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Birds, "Meniskoi," and Head Attributes in Archaic Greece

BRUNILDE SISMONDO RIDGWAY

To G. Roger Edwards

Abstract

Research on metal attachments in Archaic sculpture leads to the conclusion that the "meniskoi" mentioned by Aristophanes as protection against the birds may be a pun or allusion, the meaning of which escapes us today. Spikes and attachment holes on the heads of kouroi and korai should rather be seen in the light of some examples on marble sphinxes, where traces of paint and other devices indicate specific meanings for the metal bars. It is argued that what has usually been taken as simplification in the rendering of Archaic hair should often be read as a head cover; in particular, Antenor's Kore, Akr. 681, is considered an Athena wearing a helmet, in imitation of an earlier image. Elaborate Archaic headdresses may have their roots in prehistoric or Eastern practices, and in turn lead to the complicated fashions of fifth-century temple statues, like the Athena Parthenos and the Rhamnousian Nemesis. Identification must be made on a case-by-case basis, but it seems plausible to suggest that most kouroi and korai represented divine beings, whose distinctive headdresses served as identifiers for the ancient viewers.*

It is a well-known fact of Greek iconography that the modern viewer, without the help of specific clues such as written labels or distinctive attributes, cannot always distinguish representations of mythological figures and epic events from those of common human

beings and scenes of everyday life. This situation is proportionately more acute the earlier the artistic phase and the more "primitive" or abstract the rendering. Thus, on vases of the Geometric period, some scholars have wanted to identify Homeric heroes and specific legends, for example, Paris abducting Helen or Theseus departing with Ariadne, whereas others have read the same figures as an eighth-century ship captain taking leave of his wife. A shipwreck with sailors surrounded by fish has been interpreted as one of Odysseus' adventures, but also as one of the perils of contemporary Greek trade expanding overseas.¹ Even apparently standard decorative motifs such as animals and filling ornaments have been alternatively taken as divine symbols or as elements of daily life having practical purposes, some more easily intelligible than others, especially in their meaningful juxtaposition. In particular, an important article by John Boardman has tried to make sense of the seemingly generic horses and fish decorating Argive Geometric vases in terms of the natural habitat of the vase painters, who could see around them horses at pasture in areas ringed by marshes and sea. A more recent publication has instead returned full circle to earlier re-

* This article is dedicated to G. Roger Edwards, without whom it would not have been written. Not only did he put at my disposal his most extensive file on *meniskoi* and representations of the moon crescent and astral signs (from which most of my references are taken), but he gave me access to many of his own ideas and, with his intensive attempts to visualize the Aristophanic *meniskos* and other head ornaments, forced me to come to grips with the issue. His scholarly generosity is here most gratefully acknowledged. I am also grateful to Jane B. Carter and especially Jody Maxmin, for helpful discussion, references, and observations. I warmly thank Kevin Glowacki for bibliographical help and comments, and Kenneth Shapiro and Marina Belozerskaya, who in the Spring of 1989 checked the headdress of Antenor's Kore for me. The following abbreviations have been used:

AMA *Die archaische Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (Frankfurt 1939). Korai published by E. Langlotz, other sculptures in the round and reliefs by W.-H. Schuchhardt, architectural sculpture by H. Schrader.

Boardman, J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period* (London 1978).
 Richter, G.M.A. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica* (London 1961).
 AGA
 Richter, G.M.A. Richter, *Korai, Archaic Greek Maidens* (London 1968).
 Richter, G.M.A. Richter, *Kouroi, Archaic Greek Youths* (London 1960).
 Ridgway, B.S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton 1977).

¹ Paris and Helen or Theseus and Ariadne: see, e.g., W.R. Biers, *The Archaeology of Greece: An Introduction* (Ithaca and London 1980) 119 and fig. 5.20; cf. also p. 106. Shipwreck as Odyssean adventure or contemporary occurrence: J. Boardman, *Pre-Classical* (London 1967) 63 and fig. 32; cf. also the vase from Pithekoussai, most recently discussed by D. Ridgway, "The Pithekoussai Shipwreck," in *Studies in Honor of T.B.L. Webster* 2 (Bristol 1988) 97–107, with mention of possible interpretations and previous bibliography. For a general discussion on the iconographic meaning of Geometric representations, see A.M. Snodgrass, *An Archaeology of Greece* (Sather Classical Lectures 53, Berkeley 1987) 147–69.

ligious interpretations, explaining the patterns as reminiscent of a Bronze Age Leader of Horses derived from Oriental iconography and connected with ritual fish sacrifice.²

This ambiguous situation could have improved during the Archaic period, especially with the spread of writing to provide labels for painted scenes and dedicatory inscriptions for monuments. Yet the ambivalence remains, not only for representations on black- and red-figure vases, but also for extant sculptures, whether large or small, in terracotta, bronze, or stone. It is with the last that I am particularly concerned here, although examples and evidence from the other categories will occasionally be introduced to support my arguments. To be sure, our interpretation of surviving statuary is hampered by various factors, of which a few may bear examination and exemplification here.

Paint, for instance, was an integral element of all ancient carving, yet today it is mostly lost and can only be recovered, if at all, through technical means not accessible to the general viewer. By means of color, sculptors introduced significant details too difficult to render plastically, gave liveliness and distinction to facial features, and created visible differentiation from garment to garment and even from statue to apparently similar statue. A startling demonstration of the importance of paint has been given by the recent publication of the Isthmia perirrhanterion, showing the supporting female figures as differently clothed and made up. What looked like a plain tunic

on all four is seen to be a more complex combination of garments including a diagonal mantle and perhaps a veil tucked in at the waist, unexpectedly early for Greek art and worn in a manner now convincingly connected with earlier Near Eastern practices. A simple coiffure of angular masses framing the face is now explained as a veil draped under a polos and almost entirely covering the hair, again of Oriental derivation. The iconography of the goddess standing on a lion had always been interpreted in terms of Eastern influence, and this earliest among Greek stone sculptures therefore confirms ties with more remote periods and lands.³

Attributes, often added in metal or carved together with separately inserted limbs, had the potential to transform a generic human form into a divinity. Thus the well-known "Nikandre" from Delos could represent the Naxian woman who dedicated the marble statue, but the metal attributes once held by the figure in both hands, combined with the epithets of Artemis mentioned in the votive inscription, make it virtually certain that it is a representation of the goddess herself, holding a bow and an arrow. A more or less standard kouros type provided with a belt and gold pendants to the hair turns into an Apollo.⁴ Wings at the booted feet of a generic traveler indicate Hermes. Thus the anthropomorphism of Greek gods is at the same time a help and a hindrance—a help to the ancient sculptor who could use a standard model and, by judiciously adding different attributes, adapt it for various purposes or depictions; a hindrance for the

² J. Boardman, "Symbol and Story in Geometric Art," in W.G. Moon ed., *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison 1983) 15–36. For connection of the Argive motif with Mycenaean pictorial vases from Ugarit in North Syria, see S. Langdon, "The Return of the Horse-Leader," *AJA* 93 (1989) 185–201.

³ For a recent general treatment of paint on Archaic sculpture see, e.g., E. Walter-Karydi, "Prinzipien der archaischen Farbgebung," in *Studien zur klassischen Archäologie* (Festschrift F. Hiller, Saarbrücken 1986) 23–41. Isthmia perirrhanterion: M.C. Sturgeon, *Isthmia IV: Sculpture I: 1952–1967* (Princeton 1987) 14–61, esp. 41–45 and color pl. A. The costume may now be compared to that of an ivory statuette from Tumulus D near Elmalı, dated late eighth–seventh century B.C.: *Antalya Museum*, catalogue revised and edited by E. and I. Özgen (Ankara 1988) 190, no. 42; cf. also p. 33 and color pl. on p. 39, as well as front and back cover. The theory on the Anatolian precedence of the costume had already been advanced by I. Özgen, *A Study of Anatolian and East Greek Costume in the Iron Age* (Diss. Bryn Mawr 1982). The stone of the Isthmia perirrhanterion may be Lakonian: see J.B. Carter, "Isotopic Analysis of Seventh-century B.C. Perirrhanterion," in N. Herz and M. Waelkens eds., *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade* (NATO ASI Series, Applied Sciences 153, Dordrecht 1988)

419–30; a Syro-Palestinian connection for the iconography is postulated on p. 425, where the water basin as cult equipment is said to reach back to Early Bronze Age Mesopotamia. In the same volume, see M. Waelkens, P. de Paepe, and L. Moens, "Quarries and the Marble Trade in Antiquity," 11–24, for the theory that the Greeks learned their quarrying methods from Anatolia. This point is further elaborated by M. Waelkens, "The Quarrying Techniques of the Greek World," in *Marble: Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture* (Malibu, Getty Symposium held 28–30 April 1988; forthcoming).

