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ANTONIO CORSO

THE ART OF PRAXITELES III
The Advanced Maturity
of the Sculptor

«L'ERMA» di BRETSCHNEIDER

ANTONIO CORSO

THE ART OF PRAXITELES III
*The Advanced Maturity
of the Sculptor*

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SIXTH CHAPTER

FROM THE LATE 360S TO AROUND 355 BC

The statues of the 12 gods set up in the sanctuary of the Saviour Artemis in Megara (no. 24 in my list of the works of Praxiteles) probably were the first group made by Praxiteles for this city. This conclusion is reached through the argumentation that the Megaran sanctuary of Artemis Soteira was a client of this Athenian workshop of sculptors already in the times of Strongylion, who made for this cult centre the statue of the Saviour Artemis. Thus, it is likely that the authorities and devotees of this sanctuary commissioned Praxiteles with this group because they had been satisfied by the Artemis made for them by Strongylion and that the setting of the *dodekatheon* in this *hieron* and its 'success' met with the local public elicited the emulation of other Megaran cult centres which also wanted to have works carved by this renowned 'firm'.

Moreover, the styles of the figures of the 12 gods derived from this *dodekatheon* and recognized in the cylindrical base of Ostia also point to a date in the late 360s. These figures reveal a sinuosity which is still moderate and a light-and-shade definition of the surfaces which has not yet affected the sense of strong structure of their bodies.

After the *dodekatheon*, the second group carved by Praxiteles for a Megaran sanctuary may have been (the numbering is progressive from the first work of Praxiteles to the last).

27. THE TRIAD OF LETO, APOLLO, ARTEMIS IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE TUTELARY APOLLO IN MEGARA

This triad was seen by Pausanias 1. 44. 2:

"Descending from the market-place (*agora*) by the street that is called Straight, we have on the right a sanctuary (*hieron*) of Tutelary (*Prostaterios*) Apollo: it can be found by turning a little way out of the street. In it is an image of Apollo that is

worth seeing; also images (*agalmata*) of Artemis, Leto and others: Leto and her children are by Praxiteles" (transl. Frazer with amendments).¹

The Megaran sanctuary of Apollo Prostaterios is evidenced also by a couple of early Hellenistic inscriptions (*IG* 7. 39-40): the re-use of the two inscribed stones as building material in post-ancient buildings confirms the location of the sanctuary given by Pausanias on the right of the road which goes from the *agora* of Meg-

ara toward the harbour of Nisaea, a little before the Gate of the Nymphs.² In both inscriptions, the dedicatees were the *theoioi*, local magistrates.³ Of course the high rank of the dedicatees suggests that this cult was rather important. The circumstance that in IG 7. 39, a flute - player (*auletas*) is associated to the *theoioi* who signed the dedication to Tutelary Apollo suggests that musical performances were held in this sanctuary.

Prostaterios as epiklesis of Apollo is established already in early classical times.⁴ The god was addressed with this adjective because his statue stood before the doors of his temple⁵. Therefore, he was ready to guarantee his protection to his worshippers. The cult of Apollo *Prostaterios* is known, beside Megara, in Athens, where it was regarded a traditional cult already in the age of Demosthenes,⁶ and in the sanctuary of Asclepius of Epidaurus, where the protection of the god may have pertained to the sphere of health.⁷

The Megarians may have commissioned to Praxiteles their Apollinean triad in the sanctuary of Apollo *Prostaterios* also because, as an Athenian, he was well acquainted with the cult of Apollo with this epiklesis.

Pausanias seems to distinguish the *Apollon (...) theas axios kai Artemis kai Leto* from *alla agalmata*, which included Praxiteles' *Leto kai hoi paides*: therefore, the first mentioned Apollinean triad must have been the cultic one, while the second one, made by Praxiteles, must have been a votive offering.

Pausanias' definition of the subject of Praxiteles' triad as *Leto kai hoi paides* suggests that Leto was the first statue of the triad from the viewer's left, followed by those of her two children. It is likely that Apollo - the most important of the three deities because he was the lord of this sanctuary - had the privileged position

in the middle, while Artemis stood on the viewer's right.

Pausanias does not specify the material of Praxiteles' triad, but it is probable that the three statues were marble, because this writer usually refers the word *agalma* to marble statues.

