

INDIVIDUALITY AND ANONYMITY IN ARCHAIC
GREEK SCULPTURE:
QUESTIONS OF FORM IN THE KORE TYPE

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ABSTRACT

RACHEL A. AUBUCHON: Individuality and Anonymity in Archaic Greek Sculpture:
Questions of Form in the Kore Type
(Under the direction of Dr. Mary C. Sturgeon)

This thesis examines the relationship between formal appearance and function in Archaic *korai* statues. It first considers the social and historical context surrounding these sculptures and then situates the type within the greater sculptural corpus and religious tradition of votive offerings in the Archaic period. First, the *korai* are placed within the Archaic sculptural tradition, and their lineage is illustrated in order to prove continuity despite changing form and, perhaps, contemporary reading. Second, modern interpretations of the type are analyzed, focusing on the problematic teleological schema of Greek sculptural progress identified best by A. A. Donohue. Finally, as a check to this teleology, the thesis suggests new avenues and questions for study. All of the gathered information is used to suggest new readings of form and style that can be applied to all series within the type. The objective is to re-insert the Akropolis series into the visual lineage of the *kore* type in order to generate questions about the type rather than individual series.

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INTRODUCTION: Defining and Placing the Kore Type

In Archaic Greece, votive offerings formed or completed a contract between votary and deity, but the object did not need to be aesthetically or functionally related to that contract. Extant offerings made by washerwomen, athletic victors, and rulers prove that the practice of *euche*, making a vow to keep or honor a promise, occurred in every social class. Inscriptions on the bases of these objects, inventory lists of temples, or writing on the object itself usually allow a clear understanding of who gave these objects to which deity.¹ Certain aspects of Archaic votive offerings maintained a sense of regularized conventionality, while others were the choice of the dedicator or artist. Objects dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis, for example, were often (but not always) offered to Athena, the patron deity of the city. The size or cost of a votive object was generally subjective, based on the wealth of the votary: some votive objects were inscribed *dekate* (tenth, or tithe) or *aparche* (first-fruit offering) rather than referring to the subject of the vow.

Among the many forms of votive objects, figures in the round appear to be the most numerous. In Athens, frontal sculptures of standing young women, often wearing

¹ Van Straten, *Gifts For the Gods*, 70-73.

Ionic dress, were commonly offered on the Akropolis as votives. At the Samian Heraion, frontal sculptures of standing young women wearing Eastern Greek clothing were offered to Hera both individually and in association with larger family sculpture groups. In Miletos, where the Sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios is located, several frontal standing female sculptures have been found. Each of these sculptural monuments belongs to the same *kore* type, explaining their similar forms.

Votive and funerary sculptures in the form of women are known as *korai* (*kore*, singular), or maidens. Gisela Richter, in her major catalogue of *korai*, uses the term *kore* “to signify the draped standing Greek maiden of the Archaic period.”² The *korai*, as figural sculptures, at first seem transparent: young women, carved from stone, offered to a deity as a pleasing gift. The word “*kore*” as defined by modern scholarship is a sculptural type: the term, deriving from the Greek word meaning girl or maiden, refers to the frontal, standing image of a young woman, draped in garments. This simple definition means the *kore* type offered a great deal of artistic flexibility in individual characteristics, which led to uniqueness of form, and possibly diversity of reading, while the function remained the same. As Brunilde Ridgway wrote in her 1970 review of Richter’s *Korai*, “to say that all *korai* look the same is a truism comparable to the saying that all Doric temples look alike. Miss Richter has rightly stressed the similarities, [...]; we can now proceed to build on them our own speculative superstructures on differences and regionalisms.”³ My project is to create a visual lineage that includes all series of *korai* and affords each series equal importance in the development of the type.

² Richter 1968, “Directions for the use of this book,” x.

³ Ridgway 1970, 195.

What made the korai such a flexible type, both in reading and style? The korai are freestanding, though similar images appear in architectural sculpture and on votive or funerary reliefs. The basic characteristics occur in enough figures to merit definition as a type. The *kore* type was created in several periods and styles; those in the early Archaic period (c. 680-550 B.C.E.) retain features of the older, Cretan *Daedalic* style⁴ but are typologically continuous with korai created in the later Archaic period (c. 550-480 B.C.E.). The Archaic korai often appear to have individualized physiognomies, which has elicited the question of identity—who do they represent? Are they portraits, generic images, or something in between? As a group, they are simply “girls,” but individually, a kore was possibly meant to express something more. There were funerary korai as well as votive: these look similar, and are part of the physical type, but they function differently, so the funerary ones will be set aside for this discussion.

The Archaic kore type occurs throughout Greece, and is given a typological *terminus ante quem* of 480/479 B.C.E., after the Persian invasion of Athens.⁵ The most obvious counterpart to the korai, the *kouroi* (*kouros*, singular) or young, frontal, nude male sculpted types, are so numerous that they are typically used to chart the evolution of the Archaic style in Greek sculpture. These male sculptures share a mien of idealization with the Archaic korai, and yet often possess individualized faces and body shapes. Kouroi similarly functioned both as funerary monuments and votive offerings in the Archaic period; many more funerary kouroi are extant than funerary korai, but bases

⁴ Daedalic sculpture is frontal, focuses on exterior patterning rather than interior modeling, and reveals Eastern influences. Wig-like hair often accompanies a triangular face, large eyes, and a prominent nose. The body is rendered geometrically with angular, squared forms.

⁵ Scholars disagree on specific dates for the Archaic korai; see a summary in Karakasi 2003, 115. Dates in this thesis are primarily from Richter 1968, or Boardman 1978 when the two differ.

survive in sufficient numbers to compare the functions of korai and kouroi. In general, from Attica most surviving kouroi are funerary and most korai votive, but this pattern does not suggest that the types functioned separately. Two votive kouroi from the Athenian Akropolis survive. It may therefore be more correct to say that each type was commemorative. Kouroi and korai from other areas are preserved in varied numbers of each type, funerary or votive, further supporting the suggestion that these types were generally commemorative.

The korai cannot be called realistic, yet specific details in the clothing, facial features, and other characteristics give each kore the appearance of an individual. These female sculptures do not appear to be portraits, based on the limited evidence that exists, and so most are anonymous, at least to us. It is rare that the name of the individual represented can be connected with the figure. As a result, it has been conventional to read these figures as generic or based on real models whose identity mattered little. This assumption stems from the lack of epigraphic data on the identity of the sculptural referent. Where statue bases still exist and can be connected to specific sculptures, the patron, maker, and deity are often named in the inscription. If the identity of the figure itself mattered, it should follow that the name of the individual depicted would have been included as well. The individuality of these images raises problems in our understanding of their function as votives. As part of a contract with a deity, votive offerings could and often did have ambiguous features. This individuality may be related to the fact that the kore type could also function as a funerary monument. G. Richter, J. Boardman, and others tend to group funerary and votive offerings together as “commemorative” objects⁶,

⁶ Richter 1968, 3; Boardman 1978, 22-24.

which allows them to be considered comparable in function and to explain similarities in the forms of sculpture from each group. I have separated these groups in order to ask questions about the votive type specifically; the funerary *korai* seem much more continuous with other funerary practices and only borrow the physical type.

Addressing the problem of unique, unrepeatable forms within the type requires a focus on votive *korai*, because it is clear how these statues functioned as offerings in sanctuaries such as the Athenian Akropolis. The Athenian Akropolis group, dated c. 550-480 B.C.E., is often analyzed separately from other Athenian and Attic *korai*, and privileged as a model for interpretations of the type. *Korai* appear in many sanctuaries outside of Athens, however, and it is well to keep in mind the widespread nature of the type when discussing the *korai* from the Akropolis or any other location. *Korai* have been found as far away from Athens as Samos and western Anatolia, yet the Akropolis statues are often discussed as the model group, largely because *korai* occur in larger numbers in Athens than in any other location. Fourteen of these female statues were uncovered near the Erechtheion in 1886.⁷ Since then, some seventy-four *korai* have been pieced together from fragments found on the Akropolis. At least fifteen bases survive that were used for *korai*, judging from the shape and size of their plinth cuttings. Only a handful of the surviving statues can be matched to a base, so interpretation based on epigraphy is not always possible.

To function as a votive, a figure would need to be considered appropriate for the deity in question. It is unclear how these sculptures were activated by their audience and why certain forms of votive sculpture were considered more appropriate for certain

⁷ Karakasi 2003, 11.

deities. Many korai were offered to Athena and other goddesses such as Hera (with a notable exception dedicated on the Akropolis to Poseidon), while kouroi were dedicated to male gods elsewhere in Greece, as in the Sanctuaries of Apollo on Delos and on Mt. Ptoion, and the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion. Two life-size votive kouroi (figure 1a) from Delphi, c. 580, are linked to the mythical figures Kleobis and Biton by the inscriptions⁸ reconstructed on the top of their plinths (figure 1b). Herodotos wrote that Kleobis and Biton were put to death in their sleep (“the greatest boon for mortals”⁹) and that the Argive citizens dedicated a sculptural group of the two at Delphi. Epigraphical evidence, almost always fragmentary, can sometimes be read through a lens of mythology; although the inscriptions on the Delphi pair are not completely preserved, the partially preserved names of the artist and one figure, the findspot, and the style led to their identification with the twins in the myth.

Older korai that predate the Archaic style often seem to be of Eastern influence; the oldest images come from Crete, Delos, and East Greece. The Nikandre kore, c. 650 B.C.E.¹⁰ (figure 2) from the sanctuary of Artemis on Delos, predates the Archaic style but corresponds to the kore type. This sculpture is similar to the smaller (and slightly later, c. 640-630 B.C.E.) Auxerre statuette (figure 3) believed to be from Crete.¹¹ Both of these sculptures, although different in size (figure 4), are of the Daedalic style. These figures

⁸ Fragmentary; base A: “...ton t... t... ra...” restored as “[Bi]ton t...”; base B is translated as “[Poly?]medes the Argive made [this].” See Jeffery 1961, 154-156. Statue A, Delphi Mus. 467; Statue B, Delphi Mus. 1524. The figures are probably Argive in style; the inscription is in the Argive style, as shown by Jeffery, who links this group to that of Dermys and Kittylos from Tanagra.

⁹ Boardman 1978, 58; see Herodotos, *Histories*, Book 1, 31.

¹⁰ Richter 1968, 26, fig. 25-28; Boardman 1978, 25, fig. 71.

¹¹ Richter 1968, 32, fig. 76-79; Boardman 1978, 25, fig. 28, 71. The date is from Boardman 1978; Richter 1968 gives “the last quarter [of the seventh century].”

are much more rigid in pose and their facial features are less naturalistic than the later Archaic korai, yet the Auxerre statuette and the Nikandre kore share the characteristics of slender, proportional bodies and seemingly meaningful poses. The Nikandre kore is inscribed along her left side:

Nikandre dedicated me to the far-shooter of arrows, the
excellent daughter (*kore*) of Deinomenes the Naxian, sister
of Deinomenes, wife of Phraxos n(ow?).¹²

The dedication of Nikandre stands as a precedent for monumental votive offerings in the form of women. This sculpture refers to a female dedicant, but separates the image from the dedicator herself. Nikandre is, aside from being named, also identified by her father, brother, and husband; this too will set a precedent for votive sculpture inscriptions, although they will generally be placed on the sculpture plinths or bases. Similar female figures come from the Sanctuary of Hera on Samos, where representations of the female form are appropriate to the female deity and occur in the context of both sculpted family groups¹³ and individual votive offerings.¹⁴

Similar to the Nikandre statue and the Auxerre statuette are the female figures supporting monumental *perirrhanteria* (marble water basins), which are precedents for the Archaic style of kore. These figures were not freestanding—they were attached at the back of the head to the support for the bowl—but they convey a visual sense of independence from the basin. The perirrhanterion is a ritual object that likely contained

¹² Boardman 1978, 59; Boardman also notes that “[Nikandre] was no doubt a priestess” and directly visually compares the Nikandre statue to the Auxerre statuette in figure 71.

