

A PHEIDIAN HEAD OF APHRODITE OURANIA

(PLATES 73–75)

IN A RECENT ARTICLE dedicated to Martin Robertson, I discussed two female heads which can be attributed to Pheidias: the head of the Nike of Athena Parthenos, whose best-preserved copy was found in the Athenian Agora, and the head of an Amazon represented in the bronze herm from the Villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum as well as in a marble copy from the Villa of Hadrian, now in the Terme.¹ Limitations of space prevented me from treating there a third head whose attribution to Pheidias seems to me to be reinforced by that of the Nike and vice versa. This is the Aphrodite head of the so-called “Sappho” type, which is often erroneously combined with the seated statue of the “Olympias” type. The head is known in a great many replicas but has never been found attached to a body. Many of the copies are herms.² Schmidt’s attribution to the “Olympias” has been taken up and elaborated by so many scholars that it now ranks as the common opinion. Dissenting voices have been very few.³ Although, as Schmidt and Langlotz have shown, an

¹ *The Eye of Greece in the Art of Athens*, D. C. Kurtz and B. Sparkes, edd., Cambridge 1982, pp. 53–88.

Works frequently cited will be abbreviated as follows:

- Becatti, *Afrodite* = G. Becatti, “Restauro dell’Afrodite Seduta Fidiaca,” *Studi Miscellanei* XV, 1969–1970, pp. 35–44
Bérard, *Anodoi* = C. Bérard, *Anodoi*, Rome 1974
Harrison, “Alkamenēs” = E. B. Harrison, “Alkamenēs’ Sculptures for the Hephaisteion,” *AJA* 81, 1977, pp. 137–178, 265–287, 411–426
Settis, *Χελώνη* = S. Settis, *Χελώνη, Saggi sull’ Afrodite Urania di Fidia*, Pisa 1966
Strocka = V. M. Strocka, “Aphroditekopf in Brescia,” *JdI* 82, 1967, pp. 110–156
Vierneisel-Schlörb = B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Glyptothek München, Katalog der Sculpturen*, II, *Klassische Skulpturen*, Munich 1979

² For bibliography of the head type, see Vierneisel-Schlörb, pp. 114–115. Most fully treated, with catalogue of 18 replicas, by Strocka. N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz (“Eine Beobachtung an der ‘Oxford bust,’” *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology, A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen*, Locust Valley, New York 1979, pp. 99–101) has shown that the Oxford replica should be added to the list of true replicas, since its only variation is in the modern restoration of the front hair. Becatti (p. 41) takes the replica in Brescia identified by Strocka to be an adaptation of the Aphrodite to a Minerva or Roma, and Vierneisel-Schlörb (p. 106) agrees that there is something to be said for this interpretation. I also would agree.

³ E. Schmidt, “Zur Erzplastik des Phidias,” *Corolla Curtius*, Stuttgart 1937, pp. 72–80. Becatti (pp. 36–37) lists ten replicas with earlier bibliography. To these should be added two fragments in Athens: Akropolis Museum 6692, published by A. Delivorrias, “Das Original der sitzenden ‘Aphrodite Olympias,’” *AthMitt* 93, 1978 (pp. 1–23), pp. 2–5, pls. 6:1, 8:1, and 10, regarded by Delivorrias as a fragment of the original, and Agora S 2394, *ibid.*, p. 2, note 1, a small fragment from the left breast of a mediocre Roman copy. The contrast of quality between this and the Akropolis fragment supports the idea that the latter is from a 5th-century statue, whether the original of the type or a contemporary copy, such as the Persepolis Penelope must have been. Becatti (pls. 6–10) presents a cast combining the torso of the Capitoline “Olympias” and the head of the Naples herm. E. Langlotz (*Aphrodite in den Gärten*, Heidelberg 1954, pls. 9, 10) unites the Oxford head (see footnote 2 above) with the Verona torso (evidently a truer replica than the late-antique Capitoline one). G. Neumann in “Zur Würzburger Schale des Kodros-Malers,” *AA (JdI)* 84, 1969 (pp. 242–243), pp. 244–245, following the suggestion previously made by Schlörb, suggested connecting the “Sappho” head with the Leaning Aphrodite. Vierneisel-Schlörb (p. 114) retracts her former association of the “Sappho” with the Leaning Aphrodite because the style of the head is too early for the statue, but she points out (p. 109) that

Aphrodite with a similar coiffure appears in vase painting sitting in a klismos in a pose somewhat similar to that of the "Olympias",⁴ no one has succeeded in making a satisfactory combination of the sculptured head and body. Strocka's thorough survey of the replicas has demonstrated that the Naples (Pl. 74:a-c) and Brescia copies are the most careful replicas and should be regarded as giving the best evidence for the type. Both these heads turned to the proper right, and Strocka notes that 11 of the replicas in his list of 18 have this direction.⁵ Without entering here into a discussion whether the "Olympias" turned her head to her left or to her right, we can say with certainty that her left shoulder was higher than her right, whereas the reverse is true of the Naples and Brescia heads. The result is that in Becatti's plaster reconstruction in Rome the profile views look only a little stiff, but the front view looks absurd. Langlotz avoided this problem by using the Oxford head for his reconstruction in Bonn, but even here the neck is stiff and too long.⁶