Of course, we may suppose that Praxiteles adopted for the three statues styles which echoed configurations which had been already shown in the earlier, local and successful group of the *dodekatheon*. In particular, Apollo may have been represented as a musician, perhaps as *citharoedus*, for three reasons:

a. because he was represented as *citharoedus* already in the *dodekatheon*;

b. because the dedication in the same sanctuary by a musician to Apollo *Prostaterios* (IG 7. 39) hints that Apollo in that sanctuary had to do with musical contests;

c. because in early Roman Imperial times Apollo *Prostaterios* was conceived in Athens as a *citharoedus*, represented with a typically Praxitelean S - shaped configuration, whose *cithara* is held on the tree-trunk.⁸ Therefore, it is likely that the tradition of representing Apollo *Prostaterios* as *citharoedus* was indebted to the Praxitelean definition of the god with this epiklesis.

Late classical times see a relevant interest toward the representation of Apollo as *citharoedus*:⁹ this is probably due to the prevalence in the period of a 'gentle' interpretation of the god as patron of creative arts as well as to the contemporary likely diffusion and rising importance of musical contests.¹⁰ It is noteworthy that Apollo was fleshed out as *citharoedus* not only by Praxiteles (at least with his Apollo of the Megaran *Dodekatheon*), but also by Scopas, Euphranor, Bryaxis,¹¹ i. e. by some of the most renowned masters of these decades. A Megaran Apollo *Prosta-*



Fig. 1. AE struck by Megara under Septimius Severus, reverse, at Athens, Numismatic Museum, no. 3218.

Fig. 2. AE struck by Megara during the reign of Geta, reverse, London, The British Museum, Department of Coins, no. Megara 54.

terios represented as *citharoedus* would fit this trend well.

The Apollinean triad is represented on Megaran coins of the reigns of Commodus and Septimius Severus (fig. 1):¹² the styles of the three figures on coins are plausible for late classical statues and interrelate with each other from a rhythmical point of view, therefore composing a unitary triad. As in Pausanias' mention of Praxiteles' triad, Leto begins the group, occupying the first position from the viewer's left. As expected, Apollo stands in the middle, while Artemis is the last statue of the group, in the viewer's right side.

The most important statue of the triad - Apollo - is represented also without mother and sister on Megaran coins struck during the reigns of Antoninus Pius, Caracalla, and Geta (fig. 2).¹³

The laureate head of Apollo is represented on the obverse of Megaran coins (fig. 3) from the years after the Aegospotami battle and may echo the head of the pre-Praxitelean cult statue of Apollo *Prostaterios* - the *Apollon (...) theas axios* - which may date to these years, when the Megaran school of sculptors flourished.¹⁴ Since the reverse of these coins usually bears a *cithara*, with this cult statue Apollo may well have been already represented as a *citharoedus*.

However from the late 4th c. BC onwards, a different laureate head of Apollo is represented on the obverse of Megaran coins (fig. 4), while the *cithara* usually appears on the reverse of the same coins:¹⁵ these coins may portray the head of the Praxitelean Apollo *Prostaterios*, because the configuration of this head agrees with that of Apollo on the previously mentioned Megaran Imperial coins.

On the coins representing the triad, Leto - the first figure on the viewer's left - is clad in long twofold chiton, grasps a long sceptre in her raised right hand, while her left hand hangs by her side. The general configuration seems indebted to that of the Saviour Artemis in Cephisodotus the Elder's triad of Megalopolis:¹⁶ in both cases a goddess rhythmically closes a triad in the viewer's left side by holding a long sceptre. This feature also connects Leto also with the Cephisodotan Eirene who held her sceptre in her right hand in the same way, as well as with the Plutonium's type of *Kore* who held in her right hand a long vertical torch which closed on the viewer's left side Praxiteles' triad of *Kore*, Triptolemus, Demeter, and finally with the Athena on the viewer's left end of the *Dodekathēon* of Megara, who closed the group on this side with a long vertical spear held in her right hand.



Fig. 3. AR struck by Megara in the early 4th c. BC, obverse, London, The British Museum, Department of Coins, no. Megara 2.