¹³ The “Geneleos Group” included, among other sculptures, three korai—of which two mostly survive. c. 560-550 (see chapter 1).

¹⁴ The “Cheramyas Kore” from Samos bears a striking similarity to Akropolis 619 (see chapter 1). The figure is inscribed on the front of the statue itself: “Cheramyas dedicated me to Hera as an offering.”

water for purification. Perirrhanteria with figural supports are found at Samos (figure 5) in the sanctuary of Hera, Isthmia (figure 6) in the sanctuary of Poseidon, and elsewhere. In these monuments three or four female figures support a shallow bowl, though their bodies show no effect of bearing weight, and they often hold the leashes or tails of large felines. The women are about a half-meter tall.

Statue bases and inscriptions are necessary elements for understanding votive sculpture. Votive statues were almost always placed on inscribed bases to associate the work with the dedicator and, sometimes, the artist. Inscriptions on the bases or directly on the figures also offer information about the type of offering being made and the identity of the deity. Separated bases and statues provide information as well, but must be considered in relation to those votive offerings that can be restored more completely. The bases of the korai are a source of important information as well. The “Euthydikos’ kore” is named for its dedicator, while “Antenor’s Kore” is signed by the artist who created it. Votive offerings and bases often occur in typological groups, suggesting that their form was not entirely arbitrary, but these types afford such diversity that the interpretation remains unclear. Diversity within a coherent type has resulted in a variety of interpretations for many figural types of sculpted offerings, especially the korai. This diversity has raised the problem of how the individualized appearances of the korai aided in their activation. The individuality of their forms is the focus of this study.

A great deal of modern scholarship regarding the Archaic korai from Athens and other Greek sites focuses on the subjects of the sculptures and the possibility that these images were originally understood as portraits, whether or not they can now be read that way. Scholars have organized the korai in various ways, such as geographically and

stylistically, in order to address the question of identity. The paucity of epigraphical information makes identifications tenuous for most of the sculptures, unless the inscriptions on statue bases can be associated and are specific. There is no surviving Archaic mention of the figures, though Classical and later Greek historians mention older artistic practices. Attempting to determine the identity of the korai has been the most common method of interpretation, yet it has not yielded a unanimous conclusion. Individual arguments may appear sensible, yet they are often mutually exclusive.

In this investigation of the Archaic korai, I augment the established discourse by advancing an argument regarding the motivation and need for unique forms within a coherent type. This can most successfully be achieved by incorporating a synthesized historiography into future research; the arguments that have so far been made should be familiar to any scholar wishing to advance an original one. Chapter One focuses on creating a visual lineage of the type through formal analyses; this chapter forms concrete links between korai of different sanctuaries. In Chapter Two, I acknowledge the work of prior researchers and discuss the state of the discipline. Chapter Three generates a framework for new avenues of study. This chapter utilizes the arguments and theoretical foundation given by A. A. Donohue in her book, *Greek Sculpture and the Problem of Description*, to reject the implicit teleological view of Greek sculptural development that places the Akropolis series of korai in the role of normative example. Ultimately, the Akropolis series will be framed as a continuation of the traditional type, the form of which perhaps incurred a 'iconatrophic'¹⁵ slippage during the later Archaic period, rather

¹⁵ The term "iconatroph" was first coined by anthropologist Jan Vansina (see Vansina 1971, 449). In the process of iconatroph, an anthropological mechanism by which art works become associated with oral or literary traditions when their original function or meaning has been forgotten, oral traditions become fused with one another and when similar features are found in the stories and in figural art, the stories

than significantly different from other *korai*. This iconatrophie may continue today; the reading of the Akropolis group has become separated from that of the other groups. The type will be shown to be continuous despite stylistic differences and regional variations.

become associated with the art whether or not they were originally linked. Catherine M. Keesling (Keesling 2005a) has recently applied the term to Roman reception of Greek sculpture. Keesling's work suggests that a lack of epigraphic information would likely hasten iconatrophie and lead to a misunderstanding of the original intent. Iconatrophie may be applicable geographically as well as temporally.

CHAPTER ONE: Creating a Visual Lineage

The korai type can summarily be described, as follows: sculpted women, standing frontally, clothed in light garments (often the *chiton*). These sculptures often display long hair that frames their temples and is pulled back past the ears in elaborate hairstyles; the head can be covered or left unfinished. Where heads remain, many korai wear a stephane, *fillet* (hair ribbon), or other adornment. Jewelry is a common, though not consistent, addition; it can be carved in stone or attached in metal. The girls generally have wide shoulders, small, high breasts, slender waists, and rounded hips and buttocks. Later korai sculptures emphasize the shapely strength of the legs and buttocks. Korai were often painted, both on body features and clothing. The paint served to heighten the visual appeal of the figures and differentiate them one from another; two physically similar korai might, once painted, look quite different.

The kore type appeared in the mid-7th century B.C.E. (as described in the introduction), but the statues in the Akropolis series derive from the century c. 580-480 B.C.E. The Akropolis statues are often discussed as key examples of the korai type, as more sculptures of this type were found on the Athenian Akropolis than in any other location and these sculptures are mostly well-preserved and naturalizing. The naturalizing aspect of the Akropolis series leads scholars to place this series at the pinnacle of *kore* type development. I wish to reject this view, founded as it is upon the idea that stylistic development is teleological. I focus rather on the idea that style is subject to function, and

these objects functioned differently in divergent locations. A systematic, chronological presentation of the korai would give primary emphasis to the appearance of these sculptures rather than their stylistic differences, which are often dependent upon regional variation or even personal artistic choices.

Variations occur frequently enough to suggest individuality in the figures. Hair styles fall into stylistic groups, clothing style and decoration are arranged in a multitude of ways, and the facial features are always unique. These sculptures resemble each other, but most are similar rather than identical. This makes close similarities even more surprising, as we will see below. One of the most adaptable areas of variation is that of attachments. Because most attachments have been removed or have disappeared over time, this category is easily overlooked yet serves to differentiate the korai.

Many of the extant korai were ornamented with added metal or stone; attachment holes might remain on the chest, hips, or near the shoulder, and there are also a number of metal attachments and attachment holes on the crowns of the heads. The head attachments are intriguing, but the number of korai missing heads creates a problem in understanding what these attachments were for and how many of the figures had them. Scholars have called the attachment rods on the heads evidence of *meniskoi*, metal crescents mounted on a metal spike to protect statues from birds, though no *meniskoi* have been preserved.¹⁶ Another repeated feature of the type is the gesture; one arm is usually down against the side, but the other arm is bent across the body and pressed to the breast, or extended with the palm up and open. Both of these gestures involve an object

¹⁶ Ridgway 1990, 587. For a historiography of *meniskoi* on korai and the argument that Aristophanes' use of the word bears no relation to the physical metal attachment rods on Archaic sculptures, see Ridgway 1990, 585-589; for the issue of *meniskoi* on korai specifically, 600-605.

being held or offered. One hand might also grasp the skirt.

Were the votive korai representatives of real women? Perhaps, but the evidence for this is scant. Priestesses were, in later periods, commemorated in sculpture on the Akropolis: Lysimache, “who had been a priestess of Athena for 64 years”¹⁷ during the later 5th and first half of the 4th centuries B.C.E., and Syeris, a *diakonos*¹⁸ of Lysimache, were honored with bronze portraits of which the marble bases still survive. There is no evidence, however, of the practice of dedicating such portraits in the Archaic period. In any case, most scholars agree that portraits of women did not appear in Greece until the Classical period.¹⁹

Archaic votive korai named by their inscriptions do exist. The korai from the Geneleos group set up at the Samian Heraion are but two examples. These sculptures have stylistic doubles within the Akropolis group; that is, they are very similar to the “Naxian” korai, Akropolis 619 and 677. Their functions and identities, therefore, should be considered as a balance to the Akropolis series. The Geneleos korai are unique because they are identified with names, which is uncommon for votive offerings that are preserved; the group originally included six figures, presumed to represent a family group, and was offered to Hera in total as a votive.²⁰ The names of the figures are inscribed on their bodies, and the two pendant seated figures also offer more information: the leftmost figure bears the inscription, “Geneleos made us,” and the rightmost figure is

¹⁷ Pliny, *Natural History* xxiv, 76.

¹⁸ Under-priestess or sub-priestess. Pliny, *Natural History* xxvii, 4.

¹⁹ See Dillon 2010, 2: “In fact, if we were to rely on the extant statues alone, we might conclude that female portraiture was a phenomenon only of the later Hellenistic period.”

²⁰ On the legs of the enthroned first figure from the left is a name and a dedicatory inscription: Φίλεια (“Phileia,”) ἡμὰς ποίησε Γενέλεως (“Geneleos made us.”) See Franssen 2011 for this and all of the

inscribed, “I am ...oche, who has also dedicated it to Hera.” Of the other four figures, two korai remain: Philippe²¹ and Ornithe.²² Their inscriptions, combined with the stylistic similarity between the Geneleos korai and Akropolis 619 and 677, may support the idea of the korai having individual identities. The supportive evidence would be provided by connecting them with bases inscribed with female personal names; these have not come to light. Hence, it is not impossible for the Akropolis korai to represent individuals, but there is no epigraphical evidence to support this assumption.

Deborah Tarn Steiner, in her book *Images in Mind: Statues in Archaic and Classical Greek Literature and Thought*, uses Jean-Pierre Vernant’s theory of the dynamics of exchange to differentiate representational images from mimetic imitations.²³ Images can represent individuals without incorporating realism. The stylistic dating of korai based on the apparent increasing verisimilitude is understandable, but can lead to the tautology that korai needed to be more and more realistic to fulfill their functions. In Steiner’s view, statues could represent and even replace²⁴ living persons in certain ways, but the statues were always identified as replacements. The identity of the statue experienced no mixing with the identity of the memorialized; in other words, the statue

Geneleos group inscriptions: 60-62. Also Richter 1968, 49-50; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 107-109, pls. 46-47; Boardman 1978a, fig. 91. The reclining last figure carries a dedicatory inscription: - - -]υάρχης ἡμάς [ἀνέ]θ[ηκε] τῇ Ἡρῇ (“I am ...oche, who has also [dedicated it] to Hera.”) Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 116-23, pls. 51-53; Richter 1968, 49-50; Boardman 1978, 69, fig. 93.

²¹ Samos; inscription, on the drapery at the right side, says Φιλίππη (“Philippe”). Richter 1968, 49-50, figs. 217-20; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 113-15, pls. 49, 53; Boardman 1978, fig. 91; Franssen 2011, 60-62.

²² Berlin 1739; inscription, below the right hand, says Ὀρνίθη (“Ornithe”). Richter 1968, 50, figs. 221-24; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 115-16, pls. 50, 53; Boardman 1978, 70, fig. 91, 92; Franssen 2011, 60-62.

²³ Steiner 2003, 11; from Vernant 1990, 75: “Without resembling him, the equivalent is capable of presenting someone [...] It does so not by virtue of similarity with the external aspect of the person (as in a portrait), but through a sharing in ‘value,’ a concordance in the matter of qualities tied to prestige.”

²⁴ Steiner 2003, 5.

referred to the person but did not function as a visual double for the person. Figural statues in general, and possibly korai in particular, may have represented real persons with the function of referring to the person or reminding the viewer of that person, rather than replacing the person with a verisimilar image, according to Steiner.