Becatti believed as did Strocka that the direction of the Naples herm correctly reproduces that of the original. Perhaps a little additional weight is given to this view by a small unfinished replica from the Athenian Agora (Pl. 73).⁷ The piece is clearly unfinished, for the face shows unsmoothed chisel marks all over its surface. The forms have been fully worked out all around, however, and the work lacks only the final smoothing and whatever details might have been added with chisel or drill. The size is just slightly over half the original size indicated by the average of Strocka's measurements of the replicas.⁸ The Agora head thus joins Strocka's group of variants that are smaller than the original. Like the three listed by Strocka, one in the collection of Leon Pomerance,⁹ one in the Terme,¹⁰ and one in the Uffizi in Florence,¹¹ the Agora head shows by the direction of the top ribbon, slanting toward the proper right as it comes forward (Pl. 73:d), that it turned to the figure's right. The ribbon slants in this direction on the Naples herm (Pl. 74:b) and on all other copies which turn the head to the proper right. On those copies which turn the head to the left the slant of the ribbon is also reversed (Strocka's nos. 12, 14-18). That all the small-sized variants, however inaccurately they have reproduced the style of the face, show the same direction as the majority of the full-sized copies can only strengthen our conviction that this direction is the original one.

at least the Verona torso of the "Olympias" cannot be restored with a head turned to its right. She remarks (p. 108) that Schmidt's combination has been "kritiklos akzeptiert." B. S. Ridgway (*Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1981, pp. 234-236) suggests that the original of the "Olympias" type may have been a classicizing late Hellenistic or early Roman portrait. This would, of course, exclude the attribution of the Aphrodite head, which she therefore does not discuss in detail in this connection.

⁴ See especially Langlotz, *op. cit.* (footnote 3 above), pls. 1-6. The fragment of a hydria by the Kleophon Painter in Tübingen is shown more completely by Delivorrias, *op. cit.* (footnote 3 above), pl. 13:2.

⁵ Strocka, *op. cit.* (footnote 2 above), p. 145.

⁶ See above, footnote 3. Vierneisel-Schlörb, p. 108, remarks that in Becatti's reconstruction the head looks too big for the body.

⁷ Inv. no. S 474. Found April 14, 1934 in late fill in front of the screen wall at the southwest corner of the Bouleuterion square (F 11). Pentelic marble. P.H. 0.14 m. (= H. chin to crown). H. chin to hairband 0.10 m. Inside width of eye 0.017 m. W. of mouth 0.022 m. Nose missing. Whole head somewhat battered.

⁸ Strocka, *op. cit.* (footnote 2 above), p. 116.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 146-150, figs. 44-47.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 150. Terme inv. no. 8567. *EA*, nos. 250, 251.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 150. Inv. no. 369. G. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi, Le Sculture*, Rome 1958, no. 11.

The Agora head repeats the main features of the coiffure of the Naples type. The copyist has neglected to show the tip of the ribbon emerging at the forehead, but he seems to have reproduced all the windings of the ribbon about the head, although their overlapping does not always correspond to that of the other copies. The ends of the wavy hair in back seem to have been rolled into a bun, probably rolled under rather than over. No short curly ends are visible, but the back of the head is battered.

Although the unfinished work cannot be closely dated, its context implies a date in the 1st century after Christ.¹² The formation of the eyes, especially the puffy upper lids, might suggest a Flavian date. The head seems, in any case, to come between the Pomerance head, which Strocka regarded as early Neo-Attic, and the one in the Terme, which he called middle Imperial. It has neither the small, softened features of the former nor the hard, exaggerated ones of the latter. The face shape is not so childish as in the Terme head, but the bridge of the nose seems to have been narrowed in the same way, and the general look is a little childlike. The eyes are widened, although not so much as in the Terme head. It does not seem likely that these little heads were destined for herms. Probably they were for statuettes representing a younger Aphrodite than that of the original type.

The Pheidian origin of the "Sappho" head has long been recognized. Furtwängler pointed out its relationship to the Athena Parthenos.¹³ The bunches of curls in front of the ears and the roundness of the lower part of the face are very much alike in the two works. The strongly wavy ends of Aphrodite's hair find a good parallel in an Amazon head from the Parthenos Shield preserved in a careful copy in the Piraeus Museum (Pl. 74:d).

The fact that the copies of the head differ in such details as the shapes of eyes and mouth and the proportions of the face even though, except for a few obvious variants, they are all the same size suggests that the head was never cast for the use of copyists but was simply copied freehand to make a model or models, which commanded less respect than an actual cast would have done. This lack of uniformity makes it harder to argue in detail about the style of the face than with the Nike or the Amazon, unless we can agree which copies are closest to the original. I have a strong impression that the Naples herm, for all its lack of sensitivity in surface treatment, is the most accurate reproduction of the original type.¹⁴ Comparison with the Nike and the Amazon suggests that the Aphrodite should be somewhat later, but the difference of time will not have been great. The brows round a little more into the sides of the face, and the chin seems a shade less heavy.

