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INDEX

NEIL ADKIN	<i>Some Recent "Improvements" to the Text of Jerome's Letter 52, "On Sacerdotal Lifestyle"</i>	11
NECİP FİKİRİ ALİCAN	<i>Rethought Forms: How Do They Work?</i>	25
LUIGI ARATA	<i>Usi medici dell'Anagyris foetida nella medicina greca</i>	57
CHRISTER BRUUN	<i>True Patriots? The Public Activities of the *Augustales of Roman Ostia and the summa honoraria</i>	67
GIUSEPPE CAMODECA	<i>Un nuovo consularis Byzacenae di tardo IV secolo e i Tannonii di Puteoli</i>	93
ANTONIO CORSO	<i>Retrieving the Style of Cephisodotus the Younger</i>	109
LEE FRATANTUONO	<i>Saevit medio in certamine: Mars in the Aeneid</i>	137
SEPPO HEIKKINEN	<i>Copy-paste Metrics? Lupus of Ferrières on Boethius</i>	165
PANU HYPPÖNEN	<i>4π = 12.5? – The Problems in the Vitruvian Hodometer</i>	185
MIKA KAJAVA	<i>Two Greek Documents on Bronze (IG XIV 954; IG XIV 955 = IGUR 4)</i>	205
TUA KORHONEN	<i>Some Steps Towards Plato's Ecopolitics in the Laws</i>	211
ANTTI LAMPINEN	<i>Fragments from the 'Middle Ground' – Posidonius' Northern Ethnography</i>	229
JARI PAKKANEN	<i>A Reappraisal of the First Publication of Stirrup Jar Inscriptions from Tiryns by Johannes Sundwall: Photographs, Lost Sherds and the 'a-nu-to/no-di-zo Workshop'</i>	261
GIORGOS C. PARASKEVIOTIS	<i>Verg. ecl. 6,13–30. Mimic Humour in Silenus' Scene</i>	279
ELINA PYY	<i>In Search of Peer Support: Changing Perspectives on Sisterhood in Roman Imperial Epic</i>	295
OLLI SALOMIES	<i>Some Published, But Not Very Well Known Latin Inscriptions</i>	319

HEIKKI SOLIN	<i>Analecta epigraphica CCXCII– CCCI</i>	347
PIETRO VERZINA	<i>L'esordio ἦν ὅτε (Cypria fr. 1,1 Bernabé) e le sue connotazioni narrative</i>	415
VILLE VUOLANTO	<i>Children in the Roman World: Cultural and Social Perspectives. A Review Article</i>	435
	<i>De novis libris iudicia</i>	451
	<i>Index librorum in hoc volumine recensorum</i>	575
	<i>Libri nobis missi</i>	581
	<i>Index scriptorum</i>	587

RETRIEVING THE STYLE OF CEPHISODOTUS THE YOUNGER

ANTONIO CORSO

Abstract

The scope of this paper is to reconstruct the artistic itinerary of Cephisodotus the Younger, Praxiteles' elder son. It is likely that Cephisodotus' early activity was still very indebted to the styles of his renowned father. However he progressively disengaged from the Praxitelean formal heritage in order to express the value of realism as well as the sense of space. Thus his last creation, which can be appreciated from a visual point of view – the portrait of Menander – is no longer inside the Praxitelean tradition but appears to be coherent with a realistic and three-dimensional concept of the statuary art.

1. A general presentation of this personality

The aim of this article is to recognize the style of the elder son of Praxiteles – Cephisodotus the Younger – and to reconstruct the development of his oeuvre and art from his early period of activity until his old age. Although recent attempts to study this important personality are not missing,¹ nevertheless an organic attempt to reconstruct his oeuvre is still lacking.

¹ See especially Andreae 2001a, 410–1; Schultz 2003, 186–93; Kourinou 2007, 200–1, no. 65; 201–2, no. 66; Papastamati-von Mook 2007a, 202–4, no. 67; 205–6, no. 68; 207, no. 69; 208, no. 70; 209, no. 71; Stampolidis 2007, 210–3, no. 72; 213–4, no. 73; 214–5, no. 74; Corso 2007, 216–9, no. 75; Papastamati-von Mook 2007b, 273–327; Stewart 2010, 12–32 and Vorster 2013, 74–6, no. 5. I am thankful to Prof. Dora Constantinidis (University of Melbourne) for her kind revision of my English.

This article is meant to fill this lacuna in the bibliography.

Cephisodotus the Younger is known thanks to around 30 written texts, both literary and epigraphical.²

He was born around 365–360 BC, when his father Praxiteles was 30–35 y.o.³ and was the elder son of this sculptor. He was an Athenian, of the deme of Sybridae. He began working as a sculptor probably in 344/343 BC, when he was in his late teens, specializing in bronze portraits of priests and of ladies devoted to the goddesses of Eleusis and required by Athenian patrons. Probably by 341/340 BC he possessed his own workshop.⁴

He was rather successful and became wealthy, entering the liturgic class in 334/333 BC or earlier and thus financing warships. In 326/325 BC, with the death of his father Praxiteles, he inherited his substances.⁵

By 315 BC or earlier, he began working together with his younger brother Timarchus.⁶

In the second part of his life, his activity expanded beyond the borders of Attica, he made bronze portraits set up at Troezen, at Megara – in the latter case working with Timarchus – also he delivered sculptures to Thebes and Cos – in both cases working together with his younger brother – and specialized in bronze portraits of the poetesses: Myro and Anyte.

He appears particularly tied to sanctuaries of the Apollinean triad as well as of Asclepius.

The ancient tradition placed his peak as well as that of his brother in the 121st Olympiad, i.e. in the years 296–293 BC (see Plin. *nat.* 36,51): maybe it

² Several texts have been collected by Muller-Dufeu 2002 (sources nos. 1570–82 and 1584–89). The testimony of Herod. 4,20–25 is forgotten in this catalogue. The inscription *IG II² 4608*, which in Muller-Dufeu's catalogue is no. 1583, is no longer attributed to Cephisodotus the Younger but to Praxiteles' father, Cephisodotus the Elder: see Clinton 2008, 84–85, no. 58. For the inclusion of Cephisodotus in the records of the liturgic class and particularly of the trierarchies, see Traill 2001, 296, no. 567865. About the epigraphical evidence concerning his ownership of workshop, see Traill 2001, 296, no. 567864. For a summary concerning the economic and social conditions of Cephisodotus the Younger, see Stewart 2013, 19–34, particularly pp. 20–21.