I argue that verisimilitude was unnecessary to the votive korai. Realism may have been the goal of the artists, but in fact the characteristics that continue throughout the kore type are what allowed the type to spread across Greece and fulfill more than one function. To demonstrate this, I must create a visual lineage of korai from the earliest examples, namely the Nikandre Kore and the Lady of Auxerre, to the latest and most unique examples from Attica and Mainland Greece. This visual lineage will circle back upon itself as we consider a pair of korai from the Athenian Akropolis conventionally called “twins” (one of which has been highly problematic for interpreters of the series), as they show direct visual evidence of their descent from older Eastern Greek styles of korai as well as specifically Attic variations in style and clothing.

BEGINNINGS

Nikandre’s Kore, NM 1²⁵ (figure 2) is one of the earliest (c. 650 B.C.E.²⁶) life-size Greek marble sculptures at 1.75m, and includes one of the earliest Greek inscriptions. The statue is worked in one piece and comes from the sanctuary of Artemis

²⁵ Richter 1968, 23-26, pl. 25-28; Boardman 1978, 25, fig. 71; Ridgway 1993, 124-125; Karakasi 2003, 67-78, pls. 62-63, 219.

²⁶ Richter 1968, 23.

at Delos. She is slender²⁷ and badly worn—it is difficult to ascertain how much detail was originally included in the figure. Her hair falls in individual locks over her shoulders, surrounding her long face with large eyes, a badly weathered nose and mouth, and a square chin. Under the hair, the shoulders rise high, almost in a shrugging gesture. The breasts are small and undifferentiated under the long peplos, which is belted at the waist with a wide belt, pulling the garment close to the body. The arms, roughly finished as if suggesting sleeves, hang straight beside the body; at the back, the sleeves are not fully carved out, suggesting a cape. Clenched fists adhere to the body and are drilled with attachment holes for objects. The peplos is tightly fitted but gives only a minimal suggestion of the body beneath; perhaps the fabric depicted was quite heavy. The skirt hangs long with no break for the knees, arching gently over the shod feet protruding atop the plinth. Nikandre's Kore also bears an inscription down the side of her left leg (see p. 7). Ridgway has interpreted the Nikandre kore as a representation of Artemis²⁸ because of the piercings in the hands for metal objects, presumably arrows.

The Lady of Auxerre, Louvre 3098²⁹ (figure 3) is under life-size and un-inscribed, and she differs from the Nikandre kore in several other ways as well: the material is limestone rather than marble; the height of the figure is 65 cm; the provenance is unknown; and the date (based on stylistic comparison) is c. 640-630 B.C.E.³⁰ She is better preserved than the Nikandre, so it is clear that her hair has been parted into several

²⁷ Often referred to as “plank-like” (see Richter 1968, 23) but see A. A. Donohue's *Greek Sculpture and the Problem of Description* for a problematizing of this characterization.

²⁸ Ridgway 1993, 124.

²⁹ Richter 1968, 23-27, pl. 76-79; Boardman 1978, 25, fig. 28, 71; Karakasi 2003, 67, pl. 53.

³⁰ Boardman 1978, 25; Richter 1968, 23 gives “the last quarter [of the seventh century].”

fat, braided locks (divided both vertically and horizontally) with short spiraling curls along her forehead. Her face is wide at the forehead and tapers down to a full, rounded chin; the eyes are large and diamond-shaped, with defined brows and lids, while the nose displays a squared but narrow bridge. The lips are pursed together but separated at the corners. She wears a peplos underneath a garment that is not often seen on later korai: a symmetrical cape connected over the chest. The cape is unusual in that at the back it adheres to the arms and back of the figure, almost as though it is pinned to an undergarment. Her shoulders are quite broad. Rather than holding both arms straight against her sides, only her left arm descends; the right arm is bent upward so the hand rests between the breasts, which are small and high with clearly carved nipples and naturalizing separations from the chest. The waist is narrow and belted with a wide girdle, more ornately carved than that on the Nikandre kore; the silhouette is hourglass-shaped from the front as well as the side view. The skirt is long and columnar, similar to that of the Nikandre, but it is finely incised with a vertical, geometric pattern of concentric squares and preserves traces of pigment. The hips are wide but narrower than the shoulders; the buttocks and pelvic region are rounded beneath the peplos skirt but again the fabric is rendered heavily, with no indication of clear anatomy beneath. The Lady of Auxerre has long feet with long toes extending out beneath her skirt.

THE KORE TYPE IN EAST GREECE AND THE ISLANDS

Philippe³¹ and Ornithe³² (approx. c. 560 B.C.E.) are the korai remaining from the Geneleos group from Samos. This group originally included six figures, as shown by

³¹ Richter 1968, 49-50, figs. 217-20; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 113-15, pls. 49, 53; Boardman 1978, 70, figures 91-93; Ridgway 1993, 135-6; Karakasi 2003, 13-33, pls. 24-25, 28-29; Franssen 2011, 60-62.

cuttings in the extant base. Both of these korai are headless, but otherwise they are quite well preserved. The figures are inscribed with their names and are dressed in similar styles of clothing. Philippe (figure 7), now in the Samos Museum at Vathy, has wide shoulders and thick arms. Her hair is rendered in individual (beaded?) strands lying in a rectangular mass over her back, with no strands escaping to the front; her breasts are rounded, high, and widely separated. The chiton sleeves are formed from buttoned fabric flowing down the shoulders and upper arms, and these buttons cause pleats in the fabric, continuing down the body though interrupted by a waistband or belt that is hidden beneath the drapery. The chiton is draped somewhat loosely at her sides, although it is tight over her buttocks and the back of her legs. She holds her skirt in her right hand, pulling the material in pleats from the front of the skirt. Both fists are clenched at the sides of the body; below the right fist, in a drapery fold, is the inscription. Her skirt splays a little to expose long toes on the left foot; the skirt gathered in her right hand exposes her right foot, although this has broken away. Ornithe (figure 8), Berlin 1739, is broken beneath the chin, so her neck remains. Her throat is thick-set and the chiton neckline, like Philippe's, is barely indicated. Ornithe has a hairstyle similar to Philippe's at the back, but four long locks hang down the upper torso in front. These front locks are placed towards the side of the torso, as if to reveal the breasts. The shoulders are wide, like Philippe's, and her body is similarly rectangular in front and back views; her waist is not emphasized, even though her button-sleeved chiton divides her upper half from her lower half. From a side view, however, her back and buttocks curve away from her waist, creating a slender silhouette. Her hands are positioned the same as Philippe's, and her

³² Richter 1968, 50, figs. 221-24; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 115-16, pls. 50, 53; Boardman 1978, 70, fig. 91, 92; Ridgway 1993, 135-6; Karakasi 2003, 13-33, pls. 26-27, 29; Franssen 2011, 60-62.

inscription is in the same position. The shape of her left leg is perhaps slightly more emphasized; her feet and plinth have broken off, but it seems that her right foot would also be exposed.

The Cheramyas Korai, Louvre 686³³ (figure 9) **and Berlin 1750**³⁴ (figure 10) were found in Samos, in the sanctuary of Hera. Both are missing their heads, but retain inscriptions from their dedicator, Cheramyas, along the edges of their drapery. These korai, also dated c. 560 B.C.E., are remarkably different from the Geneleos korai, despite their contemporaneity and shared sanctuary. The silhouettes are similar—rounded yet rectangular from the front and back, despite high, round breasts and a belt, with wide shoulders; yet side views show the curve of the back and buttocks. However, these korai wear the long *epiblema* or veil down their backs and left sides (covering their hair, which therefore is not visible) and short *himatia* over their chitons; folds in the himatia are asymmetrical and there is more differentiation in the rendering of fabrics and pleats. Each kore holds an offering in her upraised left hand, pressed to the chest, and extends the right arm down the side with the right hand closed in a fist. Louvre 686 is damaged, so the offering cannot be discerned; she holds her epiblema in her right hand and allows her skirt to hang freely. The skirt is symmetrical with delicate pleats all around, contrasting with the asymmetrical epiblema, and the long toes protrude as if the skirt were cut around them. Her inscription reads, “Cheramyas dedicated me to Hera as an offering (*agalma*).”³⁵ Berlin 1750 clearly holds a rabbit on her left hand, and though her

³³ Richter 1968, 46, figs. 183-185; Boardman 1978, 69, fig. 87; Karakasi 2003, 13-20, 22, 24-28, pls. 4-7.

³⁴ Richter 1968, 46, figs. 186-189; Karakasi 2003, 13-20, 22, 24-28, pls. 8-9.

³⁵ Richter 1968, 46.

right hand is closed in a fist it does not hold anything. Her skirt and epiblema are of a kind with those of Louvre 686, though her protruding toes cause the chiton to fold slightly. This inscription reads, “Cheramyas dedicated me to the goddess as a beautiful offering (*agalma*).”³⁶ Because of their inscriptions and the addition of the epiblema and diagonal himation, they stand out among their contemporaries.

Berlin 1791³⁷ (figure 11) was found at Miletos and is contemporaneous with the Samian examples.³⁸ This kore is also headless, but significantly smaller than its contemporary sculptures.³⁹ Other than the difference in size, she wears the same three-part costume of the Cheramyas korai; she supports an offering, a bird, on her hand, and extends her right arm straight down her body, with her right hand in an empty fist. Her breasts are small, more comparable to the Geneleos korai than the Cheramyas korai; her chiton is rendered more artistically at the shoulders and her himation is draped in stacked folds down her right side rather than lying flat like those of the Cheramyas korai. Her chiton skirt is rendered with a narrow, flat panel running down the midline of the front; her buttocks are apparent, but her legs are less emphasized than those of her Samian counterparts. Her feet, shod, are exposed under her chiton, which is shorter at the front and longer at the back.

³⁶ Richter 1968, 46.

³⁷ Richter 1968, 47, figs. 190-193; Karakasi 2003, 35-45, pls. 40-41.

³⁸ Richter 1968, 47: “second quarter of the sixth century B.C.”

³⁹ Philippe is 1.6m; Berlin 1739 (Ornithe) is 1.68m; Louvre 686 is 1.92m; Berlin 1750 is 1.67m. All these compared to Berlin 1791 at 1.43m with approximately equal anatomy preserved (that is, from neck to feet). All sizes from Richter 1968.

Louvre 3303⁴⁰ (figure 12) is an Eastern Greek example of the korai type from Klazomene. Only the torso, from neck to knees, remains; Louvre 3303 is dated c. 530 B.C.E. by Richter.⁴¹ The continuity of the type is obvious: the figure holds an offering, wears the chiton and short himation, and wears the hair massed in the back with two frontal strands on each side. The most remarkable feature of this figure is the smoothness of her drapery; although stacked folds abound, they flow smoothly into one another and the stone is finished flat rather than incised with detail. The chiton may be reminiscent of linen, with its multitude of small scores, but this seems more like damage than a conscious finish. The offering is unclear, but may be a bird, an apple, or a pomegranate.⁴² Because the location of the break on the left side of the object suggests a neck, it was most likely a bird.

Delos A4064⁴³ (figure 13) remains from her neck to her knees and is dated by Richter to the last quarter of the sixth century B.C.E. Delos A4604 is physically similar to Akropolis 680, 682, and 670 (see below); their contemporaneity is evident in her similarity to these sculptures, although her scale is more like that of Berlin 1791. Delos A4604 has massed zig-zag locks of hair over her neck and shoulders, and two locks are brought to the front on each side. Her shoulders are of average width, and her breasts are round and full beneath her drapery. She wears a chiton and a long himation, with the himation arranged asymmetrically with a pin at the right shoulder and long folds down

⁴⁰ Richter 1968, 92, figs. 520-523; Karakasi 2003, 63, pl. 57. Richter presents the torso as Louvre 3380 and a lower part of a sculpture as Louvre 3303, but Louvre 3303 now refers to the kore torso described here.