The Nike and Aphrodite heads are quite different in personality, as one might expect. The androgynous brow and wide mouth of the Nike would be as inappropriate to Aphrodite as her sensuously narrowed eyes and fleshy lips would be to Nike. What the two have in

¹² H. A. Thompson ("Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia* 6, 1937 [pp. 1-226], p. 168, note 1) assumes that the head, found in fill near the early Roman screen wall, had originally been built into the wall along with six other sculptures, three of which represent Aphrodite.

¹³ A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, Leipzig/Berlin 1893, p. 98.

¹⁴ I. Scheibler ("Cornetaner Repliken des Sappho-Aphrodite-Typus," *AA [JdI]* 88, 1973 [pp. 211-217], p. 216) has suggested that the group of replicas represented by five heads of similar style: two from Corneto, one in the British Museum, one in Florence (Riccardi), and one in the Museo Chiaramonti, may be given more weight than Strocka and Becatti have given them. Vierneisel-Schlörb (pp. 107-108) seems to look kindly on this suggestion. These strike me rather as softened versions.

common besides the large, simple forms, the round cheeks, and the proud carriage of the head is the depth of the head and the intricate coiffure with multiple windings of the head-band which reveal the richness of the hair between them.

It is interesting that the Aphrodite head, like that of the Nike, was copied without the body and especially in herm form.¹⁵ I have suggested in the cases of the Nike and the Amazon that the bodies were less appealing than those of later versions. The same was surely true of the Aphrodite. If we can trust the indication of the drapery in the Naples herm, she wore a heavy dress of almost Severe simplicity.

Becatti, being convinced that the head belonged to the Olympias type, argued that the use of the body for portrait statues gave rise to copies of the head in herm form for decorative use.¹⁶ This principle does not work, however, in cases which we can test. The "Venus Genetrix" type was often used for portraits, but the statue was also often copied with its own head, and the head alone was not especially popular. I do not know of a single example in herm form.

The herm will have seemed suitable for the Nike of the Athena Parthenos because of her agonistic connections. It must also have been appropriate to the meaning of this Aphrodite, and that may indicate to us what kind of Aphrodite she was. Pausanias saw in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens near the Ilissos in Athens an image of Aphrodite that was square like a herm, with an inscription saying that Aphrodite Ourania is the eldest of those called Moirai.¹⁷ The image seen by Pausanias must have been regarded as a representation of Aphrodite Ourania. The herm form probably alluded to the worship in aniconic form of the oriental Astarte with whom Aphrodite Ourania was identified in Greek tradition.¹⁸

Two statues of Aphrodite Ourania by Pheidias are recorded by Pausanias, one of gold and ivory in Elis¹⁹ and one of Parian marble in Athens.²⁰ The attribution of that in Elis is more secure, since it is also mentioned by Plutarch as a work of Pheidias. The metallic beauty of the hair in the Naples herm and its resemblance to the hair of the Athena Parthenos as well as to that of an Amazon on her shield (Pl. 74:d) suggest a golden rather than a marble original.

The Aphrodite Ourania of Elis had one foot on a tortoise. Although Plutarch saw a reference to the housewifely virtues in this motif, Pheidias is likely to have used it as a deeper symbol of the nature of Aphrodite Ourania. S. Settis has explored in an extensive monograph the meanings of Ourania as an epithet of Aphrodite and the appropriateness of the tortoise as a symbol of such an Aphrodite. He concludes that in the time of Pheidias "Ourania" could designate Aphrodite both as a goddess of the heavens and as the goddess

¹⁵ Strocka, nos. 1, 10, 13, 14 are from herms, as the Oxford head also seems to be. It is likely that the mirror-image pair from Corneto (Strocka, nos. 11, 12, Scheibler, *loc. cit.*) also belonged to herms. It seems to have been the use as herms that prompted the creation of mirror images to serve as pendants, thus giving rise to the series of left-turned heads.

¹⁶ Becatti, pp. 39–40.

¹⁷ I.19.2.

¹⁸ E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, XI, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton 1965, p. 138.

¹⁹ Pausanias, vi.25.1; Plutarch, *Moralia*, p. 142 D, p. 381 E. For other references, see Settis, *Χελώνη*, pp. 1–7.

²⁰ Pausanias, I.14.7.

born, according to the Hesiodic legend, from the sea foam surrounding the severed member of Ouranos.²¹ What we know about the Zeus of Pheidias at Olympia supports the idea that the two meanings were joined rather than separated in Pheidias' conception of Aphrodite. Just as the statue of Zeus was surrounded by a floor of dark blue-gray limestone which might suggest his abode in the night sky rather than on a mountain peak of Earth, so the birth of Aphrodite on the base was depicted with a background of the same dark stone, against which the golden figures of the divinities would have shone like stars.²² The dark color can have represented sea and sky alike. We know from Pausanias that Aphrodite was coming up out of the sea.²³ This is the Hesiodic birth; this Aphrodite is certainly Ourania, in the literal meaning of Heavenly as well as in the manner of her birth.