Fig. 4. AR struck by Megara in the late 4th c. BC, obverse, London, The British Museum, Department of Coins, no. Megara 9.

We should conclude that closing a group of statues on the viewer's left side with a goddess who held in her right hand a long vertical element had been a feature adopted both by Cephisodotus the Elder and then by Praxiteles.

The diploid chiton was also in the repertory of the features adopted by masters of this workshop because already Strongylion endowed his Saviour Artemis set up in Megara with a two fold chiton.¹⁷ The 'quotation' of this important Megaran creation was to be regarded a must in a triad set up in Megara and carved by an Athenian master who inherited the workshop which had been already held by Strongylion.

We can argue from the Leto on the coins that Praxiteles underlined two aspects of the mother of Artemis and Apollo: her matronly dignity, expressed with her long robe, and her sovereignty, shown by her sceptre.

Unfortunately no copies of this figure survive.

In the middle of the triad stands Apollo, wearing a long chiton and *himation*, holding in his right lowered hand a *plectrum* and in his left hand a *cithara*. The coins which portray the sole Apollo allow us to appreciate that the *himation* was disposed as a flying backdrop of the figure, that the chiton was girdled high below the chest by either a belt or a band of drapery, that the hair formed a large mass on the head and was collected below with plaits. The folds of the lower section of the drapery are also indicated in the representation of the sole figure of Apollo on Megaran imperial coins. Finally, on a Megaran type of coins struck during the reign of Geta, it is possible to see that the right leg of Apollo was bent. Megaran coins struck from the late 4th c. BC onwards, bearing Apollo's head, allow the appreciation of the oval of the face, of the narrow and

elongated eyes, of the long nose, of the short mouth with lips curved outwards, of the slightly protruding chin. The hair is made of wavy locks, crowned by a laurel wreath, and collected below with plaits.

All of these features occur in the oeuvre of Cephisodotus the Elder and of Praxiteles during his early and ripe production. The general configuration of the standing Apollo *citharoedus* with his right leg bent, with a long robe girdled by a high belt, with the *cithara* held in his left hand, with the mantle used as a backdrop, and with the large soft mass of hair collected with plaits, is taken from the Apollo *citharoedus* of the Megaran *dodekatheon*. The use of the mantle as a backdrop also characterized the Cephisodotan Eirene, the Chiparissi type of Demeter, and the Aphrodite of the *dodekatheon* of Ostia. The design of the hair as a soft mass of wavy locks collected below with plaits occurs in the Eirene, in the Dancing Girls of Delphi, in the Dionysus of the choregic monument in Athens, National Archaeological Museum, no. 1463, in the Chiparissi type of Demeter, in the Uffizi type of *Kore*, in the Sambon / Grimani type of Dionysus, and in the Athena of the *dodekatheon* of Ostia, so it is a standard iconographic tool of the repertoire of this workshop. The emphasis given to the softness of the hair thanks to the crowning wreath had already been attempted with the Sambon / Grimani type of Dionysus.

In synthesis, it is likely that Praxiteles re-used and adapted to the new triad the style of Apollo *citharoedus* of his Megaran *dodekatheon*, which was likely to have met with popular success.

The earlier cult local statue of Apollo *Prostaterios* must also have been taken in consideration as a source of inspiration for the new statue: if we believe to the coins struck by Megara after Ae-

gospotami, the statue must have been endowed with curly hair, crowned by a laurel wreath. The general style of this statue has been reconstructed by Flashar on the basis of the figure of Apollo on a Megaran type of coin of the age of Septimius Severus (fig. 5) and of a votive relief from Aegina, dated still to the early 4th c. BC, which bears an Apollo in the same configuration:¹⁸ the god was represented as *citharoedus* and with his right leg bent. This statue differed from Praxiteles' one because his upper body turned slightly forward and to the right, where the worshipper is thought to be standing, and since his right arm is outstretched, holding a *phiale* in the corresponding hand. The last two features were not adopted by Praxiteles, because they were inappropriate to a votive statue which was the centre of a triad and which therefore must have been rather vertical.