⁴¹ Richter 1968, 92.

⁴² Richter 1968 calls it a bird; although broken, the form appears globular enough to be a fruit.

⁴³ Richter 1968, 88, figs. 468-471; Karakasi 2003, 68-70, pls. 68, 218-219.

the sides; it is wrapped around the back and left side tightly to emphasize the ribcage and bosom, and the folds are stacked and rolled as if slightly windblown from the back. Her buttocks and legs are emphasized by the tight bunching of her skirt that was originally held in her left hand (now broken), but the folds of the skirt are rendered at the back to show her left leg advancing and her right leg tightly enclosed in fabric; the advanced left leg is also apparent through the drapery in front. Attachment holes remain above her breasts for jewelry or the ends of her hair locks.

STYLISTIC SHIFT IN THE WEST

Akropolis 619⁴⁴ (figure 14) is one of the earliest Akropolis korai discussed here (c. 560-550 B.C.E.).⁴⁵ This sculpture adopts the second of the conventional gestures described above; the right arm is straight and held tightly against the body, while remains of the broken left arm indicate it was bent so the hand, holding an offering, was pressed against the chest. Akropolis 619 wears a typical *chiton* and a short himation wrapped around the body. The epiblema is pulled tightly around her body, emphasizing her narrow waist. The skirt of her garment is incised vertically depicting narrow folds but shows no modeling of the body beneath, nor is there a break for a knee. The himation terminates in a long trailing end on the right side and a *kolpos*, a curving swath that forms a pouch by being pulled over the belt, on the left. The ends of long locks of hair are still evident across the shoulder blades in a flat and rectangular style. The right arm is elongated with a squared thumb facing forward. The clothing of Akropolis 619 bears a

⁴⁴ Langlotz 1939, 63, fig. 33; Richter 1968, 47, figs. 194-197; Boardman 1978, 70-71, fig. 98; Karakasi 2003, 115, 117, 124-127, pl. 128.

⁴⁵ Date from Boardman 1978, 70. Richter gives “2nd quarter of 6th century B.C.”

striking resemblance to the korai of the Geneleos group from Samos as well as to that of a kore from Miletos, the “Cheramyas Kore” from the sanctuary of Hera at Samos, and Akropolis 677 (see below).

Akropolis 677⁴⁶ (c. 560-550 B.C.E.⁴⁷) (figure 15) remains only from the chest up. Her garments, a chiton and mantle, are comparable to those of Akropolis 619. Her facial structure and hairstyle are different from the bulk of the Akropolis korai (discussed later); however, the fact that this kore and Akropolis 619 were made of Naxian marble and in an Eastern style common in Miletos and on Samos suggests that they were objects adhering to an already-established visual paradigm that changed only after it was imported to Athens. The hair on top of Akropolis 677’s head and above her forehead is rendered by wavy ridges, which shift into straight rectangular tresses down the back. A fillet is tied at the back in a *Herakles knot*.⁴⁸ Akropolis 677 has a flat, oval face with arched upper eyelids, a blunt nose, straight lips, and a weak chin. She holds a pomegranate in her left hand.

Akropolis 593⁴⁹ (c. 560-550 B.C.E.⁵⁰) (figure 16) wears a long thin mantle over her clothing.⁵¹ Her head is broken off, but her hair is arranged in wide locks; three hang

⁴⁶ LeChat 1903, 91; Langlotz (in Schrader) 1939, 64, fig. 34; Richter 1968, 47, figs. 198-200; Boardman 1978, 70-71, fig. 99; Karakasi 2003, 115-120, pl. 127.

⁴⁷ Boardman 1978, 70. Richter gives “2nd quarter of 6th century B.C.”

⁴⁸ The Herakles knot, also called the square or reef knot, was used on hairstyles and clothing in ancient Egypt and Archaic Greece. Ancient literary sources attested its apotropaic power. See Nicgorski 1995, *passim*, for a full analysis of the uses of the Herakles knot in Greek clothing and sculpture.

⁴⁹ LeChat 1903, 91; Langlotz (in Schrader) 1939, 64, fig. 34; Richter 1968, 47, figs. 198-200; Boardman 1978, 70-71, fig. 99; Karakasi 2003, 120, 124, pls. 129, 238.

⁵⁰ Boardman 1978, 70. Richter gives “2nd quarter of 6th century B.C.”

⁵¹ The long mantle also appears on Akropolis 671 over a typical chiton; the Attic “Berlin Kore” (Brl. 1800), said to be found near Keratea, who wears a similar necklace but with a strikingly different hairstyle; and

over the front of her body, while at the back her hair is rendered as a flat rectangle with one lock carved out on each side. She wears both a chiton and a *peplos*, a heavier tunic than the chiton, with a girdle at the waist. Akropolis 593 is striking in many ways, but the fact that she wears a peplos is often overlooked. The flat skirt makes it clear that this is a peplos, but the sleeves of a chiton appear under the peplos at the right elbow. The combination is only seen again in Akropolis 679, the “Peplos Kore.” Akropolis 593 is jeweled in a similar fashion to the Phrasikleia⁵² kore; her choker of pointed pendants is almost exactly the same as that worn by the Phrasikleia, but she lacks the bracelet that Phrasikleia wears. Akropolis 593 holds a wreath down by her side in her right hand; her left arm is bent at the elbow but pressed in to her chest, where a pomegranate is supported by her fist.

STANDARD ATTIC FORMS

Akropolis 680⁵³ (figure 17) continues the stylistic trends of the series while appearing radically different from Akropolis 619. This example is dated c. 530-520 B.C.E.⁵⁴ and is extant from the crown of the head to the knees; it represents the standard style of Akropolis korai. Hair at the crown is finely incised with individual strands of hair held against the scalp by a fillet that bears traces of pigment; the fillet is raised slightly from the forehead at the top, giving the impression of stiffness, but it is clearly a

a few other examples.

⁵² A funerary kore found at Merenda in Attica. Boardman 1978, 73, 75, fig. 108.

⁵³ LeChat 1903, 91; Langlotz (in Schrader) 1939, 64, fig. 34; Richter 1968, 47, figs. 198-200; Boardman 1978, 70-71, fig. 99; Karakasi 2003, 118, 124, 129, pls. 144-45, 248-51.

⁵⁴ Richter 1968, 47.

continuous, single band of fabric (like that of Akropolis 677) rather than a *stephane*, the thick diadem worn by later korai (see below) that could stop at the ears or be secured by a fabric band behind the head. Her hair is crimped and falls in individual locks above the ears, is pushed back over the ears and beneath the fillet to flow down the shoulders and back. Four locks hang over each shoulder in front and the remaining hair is a single mass in back. Akropolis 680 wears large, round earrings carved of stone that also bear remains of pigmentation. Akropolis 680 has a squared oval face with gently protruding carved eyebrows and eyes pointed at the corners with delicately carved lids. The nose, now broken, was not wide; the bridge of the nose is smooth and angular. The mouth is carved in an “Archaic smile,” closed and drawn up at the corners. Her lower lip is full, and her cheekbones are evident by modeling. Akropolis 680 wears a chiton and short *himation* ; the himation looks comparable in fabric weight to that of Akropolis 619, but here it is worn loosely rather than tightly wrapped. The chiton is high-necked; a meander pattern marks the neckline of the garment, which falls in ripples from the neck and the clasps on the left arm. Over the chiton “blouse” is the decorated himation; one corner is draped over the right shoulder, around the body, and tucked in to the left side of the himation below the breast. Akropolis 680 wears a carved bracelet on her left wrist and holds an apple or pomegranate in her outstretched right hand. The himation falls in draped pleats, longer on the right side and shorter on the left; the upper edge is folded over. Beneath the himation, the chiton skirt is light, showing the contours of the buttocks and legs as well as painted ornamentation on the descending over-fold. Akropolis 680 originally grasped the chiton skirt in her left hand, pulling it tightly across her hips and thighs. Modeling at the back of the legs suggests that the tautness of the fabric is exaggerated. Although broken

below the knees, the left leg appears to stride forward. There is an attachment hole on her right thigh, pierced through the lower edge of the himation; this may indicate a pieced addition.

Akropolis 682⁵⁵ (figure 18) is in many ways similar to Akropolis 680. This sculpture, c. 530-520 B.C.E.⁵⁶, bears a comparable raised stephane around the head, similar facial features, and clothing of the same arrangement and style. This example is better preserved than Akropolis 680, missing both of her hands but otherwise complete. The most noticeable difference in Akropolis 682 is her hairstyle; although she wears a similar fillet her forehead is covered in tiny vertical locks terminating in snail-shell curls, and her hair descends from behind her ears in coiling locks of varying lengths. Again, four carved locks hang over the shoulders in front, but at the back the hair is divided into locks that are banded at the ends, suggesting braids that hang together within a rectangular mass. The head also includes a metal attachment rod about two inches behind the fillet. This kore has a face more oval than squared, and the eyes are heavily lidded and pointed at both ends. Facial features include a long and slender nose, highly modeled cheekbones, an Archaic smile, and a slightly protruding chin. This kore also wears large, round earrings that turn outward from her head. This turning is in contrast to Akropolis 680, whose earrings and ears lie flat against her skull. Akropolis 682 has a longer neck than Akropolis 680; her shoulders seem more proportional to her hips, though her bosom is fuller than most others. The chiton “blouse” is similar to that of Akropolis 680, but the left sleeve displays a patterned edge and the neckline is clearly delineated at the

⁵⁵ LeChat 1903, 83; Langlotz (in Schrader) 1939, 86, figs. 53-56; Richter 1968, 73-74, figs. 362-367; Boardman 1978, 83, fig. 151; Karakasi 2003, 117, 125, 130, 147, pls. 146-47, 252-53.

⁵⁶ Richter 1968, 73.

collarbone. The himation here is remarkably similar in arrangement to that of Akropolis 680, including the overfold along the diagonal edge, but it is more detailed in the softly crinkled fabric around the right shoulder. Her muscular legs are visible underneath her chiton skirt, which is pulled taut to the left side by a bracelet-bedecked hand and displays the rounded musculature of the legs and buttocks as well as the richly patterned descending hem. Her sandaled feet are positioned apart with the left foot slightly forward, but her body does not show evidence of a weight shift.

Akropolis 670⁵⁷ (figure 19) represents a shift in the conventional dress of the korai. Dated c. 520-510 B.C.E.⁵⁸, Akropolis 670 appears to be wearing a cap or some fabric over the crown of her head; an attachment rod is extant, but bent. The convention of four long locks arranged over the front of each shoulder is continued here, although the locks are angular and accordion-folded; at the back, the hair is rendered in a folding pattern that is separated at the middle. Akropolis 670 wears a *stephane*, or diadem, rather than a fillet; this clearly stands up on her head, painted with a vegetal design, and is secured behind the ears with a fabric band. Above her forehead fat, rounded curls are parted at the center. The face is rounded, with a slightly protruding chin, Archaic smile, and a wider nose than has been previously seen. Her cheekbones are connected naturalistically to her nostrils, and the bridge of the nose is angular and flattened. There are no eyebrows *per se*, only the sharply modeled ocular cavity with slanting, almond-shaped eyes and heavy lids. The eyes display traces of pigmented irises. Akropolis 670 wears large, round earrings that are again close to the skull. Her neckline has a wide

⁵⁷ LeChat 1903, 92; Langlotz (in Schrader) 1939, 50, figs. 14-16; Richter 1968, 76-77, figs. 377-380; Boardman 1978, 83, fig. 153; Karakasi 2003, 118-120, 130, pls. 152-154, 257-258.