³ About the birth of Praxiteles around 395 BC, see Corso 2004, 111–4. About Praxiteles, see also Kaltsas – Despinis 2007 and Pasquier – Martinez 2007.

⁴ See Traill 2001 (note 2).

⁵ See Plin. *nat.* 36,24: *Praxitelis filius Cephisodotus et artis heres fuit.*

⁶ See Schultz 2003 (note 1).

coincides with the creation of sculptures for the Asclepieum of Cos by the two brothers.

Their last important work may have been the bronze portrait of Menander set up in the theatre of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens and which may date to the year of death of this poet, in 292/291 BC.⁷

Cephisodotus may have died around 290 BC. He never reached the great fame and success enjoyed by his father and moreover his activity never spread to such an extent as that of Praxiteles.

However an assessment of his originality, creative power and importance can be attempted only through the survey of the visual evidence which can be derived from his most important works.

This is exactly the focus of the following pages.

2. The visual evidence which probably harks back to the oeuvre of Cephisodotus the Younger

I shall now consider the following creations disposed in their likely chronological order: 1. The Eleusis type of Asclepius; 2. The Surrentum type of Leto; 3. The Woburn Abbey type of Dionysus; 4. The Larnaka type of Artemis; 5. The Malta type of Artemis; 6. The Capitoline type of Aphrodite; 7. The Schloss Fasanerie/Dresden type of *symplegma*; 8. Sculptures of the altar of the *Asclepieum* on Cos; and 9. The portrait of Menander.

In fact these works compose a coherent artistic itinerary: the sculptor who conceived these works at the beginning of his career still appears to have depended on the Praxitelean formal heritage and anatomic grammar but slowly disengages from his Praxitelean education and accentuates the realistic and three-dimensional interpretation of his subjects.

The identification of the portrait type of Menander with the Menander of Cephisodotus the Younger and Timarchus is certain. As we shall see the derivation of the Capitoline type of Aphrodite from Cephisodotus' Aphrodite is very probable as well as the attribution of sculptures from the Asclepieum of Cos to the two brothers on the authority of Herodas.

Thus the identification of the master of this series with Cephisodotus the Younger, sometimes with the collaboration of his younger brother Timarchus, is logical and acceptable.

⁷ See Papastamati-von Mook (note 1).

As it will be pointed out in detail in the following pages, the sculptures of the altar of the Asclepieum on Cos are early Hellenistic originals, while the other considered types usually are known thanks to both Hellenistic works and Roman copies.

3. The Eleusis type of Asclepius

This type of Asclepius (fig. 1) is known thanks to around 25 visual examples.⁸ This type is inspired by the Giustini type of Asclepius, i.e., by the standard representation of Asclepius in the Asclepieum of Athens. However, the style of the body is more sinuous, the drapery envelops the body and its folding echoes that of Mantinean Muses, of the Uffizi type of Kore, of the Vescovali / Arretium type of Athena and of the Sardanapallus type of Dionysus. Thus it reveals the Attic type of the god reconsidered according to the Praxitelean tradition. The head bears a face characterized by the usual Praxitelean anatomical grammar: oval face, triangular forehead, narrow and elongated eyes, long and thin nose, short and sinuous mouth and slightly protruding chin.

The hair made of short and sinuous locks, is rather voluminous in its external section while in the middle it is adherent to the skull: this is another Praxitelean device, adopted for the Resting Satyr as well as for the Eubuleus. However the whole figure has lost the bi-dimensionality of the truly Praxitelean works: on the contrary, the drapery wrapping the body and the left arm brought behind underline the conception of this figure in a three dimensional space.



Fig. 1. Marble statue of Asclepius, Eleusis, Museum, no. 5100.

⁸ See Holtzmann 1984, 882–3, nos. 234–256; Voutiras 1997, pp. 41–2, no. 22; Romeo 1998, 19–276, particularly 155–63, no. 39; Kaltsas 2001, 210–1, no. 428; Papangeli 2002, 272; Moltesen 2002, 166–7, no. 44; Kranz 2004, 56–8, fig. 50; 64–5, fig. 59; 72–5, figs. 61 and 63.

This type is visually known from around 330 BC:⁹ thus it was created around that period. The circumstance that the life size Pentelic statue of Asclepius of outstanding quality at Eleusis, Museum, no. 5100, dated to still around 320 BC, comes from the local sanctuary of Demeter¹⁰ strongly supports the probability that the original statue was also set up in Attica. The above outlined stylistic analysis suggests that the type was conceived by a master of the Praxitelean circle who, differing from the head of the school, learned how to express with a statue the sense of space.

Of course the copyist series suggests that the original statue was marble: the virtuoso rendering of games of light and shadow with the folding and the sense of the flesh and skin in the upper part of the body can be appreciated in the best copies such as the marble examples at Eleusis, another formerly in Palazzo Sciarra¹¹ and that from Pergamum at Berlin.¹² This treatment of the surfaces implies that the appearance of the god was conceived in marble.

The type became popular in Pergamum – one of the major centres of worship of Asclepius – during the middle Hellenistic times¹³ and finally in Rome during the Roman imperial times.¹⁴

This observation is consistent with the suggestion that the original statue of this series, once set up in Attica, had been later moved to Rome.

The above stressed considerations point toward the identification of the original statue of the Eleusis type of Asclepius with the marble statue of this god by Cephisodotus the Younger brought to Rome and set up in the temple of Juno in the *porticus Octaviae*.¹⁵

The master of this creation still depends on his education with respect to the values of the Praxitelean style but conceives the statue from a three-dimensional point of view, thus foreshadowing a more independent style.

⁹ See the votive reliefs at Athens, National Archaeological Museum (see Kaltsas, note 8) and at Thessaloniki, National Archaeological Museum (see Voutiras 1997, note 8).

¹⁰ See Papangeli 2002 (note 8).

¹¹ See Moltesen 2002 (note 8).

¹² See Kranz 2004 (note 8).

¹³ See Kranz 2004 (note 8).