⁴ Nikandre, Athens Nat. Mus. 1: Boardman, *Archaic Period* fig. 71 (a floral ornament or a lion leash is preferred as metal addition); Richter, *Korai* no. 1, figs. 25–28; Ridgway, *Archaic Style* 86–87 and bibl. on p. 115. The observation that the holes do not run through the entire hand, and are thus unsuitable to hold long weapons, applies only to the right fist, not to both, and therefore I find it unlikely that the Nikandre should be visualized as grasping the leashes of two lions or a floral offering. For belts and hair pendants, see the colossal marble Apollo dedicated by the Naxians: Boardman, *Archaic Period* fig. 60 (dated ca. 580–570; too late?); Ridgway, *Archaic Style* 65 n. 22. There is still dispute over the stance and attributes of this statue.

modern student who is not always able to read the ancient clues. Moreover, these very clues, when added in metal to a stone sculpture, have often disintegrated and disappeared, leaving behind, at best, only stains and drill-holes to indicate their former presence. Outstretched limbs in action poses or holding significant objects, as well as meaningful headdresses (often together with the very heads supporting them), have usually broken off because of their exposed position and precarious technique. This "mutilation" is perhaps one of the most serious obstacles to our modern understanding of ancient monuments.

Even more grievous than the disappearance of specific elements of a statue is the total destruction of images made of perishable materials. Many sanctuaries, as we know from inscriptions and literary sources, held venerated idols in wood, often provided with real clothing and jewelry, that could be bathed, fed, and carried in procession, with practices that found parallels and perhaps even inspiration in Egypt and the Near East. Later imitations of these venerable cult images are known, such as the many reproductions of the Artemis of Ephesos, but others escape our perception and are therefore open to misinterpretation. Such allusive renderings were probably completely clear to the ancient Greeks, who had the prototypes still among them or could easily "read" the conventions of their times, but they seem puzzling to our modern, lacunose understanding.⁵

Probably the most serious obstacle to our study of Greek Archaic sculpture is in fact our modern mentality. We find it difficult to conceive of such "primitive" rituals as I have just described, forgetting that many European shrines still contain images of the

Virgin Mary or of Baby Jesus clothed in rich brocade vestments and adorned with expensive jewels, which are periodically carried in procession. Our taste trained on white marbles and understated fashions is disturbed by "barbaric" headdresses and violent colors, so that plaster restorations of Archaic korai, tinted and supplied with added ornaments, appear to us jarring and unlikely. We tend to underestimate the pervasive religious purpose that underlay all ancient sculpture, and we even attempt to superimpose sociological interpretations on material that should instead be viewed solely in a devotional context. Finally, we tend to place too much reliance on ancient sources, disregarding the changing meaning of terms through the centuries, or taking seriously the occasional allusion that was meant as a joke.⁶

"MENISKOI" AS BIRD-REPELLENTS

Some verses by Aristophanes (*Birds* 1114–17) that have received renewed attention in recent years may be a case of such a joke. In them, the chorus of birds suggests to the judges that, should they fail to decide in the birds' favor, they had better forge for themselves and carry *meniskoi*, like statues, not to have their white clothes bespattered. Although the entire song of the chorus is full of double meanings and puns, such as the reference to the Laurion owlets to suggest Athenian silver coins, or to eagles in their secondary meaning as pediments, the allusion to "crescent moons" on the heads of *andriantes* has been taken literally and has been considered proven by the presence of metal rods on the crania of some marble korai from the Akropolis.

The first scholar to make the connection between

⁵ On such early statues and their rituals, see I.B. Romano, "Early Greek Cult Images and Cult Practices," in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, and G.C. Nordquist eds., *Early Greek Cult Practice* (Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26–29 June, 1986; Stockholm 1988) 127–33; see also 130 n. 30, for references to Artemis of Ephesos and forthcoming publications. The main discussion remains R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien* (EPRO 35, Leiden 1973), and his additions in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien* 1 (Festschrift F.K. Dörner, Leiden 1978) 324–74; *LIMC* 2 s.v. Artemis, 755–63 pls. 564–73. For the practice of dressing statues, see also Fleischer, "Eine bekleidete Nachbildung der Artemis von Ephesos," *ÖJh* 52 (1978–1980) 63–66. Also of interest are the references collected by J.M. Mansfield, *The Robe of Athena and the Panathenaic Peplos* (Diss. Berkeley 1985) 438–587.

⁶ For statues in painted marble, with real jewelry, see, for instance, the Madonna and Child by Rinaldo di Guascogna in the Madonna Chapel of St. Anthony's Basilica in Padua, Italy (14th century); the famous Bambino of the Ara Coeli,

in Rome, is dressed in real clothes and jewels. See also Fleischer, *Artemis* (supra n. 5) 406 n. 7, for examples of other clothed Christian images. For a painted cast of the Peplos Kore, in the Cambridge Museum of casts, see, e.g., Boardman, *Archaic Period* fig. 129 (here fig. 2). For comments on the reconstruction, see R.M. Cook, "A Supplementary Note on *Meniskoi*," *JHS* 96 (1976) 153–54; for close-up details, see also his "The Peplos Kore and Its Dress," *JWalt* 37 (1978) 84–87, figs. 1–2. For a sociological interpretation of the korai, see L.A. Schneider, *Zur sozialen Bedeutung der archaischen Korenstatuen* (Hamburg 1975); for the kouroi, see also A.F. Stewart, "When is a Kouros not an Apollo?" in *Corinthia*; *Studies in Honor of D. Amyx* (Columbia, Mo. 1986) 54–70. For my own position, at an earlier stage of my research, see B.S. Ridgway, "Of Kouros and Korai, Attic Variety," *Hesperia* suppl. 20 (1982, in honor of H.A. Thompson) 118–27, with previous bibl. For the changing meaning of ancient terms, according to the time of the sources, see the excellent discussion on the use of *xoanon* in A.A. Donohue, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture* (American Classical Studies 15, Atlanta 1988). See also *infra* n. 14.

Aristophanes' *meniskoi* and the Athenian monuments was F. Studniczka in an 1887 article; his own visualization, however, took the form of a flower on the head of Antenor's Kore, Akr. 681 (fig. 1).⁷ Other early commentators argued for an umbrella, a crescent with upraised horns, a disk atop a tall rod, or perhaps even the rod alone. It was rightly pointed out by H. Lechat that no moon, in disk or crescent form, had ever been found connected to the extant rods or separately. The rods themselves, when preserved to a pointed tip, gave no indication that something else was fastened on them, so that the crowning object would have had to be in a different medium, either wood or leather, which would not have survived. Lechat advocated that the spike alone was sufficient to keep the birds away, but thus implicitly destroyed the connection with Aristophanes' passage; he then suggested that only the occasional statue might have carried some form of a moon-shaped projection, to justify the poet's allusion. Yet, from the end of the 19th century to our day, the word "meniskos" has formed part of our vocabulary as the standard term for a bird-repellent placed on statues primarily, but not solely, of the Archaic period.⁸

The issue was reopened in 1975 by J. Maxmin, who reviewed the ancient evidence and the modern theories, and concluded that only a return to the umbrella-theory would satisfy the effectiveness requirement. It would seem unnecessary, for instance, to protect the head of a statue, when a bird could as easily perch on its shoulders, on an outstretched limb or even on other parts of a more complex composition, such as a horse and rider. A parasol, moreover, would have appeared more plausible, as contrasted with a crescent on a spike, which could bear no relationship to real-life practices; on the other hand, a profile view of the object might have suggested a waning moon to a viewer.⁹ Maxmin's theory was criticized shortly thereafter by R.M. Cook, who preferred the more traditional reconstruction with a small disk for his cast of the Peplos Kore (fig. 2); he argued that it too, in foreshortened view, would have resembled a crescent

⁷ F. Studniczka, "Antenor der Sohn des Eumares und die Geschichte der archaische Malerei," *Jdl* 2 (1887) 135–48, esp. 139; see also 141 for a drawing of Akr. 681 with a lotus flower on her head (here fig. 1).