⁵⁸ Boardman 1978, 83.

edge, and appears slightly lower than the previous examples. Her neck seems longer because of this lower neckline, but is in fact not that long; her heavily carved hair adds to this effect. Akropolis 670 wears no himation, only a chiton with a long, crinkly “blouse” and sleeves that gape at the elbows. The right arm is broken between the wrist and the elbow, but was bent at the elbow in an offering gesture. Below the waist the chiton is belted under the over fold and continues as a light “skirt” which is gathered to display the legs and buttocks. This gathering, or *paryphe*, is held in the center of the body, below the navel, rather than off to one side. The skirt is draped symmetrically away from this gathering in front, and the legs are positioned together though the feet are lost. Akropolis 670 seems less shapely than others of the Akropolis series because of the loose upper portion of the chiton, but the curving small of her back and her high breasts are still evident beneath.

Akropolis 674⁵⁹ (figure 20), the “Pouting Kore,” is late in the series, dated to c. 500 B.C.E.⁶⁰ This kore is extant from the mid-thighs up, and is well known for her unique facial expression. Beneath a curving stephane, which seems to float atop the head and is unsecured at the back, Akropolis 674 has dark painted eyebrows, heavily lidded and painted eyes, a slender nose with a rounded bridge, and a mouth set naturalistically at rest. She does not truly “pout,” but contrasting her mouth with those with “Archaic smiles” makes her seem so.⁶¹ In fact, the corners of her lips curve upwards. Her cheekbones are evident from the slight upward curve of the lips, and her face is full and

⁵⁹ LeChat 1903, 86; Langlotz (in Schrader) 1939, 93, figs. 62-67; Richter 1968, 81-82, figs. 377-380; Boardman 1978, 86, fig. 158; Karakasi 2003, 118, 123-125, pls. 178-179, 269-272.

⁶⁰ Richter 1968, 81.

⁶¹ For a convincing pout, see the face of Akropolis 686, possibly the upper half of Akropolis 609, the Euthydikos Kore.

round. Her chin does not protrude, and her neck is long. Her shoulders are quite narrow compared to previous examples, and her hairstyle has been reduced to only three long locks in front. The forehead is covered with wavy, massed locks that flow continuously without a part and seem held at the ears by the large disc earrings. Around the back of the head, Akropolis 674 has thick, angular tresses that abruptly terminate; the hair at her back waves in a regular, zig-zag pattern. There is no band or tie separating the two styles of hair, although the change of style follows the curve of the stephane at the front of the head. The diadem is broken, but appears to stand up from the head. An attachment rod remains visible at the top of the head. The chiton is typical, crinkled at the top and flowing underneath the himation; the himation is asymmetrical and banded (with an overfold at the diagonal edge) as seen in Akropolis 680 and 682. Although the arms are broken at the elbows, it seems that Akropolis 674 grasped her bunched skirt in her left hand and made an offering gesture with her right. The bunched skirt highlights the curving thighs and buttocks, and the fabric is more naturalistically rendered as drawn to the side. Exaggerated tightness across the buttocks is still evident, as is the painted overfold edge of the chiton.

THE PEPLOS KORE AND HER TWIN: THE APEX OF AKROPOLIS STYLE?

The Peplos Kore (Akropolis 679)⁶² (figure 21) and her “twin” **Akropolis 678⁶³** (figure 22): (both c. 530 B.C.E.)⁶⁴ The Peplos Kore, arguably the best known of the

⁶² LeChat 1903, 78; Langlotz (in Schrader) 1939, 53, figs. 3-8; Richter 1968, 72, figs. 349-354; Boardman 1978, 75, fig. 115, 129; Karakasi 2003, 85, 118-124, pls. 138-139, 244-247.

⁶³ LeChat 1903, 88; Langlotz (in Schrader) 1939, 53, figs. 20-21; Richter 1968, 71-72, figs. 345-348; Boardman 1978, 75, fig. 118; Karakasi 2003, 85, 118-124, pls. 137, 241-243.

Akropolis series, has been interpreted in several different ways. She is often described or considered apart from the Akropolis series because she is dressed differently, which can conceal the fact that facially, she is continuous with Akropolis 678. Akropolis 679 and Akropolis 678 wear different garments (a chiton, peplos, and cape on Akropolis 679 and a typical chiton covered by a mantle on Akropolis 678), but their hairstyles and faces are strikingly similar. On both statues, the hair is arranged in waves over the forehead, restrained by a fillet, and the top of the head is carved in detailed individual locks rather than incised with strands. These locks continue down the back in a massed, yet somewhat more naturalistic manner than in other examples. Attachment holes are evident around the head of each kore. Akropolis 678 has “twenty-four holes above and seven below”⁶⁵ her beaded wreath; Akropolis 679 has two rows of thirty-five drilled holes⁶⁶ irregularly spaced all the way around her head. Akropolis 678 wears a beaded wreath around her head, in contrast to her “twin.” The statues share a serene, rounded facial structure with wide cheekbones, gently carved eyebrows and heavily defined eyelids around wide eyes, a wide nose with a rounded bridge, and a mouth set not in the deep Archaic smile but with upturned corners and full lips. Both examples have attachment holes in their ears for earrings, which would have been comparable to other examples but made of metal rather than carved from the same stone.

The most striking difference between these two is their clothing types; Akropolis 678 wears the belted chiton and a mantle, while Akropolis 679 wears a peplos over a

⁶⁴ Boardman 1978, 75.

⁶⁵ Ridgway 1990, 608.

⁶⁶ Ridgway 1990, 609.

chiton. Akropolis 678 seems, from comparison with the previous descriptions, to be wearing a typical Akropolis kore costume, but her himation is positioned symmetrically, with vertical stacked folds radiating out from the center of her body. The himation also displays no opening, and the folds do not continue at the shoulders; it almost seems, from visual evidence, that the “himation” is in fact an elongated over-hanging piece of the chiton, falling from the neckline and sleeve buttons into this symmetrical arrangement. Her pose is rather more typical; her right arm, now broken, is positioned to hold the bunching skirt that is evident on her right side. The left arm is completely missing, but “was doubtless brought forward and held some offering”⁶⁷ in the typical manner.

Akropolis 678 is dressed differently from the korai discussed previously, but not as different as Akropolis 679. Recalling the Nikandre kore and Auxerre statuette, Akropolis 679 wears a peplos over a chiton, and possibly a patterned cape that opens under her left arm in stacking folds that are echoed in the folds of the peplos that follow each outer leg. Akropolis 679 seems fuller than her twin, likely because of the tightly-belted peplos that seems to cinch the waist; the curves above and below the belt suggest flesh underneath the fabric. This belt is knotted at the front and center of the waist, and the ties hang down symmetrically along the inner thighs. Aside from a slight indentation demarcating each leg in the center, the peplos skirt is smooth; it stops high enough to reveal the crinkling chiton skirt beneath. Akropolis 679 is also posed differently, although not in a surprising way; her right arm descends along her side, with the hand clenched in a fist, while the left arm was bent at the elbow, presumably to hold an offering (though the forearm is now lost).

⁶⁷ Richter 1968, 71.

FINDINGS

It is evident from this selection of korai that their stylistic differences are superseded by their typological continuity. From Nikandre's Kore to the "Pouting Kore," this type is visually more continuous than divergent. Styles change from place to place, but always with an eye on the foundations of the type. The Peplos Kore and Akropolis 678, for example, share "Eastern" style facial features seen in older Akropolis korai, but the Peplos Kore wears a garment that recalls older clothing styles, which had gained popularity as a particularly Doric mode of dress through the mid sixth century. The peplos is only seen on a few other Archaic korai, most of which are much earlier. The clothing of Akropolis 678, on the other hand, links the pair firmly to their Akropolis counterparts. This pair suggests a new aspect in the *kore* type, something that refers to the past that has both a present referent and an older one. The Peplos Kore is dressed in a style unique among the Akropolis korai, yet her facial features are echoed by Akropolis 678; her style is at once archaizing, contemporary, and unique. Consideration of style is therefore necessary in the reading of these figures, but it must be considered in the context of the type as a whole.

CHAPTER TWO: Modern Interpretations

Henri LeChat was the first to categorize the korai, specifically referring to the Akropolis series, as a definite group; he referred to them as generic images. This has become the conventional interpretation, echoed by modern writers such as John Boardman⁶⁸ and John G. Pedley.⁶⁹ Korai were interpreted before they were fully catalogued; Ernst Langlotz produced the first descriptive catalogue of all known korai in 1939. At that time, most known korai were from the Athenian Akropolis, so the catalogue is limited to a stylistic arrangement of these objects; however, Langlotz included all of the known fragments associated with korai as well as the larger pieces. Those korai intact enough to interpret were arranged stylistically by clothing or other major appointments. The monograph explored the social function of the korai; he suggested that these figures were not simply generic females, but role models⁷⁰ for aristocratic young women, and from the stone examples these ideals spread to women of the lower classes by virtue of the korai fervor. Langlotz was the first scholar to include literary sources in his research of these objects. Gisela Richter (1968) was next to catalogue the now-expanded corpus of korai; she included those from other geographic areas but avoided concrete interpretations of the type or identifications of individual korai, preferring instead to focus on the stylistic similarities and differences between regions.

⁶⁸ Boardman 1991, 66-67.

⁶⁹ Pedley 2002, 180-182.

⁷⁰ Langlotz (in Schrader 1939), 8.

Brunilde Ridgway has suggested several interpretations of the korai over time; in her second edition of *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (1993), Ridgway put forward the idea that perhaps figures of the kore type were originally understood as major divinities,⁷¹ but previously Ridgway had interpreted these sculptures as attendants of Athena⁷² or nymphs and lesser deities.⁷³ This progression of arguments responds to publications by various scholars, and shows the dynamic nature of the field. However, it may also suggest that the korai are more difficult to define than scholars believe. In her 1990 article, “Birds, ‘Meniskoi,’ and Head Attributes in Archaic Greece,” Ridgway suggests that all Akropolis⁷⁴ korai represent divinities and “to say [this] is to do no more than extend to these luxurious marble offerings the same interpretation that is routinely given for any terracotta statuette found in a sanctuary.”⁷⁵ Ridgway has also discussed the Attic korai generally and the Peplos Kore specifically elsewhere. Ridgway’s adaptive arguments seem well suited to the study of the korai, especially since she considers individual examples, small groups, and regional divisions rather than discussing the corpus as a whole. The chapter on korai in Ridgway’s 1993 edition of *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* highlights the fact that “until fairly recently only the korai recovered from the Athenian Akropolis were well known as a group”⁷⁶ and deals with some of the

⁷¹ Ridgway 1993, 124.

⁷² Ridgway 1977a, 50, 108-112.

⁷³ Ridgway 1982, 123-127.

⁷⁴ Ridgway 1990, 610: “To be sure, not all Greek korai represent divinities, and some with an inscribed name ... should be statues of mortal women.”

⁷⁵ Ridgway 1990, 610.

⁷⁶ Ridgway 1993, 123.

problems regarding stylistic analysis and dating of the kore type. She does so with specific examples from different regions and decades, then closes the chapter with a discussion of more concrete regional styles.