In attempting to visualize the Pheidian Aphrodite of Elis, scholars have generally started with a marble statue in Berlin, the so-called Brazzà Aphrodite, whose raised left foot requires such a support as the tortoise would have furnished.²⁴ Although the left foot and its support are missing from the statue, the tortoise supplied by an early 19th-century restorer serves its purpose very well. If the tortoise was not there, some other support of similar size must have been used. The style of the drapery of the Brazzà Aphrodite suggests that it is an Attic creation of the late 5th century B.C., approximately contemporary with the friezes of

²¹ Settis, *Χελώνη*, especially "Conclusion," pp. 201–210. U. Knigge ("Ο ἀστὴρ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης," *AthMitt* 97, 1982 [pp. 153–170], p. 165, note 96) rejects Settis' arguments for reading the tortoise as a heavenly symbol, either of the vault of heaven or of the constellation Lyre; she prefers Plutarch's explanation. H. Niemeyer, reviewing Settis in *Gymnasium* 76, 1969, p. 188, argues that in the time of Pheidias the tortoise was a terrestrial (chthonian) symbol. Knigge proposes to reserve the title Ourania for the Aphrodite who rides the swan and appears in the daylight realm of Apollo (pp. 161–170), while identifying as Aphrodite Pandemos the goddess who rides a she-goat through the night sky accompanied by two kids. This sharp division seems unconvincing. It is hard to deny the epithet "Heavenly" to one who journeys among the stars. The only specific connection of the name Pandemos to the goat-rider is the statue of Aphrodite Pandemos in Elis by Skopas, which Pausanias says was riding a he-goat. Knigge follows Furtwängler in assuming that Pausanias mistook the sex of the goat. But Pausanias does not mention kids, nor do any appear on the coins of Elis that represent the statue. Pausanias' words about the meaning of the tortoise and the he-goat might suggest that they have something in common. He says: τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χελώνῃ καὶ ἐς τὸν τράγον παρίημι τοῖς Θέλουσιν εἰκάξω (v.1.25.1). Perhaps the he-goat was ithyphallic and Pausanias saw a phallic meaning also in the tortoise. Plutarch (*Theseus*, 18.2) relates that Theseus, when he was about to embark for Crete, was sacrificing a she-goat to Aphrodite on the shore when the victim was transformed into a he-goat. He therefore began to worship Aphrodite Epitragia. One could imagine that the she-goat was intended for Aphrodite Ourania, whose cult Theseus' father had founded, and that Epitragia became Pandemos when Theseus became king and unified Attica. It would not be impossible that this Attic story influenced Skopas when he made his Pandemos for Elis. The type was modeled on the already current image of Ourania riding the mother goat. The finding places of stone votive reliefs from Athens that show Aphrodite riding the mother goat with two kids are not precisely enough fixed to indicate clearly whether these were votives to Aphrodite Ourania or Aphrodite Pandemos, but three of these were found in the Athenian Agora, where there was an important cult of Aphrodite Ourania. The Archaic altar and the temple of Roman times have recently been identified with a high degree of probability. See T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 53, 1984 (pp. 1–57), pp. 24–40 for the sanctuary and C. M. Edwards, "Aphrodite on a Ladder," *Hesperia* 53, 1984, pp. 59–72 for the votive reliefs. The analysis of the bones from the early altar by G. V. Foster, "The Bones from the Altar West of the Painted Stoa," *Hesperia* 53, 1984, pp. 73–82 supports the attribution to Aphrodite.

²² For the floor and base, see W. Dörpfeld, *Olympia, Ergebnisse II, Die Baudenkmäler*, Berlin 1892, pp. 12–15. For the golden figures, see Pausanias, v.11.8.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ C. Blümel, *Die klassisch griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 1966, pp. 91–93, no. 109, figs. 161–169, with earlier bibliography. Settis, *Χελώνη*, pp. 9–23, fig. 1.

the Erechtheion.²⁵ The figure evidently rested her left arm on a support, although there are no traces remaining to indicate what it was. It seems to have been tall and narrow and set far back under the elbow.²⁶

The pose with the advanced and raised left foot suggests that the Brazzà Aphrodite is in some sense derived from the Ourania at Elis, whether or not the support of the left foot was a tortoise.²⁷ In the side view (Pl. 75:e) the raised leg gives an impression of stepping upward, as if climbing a stair. In the three-quarters view from the proper left (Pl. 75:f) there is a suggestion of forward motion against the wind, as the ends of the himation sweep backward over the left thigh and left arm.

A comparable pose with the left knee raised is seen on two Classical vases with the Birth of Aphrodite and one with the Anodos of Persephone. These show the legs partly hidden. On a white-ground pyxis in Ancona,²⁸ Aphrodite sets one foot on the ground line as if climbing out of a hole. On a red-figured hydria in Syracuse (Pl. 75:a)²⁹ both of Aphrodite's feet are below the ground line, although her left knee is raised. She stretches out her left arm to Eros, who has set his right foot on a slight rise (a stone by the seashore?) and leans forward to support the arm of the goddess with both hands. This picture, which should have been painted in the 430's, corresponds as well as any contemporary representation with Pausanias' statement that Eros on the base of the Zeus at Olympia was receiving (ὑποδεχόμενος) Aphrodite as she rose from the sea.³⁰ We might easily imagine the Aphrodite in the Phidian relief wearing a heavy peplos and long streaming hair as she does on the hydria.