The configuration of Praxiteles' Apollo on Megaran coins is known also in free standing sculpture with the marble life-size statue of Apollo *citharoedus* in Berlin, Altes Museum, Antikensammlung, no. 49 (fig. 6).¹⁹ This Hadrianic or early Antonine statue was found in the so-called Palace of Marius near *Tusculum*. Head, neck, left shoulder, left arm with *cithara*, right forearm with *plectrum* and other details are modern restorations. The right shoulder and the right overarm are ancient and suggest that this arm was lowered and not brought forward as in the case of the Megaran Apollo *citharoedus* with *paterna* in his right hand. Moreover the torso of the god in the statue of Berlin is fully frontal and this feature also seems appropriate to the Praxitelean Apollo as represented on Megaran coins, not to the early 4th c. BC Megaran Apollo who bears the torso slightly forward and turned towards the right. So, the style of the god is appropriate to the figure in the centre of a triad.

The lowered right arm differentiates this type also from the Apollo *citharoedus* of the Ostia's *dodekatheon*, derived from the Megaran one: in fact the latter Apollo has his right forearm brought up, even if the figures of the god in the *dodekatheon* and in the Berlin type are very similar.

So, the possible derivation of the Berlin type of Apollo *citharoedus* from the Praxitelean Apollo *Prostaterios* in Megara deserves special consideration.

Together with this statue, in the so-called Palace of Marius, one statue of Asclepius, two statues of Hygieia, and another of Apollo *citharoedus*, represented according to the Vatican type, Muses and an Athena with Erichthonius²⁰ have been found: this iconographic context suggests that this Apollo, associated to images of Hygieia and Asclepius, was regarded as a bearer of sanity. Therefore, it becomes possible that the owners of this villa wanted its sculptural display to be endowed with an Apollo *Prostaterios*, who would guarantee their protection.

The Berlin type of Apollo *citharoedus* has his right leg bent while his left leg is straight. The chiton is girdled high below the chest by a belt. As usual in the oeuvre of the Praxitelean workshop, the folding of the drapery is rather simple, the neckline is wide.

The general *schema* of the figure, with the right knee bent, the style of the drapery, and the wide neckline place the Berlin Apollo in the tradition of the Cephisodotan Eirene, of the Demeter Chiparissi, with reversed style, of the Aphrodite Richelieu, again with reversed style, especially of the Apollo *citharoedus* of the Ostian *dodekatheon*,



Fig. 5. AE struck by Megara during the reign of Septimius Severus, London, The British Museum, Department of Coins, no. 1972-8-7-6.

Fig. 6. Marble statue of Apollo *Citharoedus* at Berlin, Altes Museum, Antikensammlung, no. 49.



who bears also the girdling of the chiton just below the chest.

The Berlin Apollo also reveals the sense of solidity of both body and drapery, which places this Praxitelean figure in the mature production of the sculptor: as we have seen, in draped statues made by this *ergasterion* before 365 BC, the drapery prevailed on the body.

Praxiteles, through the standing configuration of the body, the flowing and smooth - running folds of the drapery, and the lowered right arm, must have given life to a god characterized by a sense of stillness and serenity. If we believe the testimony of the Megaran coins bearing the head of Apollo, the pubescent look of the head must have integrated this message with a young and fresh look.

Thus, this Apollo should be seen as a moment of the depiction by Praxiteles of an Olympus of teenage, blissful deities.

It is likely that the influence of the hedonistic reform of the Platonic idealism operated by Eudoxus, known and accepted by Praxiteles at the time of the selling of the Cnidia, when he must have been in close contact with the Cnidian philosopher, had a lasting impact on Praxiteles' concept of gods and that by consequence from the years of the Cnidia onwards he fleshed out more and more clearly the *habitat* of the deities as a world of pleasure, characterized by beauty, youth, sensual seduction, absence of pains and cares.

The holding by Apollo of the *cithara* in his left hand and of the *plectrum* in his lowered right hand suggests that he is represented while he is just about to begin a musical performance and therefore assimilates the viewer to the spectator who looks at the performance of a musician on stage.²¹ This stage-like concept of the sculptural creation is probably

due to the theatrical education of our master, who in his youth worked a lot for monuments required by the Athenian theatrical life.²²

Artemis stands to the viewer's right of the Apollinean triad represented on Megaran coins. Her right leg is bent. She is clad in a long un-girdled peplos which reaches her feet and has a deep *apoptygma*. Parallel, vertical folds in the part of the garment which covers the left leg of the goddess are indicated in the figure on the coins, while the folds of the part of the peplos which covers the right leg are broken by the bent knee.