⁸ H. Lechat, "Observations sur les statues archaïques de type féminin du Musée de l'Acropole," *BCH* 14 (1890) 301–62; by the same author, see also the important entry in *DarSag* (1904) s.v. *Meniskos*, 1718–20. For sculpture later than the Archaic period, with possible bird-repellents, see *infra* ns. 17–19.

⁹ J. Maxmin, "Meniskoi and the Birds," *JHS* 95 (1975) 175–80.

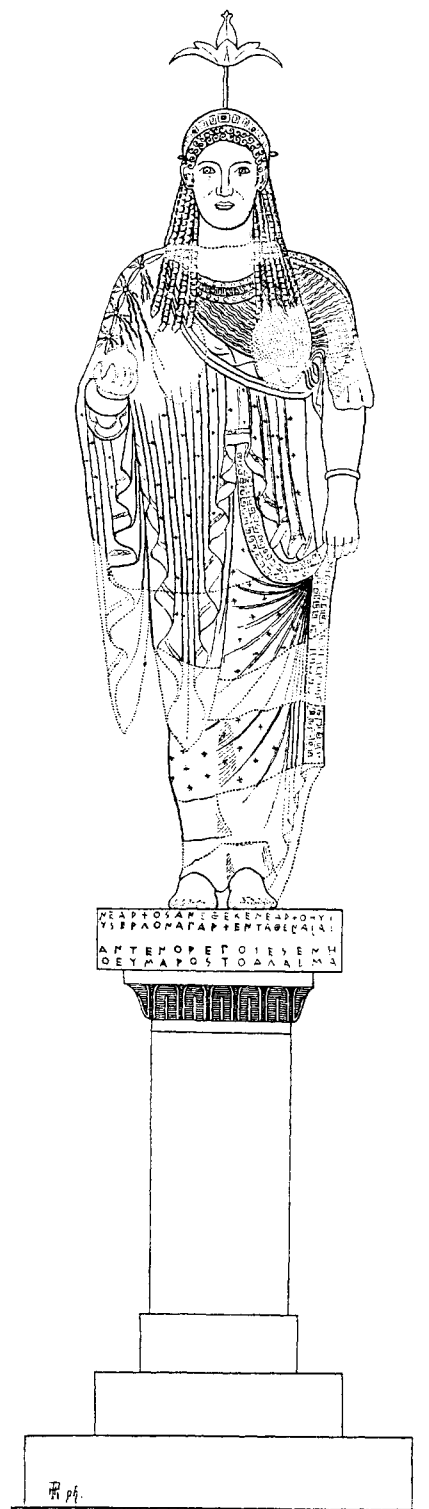


Fig. 1. Kore Akr. 681 (Antenor's Kore). Akropolis Museum, Athens. (Drawing after F. Studniczka, *Jdl* 2 [1887] 141)

and was therefore better suited to be called *meniskos* than an umbrella, for which a more likely name would have been *skiadeion*. Cook speculated also on the "correct" dimensions for spike and disk—not so high as to be inefficient, not so large as to be disturbing in its total effect—and asserted that he had found it easy to get used to the contraption on the colored plaster replica in his collection.¹⁰

This consideration may be valid in the case of a richly draped and highly colorful statue of a kore; but would a similar arrangement be equally satisfactory, on aesthetic and logical grounds, on the head of a naked kouros? Lechat, in 1890, thinking in terms of a hat, found the idea bizarre, and even more incongruous for a sphinx.¹¹ What such a disk would have looked like on the Kritios Boy can now be seen in a reconstructed drawing published by J.M. Hurwit, who wondered, however, whether the device, on a windy day, would have served as a virtual sail endangering the integrity of the statue to which it was affixed.¹² It could be argued that the disk need not have been permanently fastened to the rod, that its relative instability atop the spike might have been even more effective in discouraging birds from perching on it, and that its shiny appearance, if in bronze, perhaps combined with a slight ringing sound, as in today's wind chimes, may have been part of its deterring function. Yet a loose disk would all the more easily have been blown away by the wind, and the fact still remains, as noted by Lechat, that no individual *meniskoi* have ever been found or recognized among Archaic material.¹³

On the other side of the argument, it could be noted that a bird may rest as easily on a spike as on a disk or a convex surface (such as a statue's head). I am told that a magpie has been seen perched on the radio antenna of a car, certainly smaller in diameter than some of the rods still extant on Akropolis korai. Yet

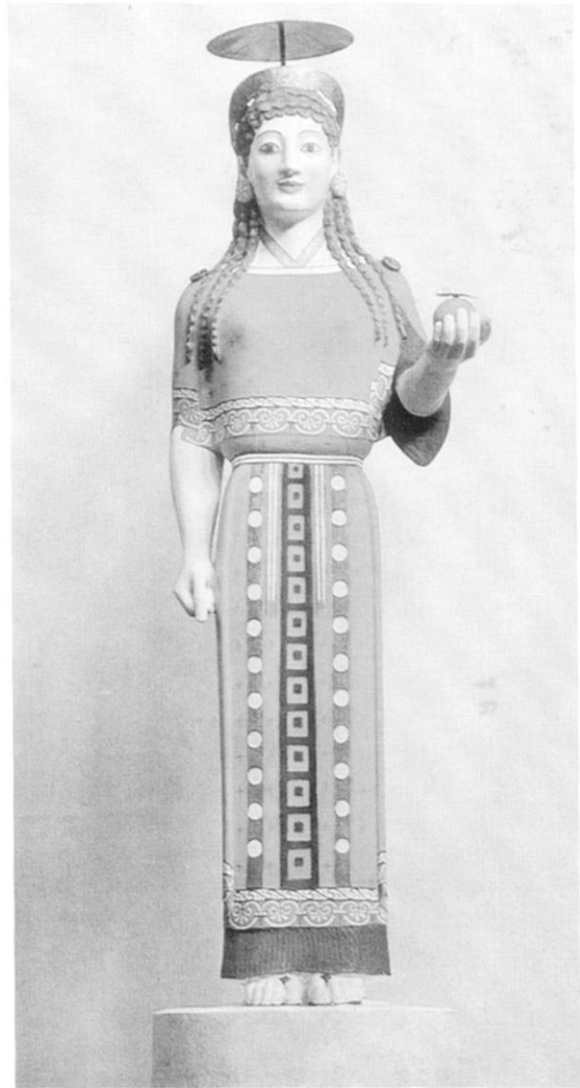


Fig. 2. Restored cast of Kore Akr. 679 (the Peplos Kore). University Museum of Casts, Cambridge, England. (Photo courtesy Museum)

¹⁰ Cook 1976 (supra n. 6). Note that his proposed arrangement, even in foreshortened view, would provide a crescent pointing downward, which is an astronomical impossibility, since "the cusps of the crescent always point away from the sun," C. Fisher, *The Story of the Moon* (Garden City, N.Y. 1943) 161. Artists, however, occasionally disregard this principle.

¹¹ Lechat 1890 (supra n. 8) 339; for his entire discussion of the *meniskos*, see 337–50, with inclusion of the ancient sources.

¹² J.M. Hurwit, "The Kritios Boy: Discovery, Reconstruction, and Date," *AJA* 93 (1989) 41–80; see esp. fig. 28 on p. 72, and ns. 99, 153.

¹³ For a mention of three bronze *meniskoi* in the inventories of the Athenian Chalkotheke, in the first half of the fourth century (368/7, or 353/2 B.C.), see *IG* II/III², no. 1425 (EM 7856/7) B, line 383. I owe this reference, through