An early Classical marble torso in Corinth (Pl. 75:b-d), datable around 470-460, which unfortunately lacks the head, arms, and feet, shows a similar pose in the round.³¹

²⁵ One figure of the Erechtheion frieze is so closely related that it might be an imitation: Akropolis 1077, P. Boulter, "The Frieze of the Parthenon," *AntP* X, Berlin 1970 (pp. 7-28), pp. 9-10, no. 78, pls. 3, 4; Blümel, *op. cit.*, p. 92, fig. 170. Although both Blümel and Boulter emphasize the derivation of the Berlin Aphrodite from the style of the Parthenon pediments and Boulter points out that the Erechtheion figure does not have the left foot raised, it is in another Erechtheion figure that we find the closest parallel for the widely spaced tubular folds of the himation that swing in even, parallel curves across the legs: Akropolis 1072, Boulter, pls. 6, 7. Without further study of the actual marble, I find it difficult to be sure whether the Berlin statue is a Roman copy or a reworked Greek original.

²⁶ R. Kekulé (*Über eine weibliche Gewandstatue aus der Werkstatt der Parthenongiebelfiguren*, Berlin 1894, pp. 8-9 and sketch on p. 26) proposed an archaic idol rather than a pillar, since he felt that a pillar would not require the hollowing-out of drapery that we see on this side of the figure. On the other hand, an idol might be expected actually to touch the figure with its drapery, requiring a joint surface rather than a simple channel in the adjacent carved surface of Aphrodite's chiton. Blümel (*loc. cit.* [footnote 24 above]) also suggests an idol. Settis (Χελώνη, p. 14) suggests a herm.

²⁷ In those Aphrodite figures, all of Roman date, in which a tortoise is actually preserved, it is always under the left foot. List of examples in Settis, Χελώνη, pp. 9-10.

²⁸ *ARV*², p. 899, no. 144; *Paralipomena*, p. 429; Bérard, *Anodoi*, pl. 18, fig. 65:a, b.

²⁹ *ARV*², p. 1041, no. 11; *Paralipomena*, p. 443; Bérard, *Anodoi*, pl. 18, fig. 62.

³⁰ It is not necessary to assume that the Aphrodite on the hydria is emerging from the sea in order to imagine a similarity with the Olympia base. Bérard (*Anodoi*, pp. 158-159) argues that a chthonian anodos is being shown on the hydria as well as on the pyxis from Numana (against E. Simon, *Die Geburt der Aphrodite*, Berlin 1959, pp. 46, 54). Perhaps the last word on this question has not yet been said.

³¹ Inv. no. S 1577. Fully described by B. S. Ridgway, "A Peplophoros in Corinth," *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 315-323, with earlier bibliography. Add R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Frühklassische Peplosfiguren, Originale*, Mainz am Rhein 1980, pp. 259-261, no. 43 b, pl. 170, and Ridgway, "Sculpture from Corinth," *Hesperia* 50,

Here the left hand evidently lifted the skirt, for folds radiate from a small break above the left thigh.³² It seems altogether likely that the Corinthian figure represented an anodos, whether of Aphrodite or Persephone. Aphrodite is more appropriate in several ways. Numerous tiny drill holes for attaching metal locks on the back of the marble figure show that she had long golden hair streaming down her back.³³ Both the streaming locks and the golden color would be appropriate to Aphrodite rising from the sea. The position of the locks shows that the head was turned to the figure's right. Her right arm was raised and stretched forward.³⁴ We can imagine it stretched toward Eros, who stands ready to receive her as on the Pheidian base. Perhaps he even supported her arm as on the hydria in Syracuse. Like the Aphrodite on the hydria, the Corinth statue wears an ungirt peplos open on the right side. This dress, like the streaming hair and the raised arm, is more appropriate for Aphrodite than for the rising Persephone.³⁵ Altogether, the statue gives an intriguing hint of an early Classical Corinthian tradition of the Anodos of Aphrodite that would have preceded the Pheidian version. The material and the simplicity of the carving would make the figure suitable for the pediment of a moderate-sized temple, although none of appropriate size and date has yet been identified. Perhaps the original conception is derived from a Corinthian painting that is now lost.

In vase paintings that represent the Birth of Aphrodite it is sometimes hard to tell whether the goddess is rising out of the sea or out of the earth, after the fashion of Persephone and Pandora. Settis has shown the close association of the tortoise with the Underworld and with Hermes as the god of chthonian passages.³⁶ In the Homeric Hymn to Hermes the tortoise is the first creature that Hermes meets when he emerges from the cave in which he was born.³⁷ It seems possible that, to Pheidias, the tortoise, a creature that can crawl up out of the sea onto the land and whose head emerges from its cavelike shell, could symbolize *both* the sea birth of life in the history of the world and the springtime emergence of vegetation from the earth.³⁸ So far as we can tell from the sculptures of the Parthenon, the

1981 (pp. 422–448), p. 426. Whereas Ridgway suggests that the figure is fleeing, I find the drapery too quiet for such an action and would rather agree with W.-H. Schuchhardt ("Korinthische Beute in Pergamon," *Mélanges Mansel*, Ankara, 1974 [pp. 13–24], p. 22) that she was stepping up with her left foot.