¹⁴ See the Sciarra copy (Moltesen 2002, note 8); the copy from Sevilla (Holtzmann 1984, 883, no. 239) and the Borghese relief (Holtzmann, 1984, 883, no. 252).

¹⁵ See Plin. *nat.* 36,24. About the *aedes* of Juno Regina, see Viscogliosi 1996, 126–8. About the *porticus Octaviae*, see Viscogliosi 1999, 141–5.

4. The Leto represented on the base from Surrentum

This base in Luna marble of Tiberian age¹⁶ bears the relief representation of the three statues of the Apollinean triad (fig. 2) which stood in the temple of Apollo on Mt. Palatine in Rome.¹⁷ The statue of Apollo stands in the middle and is Scopas' marble Apollo brought from Rhamnus to Rome.¹⁸ At his right the marble statue of Artemis by Timotheus is represented,¹⁹ while at his left we see the representation of the marble statue of Leto by Cephisodotus the Younger.²⁰

This figure of Leto is standing, she holds a scepter in her right hand, her right leg supports the weight of her body, and the corresponding foot must have been fully on the ground while her left leg was bent. She wears a long chiton girdled below her breasts. The girdle determines a long *apoptygma* endowed with an arched configuration. Her *himation* veils her head and falls on her shoulders and along her sides.

The arched *apoptygma* is a pattern which is already found in the Eirene of Cephisodotus the Elder, the grandfather of our master, thus it pertained to the formal repertoire of the workshop's tradition. The statue of Leto of Megara by Praxiteles, represented on Megarian coins, was also clad in a long twofold chiton, grasping a long scepter with her



Fig. 2. Apollinean triad on the base of Surrentum, Museo Correale di Terranova, no. 3657.

¹⁶ This base is kept at Sorrento (Museo Correale di Terranova, no. 3657): see, as far as the image of Leto is concerned, Rizzo 1933, particularly 51–76); Berger–Doer 1992, 267–72, particularly 267–8, no. 2; Gros 1993, 54–7; Cecamore 2004, 104–41, particularly 126–39); Calcani 2009, 56–9 (work no. 4) and Bravi 2014, 132–7.

¹⁷ About the temple of Apollo Palatinus see Zink 2008, 47–63; Wiseman – Zink 2012, 371–402 and Carandini – Bruno 2008, 199–242.

¹⁸ See Prop. 2,31,15–16; Plin. *nat.* 36,25 and *Reg. urb.*, *regio x.*

¹⁹ See Prop. 2,31,15–16 and Plin. *nat.* 36,32.

²⁰ See Prop. 2,31,15–16 and Plin. *nat.* 36,24.

right hand and also had her left hand lowered.²¹ Thus it is possible to say that Cephisodotus the Younger for his Leto reused the general *schema* of the Megarian Leto of his father.

Praxiteles' statue of Leto in Argus was also endowed with a long chiton with *apoptygma*.²² thus there was a standard representation of Leto used by the sculptors of this workshop.

The re-use of the *schema* of the draped lady with the bent left leg and with a long arched *apoptygma* is known also with a statuette from the Asclepieum of Cos²³ which can be attributed to the workshop of the sons of Praxiteles.

Although the general *schema* of the figure is Praxitelean, the *himation* enveloping the body from behind and from the sides suggests a three-dimensional re-interpretation of this *schema* which foreshadows the new era.

Finally, the Leto on the Surrentum base does not bear any divine aura, but on the contrary evokes a realistic notion of a mature, married lady.

Thus the disengagement from the Praxitelean *agalmatopoiia* looks more marked than in the Eleusis type of Asclepius.

This stylistic consideration leads to the suggestion of a date of Cephisodotus' Leto to around 320 BC.

5. The Woburn Abbey type of Dionysus

This type of Dionysus²⁴ is known through more than 10 copies.

The description of this type will be based here on the best preserved copy and that of highest quality, in Woburn Abbey (fig. 3).

Dionysus is represented as a naked youth standing with his weight on his right leg. His body shows an S – curve. The god rests his left arm on a tree trunk, upon which he has draped his *nebris*. A snake and a vine branch envelope the tree

²¹ See Corso 2010, 11.

²² See Corso 2010, 41.

²³ Kept in Constantinople, Archaeological Museum, no. 1556: see Kabus-Preisshofen 1989, 272–3, no. 72 and Interdonato 2013, 361–2, no. 12.

²⁴ See Pochmarski 1974, 94–9; Gasparri 1986, 414–514, particularly 435, no. 120 a–f; Papakonstantinou 1987, 133–9; Angelicoussis 1992, 50–1, no. 12; Waywell – Wilkes 1995, 435–60, particularly 457, no. 1; Cain 1997, 35–6; Corso 2000, 25–53, particularly 42–4; Linfert 2005, 61–2, no. 22; Capaldi 2009a, 133–4, no. 59; Mattei 2010, 452–5, no. 6; Oehmke 2011, 554–6, no. 124 and Tepebas – Durugonul 2013, 35–152, particularly 63–5, nos. 24–6.

trunk and the god holds in his left hand a bunch of grapes. In his right hand he was probably holding a *cantharos*, as it is suggested by the Castle Howard copy and by variations from this prototype.²⁵

His head is inclined to the right and leans slightly downwards. His gaze is lost and dreamy. His hair is crowned with a wreath of ivy leaves. The hair is wavy and carried to the nape, where it is gathered into a loop, while two sinuous locks fall onto the shoulders. A fillet passes under his hair on his forehead.

The general configuration of this Dionysus seems very similar to that of the Praxitelean Resting Satyr, which is conceived according to the same rhythm but reversed. The hair-style is very close to those of the Apollo Sauroctonus and of the Cnidian Aphrodite. The anatomy seems basically the same as in the Hermes of Olympia, i.e. of the late phase of Praxiteles.

The motif of the bunch of grapes held by the god characterizes again both this Dionysus and the Hermes of Olympia, who was holding this attribute probably in his right hand.

The motif of the garment draped on a tree trunk where the elbow of the god is resting is also a feature linking the Olympian Hermes and the Woburn Abbey Dionysus.

Moreover, the latter type seems a reversed variation of the Sambon/Grimani type of Dionysus, with its S-shape configuration now much more marked. The two flanking elements, *cantharos* and tree trunk, seem also a variation of the habit of associating Dionysus with a *cantharos* and a vertical vegetal support, usually a *thyrsos*, which characterized the Praxitelean Dionysus described by Callistratus (Callistr. *stat.* 8).

