is seated in front of her. The standing woman wears her drapery in an unusual fashion, wrapped tightly around her torso and tucked at the waist rather than fastening at the shoulders. The woman painted white is seated on the stool in front of her and has her drapery slung around her legs, leaving her torso bare. The woman standing next to her on the right is posed in the standard Anadyomene pose, with both arms raised taking locks of hair in either hand in order to pull it back. Unlike known Anadyomene representations, she is draped, with only her right shoulder and part of the breast uncovered. Behind her a small white-painted Eros wearing a spiky crown reaches out toward her. The next female figure stands with her right hand on her hip looking toward the left and the Anadyomene figure. She is one of the only 3 women who seem fully dressed and she wears a peplos with a thin veil over her head. Between her and the next woman is a white pedestal with a small object on the top, it was possibly a small statue of some type, however, it is now too indistinct to tell. The next woman stands looking to her left with her arms crossed, holding her mantle tightly around her left arm and shoulder, leaving her breasts and left shoulder bare. Behind her seems to be a chest on tall legs with a bundle of drapery on top. The woman to the right is completely enveloped in drapery: her right arm is entirely hidden under the mantle. A veil covers the lower part of her face, and only the top of her head is bare. The woman to her right, towards which she looks is adjusting her hair with her right hand while looking into a folding mirror held up in her left hand. Her chiton is unfastened all along the right side, exposing her side completely. In front of her a young girl stands looking up at her. Next, a woman kneels and looks sharply up at the naked woman standing to her side (like Thetis by Ingres). The two women interact as the kneeling woman rests her left hand on the standing woman's naked right hip and the standing woman reaches out to place her right hand on the kneeling woman's forehead. The naked woman has been silhouetted with white paint against a red background that looks something like a cloak fastened at her neck and slung behind her, however, that would be oddly anachronistic and medieval. An irregularly shaped mass standing on a rectangular base is located to her right—possibly another representation of a sculpture for which the detail has been lost. On top of this stands a small Eros wearing a diadem with possibly a palmette in the center points back towards the left. The final figure is a naked woman seated on a bundle of drapery that floats with no visible support. She twists towards the right and raises her hands up to her left ear, either to arrange her hair or to fasten an earring.</p>						

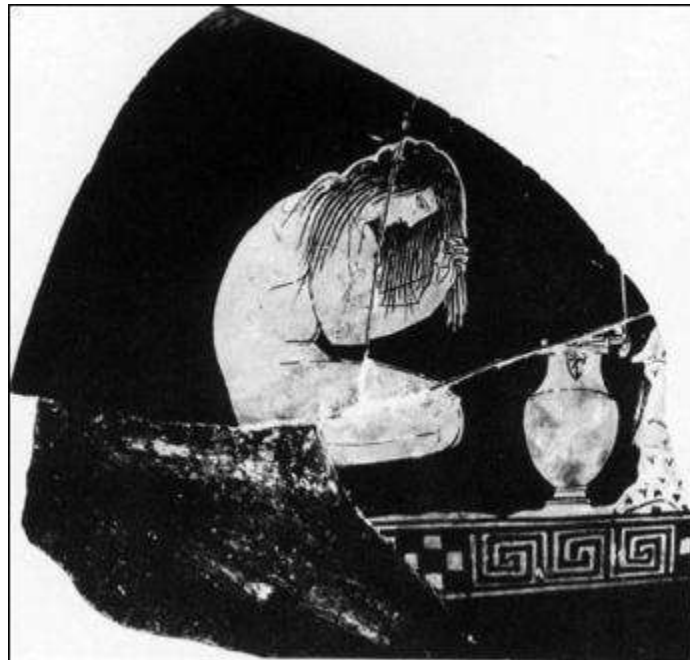
Bibliography: Paul-Zinserling, Verena. *Der Jena-Maler und Sein Kreis*. (Mainz/Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1994) Fig. 63 a-b; Kreilinger, 122 a-b



Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
St Petersburg, Hermitage 1872.15	216952		Chous, frag	B: 450-400 BCE; Kr: 430-20	Russia, south, Taman	Eretria Painter (Peredolskaya)

Description: Frag shows a woman crouching in profile, but without her knees resting on the ground. The body is represented entirely in profile with the head looking down. Although the hair painted at the back of the head seems wavy, straight strands come over the shoulders and hang down in front to be finger combed. The woman's gaze is directed to the action of her hands in front of her. On the ground in front of her stands a vase and at the broken edge what seems to be a pile of patterned drapery, although it could be the lower edge of another figure standing to the right.

