

WOMEN ON HELLENISTIC SCULPTURES

IMPLICATIONS ON ART, AESTHETICS, AND
THE BODY POLITICS THROUGH TIME

Athens 2019



HELLENIC REPUBLIC

**National and Kapodistrian
University of Athens**

— EST. 1837 —

Department of History and Archaeology

MA in Greek and Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology: From the
Bronze Age Palaces to the Hellenistic Kingdoms

Ancient Greek Sculpture

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MA Dissertation

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Athens, 2019

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WOMEN ON HELLENISTIC SCULPTURES: IMPLICATIONS ON ART,
AESTHETICS, AND BODY POLITICS THROUGH TIME

BY
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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Masters of Archaeology in Mediterranean and Eastern Archaeology
in the Graduate Program of the
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2019

Athens, Greece

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To my Mother

Acknowledgements

I offer my gratitude and appreciation to Professor Stylianos Katakis for the knowledge he has shared throughout this program and his patience aiding me in the completion of this work. It has been a privilege working under Professor Katakis' guidance. I want to acknowledge and thank all my teachers and professors throughout the years because they have inspired me to love learning and to continue studying. A special thanks to Professor Marilyn McKay, Professor Michael Fernandes, and Professor David Howard, NSCAD University, Canada, for sharing with me their love for art and art history, for having opened my horizons, and for recommending me for this program. I thank Professor Eurydice Kefalidou, Professor Konstantinos Kopanias, Professor Dimitris Plantzos, Professor Giorgos Vavouranakis, and Professor Yiannis Papadatos for sharing their knowledge and passion for archaeology, and the head of the Art History and Archaeology Department Professor Eleni Mantzourani for the warm welcome. I thank all the supporting staff at the department and at the museum of the university for their time and assistance. Finally, I thank my mom Eirini Zontou, and my ex-husband and best friend Captain Edward George Forward for their help in taking all unnecessary pressure off me and allowing me to concentrate and study.

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PREFACE

“Myths rarely offer facts, only metaphors for political or social forces, but myths about former female powers would not exist if men had always controlled women. If men always controlled women, their domination would need no explanation or justification, but would seem natural. Myths of once powerful females are amazingly universal.” Marilyn French

On March 2, 2016, Scott Kelly returned to earth after spending 340 days in space¹. His residency on the ISS has been of great importance to many faculties and to a future trip to Mars². However, what made Kelly popular on social media more than any other astronaut was his photography. Kelly shared images of the Earth which served as a *gestalt* of our perception of Earth and we were hooked. From infancy to adulthood, according to Jacques Lacan’s theory, we train ourselves to understand our environment and our place in it through images³. In fact, since the invention of photography in the first and second quarter of the 19th century and its popularization with the Kodak⁴ in 1888, a new visual language emerged. The camera became an instrument in the hands of the many to add to the dichotomization of a world which, already built on binary structures of class, gender, and race, welcomed the concept of fashion and beauty. The feminine ego was built up and torn down by not just the mirror or hereon by the photographic lens but by sexist and ageist timeless ideas supported by this inexpensive technology and the

¹ NASA, 2016

² Kelly, 2017. I want to point out the Western concept of the frontier and space as a metaphor of the far West. The Terra Nullius concept of the unoccupied and uninhabited has shifted from the continent to space.

³See Lacan 1936.

⁴ “You Press the Button, We Do the Rest” was Kodak’s motto and their advertisement stated, “So Easy, a Woman Can Do It”, 1888.

establishment of the modern visual culture of voyeurism, spectatorship and the gaze⁵. The preloaded 100 exposures of the Kodak camera was only the beginning of a painful narrative which continues nowadays fuelled by social media, tv reality shows, and pop culture⁶. Photography enabled typology and classification⁷. This idea developed from Empiricism and Humanism⁸ which placed emphasis on the evidence and the scientific method. By visual comparison, an object or subject could be catalogued and classified into a type that could be further dichotomized, studied, and finally understood⁹. These types were defined by prototypes

⁵ Γιακουμής 2005, 21. See Γιακουμής, X. and Lucie Bonato 2005. According to the authors sculpture ‘mesmerized’ photographers. Also see Cusmariu, A. (2015). Baudelaire’s Critique of Sculpture, 49(3), 96-124. According to Cusmariu, Baudelaire “was not always fond of sculpture”. For Baudelaire “*la sculpture est ennuyeuse*” and “*Qu’est-ce que l’art? Prostitution*”. See Kamuf, P. (1991). Baudelaire’s Modern Woman. *Qui Parle*, 4(2), 1-7. Also see Baudelaire 1857. Baudelaire’s connection with Manet is significant as it will be examined further. Edouard Manet’s *Olympia* (Salon of 1865) speaks back to an acquired taste of voyeurism influenced by Greek and Roman antiquities. *Olympia* spoke back to the idea of *Venus* as it copied in many ways Titian’s 1534, *Venus of Urbino*. The concept of *Venus* in female sculpture will be analyzed in detail when looking at the *Aphrodite of Knidos*. Also see Beard M. How Do We Look: The Body, the Divine, and the Question of Civilization. Part 1, 2018. In the article “The Strange, Sordid History of the World’s First Nude Female Statue”, January 3, 2019, Beard insist that the fictional story occurring between the sculpture and the visitor who spent the night in the temple was rape. Beard states: “It shows how a female statue can drive a man mad but also how art can act as an alibi for what was—let’s face it—rape. Don’t forget, Aphrodite never consented.” (Beard 2019)

⁶ See *Keeping Up With The Kardashians* aired in 2007. Season 17 to be aired in Sept 2019.

⁷ As with every narrative it is better to ‘show them’ than to ‘tell them’. See Hynes, James. *Writing Great Fiction: Storytelling Tips and Techniques*, 2014. Accessed June 30, 2019. The idea of “show them” vs. “tell them” in a completely different context was developed by French neurologist and professor of anatomical pathology Jean-Martin Charcot during the 19th century. In the Pitié-Salpêtrière Hospital, Charcot used photography to treat women with what he diagnosed as “Hysteria”. See Charcot, 1878. Also see Goetz CG, 1991. What is interesting is to see the connection of such 19th century methods with ancient texts such as the Hippocratic Corpus and Platonic Dialogues. Furthermore, it is interesting to notice ‘abnormal’ female behaviour as portrayed in Attic Pottery. See Kefalidou, E, “On Madness”, Lecture, UOA, March 2019. Typology and classification are fundamental to Archaeology. Typology according to the Oxford Dictionary means : “ a system to divide (emphasis intended) things into different types”.

⁸ Influenced by the philosophy of Socrates central to Critical Thinking.

⁹ Pigeonholed, stereotyped, profiled and often also criminalized. See Francis Galton and composite Portraiture.

of race and hence beauty¹⁰. Neoclassicism¹¹, at one point radical in its ideas¹² of democracy and equality, and fundamental in the birth of the concept of “*la Patrie*” and of the modern state, was by then absorbed by the dominant culture and it served back as classical ideals of aesthetics and beauty totally stripped of their revolutionary, anti-conformist ideology¹³. At the end of the first quarter of the 19th century, Neoclassicism¹⁴ was the projection of dominant ideals which materialized in art and architecture colonizing not only the minds and aesthetics but also the lived urban environment. By 1850 the first shopping arcade starts off the consumeristic frenzy of the pursuit of happiness through beauty. Fast forward by only 169 years later to summer 2019 the streets of Athens are walked by bloggers and tourists. Young and old, dressed in whites and blues, adorning their hair and bodies with cheap made-in-China faux crowns and bracelets with Greek motifs and matching flip-flop sandals are photographing themselves roaming the antiquities and archaeological sites¹⁵. Mostly impersonating, as embodying would clearly be considered preposterous, the ancient Greeks, the heroes, the gods, and goddesses. Demi-nude teens pose between temple ruins creating a new narrative on social media. Sometimes photography is used to bend class, race, and gender but not always successfully. Radical moments are #insta absorbed and the dominant narrative reinvented as the majority of the travellers, bloggers or not, live momentarily their fantasies inspired by Hollywood and other productions. My interest in Hellenistic art arises from the understanding that in this specific moment in time we are

¹⁰ The nude highlighted all.

¹¹ It is important to highlight that J.J. Winckelmann was homosexual, art historian and archaeologist. These three elements shape his aesthetics and the understanding of archaeology, genre and types as we know them. Homosexuality here also seen as a radical element in the shaping of his critical thinking and aestheticism versus just partner appetite.

¹² The Death of Socrates, J.L. David 1787 embodies some of these ideals which also translate in misogyny. By the end of the French Revolution and David's Death of Marat, women of all classes are condemned as irrational. Olympe de Gouges, activist (3 November 1793), Charlotte Corday, aristocrat (17 July 1793) Marie Antoinette, royal (16 October 1793). These three women were representing the three classes. Their executions symbolized that women, no matter their class could not be trusted.

¹³ Ingres's “apotheosis of Homer, 1827 (INV. 5417 - Louvre) symbolizes the absorption of Neoclassicism by the dominant culture.

¹⁴ Neoclassicism was initially born as a reaction to the decadent ideology and life-style of the Late Baroque and Rococo of the court of Versailles.

¹⁵ This is a significant moment in time when high and popular culture come close enough to physically touch in the site of archaeological significance.

experiencing living in an ‘expanded cosmos’ one that appears interested in the “defiant heroism of mythical and semi-mythical supermen [and women]”¹⁶. In fact, Hanfmann’s 1963 description of Hellenistic art brings to mind a *2020 Odyssey* of Marvel’s superheroes and Lady Gaga’s grotesque of a *Bad Romance*¹⁷ in a virtual gaming world of ‘realistic unrealities’:

“Hellenistic art is a world of realistic unrealities- its major concerns are the defiant heroism of mythical and semi-mythical supermen, the sensuous and sentimental delights of love, the dream of a children’s world where children play with gods and heroes; of grotesque uglier but also more exuberant than life”¹⁸

This view permits a critical fracture in a systemic binary where the physical body, and by extension, the political body may be re-imagined.

For reasons pertinent to male power and control, women’s agency has been erased from art history as “the social world of art is a gendered one”¹⁹ and extends to all media. It is therefore important a new investigation of the feminine form which will allow women to speak back and reclaim the colonized spaces expanding from the feminine physical body and spill into the social and the political realm. For the longest time women portrayed as having no agenda had been permitted only two options, reproduction through marriage, and conformity with a patriarchal *status quo*²⁰. Archaeological evidence however from Hellenistic times might offer insight to women’s agency and importance. The following investigation aims to unravel the implications of women’s representation in art, aesthetics and body politics through time based on an examination of women on Hellenistic sculptures.

¹⁶ Hanfmann 1963, 92

¹⁷ Lady Gaga, *The Fame Monster, Red One*, 2009

¹⁸ Hanfmann 1963, 92.

¹⁹ Stalp 2015-6, 41.

²⁰ See Mulvey 1975.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION
Representation and Agency

INTRODUCTION

THE IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN AND ART IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

The Hellenistic period was characterized by *quasi* globalization of their known world, a large diversity in population, and the spillage of Hellenism, be it art, culture, heritage, religion, and language beyond the imperial borders²¹. Foreign peoples from all over the large Empire of Alexander were included and integrated into an ever-changing sociopolitical and economic landscape of the Hellenistic period to which the *poleis* would have acted as intellectual and religious centres. A vast network of institutional and social structures was demanded to maintain the *status quo* to which commerce and exchange of goods would have been of great importance. These networks, aside from the smooth collection of taxes, and management of bureaucratic affairs, also functioned as a mean to the propagation of Greek culture, religion, and language²². This kind of homogeneity would have served well the oligarchic type of governance that was established after the death of Alexander via the division of the Empire of Alexander between his four generals, known as the *Diadochi* ²³. By the end of the wars against one another, “Hellenistic influence continued to spread” often in the form of law, science, art, and architecture²⁴. The influence of Hellenism was further advanced in what we may today call soft power, one that prefers to co-opt and assimilate using appeal, allure and economic power, when and where possible, instead of using constant brute power as per the example of the Assyrian style of maintenance and sustainability of their earlier Empire.

²¹ According to Mark, 2018, Alexander’s vision was one of a multicultural world. This involved the diffusion of Hellenism and the synchronization of Greek religion with the deities of different regions.

²² Oliver 2014, 1-2.

²³ Lysimachus, Thrace and Asia Minor; Cassander, Macedon and remaining Greece; Ptolemy I, Egypt, Palestine, Cilicia, Petra, Cyprus; Seleucos I, Mesopotamia, Levant, Persia, India (Mark 2018).

²⁴ Mark, 2018.

To the objective of soft power, art played a central role both as propaganda and mean of indirect intimidation to raise “respect for authority”²⁵. The conspicuous consumption of wealth in the production of monuments and public buildings was such to impress, influence and command the followership of the subject populations²⁶. The Hellenistic period consequently was an era that encouraged the flourishing of the arts, which beside buttressing power and maintaining the hierarchical structure, augmented commerce and cultural assimilation.

Another defining element of the Hellenistic Period is the participation of women in the social and political sphere. Hellenistic queens played a significant role in the retention, conservation, and propagation of power²⁷. Lineage was essential in the governance of the Hellenistic empires and the role of the woman was elevated in connection to the birthrights of her offspring²⁸. This is not the first time that women are elevated beyond the religious scope within a Hellenic patriarchal and, by today’s standards, misogynistic world. The law imposed by Pericles in 451 BCE granted women born in Athens citizen status and implemented their participation in the ‘continuation of the citizen body’²⁹. It becomes clear through the examination of a plethora of funerary monument to women that both women and art acquired political significance and there has been a correlation between the physical body and the political body to which art became the intermediary. Art also functioned as means of propaganda, solidifying power through conspicuous consumption of wealth in the production of monuments and public building, and further influenced, promoted, and dictated ways of being and accepted behaviours by the citizen body. The honorific, funerary, and decorative sculptural productions of women attest to a strictly regulated modalities from the mundane to the outwardly. Sculptural production

²⁵ See Glacer 2008; Papadopoulou and Veneti, 2005; Colledge 1989.

²⁶ See Goffman, 1952, 1992; Trigg, 2001; See also Reinford, 2011; Dari Mattiaci and Plisenka, 2010; Petronius Arbiter;

²⁷ Lineage would have not been as important in a quasi egalitarian society, such as the early Big Men societies or in a democratic style of governance. Nevertheless, it becomes of essence in the bestowing of power to the next generation.

²⁸ This elevation of the status of the woman may be noticed in two more distinct moments in time. One in the early Mycenaean times just prior to the establishment of monarchy and one during the Classical period with implementation of a law requiring someone to have an Athenian mother to be citizen of Athens hence reducing participation in the *koina* (Aristot. Pol. 1278a).

²⁹ Kapparis 2003; Kottaridi 2011, 93.

became the epitome of art because of the exuberant cost associated with it and the workmanship skills and artistic genius required. Art together with law and science function as the tripod of values supporting the Hellenistic type of governance which regulated the citizenship, controlled the rights of peoples and trickled down authority and wealth on bases of familiar associations, services rendered, and compliance. To this complex system of binaries, women were the means of production and replenishment of the army, the citizens, the workers. Their body, albeit regulated, became almost a semiotic signifier of the political power of the family as a ‘collective’ and for that reason perhaps idealized and stripped of “individuality and personal identity” and lacking the physiognomical details of the male portraiture³⁰. For this reason, women’s sculptural representation may be seen as the key to a complex framework with intricate sociopolitical implications not only in respect to gender but class too.

³⁰ Dillon 2013, 214.

THE IMPORTANCE OF COLOUR

“[Whiteness] is the most common misconception about Western aesthetics in the history of Western art...a lie we all hold dear.”³¹

The idea of the monochrome in Greek sculptural representations has been long contested by modern scholars³². Furthermore, the antiquated ideas of white and whiteness in a Western context have been reclaimed and used to decolonize Greek art. However, the importance of colour is not only significant to modern scholarship with regards to ideals of beauty as influenced by race. It is significant because colour, patterns and design, element discounted and disregarded by the ivory tower of high art³³, were used in sculptural female portraiture to express individuality and identity. Therefore, the statuary needs to be thought of in colour not just because it is necessary to reclaim the white-washed histories and rethink art-historical stereotypes, but because colour, pattern, design, and decorative motifs were essential elements to the dimensionality and substance of the statuary. Colour formed an integral part of the portrait of women as the materiality of the sculptures was further negotiated through its use³⁴. These elements personalized the otherwise idealized portraits. For this reason, Dillon invites to ‘mentally reconstruct’ the sculptures imagining the garments in bright and vivid colours. In her description of Kleopatra’s portraiture at Delos³⁵, Dillon imagines the garments of the statue in bright blue, pink or even yellow where the richness of the colour would have given the statue an ‘electric effect’³⁶. The importance of colour and decoration serves more than its function in visual effectiveness and as wealth signifier. The juxtaposition of Kleopatra and Dioscurides (fig.

³¹ Abbe and Talbot 2018.

³² Talbot 2018. In contrast, according to Blume-Jung, “the word “polychromy” is a modern compound of two ancient Greek words, *πολύ* (many) and *χρώματος*, which comes from *χρῶς* (surface or skin) (Blume-Jung 2010, 144).

³³ Before William Morris.

³⁴ Pythagoras had developed a colour theory that connected the elements of nature with the four basic colours. This idea played important role in the mixing of colours and the significance these conveyed semiotically.

³⁵ Delos, Inv. A7763 (A7799; 79997a); See Dillon 2010, 88-90.

³⁶ Museum of Delos, inv. A7763 (A7799-7797a). Moreno 1994, 668, 673-4; Hermary, Jockey, Queyrel 1996, 208-9, n. 94; Dillon 2010, 58-9; 2012, 273; Katsikoudis 2014, 191, image 174; Biard 2017, 335-337, 350, pl. XXXVII;

22)³⁷ could create opportunities to rethink the position and importance of women through the use of colour. In comparing the blank remains of the sculptural duo today, the obvious factor is the size. The portrait of Kleopatra is shorter than that of her husband. Of course, this might represent the actual physicality of the two. Taking however into consideration that size often equated to status, colour would have without doubt counterbalanced that disparity, especially when considering Dillon description of Dioskourides garments as being white and brown. Therefore, colours give a new dimension to the female portraiture the way it interacts with the physical environment but also within the familial collective. The statues carry the distributed personhood of the represented which, combined with the agency of the dedicator, functions as a symbol of power communicating meaning³⁸ to which colour adds to the imposing visual effect of the sculptural representation, shaping the content of the desired narrative. However, colour not only changes our concept of aesthetics but enhances how the sculptures are visually perceived adding to the verism of the portraiture but also elevating it to a *quasi* holographic hyperrealistic simulacrum. It is then essential to acknowledge colour³⁹, pattern, and design as indicators of wealth and status in pictorial terms, but further as illustrative of characteristics that extend beyond the realm of the visual to that of a semiotic heraldry of women bearing rank within a patriarchal society both in the private as well in the public domain⁴⁰.

³⁷ See Dillon 2010.

³⁸ Gell's theory.

³⁹ The polychromy of marble sculpture is not treated in a uniform manner and divided in three parts as the sculptures often not only had different textures and therefore different treatment for each surface, but further had add-ons which complimented the final result (Blume-Jung 2010, 148-50).

⁴⁰ Jewellery and other ornaments such as diadems and pendants in a variety of 'shapes' would have been "words of a lost symbolic language" (Kottaridi 2011, 97). Colour and design of fabric because of its rarity and expensive cost spoke volumes about the wealth of the represented. See Dillon 2010, 102.

REPRESENTATION AND AGENCY

The first female portraitures appear with at the very end of the 5th c. BCE with the votive statues to deities, honorific statues of priestesses and funerary monuments to important mothers, wives, and daughters⁴¹. These were monuments and statues commissioned and dedicated by the family of the woman to commemorate her service to a deity, honour her euergetism, and preserve her memory as it relates to the familial collective. The first one perhaps being the honorary statue of a priestess of Athena Polias, the 88-years old Lysimache (Fig. 50)⁴². However, “the first woman to [openly] dedicate her own portrait statue” was Simo the wife of Zoilos in Erythae, Asia Minor, sometime between the 4th or 3rd century BCE⁴³. Simo, a priestess of Dionysos on the base of the statue⁴⁴ dedicated her own image “of beauty” as an “example of virtue and wealth” to the deity as “eternal memorial” of her family and children⁴⁵. There is a shift from the familial collective of a father (and mother), brother, husband, son, to the choice of self-representation and dedication. The statuary of the priestess of Dionysos, speak about the triangulation of one’s agency in selecting, commissioning, and dedicating one’s image. The epigraphy emphasizes the agency of the individual but furthermore her importance in the social sphere. Zealous choices of representation including costume, attributes and pose further emphasized her importance in the visual vocabulary she selected. It must be acknowledged the priestess’ choice to self-identify as a wife, priestess, and daughter selecting this as a frame to represent herself, her children and her ancestors. Simo, was aware of her personal influence and importance at the time of commissioning her statue and without a doubt expected it to elevate her familial collective. This awareness elevates the Hellenistic woman making her active participant

⁴¹ Biard 2017, 315, 335.

⁴² Lysimache BM 1887, 0725.31. Roman copy, Tarquinia, Etruria 2nd c. CE. See Richter 1984, 158-9; Riccomini 2015, 30.

⁴³ IErythrai 210a; Dillon 2010, 9; See also van Straten 1981, 76.

⁴⁴ IErythai 210a, 4th or beginning of 3rd c. BCE. Connelly 2007, 138; Dillon 2010, 9, 180;

⁴⁵ Connelly 2007, 138; The inscription reads: “Simo, wife of Zoilos, priestess of the city, daughter of Pankratides, set up this image of beauty and example of virtue and wealth, for Dionysos as an eternal memorial for my children and ancestors” (Dillon 2010, 9).

within the public domain as much as within the private sphere. Wife, daughter, mother or priestess and public servant? Through the examination of female personas will become clear that one did not take away from the other, on the contrary, all these elements and intersectionalities formed part of the complex identity of Hellenistic women, who's agency has been undermined due to the antiquated biases of art history, and anachronistic ideas of bourgeois scholars⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ See Lefkowitz and Fant 1982.

Chapter II

METHODOLOGY
AND
LIMITATIONS

METHODOLOGY

This investigation into the sculptural representations of women will examine the body and its attitudes. Furthermore, it will use archaeological findings to demonstrate how the physical body of certain women could have become symbolic of the political body and the system of values it represented. Further, it will look into how the sculptural representations used their monumentality and recognizability to transmit these systems from one generation to the next. In so doing it will consider a variety of forms, types, and identities to unlock the how and the why the feminine form through the use of dress, attitude, and attributes contained, encapsulated and embody something so transcendental and abstract as the ethos, the identity, the values, and the social, political and religious systems of those creating them. Through the investigation of these forms, these ideas and concepts it will shed light on how they were transmitted to posterity aiming to their *mimesis*. Furthermore, it aims to demonstrate how form, repetition, and recognizability engaging the politics of appearance implicated art as the tool of politics. The variety of intersectionalities considered such as age, gender, class, descent, and education will allow to transpire the construction of narratives and politics controlling the physical bodies of women. These elements together will unlock types and identities as *loci* of socio-political ideology. The body may then be seen as an idealized personification of the social, the political or the religious depending on its engagement with each. Finally, this investigation wants to offer another opinion separate from the perhaps biased interpretation of feminine forms of archaeological findings. The negotiated interpretations of the Christian erudite men of past centuries wanted to elevate the material culture of the archeological findings but further wanted to elevate the social capital of the founders themselves. This spirit might have not always matched that of the Hellenistic times insofar as the representations of women.

LIMITATIONS

The Hellenistic period was very prolific and representations of women were rich in sculptural variants and copies. The subject matter cannot be analyzed in its entirety, one can merely offer a glimpse into the material culture and the sculptural representation of some women and their importance. However, the quantity and the genre of statues copied by Roman that have survived to our days might not be completely representative of the actual Hellenistic productions in terms of quantity or quality⁴⁷. Many sculptures would have been further altered based on aesthetics and dedicator while new production would have had to adjust because for technical reasons reflecting the physical qualities of the raw materials⁴⁸. Further, this examination is limited by those who would have been represented in such a large scale and through expensive materials such as bronze and marble. It is fair to say that although the sculptural representations of mature woman give us an insight into the intersectionalities of the roles of women, these were defined by privilege. Therefore, this text is to be read with caution regarding the representations of race, age, and class as the statuary that will be examined and the material culture surviving to us is not sufficient to draw conclusions without inevitably being biased and anachronistic. Finally, the representations that are considered were never divorced from their surroundings. There would have been constant awareness of the visual dialog these were engaging and the narrative they were constructing and this is something often lost and for which this text will not be able to compensate.

⁴⁷ Lattimore 1987, 416.

⁴⁸ Plantzos 2016, 150. An example would be the added support to marble copies of bronze stand-alone statues.

Chapter III

WOMEN ON HELLENISTIC
SCULPTURES
Types and Identities

WOMEN ON HELLENISTIC SCULPTURES

“In the open-minded societies of the Hellenistic world
women obtained more rights and more power over themselves”⁴⁹

TYPES:

PEPLOPHOROS

The *peplos* garment was of sacred importance because of its “divine nature” and as such had protective and symbolic functions⁵⁰. This type of textile was associated with the goddess Athena and the Panathenaic *peplos* represented “the victory of the gods and the protection of the polis”⁵¹. The *peplophoros*, which appears on the east frieze of the Parthenon, came to symbolize womanhood within an ideological structure of gender which was woven into the Hellenic identity ‘fabric’ as was worn only by women⁵². Stylistically, it appears on the “sever-style-figures” who almost exclusively were represented with *peplos*⁵³. From the first lines of the Orphic hymn⁵⁴ to goddess the Athena is represented as “σεμνή” therefore, iconographically

⁴⁹ Kottaridi 2011, 104.

⁵⁰ Lee 2006, 317-322. Dillon 201, 79.

⁵¹ Lee 2005, 317, 322. The garment may be also seen as serving a meta function too. Goddess Athena was both the goddess of weaving as well as a warrior goddess. The textile may be seen as carrier of the duplicity of Athena as both Ergani and Pallas, where the cloth both metaphorically and practically functions as protective attribute of the goddess in the social and political realm. In fact, according to Lee, the peplos was the gift goddess Athena gifted to Hercules (Lee 2006, 322). Furthermore, the peplos may be seen as symbolic of peace and prosperity explored in the sculptural rendering of the bearded river Acheloös wearing a peplos (Ibid). In fact, the goddess changes her peplos with Zeus chiton when she enters into battle (Ibid, 323). See also Ridgway 1984, 46.

⁵² There is evidence of the Peplos in the Macedonia region as early as the 7th c. BCE. By the 5th century, according to Lee, the idea of the peplos was “manipulated” by writers to “convey the emasculation of male characters” (Lee 2006, 322). Nevertheless, this idea is debatable. Perhaps there is a sacred meaning associated with the peplos which has not survived to our days (Ibid). This idea derives, according to Lee, from the sculptural representation of a *peplophoros* charioteer on the frieze of the Parthenon (Ibid; Ridgway 1984, 50). According to Waite there is a lot of political connotations associated with the “nuance of dress” (Waite 2018).

⁵³ Roccas 2000, 244.

⁵⁴ Orphic Hymn 31.

speaking, the *peplos* would have been identifiable of that quality. Ridgway speaks of the ‘severe flatness’ of the *peplos* enveloping and concealing the feminine body⁵⁵. Taking into consideration the importance of the female body in reproduction, then, the concealing function of the *peplos* may be seen as protective of the fertility and abundance to which the female body would have been central⁵⁶. By the end of the 5th c. BCE, the sculptural representations show a rich range of garments and transparencies which both highlighted both the virtuoso of the artists and the taste of the times⁵⁷. In fact, sculptors seem to have preferred to “cloth women with chiton and long himation”⁵⁸. This change of taste in garments made the *peplos* a signifier connected to importance within the social and political sphere⁵⁹. The *Peplophoros* of Halicarnassus⁶⁰ (fig. 5) because of the location it was found and the garment it was believed to have been of the same period of the Mausoleum⁶¹. Nevertheless, the sandals prove that it was a much later sculpture⁶². This speaks to the intentionality of the *peplos* that goes beyond the concept of ‘fashionable’.