The master of the Woburn Abbey Dionysus must have also taken inspiration from the Apollo Lyceus type, whose original statue was probably made in the



Fig. 3. Marble statue of Dionysus, Woburn Abbey.

²⁵ See, e.g., Schröder 1989, 49–60.

workshop of Euphranor between 336 and 326 BC and dedicated in the Lyceum of Athens,²⁶ given the similarity of the sinuous configurations between the two bodies, of the oval shapes of the two heads as well as of the anatomical features. As the Apollo Lyceus was certainly one of the most important creations of his age, having been set up in a place renowned for the activity of Aristotle's school, it is more probable that the master of the Woburn Abbey Dionysus imitated this popular masterpiece than vice versa.

Thus the creation of the original statue of the Woburn Abbey type falls in the last quarter of the 4th c. BC, in the Praxitelean current. The process of sfumato rendering of surfaces, which is emphasized continuously throughout the mature and late activity of Praxiteles and reaches its peak with works of the Praxitelean school at the end of the 4th c., such as the Aberdeen head and the Chian Girl, can be the only good way to fix a chronology of this creation.

The sfumato rendering of the Woburn Abbey Dionysus seems similar to those of the sculptural decorations of the altar of Asclepius on Cos, to be attributed to the workshop of the sons of Praxiteles, of the Capitoline type of Aphrodite, which constitutes probably the copyist tradition of Cephisodotus the Younger's Aphrodite, and finally of the Larnaka Artemis who is similar to our Dionysus also for the ponderation and rhythm of her body.

The sfumato surfaces of our Dionysus and of these sculptures is so similar that it leaves little doubt about the attribution of these works to the same workshop.

Given the relations of the two sons of Praxiteles with the sanctuaries of Dionysus of Athens and of Thebes,²⁷ it would be surprising if none of the famous types of Dionysus originated from them.

The Woburn Abbey Dionysus was destined to be far more popular than the Praxitelean Sambon/Grimani type of Dionysus, since it was the origin of several variations.²⁸

²⁶ See Papini 2010, 508–13, no. 19; Schröder 2011, 545–9, no. 122 and Pologiorgi 2010–2012, 127–48.

²⁷ The connection of these two sculptors with the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens is guaranteed by their statue of Menander set up there (see *infra*). Moreover they worked on sculptures of the altar of the sanctuary of Dionysus at Thebes (see Paus. 9,12,4).

²⁸ The following sculptural types of Dionysus derive from the Woburn Abbey type: the Richelieu/Prado, the Thermae, the Cyrene, the Borghese/Colonna, the Horti Lamiani/Holkham Hall and the Copenhagen/Valentini types: see Corso 2000, 44–9; Angelicoussis 2001, 99–100, no. 12; Schröder 2004, 239–43, no. 145; Capaldi 2009b, 132, no. 59 and Gröschel 2009, 459–60, no. 302.

With the Woburn Abbey Dionysus, the Sambon/Grimani Praxitelean creation had been up-dated in keeping with the so-called 'saponification' of images, conceived now as dreamy epiphanies with vanishing outlines, typical of the Praxitelean current of the first generation after the death of the great master.

Perhaps this creation should be connected with the sculptures made by the sons of Praxiteles for the altar of Dionysus at Thebes.²⁹

Despite the first impression of a bi-dimensional creation, the plastic rendering of the sinuous locks and of the chignon, the torso twisted slightly in a three-quarters position, the projection of the head of the *nebris*, of the snake coiling around the tree-trunk and of the bunch of grapes held in the left hand,³⁰ finally the muscular back reveal that the Praxitelean heritage is re-considered even here from a realistic and three-dimensional point of view.

6. The Larnaka type of Artemis

This type of Artemis is known thanks to both coin types and sculptures.

It is represented on reverses of coin types of the Phrygian polis Eucarpia, from the age of Augustus to the reign of Volusian.³¹

Artemis appears standing with her left leg bent and her left foot resting on a pedestal. She wears a long chiton girdled below her breasts. The *himation* is disposed across the body, is held by the goddess with her forwarded left forearm and falls down from this arm.

Her right arm is brought to the side with the corresponding forearm up-lifted in order to extract an arrow from her quiver. Her left arm is lowered with her forearm forwarded and the corresponding hand holding a bow. Below her left elbow there is an archaic *xoanon* of a standing draped goddess wearing a polos. Finally Artemis' hair is brought behind and collected in a chignon.

In sculpture the same iconography is known thanks to six examples:

²⁹ See above, note 27.

³⁰ The bunch of grapes and the snake coiling around the tree-trunk appear also in the Dionysus in Castle Howard (see Linfert 2005, note 24), thus these patterns are not additions of the copyist workshop but derive from the original statue of the series.

³¹ See Head 1906, 203–10, coin types nos. 2; 6; 11–3; 18–20 and 31–3.

1. A marble statuette found in the gymnasium of Citium on Cyprus, the so-called Artemis of Larnaka (fig. 4).³² This is by far the best example of the series for its outstanding quality. The find spot of the statuette in the early Hellenistic gymnasium of Citium³³ and the sfumato rendering of the surfaces which are typical of the early Hellenistic Praxitelean School suggest a date of the statuette within the first decades of the 3rd c. BC and its attribution to a workshop which followed the Praxitelean tradition.
2. A middle Hellenistic marble statuette found at Athens in the *agora* near the *tholos*.³⁴
3. The lower part of a middle Hellenistic marble statuette found in the harbor of Ephesus, once in a private collection, now its whereabouts are not known.³⁵
4. A middle Hellenistic marble statuette from Melos.³⁶
5. A late Hellenistic marble head with bust from Pompeii.³⁷
6. An early imperial marble statue from the Roman villa of Baiae at Strigari.³⁸



Fig. 4. Marble Artemis at Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, no. I 603.

³² This statuette is kept in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, no. I 603. See, about the find spot of the statuette, Yon 2006, 25 and 112–3. About the statuette as a work of art, see von Prittwitz – Gaffron 2007, 241–71, particularly 248 and 403, no. 211.

³³ See Yon 2006, 80.

³⁴ This statuette is kept in Athens, Agora Museum. See "Archaeologische Funde vom Juli 1933 bis Juli 1934", *AA* 49 (1934) 123–95, particularly 132–4, fig. 5.