J. Maxmin, to Diane Harris, who is preparing a Ph.D. dissertation on the Parthenon inventories for Princeton University and will perhaps throw further light on this point. For the chronology, see also E. Schweigert, "Inscriptions from the North Slope of the Acropolis," *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 281–89, esp. 288. The *meniskoi* of the Chalkotheke are listed immediately before cables from four-wheelers (*tetrakylon*), studs, ties of stones (clamps? dowels?), shields, and metal objects that seem to pertain to armament, so that their meaning is likely to be as fittings for chariots or ships. On the other hand, the immediately preceding entries (lines 380–82) list "korai from the baskets (*kanea*), lion bases, underpinnings of the Nikai." On the kore reference, see J. Schelp, *Das Kanoun: der griechische Opferkorb* (Würzburg 1975) 20, who hypothesizes these are small bronze statuettes given by kanephoroi as thank offerings for their selection to the honor; I would imagine they could be appliqués for

it is also true that a bird can excrete in flight; a spike would therefore serve only to prevent the making of a nest, but not the bespattering of a sculpture. It has been acknowledged that Aristophanes is the only ancient author to use the diminutive of *mene* in connection with statuary and protection against birds' droppings. Three other passages are simply glosses on the playwright's verses: the scholiast, Suidas, and Hesychios slightly amplify and paraphrase Aristophanes, as if they had no direct knowledge of the object itself. Indeed, the second lexicographer provides also additional meanings, such as hymen, leaf ornaments (? *petalia*), and the bronze fittings for steering oars.¹⁴ Other ancient sources have been adduced to confirm the need for protection against the birds, and are again mentioned by Maxmin in synthetic fashion. A lengthier discussion had been provided by E. Petersen in 1889, but the resultant picture is not much clearer.¹⁵ When a term is employed to suggest a "Vogelabwehr," admittedly in a considerably later source (Joseph., *BJ* 5.6.224), it is rather *obelos*—a spit or a spike—and it occurs in an architectural context. Otherwise, energetic measures such as bow and arrows seem to have been required to chase birds away—yet to prevent not their fouling of sacred objects but their nesting in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi (Eur., *Ion* 171–78). At Olympia, the good behavior of kites at sacrifices was noted (Paus. 5.141), thus implying

that they were a common nuisance around offering tables. It has, however, been pointed out to me that the cleaning function of scavengers, such as crows and kites, may have been welcome rather than objectionable, when the actual ceremonies were over.

Several architectural examples of contrivances against the birds have been cited from time to time, but although the term "meniskos" has been used for them in the modern literature, no suggestion has been made that the extant spikes or the holes for their insertion ever supported crescents. The most intriguing case is perhaps that of the small metal rods still in place on the pedimental sculpture of the Temple of Artemis at Corfu. Those I have noted personally are placed horizontally, at right angles to the relief plane, and would almost encourage a bird to perch on them rather than deter it.¹⁶ Holes for metal rods have been pointed out in the sculptured metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia,¹⁷ but one wonders why no such evidence has been found on the pedimental statues, which could have been even more susceptible to the encroachment of nests, being more directly exposed. Several terracotta antefixes from Etrusco-Italic territory have been found provided with metal rods, some of them bifurcated at the top, or even in the shape of tridents (especially at Nemi), but their function may have been somewhat different, perhaps as attributes of the local divinity.¹⁸ On the akroterial groups from

baskets, either in relief or in the round. On the underpinnings (*diereismata*) for the Nikai, see D.B. Thompson, "The Golden Nikai Reconsidered," *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 173–209, esp. 187–89. These last inventory entries may seem to refer to statuary, for which "meniskoi" might be appropriate; yet they are technical components rather than sculptures themselves, so that the meaning I propose for the three bronze *meniskoi* should apply. J. Maxmin kindly reminds me that a disk attached, though not permanently affixed, to a rod existed for the game of Kottabos, and cites the stand on a red-figure oinochoe by the Phiale Painter, Berlin Staat. Mus. 2416, *ARV*² 1020 no. 99; *RM* 57 (1950) pl. 14.1.

¹⁴ On the question of whether Aristophanes should always be taken literally, see, e.g., H. Lloyd-Jones, "Artemis and Iphigeneia," *JHS* 103 (1983) 87–102, esp. 92–93 (I am indebted to Mary Lefkowitz for this reference). That excessive importance and even erroneous interpretation can be given to Aristophanes' allusions has also been argued by R. Hamilton, "The Well-Equipped Traveller: *Birds* 42," *GRBS* 26 (1985) 235–39. It should also be stressed that the connection between Aristophanes' *meniskos* and head spikes has usually been made for Archaic statues, few of which would still have been standing in the late fifth century. I am not aware of such head attachments in later works, but our knowledge of fifth-century monuments is usually based on later copies or on architectural sculpture, on which see *infra* n. 16.

¹⁵ E. Petersen, "Vogelabwehr," *AM* 14 (1889) 233–39, and "Nachtrag" on p. 328 on an antefix from Falerii described by the Italian publisher as a bust of Diana wearing a diadem

with an *obelos* like the spike on a flamen's cap. See also Maxmin (*supra* n. 9) for discussion of the other ancient sources.

¹⁶ Ridgway, *Archaic Style* 195; G. Rodenwaldt, *Korkyra 2, Die Bildwerke des Artemistempels* (Berlin 1939) 17–18 and n. 1.

¹⁷ For the original idea, see Petersen, "Vogelabwehr" (*supra* n. 15). Also G. Treu, *Olympia III, Die Bildwerke in Stein und Thon* (Berlin 1897) 153 and pl. 45; cf. also pp. 158, 160, 162, 164–65, 169–70, 173–74, 176, 178.

¹⁸ A. Andr n, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* (Lund 1940), pp. cxxvii, cxc–xcxi, cc, and comparison with Greek material from Thermon and Kalydon on pp. xciv, xcvi, respectively. This latter material is currently being restudied. Perhaps the Etruscan material should also be reconsidered, since I can find no mention of "meniskoi" in more recent publications of architectural terracottas, e.g., *Architettura etrusca nel Viterbese* (Rome 1986) 60–108. Antefix from Cerveteri: Lechat, in *DarSag* (*supra* n. 8) 1718, fig. 4901. Tridents from Nemi: *MonAnt* 13 (1903) cols. 327–28, figs. 38, 44, 71. An actual iron strip, rectangular in section, split into a trident at the top, bifurcated at the bottom and surrounded by lead (PH 19.7 cm.), is among the holdings of the Princeton University Art Museum, acc. no. 40.195. It is presumed to have been bought in Italy. Information on it, together with many pertinent references to Italic parallels, was given to G.R. Edwards by F.F. Jones and is here gratefully acknowledged.



Fig. 3. Sphinx atop the Brother-and-Sister Stele, front. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Munsey Fund, 1936, 1938, acc. no. 11.185d. (Photo courtesy Museum)



Fig. 4. Sphinx atop the Brother-and-Sister Stele, profile. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Munsey Fund, 1936, 1938, acc. no. 11.185d. (Photo courtesy Museum)

the Marasà Temple at Lokroi, in South Italy, a metal spike described as 9 cm long, rectangular in section, and needle sharp, is still extant on the right upper arm of the Triton supporting a mounted Dioskouros riding to right. Holes for similar spikes (?) have been detected on other parts of the same Triton, the horse, and the youth, especially the shoulders and head of this last. It is legitimate to wonder, however, if all holes should be explained as having the same purpose, since metal attachments for the horses' bridles and for other attributes have equally left behind only the evidence of the holes, now that the bronze has disintegrated.¹⁹

Lechat had already commented on the variety of provisions for "meniskoi" on the heads of Archaic statues, which may suggest toppings of different kinds. Whereas most Akropolis pieces have only one rod extant, at least one kore (Akr. 674) has three thin bronze bars within the same hole; another kore (Akr.

671) had three iron wires, small enough to fit within a single hole 1 cm wide, and certainly unable to support any considerable weight. We may note further that, in some cases, the hole for the bar or the bar itself is placed at the peak of the cranium, at the point where the hair branches off in different directions (e.g., the Rampin Horseman); in others, spike or hole appears well toward the front and, in Lechat's words, "il semble enfin, d'après la position des trous dans certains têtes, qu'il [the rod] devait plutôt incliner en avant qu'en arrière" (e.g., kore Akr. 682).²⁰

SPHINXES

This observation is confirmed by the virtually horizontal inclination of a bronze spike on the head of a sphinx in New York that has been plausibly identified as the crowning ornament for the well-known Brother-and-Sister Stele in the Metropolitan Museum (figs. 3–4). It could be readily assumed that the metal

¹⁹ E. Petersen, "Tempel in Lokri," *RM* 5 (1890) 203–205, esp. 204 n. 1, which lists the various holes on the equestrian group. For a good illustration of the rod on the Triton's upper arm (a peculiar position for a bird-repellent), see E. Langlotz and M. Hirmer, *The Art of Magna Graecia* (London 1965) pl. 122 (cf. also pl. 123). Further discussion by A. De Franciscis, "Gli acroteri marmorei del tempio Marasà a Locri Epizefirii," *RM* 67 (1960) 1–28, esp. p. 3 and n. 6, p. 4 (female figure), and *passim*, pls. 1–6.