In the Hellenistic times, the *peplophoros* type experienced a revival which iconographically was characterized by a shawl across the chest which made this type of sculptures “truly daughters of their stylistic time”⁶³. In terms of fashion, the garment would have been seen as very old-style and antiquated⁶⁴. Therefore, as with other old-fashioned stylistic choices, the

⁵⁵ Ridgway 1984, 218.

⁵⁶ The *peplos* during the 5th c. BCE “still conceals the body” Ibid, 47.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 48.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 46.

⁵⁹ According to Ridgway some of the most important representations of *peplophoroi* of the Classical period are Athena Parthenos, The Promachos and the Caryatids (Ibid, 46). The *peplophoros*, reserved for deities and prominent personas such as the Lysimache statuary representation of Athena Polias’ priestess on the Acropolis, entered a period of artistic modifications. The representations of Nikai, enjoyed many variations of the *peplos* which “lended itself for new effects of female nudity sought by classical sculptors” (Ibid, 48).

⁶⁰ Louvre, inv. 2838. Ca. 2nd c. BCE. See Morrow 1985, 74.

⁶¹ Morrow 1985, 74.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ridgway 1984, 50.

⁶⁴ Ridgway 1984, 48; Dillon 2010, 79.

peplos too, would have been used to speak to its association to the goddess Athena ⁶⁵. As the fashion changes the antiquated garments often help archaeologists identify the goddesses and the mortal women⁶⁶. The *peplophoros* type was selected in the representation of matronly goddesses, queens, and priestesses ⁶⁷. Such is the *peplophoros* ca 365-340 BCE from Vergina (fig. 26). The statue, possibly a portrait, was a dedication of Queen Eurydice I mother of Philip II to goddess Eukleia.⁶⁸ Further, this type was preferred for the representation of women on funerary monuments following the “old fashioned values” of Classical tradition for women to be remembered for modesty, decorum, dignity, restraint, and order⁶⁹. This anachronism was deliberate and symbolic and intended to emanate respect⁷⁰. The stele of Theophile (fig. 2)⁷¹ is described by Roccas as “deliberately Classicizing” ⁷². Furthermore, Palagia, who compared Theophile to the torso of Demokratia/Themis⁷³ from the Athenian Agora, confirming this way the emulation of the fashion of the deities by mortals, believes that “[t]he Classicism is contrived”⁷⁴.

Nevertheless, the “iconographical conservatism” may be seen as a “parallel to the idea of ideal”⁷⁵ opposing the more libertine and luxurious Eastern fashion⁷⁶. Hence, the choice of

⁶⁵ The peplos was worn in combination with a back mantle to indicate the importance of one of the individual of the group. This was a maiden, perhaps in the position of *kanephoros* (Roccas 2000, 235-65).

⁶⁶ Dillon 2010, 62, 64.

⁶⁷ Dillon brings as an example the representation of Demeter on the big votive relief from Eleusis at the NAM, inv. 126 (Dillon 2010, 78-9, 203). See fig. 1.

⁶⁸ Katsikoudis 2014, 188, image 169; Biard 2017, pl. XLIV.

⁶⁹ Dillon 2010, 102. These ideas are no completely detached from how many even today choose to be memorialized.

⁷⁰ There is no inventory number. See Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2000; Dillon 2010, 79; 395-7; Katsikoudis 2014, 188; Biard 2017, 356, Pl. XLIVa;

⁷¹ Stele, NAM inv. 1305, IG 112 11660; ca 330-325 BCE. Clairmont 1993, 450; Osborne and Byrne 1996, 221; Bergemann 1997, 173; See: Roccas 2000, 241. Theophile is wearing a *chiton* under the *peplos* and back-mantle.

⁷² Roccas 2000, 241; Palagia 1982, 108.

⁷³ Athenian Agora inv. S2370. See Palagia 1982, 99-113. Plates 29a,b,c,d.

⁷⁴ Roccas 2000, 241; Palagia 1982, 108.

⁷⁵ Junker 2016.

⁷⁶ Or other matronly goddesses such as Hera (Ridgway 1984, 49). Peplos was seen as conservative and the embodiment of modesty and as such mirrored later Roman ideals giving the *peplophoros* type a “long artistic life” (Ibid 49).

garments could be seen as *sema* of social identity⁷⁷ and to no surprise, this more traditional attire was favoured more in the “old mainland”⁷⁸. The statue of the so-called Velanideza (fig. 3)⁷⁹ in Attica, perhaps representing a “priestess in ritual”, embodied both the social identity and is simultaneously emulated the goddess⁸⁰. The *peplos* served to elevate the woman above the ‘everyday’ and make her presence more transcendental. In fact, the *peplophoros* carried from the end of the 5th c. BCE a “special meaning as sign of Hellenic identity”⁸¹. A *peplophoros* (fig. 4)⁸² from the Villa of the Papyri was identified as the goddess Demeter which reinforce that the typology of the *peplophoros* as time passed was associated with cult activities and the divine intertwined with its intrinsically Hellenic nature⁸³.

⁷⁷ Roccos 2000, 245; Dillon 2010, 99-102.

⁷⁸ Dillon 2010, 100.

⁷⁹ MET inv. 10,210.21 Statue of woman in Pentelic marble. See Dillon 2010, 81; Richter 1954, 104.

⁸⁰ Dillon 2010, 80-1

⁸¹ Roccos 2000, 245.

⁸² Museum of Naples inv. 81595. See: Esposito 2013, 98.

⁸³ With this in mind, the *peplophoroi*, “Hydrophorai or Danaids”, bronze representations of young dancer at the Villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum present significant interest and worth further consideration which perhaps goes beyond the scope of this investigation (Archaeological Museum Naples). Museum of Naples, inv. 5619, 5620, 5621, 5605, 5604, reproductions of Hellenistic originals based on Classical themes. See Ridgeway 1990.

HERCULANEUM WOMEN

This type of female sculptural representation takes its name from the city of Herculaneum at the feet of the Vesuvius in the region of Campania in Italy. The first three statues of this type were unearthed in 1710-1711, and are today at Dresden (fig. 6;7)⁸⁴, in what would have been the Roman theatre⁸⁵. Based on their visual characteristics these were identified as *Vestal Virgins* because of the style of their drapery and composed stance which distinguished the statuary type for its decorum⁸⁶. This style of *contrapposto* comes in two types, the Large Herculaneum Woman⁸⁷ (LHW) with her head covered, *capite velato*, used in the representation of older women, and the Small Herculaneum Woman (SHW) with her head exposed used for the representation of younger women⁸⁸. In fact, it was the coiffure of the SHM, the ‘melon-coiffure’⁸⁹, that helped identify the statuary typology back to prototypes of ca 350 BCE on the cusp between the Classical and the Hellenist periods⁹⁰. There are 180 examples of the LHW, 160 of the SHW, and a multitude of such variants in funerary context such as representations on sarcophagi (fig. 8)⁹¹, and “a total of 375 replicas are preserved today” which according to their

⁸⁴ Skulpturensammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. Hm 326 (LHW), ca 40-60 CE; Hm 327 (SHW), ca 30-1 BCE; Hm 328 (SHW). See: Dodero 2019, 242,244, fig.64, 65,66; Dillon 2010, 158; 2013, 217. Hm 328 (SHW) has been in storage since 1969 curating the Hm 327 alone to give her more value (Woelk 2008; Najbjerg 2009, 302).

⁸⁵ Vorster 2008, 114-9. Biard 2017, 365.

⁸⁶ Daehner et al 2007,111, Ntontou 2015, 3; Biard 2017, 366.

⁸⁷ This type develops in Roman times and becomes the favourite body type for representations of women of the Imperial family as it captured the “*simplicitas et gravitas*” (Dillon 2010, 158; 2013, 217).

⁸⁸ Bieber 1962,111; Daehner 2007, PAGE; Ntontou 2015 3-4.

⁸⁹ Example of melon-coiffure Museum of Fine Arts Boston inv. 88.809 4th c. BCE terracotta. Also see Merker 2000, 164-5.

⁹⁰ Kousser 2008, 142; Szepessy 2011,9; Ntontou 2015, 7. Ntontou reports that there is evidence in Pliny the Elder suggesting the original of Demeter and Kore might have been executed by Praxiteles (Plin. Nat. 36.4; Ntontou 2015,7).

⁹¹ For example the marble Sarcophagus from via Salaria. ca 2 BCE. Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 2344. Daehner 2007, 110.

stylistic variants may range from 300 BCE to 300 CE⁹². Nevertheless the two types were rarely found together although “documented as conceptual pair”⁹³.

The garments rich folds suggest an expensive and fashionable attire, which coupled with vibrant colouring speaks about the status of the represented⁹⁴. Based on the location of the three statues in Herculaneum, the statuary no doubt would have represented elite women and benefactors. Nevertheless, it is believed that this type would have been initially representing goddesses, muses, priestesses and poets, before representing other prominent women⁹⁵. Based on Daehner’s research, Hellenistic copies of the original statues would have appeared around the end of the Hellenistic period⁹⁶. In fact, the “fully represented...idealized beaut[y] untouched by the ravage of age” SHM from Delos, at The House of the Lake, today at NAM (fig. 9)⁹⁷ dates about 100 BCE. The well preserved statue reveals a lot about not only the virtuoso of the artist but furthermore the techniques in the application of colour in large-scale sculptures⁹⁸. This information confirms the importance of the pictorial rendering of detail, pattern, design, and colour. While the skin would have appeared smooth and polished⁹⁹ the sculptural rendering in combination with the colouring given to the garments created a 3-D illusion adding to the realness of the fabrics¹⁰⁰. This is also visible on the torso of a SHW from Delos (fig. 10)¹⁰¹ which is the honorific statue of a priestess. Another honorific statue in a LHW format is that from the Necropolis of Pantikapaion (fig. 11), today at the Hermitage, dates from ca 100-50 BCE¹⁰². Two

⁹² Bieber 1962, 111; Getty Museum 2007; Daehner 2007, 111; Smith 2009, 96; Szepessy 2011, 9; Ntontou 2015, 7.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Daehner 2007, 66-7.

⁹⁵ Smith 2006, 76; Szepessy 2011, 9; Kousser 2008, 142; Daehner 2007, 85, 111-2; Ntontou 2015, 7-8.

⁹⁶ Daehner 2007, 100-1; Ntontou 2015, 10. Biard 2017, 365-6.

⁹⁷ NAM inv. 1827. Queyrel 1996, 88-9; Daehner 2007, 111; Dillon 2010, 83; 2013, 212; Biard 2017, 365, Pl. XLVIII.

⁹⁸ Blume-Jung 2010, 147-50; Ntontou 2015, 11.

⁹⁹ Polishing the statues was something visible in later Roman art.

¹⁰⁰ According to Blume-Jung the fabric of the chiton would have been of a “crepe-like textile” (2010, 146).

¹⁰¹ Torso of Small Herculaneum Woman from Delos, Late Hellenistic, Delos Museum, inv. A2937. Biard 2017, 366

¹⁰² The State Hermitage Museum 1850.26 (25) part of a couple, a husband and wife format. Daehner 2007, 131; Ntontou 2015, 36, plate 16.

statues one of a SMW (fig. 12)¹⁰³, and one of a LHW (fig. 13)¹⁰⁴ show the preference of the statuary in its commemorative function in a funerary setting¹⁰⁵. There is a plethora of academic investigation pertaining to the HW type. In fact, the HW type was the first to be discovered probably coinciding with the beginning of the discipline of archaeology. The abundance of material culture and *loci* of discovery leads to believe that this was a type favoured particularly by Romans. The balance of the pose, half open, half close, evokes the *Juste Meilleurs* between femininity and restraint, the charming yet exemplary woman coinciding with the body politics of its time. Furthermore, it is of great importance the persisting of the idealized portraiture, making the HW the embodiment of the ideal woman¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰³ NAM inv. 1827. Marble. See Biard 2017, pl. XLVIII;

¹⁰⁴ NAM, inv. 3622. Marble. See Daehner 2007, 114. According to Daehner, when comparing the stance of the LHW to that of Sophocles from the theatre of Dionysus in Athens (ca 336-326 BCE) there is an “obvious correspondence between the poses” (Daehner 2007, 114). There is a general favouring of the idea of ‘virile femininity’. The compose posture of the LHW appears to encapsulate all the virtues otherwise typical of a men and the modesty and chastity expected of women. This is captured also by the half-open half-close pose of the HW pose.

¹⁰⁵ The statuary, similarly to the archaic Kore (Phrasikleia, NAM ca.550-530 BCE), encapsulated the virtues of womanhood in a portraiture of an exemplary ‘calm femininity’ and charisma. The HW type evoked more than status. In fact, it evoked a socially accepted behaviour. Through its adornments, clothing, hair-do, jewellery, transmitted and expressed identity and public *decorum* (Carroll 2005, 289). This inevitably reinforced the good standing of the familial collective.

¹⁰⁶ Returning to the virile femininity once again, calm and contained, the ‘ideal citizen woman’. See Trimble 2007.

ORANS

The *Orans* pose is a somewhat open pose with one arm raised evoking a divinity. This gesture appears in Homer in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*¹⁰⁷ as well as Euripides.

“He grabbed the reins/resting on the chariot rail and set his feet/firmly in the straps. Then, raising his hands/palms upward to the gods, he cried...”¹⁰⁸

and Aristophanes:

“When we sacrifice, /no need to go to Ammon or to Delphi—/we’ll just stand among arbutus trees/ or oleasters with an offering—/barley grains or wheat—uttering our prayers,/our arms outstretched, so from them we receive/ our share of benefits. And these we’ll gain/ by throwing them a few handfuls of grain”¹⁰⁹.

In visual art “the gesture is not found again until the late 4th c. BCE”¹¹⁰. In Hellenistic sculptural portraiture is a pose preferred for the representation of priestesses as the stance is evocative of the performance of religious duties¹¹¹. Palagia suggests that surviving *Orantes* statues such as the priestess at the British Museum (fig. 16)¹¹² and Agrippina the Younger (fig. 17), mother of Nero, at Olympia¹¹³ “derived from of the late third quarter of the 4th c. BC[E]”¹¹⁴ versions of which were also found at Herculaneum¹¹⁵. Another *orans* representation is Aristonoe from Rhamnous (fig. 15) who was a priestess and her statue was dedicated to the goddesses Themis and Nemesis¹¹⁶. This pose embodied all the divine piety of the represented. Another statue with

¹⁰⁷ *Iliad* 1.450; 3.275; *Odyssey* 20.97;

¹⁰⁸ Euripides, *Hyppolytos*, 1190;

¹⁰⁹ Aristophanes, *The Birds*, 623; Roberts 2013.

¹¹⁰ Roberts 2013.

¹¹¹ Dillon 2012, 264-5. Also see Dillon 2010; Davis 2018.

¹¹² British Museum inv. n.1988. See: Palagia, 1992, pl. 32.

¹¹³ Museum of Olympia, inv. L.143.

¹¹⁴ British Museum (BM) inv. 1988, Palagia 1992, 102 Plate 32 C,

¹¹⁵ See Ginsburg 2005, 85-7.

¹¹⁶ National Archaeological Museum inv. no.232. Statue of life-size dimensions. The statue is examined in the Priestess segment of the chapter. NAM 232. *Orans* pose. Priestess. 3rd C. BCE. See: Dillon 2010, 15, 66; Kaltsas 2001, image 574; Katsikoudis 2014, 186, image 166; Biard 2017; pl. XLII b; Leventi 2019, 70.

affinity to the *Orans* pose described by Palagia is the Themis of Rhamnous (fig. 18)¹¹⁷. It is not accidental that both statues have some affinity with goddess Themis. In fact, the priestesses were represented emulating the style of the goddess they serve. This connection would have elevated the priestess and her family and offered a role of public importance and power beyond the realm of the domestic¹¹⁸.

The *Orans* pose initially would not have been the preferred type for representing mortal women in the Hellenistic period. Perhaps its association with ritual and religious duties was so overtly associated with determined roles and power relations of the specific time that this representation in itself limited who could represent oneself with this attitude something that will be consider when discussing identities. Nevertheless, this pose once stripped of its power connotations became the most popular in the Western sculptural and non-sculptural representation of women with the advent of Christianity and the gesture remains indicative of piety to our days.

¹¹⁷ NAM ca 300 BCE. Pentelic marble. Sleeved chiton and wrapped himation. H. 222 cm. Ridgway 2001, 55-7. Spivey 2013, 267. On stylistic connections with Demokratia/Tyche (Agora S2370) see: Palagia 1992.

¹¹⁸ Connelly 2007, 234. The priestesses are captured in performing religious roles which would have reinforced their agency and status. See priestesses.

PUDICITIA

The Pose, The Virtue, The Woman.

The *Pudicitia*¹¹⁹ is a sculptural pose distinguished from other types of draped women. This pose was one of the favourites formats used in the representation of women in the Hellenistic period becoming the embodiment of feminine virtue so much so that in Roman became a goddess in its own merit¹²⁰. This pose has been identified by her particular hand gesture which appears in sculpture for the first time the mid of the 5th century BCE on the Temple of Zeus in Olympia¹²¹. This pose, more often represented standing, is defined by one arm forded over the waist while the other arm with the elbow tight near the body is raised closed the face. The shy and composed closed gesture intends to represent modesty, virtue, discipline, and temperance of the female figure. Μαρκουλίδου defines this type by the gesture of the hand holding part of the garment in an attempt to conceal or cover the face and interprets it as that of a ‘thinking or worried woman’¹²². Although this typology, both in standing and in a sitting stance, has been encountered also in funerary functions, the idea of mourning has been excluded¹²³.

The *Pudicitia* pose has been realized in a vast array of variations both in Hellenistic originals as well as Roman copies. These have been classified both on variations and

¹¹⁹ The term *pudicitia* applies only to women and children (Snyder 2011, 1). Snyder argues the role of *pudicitia* is a “highly gender role of chastity” and she sets out to prove that the Roman historian Livy refers with this epithet to those who are vulnerable and in need of male protection (Snyder 2011, 1); Markoulidou 2007, 1.

¹²⁰ Markoulidou 2007, 1. Temple of Pudicitia Patricia and the Temple of Pudicitia Plebeia (Livy)

¹²¹ Markoulidou 2007, 18. See J. Dörig, 1997. According to Markoulidou and Settis refer to the sculpture as *Penelope* and not *Pudicitia* (Μαρκουλίδου 2007, 19). Nevertheless, become clear that this type represents fidelity, temperance and self-restraint. Furthermore, this type of statuary become in Roman times the personification of female sexual ethics and extramarital chastity of the matron. Also see Ridgway 2002, 118-21. With regards to the idea of thinking, a sculpture of the Thinking old man or SEER makes its first appearance on the same temple. Seems that both figures represented on the freeze seem to know already or share a presentiment regarding the outcome of the events on the pediment. See Καρδαρά 1965, 173; Settis, 1975; Markoulidou 2007, 19-20.

¹²² Ibid, 19.

¹²³ Mourning, although was defined as a female duty, it was a very emotional and expressive affair seen as uncontrollable and irrational. To the contrary this figure predicates self-control and restraint (Allen 2017, 34-5). Furthermore, Plutarch describes mourning as feminine, inferior, weak and ignoble (Plut. Mor. 113a). If and when considering the statuary typology in connection to funerary function in connection to Plutarch the specific typology may be seen as one of restrain, gravitas, an male self-control. The ancient writer’s description account for such women too, seen as virile women. The concept of a virile women appears in Homer in the Iliad with Andromache (Iliad 22.447–448, 451–453), and in the Odyssey with Penelope (Odyssey 23.166).

directionality of gesture as well as on style and execution of the garments. The type, according to Ridgway, is perhaps the “counterpart” of the nude Aphrodite¹²⁴. The pose was a favourite for the representation of mortal women, mothers, wives, and daughters¹²⁵. Such were the represented immediate family of Lucius Valerius Flaccus from the agora of Magnesia¹²⁶. From the inscriptions, they are identified as the mother Baebia (fig. 19)¹²⁷, the wife Saufeia (fig. 20)¹²⁸, and the daughter Polla Valeria (fig. 21)¹²⁹. These three women will lend their names to the typology of three of the many variants of the *Pudicitia* pose¹³⁰. While the *Baebia* type was less popular, the *Saufeia* type was much loved and copied and the *Polla Valeria*, a much more youthful representation, would have been reserved for younger women and girls¹³¹. In Ridgway’s observation is concluded that the two statues, of the mother and wife, which appear to have been replicas of prototypes dating ca 160-150 BCE, *Baebia* and *Saufeia* would have been re-dedications of these sculptures around 62 BCE, while only *Polla Valeria*, might have been a commission of ca 60 BCE¹³². This may also be attested by the two repurposed bases of the earlier statues¹³³. The sculptures had movable heads, roughly finished backs, while their mantles

¹²⁴ Ridgway 2002, 118.

¹²⁵ Ridgway 2002, 119

¹²⁶ Ibid, 119-20. Statues today are in Istanbul. According to Ridgway the statues could have been associated with the temple of Athena or Artemis. Dillon 2010, 161.

¹²⁷ Archaeological Museum Istanbul. Inv. 605 From Magnesia 1c.BCE Marble. 230 cm. See: Ridgway 2002, 118-9; Markoulidou 2007; Smith 2009,125, Image 116.1; Dillon 2010, 159-61; Katsikoudis 2014, 192, Image 176; Biard 2017, Pl. XLVIIa.

¹²⁸ Archaeological Museum Istanbul. Inv. 606. From Magnesia 1c.BCE Marble. 212 cm. See: Smith 2009,125, image 116.2, Katsikoudis 2014, 192, image 177; Biard 2017, Pl. XLVIIb.

¹²⁹ Archeological Museum of Istanbul, inv. 579 From Magnesia 1c.BCE Marble. 230 cm. See: Ridgway 2002, 118-9; Markoulidou 2007; Smith 2009,125, Dillon 2010, 159-61; Katsikoudis 2014, 192; Biard 2017, Pl. XLVIIc. According to Dillon the *pudicitia* format is seen as sexually charged when compared to the Herculaneum format. This may also transpire from Ridgway’s description of the Saufeia type, who wrapped tightly in her draperies allowed for a more enhanced silhouette and for this reason preferred to the Baebia type (Markoulidou 2007).

¹³⁰ Markoulidou 2007, 1-2; Ridgway 2002, 119-21.

¹³¹ Markoulidou 2007, 13; St. Clair 1996, 149.

¹³² Ridgway 2002, 120-1. Ridgway’s determinations are based on stylistic analysis.

¹³³ Ibid, 121. The bases of *Baebia* and *Saufeia* had a larger plinths indicating that the inscription would have been divided between plinth and base. The plinth of *Polla Valeria* however, having been commissioned with the statue didn’t need to accommodate any inscriptions as these would have been included in their entirety on the base (Ridgway 2002, 120-1).

vary in the sculptural rendering of detail and definition, elements which betray being related to economic factors rather than artistic choices and stylistic changes¹³⁴. Considering the honorific statuary group of Lucius Valerius Flaccus' family the following things transpire. Firstly, the economy of the finishing of the sculptures in some areas, while the hyperrealism in some other¹³⁵. These would have been significantly expensive even for someone with a position of a magistrate. The statues of the mother and wife were re-dedicated and the face of the women completely idealized and not an actual portrait of the women¹³⁶. Furthermore, the third statue of the daughter might have been dedicated a few years later¹³⁷. Following Ridgway's descriptions, the lack of details on the backside of the statuary group indicates that these were meant to be seen from the front, makes, therefore, an economic sense not to complete the back of the statuary¹³⁸. Similarly, the details on the plasticity of the garments vary in degree of detail and rendering some more and less successful and it transpires that Hellenistic art's engagement in verism is undeniable. Secondly, the size of the honorific statuary group is larger than life-size permitting, therefore, the representation of mortal women in a monumental manner¹³⁹. Thirdly, and most importantly, Ridgway's evidence supports the idea of men honoured through their relation to the women, highlighting the important role of women in the social realm during Hellenistic times¹⁴⁰. Furthermore, women were creating identities and forging their own public personas by leaning dynamically onto their husband's status. These women were carving metaphorically their own space and becoming agents of their substance and fabric. The portrait of Kleopatra at the House of Kleopatra and Dioskourides (fig. 22) at Delos is an example of just

¹³⁴ Ibid, 120-1

¹³⁵ For example Baebias garments appear crinkled (Ridgway 2002, 120).

¹³⁶ Ridgway 2002, 120. A detailed portrait would have been more costly than a standardized ideal female portraiture.

¹³⁷ Ibid, 120.

¹³⁸ Ibid, 120-121.

¹³⁹ Ridgway points out that it is unknown if the re-purposed statuary was initially a representation of another woman or a goddess.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 121. The importance of women and the honorary function of their portraiture in the elevation of their male family members it is known and transpires from Archaic dedication and honorary groups. Furthermore, the increment in funerary reliefs in Athens after the citizen law established by Pericles speaks exactly to this. This idea of honorific portraiture via the female imagery has been also adopted by Christian iconography. Mother Mary in fact, appears as a chaste veiled woman.

that¹⁴¹. Although, at first glance decorative because located inside a private house, the portrait speaks of the strong presence of women, both in the private and public sphere, who used every opportunity to propel themselves into the sphere apparently reserved for men. The *pudicitia* pose of Kleopatra is shared by the votive sculpture of her contemporary Diodora (fig. 23), a priestess at Delos¹⁴². The typology of the pose shared by the two speaks about their status. It also attests to the desire to “mimic the language of the public honorific portraits”¹⁴³. Considering that the religious realm inter-sectioned the sociopolitical sphere, then by this merit, both Kleopatra and Diodora appear of distinguished importance. According to Dillon during the late Hellenistic period there was an increase in honorific portraiture of women who however were not priestesses¹⁴⁴. Some would have been connected to sub-priestess duties and participation in some capacity to festivals¹⁴⁵. An example is the idea of the women not being known in public neither for good or bad had changed. Women appeared adorned¹⁴⁶ and virtuous. These monumental and iconic representations either reinforced the family ‘collective’ which had expanded to include sister and nieces and not just mothers, wives, and daughters¹⁴⁷, or were monuments to women who were not mere bystanders tending only to the house economics, but whose importance in the domestic sphere coupled with their social connections propelled them higher in terms of status and importance. Another factor contributing to the importance of the sculptural representations of women is the law of scarcity. In fact, although there has been an increase in female portraiture

¹⁴¹ Kleopatra, (IDelos 1987) inv. A7763 (A7799-7797a); Prov. House of Kleopatra and Dioskourides; Theatre quarter. Athenian controlled Delos, post-166 BCE. Dillon 2010, 88, 175. See also Ridgway 2000, plate 46; Moreno 1994, 673-4 fig. 817. This type was also used for funerary *stelai*. The funerary *stèle* from Efeso, Selçuk is one of them. See Moreno 1997, 668, image 819. Biard 2017, 335-337, 350, pl. XXXVII.

¹⁴² Diodora (IDelos 2095 and 2096) See: Marcade 1969, image 66; Dillon 2010, 87; 2013, 220-1; Katsikoudis 2014, 192, image 175.

¹⁴³ Dillon 2010, 165.

¹⁴⁴ Dillon, 2010, 210, fig. 2; 2013, 205, 220, 1. The statue of Diodora was set up by her husband and sons. Delos 2095 and 2096 Dillon 2010.