The head has an oblong shape and the hair, made of wavy locks, is brought back from the face and collected behind in a chignon.

The left arm holds a bow, the right arm has the overarm brought to the side, the elbow bent and the forearm brought toward the shoulder, in order to draw an arrow from the quiver supposed to be held on the back of the goddess.

The configuration of this Artemis, even in the details, characterizes also the Dresden type of Artemis (fig. 7), known from a rather fluid, but rich copyist tradition.

This copyist type can be fairly differentiated into two sub-types.²³ One subtype has Artemis in a resting position, with her right arm lowered: this interpretation is named, from the best known copy - the Braschi Artemis in Munich - the Munich subtype (fig. 8).²⁴

The second sub-type has the goddess represented while she is hunting, with her left arm lowered and holding the bow, her right arm extended on the side, her right forearm lifted, in order to take an arrow from the quiver held on her back.²⁵

The resting Artemis represented is in accordance with the Munich sub-



Fig. 7. Marble statue of Artemis at Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung, no. 117.



Fig. 8. Marble statue of Artemis at Munich, Glyptothek, no. GI 227.

type (fig. 8), and since she appears in the *dodekatheon* of Ostia (fig. 9), Praxiteles probably conceived of this statue as the goddess Artemis for the *dodekatheon* of Megara.²⁶

The simplicity of the folding follows the typical concept of draped figures which characterized Praxiteles' art in the years of his full maturity.²⁷ The sense of the body below the dress is also typical of the contemporary research of Praxiteles. The strap which holds the quiver is brought across the breasts and underlines the teenage vitality and sensuality of the body of this young goddess. The wide neckline and the bare arms are mundane accents, which aim at increasing the appeal of this gracious figure. The

head of this creation is not well known, because in the most faithful copy, *i. e.* that of the *dodekatheon* of Ostia, most of it has been chipped off. If we trust the relief from Larissa (n. 24, no.2) (fig. 11), the goddess was endowed with the typically Praxitelean oval face, with the hair made of wavy locks brought behind. The statuette from Brauron (n. 24, no. 3) (fig. 12), with the hair collected on the top of the head, probably in this respect updates the Praxitelean model by adopting the prevailing fashion of the late 4th c. BC, because this hair style is not typical of Praxiteles' oeuvre. The copies of *Caesarea* (n. 24, no. 10) and *Braschi* (n. 24, no. 15) (fig. 8) which seem rather faithful, suggest that hair locks fell on both shoulders.

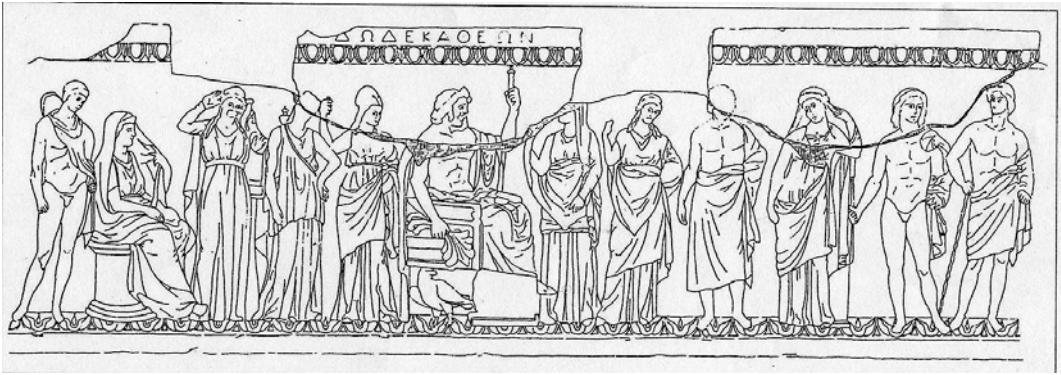


Fig. 9. *Dodektheon* at Ostia, National Archaeological Museum, no. 120, reconstruction drawing by Becatti.