²⁰ Lechat 1890 (*supra* n. 8) 339. The various Akropolis statues mentioned in this paragraph are all discussed in the same article; they will be treated in detail *infra*. For kore Akr. 674, note that Langlotz, in *AMA* no. 44, p. 94, specifies an extant rod height of 1.2 cm, but does not mention the tripartite arrangement, nor does he draw it on fig. 60, although it is visible in his photographs and is specifically described by Lechat. Other Akropolis catalogues are not detailed enough in this respect.

bar was forcibly bent forward at the time when the monument was destroyed and buried; yet a build-up of lead in front creates a wedge corresponding to the angle of inclination of the bar, and serves as underpinning around its base. It is unlikely that the lead assumed this shape when the rod was damaged, since the cavity for the spike does not seem deep or large enough to have contained so much metal; nor could the lead have been forced up from it once it had solidified. It seems to me much more logical to assume that the molten lead was poured in that position to fasten in place and support a bronze spike already intentionally built at an angle.²¹

If this sequence of events is correct, we can safely conclude that the spike was not meant as a bird-repellent, for which a horizontal course, virtually parallel to the sphinx's cranium, would have been unsuited. I can only infer that it was intended to support some kind of ornament, and that the position was required by the desire for such an ornament to be visible from ground level. With a reconstructed total height of over four meters, the monument would in fact have towered over any viewer positioned directly in front of it, and the sphinx's headdress could have been seen only from a considerable distance. As a secondary consideration, it could also be pointed out that, according to the theories summarized above, a "meniskos" might have been unnecessary in connection with a grave monument, because no sacrificed animal would have attracted predatory birds to the spot.

Yet that funerary sphinxes, away from sanctuaries, were provided with metal head ornaments is also shown by a second monument, a fragmentary example from the Kerameikos tentatively connected with the so-called Gorgon Stele. This sphinx is usually described as having long hair "left smooth at the top," but at the time of its discovery it was clearly visible that the hair calotte bore a painted pattern of petals diverging from a central knob into which the hole for a metal insertion had been drilled. The rosette thus formed by paint (in alternating colors?) was uneven,



Fig. 5. Sphinx from the Kerameikos (Gorgon Stele ?), profile. National Museum, Athens, no. 2891. (Photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. no. 5096)

in that the length of the petals was greater on the back than toward the front, where the forehead hair of the sphinx, terminating in a scalloped edge, was differentiated by color from the edge of the painted headdress. Today, this decoration is very faint and can only be detected if the viewer is already aware that it exists, but some early photographs have recorded it and are here included (figs. 5–6). It was originally assumed that the "cap" was intended as a visual support for the *meniskos*—to make it plausible—but I believe that other explanations are possible.²²

²¹ Brother-and-Sister Stele, Metr. Mus. 11.185: Richter, AGA no. 37, figs. 96–100. The latest mention of this monument, to my knowledge, is S. Karouzou, "Corrigendum sto AD 31, 1976, Chr. pin. A2," AAA 14 (1981)315. I am deeply indebted to E.J. Milleker, who allowed me to see the sphinx at close quarters and to publish the close-up photographs which she generously provided (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Munsey Fund, 1936, 1938, acc. no. 11.185d). I have already mentioned my speculations on this sphinx's head ornament, and on "meniskoi," in "Metal Attachments in Greek Marble Sculpture," forthcoming in *Marble* (Getty Symposium, supra n. 3).

²² Kerameikos sphinx with painted cap, Athens Nat. Mus. 2891, Richter, AGA no. 16, figs. 54–57; the quotation is from p. 17. For the Gorgon stele from the Themistoklean Wall, Athens Nat. Mus. 2687, see AGA no. 27, figs. 83–85. The original publication of the sphinx is F. Noack, "Die Mauern Athens. Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen, II," AM 32 (1907) 473–566, esp. 550–54; for the description of the painted rosette-cap, see 553. The cap is compared to the small helmet of Athena on the Burgon Amphora and similar ones on vases by the Amasis Painter. On these helmets, see infra n. 86.

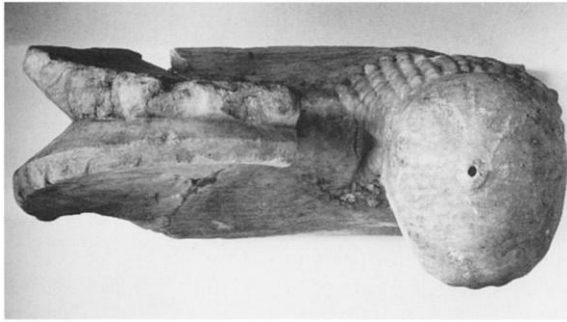


Fig. 6. Sphinx from the Kerameikos (Gorgon Stele ?), view from above. (Photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. no. 5097)

It is difficult to provide statistics on head decoration of Attic funerary sphinxes as listed by G.M.A. Richter, because the various catalogue entries do not always mention all details, but a cursory survey based partly on direct observation suggests that most such monsters bore some kind of headdress, with or without metal attachments, and that only a few may have been bareheaded or have worn a simple fillet. In some cases, headdresses may be mutually exclusive, so that a hole for a metal bar does not appear on sphinxes already wearing a polos or a dentated crown, but it is present on one with fillet and "cap" (?) comparable to the Athenian example, and on the newly found head of the sphinx from Aigina. This peculiar discrimination may support the interpretation of the central rod as decoration, rather than as *meniskos*, since a polos, with its level surface, would provide an ideal perch for birds.²³

On the Akropolis, one sphinx with head turned

²³ Although this cannot be considered a firm number, I have counted 12 sphinxes with head or heads alone in Richter, *AGA* (I have included the head of the sphinx from Aigina, although not yet known to Richter). Of this total number, three (New York Brother- and-Sister; Kerameikos rosette-cap; Aigina sphinx) had, and three more (New York limestone; Copenhagen limestone; head in Mariemont with metal ornaments also on fillet, *AGA* no. 18, figs. 60–62) may have had a central spike. Sphinxes wearing a polos: see, e.g., the sphinx from Spata, Richter, *AGA* no. 12, figs. 40–41; the limestone sphinx in the Metropolitan Museum, 26.13, *AGA* no. 2, figs. 8–9, seems to be wearing a low polos that has been pierced by at least two vertical channels (one for a "meniskos"?), but its present state is so damaged that it is impossible to tell whether this is a subsequent repair or part of the original arrangement. Sphinx with dentated crown: e.g., the Kerameikos sphinx, *AGA* no. 11, figs. 34–39. Sphinx (limestone, in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1203) with fillet, "cap" (?), and "meniskos" (?): *AGA* no. 3, figs. 10–15; Richter's text only mentions "a hole with bits of lead adhering," which may imply a different form of finial. Sphinx from Aigina, Athens Nat. Mus. 77 (head not in-

sideways, like a funerary guardian (Akr. 632) wears a fillet above which the cranial calotte is articulated solely by plastic waves; but at the apex of the cranium there is a circular knob pierced by a hole that once contained a metal ornament. By contrast, Akr. 630, looking straight ahead, has no ornament of any sort and no provisions for it. It would therefore seem as if the presence or absence of "meniskoi" bore no obvious relationship to the function of sphinxes, whether funerary or votive (or perhaps even akroterial).²⁴

Non-Attic sphinxes have not been systematically studied, but the few examples I can mention would seem to confirm that, although metal attachments are most common in Attica, they occur also on pieces from the Cyclades and related islands, and a few from elsewhere: the large marble sphinx from Corinth (funerary?) has a smooth head calotte,²⁵ whereas a battered sphinx head from Siphnos (akroterial?) has a "meniskos" hole,²⁶ as does the complete example from Cyrene, that stood on a votive Ionic column.²⁷ Other sphinxes from Paros, Naxos, and Didyma/Miletos are regrettably headless, but individual heads in European collections, occasionally labeled as human, may in fact have had an animal body, for instance, the so-called Wix head in Copenhagen, probably from Thasos, which in fact sports a "meniskos" hole.²⁸

If my suggestion—that provisions for metal attachments on the heads of sphinxes were meant for decorative purposes, not to repel birds—is valid, two questions immediately arise: Should smooth or undulating cranial surfaces always be seen as headdresses of some kind? What form would such ornaments have had on the head of sphinxes?

cluded): *AGA* no. 40, 119–22; for the head, see I. Trianti, *AAA* 8 (1975) 227–41, where the monster is considered an akroterion for the Temple of Apollo.

²⁴ Sphinx Akr. 632: *AMA* no. 372, pl. 164. The circular knob is 4.6 cm in diameter, the hole is 0.9 cm in diameter and 2.8 cm. deep. For a possible matching piece, see inv. 3723, *AMA* no. 373, fig. 293 on p. 261. Sphinx Akr. 630 (without "meniskos"): *AMA* no. 371, pl. 165.