¹⁴⁵ One of them would have been Sosandra, Deme Melite, ID1870,3 ; E514. LGPN II, Sosandra, p414, T, PA 13159. “Sorption, son of Sarapion of Melite, set up statue of daughter Sosandra, Kanephoros, for the Lenaia and the Dionysian, sub-priestess of Artemis” Dillon 2010, 173. The statues of the younger women were usually commissioned by their fathers and brothers, the mature women’s were usually commissioned by their husbands and sons.

¹⁴⁶ Holes were made for jewellery to be attached onto the statuary.

¹⁴⁷ Dillon 2013, 209.

and sculptural representations, these still added to a much lesser percentage of those of their male counterparts which might have increased their allure adding this way to their significance¹⁴⁸. Although the primary function of the sculptures was always votive in association to the deity, nevertheless these were also an “ostentatious and lasting...display of religious piety and familial pride”¹⁴⁹ to which the women functioned to elevating without committing hubris. In this spirit, Harvey recognizes a dichotomy in the concept of *pudicitia* and argues that while on one hand women were limited and oppressed by high expectations on the other, they were liberated and propelled into the social and political realms as their moral and physical qualities were used to frame and define not just them and their families but thought them, the public and the political environment altogether¹⁵⁰. The woman’s faithfulness safeguards the purity of lineage of the man and hence his patrimony and inheritance. Her gender and its position in the socio-political framework, which was recreated by human action and choice of representations seen as cumulative expressions, evolved often mirroring aspect of everyday life ¹⁵¹. The virtue of chastity and marital bliss were the ones that elevated the social status of women in the performance of their civic duty. Consequently, a woman’s piety is political and *ἐγκράτεια* etymologically incapsulates exactly this concept. However, *ἐγκράτεια* is mainly a male attribute and *αρετή*¹⁵². Women were often perceived as lacking restraint and control, a virtue typically male, and were reprimanded as unruly and extravagant¹⁵³. However, from Plutarch’s writings transpires the concept of the virile woman which is investigated by Monsacré in the personas of Penelope, Helen, Andromache, and Arete. These queens “embody authority just like their husbands”¹⁵⁴. This concept is considered in more detail when investigating the sculptural

¹⁴⁸ According to Dillon 2013, 204, fig. 1 the female statuary was less than half of that of the male.

¹⁴⁹ Dillon 2013, 204.

¹⁵⁰ Harvey 2011, 1.

¹⁵¹ Whitley 1996, 210-211; Shanks and Tilley 1987, 180.

¹⁵² The idea of a virile woman is something that comes up time and time again. The two female students of Plato were said to dress like men, while philosopher Hipparchia was said to have chosen the “Cynics’ virile life” (Lefkowitz and Fant 1982, 167-8).

¹⁵³ Plut. Mor. 113a; Allen 2017, 34-5; Haland 2011, 9. See also Rehm 1994; Taaffe, 1993; Lewis, 2006;

¹⁵⁴ Monsacré, 2018.

representations of Hellenistic queens. Summing this up, the *pudicitia* format implies restraint, control, and virile dignity, both by seizing it within the sculptural portraiture and as a result of the piety of the woman in her safeguarding the family collective.

The Hellenistic period is a time of expansion of the borders of the classical and pre-alexandrine city-state to a globalized imperial diversity. In this atmosphere, the women grasp the opportunity to be represented and honoured in portraits, monumental and ostentatious public and private displays of status which have survived to our days¹⁵⁵. From these transpires that often status prevailed to old age. The *pudicitia* offered an idealized body matched by an equally idealized face. Dillon describes the face as oval in shape, smooth and unlined, graceful, with almond eyes and gentle brows, straight nose, and lips slightly parted¹⁵⁶. Although the drapery of the *pudicitia* conceals the body none of the signs of aging transpires from the posture. Not unlike today, women are re-touched and altered to comprise a homogeneous generic look almost becoming a portrait of the personification of virtue and modesty in a *quasi* semiotic way. According to Dillon, the homogeneous appearance encapsulates the elite family collective identity and their value as they wanted them to be represented¹⁵⁷. The female idealized formula, which would have served well both the honoured and the collective, was a homogeneous elite identity of the feminine, one certainly of privilege since these type of sculptural representations were prohibitively expensive to the vast majority¹⁵⁸.

The *pudicitia* format appears often in a funerary context too as the pose adds to the gravitas of the funerary monument. The *stele*¹⁵⁹ at the British Museum is an example. The woman with mantle is in profile towards the right and has one arm raised while the second arm is wrapping around her waist. However, according to Dillon and her investigation of gravestones from Rheneia at Delos, this pose was not necessarily the most popular style of funerary

¹⁵⁵ Dillon 2013, 206.

¹⁵⁶ Dillon 2010, 165; 2013, 212.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 214.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 212,4.

¹⁵⁹British Museum, Inv. 1973,0103,13 from ca. 200-100 BC. See: Pryce, F N; Smith, A H, Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the British Museum, I-III, London, BMP, 1892

representations. These details will be further examined while considering the representations of women on funerary reliefs. Many representations of women on funerary *stelai* are depicted in the *pudicitia* pose with “serene and idealized faces...richly dressed and adorned”¹⁶⁰. What however becomes important to highlight is that these monuments and the type of representation are most likely chosen by the relatives, not unlike today, with very few exceptions.

In conclusion, the *pudicitia* format very popular in the representation of mortal elite women. The draped character of the sculptural representation favours and enhances the piety of the honoured and through them elevated and publicly displayed the status and pride of the dedicators¹⁶¹. These public and private monuments in the style of portraits of women commissioned by their male relatives perhaps aiming to capitalize on the power of the monument and all it comprised, ultimately increased the significance of women overall giving them an elevated status mostly in public¹⁶². The bulk of visual material culture of the Hellenistic period undoubtedly reinforced the importance of women giving them a dominant place well beyond the domestic sphere¹⁶³.

¹⁶⁰ Ridgway 2000, 193.

¹⁶¹ Dillon 2010, 165

¹⁶² Ibid, 165-6.

¹⁶³ Shanks and Tilley 1987:180.

IDENTITIES:

QUEENS

“Queens set the fashion for upper class women”¹⁶⁴

The Hellenistic queens were known for being sponsors and dedicators of civic and religious buildings¹⁶⁵. These architectural gifts, often in very large scale¹⁶⁶, to deities, temples, cities, and peoples functioned to demonstrate piety, appreciation, but often their purpose was propaganda promoting the image and the power of the ruler. Hellenistic queens did not lack agency and ruled with the same tenacity as their male counterparts¹⁶⁷. Queen Artemisia II of Caria (fig. 14)¹⁶⁸, today known for the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, ruled on her own for two years after the death of King Mausolus conquering the island of Rhodes and commanding her own navy¹⁶⁹. This concept of the virile woman emerges often when considering the Hellenistic queens and their representations as it pertains to the “visualization of power”¹⁷⁰ as these sculptural representations demonstrate how art functions in relation to cult, ritual, and politics. The statues of Olympias, mother of Alexander, her mother in law Eurydice’s chryselephantine statues were described by Pausanias at Olympia¹⁷¹. The monumentality and durability of the materiality of the sculptures

¹⁶⁴ Pomeroy 1984, 40. Also see review Evans 1985, 1170-1.

¹⁶⁵ Ridgway 1987, 407.

¹⁶⁶ Arsinoë II dedicated the Arsinoeion (ca 281 BCE) on Samothrace which at the time was the largest circular structure (Ridgway 1987, 407).

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 407-8.

¹⁶⁸ British Museum (BM) inv. 1001, FIG. ca. 350 BCE. Richter 1984, 42-43; Dillon 2010, 66.

¹⁶⁹ Her statuary will be examined in the Orans segment.

¹⁷⁰ Karapanagiotou 2016; See also Monsacré 2018.

¹⁷¹ “The work of Leochares” See Paus.5,20,10/5,17,4 The statues were first at the Philippeion and then at the Heraion. See Richter 1984, 224. The sculptor contributed to the importance of the sculptures too. Statues and portraits of Olympias continued till the Roman period and a later Macedonia coin (POG 254) bears her portrait (Richter 1984, 225).

added to the importance of the represented and conveyed a strong social and political message¹⁷². Sculptures of queens' would have been ubiquitous. Pausanias mentions two statues of Arsinoë II, one in Athens and one in Boeotia, while Pliny "mentions a statue of her carved in topaz". Two more statues, a bronze life-size head of Arsinoë II (fig. 28)¹⁷³ from is a typical Hellenistic representation, in fact resembles very much that of Arsinoë III (fig. 49)¹⁷⁴, and a marble one very stylized and traditionally pharaonic (fig. 29)¹⁷⁵. The queen, not only was represented like a goddess, but she was worshiped like one. In fact, her cult on the island of Kos was officially granted with the deployment of an oracle reinforcing the metaphysical state to which the queen via her sculptures could function as an intermediary. Further, in Egypt, her cult was united with that of her husband/brother as "*Theoi Adelphoi*"¹⁷⁶. Two bronze statues of Arsinoë II (fig. 27)¹⁷⁷ holding cornucopia and Ptolemy II wearing an elephant skin are today at the British Museum. A cameo (fig. 31)¹⁷⁸, known as Gonzaga, today at the Hermitage, represents brother and sister visually equally as co-rulers¹⁷⁹.

The "paradox of mortal divinity" was not alien to Egypt and the Near East where the ruler cult continued after Alexander and spread to become established into the Greek mainland¹⁸⁰. Indeed:

"The honouring of achievement, benefaction, military success and protection with divine honours had already a long tradition when Alexander's successors received the title of 'king'"¹⁸¹.

¹⁷² Whitley 2018, 579-95.

¹⁷³ MFA, Boston, inv. 96.712 ca. 275-250 BCE. "Said to be found at Memphis" (Warren 1896). See: MFA, no. 087, 119-120, 167; van Oppen 2019. According to MFA this portrait may be identified to the queen or to goddesses Aphrodite or Artemis. This further reinforces the idea of syncretism and assimilation. See Plantzos 2011, 392.

¹⁷⁴ Mantua Museo Civico di Palazzo Te, Acerbi Collection, inv. 96190279.

¹⁷⁵ MET inv. 38.10, ca. 280-270 BCE. See: Dodson 2004, 271; MET 2012, 59; van Oppen 2019.

¹⁷⁶ Chaniotis 2003, 436-7

¹⁷⁷ British Museum inv. EA 38442. See: Cheshire 2009, 89-90.

¹⁷⁸ The State Hermitage Museum inv. GR-12.678, 3rd. c. BCE.. See Moreno 1997; Riccomini 2015, table XIVc; van Oppen 2019.

¹⁷⁹ Later her and her brother's portraits was represented together on coins by Ptolemy III. See Richter 1984, 232.

¹⁸⁰ Chaniotis 2003, 431,3-7.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, 435.

The queen's cult was further encouraged posthumously when Ptolemy II¹⁸² united their cult with that of Alexander. Arsinoë II, Philadelphos, who was proclaimed while alive as the "avatar of goddess Aphrodite"¹⁸³ has survived to our days through many sculptural representations, some of which are posthumous. In these Arsinoë II is depicted as the goddess Isis¹⁸⁴ as seen in the limestone (fig. 32) and granodiorite statues (fig. 33)¹⁸⁵. Furthermore Ptolemy II, as a move seen more as political than commemorative, had her statue placed in every temple further reinforcing syncretism¹⁸⁶.

Similar styles of representations have survived of queen Berenike II¹⁸⁷.

"Following the example set by preceding Ptolemaic monarchs, the court of Berenice II created though art, literature, and cult a public image..."¹⁸⁸

One that would have captured the public imaginations. In fact, Callimachus "refers to her statue as the fourth Graces"¹⁸⁹. The bronze statues of the so-called Lady from the Sea (fig. 37)¹⁹⁰, the Lady of Kalymnos (fig. 38)¹⁹¹, and the statue from Bactria at the Miho Museum¹⁹² may be

¹⁸² Inagaki 2002, 27.

¹⁸³ Ibid. Also there is literary evidence stating that Berenice II dedicated a lock of her hair "at the Temple at Zephyrium of Aphrodite-Arsinoë" Gutzwiller 1992, 363. See also Plantzos 2011, 390-1.

¹⁸⁴ Miho Museum, Koka, Japan. Inv. 002. See Inagaki 2002, 24-27. This type of sculptural representations encouraging syncretism.

¹⁸⁵ MET inv. n.20.2.21 ca 150-100 BCE. See: Stanwick 2002, 37, 39, 45, 50, 59, 62, 87, 117, cat. C28. The nude of the representations of goddess Isis, and of goddess Aphrodite (Knidian style) respectively will evolve into a type that would be favoured for mortal women of high status during Roman times. See Plantzos 2011, 400-4. Miho Museum, Koka, Japan, inv. 002, 3rd century BCE. Inagaki 2002, 24-7.

¹⁸⁶ Inagaki 2002, 27. "*Synnaoi*" See Plantzos 2011, 390.

¹⁸⁷ Ca. 273-221 BCE. She was the wife of Ptolemy III and co-ruled briefly with her son Ptolemy IV in 221 BCE who murdered her that same year. See Richter 1984, 232-3.

¹⁸⁸ Gutzwiller 1992, 233. Berenike's image also appeared on gold *decadrachms* (Ibid).

¹⁸⁹ Richter, 1984, 233.

¹⁹⁰ Archaeological Museum of Izmir, inv. 3544. See Ridgway 1967, 329-334; Smith 1991, image 108; Dillon 2010, 24; Katsikoudis 2014, 196, image 184.

¹⁹¹ Archaeological Museum of Kalymnos, no inventory number (BE13/1999), unpublished; mentioned in Dillon 2010, 84.

¹⁹² Bronze statue ca. 1c. CE. Miho Museum, Koka, Japan, n. 41, 236. Inagaki, 2002.

representations of Queen Berenike II. A bronze portrait (fig. 39)¹⁹³ from the garden of the Villa of the Papyri, Herculaneum, could also represent the queen. Further, two representations of the queen on fence oinochoai (fig. 40; 41)¹⁹⁴ from ca. 243-222 BCE speaks to the ritualistic aspect of representation the queen as similar artifacts have been found in a funerary context¹⁹⁵. Ritual vessels bear the images of queen-goddesses¹⁹⁶. The *phiale* vessel made of sardonyx known as the Farnese cup (fig. 42)¹⁹⁷ bears the image of queen Cleopatra III. The depiction is an allegoric scene bringing together Greek and Egyptian elements contributing to a visual syncretism through the image of the queen-goddesses which represents both.

The most well known amongst them today is Cleopatra VII, Philopator, who together with Mark Antony was defeated by Octavian at the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE which signs the end of the Hellenistic Period. As the stereotype goes, history is written by the winners. In fact, wanting to “cast an aspersion on Octavian” many writers amongst them Propertius defames and degrades the queen’s legacy¹⁹⁸. He refers to Cleopatra as the ‘whore queen’ and makes reference to wine in connection to her suicide¹⁹⁹. The queen is portrayed as ‘drunk’ by Horace too²⁰⁰. Nevertheless, a fine equilibrium needed to be maintained in disgracing Cleopatra because she had to remain a worthy opponent to Octavian’s victory, therefore, she was often compared to women like

¹⁹³ Naples Archaeological Museum, inv. 5592. Possibly of Berenike or goddess Artemis. See: Maiuri 1974; Sider 2005.

¹⁹⁴ MET inv. n. 96.AI.58 and 26.7.1016. See: Burr 1973; Waraska 2009, 3; Plantzos 2011, 398-400; Casagrande-Kim 2014.

¹⁹⁵ British Museum (BM) Inv. 2001,0429.1. ca. 272-205 BCE. Faience, vessel. See: Burr 1973; Thompson 1973, 119; Waraska 2009, 3; Casagrande-Kim 2014. The small fragment with the image of Ptolemy indicates similarities of representations between king and queen.

¹⁹⁶ Thompson 1973, 75; Plantzos 2011, 390-1; Waraska 2009, 6.

¹⁹⁷ Naples Museum of Archaeology, Alexandrian, ca. 100-31 BCE. See Dwyer 1992, 255-82. According to Moreno, the portrait of the Farnese cup resembles the portrait of Cleopatra III from Hermopolis, today at the Louvre, which portrays Cleopatra III as goddess Isis. See Moreno 1997, 706, image 872.

¹⁹⁸ Propertius Poems III.11.39. 23-25 BCE. Nethercut 1971, 415.

¹⁹⁹ Nethercut 1971, 420, 1. The theme of drunk women was a Roman favourite as it will be explored in a separate chapter.

²⁰⁰ Horace C.1.35.12.

“Medea, Penthesilia, Omphale, and Semiramis” or just to pure evil²⁰¹. Original portraits of Cleopatra remain not very many perhaps because she was the last ruler of Ptolemaic dynasty and a posthumous cult never developed under Roman dominance. Similarly to some of the queens that will be considered, portraits of rulers were at times subject to erasure. Bronze statues often did not survive because they were melted for their metal, marble statues were repurposed, appropriated and altered to represent someone else, artifacts were sold to raise money to defend their cities or sacked when the cities fell. Nevertheless, enough survive to consider. The portrait of the so-called Berlin Cleopatra (fig. 43)²⁰² it is believed to have been from the period the queen was in Rome²⁰³. A statue in dolomitic limestone is an Egyptian portrait of the queen holding a cornucopia against one arm, while on the other is her cartouche (fig. 48)²⁰⁴. A Ptolemaic portrait of Cleopatra (fig. 45)²⁰⁵, ca 47-30 BCE is a very stylized portrait of the last ‘Pharaonic ruler’ of Egypt represents the queen in the style of the goddess Isis. The representational semblance to goddesses is not unusual for Hellenistic queen and priestesses. A full-body statue in the style of

²⁰¹ Nethercut 1971, 421. Cleopatra, presents a unique female figure, because as a ruler she represents her land, hence any attempt to seduce her, her male partners attempted to colonize her domain, not just her physical body (Moore 2015,15). This idea of the interchangeability of the female body and the land transpires also with stories of rape and further with the rape of the Sabines and it is integral part of the Western colonial history. The concept of ownership of both land and the female body by male is at the bases of every patriarchal society. For this reason, representations of Cleopatra and other queens become essential to modern feminist scholar and beyond. See also Patterson 1987. Houby-Nielsen 1996, 235-6. The two make a linguistic connection between “*Attike gune, Attike ge*”. Further, the woman is compared to nature that the man must tame (Kottaridi 1998, 68). The woman as beautiful as unpredictable and frightening (Ibid). Hesiod called women “beautiful evil” (Hesiod, Theogony 585-592). There are innumerable literary and artistic portraits of the queen who excited the imagination not only of her Roman contemporaries, Renaissance’s writers and erudite (Cleopatra is encountered in Dante’s *Inferno*), and Orientalist painters and sculptors from Humanism onwards. In 1880 Johan Palisa, an Austrian astronomer named an asteroid after the Ptolemaic queen. Of course, Hollywood producers were not ones to be left behind. Cleopatra, the most expensive movie up to 1963, had box office earnings of 57 million dollars in the US and Canada alone, speaking volumes to the popularity and the allure of the queen. Musicals, theatre, poetry, ballet, opera, post-stamps, television, advertisement, video games, and casino slot-machine, nowadays, the Cleopatra phenomenon has moved beyond high art and has well infiltrated our pop culture (Schiff 2015; Moore 2015,10). From soaps to all kinds of beauty products, to Halloween costume and a favourite for eccentric make-up for which hundreds of tutorials exist on youtube, the image of Cleopatra not only continues to capture the imagination but further embodies the eternal ideal of female beauty and Western female exploitation through the concept of beauty (see introduction). See also Lefkowitz and Fant 1982, 29.

²⁰² Altes Museum inv. 1976.10. See: Roller 2010, 174–176.

²⁰³ Compared to the hellenistic portrait of Isis, Pompeii, Museum of Naples, inv. 6290, there is a resemblance. See image 44.

²⁰⁴ MET inv. 89.2.660, ca. 200-30 BCE. See: Svenson 1995, 228, pl. 38; Ashton 2001, 26; Stanwick 2002.

²⁰⁵ ROM 910.75, ca. 47-30 BCE (Royal Ontario Museum, Canada). The identifiers of the statue have been broken so may be Kleopatra or a goddess. Nevertheless, this portrait is “a pleasant, generalized ...image of calm femininity” (ROM). This concept is recurrent as seen with the representation of Arsinoë II.

Isis believed to be of Cleopatra represents the queen nude holding in the left arm a *cornucopia* representative of the plenty (fig. 47)²⁰⁶. The statue was originally believed to have been a posthumous portrait of Queen Arsinoë II²⁰⁷. From this new attribution of the sculpture transpires the somewhat standardized representation of queens like goddesses and personifications of wealth and fertility²⁰⁸. From the representation of the three Ptolemaic queens Arsinoë II, Berenike II, and Cleopatra VII transpire that the sculptural representations of the queens were the *sema* of their political power and the abundance and fertility of their reign. The queens, in fact, became the embodiment of such attributes by being represented like the goddess Isis. In fact, Isis represented Egyptian kingship as she was considered the divine mother of Pharaohs. Hence, these representations had cultic, ritualistic and political functions which strengthen the importance of the queens' agency over their territories. Gell's theory²⁰⁹ confirms the active and 'instrumental role' of these representations that transcends the concept of the divided personhood of the ruler by formulating further a complex system connecting the religious to the political and controlling the interpretation of the visual realm and the way agency is mediated through art. Agency and therefore power is composed, propagated, buttressed, and mediated through the artistic production²¹⁰. It is not surprising then, like art and fashion trickle down from the aristocracy that before too long wealthy women begin to emulate such representations both in the private and public sphere reinforcing their status both in public and within the family collective.

In conclusion, art is the language that aids to the structuring the social domain amongst binaries of class²¹¹ which for the Hellenistic women has transcended gender. The durability of the materials and the imposing dimensions of the sculptures further amplified their social and political message. Art diffused the personhood of the ruler, as seen both in statuary and coinage,

²⁰⁶ Hermitage, Moscow, Inventory No #3936. I.A. Lapis & M.E. Matye, 1969; See also Hermitage Museum 2004.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ The idea of fertility is further reinforced by the idea of nudity. In Roman times important women represent themselves as the nude Aphrodite. Arsinoë II has been portrayed both as Isis and Aphrodite, syncretizing the two, if we will, in her physical body. See Fantham 1994, 148.

²⁰⁹ Gell 1998.

²¹⁰ By its nature which requiring dexterity and refined skills to render was not accessible to many. This element alone elevates the maker to artist limiting even more accessibility and increasing the exclusivity of artifacts.

²¹¹ Descent was so important to the maintenance of power within the collective to the extent of committing incest.

and further functioned in memorializing them for posterity giving emphasis to descent. Finally, as seen the body becomes *locus* of syncretism, but this identification with the deity elevates the authority of the ruler into the realm of the divine. The body of the queen becomes the political body and the material culture created became the visual language this was communicated.

PRIESTESSES

The public office of the priestess was a very significant one and was one which offered women most public presence and power and according to Connelly in the area of the priesthood, the women were equal to men²¹². Nevertheless, financial resources and good lineage were essential to becoming one which refers to the distribution of power²¹³. In terms of representations, the priestesses were the first to receive honorary statuary from the late 5th c. onward²¹⁴. The priestess sets the prototype in public honorary sculptures which was subsequently emulated in a display of status, wealth, and religious piety, public, private and funerary. A Roman copy of the Classical period statuary of Lysimache (fig. 50)²¹⁵, a priestess of Athena Polias, portrays the woman with all the signs of her old age giving in this way emphasis to the 64 years of service to the deity²¹⁶. However, this was perhaps one of the few exceptions to honour the 88-year-old priestess which together with a statue of Syeris, probably a *diakonos* described by Pausanias of which only the base survives today²¹⁷, would have been some of the very few more realistic and dignifying old-age representations of women.

The representations of Hellenistic priestesses are emulating more the deities they are serving and bear less the signs of their mortality. The Hellenistic ideals of beauty as well as the politics under an oligarchic system differed significantly from those of the Classical period. Although Classicism continued to allure, the influences received from the East shaped the taste

²¹² Connelly 2007.

²¹³ As discussed in the introduction. Connelly 2007.

²¹⁴ Biard 2017, 347; However, “the earliest decree honouring a woman holding religious office in Asia Minor and the Aegean” was ca mid of 3rd century (Piltz 2013, 156).

²¹⁵ British Museum inv. 1887.0725.3; Base IG II 3453 (according to Dillon this does not have the name of the dedicant); Keesling 2012, 467-8. The identification of this head (and a torso of a *peplophoros*) is very doubtful. See Mantis 1990.

²¹⁶ Nikandre’s dedication to goddess Artemis on Delos is the preamble to all that followed (ca 650 BCE. NAM inv. 1; Boardman 1978, 13, 24; Ridgeway 1993, 125; Neer 2010, 220; Spivey 2013, 64). In the 5th c. BCE. the honorary statue of the priestess of Athena Polias, who’s Roman copy is today at the British Museum (1887.0725.31) See Keesling 2012, 467-8.

²¹⁷ Base at the Epigraphical Museum of Athens n. IGII2 3464 (ibid: 135470), statue by Nikomachos (Keesling 2012, 469). According to Baird there would have been many more statues that do not survive today aside from their base.

and aesthetics of artistic representations. The representations of priestesses would have been no exception. Furthermore, art not only expressed the ideals and morals of the times but further propagated, embodied and advertise the social standing of those that could afford it. The statue of Hegeso of Priene (fig. 24)²¹⁸, dated circa the first half of the 3rd c. BCE differs from that of Lysimache. The statue of Hegeso emphasizes her importance as a priestess of Demeter and Kore and not that of her service *per se*. The elaborate and ‘exotic’ materials of her costume speak volume about her social standing, wealth, but more so of the social connections of her family collective through which the priestess would have more likely inherited the garments²¹⁹. Indeed, garments and hairstyle as explored on other sculptural representations too, reveal a lot about the representation²²⁰. According to Brøns, textiles are the “materialization of cult itself... accentua[ting and] epitomiz[ing] identity, spirituality and position in the religious system”²²¹. These elements confirm the aspiration of the dedicator to represent the priestess much closer to the realm of the deities than the one of the mortals²²². In fact, the parts that remain from the hair of the statue²²³ reveals that the priestess would have been wearing her hair in an archaic fashion emulating the goddess, something that would have been very noticeable by her contemporaries²²⁴.

²¹⁸ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung. Inv. Sk 1928. Leventi 2019, 69; Biard 2017, Pl. XLIIa; Dillon 2010, 16, 127. The statue was once known as Nikeso.

²¹⁹ Dillon 2012, 271; Connelly 2007, 137-8. According to Dillon some have argued that the statue might have held a torch like the funerary relics to priestesses of Demeter examined in the chapter of funerary monument. With regards to textiles and garments there is a intricate cultural tradition which is important to ritual and includes votive dedications at the temples and the dressing of the cult statue (Brøns 2017). The selection of textiles, styles and colours is very complex. The priestess would had possessed that knowledge. The use and knowledge of certain object opened the membership to exclusive circles in antiquity as does nowadays. See also Leventi 2019

²²⁰ Stewart 2004, 54. See Connelly 2007; 2008; Dillon 2010; Brøns 2017; Leventi 2019.

²²¹ Brøns 2017. She further point out the connection between “user, waver, agent and the divine”. Indeed, a very complex network of social structures that intersect through the actual performance of ritual to which the priestess would had been the ‘link’(Brøns 2017).

²²² Dillon 2012, 271-2; Leventi 2019, 69-70.

²²³ The head did not survive.

²²⁴ Dillon 2012, 271-2.