The goddess in this interpretation is represented in a moment of rest from her beloved hunting hobby, which is implied by the strap holding the quiver which lays on the back. She is listening to the musical performance played by Apollo, who stands just next to her in the *dodektheon* of Ostia, and therefore probably her gaze suggested that she was in a state of rapture.

The whole Praxitelean *dodektheon* suggested deities characterized by a teenage beauty and moreover relaxed, painless, in keeping with the hedonistic and idealistic trends of the age, which loves placing the gods in a happy transcendent world.²⁸

This general attitude must have received a particular emphasis with the statue of Artemis. The importance of this statue is related to the fact that Artemis was the lady of the Megaran sanctuary in which the *dodektheon* was set up. Moreover, probably this goddess closed the series of twelve gods on the viewer's left side and this position gave her a great relevance in the group of deities and made her apt to be noticed.

The elastic vitality of the body, which can be appreciated particularly in the Bracchi copy, makes it clear that Praxiteles wanted to flesh out with this figure the enchanting yet unripe beauty of a goddess who looks like a teenage girl, but in the

meantime has the self-confidence which reveals her dwelling in a superior world.

This statue, having been probably the most important of the Praxitelean *dodektheon*, enjoyed a discrete iconographic fortune, which spans through many centuries, until the sunset of the pagan world.

Very soon after the setting up of the Megaran *dodektheon*, the standing, resting, quiet attitude of this Artemis probably was the source of inspiration of the figure of Athena in the Attic relief which crowned the document of the alliance between Athens and Arcadia, Achaia, Elis and Phlius of 362/1 BC (n. 24, no. 1) (fig. 10): of course Athena is represented here as the goddess of Athens and the general style of the figure may have been meant to suggest the sense of security and self-confidence of Athens after the peace of that year.

From the late 5th c. BC onwards, the Thessalian imagery began to be influenced by the styles of the great masters,²⁹ in the context of the growing political importance of this region from the period of the tyranny of Jason of Pherae to that of the rule of Philip ii.³⁰ In particular, the imagery of the important Thessalian city of Larissa was very receptive to the Attic style.³¹ In fact, in Larissa, during the middle decades of the 4th c. BC, a variation of the Polycleitan statue of Cyniscus had

been set up,³² as well as a seated Muse, inspired by the Praxitelean Mantinean type of Muse seated on a rock.³³

There are two surviving late classical votive reliefs portraying the Apollinean triad coming from Larissa, in keeping with the noteworthy importance of the local cults of Artemis and Apollo. In the earliest of them (n.24, no. 2) (fig.11), Apollo stands on the viewer's left side of the relief and is represented as *citharoedus*, while Leto stands in the middle, holding a sceptre in her left hand and outstretching a *phiale* in her right hand.

Artemis stands on the viewer's right side, her lowered left arm holds a bow, her outstretched right forearm holds an arrow, her quiver is held on her back, a hind is near her right leg.

Both Megaran statues of Apollo made by Praxiteles - i. e. that of the *dodekatheon* and that of the Apollinean triad - portrayed the god with the *cithara*, held on the left side of the god; what is more, the statue of Leto in the Megaran triad also held a sceptre: thus the association of the two deities with these particular attributes in the Larissan relief may be indebted to the Praxitelean definition of Apollo and Leto for these two Megaran groups. However, the configuration and the style of these Larissan figures do not derive from Praxitelean prototypes, but follow rather a regional trend.

On the contrary, the Artemis bears a reversed configuration when compared to that of the Artemis of the Praxitelean *dodekatheon* and retains the quiet attitude of this creation.

However, the attributes in her hands (bow and arrow) and the hind endow the Thessalian Artemis with a clearer connotation as a hunter, when compared to the Artemis in the Megaran *dodekatheon*, who is characterized as a hunter only by her quiver on her back.



The attributes of sceptre and *phiale* for Leto and of bow, arrow and hind for Artemis characterized these two goddesses in another Thessalian late classical relief with the Apollinean triad, found in Gonnus (n. 33), and probably are due to the prevalent conception in the region of the concepts of Leto as a ruler and as a recipient of libations and of Artemis as a hunter.