²⁵ *AAA* 6 (1973) 181–88; *BCH* 97 (1973) 284–87, figs. 65–70; *ArchDelt* 29 (1973–1974) B'2 (1979) 200, pls. 141–42. I thank C.K. Williams, II, for checking the head of the sphinx for me.

²⁶ K.A. Sheedy, "An Archaic Sphinx from Siphnos," *BSA* 83 (1988) 363–73; see 366–67 for mention of other sphinxes, headless, from the Cyclades.

²⁷ D. White, "The Cyrene Sphinx, Its Capital and Its Column," *AJA* 75 (1971) 47–55, esp. 48, pl. 9.

²⁸ Richter, *Kouroi* no. 109 figs. 328–29; I. Kleemann, *Frühe Bewegung* 1 (Mainz 1984) 66–83, where the head is attributed to a sphinx with head turned sideways, on the basis of its asymmetries.

The answer to the first question should be given on an individual basis, since considerable variation in rendering exists. I would only stress that we have perhaps tended to overstress artistic license and impressionistic simplification in the carving of Archaic forms, whenever different hair patterns are used on a single head. Indeed, some formulas may coexist to suggest strands of different lengths and course, but others may represent artificial covering, once made obvious by the addition of paint, as for instance on the Kerameikos sphinx with the "rosette-cap." We shall return to this point in connection with kouroi and korai. On the other hand, it seems clear that metal attachments could be placed in the center of a mass of hair curls indicated as such by one of the conventional patterns, with an effect comparable; perhaps, to the tall combs of Spanish female coiffures, or, to use a much earlier example, to the floral ornaments recovered from the Royal Cemetery at Ur.²⁹ Parallels for both forms of head decorations (with or without caps) can be found in Greek vase painting.

As late as the end of the sixth century, Attic red-figure vases show sphinxes with long spiral tendrils stemming from apparently bare heads surrounded only by wreaths.³⁰ A Middle Corinthian plate depicts two confronted male sphinxes with long beards, each wearing a most elaborate head ornament that joins in the center between the two to form a single floral motif.³¹ Lakonian vases have a multitude of sphinxes with headdresses that go from the simple spiral tendril on a long stem to the lotus bud, to complex tripartite arrangements similar to the Corinthian one.³² A terracotta relief tripod from Thasos seems to show a sphinx with a spiral tendril emerging from the side of the head, perhaps from a decorated fillet, but the

lack of space above the sphinx's cranium may have prevented a higher placing; or the potter may have been influenced by the iconography of griffins, which often sport such long side curls.³³ Protoattic vases have a variety of sphinx headdresses: some trident-like, others like a series of hooks.³⁴ These ornaments may appear bizarre to us, but may have served to emphasize the non-human nature of the monster. Ultimately, such elaborate headdresses may go back to Oriental and even to Bronze Age prototypes, as exemplified by Mycenaean sphinxes on ivories and seals.³⁵ This possible connection with prehistoric iconography has already been advocated for the Argive motif of the Horse-Leader; it will be relevant later in this discussion.

KOUROI

Because of its fantastic nature, a sphinx may therefore seem a good candidate for a special headdress. But can the same argument be advanced for kouroi? Surprising as the effect may look to us, a protective disk would not appear considerably more bizarre than other forms of headdress on a naked male figure, as Lechat had noted. On the other hand, my research so far seems to indicate that true generic kouroi—if ever totally neutral, non-specific statues existed—exhibit no spike or cranial holes. When these features are present, the statue deviates from the standard kouros formula, either in pose or in added attributes, and can be taken to portray a specific type (e.g., a warrior), or a god, or a mythological character, in which case a head attachment may have represented one more identifying element or a divine embellishment. Again, statistics are not entirely safe, but a perusal of Richter's collection of Archaic male figures

²⁹ See, e.g., E. Strommenger and M. Hirmer, *5000 Years of the Art of Mesopotamia* (New York 1964) pl. 84 and color pl. XVIII.

³⁰ See, e.g., Tarquinia 699, kylix by the Euergides Painter, ca. 510–500, *ARV*² 88.2; G. Ferrari, *I vasi attici a figure rosse del periodo arcaico* (Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia 11, Rome 1988) no. 7, pl. 15.1, pp. 39–43.

³¹ Copenhagen inv. 1630, CVA Denmark 2, Copenhagen 2, pl. 90.3 and color pl. 90A; cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* no. 1054, pl. 34.1.

³² See, e.g., C.M. Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Amsterdam/London 1972)—cup Louvre E 664 (I), pl. 4.1, no. 7; amphora Toledo 64.53, pl. 22.4, no. 41; cup by the Boreads Painter, Villa Giulia, Rome (I, exergue), pl. 41.1, no. 122; cup in Oxford, from Attica (I), pl. 83.3, no. 235; cup in New York, from Sardis (I), pl. 106.1, no. 229. See also U. Sinn, "Ektypon. Der sog. Hera-Kopf aus Olympia," *AM* 99 (1984) 77–87, esp. 81 and ns. 19–20, as well as figs. 1 and 3, for other Lakonian examples and

comments on connections between Lakonia and Crete in this iconographic sphere. Sinn (fig. 4) reconstructs the famous "Hera" head from Olympia as a pedimental sphinx with leafy crown and projecting spiral tendril; I would accept the sphinx identification but I am not sure about the connection with a gable. See also infra ns. 98, 100–101, 103, and 105, for crowns associated with Hera.

³³ Thasos relief (seventh century B.C.): E. Haspels, "Trepieds archaïques de Thasos," *BCH* 70 (1946) 233–37, esp. 234, pls. 10, 12.

³⁴ Two Protoattic stands for kraters inv. 153–54: CVA Deutschland 15, Mainz, Universität 1 (1959), pl. 13 (Stand A, upright hooks), pls. 19, 22 (Stand B, tripartite spikes ending in two volutes).

³⁵ See, e.g., S. Hood, *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece* (London 1978) 130, fig. 122A (mirror handle from Knossos), D (ivory plaque from Spata, Attica), after 1400 B.C. Both sphinxes have a low headdress with long plume emerging from a central crest holder.

has yielded only 11 examples with provisions for "meniskoi" out of a total of 78 possible candidates for outdoor locations, and even this limited group requires further analysis.³⁶

One of the 11 items, in fact, is the Wix head from Thasos, which, as discussed above, may come from a sphinx; another is a male head (Akr. 663) that, because of the inclination of its neck, may belong to a rider. The last two members of the group are the Kritios Boy and the Blond Boy: both of them have been recently identified as Theseus, or even as Theseus and Apollo respectively.³⁷ Two of the 11 are not mentioned by Richter as having "meniskoi," but Karouzos describes two small bronze pins on Aristodikos's head as serving that purpose,³⁸ and I can personally attest to the presence of a puddle of lead (?) at the peak of Kroisos's calotte. In this respect, it may also be significant that three of the 11 examples (nos. 3, 4, 6 in the list given in note 36) wear what may now be read as a smooth cap bordered by a rolled edge or band, while three more (5, 7, 9) exhibit a roughly picked cranial surface enclosed by a wreath of patterned curls. One final observation is that, except for the Wix head, the 10 remaining statues are either known or said to be coming from Athens and Attica; the Moschatos kouros has been considered an

import from Naxos.³⁹

If not *meniskoi*, what were the metal additions on these heads? The three roughly picked calottes were originally interpreted as being prepared for paint or for the application of stucco to create an elaborate hairstyle, but it seems much more probable that they were covered entirely by a helmet or a cap.⁴⁰ This conclusion had already been reached independently by U. Knigge, in her study of a fragmentary head from the Kerameikos with a similar cranial treatment, but too damaged to reveal traces of a central metal dowel.⁴¹ She argued that the articulated curls framing the plain calotte in some cases bore traces of paint, thus proving a special preparation of the surface to be unnecessary; and that at least the funerary statues (e.g., Aristodikos) were surely meant to stand outdoors, whereas stucco additions could not have withstood exposure to the elements. The fact that Aristodikos had two metal pins, rather than one, also suggests something more elaborate than a bird-repellent (fig. 7). The case for a helmet or other head cover may have now been proved by the recent discovery of the already famous Motya Youth, whose head has the same rough surface framed by a wreath of snail curls. In addition to a central dowel hole (7.2 cm deep), the statue also exhibits four smaller holes—two