Aristonoe from Rhamnous was a priestess of Nemesis and her statue²²⁵ was dedicated by her son to the deities of Themis and Nemesis probably around the beginning of the 3rd c. BCE²²⁶. The priestess is captured in the *Orans* pose with one of her left arms raised while possibly holding a small *phiale* with the right arm²²⁷. Her clothing is fine and appears to be of an almost transparent material probably silk. The hair of the statue was parted in the centre and appear to frame the face like a ‘crown’²²⁸. The idealized face of the priestess could not be further distant than that of the Classical representation of Lysimache although Aristonoe would have not been young if her son was of age and of a financial status permitting him to dedicate the statue of his mother to the goddesses²²⁹. According to Leventi who presents as evidence the votive relief at the British Museum²³⁰, this statuary type was used earlier ca 4th c. BCE to represent goddess Themis. It is not surprising that the type selected by the son to represent her mother and further reinforces the idea that priestesses were often represented like the goddesses they served. Furthermore, they also holding the attributes of the deities too. From the funerary *stelai* of Smyrna²³¹, the priestesses of Demeter and Kore are represented with the torch of Demeter. The same is possible for the statue of Hegeso examined above. Also, 4th century Attic funerary *stelai* examined by Leventi and Connelly transpires that Kybele’s priestesses are represented holding a *tympanum* which is the attribute of the goddess²³². The same is valid for the two grave reliefs in Piraeus, where the defuncts are represented with Temple key and *tympanum*, identifying them as

²²⁵ National Archaeological Museum inv. no. 232. Leventi 2019, 70. Statue of life-size dimensions. Biard 2017, 173-4, 349, Pl. XLIIb;

²²⁶ Base IG II 3462; Biard 173; Leventi 2019, 70-1. Inscription: “To Themis and Nemesis Hierokles son of Hieropoios the Rhamnousian dedicated his mother Aristonoe daughter of Nikokrates the Rhamnousian, priestess of Nemesis”.

²²⁷ Ibid 70; Dillon 2010, 76-7; 2012, 272

²²⁸ Dillon 2012, 272.

²²⁹ Ibid 70-3. Leventi also identifies the Venus rings around the neck of the statues to indicate more mature age. See also Dillon 2012, 272.

²³⁰ BM1953.5.30.1; Leventi 2019; Palagia and Lewis 1989.

²³¹ See funerary monument.

²³² Leventi 2019, 72; Connelly 2007, 234; Kosmopoulou 2001, 296.

priestesses of Kybele as well²³³. The statuery of priestess Nikokleia from Knidos (fig. 51)²³⁴ shares similar characteristics with the Hegeso statue. In Smyrna, “a considerable number of grave stones depicting women...belong to priestesses of various cults” including Kybele, Demeter, and Isis²³⁵. During the 100-year sumptuary law of Demetrios of Phaleron²³⁶ the sculptural representations diminished significantly, however, religious functionaries, somewhat, maintained their status in representations. In fact, there is a type of funerary altar that emerges outside Attica. Although essentially plain, they still displayed the symbols of their priesthood by the display of the temple key and wreath on the front part of the altar²³⁷. No matter the circumstances, it appears that priestesses raised above the crowd maintaining a higher status.

Priestesses were honoured and their representations would have been ubiquitous including honorary, votive and funerary sculptures reinforcing their association with the deities, status, power, and families. Furthermore, functionaries of deities were favoured to adorn smaller scale representations in precious and semiprecious materials. This is true with the representations of maenads on jewellery. An example of such representations is the gold medallion with the bust of a maenad on a hairnet²³⁸. These hairnets would have adorned the coiffure of ‘well to do’ upper-class women almost as a meta and self-referential artifact speaking of the intertwined of decent, power, the divine, and public sphere.

Their office of the priestess is the highest public office a non-royal woman can have. This position of power however was reserved for women of important lineage and their service often complimented that of their families. Through the examination of the above statuery transpires that priestesses embodied the qualities of the deities they served and represented themselves as

²³³ Connelly 2007, 234.

²³⁴ British Museum inv. n.10434, ca 250-40 BCE. See Smith 1991; Katsikoudis 2014, 193, image 178; Biard 2017, pl. XLIIIa.

²³⁵ Ridgway 2000, 194.

²³⁶ Between 317 and before his overthrow in 307 BCE (Stewart 2012, 268).

²³⁷ Connelly 2007, 245.

²³⁸ MET, inv. 1987.220. 24 K. gold. Ca 200-150 BCE. Ptolemaic. 6 cm x 9 cm. See Hemingway, 2000; Trakosopoulou 2004, 115–37.

the avatar of the deity itself. In this sense the body of the priestess may be read as the ‘religious body’, which similarly to the regent body, its authority was elevated above the human realm.

POETESSES

Thinking of women in literary sources or otherwise, the first one that comes to mind is Euripides', Medea.

Medea: "Of all the creatures that breath and sensation, we women are the most unfortunate. First at an exorbitant price we must buy a husband and master of our bodies. A man, whenever he is annoyed with the company of those in the house, goes elsewhere and thus rids his soul of its boredom. But we must fix our gaze on one person only." (Euripides, Medea, 230-245).

The male genres excluded a genuine female voice or representation and these were predominantly directed to a male audience²³⁹.

"From the start, the gods made women different.... This woman misses nothing: good or bad, she notices, considers, and declares (10) that good is bad and bad is good. Her mood changes from one moment to the next. One type is from a dog--a no-good bitch, a mother through and through; she wants to hear everything, know everything, go everywhere, (15) and stick her nose in everything, and bark whether she sees anyone or not."²⁴⁰

Murray and Rowland inform us that "authentic female subjectivity" was limited to genre, often oral instead of text-based, performed by and for an all-women audience, such as poems, lullabies, and songs associated with female activities and religious functions²⁴¹. Nevertheless, there an epigram by a male poet that lists nine outstanding women poets and refers to them as "immortal-tongued"²⁴². Praxilla, poetess of the mid 5th century from Sicyon is quoted by Zenobius²⁴³:

"κάλλιστον μὲν ἐγὼ λείπω φάος ἡελίοιο/δεύτερον ἄστρο φαεινὰ σεληναίης τε πρόσωπον/ ἥδὲ καὶ ὠραίους σικύους καὶ μῆλα καὶ ὄχνας;"

But, no matter the extent of the appreciation, men wrote often for other men. Aristophanes in *Frogs and Wasps* (1238) and *Thesmophoriazousae* (528ff) parodies Praxilla's poems²⁴⁴.

²³⁹ Stehle 1997, 119- 216; Murray and Rowland 2007, 211

²⁴⁰ Semonides Translation by D. Arnson-Svarlier 1995.

²⁴¹ Ibid, 211; Bowman 2004, 1-2. According to Bowman and Snyder, "Hellenistic poets followed the tradition of Sappho" (Snyder 1989, 156; Bowman 2004, 1). Furthermore, according to Bowman, there have been a "segregated female subculture" (2004, 3).

²⁴² Barnard 1978, 204: Plant 204, 38.

²⁴³ Praxilla, frag 1 -747; Zenobius Proverbs 4.21.

²⁴⁴ Plant 2004, 38

“Ἀδμήτου λόγον ᾧ ταῖρε μαθὼν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλει.”²⁴⁵

“τὴν παροιμίαν δ’ ἐπαινῶ/ τὴν παλαιάν: ὑπὸ λίθῳ γὰρ/παντί νου χρῆ/μὴ δάκη ρήτωρ ἀθρεῖν.”²⁴⁶

Nevertheless, the sculptural representation of women poets, with Sappho being a Hellenistic favourite, perhaps reveals another dimension to the reception of talented women. The larger-than-life head of Sappho from Smyrna, copy of a Hellenistic prototype²⁴⁷, is indicative of exactly that. Another surviving portrait of the poetess is the double portrait of Sappho and lyric poet Alcaeus of Mytilene²⁴⁸.

Rosenmeyer reports on another Hellenistic statue of Sapphos from Syracuse made by Silanion²⁴⁹, as she brings forward ancient concerns regarding “misinterpreted, mutilated, stolen” female statuary, concerns that preoccupy modern scholarship more than ever²⁵⁰. The statue, of which according to Cicero’s *In Verrem*, the base only remained, was stolen by Caius Verres²⁵¹ and taken to Rome, where the statue, having lost its identity, would have remained, deprived of agency, “a nameless female body”²⁵². This example clearly demonstrates the importance of the sculptural representations of such illustrious women.

“Lastly, that, if all the actions of Caius Verres are unexampled and unheard of instances of wickedness, of audacity, of perfidy, of lust, of avarice, and of cruelty, an end worthy of such a life and such actions may, by your sentence, overtake him;”²⁵³

²⁴⁵ Aristoph. Wasps 1238.; Hicke (ed). 2015;

²⁴⁶ Ar. Thesm. 528-31; See Praxilla, fr. 750 versus Schol. Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazusae 528ff.

²⁴⁷ Sappho, Istanbul Archeological Museum, Inv. 358 T, Cat. Mendel 626, (ΣΑΠΦΩ ΕΡΕΣΙΑ). See: Lazzeretti 2014, 94-5; Higbie 2017, 137-8; Routledge 2018.

²⁴⁸ Double Portrait, 2nd century AD from Italy, Roman copy of a 4th century BC original, Neues Museum, Berlin. See: Most 1995. There is also a terracotta relief now at the British Museum of the two together. See: Routledge 2018, plate X.

²⁴⁹ A copy of the Head of Sappho at the Glyptothek Munich. See: Lazzeretti 2014, 94-5; Higbie 2017, 137-8.

²⁵⁰ Rosenmeyer 2007, 277.

²⁵¹ Corrupt governor of Sicily ca. 73-71 BCE. See: Routledge 2018, 63.

²⁵² Cic. Ver. 2.4.126; Rosenmeyer 2007, 277.

²⁵³ Cic. Ver. 2.5.189; Richter 1984, 194

With the last few verses of *In Verrem*, Cicero requests the exemplary punishment of perpetrator of such an immoral act. Sappho's representations, further appear in other two epigrams²⁵⁴. Pliny also mentioned a bronze statue of Sappho of Hellenistic times by Leon²⁵⁵. While a bronze statue of the poetess was found at the Villa of the Papyri (fig. 56)²⁵⁶.

Korinna is another well-known poet and Pausanias writes about her tomb and painting:

“[9.22.3] Corinna, the only lyric poetess of Tanagra, has her tomb in a, conspicuous part of the city, and in the gymnasium is a painting of Corinna binding her head with a fillet for the victory she won over Pindar at Thebes with a lyric poem...”²⁵⁷.

The Pitti Palace bust which is described as having a “lifelike and speaking attitude”²⁵⁸ it is also believe to be a portrait of a poetess, “Korinna, or Erinna, or Myrtis, or Praxilla”²⁵⁹, while the Albani bust is attributed to Sappho (fig. 57)²⁶⁰. What becomes evident is that even in a male genre such as poetry women excel and are admired and memorialized for centuries²⁶¹ with the body of the poetess standing for the ‘body of education’²⁶².

²⁵⁴ Ca. 612 BCE. See Richter 1984,194.

²⁵⁵ Pliny NH 35. 40 “Leon, a portrait of Sappho” in bronze. Sappho was so admired that there were coins from Lesbos minted with her image in the Roman times. There are also vases and mosaics with her image too (Richter 1984, 194).

²⁵⁶ Archaeological Museum of Naples. Inv. n. 4896. 1c. BCE copy of ca. 350 original. See: J.P. Getty 2005.

²⁵⁷ Paus. 9.22.3 Translated by W.H.S.JONES.

²⁵⁸ Skopas style of ca 4th c BCE. See Routledge 2018, 69.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ See Routledge 2018, 70, plate IX.

²⁶¹ Diogenes Laertius (3.46) naming the pupil of Plato names two women Asthenia of Mantinea and Axiothea of Phlius (Lefowitz and Fant 1982, 167). Furthermore, the same writer (6.96-8) speaks of a female philosopher ca. 3rd c. BCE, Hipparchia, this is also reinforced by the writings of Antipatr of Thessalonica (APVII.413) (Ibid 167-8). However, the theme that transpires is always the idea of the virile woman.

²⁶² At each intersectionality of the power structure there is ‘body’ affirming it.

OLD WOMEN

The Drunk and The Grotesque

“Today we don’t call it old like it’s a four-letter word. It’s just a new stage of life” Crosby²⁶³.

Perhaps old age has not always been a social handicap. The only alternative to not getting older is to die and the afterlife for the ancient Greeks was a gloomy place to be²⁶⁴. However, in a world where the physical perfection and youth represented the political ideals of the Classical period, being old was a privilege reserved to only a few. Youth and physical perfection were elements necessary to fulfill one’s civic duty. Men were destined to be soldiers while women were destined to be mothers²⁶⁵. Emphasis was placed upon the contribution of the individual to the community²⁶⁶. As women aged they could no longer produce children. As their civic duty was the reproduction of the next generation of citizens, workers, and soldiers, they could no longer contribute to their community. For women, menopause signified not just the loss of their desirability but also their loss of value in the community²⁶⁷. Furthermore, in a male dominant society, the feminine was disowned because “[w]omen existed in order to serve the male, whether for sexual pleasure or for [the] higher interest of producing an heir”²⁶⁸. Furthermore, old age had consequences and brought disabilities and diseases²⁶⁹. In fact according to the Greeks,

²⁶³ Tropp 2019, 144.

²⁶⁴ "No winning words about death to me, shining Odysseus! By god, I'd rather slave on earth for another man—some dirt-poor tenant farmer who scrapes to keep alive—than rule down here over all the breathless dead." In "What does Odysseus learn from his conversation with Achilles?" eNotes Editorial, 12 Aug. 2011, <https://www.enotes.com/homework-help/what-does-odysseus-learn-from-his-conversation-271993>. Accessed 11 Aug. 2019.

²⁶⁵ According to Plato women should have also been responsible in the protection of the city (Plato, Republic; Bluestone, 1987; Brisson 2012). In ancient Sparta children with disabilities were thrown away in the ravine of the Kaiada and left them to die. See Huys, 1996, 47–74. Also see Sneed, 2018. In fact, according to the research of Sneed to be disabled did not always mean to be socially excluded. Also see Wace’s “Grotesques and the Evil Eye” (1903).

²⁶⁶ Johnson 1989, 5; Rose 2003, 98; Sneed 2018, 16

²⁶⁷ Beauvoir 1996, 40; Díez and Palacios 2011, 3-4; Casamayor 2016: 228; Sneed 2018, 209. See also Dillon, 2010 and Szepessy 2011. According to Dillon a woman’s identity was intertwined with that her family, furthermore women were considered part of a collective and relied heavily on relations (Dillon 2010, 133; Szepessy 2011,9)

²⁶⁸ Pratt 2000, 41. “But what happens when a woman can’t fulfill this role, when menopause comes and she is not able to give birth to children anymore? What happens when her body changes and differs from the one that is represented as sexually desirable? Her body then becomes invisible, unnamable, losing all its sexual meaning; or worst, it turns into a rejected, repulsive, disowned body, mocked and insulted (Beauvoir 1996,40). Also see Minois,, 1987, 1989.

²⁶⁹ Sneed 2018, 208.

“δεινόν τό γῆρας, οὐ γάρ ἔρχεται μόνον” and this may be confirmed by Aristotle’s consideration of old age: “γῆρας ἐπίκτητον νόσον φυσικήν”²⁷⁰, while according to Thucydides the old are seen as “ἐν τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας”²⁷¹. The signs of these disabilities often become somewhat of semiotic attributes in the representation of old age, as it will be examined further, while often old people become the object of satire and ridicule²⁷². According to Sneed, however, these conditions are not sufficient to give us knowledge of the actual lived experience of the seniors in ancient Greece²⁷³. Nevertheless, old age has always been associated with physical and mental deterioration. Although old women are seldom represented, physical deterioration is employed as a signifier of decline²⁷⁴. According to Piazza, the old woman would have been “totally devoid of interest for rule makers, [and] she became an invisible object”²⁷⁵, while Parkin informs us that the woman would have suffered “a double marginalization”²⁷⁶. The statuary representations when not honorific may be seen as satiric, apotropaic and perhaps also as an early *memento mori*²⁷⁷ or what Horace reminds readers to do in *Odes*: ‘seize the day’, *carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero*²⁷⁸.

²⁷⁰ Aristoteles GA 784b 33

²⁷¹ Thucydides 2.44; Sneed 2018, 210

²⁷² Minois 1989 [1987], 119; Beauvoir 1996, 40; Díez and Palacios 2011, 3-4; Casamayor 2016: 228; Sneed 2018, 209

²⁷³ Sneed 2018, 208. In fact, Sneed explains that for example a disease such as osteoarthritis may affect some people less than others (Sneed 2018, 207).

²⁷⁴ Piazza 2010, 128; Sneed 2018, 207.

²⁷⁵ Piazza 2010, 128.

²⁷⁶ Ibid, 128-129; Parkin 1989, 19.

²⁷⁷ Smith 1991, 179

²⁷⁸ Horace book 1, 23 BCE. See Harrison, 2012, 154, 168. Luu. Chi How 2017 web. Luu refers us to scholar M.S. Marsilio making a differentiation between ‘seizing’ and ‘plucking’ insisting that the “horticultural metaphor” may have some profound differences that may be ‘lost in translation’ as the title of the article suggests. It is important to highlight the emphasis Luu and Marsilio place upon the gathering of the flower in bloom and the ripening fruits which in my opinion refers with some nostalgia to ‘youth’ (Johnson 1989, 4) as seen from an older age. Luu makes reference to the sensory enjoyments which *de facto* decline in old age since sensory receptacles lose their sensitivity preventing the full appreciation of the surroundings.

The visual conventions used to represent old women are not much different than what those persisting in the visual arts up until the end of the WWII²⁷⁹ with little differentiation between men and women aside of course of context. These may be summed up to the following: fewer hair, sunken eyes, missing teeth, double chin, wrinkles, loose skin, rings of Venus around the neck, curved posture, atrophic musculature, weak bone structure, thinning frame, and an overall sagging body often leaning on a stick²⁸⁰. These may serve as manifestations of diminished mobility and potential “susceptibility to disease and disability” but also as a means to bringing attention to the areas of the body more often affected by senility in a very realistic way²⁸¹. Although the body is missing, the head of the so-called Old Woman with Kerchief (fig. 58)²⁸² portrays a combination of the these elements and so does the Old-Shepherdess Going to Market (fig. 60)²⁸³ holding a walking stick with one hand. These two example portray old age in its fragility. However, the statuettes of old women holding babies represent old-age less frail and in fact, rather sturdy like the terracotta figurine from Pella (fig. 61; 62)²⁸⁴ and Tanagra (fig. 63)²⁸⁵.

The representations on terracotta statuettes which became very popular during the Hellenistic times, the wet nurses and the nannies appear to be in good health although the signs of age such as wrinkles are still visible. These somewhat serves to romanticize old age as they

²⁷⁹ It is importance to comment on the political mode of governance as it appears an obvious inter-twinning of the political and the social body and hence with the representation of the physical body. This shift may be recognized in the period of economic expansion in the post war period from 1945 to 1967 (six-day war) culminating with the oil crisis in October 1973. In terms of the social and the political the shift moves the western world from a post war Keynesian way of governance to a Neoliberal, *laissez-faire*, one where the responsibility of success shifts from the political and communal onto the social and the individual. Perhaps, Neoliberalism was seen as a viable alternative to the Vietnam war depleted US economy. See Keynes, 1936.

²⁸⁰ Birchler Emery 1999, 21-27; Moreno 1997, 230; Gorzelany 2014, 168; Sneed 2018, 207. “What is it that has one voice but becomes four-footed and two-footed and three-footed?” Pseudo-Apollodorus, The Library 3.5.8 The above riddle makes clear reference to the stick as signifier of the third age. According to Sneed “ancient Greeks did, indeed, produce, and the elderly used staffs, canes, and crutches, and that there was likely little or no increased marginalization of elderly men and women who used them” (Sneed 2018, 215-216).

²⁸¹ Sneed 2018, 207.

²⁸² British Museum BM GR1852.3-27.9 (Late Hellenistic) Roman copy of a Hellenistic original of the third or second century BCE. See Moreno 1994, 227-234.

²⁸³ Roman copy of Hellenistic original ca 180-150 BCE possibly Alexandrian. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. See Murray et al., 2007, 385.

²⁸⁴ Museum of Pella. No inventory number. Unpublished.

²⁸⁵ British Museum reg.n. 1911,0416.1

bring back purpose to the old woman. In their old-age, the childminders were not marginalized. These old women were contributing to the development of the youngsters and were considered as continuous contributing members of society. Hence, participation was central in defining the old basing the parameter upon the ability or not of each individual to contribute to their community²⁸⁶. According to research conducted by Mamalidou, by examining human remains between the 6th and 4th century BCE, people would have been suffering from old age afflictions as early as their 50's if not earlier²⁸⁷. Some of these afflictions would have been associated with arthritis causing certainly some physical impediments²⁸⁸. Furthermore, from human remains in graves at Argos, Sneed reports that women as early as 35 years of age of earlier times appear to have lost many of their teeth and presented curved spine²⁸⁹. However, in examining two important female figures in antiquity there might be some discrepancies between the physical evidence and the literary sources. The first is a mythical woman, the Homeric Penelope, the wife of Odysseus. Penelope had a son with Odysseus, Telemachus, who was born before Odysseus left for Troy. Using this as a point of reference and adding the 20 years Odysseus was away from Ithaca, Penelope would have been between 35 and 42 years old, an age which, according to Sneed's findings physical deterioration related to old age should have been present²⁹⁰. However, not only she was not presented as old, but Homer also gave Penelope an outstanding number of suitors, 108 to be exact²⁹¹. According to Apollodorus, Penelope was not faithful to her husband in fact:

“[38] But some say that Penelope was seduced by Antinous and sent away by Ulysses to her father Icarius, and that when she came to Mantinea in Arcadia she bore Pan to Hermes.[39] However others say that she met her end at the hands of Ulysses himself on account of Amphinomus, for they allege that she was seduced by him.”²⁹².

²⁸⁶ Johnson 1989, 5; Parkins 2004, 240; Sneed 2018, 210-211.

²⁸⁷ Malamidou 2006, 200; Sneed 2018, 212.

²⁸⁸ Sneed 2018, 212.

²⁸⁹ Sneed 2018, 212

²⁹⁰ Sneed 2018, 212-13.

²⁹¹ Based on Penelope had 57 suitors from Dulichium, 23 from Same, 44 from Zacynthus, and 12 from Ithaca. “[26]And on arriving in his native land Ulysses found his substance wasted; for, believing that he was dead, suitors were wooing Penelope.(Apollod. Epit. E.7-26 to 7-30).

²⁹² Appol. Epic. E.7-38 to 7-39. This has also been confirmed by Herodotus (2.145), Cicero (ND 3.22.56), and Hyginus (Fabulae 224). Some claim that Penelope was seduced by all her suitors.

This representation not only contradicts the imaginary of the faithful wife but further contradicts the stereotypes of aging compared to the idea of loss of sexual desire²⁹³.

The second woman how's life needs to be considered is a historical person of very high importance. Aspasia of Miletus was once "the most illustrious woman in Greece"²⁹⁴. She was born in Asia Minor in ca. 470 BCE. and was the consort of Pericles and after his death, the consort of Lysicles. Aspasia had two sons, one with Pericles in 440 BCE at the age of 30 and one with Lysicles in 428 BCE at the age of 42²⁹⁵. The marble *herm* (fig. 68)²⁹⁶ bearing her name, today at the Vatican Museums, it is believed to be a copy of her 5th-century original grave marker in which Aspasia who died at the age of 70 ca. 400 BCE. is portrayed as a much younger woman²⁹⁷. The two female personas considered above, the one mythical and the other one historical, were believed to have been of an outstanding beauty however, the physical signs of aging would have eventually become visible. Therefore, transpires that there is a relationship between aging, status, power, art, and representation, be it literary or visual²⁹⁸. One might even say that it is inversely proportional. Of course, physical beauty, good nutrition, hygienic environment certainly played a significant role²⁹⁹. Johnson and Parkin provide literary evidence from an inscription on a Roman tomb referring to the defunct as gone 'in the flower of youth' at age 50³⁰⁰ and old age in antiquity seems to have fluctuated between 42 to 77 years of age.

²⁹³ Sneed 2018, 213.

²⁹⁴ Stahr 1858, 91.

²⁹⁵ Thucydides 3.19.

²⁹⁶ Herm in the Sala delle Muse, Vatican inv. 272. See Richter 1984, 99.

²⁹⁷ According to Ridgway "Aspasia, mistress and then second wife of Perikles, was certainly prominent in Athens, but the one extant herm purporting to be her portrait is probably a Roman fabrication, combining as it does anachronistic traits from different styles" (Ridgway 1987, 404). Also see Ridgway 1982.

²⁹⁸ Stahr 1858, 94. Stahr's says that in ancient Greece the works of art "were free to all classes" (Stahr 1858, 94), while the the European collections were only available to the few privileged members of the society (Ibid, 94-95). This documentation comes at the early stages of Art History as a discipline and it is of the utmost importance not only as a testimony and as documentation of the reality of that era, but also for the romanticized ideas of an 'orientalized' Greece.

²⁹⁹ Ibid, 4

³⁰⁰ Johnson 1989, 4.

Nevertheless, taking the information provided it transpires that Hellenistic art shifted closer to realism, accepting human nature for what it is, moving away from the hyper human perfection of the Classical period. Physicality played a secondary role to a contributing member as morality appeared to have gained importance as old age is seen as the time of wisdom and morality³⁰¹. These qualities appear to have been expected from the elderly as they intersected with the lives of the young. Deviating from a strict moral code was seen in a negative light and are mercilessly mocked or worse³⁰². The Old Drunk Woman (fig. 64)³⁰³ and the Old Market Woman (fig. 59)³⁰⁴. At first glance the appearance of the old women and their bodies are somewhat exposed they look like beggars. However, on a closer inspection of both sculptures the fine quality of the clothing betray wealth. Furthermore, the expensive products carried by the Old Market Woman just add to this reading of the statue. Nevertheless, all the negative elements of the old age are

³⁰¹ Sneed point out that Hesiod in *Works and Days* (106ff.) “equates a lack of moral strength with old age” (Sneed 2018, 213). See Aristophanes: “LYSISTRATA : There are a lot of things about us women That sadden me, considering how men See us as rascals CALONICE as indeed we are!” (Aristophanes). “The plays of Euripides no doubt helped to form an unfavourable estimate of woman, though Aristophanes has much exaggerated their effect” (Haley 1890, 160). According to Hemingway and Hemingway “The two schools of thought that dominated Hellenistic philosophy were Stoicism, as introduced by Zeno of Citium, and the writings of Epikouros. Stoicism, which was also greatly enriched and modified by Zeno’s successors, notably Chrysippos (ca. 280–207 B.C.), divided philosophy into logic, physics, and ethics. Epikouros, on the other hand, placed great emphasis on the individual and the attainment of happiness. The Athenian schools of philosophy were truly cosmopolitan institutions.” (Hemingway et al 2007).

³⁰² Sneed 2018, 212. Perhaps a resonance of Classical times. In fact, in 399 BCE. Socrates went on trial and was sentenced to death after being accused for corrupting the minds of the youths. “[19] But in spite of all, Meletus, do you maintain that I corrupt the young by such practices? And yet surely we know what kinds of corruption affect the young; so you tell us whether you know of any one who under my influence has fallen from piety into impiety, or from sober into wanton conduct, or from moderation in living into extravagance, or from temperate drinking into sottishness, or from strenuousness into effeminacy, or has been overcome of any other base pleasure.” (Xen. Pol 19).

³⁰³ Glyptothek Munich inv. 437. Original of ca. 225-220 possibly Alexandrian. Ridgway 1990, 337-8, tav. clxxiv; Fuchs 1993, 279-80, fig. 310; Moreno 1994, 227-34.