Bibliography: Lezzi-Hafter (1988), No. 227, Fig. 140a; Kreilinger, Fig. 117





Number 19

Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
St. Petersburg, Hermitage ST1928; 1840.49	230435		Pelike	B: 400-300 BCE; Kr: 1 <sup>st</sup> quarter of 4 <sup>th</sup> century	Russia, South, Kerch	Painter of Athens 1472 (Beazley)
<p>Very similar to Athens 1472 and credited by Beazley to the same painter.</p> <p>A: A naked woman crouches facing left surrounded by other women and an Eros.</p> <p>B: two young men stand on either side of a post, one holds a strigil.</p> <p><b>Bibliography:</b> Kreilinger, Fig. 120</p>						
No published image						

Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Münster 585			Skyphoid Pyxis	Kr: 4 <sup>th</sup> century BCE		Borelli Group

**Description:** This confined panel contains a scene of two naked women. The woman on the left holds a large panel of fabric with her back to the viewer. Her head is turned in profile towards the figure to her right. Her body is rather stocky and thick through the waist. The other naked woman crouches in a somewhat awkward manner on her toes, seeming in danger of tipping backwards. Proportionate to the other woman, she would be at least head and shoulders taller if standing. Her hair falls in four long curls across her shoulders, two of which she lifts in either hand out to the side. A large bundle of drapery is piled behind her at the upper right.

Bibliography: B. Korzus, *Griechische Vasen aus Westfälischen Sammlungen* (1984); Kreilinger, Fig. 226



Number 21

Location	Beazley	LIMC	Shape	Date	Provenience	Artist
Paris, Louvre 1713			Mirror	c. 310 BCE	Tanagra	

**Description:** Two naked women pose on either side of a louterion on a pedestal arranging their hair. The figure on the left sits on a rocky outcropping covered by her loosely folded drapery. She holds a mirror in her left hand. Her right hand is lifted high to comb her hair. On the other side of the basin a woman stands in contrapposto, hunched forward. Both hands are lifted high to arrange the hair on the crown of her head. Her drapery is piled high behind her.

Bibliography: A. Schwarzmaier, *Griechische Klappspiegel : Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Stil*

(Berlin: Mann, c1997), No. 217; Kreiling, Fig. 237



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## Biography

Marianne Eileen Wardle was born May 13, 1970 in Boise, Idaho. She graduated cum laude from Utah State University in 1992 with B.A. degree in French and Art History. Completing an M.A. in Art History at Brigham Young University in 1997, she was awarded Department of Visual Arts Outstanding Thesis for “The Construction of a Dynastic Ideal: The Second-Century *Augustae* in the Guise of the Goddess Ceres.” She entered Duke University (1998-2010) as the John Derrickson McCurdy Fellow in the Department of Art and Art History from 1998-2001. Her dissertation research was supported by a Department of Art and Art History Summer Research Grant (2000), a Graduate School Award for International Research Travel (2001), as well as the Women’s Studies Graduate Research Fellowship (2002-2003). In 2004, she was the first runner-up for the Anna C. and Oliver C. Colburn Fellowship for study at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. She was also awarded a Mini-Grant from the Center for Teaching, Learning, and Writing at Duke University (2001). From 2007 through 2009, Marianne served as the Editorial Assistant for *The Art Bulletin* under Editor-in-Chief Richard J. Powell.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1. Aphrodite from Cyrene (Cat. Bath 1)



Figure 2. Knidian Aphrodite  
(Munich, Staatliche Museum 258)



Figure 3. Capitoline Venus  
(Rome, Capitoline Museum)

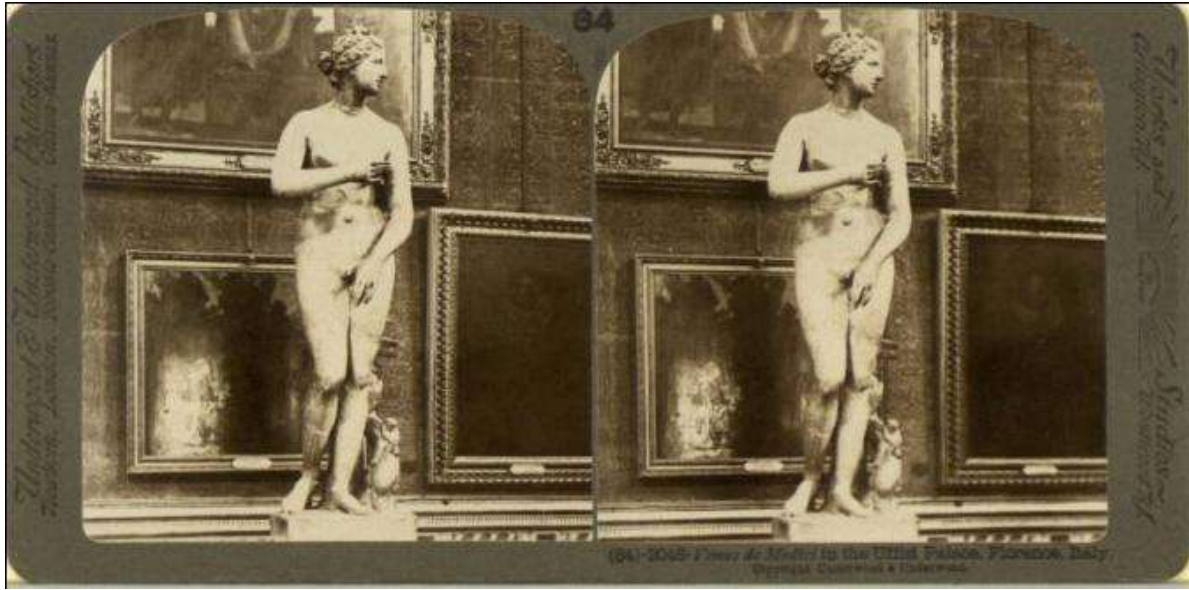


Figure 4. Medici Venus (Uffizi Museum, Florence)