Many interpretations focus on, or use as their main example, the Akropolis series. Recent catalogs, such as Katerina Karakasi's *Archaic Korai* of 2003, also include evidence and interpretation of korai from outside of Attica. Karakasi's *Archaic Korai* illustrates the korai in color; she also gives a rich interpretation of all korai, progressing geographically. She ties all the korai together in her final analysis, that of the Akropolis korai, but she does so with a transparent explanation for this basis.⁷⁷ Her concerns are similar to those of previous scholars: the meaning and function of these objects aesthetically and religiously and the historical and cultural contexts of their production. Karakasi is interested in what the korai themselves tell us. She allows the figures to speak for themselves by their external features, condition, size, and appointments in geographic groups. Ultimately, Karakasi interprets the Akropolis korai (and by association, the corpus of korai overall) as representations of individual young women, likely the priestesses, *kanephoroi*,⁷⁸ *arrephoroi*,⁷⁹ or other cult functionaries of Athena and other goddesses. She suggests that the korai represented rich females engaged in a festival to please the gods—in other words, role models for aristocratic young women. Through literary sources, especially those of lyric poets, Karakasi makes a concrete link between

⁷⁷ Karakasi 2003, 115 and 121.

⁷⁸ Basket-bearing girls in Greek processions.

⁷⁹ "Bearers of something secret."

clothing, social standing, and wealth,⁸⁰ especially during festivals in Athens. The varied but luxurious ornament, clothing, and different shades of polychrome, as well as the different objects the korai hold, are used to support her argument. Karakasi's assertion is also supported by the major find spots on the Akropolis, although these do not necessarily indicate where the statues were erected. Most pre-510 B.C.E. korai on the Akropolis were found to the north and northwest of the Erechtheion (in an area thought to be the Precinct of Arrephoroi), while those stylistically dated after 510 B.C.E. were mostly found to the east and west of the Parthenon.⁸¹ The two primary find locations may indicate, in Karakasi's view, shifts from the original reading of aristocratic women serving as cult functionaries into more generalized "role model" portraiture or a change in aesthetic function altogether.

In dealing with the identity of the dedicants, Karakasi brings up a point that is often overlooked in discussions of the korai: if they are to be considered a case study of votive offerings in general, they should in some way be compared to or contrasted with those Athenian Akropolis dedications that can definitely be ascribed to female dedicants from the Archaic period. Offerings dedicated by women, such as DAA no. 81, a small bronze statuette group⁸² dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis by a woman named Psakythe, do not occur until the late Archaic period except on rare occasions (the Nikandre kore, for example, is uncommon for this reason). Commonplace female dedicants post-date the rise of the kore as a type; although only those dedications connected with the

⁸⁰ Karakasi 2003, 119.

⁸¹ See Karakasi 2003, 130, ill. 19 for find spots.

⁸² Keesling 2005b, 401: "The Late Archaic dedication of Psakythe from the Acropolis (DAA. 8; IG I³ 656) consisted of three bronze statuettes on a single base, with the right- and left-hand statuettes both rotated toward the center one."

name of a dedicant can be considered, we cannot theorize about inscriptions that do not exist. This inclusion further supports the argument against the korai images being dedications on behalf of any specific female; otherwise, as in practically contemporary practice, the woman would be named as dedicator. Hence, Karakasi rejects these images being read as anonymous maidens, but she also rejects interpretations of these statues as images of goddesses, or priestesses of a goddess: “It is significant that they appear anonymously, and that in the inscriptions only the name of the dedicator is given... the korai of the Akropolis depicted living girls who stood in the public and sacred temenos.”⁸³

For her final interpretation, Karakasi refers to literary descriptions of festival practices, where young women would show themselves off as marriageable and desirable; these descriptions are compared to the graceful display of bodily forms (if not actual naked skin) in many of the korai. “Thus one can assume,” she says, “that each kore, though unnamed, represented a specific, living girl.”⁸⁴ Karakasi uses the Phrasikleia kore as corroboration, although she asserts that the Akropolis korai represented living girls, making Phrasikleia a dissonant example, as it was a funerary monument.

The range of Karakasi’s contribution is admirable and lends credibility to her arguments. She brings together the best of the preceding research and synthesizes it into something coherent; she does this by looking back to older arguments, avoiding the opportunity to build on more recent scholarship. Karakasi refers mostly to German scholars, although many of these references antedate her publication by decades. The quantity of detailed scholarship by German scholars on Archaic sculpture has not yet

⁸³ Karakasi 2003, 139.

⁸⁴ Karakasi 2003, 136.

been reached by scholars who work in English; many American scholars choose to focus on individual objects or more general, handbook-style discussions of Archaic sculpture. An up-to-date synthesis of evidence and arguments from both schools of research would yield informative and persuasive positions.

Catherine Keesling's 2003 book *The Votive Statues of the Athenian Acropolis* is an example of the detail-oriented approach to regional groups that is common in English discussions of Archaic sculpture. She creates a method for interrogating votive objects contextually. The issue of identification is problematized by comparing Archaic Greek works to Near Eastern sculptures with standardized poses and details that, while not literally naturalistic, inform the viewer about the personage depicted. Her discussions of inscriptions and the connection between votive objects and Athenian history are well-written and thoughtful; Keesling is careful to define the standard inscription, the political ramifications and connections made with such inscriptions, and the "standard" dedicant.⁸⁵

Keesling points out that the primary function of votive offerings was vow fulfillment, and she describes the process by which a vow-maker might pass the obligation of the dedication on to his (or her) descendants. More striking is the power Keesling suggests that votive statue dedications were thought to have, that is, to shape the political structures of Athenian society;⁸⁶ she argues that they had this power from the Archaic to the Classical period and across different areas of Greece.

By focusing on votive statues from the Athenian Akropolis, Keesling misses an

⁸⁵ As Keesling makes clear in chapter 4, many dedicatory inscriptions speak to an aristocratic dedicant, but there was no standard offerer of a votive statue in Archaic Athenian society.

⁸⁶ Keesling 2003, 92.

opportunity to discuss comparable objects from other contexts. Although it is true that votive offerings “were never meant to be viewed out of context,”⁸⁷ nevertheless they are not aesthetically an exclusive group. The korai are proof of this: although their base inscriptions vary from site to site, the type remains continuous. Keesling wants to focus on a contextual approach, hence her selection of the Akropolis votives: these statues offer a closed, cohesive group. Athens is generally used as the model of Greek art, architecture, and culture; this is not entirely problematic, but Keesling asserts that the Akropolis korai function entirely independently of those from other sanctuaries⁸⁸. Indeed, in Keesling’s view the Akropolis korai have a completely different reading from those elsewhere; she suggests that there should be nothing less than a total shift of paradigm in how these statues are read. According to Keesling, “most of the korai dedicated on the Akropolis could have been understood by contemporary viewers as representations of Athena”⁸⁹ despite Richter’s assertion to the contrary because of the lack of attributes. This is explained by “the well-attested practice of men dedicating representations of themselves or their entire families as votaries in sanctuaries;”⁹⁰ that, for Keesling, makes representations of the real goddess more likely than a generic, unreal female votary.

Keesling rejects Richter’s argument that these cannot be goddesses because they have no attributes. She admits that her main argument in Chapter 5, “The Identities of the Acropolis Korai,” is a negative one, and describes why other interpretations should be

⁸⁷ Keesling 2003, 98.

⁸⁸ Keesling 2003, 102.

⁸⁹ Keesling 2003, 98.

⁹⁰ Keesling 2003, 98.

retired. Keesling says there is no precedent for the “generic female votary” asserted by Lechat in 1903. Despite “the Akropolis korai not look[ing] like [other representations of] Athena or some other goddess, ... not belong[ing] to family groups, and ... obviously not represent[ing] the male votaries who dedicated them,”⁹¹ the idea of these statues representing a generic female type is rejected on an aesthetic level. Keesling goes on to explain her rejection of the idea that these women “are” the dedicators themselves, although she does not state who supports this belief. Those bases that remain from the Akropolis give only male personal names as dedicators; only the Nikandre dedication from Delos is definitely connected to a female dedicator, and again, Keesling is focusing here on the Akropolis korai. It is indeed clear that the dedicators were not having themselves depicted in the figures of these korai. Keesling cannot avoid the possibility that these statues represented real women, but they are not given name labels, so she rejects this idea. Archaic Greece was a highly individual cultural time, she says⁹², and if the korai represented individuals, they would be named—like the korai from the Geneleos group (but again, the Akropolis group functions differently from groups elsewhere).

Keesling problematizes Lambert Schneider’s 1975 interpretation⁹³ as being too anonymous; she says that the idea of these sculptures representing the ideal aristocratic young woman negates the unique depictions of each individual. However, Schneider’s argument turns on the idea that *real* aristocratic Greek girls may have been the

⁹¹ Keesling 2003, 107.

⁹² Keesling 2003, 109.

⁹³ L. Schneider, *Zur sozialen Bedeutung der archaischen Korenstatuen* (Hamburg: Buske, 1975), 35-37.

(unnamed) models for these statues.⁹⁴ Lambert Schneider's 1975 monograph explored the social function of the korai; he suggested that these figures were not simply generic females, but role models for aristocratic young women, and from the stone examples these ideals spread to women of lower classes by virtue of the popularity of the korai type. Schneider was the first scholar to include literary sources in his research of these objects.

Analysis of the korai as individuals directly leads to the more specific assertion, made by H.A. Shapiro and J.B. Connelly especially,⁹⁵ that the korai represent actual priestesses or cult functionaries. It seems possible that the korai are an appropriate age to represent *kanephoroi*, but there is no explicit evidence for how old *kanephoroi* were at their time of service. They were certainly unmarried and of marriageable age; typically, Archaic Greek women were able to complete wedding ceremonies "once [they] had reached sexual maturity, which most Greek authors place at the age of fourteen."⁹⁶ Hence, the *kanephoroi* were around fourteen, but they could be older or younger depending on their age at menarche. Marriage was an important part of the transition from childhood to womanhood, but it was not the only marker of this change. J. H. Oakley describes the "*nymphē*," or bride, as "a young woman from the time she was of marriageable age through her wedding and even afterward, [...] probably after the birth of her first child. When she became a mother, her transformation to adulthood was

⁹⁴ Schneider 1975, 35-37.

⁹⁵ Shapiro 2001, 92-94. See also J. B. Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess*, 2007, 127-128: "priestesses are known to have had the privilege of setting up agalmata within the sanctuaries they served" and "It seems likely that the statues represent young women who were somehow involved in the ritual service of Athena, commemorated in perpetuity for their special roles." Connelly discusses the metal spikes and her suggestion that these were made to hold actual baskets on page 128.

⁹⁶ Oakley 1994, 10.

complete.”⁹⁷

In comparing the korai with their male counterparts, Keesling remarks that the sameness of the kouros lends itself to generic identity, whereas the korai are too unique to be a type. So she rejects the interpretation that these are generic female images, arbitrary and meaningless, yet argues that they do not represent individuals because names are not included.⁹⁸ Keesling asserts that, with one exception, “kore” is used in Akropolis votive statue inscriptions to refer to Athena as “daughter of Zeus.” The exception to Keesling’s epigraphic argument is the Naulochos’ Kore inscription (*CEG I 266*) which was dedicated to Poseidon on the Akropolis as a first-fruits offering. She argues that Naulochos specifies “Kore” to make it obvious that he is not dedicating the usual type of “Athena-Kore,”⁹⁹ but this seems to overwork the power of the inscription. Keesling explains that ultimately the korai are multivalent or even ambivalent—they might be women dressed up for marriage, or they might be goddesses. Attributes could indicate particular women, not necessarily only goddesses, in Keesling’s opinion.¹⁰⁰ Keesling argues, however, that the extended forearm of many Akropolis korai is evidence that these are goddesses: “[there are] reasons to believe that several of the lost Archaic cult statues [were] equipped with extended forearms”¹⁰¹ and so, since cult statues had extended forearms like most of the korai, and cult statues represented (to varying degrees of mimesis) goddesses, the korai must also represent goddesses. No strong connection is

⁹⁷ Oakley 1994, 10.