³⁶ In my survey of Richter, *Kouroi*, I have taken into account only those sculptures that retain the top of the head and are larger than statuettes, so that an outdoor display is likely. In the following list, no. and fig. indications refer to Richter, *Kouroi*: 1) no. 31, upper torso from New Phaleron, figs. 132–33; 2) no. 109, Wix Head from Thasos in Copenhagen, figs. 328–29, 334 (probably a sphinx); 3) no. 139, Akr. 663, figs. 402–403 (probably a rider, wears a cap?); 4) no. 140, Akr. 653, fig. 425 (cap?); 5) no. 143, head in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, from Attica (?), figs. 413–14 (cranial surface rough-picked); 6) no. 136, Kroisos, from Anavyssos, figs. 395–98, 400–401 ("meniskos" not mentioned in text); 7) no. 163, head in Paris, Louvre, from Attica (?), figs. 490–91 (cranial surface rough-picked); 8) no. 164, head in Kansas City, from Athens (?), figs. 485–88; 9) no. 165, Aristodikos, from Keratea, figs. 489, 492–93 (cranial surface rough-picked, metal attachments not mentioned in text); 10) no. 190, Akr. 698, the Kritios Boy, figs. 564–69; 11) no. 191, Akr. 689, the Blond Boy, figs. 570–74. A possible no. 12 may be the Volomandra kouros, because of the rectangular cutting at the peak of the cranium visible in some photographs: *Kouroi* no. 63, figs. 208–16, esp. the profile views figs. 215–16; Richter's text, however, makes no mention of it. For a "bronze nail" on the Merenda Kouros, see *infra* n. 56 (Mastrokostas).

³⁷ See, e.g., E.B. Harrison, "Greek Sculptured Coiffures and Ritual Haircuts," in Hägg, Marinatos, and Nordquist eds. (*supra* n. 5) 247–54, esp. 250; that the Kritios Boy is Theseus had already been suggested by J. Neils, "The Quest for Theseus in Classical Sculpture," *Πρακτικά του XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας*, Athens 4–

10 September 1983 (Athens 1988) vol. 2, pp. 155–58; cf. also *AJA* 88 (1984) 254.

³⁸ C. Karouzos, *Aristodikos* (Athens 1961) 4; he connects the two bronze pins with a "meniskos," but without specifying where they occur on the head; the two plates cited for illustration (pls. 4 and 10) are not sufficiently clear in this respect.

³⁹ C. Karouzos, "Φροντισματα," *ArchEph* 1953–1954 vol. 3 (in memory of Oikonomos) 19–29.

⁴⁰ For the possibility that headdresses in stucco were used in Greek sculpture, see C. Blümel, "Griechische Marmorköpfe mit Perücken," *AA* 1937, cols. 51–59; V.M. Strocka, "Aphroditekopf in Brescia," *Jdl* 82 (1967) 110–56. Although the practice seems attested in Egypt during Hellenistic times, probably because of restrictions of materials, I am not sure it existed in Classical Greece, with its abundance of good marble.

⁴¹ Kerameikos P 1455: U. Knigge, "Ein Jünglingskopf vom Heiligen Tor in Athen," *AM* 98 (1983) 45–56, pls. 11–15; see 53–55 for a discussion of the hair treatment and cover, including comparison with the heads in Boston and the Louvre and with Aristodikos (*supra* n. 36, my nos. 5, 7, 9). A discussion of Archaic caps (as contrasted with hair stylization) is given by S. Stucchi, in *Divagazioni archeologiche I* (Rome 1981) 38–45, with revealing photographs on pls. 16–21; his examples include the Brother-and-Sister Stele, a second stele in New York (Richter, *AGA* no. 52, fig. 132), Akr. 653, Akr. 657, Akr. 663, as well as Kroisos and some Severe sculptures. The author chides me courteously (p. 39 n. 141, with reference to my *Archaic Style*) for my having missed what I now perceive more clearly.



Fig. 7. Aristodikos, detail of head, left profile. National Museum, Athens, no. 3938. (Photo courtesy Bryn Mawr College Archives)

on each side of the head—some still containing bronze pins. Whatever the covering object was, it was certainly more substantial than a central *meniskos* and may have been a cap of some kind; that lateral fastenings, beside a central one, were deemed necessary suggests that care was taken so that the headdress could not be easily removed, by wind or other agents.⁴²

⁴² For a thorough description of the Motya Youth, see G. Falsone, "La scoperta, lo scavo e il contesto archeologico," in N. Bonacasa and A. Buttiita eds., *La statua marmorea di Mozia e la scultura di stile severo in Sicilia. Atti della Giornata di Studio, Marsala, 1 giugno 1986* (Studi e Materiali, Istituto di Archeologia, Università di Palermo 8 [Rome 1988]) 9–28, esp. 27 for the location of the attachments. Of the two lateral holes, one is above the temple and the other above the nape; the rear holes still preserve bronze pins 2 cm long and 0.3 cm thick, quadrangular in section. One empty hole above the temple is 2.4 cm deep, 0.4 cm in diameter, as contrasted with the 1.3 cm in diameter of the central hole. In the same volume, see the discussion of the head treatment, in connection with the Kerameikos head, by A. Di Vita, "La statua di Mozia," 39–52, esp. 44–45. Both Di Vita and Knigge (supra n. 41) mention the similar "unfinished" treatment of a marble head from Olympia and of the bronze head of a warrior from the Akropolis, Athens Nat. Mus. 6446, both once covered by a bronze Corinthian helmet.

⁴³ See, e.g., J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London 1975) fig. 50.1; note the row of pomegranates (?) decorating the crest holder of Achilles'

Such a headdress may have been a helmet, but it could also possibly have been a cap of the type I am now inclined to see on three of the 11 heads (Akr. 663, Akr. 653, Kroisos; my 3, 4, 6) that have a smooth rendering of the calotte except for rippling plastic waves. It had usually been assumed that these latter conveyed the normal swelling of a hair mass that acquired detail only when loose over the nape; or that the sculptor had left undetailed or simply finished in paint what would have been relatively invisible from ground level. This question has already been raised above in connection with sphinxes, and again I should prefer to answer it on a case-by-case basis. Our three male heads may have worn different headdresses, despite their apparent similarity in cranial treatment.

Kroisos still retains abundant traces of red paint on his calotte, which may suggest an undercoating for a different color or actual suggestion of blond hair. But he could also be wearing a close-fitting (red) cap like that of Patroklos on the famous Sosias Cup in Berlin, on which the dotted circles may be the equivalent of the plastic waves on the statue.⁴³ The painted headdress has, however, no finial, which was instead added in metal on the marble. It is impossible to state with assurance what form the finial had, especially since no part of the metal rod is preserved. A central long spike might even have served as the crest-holder for a small helmet, although the red color of the calotte makes it unlikely; blue would have better conveyed the gleam of metal. Certainly a war-like attribute or piece of armor would be particularly significant on Kroisos's head, since his epitaph mentions his death in battle. But other possibilities may be envisioned.

helmet, just below the plume, on which see *infra* n. 81. Jane B. Carter suggests to me that the cap (on both Patroklos and Kroisos) may be the kind worn under a helmet; on the Sosias cup, it would indicate that the wounded hero has just come out of the battlefield; on the Anavyssos kouros, it could signify death in battle. She also calls my attention to a relief from Sparta, Boardman, *Archaic Period* fig. 124, showing a helmet somewhat comparable to the presumed cap, although with a ridge along its axis. An even better comparison may be the headdress on a fragmentary stele from Eleusis, almost contemporary with Kroisos's statue on stylistic terms, which shows what is undoubtedly a bearded warrior, judging by the spear he holds: O. Alexandri, "Κεφαλή ἐπιτυμβίου ἀναγλύφου," *AAA* 2 (1969) 89–93 fig. 1; *BCH* 95 (1971) 831 and fig. 62 on p. 835. Perhaps some heroic connotation was intended for both. For a cap said to be knit and bordered by pearls, see a small marble head in Cyrene: L. Polacco, in *Sculture greche e romane di Cirene* (Padova 1959) 10–25, esp. 14–19; Ridgway, *Archaic Style* 61, 80, and figs. 7–8; Polacco, in *La statua marmorea di Mozia* (supra n. 42) 109 and n. 1, pl. 45.1.