³² On a pyxis in New York the newborn Aphrodite lifts her skirt with her left hand while stretching out her right arm toward Eros: M.M.A. 39.11.8, Wedding Painter, *ARV*², p. 924, no. 34; Bérard, *Anodoi*, pl. 14:48.

³³ Ridgway, *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 317–319. The alignment of the holes suggests long strands. Their displacement toward the left shoulder indicates that the head turned to the proper right. The purpose of adding the locks in metal would be to call attention to the brightness of the hair.

³⁴ Tölle-Kastenbein (*op. cit.* [footnote 31 above], p. 259) concludes that because the shoulder line drops toward the proper right the right arm must have been directed downward, but a more accurate description is given by Charles Williams in Ridgway, *Hesperia* 46, 1977, p. 316, note 5. He suggests a nearly level position of the forward-extended right arm.

³⁵ The returning Persephone generally has the aspect of a bride rather than of a young maiden. On the Persephone Painter's name vase, the New York bell-krater M.M.A. 28.57.23 (*ARV*², p. 1012, no. 1; Richter and Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases*, New Haven 1936, pp. 156–157, no. 124, pl. 124), she wears a bridal crown, a chiton with long kolpos, and a veiling himation. Here Hekate wears the maiden's open peplos. For more examples, see Charles Edwards, "The Running Maiden from Eleusis," *AJA* forthcoming.

³⁶ Settis, *Χελώνη*, pp. 27–94.

³⁷ *Hymnus homericus* iv.20–24. Cf. Settis, *Χελώνη*, pp. 83–86.

³⁸ For the possibility that the head of the tortoise seemed phallic, like that of a snake or a long-necked bird, see above, footnote 21.

art of the high-classical period tried rather to universalize than to particularize the meanings of the divinities whom it represented.

We must ask whether Pheidias used a support under the left arm of his Aphrodite as did the later sculptor of the Brazzà Aphrodite and if so what form the support should have had. We might expect a support, since Pheidias had used a column under the right hand of the Athena Parthenos. That column had a floral capital because it stood for the tree which Athena produced and which Nike made to flourish.³⁹ For Aphrodite Ourania we might expect a more simple, stonelike form of column, which could symbolize the pillar that holds up the sky⁴⁰ or the aniconic image of the eastern goddess with whom Ourania was identified. The great predominance of the square pillar in later images of Aphrodite which have supports and the association of Aphrodite Ourania with the square herm form would suggest that the support should have been square. We would not expect the Pheidian Aphrodite actually to *lean* on the support, since even the later Brazzà type does not lean but simply rests the left arm on the now vanished element.

Since the statue at Elis did not literally *represent* the Anodos of Aphrodite as the Corinth statue did but only alluded to it by the now familiar motif of the raised left foot and the symbolism of the tortoise, we would not expect the goddess to wear the young girl's ungirt, open peplos that she wears in the Corinth statue and on the hydria in Syracuse. She should appear as a grown woman, with a girdled, closed peplos or chiton. The peplos would be better suited to the purposes of the gold and ivory statue, since it is a heavy, colored garment often elaborately decorated with woven or embroidered border patterns. Pheidias used a peplos for the Nike of the Parthenos as well as for Athena herself.⁴¹ In this respect the dress of the Naples herm of the "Sappho" type seems suitable for the Aphrodite of Elis.

There is no agreement as to the original pose of the head of the Brazzà Aphrodite. Therefore it does not help us to judge whether the pose of the "Sappho" head is suitable for its Pheidian predecessor. We can say, however, that the erect carriage of the head in the majority of replicas of the "Sappho" is well suited to a stance which suggests an anodos. Since a slight turn of the head toward the side of the weight leg is common (we can compare the Athena Parthenos), the turn toward the proper right that we have in the majority of replicas would favor the attribution of this head to the Aphrodite of Elis, whose weight must have rested on her right leg, since her left foot was on the tortoise. Since the Polykleitan formula did not prevail in Attic sculpture before the 420's,⁴² it need not disturb us that the shoulder is raised on the side toward which the head turns. In the Nike of the Parthenos, to judge from the Varvakeion statuette as well as from the Vatican herm of the head type

³⁹ See Harrison, "Alkamenēs," pp. 155–157.

⁴⁰ On the column as a cosmic symbol, see N. Yalouris, "Astral Representations in the Archaic and Classical Periods . . .," *AJA* 84, 1980 (pp. 313–318), pp. 313–314.

⁴¹ On the dress of the Nike, see Harrison, *op. cit.* (footnote 18 above), pp. 62–64.