³⁰⁴ MET inv. n.09.39, Marble statue, Roman copy early Imperial ca 14-68 AD, original ca. 150-100 BCE of Late Hellenistic. Moreno 1994, 227-34.

also portrayed making of these statues a caricature of behavioural traits³⁰⁵. In fact, in representations, “the horrible physical aspect of old women and the way they dress act like externalizations of their personality which allow to distinguish them as the Other”³⁰⁶. Old age morals then may be seen as a construction meant to censure certain forms of behaviours³⁰⁷. Aristophanes comedies are indeed caustic towards old women even if he is still emphasizing on the importance of caring for the elderly³⁰⁸. According to Paul Johnson “[t]he experience of old age in the past was not just the result of a social construction....nor was simply a ‘natural response’ to physiological ageing” and suggests that it is was “hidden social dynamic which binds individuals into family, community and national groupings”³⁰⁹. He believes that ownership, inheritance, and social class form the lens through which the old-age has been negotiated through the ages³¹⁰. Have women beyond a certain age lost their sex appeal in the eyes of men? Are they expected to lose their sexual desire as [o]ld age is considered sexless”³¹¹? Older women’s sexuality has been ridiculed and considered disgusting. But perhaps this is a rule that does not apply to everybody. This is the same idea Simon De Beauvoir highlights in her book *Coming of Age*, 1996, insisting that class may not be separated from analyzing aging³¹². Land ownership was not just a determining element in the approach of old-age but further was

³⁰⁵ As seen previously in literary sources with the description of Cleopatra VII, the association of woman and alcohol is not a positive one. This type of portraiture was like and copied by Romans and created a visual binary of East-West in terms of morality. The Romans preferred the pious and composed body poses for women, nevertheless, these representations served perhaps as examples to be avoided, or had other apotropaic functions. Nevertheless according to Moreno (1994) Pliny, who wrongly identified this representation due to an error in the declination of the inscription, believed that the drinking was a kind of a euthanasia, a happy ending of a life in decline. The same sources placed the sculpture in Smyrna, part of a funerary monument and later transported to Rome to be copied (Moreno 1994, 227-8;). Nevertheless, this sculptural type might have been Alexandrian in origin. The wine container, which held 12,5 litres, helps in its dating and the clothing style in its provenience. Here we also see how the Roman taste influence the copying of certain types of sculptural representations (Lattimore 1987, 416; Plantzos 2016, 150).

³⁰⁶ Casamayor, 2016, 239; Also see Piazza 2010, 128. Grotesque terracotta figurines and marionettes (Louvre ca 547 and BC 968) show womanhood represented as “otherhood”. See fig. 65; 66. Also see fig. 67 (BM 1914,0516.6).

³⁰⁷ Johnson 1989,4.

³⁰⁸ *Acharnians* 678; Sneed 2018, 217.

³⁰⁹ Johnson 1989,1-2.

³¹⁰ Johnson 1989, 2.

³¹¹ Sneed 2018, 213.

³¹² De Beauvoir 1996; Sneed 2018, 184.

the key element that tipped the balance in the disparity of gender roles in the first place. Thomas³¹³ makes a clear connection between sedentism, war, and land ownership. The social domain flourishing was highly gendered favouring, of course, the masculine since men were the ones' responsible for the expansion, acquirement, and protection of the territories³¹⁴. Nevertheless, Stephen Hopkinson in studying female property ownership and status determined a "universal female inheritance" which gave daughters in ancient Greece during Classical and Hellenistic times "the half of the portion given to a son" and is connected to the Code of Gortyn, Crete³¹⁵. According to this understanding, a daughter was entitled to a part of the inheritance both immobile and movable even if, according to the Code of Gortyn, livestock and other specific property such as townhouses were excluded³¹⁶. What is important to investigate is if women were the stewards or guardians of the property of their fathers', husbands' and sons like in the Near East, or if they had rights of ownership, disposal, and enjoyments that were not intertwined with any male relative which clearly the word 'patrimony' betrays³¹⁷. Hopkinson's research on property, status, and influence in Classical and Hellenistic Sparta puts emphasis on property inheritance as it relates to marriage³¹⁸. The transmission of property is a very important matter and the marriage practice is strictly controlled by the male head of the family³¹⁹. Women

³¹³ Thomas 1973.

³¹⁴ Thomas 1973, Whitley 1992, 211.

³¹⁵ Hopkinson 2004, 3.

³¹⁶ Ibid, 3.

³¹⁷ According to Hopkinson the guardian is referred to as *kyreia*, and the guardianship of the property in reference to the son as *epikleros*. Thomas 1973: 173; Hopkinson, 3. Hopkinson points out that according to a previous study he had conducted based on demographic, see Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta, London, 2000, he estimated that the portion inherited by woman would have been under a 40% of the total (Hopkinson 2004, 3). Ancient texts that make reference to female land ownership include Aristotle's Politics (1269b12-1270a34) and Euripides's Andromache (147-53), these and many other sources are included in Stephen Hopkinson's study. Furthermore, in looking in to the Near Eastern laws including The Law of Hammurabi, The Law of the Hittites, and The Laws of Eshnunna, there is clear evidence confirming that the women were in fact legal guardians of property on behalf of their male relatives, even if Goodnick Westenholz, 2016, imagines a matriarchal past Near Eastern past. However, Hopkinson, although admitting to his arguments have been challenged by Ducan, 1998, as she points out that Spartan women had no rights to dispose of their property, he uses "inscriptions from Delphi, Naupaktos and Elatea...attest[ing to] women freeing slaves without any reference to a *kyrios*" (Schaps 1979, 49-50; Hopkinson 2004, 4).

³¹⁸ Hopkinson 2004, 12-5.

³¹⁹ To be celibate was punishable in Sparta and to be a spinster in Sparta was a gloomy prospective (Hopkinson 2004, 14-15).

and their physical bodies served several functions and these were regulated. Their first function was child-bearing. Women were matched in order to produce healthy heirs which was instrumental in the structuring of the social life and in the reinforcement of patrilineal descent³²⁰. Their fertility was central to the production of the next generation. A higher rate of reproduction and healthy offsprings accounted for larger demographic, larger and stronger army, and more prosperous commerce. As fertility and mortality are always interconnected and are always in flux there has been a need to control and regulate the feminine body³²¹. This regulation has influenced if not clearly dictated the morality and the laws, written or culturally transmitted, of any given

³²⁰ Genesis 2.3; Hodkinson 2004, 15; Garwood 2012,15.

³²¹ It is interesting to compare some of the Near Eastern regulatory body to that of the Spartans regarding the concept of polyandry. In the Near East laws existing as early as the 3rd Millennium BCE forbidden women from marrying more than one man, a practice that prior to the criminalization of the practice was very popular. Hodkinson's (2004) examination of polyandry during Classical and Hellenistic times brings to light that polyandry was permitted in Sparta under specific circumstances.

social group at any time³²². Women therefore, were the means of transmission of wealth which aimed in the maintain and possibly elevation one's family status and connections³²³. Once women were past the age of child-bearing, however, something shifted. Then, the representations in sculptural form perhaps serves to the naturalization of the old-age and were informed by the pre-existing visual culture and social structures³²⁴. The juxtaposition of the young and the old, as sculptures of different periods coexisted in the physical space, narrated a story about identity and gender³²⁵. The old-woman would have most certainly cause a threat since she had accumulated a

³²² Johnson 1986,4. On the concept of morality, we need to return to the Spartan concept of polyandry. According to Hodkinson, if a woman was producing a 'good stock' of children, a man could have approached her husband and the two could come to an agreement to have children by the same woman. Also see Hopkinson, 2010 for analogies drawn between Sparta and Nazi Germany. The importance of producing strong and healthy children superseded any other moral code. This practice, although strictly controlled, has a specific function which cannot be ignored. Considering that the civic duty of the male, especially a Spartan, was to be a soldier, the reproduction of their army and the protection of their territory was linked to the importance of the female body, as of course did descent. Both then, may be linked to land. Today, when paternity may be proven with a simple DNA test, the female body is less regulated in many Western countries and moral rules restricting female sexual behaviours are more relaxed. Nevertheless, the debate on the legality or not of abortion remains very heated especially in war and post war periods even in the West. Furthermore, not only women had social capital, one may say that they were the social capital as they were contributing in the elevation of status and power of their family. This becomes obvious when analyzing Mylona's G.C.B. Although, a long time before the period analyzed, at CGB we can trace the roots of a practice that alter the socio-political scene of Greece. The excavations of the site found in 1951 brought to light a total of 24 graves including "pits, cists and the more complex shaft graves" (Mylonas,1973,5; Voutsaki,2012,41;) and DNA evidence has proven that some of the deceased were related (Brown, 2000,115-9; Bouwman, 2018). Based on the evidence of the human remains becomes obvious that the tombs and grave site allows for a cross-generational spacial encounters which throw the power of performance and ceremony manages to achieve two distinctive and inter-related things. (Garwood 2012, 15; Dakouri-Hild 2016, 3-5,15,11;). One is the alignment of time from a cyclical pre-historical concept and the second one is the transition of power from father to son. In fact, in a timeframe of about three to five generations the *quasi* egalitarian 'big men' society in the MH period became a well structured non-egalitarian monarchic governance of the State of Mycenae. The burial of women both young and old played a significant role by reinforcing the concept of descent. This is something we can also observe with Classical Athenian Women's monuments as they increased in number when Athenian matrilineal descent came into play. Furthermore, conspicuous consumption of luxury goods at the time of death the adorned physical body enacted symbolically the political body affirming a new social order and naturalizing social inequality. See: Cavanagh and Mee 1998; Gallou 2016; Garwood, 2011; Graziadio 1988; Voutsaki 1997; Wright, 1987; Also see: Musgrave 1995. From analyzing ancient text it becomes obvious that women were aware of their power and understood their importance. Aristophanes comedy, *Lysistrata*, speaks to this with a lot of humour and an attempt to bring equilibrium and a lot of laughter. Nevertheless, the play narrates how women took an oath not to have conjugal relations with their husbands unless a peace treaty was negotiated in order to bring to an end the Peloponnesian War. The play not only reinforces Plato's idea of women's participation in the protection of the city, but further highlight the importance women knew to possess about their contribution to the human reproduction. Lysistrata argues that women had a say because they sacrificed their husbands and son to the war effort. Old women are equally given a role to play by taking over the Acropolis of Athens and beating the old men to their own game.

³²³ Wealth intended as social capital, means of reproduction of the next generation and of course part of the patrimony given to them through the means of inheritance.

³²⁴ The Classical period.

³²⁵ This juxtaposition further dichotomized the young and the old by aestheticizing and idealizing one while naturalizing the decline of the other.

lifetime of social capital and experience to manage it, would have been wealthier, and because unable to produce children her aging body would have been free of the control applied on reproductive bodies³²⁶. The famous and worthy were honoured with having their names, occupations, and representations on plinths. Then why would someone decided to trap a human body in a marmoreal portrait in a state of decline and decadence? What is certain is that these sculptures, some of which survive to us because of the multiple reproduction of loved Hellenistic originals, have in effect transformed and shape the perception on old-age. An interesting concept is that of Piazza who brings forward Galen of Pergamon's³²⁷ medical theory which wants the body of the woman, depleted of its hormones, to become similar to that of a man and in so the old-woman was perceived as acquiring the powers of "the mother as well as of the father"³²⁸. This is particularly important because the too polar opposites, feminine and masculine, merge in the body of the old-woman. Furthermore, the 'polarized' concepts of old-age, wisdom, experience, maturity, morality on one end, and decline, disease, and "lack of *sophrosyne*", and senility inevitably collide³²⁹. The intersectionality between mental degeneration and wisdom, physical freedom and morality needed to be negotiated in the physical body as well as in its representations. Then the wise became the *senex* and the decrepitude the *anus*³³⁰. The wisdom was encapsulated in the portrait of the philosopher type and hence the old man while "the ugliness of old-age [was] identified with the old woman" maintaining this way the previous imbalance of power between the sexes³³¹. It may be concluded that the older women, when represented deliberately with the signs of old age as seen in the sculptures examined above they

³²⁶ Old-woman then seen as the postmenopausal female.

³²⁷ ca.CE 129-200.

³²⁸ Piazza 2010, 128. See Hippocrates, *Diseases of Women*, Vol I; Celsus, *On Medicine*, (ca 17 BCE-37CE); Soranus, *Gynaecology*, (ca 100 CE). Also see King 2011.

³²⁹ Piazza 2010, 128; Sneed 2018, 204.

³³⁰ Piazza 2010, 128-129.

³³¹ Ibid, 128.

were represented stripped of the virtues of beauty, grace, and decorum³³². The drunk decrepit old woman (fig. 64)³³³ as represented in the statuary could not and would not visually antagonize the ‘thinking old man’ of the philosopher type³³⁴. Here however it is necessary to be cautious not to fall in biased interpretations as the intentions of those creating the original statues cannot be certain³³⁵. Nevertheless, bringing both these beloved sculptural representations of male and female to coexist in the physical space of the Roman peristyle one could begin to understand how the two may have function in juxtaposition. The old man still impetus and iconic even past his prime with superior mental strength and permanent beauty emanating out of a virtuous life. The old woman, drunk and fool, ugly from “hidden sensations and censured passions...making what cannot be said much more relevant from what is been spoken about”³³⁶.

The ideals of the body have shifted and changed in the Hellenistic period. Perfection was no longer based on “overwhelming physical strength”³³⁷. Nevertheless the representations of the body maintained imbedded some of the morals of the Classical period which at times enhanced it, affirmed it, defined it or often in the case of the old woman’s body, paradigmatically limited it. Class played key role both in the choice of representations and who was represented. Regarding the how the mature and older women were represented, as proven by the material evidence, women with power had chosen to emulate higher ideals in a stylized portraiture instead of

³³² In fact, from the examination of statuary it appears that being represented looking old by itself, with very few exception like the representation of Lysimache, was degrading. Decorum was expressed with uniformity of the idealized face, perhaps the idea of conformity within the status quo, while age was shown by the number (2 or 3) of Venus rings around the neck.

³³³ In fact, these sculptures would have been mocked by the owners, making a harsh commentary regarding morals or lack there of as well as dress-codes of the East. These depictions are crude and merciless towards women, but furthermore towards Eastern society as a whole as women were fundamental to culture, costumes, and society.

³³⁴ The Philosopher type of sculpture represented wisdom in the old-man’s body. The old male embodying the virtue in contrast to the old female body embodying vice. An example of this type of representation is the statue of Socrates, type A. Roman copy Original ca 390-370. See Stewart 1990, 483. Another one would be that of Stoic philosopher Chrysippos. Roman copy of the body, the head is a cast, original at British Museum, inv. 1805,0703.92. Ca 200 BCE. See: Stewart 1990, 776.

³³⁵ Perhaps these representations were satirical, political, or apotropaic. Whatever the function, the materiality of the representation renders them important.

³³⁶ Plato, *Symposium*; Corti 2010, 69-70.

³³⁷ Corti 2010, 70, 75.

succumbing to their human fragility and the passing of time³³⁸. Therefore, the portrait statuary betrayed age as associated to status and power through elegant signifiers but never stripped these women from beauty, grace, decorum and wealth.

³³⁸ This concept should not be alien to our days where women of status choose to be represented idealized and magazines photoshopped their images. Today with the immediacy of #insta and #live, young and old women who can afford it choose to retouch their physical aspect with body modifying procedures. Ageism persist to this day stronger than ever.

WOMEN OF GRAVE RELIEFS

Gravestones make their reappearance in Athens around the time of the Peloponnesian War³³⁹. However, it was after 451 BCE with the changes in the citizenship law under Pericles that women's funerary monuments become more prominent. The Athenian women acquired significant importance to the citizen body, and as such they were honoured in death as virtuous mothers, wives, and daughters till around 317 BCE when Demetrius of Phaleron with a sumptuary law prohibited ostentatious display of status and wealth in the social and the funerary realms³⁴⁰. Funerary monuments with sculptured decoration appear again towards the end of the Hellenistic era ca. 1c. BCE ³⁴¹.

From time in memoriam women were always connected with funerary rites. Death was a serious matter and was not taken lightly. However, mourning was seen as emotional and effeminate and therefore performed by women³⁴². Women were central figures in iconography related to the preparation and *ekphora* of the dead and were also present on the depictions of the artifacts deposited inside the graves. However, it is their importance in the transmission of citizenship that makes their representation on funerary monument essential to the familial collective in Athens. Their representations promote the values of the family as flowing through the piety and honour of their women. In examining the representations of mature and older women in sculptural representations becomes noticeable that "no citizen's mother is represented in old age"³⁴³. The status of the woman is interconnected with her fertility, therefore appears important to represent women mature but not beyond the last years of fertility. However there are

³³⁹ Ridgway 1987, 405. ca 500 BCE.

³⁴⁰ Blok 2012; Connelly 2007, 240; Small 1995, 143. The funerary rites were restricted to the early hours of dawn while the number of people able to attend ceremonies was limited too (Connelly 2007, 241). Demetrius introduced the *columellae* type of grave marker (O'Sullivan 2009, 53; Burnett-Grossman 2014,15). Exclusion of *mensa* and *labellum* (O'Sullivan 2009, 55). According to O'Sullivan, their is an attempt to contain the extreme manifestation of women considered unruly (Ibid, 57).

³⁴¹Burnett-Grossman 2014, 14-6. During the approximate 200 years that lasted Demetrius' sanctuary law a new type of monument, the funerary altar, emerged in Attica (Connelly 2007, 245).

³⁴² Illiad XXIV 710-745 Andromache mourning Hector. Houby-Nielsen 1996, 237.

³⁴³ Emery 1999, 27. Even in literary sources referring to a woman as old had negative connotations. See Birchley 1999, 28.

exceptions. Some women are represented as old looking on the funerary monuments of their children like on the funerary *stele* today at the Museum of Piraeus (fig. 69)³⁴⁴ from circa 350-30BCE, right on the cusp between the Classical and the Hellenistic periods. The mother of the defunct bears the signs of old age as her face is stricken by grief for the loss of her child. It is however naive to think that this is a realistic portrait of the mother. This too is perhaps an idealized representation of grief. The *stele* intends to evoke the sentiment of the viewer which is more than ever aggravated by the idea that the parents have lost their child in their old age when they themselves are most vulnerable. Nevertheless, on their own funerary monuments women are portrayed adorned and idealized.

“Portraits of the deceased are particularly valuable as indicators of dress, gesture and self perception. They not only preserved the memory of the dead, but also conveyed an ideal representation of the social persona of the deceased”³⁴⁵

Many funerary *stelai* often depict women with their attendants bringing them their jewellery like the *Grave Naiskos of an Enthroned Woman with an Attendant* from Delos (fig. 70)³⁴⁶. The woman’s dress is sleeveless and of a fine material. Her hair is uncovered. A young attendant is bringing her a box, possibly her jewellery box. The class of the woman is indicated by the size of the monument and the elaborate work of the relief. It is further reinforced by the elaborate design of the throne she is sitting on, by the jewellery she is wearing, and by the attendant included in her funerary monument. In Smyrna, the two small attendants on funerary *stelai* often refer to the status of the woman as a priestess³⁴⁷. *Herophanta and Posideos'* stele (fig. 71)³⁴⁸ is a honorific dedication of the *demos* of Smyrna as indicated by the two wreaths of the

³⁴⁴ Archaeological Museum of Piraeus inv. 5812, ca 350-330 BCE. “ Large grave monument. A woman who died in childbirth is seated on a throne and clasps the right hand of her husband standing in front of her. A nurse with the newly born child stands behind her. The grieving figure of her mother the back completes the circle. From Peiraiaos St.” See Piraeus-Greece.org.

³⁴⁵ Stewart 2004, 54.

³⁴⁶ J.P. Getty Museum, Malibu, inv. 72.AA.159; Getty 1975.

³⁴⁷ Another stele of a priestess of Demeter from Smyrna showing two small attendants is today at the Altes Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv.-No.: Sk 767. 2nd half of the 2nd c. BCE. The common elements aside the attendants are the honorific wreath and the torch attribute of Demeter.

³⁴⁸ J.P. Getty, Malibu, inv. 71.AA.288, See Ridgway, 1993. Burnett-Grossman 2001, 117-9.

stele stating clearly in letters the word *DEMOS* to the priestess of Demeter³⁴⁹ who is publicly honoured together with her husband. Herophanta portraiture is rich in detail. She is portrayed wearing two dresses on which the pressing fold are visible, speaking to the love of realism of Hellenistic representations. Nevertheless, Herophanta is represented in a more generic style of female portraiture where the indication of her age is a Venus ring around her neck³⁵⁰. In fact, the age of the women may be difficult to be established if not by the style of garments the defunct is represented in for example, a thin *chiton* is becoming more a younger woman, while a less revealing heavier peplos is more ‘age appropriate’ for a mature one. Hair styles are another indicator of age, for example the more elaborate ‘melon style’ was sported by younger women, while older women had their hair in less complex hairstyles, often parted in the centre³⁵¹. Herophanta is portrayed with her hair covered, typical of the Eastern representations. Finally, additional figures on the monuments such as husbands and children will betray the monument of a mature woman. In the *Grave Stele of a Man and his Wife with a Boy and a Girl* (fig. 72)³⁵² the composition coupled with the garments and jewellery depicted are indicative of the wealth, the status and the social standing of the portrayed³⁵³. Jewellery and garments as seen are not only important in determining the age of the dead, are also important indicators of wealth and status, and self-representation if not of the dead certainly of the family collective.

“Portraits of the deceased are particularly valuable as indicators of dress, gesture and self perception. They not only preserved the memory of the dead, but also conveyed an ideal representation of the social persona of the deceased”³⁵⁴

These indicators also represent fashion, taste, and morality and aim at evoking the sentiment and admiration of the viewer. In the funerary relief examined above (fig. 72)³⁵⁵, the wife is portrayed in the *Pudicitia* pose, very popular in the Asia Minor for funerary, honorary, or

³⁴⁹ Implied by the torch which is a symbol of the goddess.

³⁵⁰ Burnett-Grossman 2001, 118.

³⁵¹ This will be further examined in the Herculaneum style.

³⁵² J.P. Getty Museum, Malibu, inv. 71.AA.281. Burnett-Grossman 2001, 120-2.

³⁵³ Carroll 2005, 282.

³⁵⁴ Stewart 2004, 54; Carroll 2005, 288.

³⁵⁵ J.P. Getty Museum, Malibu, inv. 71.AA.281. Burnett-Grossman 2001, 120-2.

commemorative tributes to women³⁵⁶. It is a more appealing pose as the tight wrapped clothing enhance the figure of the body yet was simultaneously restrained and moral. The complexity of the garments is evident in the representations examined. The folds are meticulous and the garments appear complex. The materiality of the inducements would have restricted the movements for the most part and would have influenced the behaviour of the person wearing them³⁵⁷. These elements are important in “transmitting values, ideals and identities”³⁵⁸. These are also expressed by other elements included on the monument. For example, on the same *stele* examined, between the man and the woman there is a shelf. This was a common feature on funerary *stelai* as the shelves displayed the interests of the dead³⁵⁹. For example baskets were indicative of virtue, books of intellect and so on³⁶⁰. Another example of woman memorialized in a *pudicitia* pose comes from a scene of farewell (fig. 73)³⁶¹ from Pella. The woman is standing pious as the pose is telling us, while there are two small figures of servants, one of which is holding a box.

A common theme on funerary *stele* is the funerary banquet. Such a scene is represented on a *stele* from Asia Minor (fig. 74)³⁶². The man is reclined and is reaching over holding a crown next to the head of the woman who sits at his feet. From the same period comes the *stele* of Menios (fig. 75)³⁶³ with his wife Nicopolis and son Demetrios. It represents a funerary banquet with a double crowning. The man is reclined with his arm extended holding a crown over his wife’s head³⁶⁴, while the son is standing behind the father crowning him. Perhaps a structure of

³⁵⁶ Burnett-Grossman 2001 compared her to Diodora of Delos. The male arm-sling and female *pudicitia* pose is also encountered in the Kleopatra and Dioscourides couple also from Delos. See Pudicitia pose.

³⁵⁷ See Connelly 2007.

³⁵⁸ Carroll, 2005, 289.

³⁵⁹ Ibid, 120.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ Louvre, Ma 815, 3-2 c.BCE. See Louvre 1998 Cat II, 126, fig. 132. See Charbonneaux 1963, 126.

³⁶² Louvre, Ma 208, second half of 2 c.BCE. See Louvre 1998 Cat II, 160, fig. 176. See Schmidt 1991, 25; Cremer 1992, 121.

³⁶³ Louvre, Ma 4501, second half of 2 c.BCE. See Louvre 1998 Cat II, 161, fig. 177.

³⁶⁴ The woman wears chiton, himation and her head is veiled.

hierarchy transpire from the crownings. Two more figures appear in the scene one larger one smaller near the banquet table. The “*chairete*” inscribed on the *stele* envelopes the family indicating their importance in the community. More than this, the crowning may be seen as a symbol of respect of one another. A palmette *stele* from the Cyclades (fig. 76)³⁶⁵ depicts a defunct woman holding a man’s right hand in a gesture of ‘*xaire*’³⁶⁶. The woman wears a chiton and himation and has her head covered with a veil. Her name is Nike and she is the daughter of Dositheos of Thasos³⁶⁷. On *stele* from Ainos (fig. 77)³⁶⁸ a woman, wearing chiton and himation, is seated while the man appears reclined. In examining these funerary monuments many of the stereotypes transpire without doubt as visual culture propagated and reinforced the social structure of the time³⁶⁹. In fact, these representations allude to some kind of etiquette and idealized formality observed by men and women alike. These monuments were posthumous and most likely were selected by the relatives and not by the dearly departed. Although women’s roles appeared restricted by adhering to idealized roles within the domestic sphere and wifely behaviour, there are also many Hellenistic funerary monuments that honour women for their contribution to the public sphere and recognized them as such as seen with the stele of *Herophanta and Poseideos* (fig. 71).

In conclusion, from the funerary *stelai* considered transpires that the roles of women were not just limited to mother, wife, and daughter, although these terms continued to framed them. Women were honoured by their families but also by the *demos*. The gender stereotypes created visually by repetition portrayed women in position of authority and their deeds commemorated, honoured and handed down to posterity.

³⁶⁵ Grave stele from Tenos, Cyclades. NAM 1st half of 2nd c. BCE.

³⁶⁶ Plantzos 2016, 269. Often the gesture in itself was a moral recognition and validation (Katz and Boardman 1992,314).

³⁶⁷ NAM.

³⁶⁸ Louvre, Ma 826, fragment, ca 1st c BCE. See Louvre 1998 Cat II, 135, fig. 142; Heron de Villefosse 1896, 51.

³⁶⁹ Garwood 2012,13.

Chapter IV

CONCLUSION

Conclusion

In examining the representations of mature Hellenistic women on statuary transpires that there has been a shift in the place of women especially within the public realm. Through these representations, women were memorialized and honoured for their identity, their gender and its virtues, their intellectuality, their social status, the influence they exercised, their lineage. Women posed as role models of virtue, beauty, and wealth. Although the material remains are often fragmentary, the female identity is inscribed not just through the written evidence of the dedicators on the bases of the sculptures, but further by each detail of the meticulous foldings of their garments and their press-fold markings, the complexity of the way these were worn in combination, the elaborate hairstyles, the outstanding jewellery, their sandalled feet, even their well-manicured extremities as these were represented and immortalized in faience, marble, bronze and other precious materials. The materiality of the sculptural representations nonetheless indicates the importance of class and lineage³⁷⁰ which played a significant role in the reception of womanhood within the sociopolitical sphere. The represented were women of privileged social strata and their identities were built, supported and promoted through the materiality of the sculptures and their size. So much so, that often statuary represent some mortal women as goddesses. What is certain is that there has been a tendency of mimesis and representation captured those aspirations.