Figure 5. Sandal-binding Aphrodite (Pompeii)



Figure 6. Aphrodite Kallipygos  
(Naples, National Archaeological Museum)



Figure 7. Venus of Capua  
(Naples, National Archaeological Museum)



Figure 8. Aphrodite Pseliomena  
(British Museum 1084)



Figure 9. Crouching Aphrodite  
(British Museum GR 1963.10-29.1)



Figure 10. Paris, Louvre Br415



Figure 11. Cologne, Switzerland,  
Bodmer Foundation



Figure 12. Corinth S1043



Figure 13. Rhodes Museum 14808



Figure 14. Aphrodisias, Archaeological Museum  
(Cat. Domestic 36)





Figure 15. Athens, Agora T4426



Figure 16. Rome, Vatican Museum,  
Albacini Collection 807



Figure 17. Rome, Museum Torlonia 107



Figure 18. Athens, Agora T336



Figure 19. Paris, Louvre Br 416



Figure 20. Paris, Louvre C7220



Figure 21. Copenhagen,  
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 851



Figure 22. Naples, National  
Archaeological Museum 110924



Figure 23. Tunis, Bardo Museum  
VEX 2006.3.27



Figure 24. Turin, Italy,  
Egyptian Museum 1668



Figure 25. Athens, Benaki Museum 2062



Figure 26. Washington, D.C.,  
Dumbarton Oaks Collection BZ1928.6

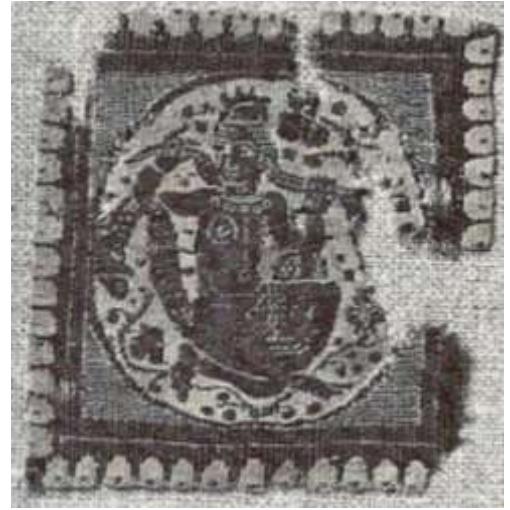


Figure 27. Alexandria, Egypt  
Bouvier Collection S40



Figure 28. Cherchel, Algeria S92



Figure 29. London,  
British Museum 493

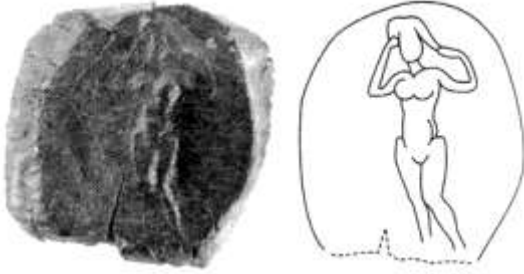


Figure 30. Tel Kedesh, Israel

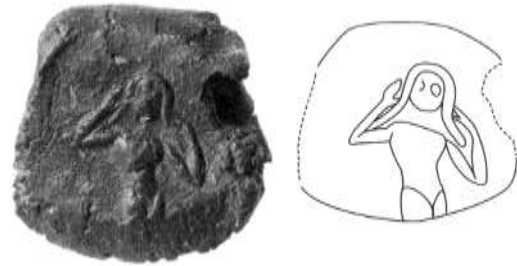


Figure 31. Tel Kedesh, Israel

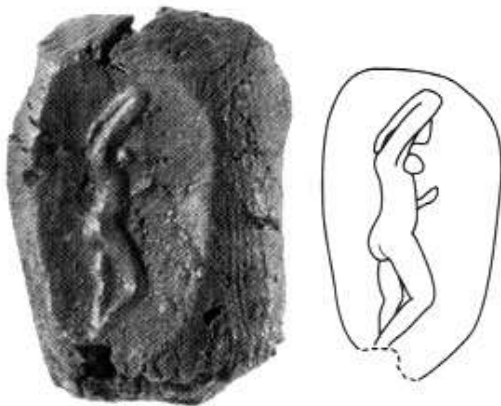


Figure 32. Tel Kedesh, Israel



Figure 33. Delos, Archaeological Museum A4150 (Cat. Domestic 6)



Figure 34. Corinth, Archaeological Museum  
MF1985-47 and 48



Figure 35. Athens, Agora T2254



Figure 36. Gold Aureus from Laodikeia



Figure 37. Würzburg, Germany  
Martin von Wagner Museum H5359