⁴² Both Alkamenēs and Agorakritos adopted it in the 420's. For Alkamenēs, see Harrison, "Alkamenēs," pp. 164–165. The Lateran Agrippina, convincingly attributed to Agorakritos, seems to be a work of the 420's; see Harrison, "A Classical Maiden from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*, Suppl. XX, *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson*, Princeton 1982 (pp. 40–53), pp. 40–43.

which can be attributed to this Nike, the head turned toward the raised shoulder. The same is true of the Amazon herm in Naples.

Of the common attributes of Aphrodite, the scepter would give the most natural motivation for the raised and slightly advanced right shoulder. Such a queenly attribute would also accord well with the richness of Aphrodite's coiffure and the proud carriage of her head.⁴³ If there were a pillar or column, the scepter would give a balancing vertical on the other side.⁴⁴

The elaborately wound headband, which is the most striking feature of the coiffure of our head, seems to belong to the dress of a bride, as we see it represented in Attic vases of the later 5th century. Sometimes the bride is seen actually binding her hair.⁴⁵ After the creation of the famous painting by Apelles, Aphrodite Anadyomene was commonly depicted as a nude goddess squeezing the water from her hair or already in the act of binding it up. It may not be too far-fetched to see an allusion to the sea birth as well as to bridal coiffure in the hair of the Pheidian Aphrodite. The springy fullness of the waves and the abundance of loose ends could be meant to suggest hair that has recently been wet. In many of the copies, flattened wisps of hair cling to the cheeks and nape of the neck as if the skin was still damp. Those on the neck do not correspond closely from one copy to another, but they seem to convey an idea that was in the minds of many of the copyists.

We have seen that the "Sappho" head is appropriate in every way to the Aphrodite Ourania of Pheidias. The herm form is linked to Ourania as it is to no other aspect of Aphrodite, and this is the only Aphrodite type that is regularly copied as a herm. Furtwängler's attribution to Pheidias on the basis of resemblance to the Athena Parthenos has continued to be strengthened, first by the heads of the Amazons from the Parthenos Shield that have appeared in the Piraeus reliefs⁴⁶ and now by the head of the Nike of the Parthenos as represented in the Agora copy. The style of the "Sappho" head, with the more rounded form of its forehead, confirms a date slightly after the Parthenos, and this sequence fits the logical assumption that Pheidias made the Aphrodite in Elis in the 430's while he was working on the Zeus at Olympia.

The leading sculptors who were occupied with the architectural sculptures of the Parthenon during the 430's were quite possibly still in contact with Pheidias, and the statue in Elis can well have been known to them, whether in its designs or in its finished form. So it may be that Alkamenes in the late 430's borrowed from Pheidias the idea of a stone pillar as the support for his leaning Aphrodite, although the diagonal leaning pose seems to have been his own invention.⁴⁷ The fact that Alkamenes' statue was the cult statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens would not prevent him from using a support appropriate to Ourania, for the

⁴³ Compare the rising Aphrodite with scepter on a lekythos in Basel: Connected with the Group of Palermo 16, *ARV*², p. 1204, no. 1; Bérard, *Anodoi*, pl. 7, fig. 28.

⁴⁴ On a red-figured oön in New York Aphrodite is shown with pillar and scepter. Her twisted pose and startled expression suggest that what is happening (an abduction or wedding journey) is not to her liking. It is as if a statue turned around on its base: M.M.A. 1971.258.3, *ARV*², p. 1256, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 470; D. von Bothmer, *Bull. Met. Mus.* 31, 1972/3, no. 26. Near the Eretria Painter.

⁴⁵ Athens, N.M. 14790, lebes gamikos by the Washing Painter, *ARV*², p. 1126, no. 4; E. Buschor, "Ringende Flügelknaben," *AthMitt* 71, 1956 (pp. 205–207), Beil. 117.

⁴⁶ For good details see Th. Stephanidou-Tiveriou, *Νεοαττικά*, Athens 1979, pls. 8, 15, 23.

⁴⁷ On this pose, see Harrison, "Alkamenes," p. 417.

sanctuary on the Ilissos seems to have treated the two forms of Aphrodite as closely related if not identical. Only later in the 5th century does an actual tree appear as a support for such a leaning figure.⁴⁸

Scholars have sometimes assumed that the Aphrodite Ourania of Parian marble that was seen by Pausanias in her temple near the Athenian Agora and attributed by him to Pheidias was of the same type as the Aphrodite in Elis, but it does not seem likely, on historical grounds, that this statue was really made by Pheidias. During the Parthenon years, when work was concentrated on the Akropolis, there do not seem to have been any large projects carried on in the Agora. The long gap evident in the sculptures of the so-called Theseum, whose metopes antedate the beginning of the Parthenon and whose friezes show the style of 430–425, is a striking example. The Stoa of Zeus was begun about 430, and the statues of the Eponymous Heroes seem to have been set up around that time. It would seem that the 420's saw a general resumption of interest in the Agora and its monuments, which continued with only short interruptions until the end of the century.