The Hellenistic women were complex and multidimensional but not all of them were represented in such a monumental manner and scale. Those who were, however, were equipped with will and presence and were participants in their community. Their surviving statuary reveal some of their intersectionalities in the private and public domain where they negotiate strong interpersonal connections and forged a strong public presence, cult, and memory of self and family exceeding the limits of the temporal. Queens, priestesses, intellectuals, benefactors, mothers, wives, daughters, they have negotiated within their bodies the principals, the virtues,

³⁷⁰ Chastity referring to “the matrimonial bed” was highly valued as it safeguarded lineage (Lefkowitz and Fant 1982, 164).

the generosity, the wealth, the pride, and the family exceeding even their own physicality as intertwined with the concept of *kalokagathia* they bridged the divine and the human, the temporary and the transcendental³⁷¹.

From this investigation has transpired that men had a tendency to accept women in the public realm when the women displayed “virile” femininity, which manifested itself in self-control, composure, and other trait defined as masculine³⁷². The other important element that transpired is the idea of abstraction of the physical characteristics of women in a period where artists strived for realness. Furthermore, there is a repetition of poses and types with only reasonably few variations³⁷³. These two elements combined may reinforce the idea of ‘recognizability’ adding to the status of the sculpture and of the represented³⁷⁴. In addition, the idea of abstraction in the representation of women placed emphasis on their social status, power, office, family, and their role within the society rather than just on their individuality³⁷⁵. In fact, their individuality would have been transcend-able, while their image would have remained transcendental as did the concept it embodied. Therefore, the monumentality, size and material, the recognizability, and the abstraction elevated a woman’s representation into the symbolic realm, into a transcendental and ever-active personification of values becoming the means of transmission of the system³⁷⁶ from one generation to the next.

³⁷¹ Nevertheless, for the first time during the Hellenistic period precious material was dedicated to the representation of otherness. However this was not to represent the other side of history, but rather to buttress and solidify the privilege class once again. The grotesque representations were often apotropaic.

³⁷² Of course, always in conjunction to high family values, marital chastity and prudence, also referred to as ‘calm femininity’.

³⁷³ In a period where mobility and travel was not as defused due to the modes of transportation.

³⁷⁴ St. Clair 1996, 147. Recognizability and repetition might have added to the semiotic value of the representations.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ A system, either be it religious, social or political, which they served and which built them up.

SOURCE OF FIGURES

PEPLOPHOROI



1. Big votive relief from Eleusis at the NAM, inv. 126. Demeter and Kore

See: Dillon 2010, 78-9, 203. Photo credit NAM.



Eurydice of Vergina, 365-340 BCE See: Katsikoudis 2014, 188, image 169; Biard 2017, pl. XLIV.



2. Stele of Theophile, NAM inv. 1305, ca 330-325 BCE. See; Palagia 1982, 108; Clairmont 1993, 450; Osborne and Byrne 1996, 221; Bergemann 1997, 173; Roccas 2000, 24. Photo credit NAM.



3. Velanideza, Statue, MET inv. 10,210.21 Statue of woman in Pentelic marble. H. 181,61 cm. Probably part of funerary group. “The back part of the drapery is not carefully finished”(MET) See: Dillon 2010, 81; Richter 1954, 104.



4. Peplophoros, possibly goddess Demeter, Museum of Naples inv. 81595. The sculpture has traces of polychromy See: Esposito 2013, 98. Photo by Carlo Raso.



5. Peplophoros of Halicarnassus. Louvre, inv. 2838. Ca. 2nd c. BCE. Originally dated ca. 4th century BCE. because of its location. Nevertheless, the sandals did not appear until much later. See Morrow 1985, 74. Photo credit M. Daniels for Louvre 1992.

HERCULANEUM



6; 7. HERCULANEUM from Dresden inv.Hm 326, Hm 327, Hm 328. See: Dillon 2010,158; 2013, 217; Katsikoudis 2014.



No image available



8. Sarcophagus from via Salaria. Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 2344. Marble chest, ca 2AD. Daehner 2007, 110.



9. SHW, Maison du Lac, found in Delos, today at the NAM inv. 1827. See: Pl.XLVIII.; Queyrel 1996, 88-9; Daehner 2007, 111; Dillon 2010, 83; 2013, 212; Biard 2017, 365.



10.Torso of Small Herculaneum Woman from Delos, Late Hellenistic, Delos Museum, inv. A2937. See Biard 2017, 366



11.LHW. Necropolis of Pantikapaio, 100- 50 BCE The State Hermitage Museum 1850.26 (25) part of a couple.194cm. Daehner 2007,131; Ntontou 2015, 36, plate 16. Photo credit Ntontou.



12. SHW, found in Delos, NAM inv. 1827. Marble. See Biard 2017, pl. XLVII

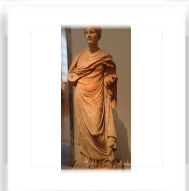


13. LHW, NAM inv. 3622. Marble. See Bieber 1962, 111, fig.7; Biard 2017. Photo credit Bieber 1962.

ORANS



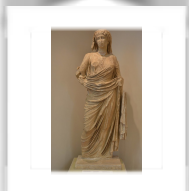
14.Artemisia II of Caria BM.1001 (1857,1220.233). The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus Statue. Katsikoudis 2014, 184, image 165.



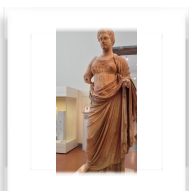
15.Aristonoe from Rhamnous, NAM 232. Orans pose. Priestess. 3rd C. BCE. See: Dillon 2010, 15, 66; Kaltsas 2001, image 574; Katsikoudis 2014, 186, image 166; Biard 2017; pl.XLII b; Leventi 2019, 70.



16.Orantes at British Museum, inv. n.1988. Palagia 1992, Pl. 32



17.Agrippina the Younger, Museum of Olympia L.143. See Palagia 1992, Pl.



18.Themis of Rhamnous. NAM inv. ca 300 BCE. Pentelic marble. Sleeved chiton and wrapped himation. H. 222 cm. Ridgway 2001, 55-7. Spivey 2013, 267. On stylistic connections with Demokratia/Tyche (Agora S2370) see: Palagia 1992.

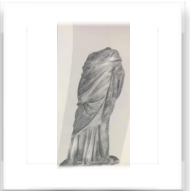
PUDICITIA



19.Baebia.Archaeological Museum Istambul. Inv. 605 From Magnisia 1c.BCE Marble. 230 cm. See: Ridgway 1990, 119-21; 2002, 118-9;Μαρκουλιδου 2007; Smith 2009,125, Image 116.1; Dillon 2010, 159-61; Katsikoudis 2014, 192, Image 176; Biard 2017, Pl. XLVIIa. Photo credit Archaeological Museum of Istambul.



20.Saufeia. Archaeological Museum Istambul. Inv. 606. From Magnisia 1c.BCE Marble. 212 cm. See: Ridgway 1990, 119-21; Smith 2009,125, image 116.2; Dillon 2010, 161; Katsikoudis 2014, 192, image 177; Biard 2017, Pl. XLVIIb. Photo credit Archaeological Museum of Istambul.



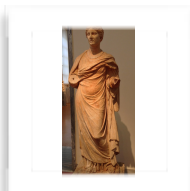
21. Polla Valeria, Archeological Museum of Istanbul, inv. 579 From Magnisia 1c.BCE Marble. 230 cm. See: Ridgway 2002, 118-9;Μαρκουλιδου 2007; Smith 2009,125, Dillon 2010, 159-61; Katsikoudis 2014, 192; Biard 2017, Pl. XLVIIc



22.Kleopatra and Dioskourides Delos, Museum of Delos, inv. A7763 (A7799-7797a). Moreno 1994, 668,673-4;Hermery, Jockey, Queyrel 1996, 208-9, n.94; Dillon 2010, 58-9; 2012, 273; Katsikoudis 2014, 191, image 174; Biard 2017, 335-337, 350, pl.XXXVII;



23.Diodora Delos, no Inv, number. from Sarapeion C; Inscription n. IDelos 2095 and 2096. Statue was set up by her husband Lysias and her son Menodotos and Hephaistion. votive context. See Marcade 1969, image 66; Sheila Dillon, 2013, 210. Fig.2; Katsikoudis 2014, 192, image 175. Photo credit Sisscvhtermann, DAI Rome neg.1962.



Aristonoe of Rhamnous, NAM 232. Orans pose. Priestess. 3rd C. BCE. See: Dillon 2010, 15, 66; Kaltsas 2001, image 574; Katsikoudis 2014, 186, image 166; Biard 2017; pl.XLII b; Leventi 2019, 70.



24. Hegeso/Nikeso from Priene Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung. inv. Sk 1928, Dillon 2010,16; Katsikoudis 2014,186, image 167; Biard 2017, pl. XLII a; Leventi 2019, 69, fig.1.



Funerary stele British Museum, Inv. 1973,0103,13 from ca. 200-100 BC. See: Pryce, F N; Smith, A H,Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the British Museum, I-III, London, BMP, 1892.



25. The funerary stele from Epheso, Selçuk. See Moreno 1997, 668, image 819.

QUEENS



Artemisia II of Caria. British Museum (BM) 1857,1220.233. Statue from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. See Dillon 2010, 66



26.Eurydice of Vergina, Sanctuary of Eukleia. 365-340 BCE. Aigai Archaeological site. See Katsikoudis 2014, 188,image 169; Biard 2017, pl. XLIV. Photo credit Ministry of Culture and Sports, Greece.



27.Arsinoë II and Ptolemy II, British Museum (BM) 1849,00517, 1-2 (38442-3). Arsinoë II (35.5 cm) and Ptolemy II (39 cm). Mid 3rd Century. Bronze. See: Cheshire 2009, 89-90.



28.Arsinoë II, MFA, Boston, inv. 96.712 Bronze. ca. 275-250 BCE. See: MFA, no. 087, 119-120, 167; van Oppen 2019.



29.Head attributed to **Arsinoë II**. MET inv. 38.10, ca. 278–270 B.C.Limestone. H. 12 cm, W. 9 cm, D. 9 cm. See: Dodson 2004, 271; MET 2012, 59.



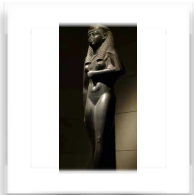
30.Arsinoë II, Ptolemaic queen, ca. 275-270BCE. MET. Inv. 26.7.1017; Ptolemaic oinochoai, probably from Alexandria, Egypt. H. 3.8 cm; W. 2 cm; D. 3 cm. See: Burr 1973; Casagrande-Kim 2014.



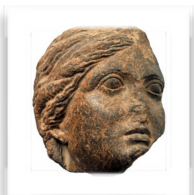
31. Cameo Gorganza. The State Hermitage Museum inv. GR-12.678, 3rd. c. BCE.. See: Moreno 1997; Riccomini 2015, table XIVc. Photo credit The State Hermitage Museum.



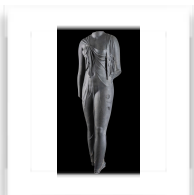
32. Arsinoë II. MET inv. n.20.2.21 ca 150-100 BCE, limestone, paint, gold leaf.
Posthumous. Cult statuette. H. 38.7 cm, W 9.6cm, D 13.2. See: Stanwick 2002, 37, 39, 45, 50, 59, 62, 87, 117, cat. C28. Photo public domain.



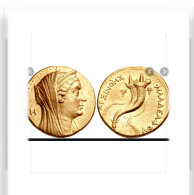
33. Arsinoë II. Miho Museum, Koka, Japan. Inv. 002. 159.5 cm, W50 cm. See Imagaki 2002, 24-27. This type of sculptural representations encouraging syncretism.



34. Basalt head of Arsinoë II, NAM, the unseen collection (storerooms). Carved ca. 270 BCE. Unpublished. “A horn that is visible above the right ear and part of a uraeus (rearing cobra) above the forehead, leaves no doubt that the basalt head, carved circa 270 BC, depicts Arsinoë II Philadelphus of Egypt. This horn of the ram god Mendes, of whom she was a priestess, is probably part of the crown that was designed exclusively for her.” (NAM). Photo credit NAM.



35. Queen Arsinoë II, identified with the goddess Isis (black granite). Ptolemaic Period, ca. 305-30 BC. Bibliotheca Alexandrina Antiquities Museum. Photo: Christoph Gerigk. Franck Goddio/Hilti Foundation.



36. Arsinoë, Gold Octadrachm, ca 180-116 BCE. Posthumous issue. 27.78 gms



37. Lady from the Sea, Archaeological Museum of Izmir (AMI), inv. 3544, H 81 cm.
See: Dillon 2010, 23-4; Biard 2017, pl. XLVI; Ridgway 2019 (web). Image credit
Ridgway 1967.



38. Lady of Kalymnos, Archaeological Museum of Kalymnos. no inventory number
(BE13/1999), unpublished; mentioned in Dillon 2010, 84.



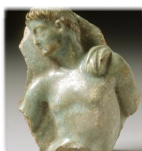
Bactria, Bronze statue ca. 1c. CE. Miho Museum, Koka, Japan, n. 41, 236. See:
Inagaki, 2002.



39. Villa of the Papyri. Naples Archaeological Museum, inv. 5592. Possibly or
Berenike or goddess Artemis. See: Maiuri 1974; Sider 2005.



40. Berenike II, . MET. Inv. 26.7.1016. Faience, Ptolemaic queens, 246–221 B.C.E
Ptolemaic oinochoai, probably from Alexandria, Egypt. H. 15 cm; W. 7 cm; D. 3.7 cm.
See: Burr 1973; Waraska 2009, 3; Casagrande-Kim 2014.



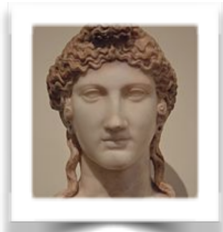
41. Ptolemy IV, British Museum (BM) Inv. 2001,0429.1. 272-205 BCE. Faience,
vessel. See: Burr 1973; Thompson 1973, 119; Waraska 2009, 3; Casagrande-Kim 2014



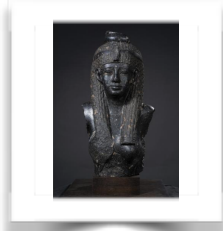
42. Farnese cup. Cameo phiale, Sardonyx. Museum of Naples, Inv. 27611. 2nd. c BCE.
Allegorical scene. Diameter: 20 cm. See: Dwyer 1992, 255-82.



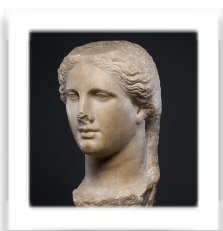
43. Berlin Kleopatra. Altes Museum inv. 1976.10. “Egypt from ca. 40–30 BC. An ancient Roman bust of Ptolemaic ruler Cleopatra VII of Egypt wearing a royal diadem band over her hair; dated to the mid-1st century BC (i.e. around the time of her visit to Rome). It was discovered in a villa along the Via Appia” (Altes Berlin). See: Roller 2010, 174–176. Photo: public domain



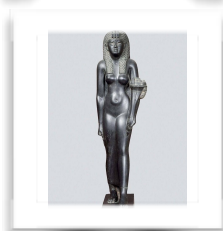
44. Head of goddess Isis. Pompeii, Museum of Naples, inv. 6290.



45. Kleopatra. ROM 910.75 (Royal Ontario Museum, Canada), ca 47-30 BCE. Probably reign of Kleopatra VII, Ptolemaic period. Dimensions 63.5x33x26 cm



46. Marble head of a Ptolemaic queen, ca. 270–250 BCE. MET, inv. 2002.66. Marble, sculpture. Lately identified as Arsine II. See Vermeil 1977, 34-5; 1978-9, 100-1; Casagrande-Kim 2014, 45–6, 97, fig. 3.1, cat. 68.



47. Queen with cornucopia The State Hermitage Museum, Inventory No #3936. I.A. Lapis & M.E. Matye, 1969; See also Hermitage Museum 2004.



No image
available

Apollonis, Pergamon, Museum of Berlin. See Queyrel 2003, index 57.2; Dillon 2010, 81; Katsikoudis 2014, 240, image 252.



48. Cleopatra VII, Ptolemaic Queen ca. 200-30 BCE. MET. Inv. 89.2.660. Statue; Dolomitic limestone; H. 62.5 × W. 22 × D. 15 cm, 23 kg. See: Needler, 1949, 139-40, pl. 26. Bieber 1961, 92 fig. 353.



49. Arsinoë III, Mantua Museo Civico di Palazzo Te, Acerbi Collection, inv. 96190279 bronze, 30 x 20 x 30 cm. See: Butz 2017, fig. 5.2, 5.3a-b, 5.4. Image: © Museo Civico di Palazzo Te, Mantua

PRIESTESS



50. Lysimache, BM 1887,0725.31. Roman copy, Tarquinia, Etruria 2nd c. CE See. Richter 1984, 158-9; Riccomini 2015, 30. Photo credit British Museum.



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available

Priestess honoured by her city. Smyrna, Berlin museen. Inv.-No.: Sk 767 See: Connelly 2007, 249.



51. Nikokleia of Knidos. British Museum (BM) 1301, ca 250-40, See Smith 1991; Katsikoudis 2014, 193, image 178; Biard 2017, pl. XLIIIa

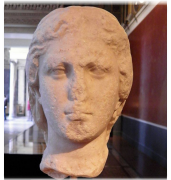


52. Head of a Maenad. Hairnet with medallion. MET, inv. 1987.220. 24 Karat gold. Ca 200-150 BCE. Ptolemaic. 6 cm x 9 cm. See Hemingway, 2000; Trakosopoulou 2004, 115–37.

POETESS



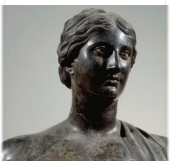
53. Head of the poetess Sappho, (Istanbul Archeological Museum, Inv. 358 T, Cat. Mendel 626) Smyrna, Marble copy of a prototype belonging to the Hellenistic Period. Marble. Roman Period, 2nd century CE



54. Double Portrait, 2nd century AD from Italy, Roman copy of a 4th century BC original, Neues Museum, Berlin. See: Most 1995.



55. Terracotta relief now at the British Museum of Sappho and Alcaeus together. See: Routledge 2018, plate X. Photo credit Routledge.



56. Bronze bust of Sappho, Villa of the Papyri, Herculaneum, National Archaeological Museum of Naples. Inv. n. 4896. 1c. BCE copy of ca. 350 original. Photo credit Museum of Naples



No image available

The Pitti Palace Bust. 4th c. BCE See Routledge 2018, 68



57. The Albeni Bust. See Routledge 2018, 70, Plate IX.

OLD WOMEN



58. Old woman with Kerchief, British Museum BM GR1852.3-27.9 (Late Hellenistic) Roman copy of a Hellenistic original of the third or second century BCE. H 21 cm, W 18,5 cm, D 18,5 cm. See Moreno 1994, 227-234.



59. Old market woman, MET inv. n.09.39 Marble statue of ca 14-68 CE Roman copy early Imperial, original ca.150-100 BCE Late Hellenistic. Pentelic marble, H 125.98 cm. See: MET 1987, 10,74; Abramitis 1997, 30-1, 33-7, fig.1-3,5-7; Stewart 2014, 233, 235, fig. 140. Image public domain.



60. Old shepherdess (Roman copy) original ca 180- 150 BCE possibly Alexandrian. See Murray at all, 2007, 385.



61. Terracotta figurines of old wet nurses, Archaeological Museum Pella, unpublished. Photo credit author.



62. Terracotta figurines of old wet nurses, Archaeological Museum Pella, unpublished. Photo credit author.



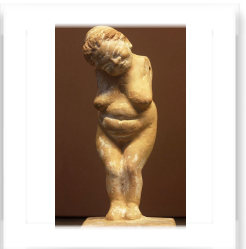
63. Terracotta Figurine. Old woman with baby. British Museum Registration number 1911,0416.1



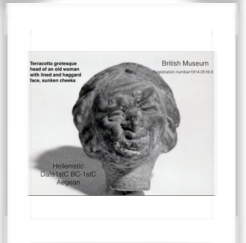
64. Drunk Old Woman or Maronide ca 225-200 (Stewart 1999:753-754). One copy is in the Musei Capitolini of Rome while the second one is at the Glyptothek in Munich. The head of the Musei Capitolini sculpture is a copy of the Munich Glyptothek inv. 437. See: Ridgway 1990, 337-338, tav. clxxiv; Fuchs 1993, 279-280, fig. 310; Moreno 1994, 227-234.



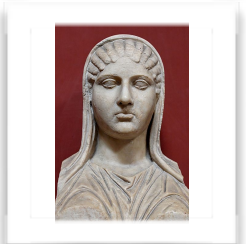
65. Marionette of an old obese woman. ca 350 - 320 BCE. from Thebes. Louvre CA 547. Photo credit Louvre Museum.



66. Terracotta from Cyrenaica, made in Attica, Louvre BC 968 bis ca. 350–320 BCE Photo credit Louvre Museum



67. Grotesque head of an old woman with lined and haggard face, sunken cheeks. Terracotta British Museum Registration number 1914,0516.6. Hellenistic. Date 1st C BC-1st C. Aegean.



68. Aspasia of Miletus, Herm in the Sala delle Muse, Vatican inv. 272. H 170 cm, D 25 cm. See Richter 1984, 99.

WOMEN ON FUNERARY STELES



69. Funerary stele. Archaeological Museum of Piraeus inv. 5812, ca 350-330 BCE. “

Large grave monument. A woman who died in childbirth is seated on a throne and clasps the right hand of her husband standing in front of her. A nurse with the newly born child stands behind her. The grieving figure of her mother the back completes the circle. From Peiraios St.” See Piraeus-Greece.org.



70. *Grave Naiskos of an Enthroned Woman with an Attendant* from Delos J.P. Getty Museum, Malibu, inv. 72.AA.159; ca. 100 BCE. 94.6 × 120.7 × 21.6 cm See:Getty 1975. Photo credit J.P. Getty Museum.



71. *Herophanta and Posideos'* stele J.P. Getty, Malibu, inv. 71.AA.288, See Ridgway, 1993. Burnett-Grossman 2001, 117-9. Photo credit J.P. Getty.



72. *Grave Stele of a Man and his Wife with a Boy and a Girl.* J.P. Getty Museum, Malibu, inv. 71.AA.281. Burnett-Grossman 2001, 120-2. Photo credit J.P. Getty.



73. *Pudicitia pose farewell scene,* Louvre, Ma 815, 3-2 c.BCE. H.38 cm, L 49cm, D. 7 cm. See Louvre 1998 Cat II, fig. 132. See Charbonneaux 1963, 126. Photo credit Louvre Museum



74. Crowning scene with funerary banquet. Louvre, Ma 208, second half of 2 c.BCE. Marble H.56 cm, L 42 cm, D 6 cm. Asia Minor. See Louvre 1998 Cat II, 160, fig. 176. See Schmidt 1991, 25; Cremer 1992, 121. Photo credit Louvre Museum.



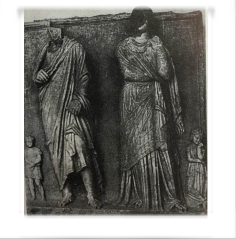
75. Funerary Banquet double crowning. Stele of Menios. Louvre Louvre, Ma 4501, second half of 2 c.BCE. See Louvre 1998 Cat II, 161, fig. 177. Photo credit Louvre Museum.



76. Grave stele from Tenos, Cyclades. NAM 1st half of 2nd c. BCE. “Grave stele, made of island marble. It was found on the island of Tenos, in the Cyclades. Beneath relief rosettes on the shaft of the palmette *stèle* is depicted a scene with a seated woman shaking hands with a standing man who wears a himation. The woman wears a chiton and with her left hand draws up her himation, which also covers her head. A young maidservant holding a fan leans against her legs. The inscription beneath the relief informs us that the monument belonged to Nike, daughter of Dositheos of Thasos.” (NAM) See: nammusedum.gr



77. Funerary Banquet, Stele of Ainos, Louvre, Ma 826, fragment, ca 1st c BCE. See See Louvre 1998 Cat II, 135, fig. 142; Heron de Villefosse 1896, 51. Photo credit Louvre.



The funerary *stèle* from Epheso, Selçuk. See Moreno 1997, 668, image 819.