³⁵ See Schrader 1924, 73–6.

³⁶ Kept in Athens, National Archaeological Museum, no. 238: see Delivorrias 1984, 2–151, particularly 45, no. 341.

³⁷ Kept in Naples, National Archaeological Museum, no. 6542: see Delivorrias 1984, 40, no. 276.

³⁸ Kept in Naples, National Archaeological Museum, no. 6121: see Scatozza Hörich 1989, 95–153, particularly 108–9, no. 62.

The stylistic analysis of the type will be based on the earliest example – the statuette from Citium – which is also that of the highest quality as well as that which reveals more clearly the pedigree of the type within the Praxitelean tradition.

The goddess appears standing with her left leg bent while her right leg rests on the ground. The left foot rests on the plinth of the lateral support of the statuette.

She wears a *chiton* with a wide neckline, with a girdle just below the breasts. The folding is that typical of Praxitelean female figures: from the Kore Uffizi to the Artemis of Dresden to the Gabii type of Artemis to the Mantinean Muses. A *himation* is thrown on the left shoulder of the goddess, falls down along the back, is disposed across the frontal side of the goddess, is held by the left forearm and falls down from it.

The left forearm rests on a lateral support. This is composed from below of a square plinth, supporting a short column which is crowned by a round base of an archaic-looking idol of the goddess. The latter is standing, she wears a long *chiton*, and her right hand is brought to the chest while her left hand holds the garment. The head of the idol is topped by a *polos* just below the left forearm of Artemis.

The strap of the quiver is diagonally disposed across the breasts. The right arm is brought to the side with the forearm uplifted in order to take an arrow from the quiver imagined to be on the back of the goddess.

The left hand must have held the bow.

The head responds well to the usual Praxitelean anatomical grammar: the face is oval, the eyes are narrow and elongated, the nose is strong, the mouth is short and sinuous, the chin is slightly protruding, and the forehead is triangular. The hair is divided in the middle and made of sinuous locks brought behind and collected with a chignon on the nape.

The general source of inspiration of the type is constituted by the Dresden type of Artemis: the general *schema* of the figure, the folding of the drapery and the details of the head derive from that model. The ponderation of the Larnaka goddess is reversed when compared to that of the Dresden type.

However there are also several innovations:

1. The girdle below the breasts which is very fashionable during the early Hellenistic times.
2. The *himation* disposed across the body which emphasizes the third dimension.
3. The forearm brought forward which also conveys the sense of space.

4. The *sfumato* rendering with vanishing outlines which implies the formal heritage of late Praxitelean works such as the Townley Aphrodite and the Leconfield Venus and perhaps even the post-Praxitelean Girl from Chius in Boston.
5. The presence of the archaic idol of Artemis below the left elbow of the statuette.

This idol derives from the archaic-looking idol of Artemis which is found below the left arm of Apollo from Formiae: this statue probably copies Praxiteles' Apollo brought to Rome.³⁹ In any case, the adoption of an old idol as side support of a statue characterized also the Eros of Parium.

The *himation* disposed across the chest and falling down from the left forearm is found in the so-called Artemisia of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.⁴⁰

The original statue of the Larnaka type of Artemis probably was a statue for a sanctuary. The old idol of the goddess was evoked and underlined the antiquity and sanctity of the cult lavished with the new statue.

The fluidity of the copyist tradition suggests that it was not possible to copy the original statue from a nearby location. The citation of a pattern used in the Mausoleum suggests that the new statue was dedicated in a sanctuary of Asia Minor.

The Larnaka goddess is characterized by a very fortunate combination of the re-consideration of the Praxitelean concept of Artemis with the values of the *sfumato* rendering and of the sense of space.

The master capable of offering a superior synthesis of these stylistic patterns was Cephisodotus the Younger. Thus an attribution of the original statue of the type to him is probable.

7. The Malta type of Artemis

The Malta type of running Artemis (fig. 5)⁴¹ represents the goddess with a short diploid *chiton* with *apoptygma* and high girdle. A mantle is thrown on her left shoulder. She holds her bow with her left outstretched arm while her right arm is bent with the corresponding hand about to extract an arrow from her quiver. A

³⁹ See Corso 2013, 135–42, work no. 48.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., Maderna 2004, 303–82, particularly 303–16, pl. 280.

⁴¹ About this type, see Sestieri 1941, 107–28; Beschi 1959, 253–97; Egilmez 1980, 364–6; Tombolani 1983, 28–43, particularly 32–35, no. 15; Kahil 1984, 618–753, particularly 650–1, nos. 337–52 and Simon 1984, 792–855, particularly nos. 32, 62 and 89.

dog often appears near her legs. She wears *exomis* boots. Her drapery is swollen by the wind in the section corresponding to the *apoptygma*. Her right breast is bare. The *chiton* is thin and transparent. Her head is endowed with a face bearing the typical Praxitelean features. Her hair has wavy locks brought behind and collected in a chignon.

The following three considerations may lead to a plausible suggestion about the original statue of this series:

1. The general style of the Malta goddess is inspired by the antecedent constituted by the Artemis of Anticyra by Praxiteles⁴² and the head is entirely in keeping with the heads of Praxitelean young goddesses, including those of the Artemis of the Dodekathion of Ostia and of the Dresden type of this goddess. Thus the original statue of the Malta type should be attributed to the environment of Praxiteles.
2. Several Roman imperial examples of the type have been found in the central area of the empire and thus may depend on a statue standing in Rome at the time.
3. The blown wind-swept appearance of the drapery is in keeping with the aesthetics of quick movement introduced by Lysippus and reveals a *Zeitgeist* in which images were conceived from a three dimensional point of view.

The conclusion of these observations is that the Malta type may depend on the Artemis by Cephisodotus the Younger brought to the temple of Juno Regina in the *porticus Octaviae*.⁴³



Fig. 5. Bronze statuette of Artemis at Portogruaro, Museo Archeologico Concordiese, no. 10002.

⁴² See Corso 2014, work no. 61.

⁴³ See Plin. *nat.* 36,24.

This suggestion is plausible because it would explain the Praxitelean formal heritage of the type, the derivation of its style from that of the Artemis of Anticyra and finally the three dimensional – thus clearly post Praxitelean – concept of the drapery.