It is in the 420's that we might expect the Athenian Aphrodite Ourania to have been made, but by this time Pheidias, if he was still alive, was a permanent exile from Athens. The mention of Parian marble suggests the possibility that the Athenian Aphrodite Ourania, like the Nemesis of Rhamnous and the Mother of the Gods in the Agora, was a work of Agorakritos that Pausanias wrongly attributed to Pheidias. I have suggested elsewhere that we have the draped type of this Aphrodite in the so-called Lateran Agrippina, a work assigned to Agorakritos by Despinis because of its obvious resemblances to the Nemesis.⁴⁹ Unfortunately all the copies are portrait statues, so that we know nothing about the original head except that it turned to the proper left. The statue seems to have held a scepter in the right hand and a phiale in the left. In pose and in drapery it may have influenced the Velletri Athena, which was made only a few years later and which I believe also stood in a temple near the Agora.⁵⁰ Like the Velletri Athena, the Aphrodite of Agorakritos substitutes a maternal graciousness for the bridal splendor of the Pheidias works.

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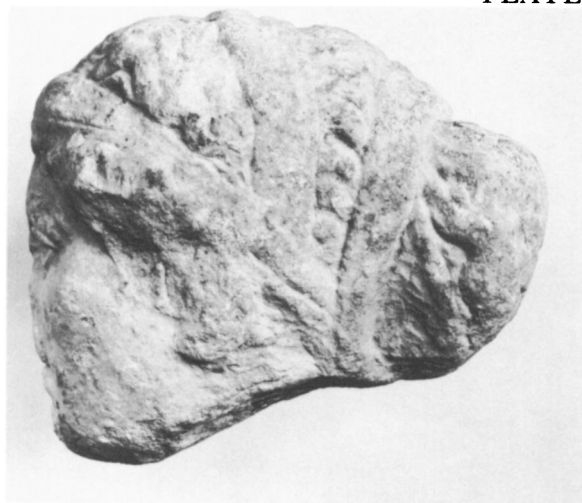
⁴⁸ See A. Delivorrias, "Die Kultstatue der Aphrodite von Daphni," *AntP* VIII, Berlin 1968 (pp. 19–31), pp. 23–26, figs. 1, 2, 4.

⁴⁹ Harrison, *op. cit.* (footnote 42 above), pp. 49–51.

⁵⁰ See especially Harrison, "Alkamenes," pp. 150–155.



a.



b.



c.



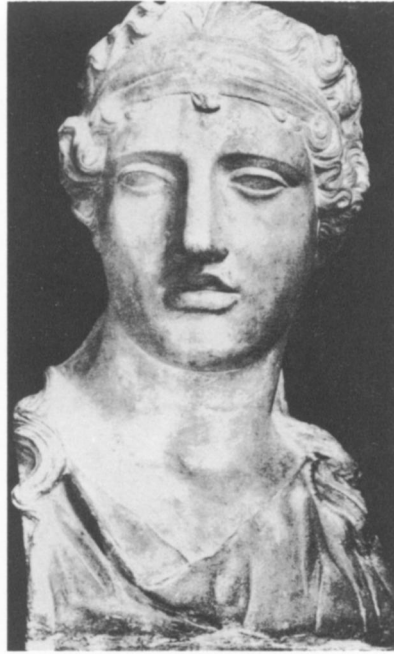
d.

Unfinished head of Aphrodite, Agora Inv. No. S 474 (Agora Excavation photographs)

EVELYN B. HARRISON: A PHEIDIAN HEAD OF APHRODITE OURANIA



a.



b.



c.

a-c. Herm bust of Aphrodite. Naples, Museo Nazionale (from Strocka)



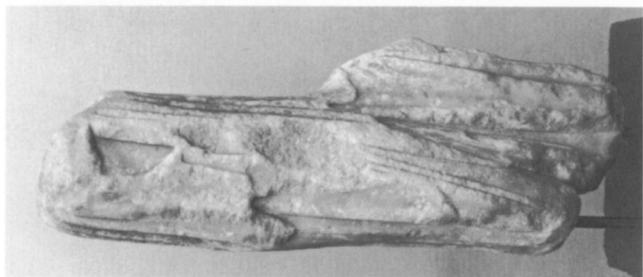
d. Head of Amazon from a Neo-Attic relief. Piraeus Museum (from Stephanidou-Tiveriou)



a. Hydria in Syracuse (from Bérard, *Anodos*)



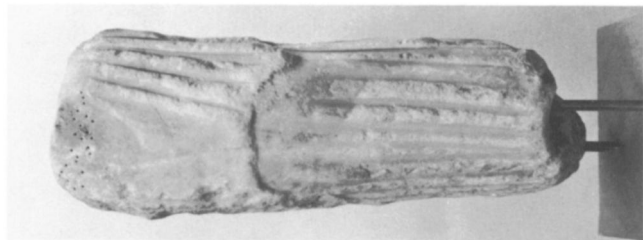
e-f. Brazzà Aphrodite. Berlin, Staatliche Museen (from Kekulé)



b.



c.



d.

b-d. Peplophoros in Corinth, Inv. No. S 1577 (Corinth Excavations photographs)