The presence of this Thessalian variation of the Artemis of the Megarian *dodekatheon* suggests that the latter statue enjoyed an outstanding fame soon after being set up in the sanctuary of Artemis the Saviour in Megara and that its basic configuration was adopted by the patron and/or by the carver of the Larissan relief, probably because its style was regarded as fashionable.

Fig. 10. Attic document relief at Athens, National Archaeological Museum, no. 1481 (photo courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens).



Fig. 11. Marble votive relief from Larissa at Athens, National Archaeological Museum, no. 1400 (photo courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens).

The second late classical votive relief representation of the Apollinean triad from Larissa dates to the late 4th c. BC³⁴ and bears figures which by now conform entirely to Attic formulas and no longer respond to a local regional style.

Thus, the former of the two Apollinean triads discussed here as well as the above mentioned seated Muse show the reception of Praxitelean styles in Thessaly in a period - around or after 350 BC - when the Praxitelean style became an international phenomenon.

In the late 4th c. BC, in the Attic sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron, among the miniature representations of the goddess,³⁵ one marble statuette is a variation of the Artemis of the Megaran *dodekathion* (n. 24, no. 3) (fig. 12). Since the statuette was found in the area of the *stoa*, where public meals were served

on the occasion of festivities held in the sanctuary,³⁶ it is likely that it pertained to the figurative display of this dining place. The Praxitelean model was updated in the hair, which is collected on top of the head. This hair fashion was rather fashionable for representations of young subjects in Attic art of the late 4th c. BC.³⁷

It is probable that the devotees of Artemis Brauronia appreciated the Praxitelean style, first of all because Praxiteles made the *agalma* of Artemis Brauronia for the branch of the sanctuary of the goddess with this epiklesis on the Acropolis of Athens.³⁸ This consideration partly explains the display of our statuette which depicted a Praxitelean Artemis in the *stoa* of Brauron.

Moreover, the quiet attitude of this young goddess may have been meant to suggest to the Athenian girls who gathered in Brauron a behavioural model which embodied the virtues of composure and decorum, which were regarded particularly appropriate to the young girls status.³⁹

During the early Hellenistic period, Crete ended its isolation, which characterized the island during the classical period, and became more open to the political and cultural trends which characterized the contemporary eastern Mediterranean world.⁴⁰ This consideration, along with the popularity of the cult of Artemis on the island⁴¹ would explain the presence on Crete of an early Hellenistic miniature marble copy of our type of Artemis, which is now kept in Stockholm (n. 24, no. 4) and shows the re-consideration of the late classical prototype through a three-dimensional conception of the figure. Early Hellenistic marble statuettes of young girls and *arktoi*, blatantly inspired by the contemporary Attic imagery due to the cult of Artemis and made by Attic sculptors, are known especially in the

eastern Cretan *polis* of Lisus⁴² which cautiously suggests a possible provenance of the Stockholm Artemis from this area of Crete. The consideration that the most important goddess of this town, Dicitynna, was assimilated with Artemis⁴³ strengthens the probability of this suggestion.

The continuity of presence of this type of Artemis in the Greek insular world during the middle Hellenistic period is suggested by a cornelian on which the goddess is represented according to the *dodekatheon* type, except that the left forearm is raised and holds the bow, while the lowered right arm rests on a low pillar (n. 24, no. 5): an interest toward this Praxitelean Artemis is hardly surprising in the middle Hellenistic Greek insular *Umkreis*, which is characterized by the prosperity of Delos. The demand in this social context of miniature figures of deities defined according to Praxitelean styles is shown first of all by the large number of miniature copies of the Cnidian Aphrodite which has been made in this world⁴⁴ and of course is due to the contemporary rise of a neoclassic taste.

The addition of the attribute of the bow held in the left hand of the goddess may be due to the desire to make a *contaminatio* of the two Megaran Praxitelean statues of Artemis, i. e. that of the *dodekatheon* and that of the Apollinean triad: the latter had a bow in the left hand. The idea that it is possible to obtain an excellent figure by taking the best of different models is typical of the eclectic culture of advanced Hellenism⁴⁵ and would suggest precisely this explanation.