Needless to say, the representation of Artemis running and hunting in the forest implies the establishment of the Arcadian dream:⁴⁴ in the grove, far away from cities, viewers are admitted to the contemplation of the young and appealing goddess. The effort by Cephisodotus the Younger to give a visual dimension to this idealized concept of the forest is in keeping with the fact that his father Praxiteles also conceived young beautiful deities in groves and thus helped to establish this notion. Moreover it aligns with the observation that the same Cephisodotus fleshed out the statue of Anyte of Tegea⁴⁵ whose poems contributed to popularize the concept that humans in groves and up on the mountains can be both happy and close to the gods. Thus presumably Cephisodotus was also close to the oligarchic patrons who promoted the acceptance of the Arcadian dream in the mainstream culture of the time.⁴⁶

8. The Capitoline type of Aphrodite

The Capitoline type of Aphrodite (fig. 6)⁴⁷ is one of the most copied sculptural types in antiquity. Unfortunately no systematic study of all copies of this Aphrodite has been attempted: however the known examples are certainly more than 120.⁴⁸

The present description of this creation is based on the eponymous copy, kept in the Capitoline Museums.

⁴⁴ About the Arcadian dream in the late classical society, see Corso 2013, 26.

⁴⁵ See Tatian. 34,11.

⁴⁶ About the oligarchic connection of the Arcadian dream, see note 44.

⁴⁷ About the Capitoline type of Aphrodite, see Andreae 2001b, 70–2, no. 17; Andreae 2001a; Kansteiner 2001, 99, no. F 2; 107–8, no. G 1; 108, no. G 1 a; Schröder 2004, 148–55, no. 123; Vorster 2004, 171–2, no. 132; Vlizon 2004, 200–8, nos. 54–6; Corso 2007 (note 1); Pafumi 2009, 77–82, nos. 32–5; Pafumi 2010, 155–6, no. 59; Smit-Douna 2010, 86–7, no. 417; Stewart 2010 (note 1); Boschung 2011, 250–5, no. 33; 256–7, no. 34; 430–432, no. 85 and Aristodimou 2012, 113–4; 290, no. 21 and 365, no. 333.

⁴⁸ See Stewart 2010 (note 1).

The goddess is represented standing with her left foot fully on the ground while her right leg is bent and the corresponding foot touches the ground with tip toes. She lowers her left arm in order to shield her pubes with her corresponding hand. Her right arm is also lowered but the elbow is bent and the forearm is brought across the chest just below the breasts.

Her head turns to her left in a three quarters position, the hair is parted in the middle and is made of wavy locks collected above the head and also falling on the back of her right shoulder with a braid.

The face responds to the usual Praxitelean anatomical grammar: its general shape is oval, the forehead is triangular, the eyes are narrow and elongated, the mouth is short and the chin is slightly protruding. The knot of hair on top of the head derives from the visual tradition of the Belvedere type of Apollo as well as of a head of Apollo from the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.⁴⁹

The body is much fleshier and more three-dimensional than in the Praxitelean tradition: the torso of the goddess is slightly inclined forward; the breasts are much closer to each other and give emphasis to the sensual appeal of the goddess.

Even the complicated coiffure adds to the message that the goddess pertains to a precious and beautiful tale.

Near her left leg there is a *loutrophoros* upon which the goddess threw her *himation*.

The *loutrophoros* is a typically Athenian vase which may have either a nuptial or a funerary function.⁵⁰

Since the expression of the goddess is not sad but on the contrary smiling, thus in this context the *loutrophoros* should be regarded a nuptial vase.



Fig. 6. Marble statue of Aphrodite, Rome, Capitoline Museum, no. 409.

⁴⁹ Kept in London, The British Museum, no. 1058. See, e.g., Todisco 1993, pls. 169 and 226.

⁵⁰ See Stewart 2010 (note 1).

The goddess is represented about to bathe: she has just thrown her *himation* on the nuptial vase and shields her graces with both arms, turning her head to one side in order not to be fully exposed to the gaze of the viewers in front of her.

This creation celebrated the ritual bath of the goddess on the occasion of her wedding: perhaps she represents the transfer of the ritual bath of Athenian girls about to be married into the myth.

The reconsideration of the Praxitelean formal heritage with a three-dimensional creation suggests that the original statue was the Aphrodite of Cephisodotus the Younger brought to Rome and exposed there among the *monumenta Asini Pollionis* (Plin. *nat.* 36,24).

The importance of this Roman collection would explain the enormous popularity of our goddess. Ovid describes this creation (Ov. *ars* 2,613–614) as well as the Appiades which were another masterpiece of the same collection (see Ov. *ars* 1,81–86; 3,451–455; *rem.* 659–660 and Plin. *nat.* 36,33).

The *terminus ante quem* of this creation is provided by the shape of the *loutrophoros* which disappears around 300 BC as well as by a mirror in the Museum of Elis which also dates to the end of the 4th c. BC and on which the Capitoline *schema* of the goddess is represented for the first time:⁵¹ thus it should be placed in the very late 4th c. BC.

The gestures of the goddess of shielding her pubes and breasts may be interpreted as acts of *verecundia* and *pudicitia* of the bride who is embarrassed the first time she makes love with her groom.

The Capitoline Aphrodite conveys the interpretation of the love goddess as a driving force operating in real life: in this specific case she embodies the moment when the bride, after her ritual bath, encounters not without hesitation her groom. Since the *loutrophoros* is a typical Athenian vase,⁵² the statue may have been set up in an Attic sanctuary of Aphrodite prior to its re-location to Rome.

This creation is a masterpiece because it gives an appealing appearance to the immanentistic concept of deities conceived as divine presences in human society: the latter is regarded a series of typical situations.

The intellectual environment which is behind this work of art is characterized by the Aristotelianism, with its immanentistic concept of gods, as well as by the New Comedy, with its 'eternal' human characters: the bride, ready to bathe before her wedding is one of them.

⁵¹ See Stewart 2010, 19–23.

⁵² See Stewart 2010 (note 1).