Funerary Stele, British Museum, Inv. 1973,0103,13 from ca. 200-100 BCE. See: Pryce, FN; Smith, A H, Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the British Museum, I-III, London, BMP, 1892



No image available

Cover:

Terracotta group. Two women playing knucklebones. British Museum (Not on display) inv. 1867,0510.1 ca 330 -300 BCE, Capua, Campania. H 21 cm, W 22.4 cm, D 12.5 cm, W 1.87kg. Object reference number: GAA4761. See: Burn, 1903. Photo credit The Trustees of the British Museum





FIGURES



PEPLOPHOROI



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4



FIG. 5



FIG. 6



FIG. 7

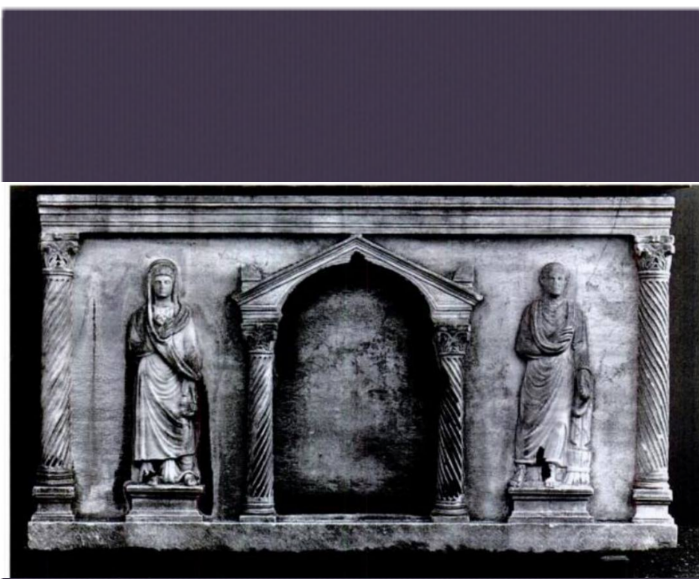


FIG. 8

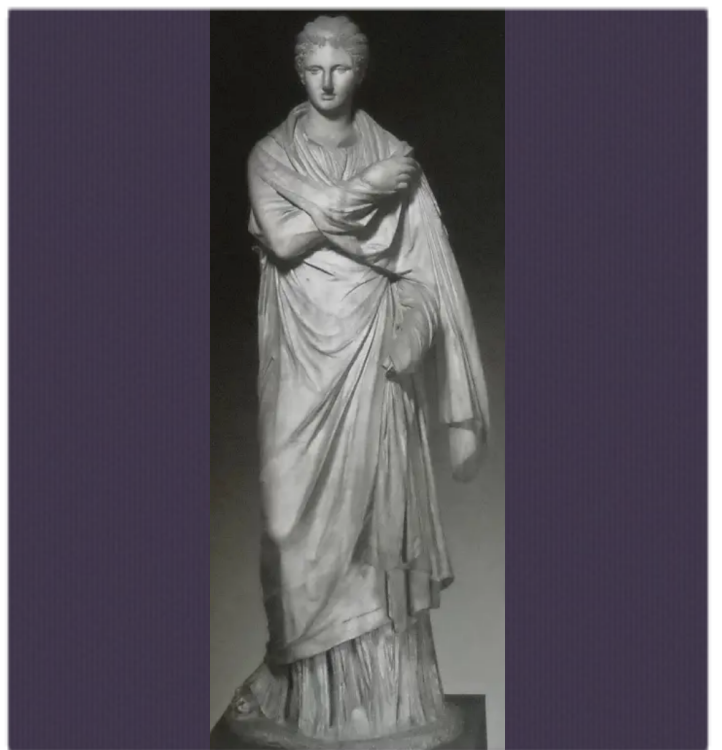


FIG. 9

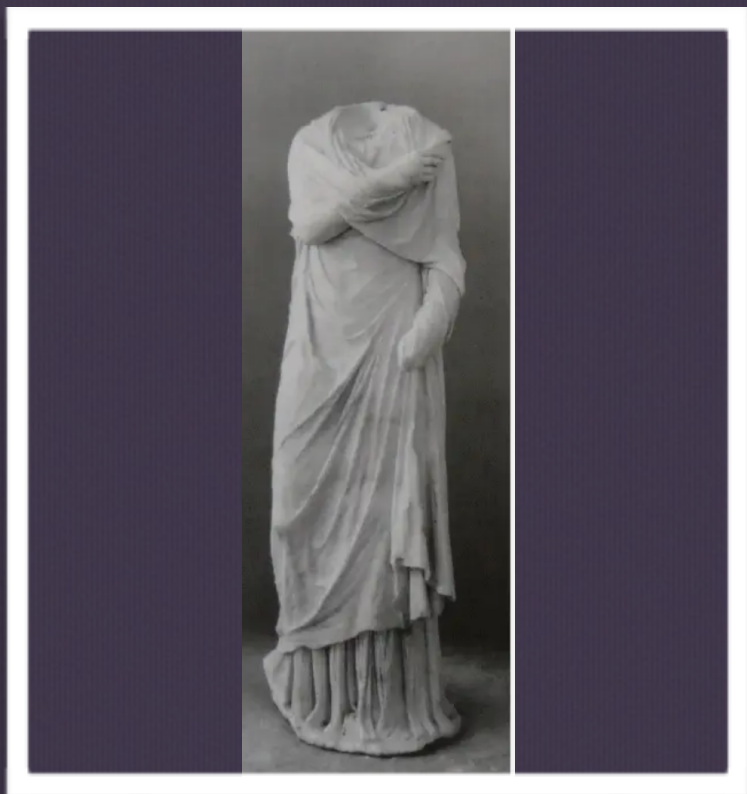


FIG. 10

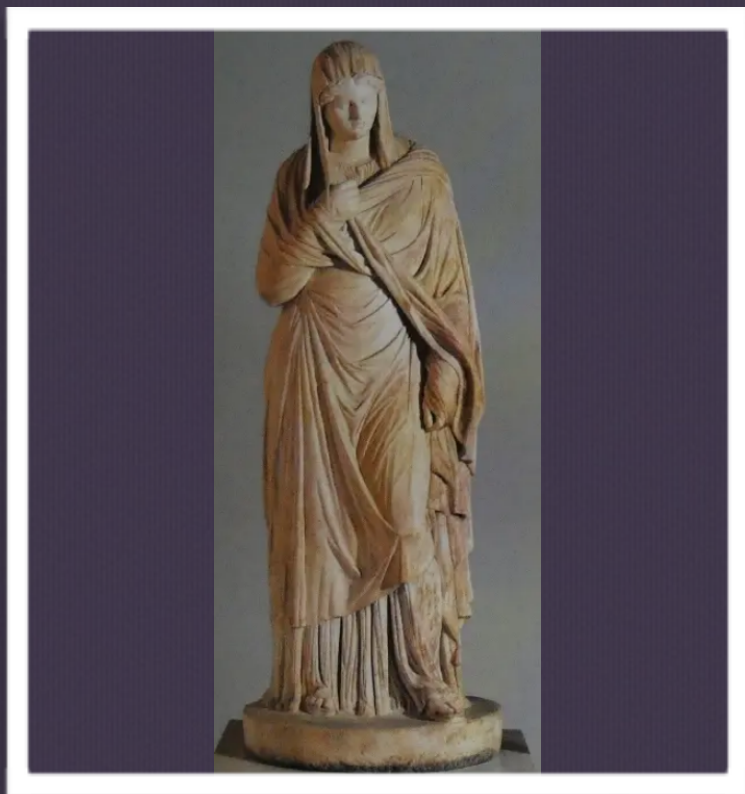


FIG. 11



FIG. 12

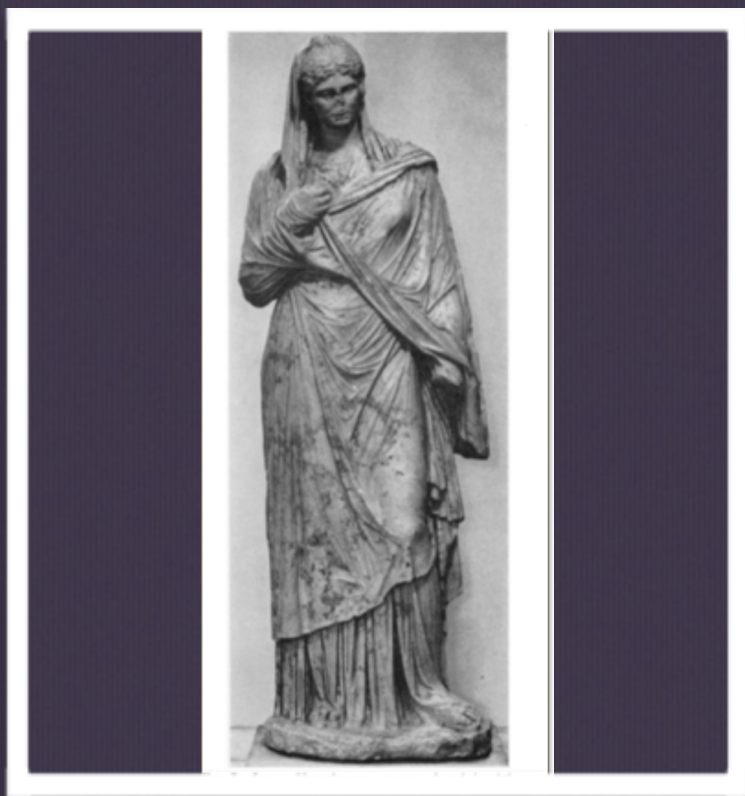


FIG. 13



ORANS



FIG. 14

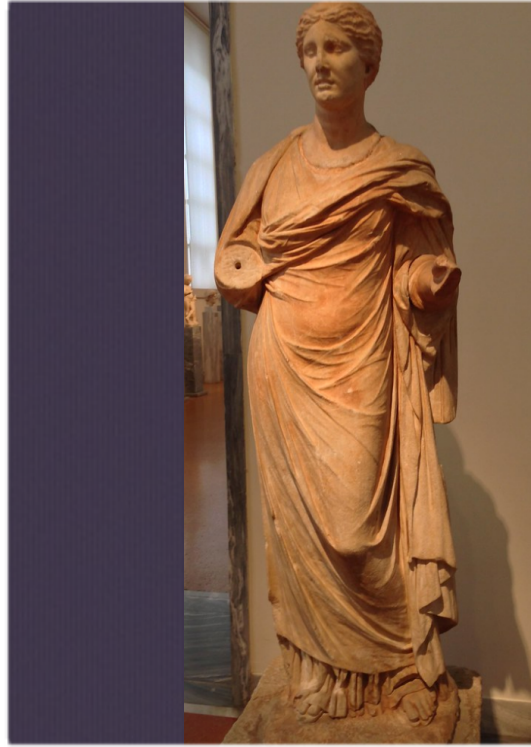


FIG. 15



FIG. 16

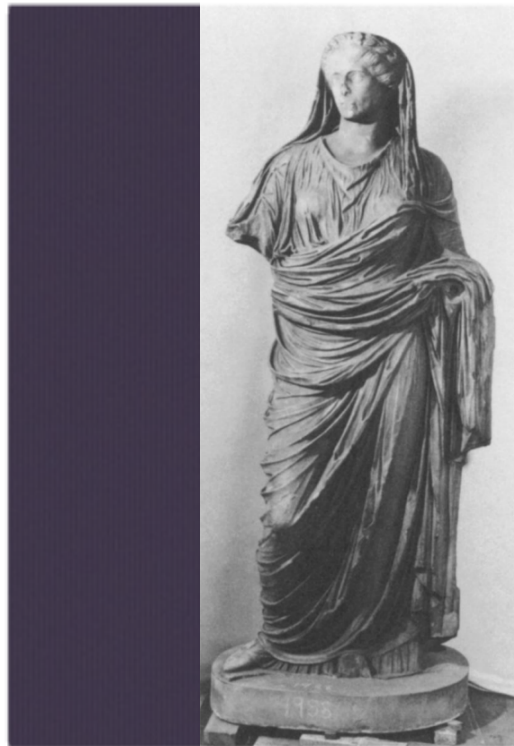


FIG. 17

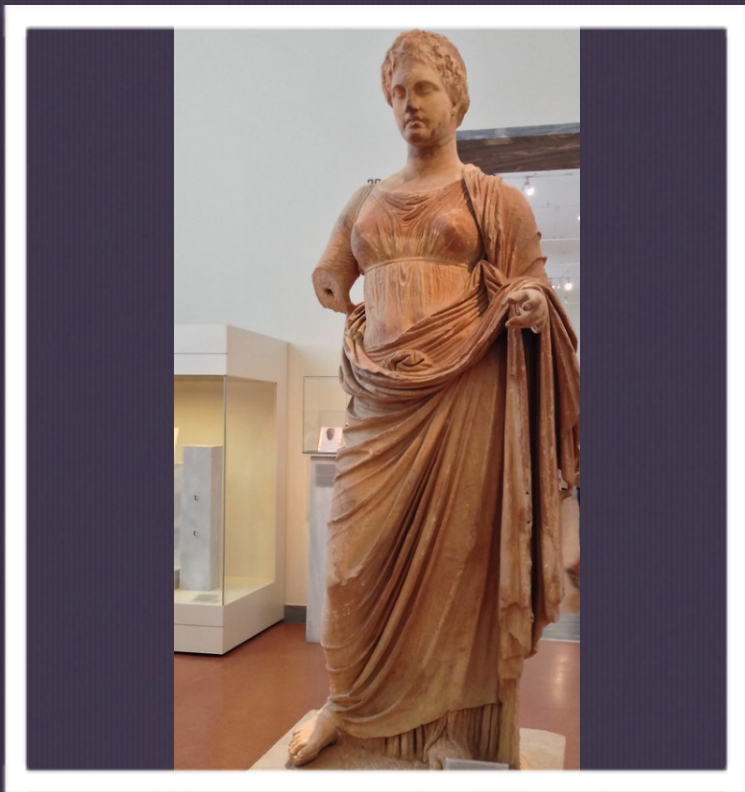


FIG. 18

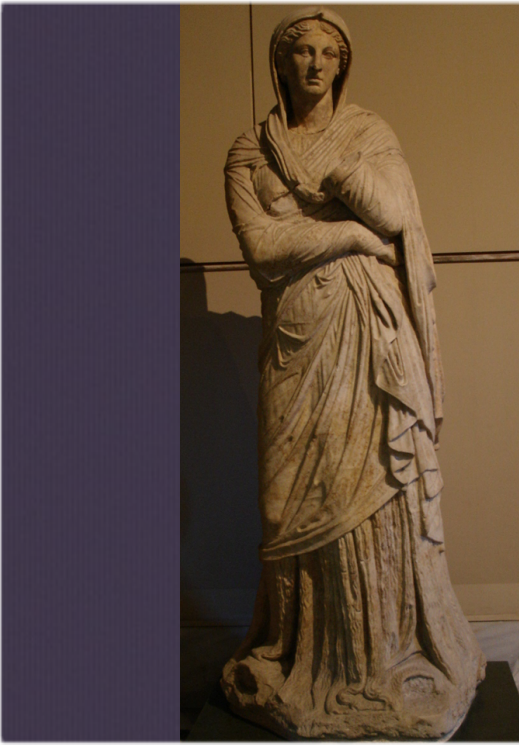


FIG. 19

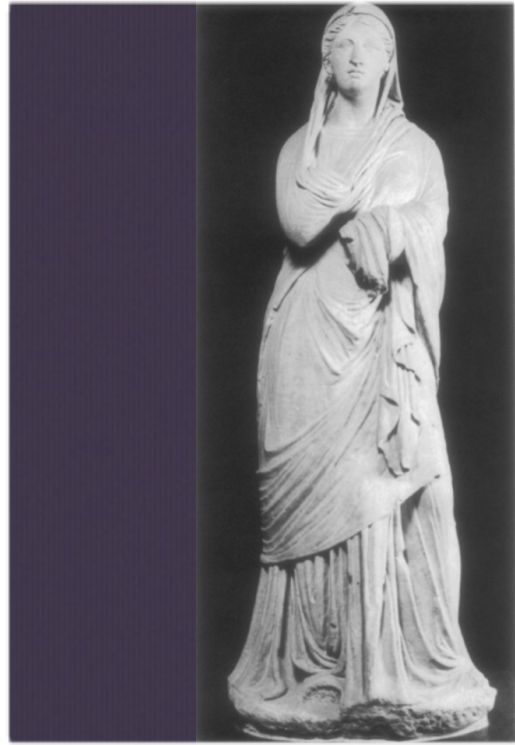


FIG. 20

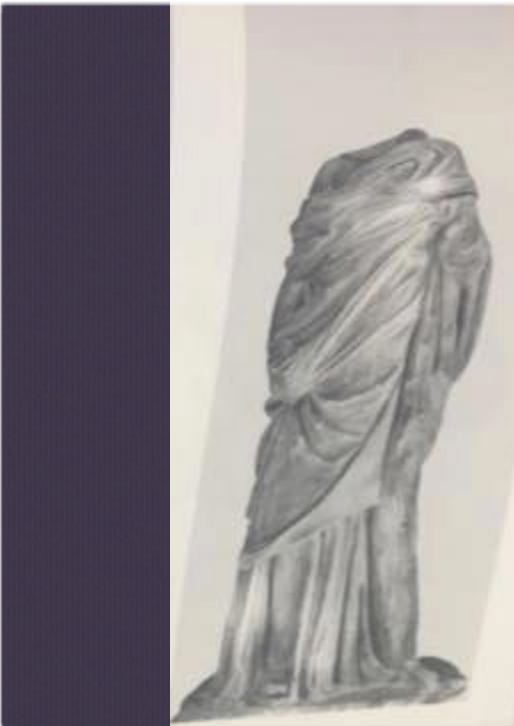


FIG. 21



FIG. 22

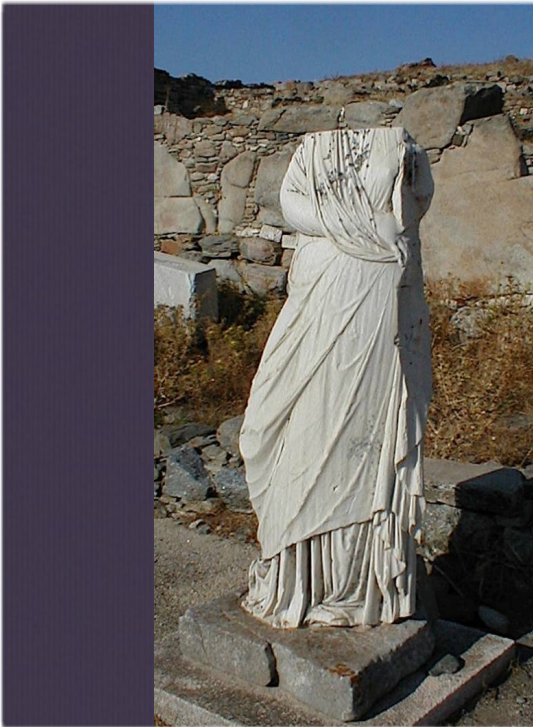


FIG. 23



FIG. 24

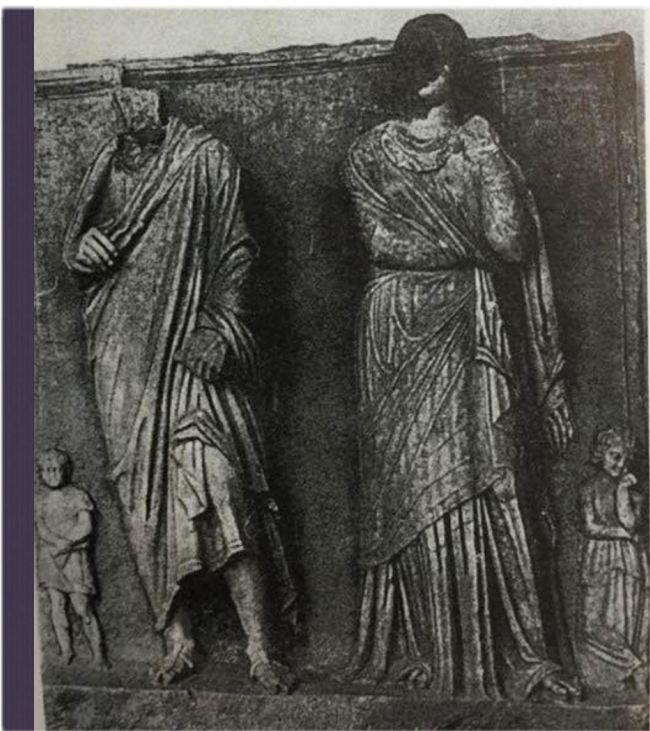


FIG. 25



FIG. 26



FIG. 27



FIG. 28



FIG. 29



FIG. 30

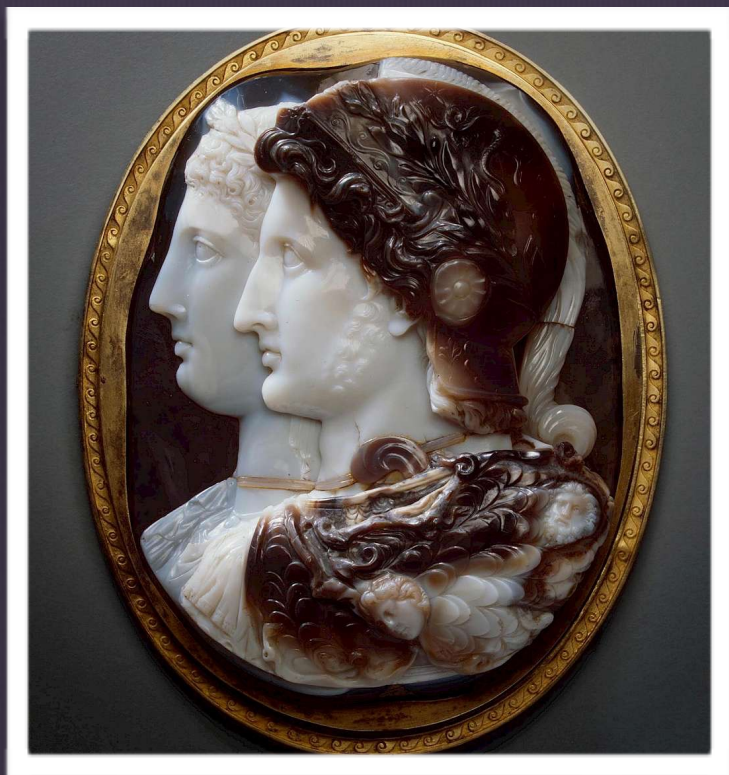


FIG. 31