⁹⁸ Keesling 2003, 112.

⁹⁹ Keesling 2003, 123.

¹⁰⁰ Keesling 2003, 124; 144-148.

¹⁰¹ Keesling 2003, 128 for the iconography of the gesture, 149-155.

made here; indeed, Keesling shows that the korai *could* have been representations of goddesses, but does not prove that they absolutely *were* representations of goddesses. She attempts to make a concrete connection to Athena by suggesting that perhaps the ribbons and headpieces that many korai wear functioned as supports for added metal helmets.¹⁰² This makes more sense in some cases than in others, and a visual comparison of “helmeted” korai from the Akropolis to korai from other sanctuaries shows that these head-coverings are likely to be veils or bonnets, not helmets. Overall, Keesling does not prove that these sculptures *were* representations of Athena as she only goes so far as to show that they *may* have been representations of Athena.

One particular kore from the Akropolis presents major issues for Keesling’s argument (also partially brought up by Akropolis 687). The Peplos Kore wears an atypical costume in the context of this group, has attachment holes surrounding her head rather than the traditional headband or diadem, and her arms are in a somewhat atypical position. Keesling’s response to this piece is to call it a hybrid kore that represents Artemis rather than Athena (an opinion expressed also by Ridgway¹⁰³ and carried forward in later reconstructions by Vinzenz Brinkmann¹⁰⁴). This identification of the image with Artemis, she feels, explains the attachment holes around her head, which would be for some sort of celestial crown, and the hands and arms are explained as holding a bow and arrow because of the empty, clenched right fist with a hole drilled through the middle. This pose seems archaizing rather than unique in comparison with such examples

¹⁰² Keesling 2003, 130-135.

¹⁰³ Ridgway 1977b, 56: A representation of Artemis, but “a statue of a statue;” Ridgway 1993, 127.

¹⁰⁴ Vinzenz Brinkmann et al., *Gods in Color: Painted sculpture of classical antiquity*, (Munich: Stiftung Archäologie Glyptothek, 2007).

as the Cheramyas korai and Akropolis 619: although their left arms were bent so that their offerings touched their chests, their right arms similarly hung rigidly by their sides with empty, clenched fists.

On the subject of attributes and appointments, Keesling interprets all the hand fragments that remain. She shows that many of the Akropolis korai held some round fruit, perhaps a pomegranate or an apple, or a small bird. Keesling interprets these objects as definite attributes of Athena; the more obvious choices, like Aphrodite or Persephone, are not suggested since these sculptures were found on the Akropolis. Another large number of hands held metal attributes “in pinched fingertips”¹⁰⁵ or were perhaps empty-handed. Keesling admits that at best “there are no objects that could have functioned as identifying attributes exclusive to Athena,”¹⁰⁶ resorting to her argument: none are actually incompatible with attributes of goddesses, including Athena. Finally, Keesling gathers later objects that might problematize her argument, and summarily deals with them to downplay the significance of the sculptural *tradition* in Athens and reinforce her argument that the korai cannot be considered as individual portraits. Keesling’s framework for considering votives on the Akropolis is effective, if limited.

Mary Stieber’s book *The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*, published in 2004, does not have the problem of limitation: in fact, her book makes the necessity of limitation clearer. The title of Stieber’s introduction, “Conceiving Realism in Archaic Greek Art,” seems very telling: it suggests that her aim is to cast the korai in a case study of Archaic Greek art in general. These sculptures have been studied as a microcosm of

¹⁰⁵ Keesling 2003, 145.

¹⁰⁶ Keesling 2003, 148.

Archaic Greek art for many years, but Stieber attempts to re-evaluate the korai. They were products of their time, but they have been doing work they were never intended to do; the korai must be considered as a cohesive group of Archaic Greek sculptures, not the primary example of Archaic Greek art. The problem, as Stieber sees it, is that “what unites them is privileged over what differentiates them.”¹⁰⁷ In other words, they have for too long been considered a monolithic group, anonymous and generic. Stieber invokes Jean Charbonneaux,¹⁰⁸ a scholar who believes the korai represent actual young women, despite the prevailing notion that the kore is a universal type.

In the introduction, Stieber asserts that “[the korai] were dedicated to Athena, the patron goddess of the citadel.”¹⁰⁹ This is certainly not entirely incorrect, but the simplicity of the statement may be misleading. Korai on the Athenian Akropolis were occasionally dedicated to other deities, including the god Poseidon.¹¹⁰ Stieber locates the korai in a larger tradition of realism with a theory that diverges from conventional wisdom regarding the art of this period, but her supporting arguments are strong. The concept of accumulated detail being interpreted as realistic, whether or not it is *naturalistic*, strikes just the right chord: looking at the korai, viewers often call them “lively” and “animated,” although no one would expect a kore to walk off of her plinth and interact with the real world. Stieber explores this concept to great effect.

¹⁰⁷ Stieber 2004, 1.

¹⁰⁸ J. Charbonneaux, *Archaic Greek Art, 620-480 B.C.* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971).

¹⁰⁹ Stieber 2004, 2.

¹¹⁰ The “Naulochos Kore,” of which only the base now remains, was dedicated to Poseidon. See Furley (in Baumbach 2010), 164: “Naulochus donated this kore as a first-fruit offering from the catch which the sea-governing [god of] the golden trident provided him.”

Stieber begins with a basic historiography of korai study, starting with the inscriptions on the bases as “the first words written about the statues.”¹¹¹ This is a thoughtful way to re-include epigraphy into written historical records, without overly relying on the inscriptions. While discussing the utility of inscriptions, Stieber notes the difficulty of interpreting base inscriptions due to the separation of bases from sculptures, referring interested parties to A. E. Raubitschek’s fundamental epigraphical volume on the Akropolis dedications.¹¹² The major problem with inscriptions is brought to the fore: “there are no proper names used *of the images* [emphasis mine] to help with identification.”¹¹³ The name of the dedicant, as well as his or her patronymic, and sometimes his or her *ethne* or *deme*, is included, but the images themselves are not specifically referenced.

Scholars start therefore at a loss; not knowing what the dedicants themselves called these images, we are left entirely to our own devices in interpreting them. Stieber goes on to analyze some of the preceding arguments of interpretation, including those of Brunilde Ridgway. Stieber closes the discussion by revisiting Ernst Langlotz, the first cataloguer of the korai, in his generalizing remarks that the Akropolis statues are too young, too alluring, to stand as goddesses or priestesses (despite their variation in gesture, pose, and apparent age).¹¹⁴

Stieber further expounds upon the definitions of realism, mimeticism, and

¹¹¹ Stieber 2004, 13.

¹¹² Raubitschek, A. E. *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis: A Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BC.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Archaeological Institute of America, 1949).

¹¹³ Stieber 2004, 14.

¹¹⁴ Stieber 2004, 34; see Langlotz 1939, 8.

naturalism given in her introduction. She applies these concepts to different characteristics of the korai—their eyes, hair, jewelry, and so on—in order to build a foundation for her interpretive argument. Stieber believes the korai represent individual young women, and their individuality is expressed for her by their varying uniqueness. Chapter Three further clarifies the divide between a naturalistic and a realistic image, and Stieber (re)defines the term εἰκόνες as likenesses (rather than “icons”): a “formal coincidence[s] of likeness”¹¹⁵ that does not require mimetic realism. Stieber notes the importance of deception in naturalism; realistic images do not practice the same deception, attempting to capture the essence of the represented rather than their exact appearance.

In Chapter Four, Stieber turns to literary texts in order to round out her argument. She focuses on the description of the dancing maidens from Euripides’ *Iphigenia*, connecting the essence of these women to the reality of depiction in the korai. She describes the concept of individualism as it was realized in Archaic Greek art, differentiating it from the naturalistic or idealistic individuality of figures in Classical Greek art and connecting this difference to the political divide between the eras. “The Akropolis korai are symptomatic of Archaic individualism; they would never be mistaken for products of democracy,”¹¹⁶ she asserts, in order to connect the politics of the Archaic era with her argument and also to explain why the kore type goes out of fashion seemingly overnight in the Early Classical period. Stieber sees all of the korai as a coherent group, undivided by context; funerary korai, votive korai, Samian korai, and Athenian korai are

¹¹⁵ Stieber 2004, 83.

¹¹⁶ Stieber 2004, 115.

all part of the overall type, suggesting that the type was flexible enough to serve multiple functions.

These recent interpretations of the Archaic Greek korai are clearly equivocal. Some seemingly relevant points, such as comparison with the role of the kouroi (and their possible reinterpretation) and the situation of young women in Archaic Greek society, get left out in general aesthetic discussions. Nevertheless, visual analyses must always be the starting point in studying these objects. Limiting study of the korai to one group, namely the Akropolis group, gains no ground if it is to the exclusion of the many other korai. The Akropolis series should be considered according to their unique aspects, yet they must ultimately be fitted into the overall corpus. A continuous flow of styles, as shown in my first chapter, is more helpful than rigidly separated stylistic groupings. These groupings, aside from creating space between each style, tend to give the impression that one or another style (the “geometric” earlier style vs. the “naturalistic” later/ Athenian style) is preferable, or more advanced.

CHAPTER THREE: New Avenues for Study

“I... submit that the kore found its first and most congenial home in Asia Minor and the Islands, and only subsequently migrated to the Greek mainland, specifically Attica.”¹¹⁷ Although Brunilde Ridgway has researched several individual *korai* and specific regional groups, especially those from the Athenian Akropolis, this statement from her 1970 review of G. M. A. Richter’s *Korai* is still supported by visual evidence from various locations and in regional styles of the *kore* type. Her arguments regarding regional style and individual *korai* are not affected by the assertion that, no matter the stylistic shifts or changes in “what” the *korai* represented from region to region, the *kore* type began outside of Athens; although she does not discuss the Nikandre Kore and the Auxerre Statuette specifically, they support rather than detract from her statement, as they are from Delos and (probably) Crete, respectively. Hence, the “Attic style” is a later evolution of the original type, and should always be viewed as such. If the statement is true, the Akropolis group must always be considered within the context of the *kore* type, rather than outside it or as the type’s ultimate form and style. It is now well-established that the Akropolis *korai*, far from being atypical or ideal versions of the *kore* type, are simply part of the type. The focus on the Akropolis group in recent scholarship is understandable for many reasons: they were the first examples of the type to be found and classified, they are the largest stylistic group, and somewhat problematically, Athenian

¹¹⁷ Ridgway 1970, 196.

korai are often more naturalizing than their counterparts from other sanctuaries. However, this interest in naturalism does not make the Akropolis series typologically different from their predecessors or contemporary votive *korai*. The type is flexible; no one series is more or less effective. Different sanctuaries had different aesthetic and visual norms, and different regions preferred certain styles over others. These aspects are occasionally overshadowed by stylistic divisions, but they do not interfere with stylistic discussions. Stylistic discussions by themselves can only take the discipline so far, and then discussions of form and function must take place; these aspects must be studied across the type as a whole, rather than within each stylistic group.

The stylistic and geographical analyses of the *kore* type discussed in the second chapter show that scholars have already done a great deal of work by discussing the styles and identities of different series. The type must be considered as a whole for research to be most productive. Therefore, I propose a new way to conceive of the *kore* type: by considering the entire corpus of votive *korai*, rather than the canon of *korai* or the *korai* as divided into geographic groups, new questions can be asked regarding these sculptures. Consideration of the type may help scholars address larger issues of difference and similarity in votive culture across Archaic Greece. In order to deploy this conception effectively, scholars must be clear about their biases; in chapter two, many of the biases regarding the *korai* became evident, but other conventions of thought also influence the art of ancient Greece as well as the sculpted, draped female body.