9. The Symplegma brought to Pergamum

Now we have to consider a group of a Silenus with a Hermaphrodite (fig. 7)⁵³ which is known thanks to more than 30 copies. The Silenus is trying to seize the Hermaphroditus who rejects him. The description of the group will be based on the best copy for quality and preservation: the more complete of the two copies in Dresden.⁵⁴

The Silenus is leaning on a small rock. His is raising the upper part of his body; his arms hold the right arm of the Hermaphrodite. His legs surround on both sides the hips of the Hermaphrodite. The hair style of the Silenus is basically that of the Resting Satyr: a *taenia* divides the upper part of the hair from the external section. The hair consists of wavy locks which are brought behind above the forehead. The eyes of the Silenus are those of the Praxitelean tradition: narrow and elongated.



Fig. 7. Marble symplegma at Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung, no. Hm 155.

⁵³ See Gercke 1988, 232–4; Ajootian 1990, 268–85, particularly 278–9, no. 63 a–w; Häuber 1999, 157–80; Moltesen 2002, 269–70, no. 86; Verzar 2004, 907–27; Vorster 2007, 273–331, particularly 300, fig. 282; von Prittwitz – Gaffron 2007, 262–4; Petzleff 2007, 459–72; Vorster 2011, 922–9, no. 221 and 930–2, no. 222.

⁵⁴ See Vorster 2011 (note 53).

The Hermaphrodite tries to reject the advance of the Silenus by putting his right hand on the face of the Silenus as well as by holding the right foot of the latter with his other hand. The hair style of the Hermaphrodite is inspired by those of the Praxitelean images of Aphrodite: wavy locks brought behind and collected in a chignon on the nape. The face of the Hermaphrodite also reveals the typical anatomical grammar of Praxitelean female faces: the general shape of the face is oval, the forehead is triangular with upper sides curved, the eyes are narrow and elongated, the nose is long, the mouth is short and sinuous and the chin is slightly protruding.

The head of the Hermaphrodite is conceived from a three-dimensional point of view. The hair rolled in a braid disposed around the skull also suggests the sense of the space.

The chest of the Silenus is muscular and realistic. The group has two privileged view points: in one of them the Hermaphrodite is frontal and in the other it is seen from his back. In both cases the Silenus is represented in profile.

Copies of this masterpiece had been displayed in theatres:⁵⁵ perhaps the original group stood in a choregic monument and commemorated a Satyric play.

At the moment in which the group is represented it is still unclear whether the Silenus eventually will win the resistance of the Hermaphrodite.

An epigram (*AG* 9,317) probably refers to this creation:

"Hermaphrodite: Goatherd, I love seeing this foul-mouthed god struck on his bold pate by the pears. Silenus: Goatherd, I had anal sex with him three times; and the young billy-goats were looking at me and tugging the young nanny-goats. Goatherd: Is it true, Hermaphrodite, that he did so? Hermaphrodite: No, goatherd, I swear by Hermes. Silenus: I swear by Pan I did, and I was laughing all the time". (transl. Loeb with amendments)

This epigram clarifies the bucolic environment imagined around this creation and which is also argued by the rock on which Silenus is laying.

Probably the original statue of this copyist series is described by Plin. *nat.* 36,24:

Cuius (scil.: Cephisodoti) laudatum est Pergami symplegma nobile digitis corpori verius quam marmori inpressis.

The adjective *nobile* underlines the renown of the masterpiece which is also evidenced by the many surviving copies.

⁵⁵ See Petzleff 2007 (note 53).

Silenus presses the fingers of both his hands on the right arm of the Hermaphrodite and the latter presses the fingers of his right hand on the face of Silenus; even these details are in keeping with Pliny's description.

Finally the group reveals the Praxitelean formal heritage reconsidered from a three dimensional and realistic point of view. As it has been noticed above, this study is typical of the art of Cephisodotus. The presence of two viewpoints – the front and back of the Hermaphrodite – may have been inspired by the important antecedent of the Cnidian Aphrodite which was also seen both from the front and from the back (see Lucian. *Am.* 15–16).

However this group spreads into the space much more than the Cnidia: thus it should be regarded one of the latest works by Cephisodotus, conceived when the immersion of the sculpture into the space became obvious.

10. The sculptures of the altar of the Asclepieum of Cos

Herod. 4,1–26 reports that the sons of Praxiteles carved and signed marble statues pertinent to the altars of the Asclepieum on Cos. The patron was Euthias, son of Praxon.

The altar of the Asclepieum on Cos was a rectangular structure. A flight of steps served the entrance in the middle of a long side. A *peristasis* of Ionic columns was disposed around the walls of the altar, except in the section corresponding to the entrance steps. The walls framed an internal courtyard in the middle of which there were proper altars.⁵⁶ This monumental type of altar was inspired by that of the Artemisium of Ephesus.

The altar was adorned with statues of Asclepius, Hygieia, Coronis, Apollo, Panacea, Epione, Iasus, Podalirius, Machaon, Hecate, Helios, Hemera, Nike as well as Aphrodite with Eros.⁵⁷ The exact location

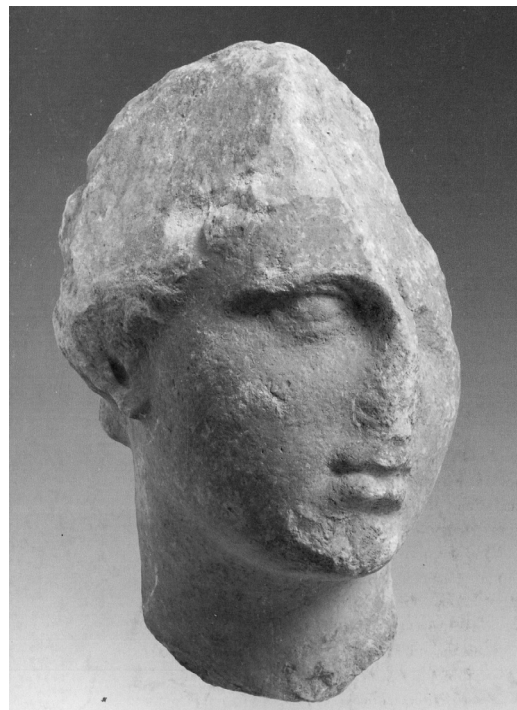


Fig. 8. Marble head from the altar of the Asclepieum on Cos, Archaeological Museum, no. Gamma 1113.

⁵⁶ See Interdonato 2013, 35–7 and 288–90, no. 6.