FIG. 32

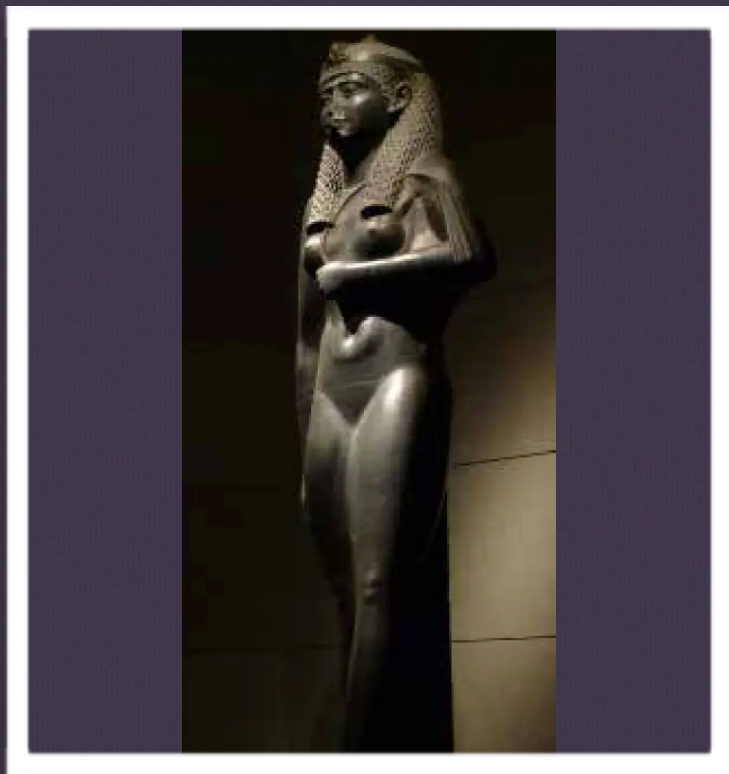


FIG. 33

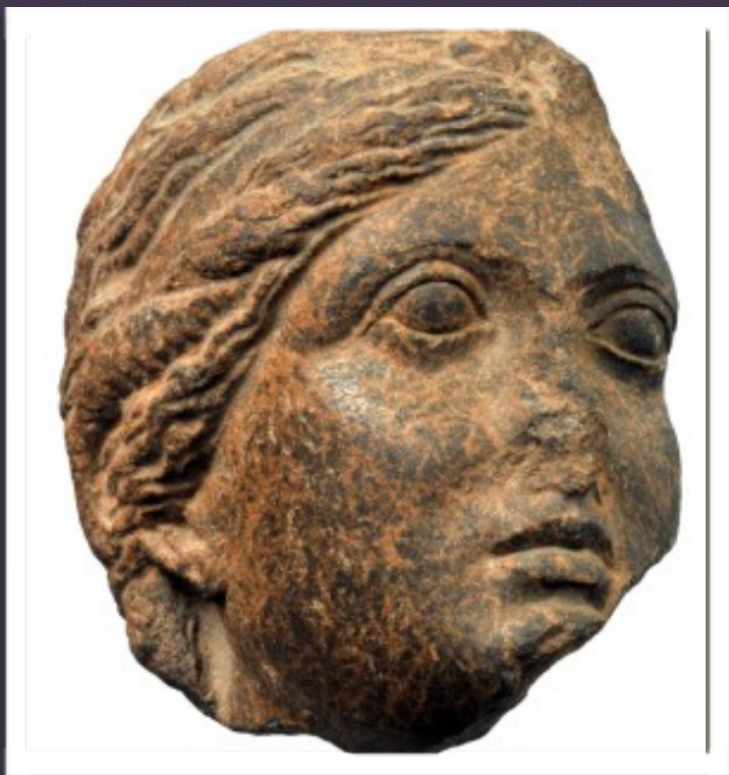


FIG. 34



FIG. 35

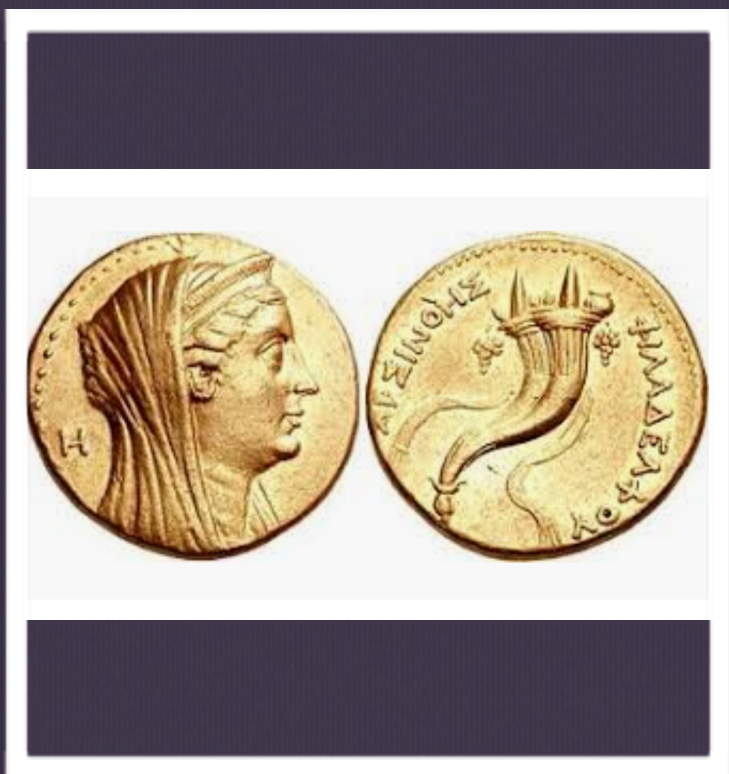


FIG. 36

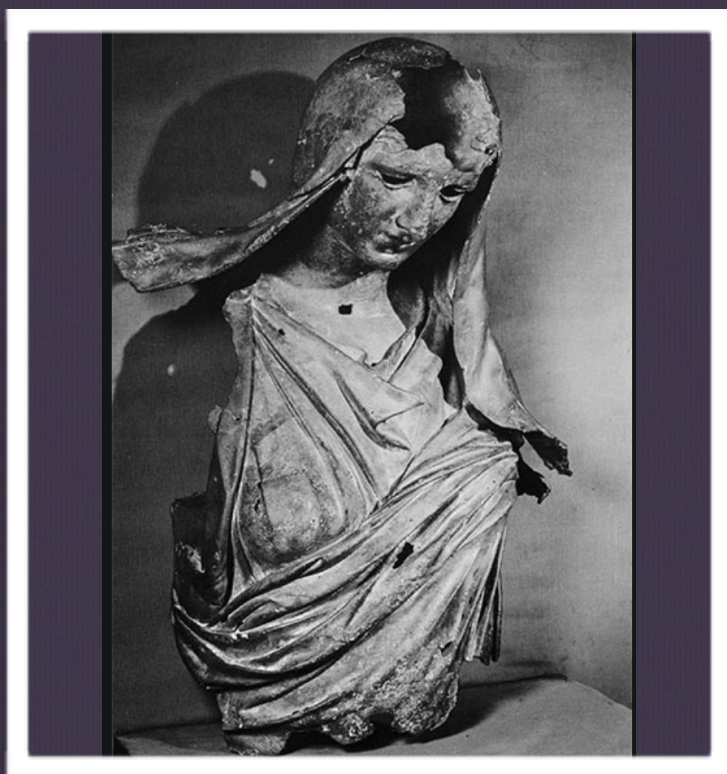


FIG. 37



FIG. 38

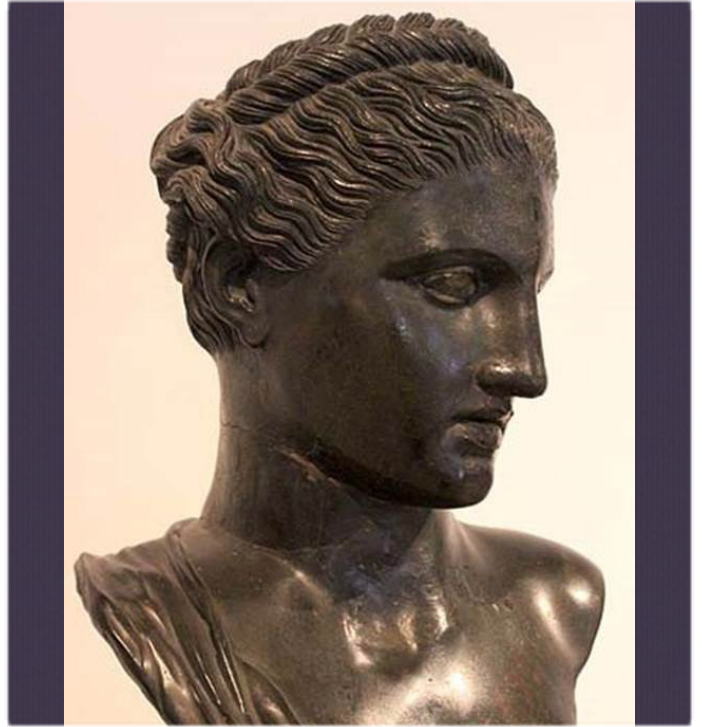


FIG. 39



FIG. 40



FIG. 41



FIG. 42

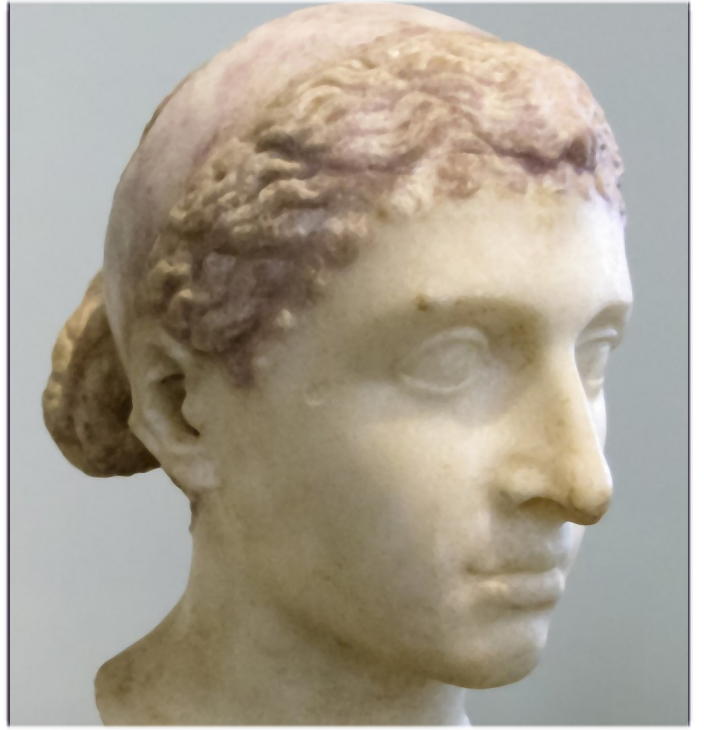


FIG. 43



FIG. 44



FIG. 45

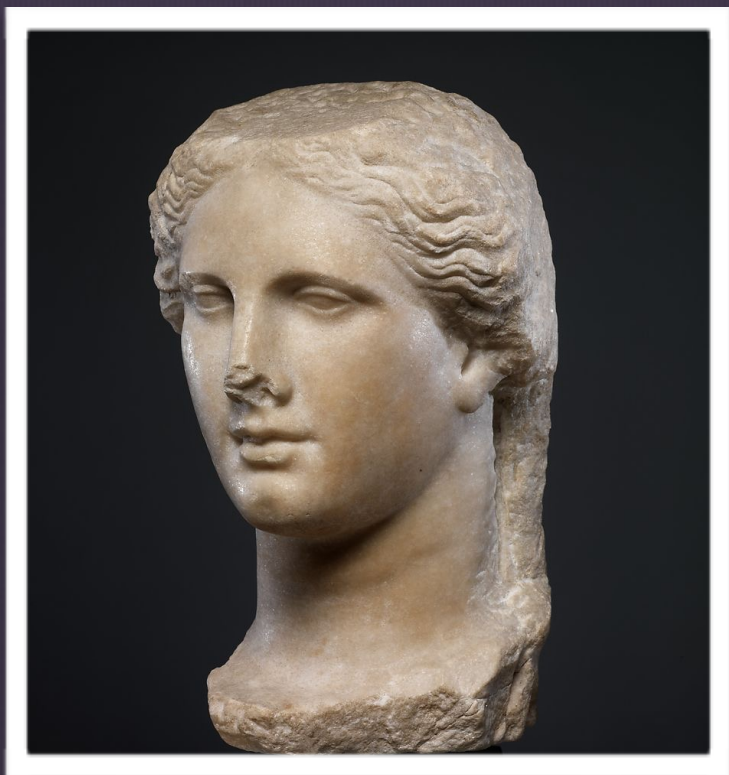


FIG. 46

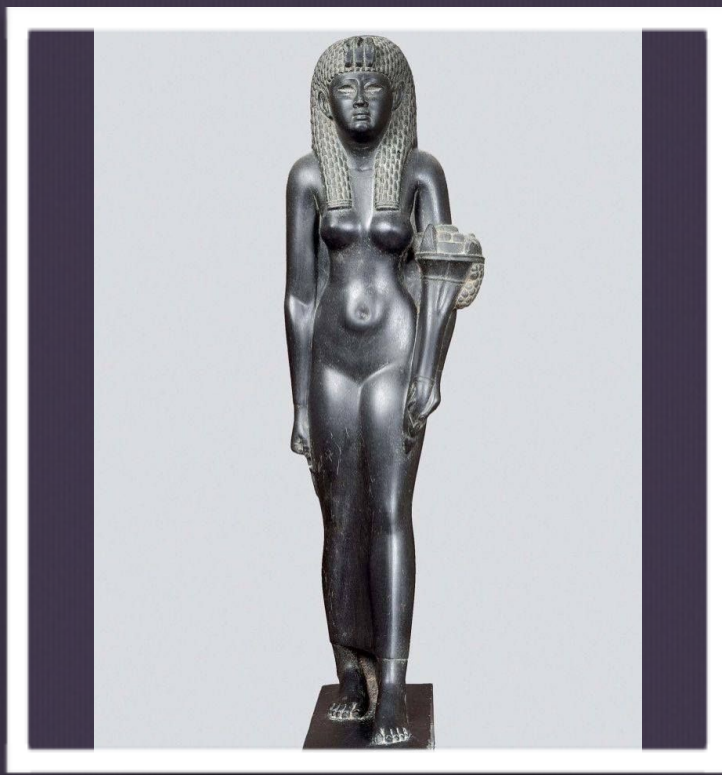


FIG. 47



FIG. 48



FIG. 49



PRIESTESS



FIG. 50

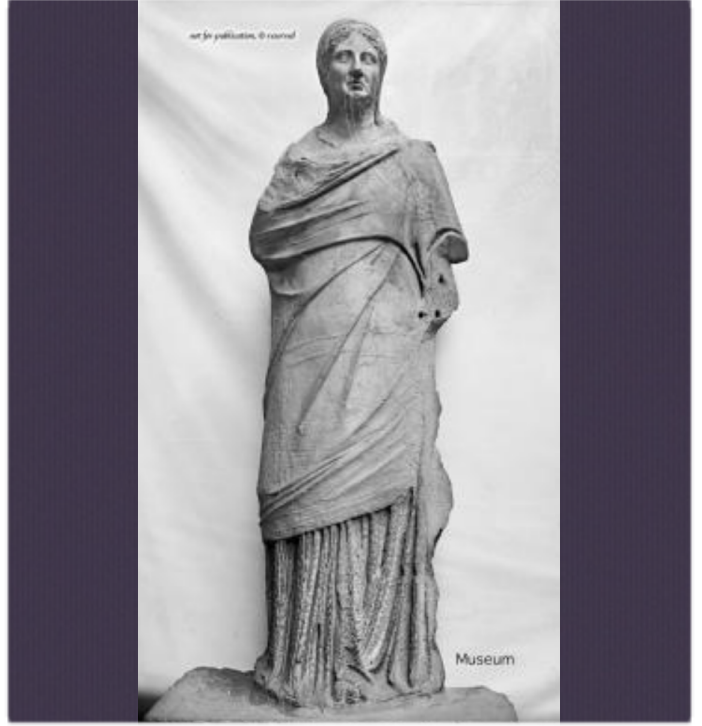


FIG. 51



FIG. 52



FIG. 53

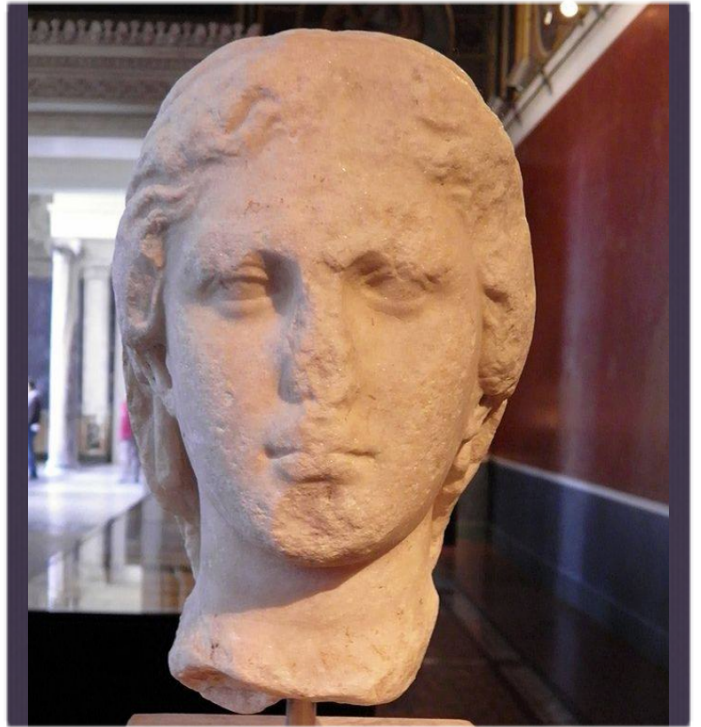


FIG. 54



FIG. 55

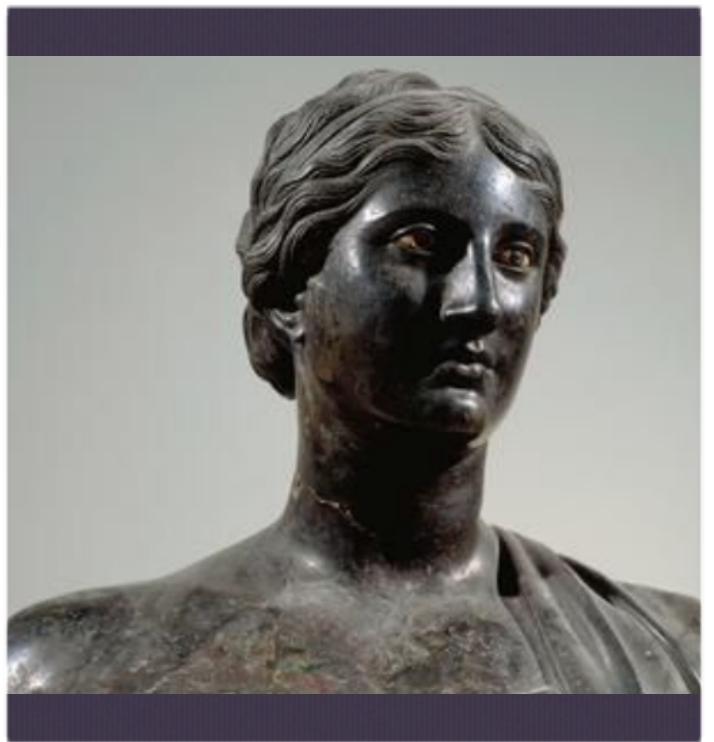


FIG. 56

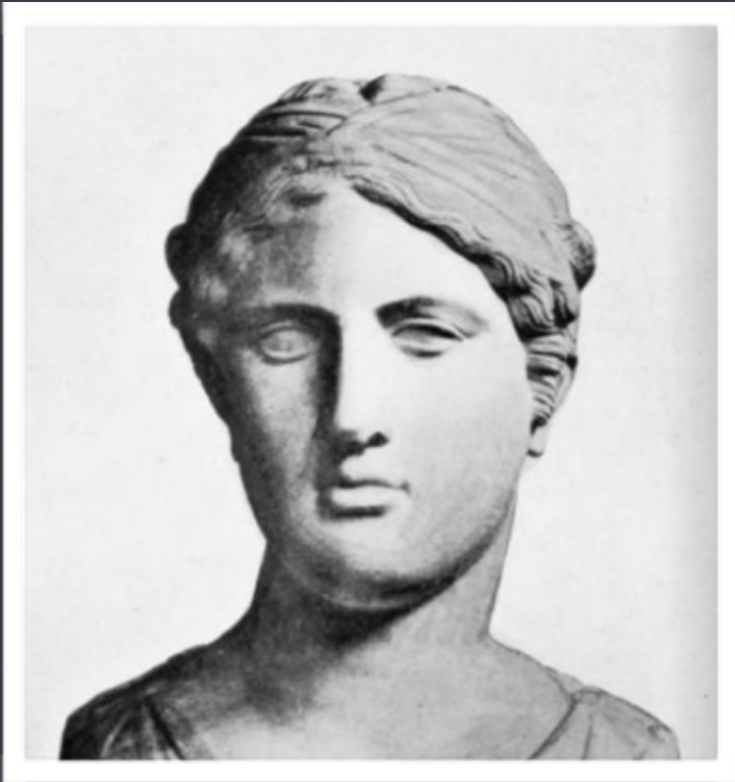


FIG. 57



OLD WOMEN



FIG. 58



FIG. 59

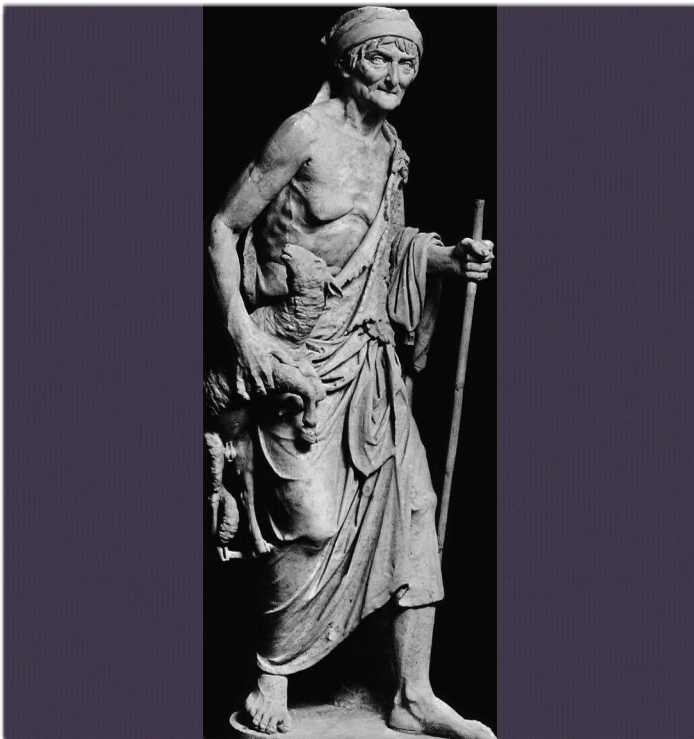


FIG. 60

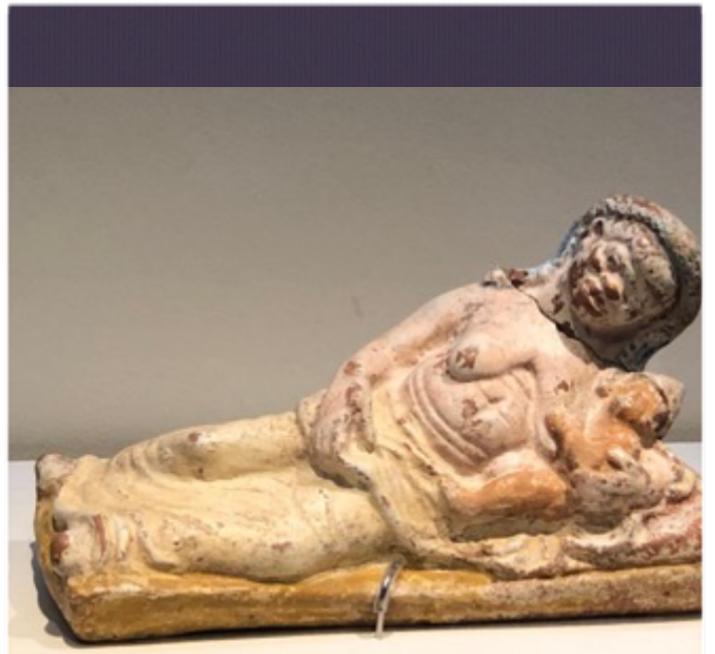


FIG. 61



FIG. 62



FIG. 63



FIG. 64



FIG. 65

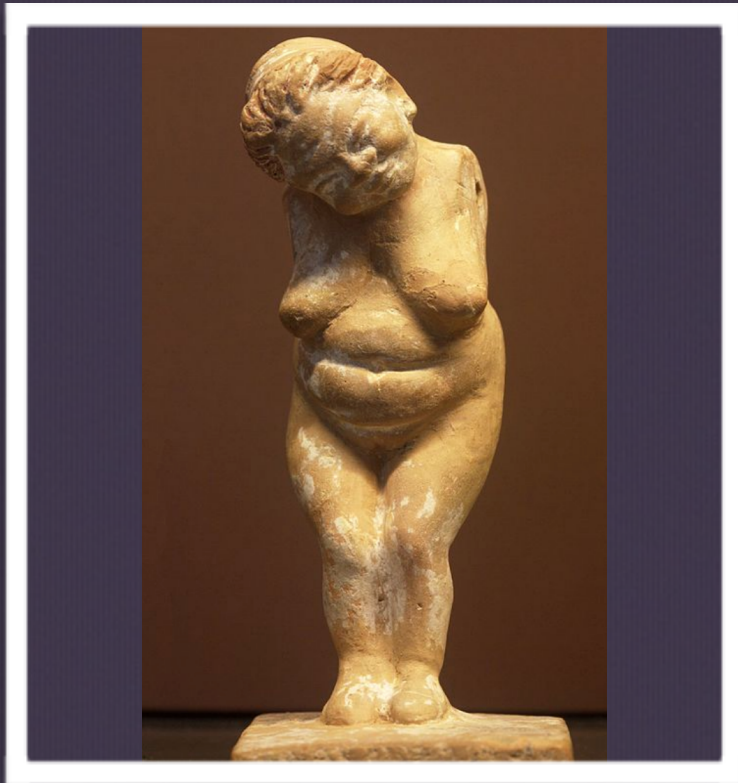


FIG. 66

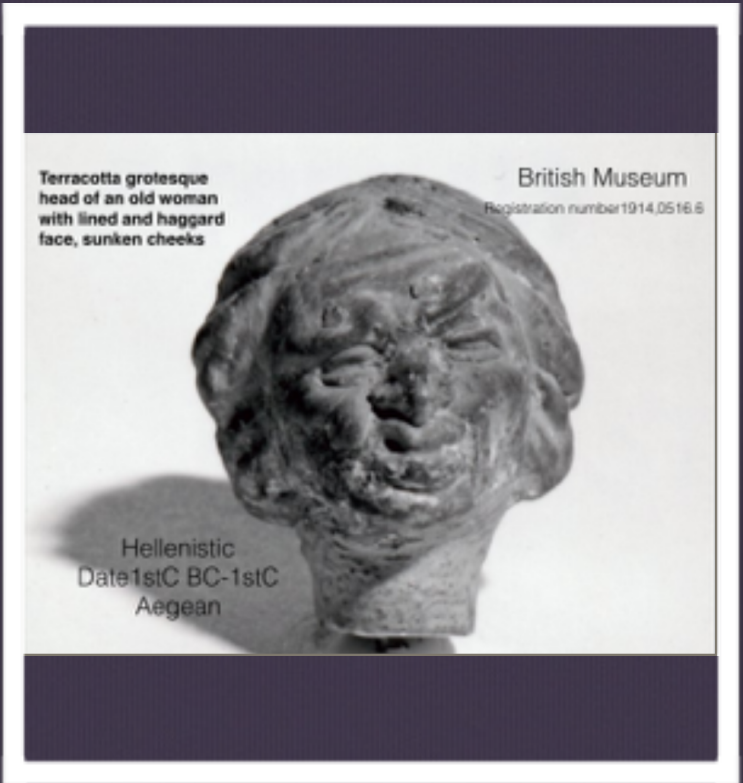


FIG. 67

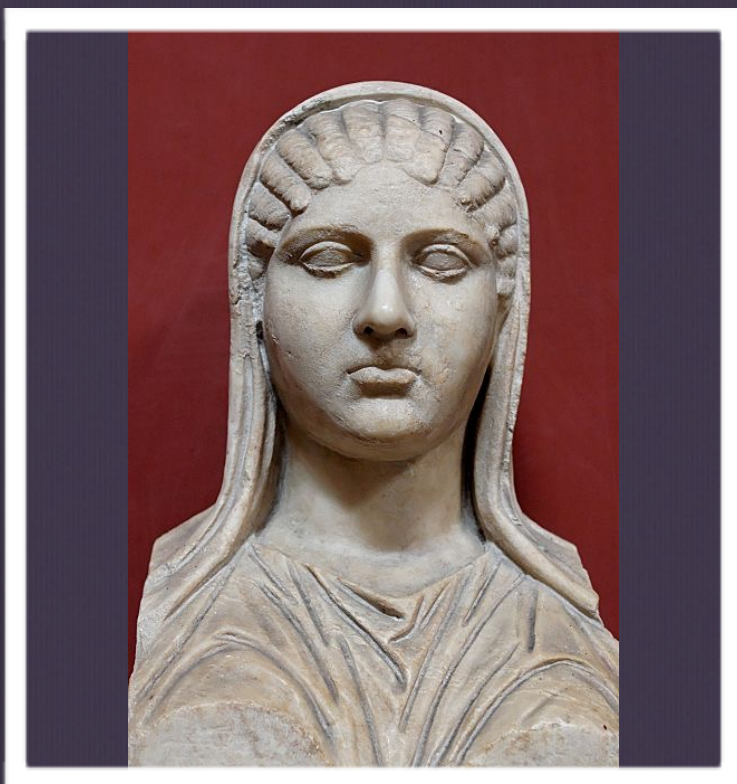


FIG. 68



WOMEN ON FUNERARY STELES



FIG. 69



FIG. 70

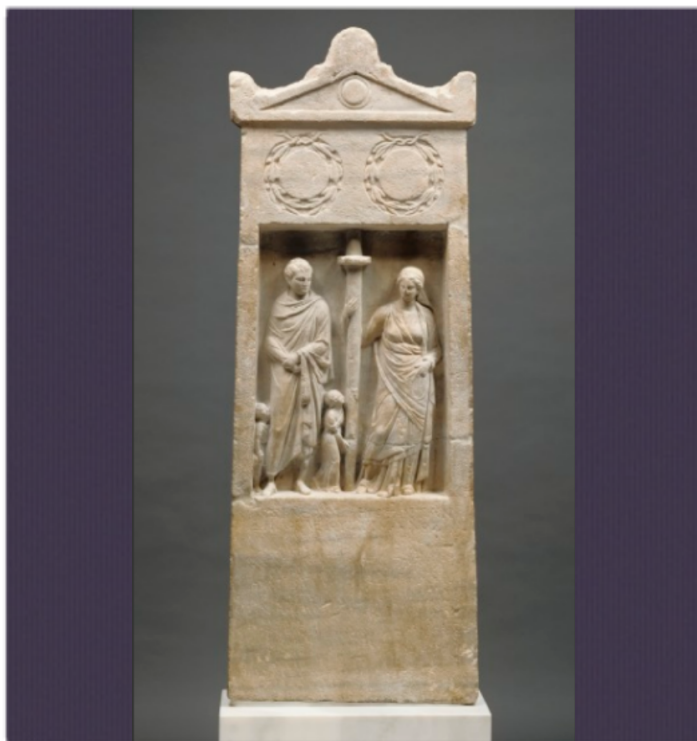


FIG. 71



FIG. 72

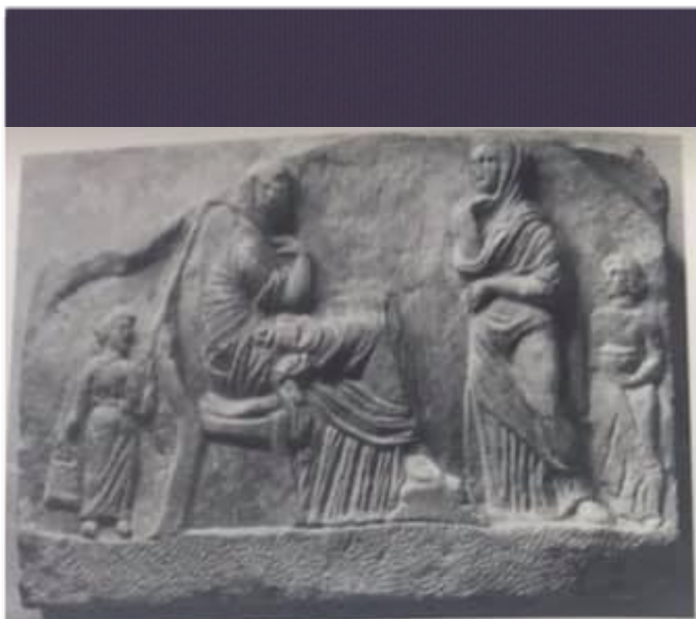


FIG. 73

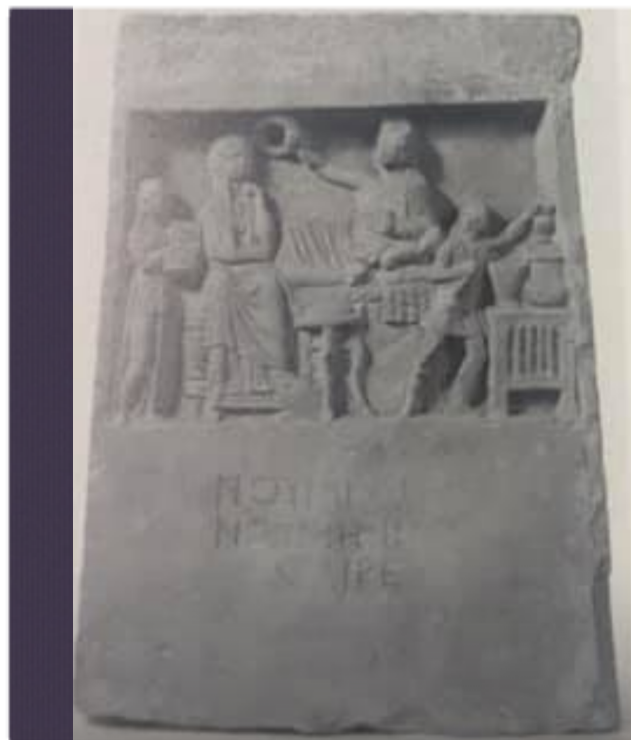


FIG. 74



FIG. 75

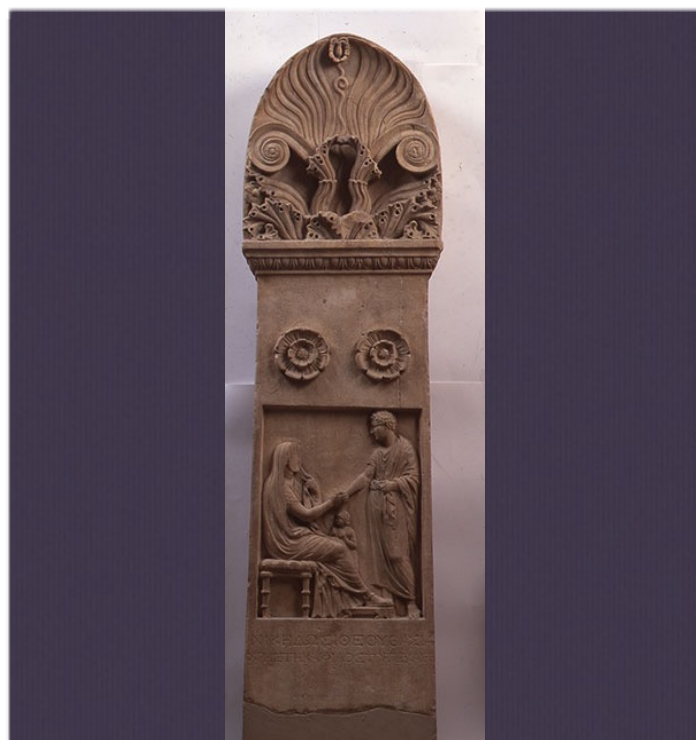


FIG. 76



FIG. 77

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