Alice Donohue's book *Greek Sculpture and the Problem of Description* provides a useful framework for identifying these biases and questioning entire types, rather than stylistic series. Donohue notes that "isolating the objective evaluation of

evidence from interpretation” is often emphasized in scholarship, but this isolation is in fact impossible: evaluation and description always include some level of interpretation or bias.¹¹⁸

Important questions that Donohue asks, such as the role of historiography in one’s understanding and the prior conceptions of types, can be applied to the *korai*; it is necessary that analysis of these objects includes an honest evaluation of how one thinks about the art of ancient Greece and the clear subjectivity of one’s descriptions. Many descriptions of the *korai* are based on normative comparisons; to continue the stylistic division of the type might be an implicit acceptance of these normative assumptions and teleological views of the naturalizing effect in sculpture. By dividing the *korai* into stylistic, quasi-geographic groups, scholars create two possible avenues of analysis: first, objectively comparing these stylistic groups and considering the socio-cultural motivation for each; second, tacitly suggesting that certain groups are more advanced or effective than others. However, the first avenue is not as objective as it seems; the subjective nature of stylistic groupings can easily lead to the latter analysis, which is problematic not necessarily because it is normative but because it is not explicit. For example, if we assume with most current scholars that (Archaic) “Greek artists were committed not only to an overall ‘naturalism’ but also to accurate representation within the naturalistic framework,”¹¹⁹ we must also have an awareness of where that assumption comes from. It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to parse out the truth about Archaic Greek artists’ intentions, but the “commitment” to naturalism seems (from the

¹¹⁸ Donohue 2005, 17-18.

¹¹⁹ Donohue 2005, 199.

visual evidence) to be a modern bias rather than an Archaic Greek convention; that is, increasing naturalism occurred but was not necessarily a goal of the artists.

Rather than study that which makes the *korai* different from one another, it may be useful to focus on what about them is constant. Clearly, the type was flexible: it was used for funerary monuments, votive offerings, and in architectural sculpture. These functional divisions are useful because they do not privilege one function over another; my interest is in the votive *korai*, but this makes them no more or less important than the funerary and other *korai*. If the votive group is my focus, my first question regarding the whole group is: what made the *korai* such a flexible type, both in reading and style? This question can be applied to each of the functional groups, and answering it may be informative about the type as a whole.

Another possible avenue for study is the application of Jan Vansina's theory of *iconatropy*,¹²⁰ which has been used by scholars of ancient art to describe temporal changes in meaning. According to this theory, sculptures can change in reading and meaning when their original purpose changes or is discontinued. It seems that this process can also be applied to sculptural types that travel, or are shared across different geographic regions. It may be that the *korai* shifted over time in meaning; changing form was only a natural evolution caused by the movement of the type to new geographic locations. This would allow different stylistic groups within the type, especially the Akropolis series, to be viewed through the lens of iconatropy. Through the process of iconatropy, sculptures of goddesses may have been re-imagined as statues of

¹²⁰ See Introduction.

marriageable maidens, young female role models, or something entirely different, while still referring to the original role of the kore as a goddess.

The scholarship thus far has been persuasive, and questioning each stylistic group has been productive, but there is still much that could be done. Addressing the *type*, rather than stylistic groupings within the type, is the logical next step. What about this type resonates across different parts of Greece? What makes this type more resonant than others? These are only a few of the questions that must now be asked about the korai. The popularity of the korai across time and location within Archaic Greece is a phenomenon unmatched by any other, except the kouroi. Also like the kouroi, the korai acted as a precedent for female sculptural figures that is necessary to the foundation of the Severe and Classical styles; characteristics of the korai type outlast the popularity of the type itself.

Parsing the utility of the kore type will also allow scholars to use the type as an example of Pan-Hellenic sculptural types. Larger questions about stylistic difference can be asked, such as, what motivates stylistic difference? Does stylistic difference matter functionally within sculptural types? The answers to these questions can be applied to Archaic votive sculpture writ large, allowing the korai to be studied on their own merits as well as for the good of the discipline overall. Other questions, specifically referring to the kore type, are also vital to the discussion of the korai. Rather than separating the korai stylistically, the next step is to determine what stylistic characteristics are continuous across sanctuaries. This will connect the sanctuaries and thus different examples of the type. This might also lead to the question, what sociocultural characteristics are

continuous across sanctuaries that led to this shared type? In other words, what is it about sanctuaries like the Samian Heraion and the Athenian Akropolis that makes *korai* appropriate? Considering the chronology of the type may also be useful; utilizing both a synchronic approach and a diachronic approach, that is, considering both how contemporaneous groups differ in the same sculptural moment and how the type changes over time, will yield more answers about the type in general.

In summary, in this thesis I have attempted to shift the discourse surrounding the Archaic Greek *korai* statues, specifically the votive *korai*. Two primary issues, the meaning of the *kore* type and the identities of individual *korai* have occasioned much debate. Asking new questions about the type as a whole, rather than questioning specific stylistic groupings, may help address these issues.

FIGURES



Figure 1. “Kleobis and Biton” / Delphi 1524 and 467. Delphi. Marble. H. 1.97m (restored). c. 580 B.C.E. ARTstor (Harvard University).

[Πολυ?]μῆδῆς ἐποίησεν ἡοργεῖος ΜΕΔΕΜΕΓΟΙΕ ΕΘΑΡΓΕΙΟΝ

Figure 1b. “Kleobis and Biton” inscription/ Delphi 1524 and 467. Delphi. Marble. Boardman 1978, fig. 70.



Figure 2. Nikandre Kore/ Athens NM 1. Marble. Delos. H. 1.75 m. c. 650 B.C.E. ARTstor (University of California, San Diego).

ΓΚΑΝΔΡΗΜΑΖΘΕΚΕΜΒΚΚΟΓΟΛΛΟΧΕΛΡΒΙΡΟΡΒΔΕΙΝΟ
 ΒΤΕΜΑΙΗΔΙΔΟΞΙΕΜΘΕΛΥΟΒΙΛΟΧΟΞΕΙΟΑΥΟΤΟΒΙΛ
 ΘΒΛΥΔΟΡΒΛΟΧΟΖΗ

Figure 2b. Nikandre inscription. Athens NM 1. Boardman 1978 fig. 71.



Figure 3. "Auxerre goddess" / Louvre 3098. Limestone. Crete? H 0.65m. c. 640-630 BCE. ARTstor (Erich Lessing Culture and Fine Arts Archives/ ART RESOURCE N.Y.).



Figure 4. Auxerre goddess and Nikandre Kore. Boardman 1978, fig. 71.

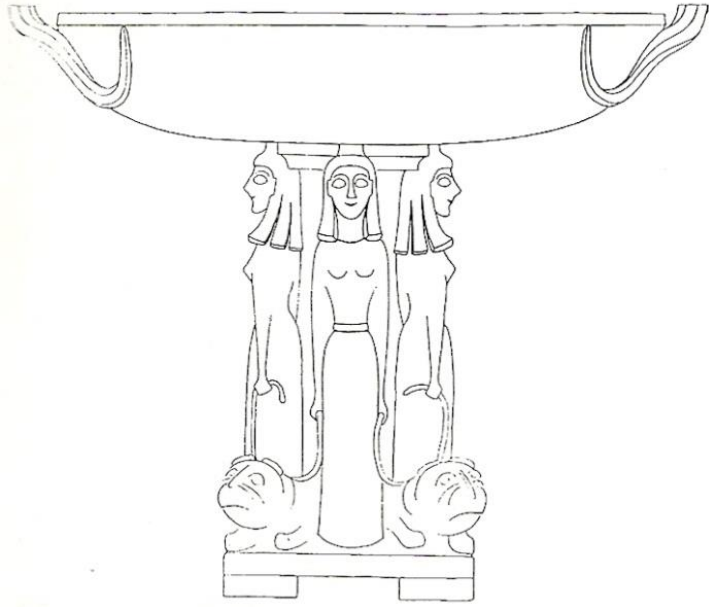


Figure 5. Samian Perirrhanterion (Berlin 1747), Samos; restored line drawing of same. ARTstor (University of North Carolina- Chapel Hill/ Berlin State Museums); Boardman 1978, fig. 75.

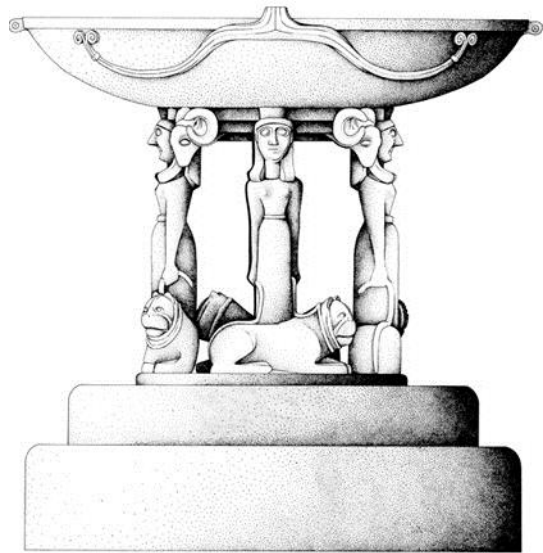


Figure 6. Perirrhanterion from Isthmia, Isthmia Museum (IS 3 + 161 – 165 + 220 + 270) (restored) and line drawing of same. Sturgeon 1987, pls. 1, 2b.



Figure 7. Philippe. Vathi Museum (no MA nbr.; Karakasi 61) Samos. c. 560 B.C.E. ARTstor (Art Images for College Teaching).



Figure 8. Ornithoeris. Berlin 1739. Samos. c. 560 B.C.E. ARTstor (Gisela Geng/ Berlin State Museums).



Figure 9 (left). Louvre 686. Samos. c. 560 B.C.E. ARTstor (Reunion des Musees Nationaux/ Art Resource N.Y.).



Figure 10 (right). Berlin 1750. Samos. c. 560 B.C.E. ARTstor (Gisela Geng/ Berlin State Museums).



Figure 11. Berlin 1791. Miletos. c. 560 B.C.E. ARTstor (Ingrid Geske/ Berlin State Museums).



Figure 12. Louvre 3303. Klazomene. c. 530 B.C.E. Karakasi 2003 pl. 57.



Figure 13. Delos A4064. Delos. c. 525-500 B.C.E. Karakasi 2003 pl. 68.



Figure 14. Akropolis 619. Athens. c. 560-550 B.C.E.



Figure 15. Akropolis 677. Athens. c. 560-550 B.C.E. Karakasi 2003, pl. 127.



Figure 16. Akropolis 593. Athens. c. 560-550 B.C.E. Karakasi 2003, pls. 129, 238.



Figure 17. Akropolis 680. Athens. c. 530-520 B.C.E. Karakasi 2003, pls. 248-249.



Figure 18. Akropolis 682. Athens. c. 530-520 B.C.E. Karakasi 2003, pls. 146-147, 252.



Figure 19. Akropolis 670. Athens. c. 520 B.C.E. Richter 1968, figs. 377-379.



Figure 20. Akropolis 674. Athens. c. 500 B.C.E. Karakasi 2003, pls. 269-271.



Figure 21. Peplos Kore. Athens. c. 530 B.C.E. Akropolis 679. Karakasi 2003, pls. 244-247.



Figure 22. Akropolis 678. Athens. c. 530 B.C.E. Karakasi 2003, pls. 242-243.



Figure 22b. Detail, Akropolis 678. Athens. c. 530 B.C.E. Karakasi 2003, pl. 241.

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