⁵⁷ See Interdonato 2013, 100 and 217, inscription no. 6.

of these statues in the context of the altar cannot be determined.

The surviving fragments of sculptures probably pertinent to the altar include around 20 pieces.⁵⁸

The most noteworthy of these fragments are few female heads (fig. 8) and a couple of female draped bodies (fig. 9). As usual, the anatomical grammar of the faces, the hair styles and the rendering and folding of the drapery derive from the Praxitelean tradition. However the *sfumato* appearance of the heads is emphasized more than in the true Praxitelean oeuvre. Moreover the eyes sockets are deeper than in the heads of Praxiteles works and even the drapery folds determine deeper gaps than in the draped figures of the lover of Phryne. These features may be due to the influence of the Scopadic tradition and to the subjects represented – the circle of Asclepius – which required the sense of *pathos*, and finally they may have been instrumental towards the expression of the space.

Clearly Cephisodotus and Timarchus mixed the Praxitelean formal heritage with patterns derived from other late classical traditions in order to represent pathetic figures. These sculptures are in keeping with the eclecticism which characterized the early Hellenistic visual culture and foreshadows the art of the middle Hellenism in western Asia Minor, where the expression of the *pathos* will be the most salient pattern of the baroque *magniloquentia*.

The importance of the Asclepieum of Cos suggests that the *agalmata* of Cephisodotus and Timarchus in the area of the altar determined their peak in the years 296–293 BC which is handed down by Plin. *nat.* 34,51.



Fig. 9. Marble torso from the altar of the Asclepieum of Cos (probably an *akroterion*), *in situ*, storeroom, no. Gamma 1175.

⁵⁸ See Interdonato 2013, 360–2, no. 12, and 373–80, nos. 1–19.

11. The portrait of Menander

The bronze statue of Menander⁵⁹ had been set up in the eastern *parodos* of the theatre of Dionysus Eleuthereus in Athens, next to the statues of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides,⁶⁰ probably when the comic poet died, in the late 290s. The base survives and bears the signatures of Cephisodotus and Timarchus.⁶¹ The configuration of the statue has been restituted by Fittschen,⁶² whose suggestion has been accepted by the scholarly community. The portrait was often copied – more than 70 copies survive (figs. 10 and 11) – reflecting the great fame of the sitter in the late Hellenistic and Roman world.⁶³

The poet was represented sitting on a throne and wrapped by a mantel. Since his characters in his comedies were ordinary people, wearing daily clothes, which is why the new comedy is called *palliata*, he is assimilated to one of these characters. His throne is of the same type of the thrones in the proedry of the Lycurgic phase of the theatre of Dionysus: thus he is imagined to be sitting in front of the stage, watching one of his comedies.

From a formal point of view, the mantel looks thick with sparse folding. The head bears an oval face with deeply cut eyes sockets. The presence of wrinkles underlines the advanced age of the sitter. The gaze suggests concentration.

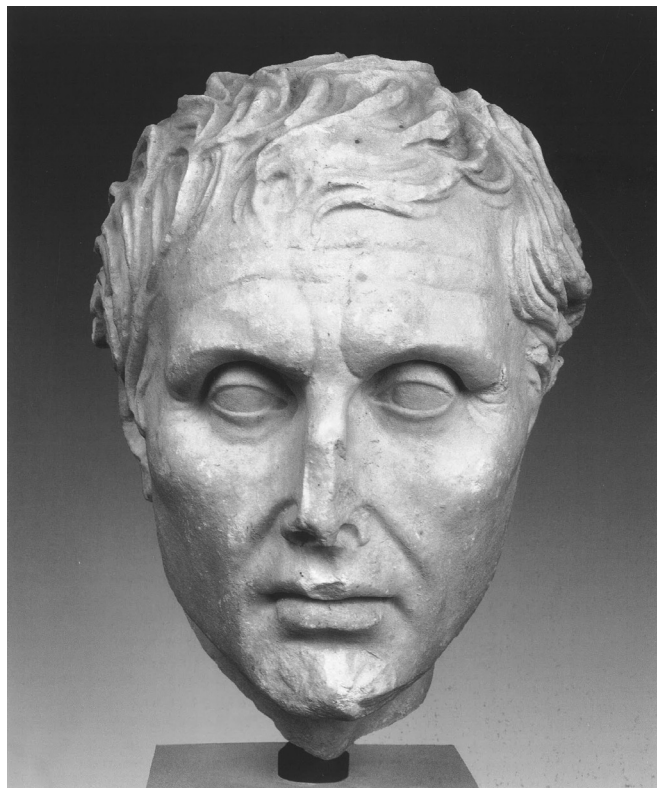


Fig. 10. Marble head of Menander, copy at Corfu', National Archaeological Museum.

⁵⁹ About this portrait, see Papastamati-von Mook (note 1) and Vorster 2013 (note 1).

⁶⁰ See Papastamati-von Mook 2007b, 309, fig. 8.

⁶¹ See *IG II²* 3777. See also Paus. 1,21,1.

⁶² See Fittschen 1991, 243–79.

⁶³ See Seilheimer 2002, 12–38.



Fig. 11. Menander, wall painting, Pompeii, House of Menander.

The hair is of wavy locks. A sense of ordinary reality and daily life is communicated by this creation. It reveals that Cephisodotus and Timarchus abandoned the Praxitelean formal world, made of beautiful tales, in order to express the reality in their own time and space. The latter formal address was more in keeping with the cultural *Zeitgeist* of the period, thus they may have thought that following it would have guaranteed them the success of their business.

12. A few concluding words

From the reconstruction of the development of Cephisodotus' art suggested in the previous pages it is possible to argue that he reused the Praxitelean formal heritage for creations conceived from a realistic and three-dimensional point of view. Thus he guaranteed the survival of Praxitelean patterns in the sculpture of the period of the Macedonian hegemony.

Although this trend is an important one in the Athenian art of the late 4th and of the early 3rd c. BC, not one of the previously considered works reveals an exceptional originality – what ancient critics called *inventio* – and the mental power to flesh out a new visual world.

It is possible that the greatness of Praxiteles had both a strong and negative impact on his sons, who thus had not been able to find their own *viae artis*.

However they eloquently expressed the provincial cultural life of Athens at the time: keen to update the important heritage of the past but unable to lead towards new directions.

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