Another possible explanation is that in this case the late classical Praxitelean 'model' was adapted to the standard representation of Artemis with bow in the Delian visual culture of the middle Hellenistic period.⁴⁶

The adoption of a short Doric column or pillar supporting the right arm of the goddess should be compared with the Mysian miniature variation of the Cnidian Aphrodite which was endowed with a short Doric column⁴⁷ as well as with miniature representations of Apollo Sauroctonus on gems and on coins of Apollonia *ad Rhyndacum*, where the god rests his left arm on a column or on a candelabre:⁴⁸ these changes to the given iconography probably are meant to underline the setting of these figures of deities in sacred landscapes, which are evoked through either a Doric column - because the Doric order was regarded the most ancient and traditional of the architectural orders⁴⁹ - or a candelabre. Therefore, these changes to representations of well known *opera nobilia* would suggest the sacred nature of the artistic tradition of the Greek east.

The Artemis on our gem may be one of the earliest examples of this trend, which in the Aegean world continued until the middle Imperial times.⁵⁰ It goes without saying that these insertions into a standard iconography express an attitude of veneration for the great creations of the classical past which is typical of the neoclassic period, from the middle Hellenistic neo-Atticism until the neosophistic times.

A late Hellenistic bronze statuette from Argus echoes the Praxitelean Artemis of the Megaran *dodekatheon* (n. 24, no. 6) (fig. 13), except that the left arm is lowered, while the right, outstretched forearm probably held a torch.⁵¹

The circumstance that a statue of Leto by Praxiteles was set up in the sanctuary of Artemis' mother in Argus⁵² may have led to the local habit to dedicate statuettes of deities of the Apollinean triad made according to Praxitelean



Fig. 12. Marble statuette of Artemis at Brauron, Archaeological Museum, no. Ge 7447 + EI 36 / NE 1176 (photo courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens).

Fig. 13. Bronze figurine of Artemis from Argus at Athens, National Archaeological Museum, no. 7569 (photo courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum at Athens).

styles. The consideration that Argus was endowed with important sanctuaries to Artemis⁵³ suggests that this statuette was dedicated in one of her local cult places. The integration of the Praxitelean iconography with a torch held in the right hand of the goddess probably is due to the desire to make this statuette closer to the standard Argive iconography of Artemis, who is given a torch in her right hand.⁵⁴

The continuity during the Augustan period of the inspiration by the Praxitelean Artemis in the Megaran *dodekatheon* is known thanks to a couple of examples.

The Ambras bronze statuette (n. 24, no. 7) also echoes the late classical *opus nobile*, except for the arms, which are outstretched, holding torches. This statuette probably was found in Rome and therefore suggests that the Artemis of the Megarian *dodekatheon* - and perhaps the whole series of twelve gods - was included among the *opera nobilia* listed by Pausanias in his written catalogue⁵⁵ and that this fact determined the reproduction of the masterpiece throughout the Roman imperial period. The endowment of this type of Artemis with two torches perhaps is due to a *contaminatio* with the similarly teenage Artemis Saviour made by Strongylion - *i. e.* with the most important statue of the sanctuary in which the Praxitelean *dodekatheon* was set up: the Artemis by Strongylion held torches in both hands.⁵⁶ In other words, it is possible that whoever decided the shape of the Ambras Artemis wanted a compendious representation of the two most famous statues of this goddess set up in the Megaran sanctuary of Artemis Saviour.

It may also be that with this statuette the Praxitelean type had been updated and adapted to the fortune in Rome during the 1st c. BC and AD of the iconography of Diana who holds torches in each hand.⁵⁷



Probably also during the Augustan age in Attica a deceased girl had been represented in her funerary *naiskos* according to Artemis of the Megaran *dodekatheon* (n. 24, no. 8) (fig. 14): the quiver on the back of the goddess had not been reproduced in the funerary statue probably because the change of subject made it no longer pertinent, but perhaps also because the back of the statue was not visible. It is well known that Athenian girls before their marriages were considered to be under the protection of Artemis.⁵⁸ Therefore it is hardly surprising that an Athenian girl who died young was given the style of this virgin goddess.

The obvious popularity in Athens of Praxitelean images of deities and the consideration that the resting Artemis of Megara had an appropriate style for a deceased girl perhaps explain the adoption of this Praxitelean iconography for the statue of a girl in a funerary *naiskos*.