Particularly appealing is the rendering on a black-figure amphora in Toledo, showing a warrior and a charioteer on a sharply wheeling quadriga.⁴⁴ The scene is the same on the two sides, but small details vary. The charioteer, who on Side A wears what is described as a pilos, on Side B sports the same hat surmounted by a small crescent. The shape of the head cover is not immediately comparable to Kroisos's because it has a small visor, but the finial is obviously optional, since it does not recur on Side A, and therefore may not have been strictly limited to the pilos. Had such bronze crescents been present on Athenian statues, they could explain Aristophanes' allusion. Yet the objection remains that none has ever been found and that even painted examples seem rare.⁴⁵

One of the three "capped" heads, Akr. 663, when first found, still preserved a bent bronze spike 10 cm long, now lost, which can, however, be seen in some early photographs. It is obvious that in this case the attachment stretched for some distance above the head and would not have been a simple crescent or tassel completing the cap. Because of the strong inclination of the neck and some facial asymmetries, this head may be attributed to a riding figure; some supporting evidence may be provided by the elaborate spiral curls over the forehead that recall the Rampin Horseman, and by the relatively short hair over the nape, as contrasted with the longer strands of the traditional kouros in this period. We shall return to the Akropolis horsemen for individual suggestions. Suffice it here to recall the elaborate finials on the heads of riders on Lakonian cups, perhaps as indication of mythological character, since a winged figure preceding one of these knights has a similar head ornament which in turn resembles those on Lakonian sphinxes.⁴⁶

Although not included in Richter's *Kouroi*, we should mention here one more male head from the Athenian citadel, Akr. 653, that shows a comparable rendering with central attachment hole. The piece

has been described as having spiral curls over forehead and nape, undulating but smooth hair over the cranium, surrounded by a wreath or ring.⁴⁷ I believe that the youth is wearing a cap, and that the "meniskos hole" served for an added finial. Were it not that the head appears fairly symmetrical in its features, I would be inclined to identify it as that of a horseman, like Akr. 663 or the Rampin head, especially because of the rare form and length of its curls. A similar smooth head cover, marked only by a plain incision, appears also on the fragmentary head Akr. 637, probably belonging to the charioteer of a frontal quadriga in high relief, for which, however, no trace of finial is preserved.⁴⁸

Finally, we may note that a similar "cap" appears on the much earlier Mantiklos's Apollo, and it includes a hole for attachment in the center of the forehead as well as one at the peak of the cranium. The small bronze has even recently been described as being bareheaded "though the individual strands are not indicated on the crown." The central groove on the calotte is considered a part in the coiffure, but to me it seems a prolongation of the axial division marked through the front of the statue, including the neck, although its meaning (technical?) is not immediately obvious. The forehead hole is explained as the attachment place for a flower, the second hole for another attribute; the small size (P.H. 20.3 cm) and the medium of the piece preclude the possibility of an outdoor setting and therefore the suggestion of a "meniskos." Because the statuette is generally considered to represent Apollo, the headdress should be explained as an attribute of the god, perhaps connected with the corselet (if this is what the figure wears) and with the bow mentioned in the votive inscription.⁴⁹

As is well known, Richter's catalogue of kouroi intentionally does not include highly fragmentary or relatively insignificant pieces, which would, however,

⁴⁴ Amphora by a painter of Group E, Toledo 80.1022, CVA Toledo 2 (U.S.A. 20, 1984) pls. 81–83, esp. 82.2, for side B. I am indebted to J. Neils for this reference.

⁴⁵ A fifth-century inventory from Brauron lists, among the dedications to Artemis, "δακτύλιο ἄργυρα μήτρα καὶ μὲν," SEG X.210 (side B) = IG I² 387.32. But this is obviously a crescent as personal adornment for a woman.

⁴⁶ Stibbe (supra n. 32), cup BrMus B 1 (I), pl. 108.1, no. 306; cup Louvre E 666 (I), pl. 108.4, no. 307. These two cups are so similar that they may have been meant to go together, and perhaps represent the Dioskouroi, so prominent in Sparta. Certainly, many other riders appear without head ornaments on Lakonian pottery, so that the specific motif on these two vases should have a special, identifying

meaning.

⁴⁷ AMA no. 323, pl. 163 and fig. 274 on p. 245. Note also the head Athens Nat. Mus. 61, from Eleusis, usually considered to be from an equestrian statue because of its asymmetries: R. Lullies, "Zur frühen boiotischen Plastik," *Jdl* 51 (1936) 135–52, esp. 141–42 and fig. 5 on p. 143. Its dome retains traces of a central "meniskos."

⁴⁸ AMA no. 418, figs. 344–45 on p. 297; the scalloped forehead hair recalls the Kerameikos sphinx; it is separated by a simple incised line from the smooth cap with a central depression.

⁴⁹ Mantiklos's Apollo, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, F. Bartlett Collection, 03.997: see, most recently, *The Gods' Delight. The Human Figure in Classical Bronze* (Exhibition

be important for our statistical purposes; in addition, some metal attachments or evidence thereof were omitted from a few catalogue entries, and others may also have escaped notice. It has therefore seemed useful to survey other published collections of relevant material from single sites or sanctuaries, whenever possible. We shall discuss below other male figures from the Athenian Akropolis that do not qualify as standard kouroi; a few single heads may come from high reliefs, or may not belong to the Archaic period which forms the basic limit of our inquiry.⁵⁰ Here we shall briefly survey the abundant material from the Ptoan Sanctuary in Boiotia.

This important sanctuary of Apollo (and of the hero Ptoios) has yielded a large number of kouroi, only the best preserved of which were discussed by Richter. It was estimated that upwards of 120 kouroi may once have stood at the site. The complete publication by Ducat lists all fragments, but only 18 male heads are still sufficiently preserved for examination. Of these, only two have holes at the apex: one within a rendering of plastic waves from side to side, encircled by a fillet, which again may represent a cap; the other with detailed strands and a plain band.⁵¹ Yet all the kouroi from the Ptoion stood in the open air, in an area of sanctuary and altars used for sacrifices, and in an isolated mountain setting that should have been par-

ticularly attractive to birds. It may also be noted that the single female head extant from the same site, Athens Nat. Mus. 17, seems to have two holes on top of her plastically modeled cranium, although they have both been explained as for a single "meniskos."⁵² Regardless of the difficulties in this interpretation, it seems peculiar that the kore should be thus protected, to the almost complete exclusion of the numerous male statues in a sanctuary devoted to a male divinity and a hero.

It can therefore be safely concluded that proportionately very few Greek kouroi had metal attachments on their heads, and that several of these can be explained as parts of caps or as head ornaments for heroic or mythological beings. The generic formula for the kouros lent itself to various identities, based on the nature of the attributes, and although it might be difficult for us to envision what kind of head decoration would be appropriate for Theseus or Apollo, some suggestions could be made. Yet it seems more useful here to disprove the existence of bird-repellents, thus opening the way to other interpretations. It may also be profitably pointed out that head ornaments for kouroi are often rendered in the marble itself, although occasionally they are difficult to recognize with certainty, and have been confused with legitimate hair patterns. Such are, for instance, the

and Catalogue, Cleveland 1988) 53–57 no. 2, dated ca. 700–675 B.C. (M. True). Pp. 54–55 mention the possibility, raised by other scholars, that the holes on forehead and cranium are for the attachment of a helmet and that a corselet may also be rendered. Both theories are rejected in the text; identification as Apollo is favored. For a significant, albeit considerably later, parallel, see the bronze statuette of Apollo as archer in Bari (ca. 480–beg. fifth century B.C.): Langlotz, *Magna Graecia* (supra n. 19), pls. 82–83. The god is shown in an active pose, with the bow outstretched in the left hand; curls frame the forehead, and a nape roll marks the limit of a smooth calotte with a projecting bar at the apex. A similar projection appears on the left shoulder, and therefore both are explained as probable pouring channels, not as "meniskoi," while the statuette (H. 20.5 cm) is supposed to have been left unfinished. Since all details are given, however, I submit that another explanation should be found for the two projections: the one on the calotte would be in keeping with all the other renderings examined so far.

For other bronzes with smooth calotte surrounded by a fillet, see, e.g., a small head from Sparta in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 95.74, belonging to a male figure estimated at 0.50 m. in total height (ca. 550–525 B.C.), and the almost life-size head from Kythera in Berlin, inv. misc. 6324 (late sixth–early fifth centuries), both recently discussed by C.C. Mattusch, *Greek Bronze Statuary, From the Beginnings through the Fifth Century B.C.* (Ithaca 1988) 60–62, fig. 4.12, and 71–73, fig. 4.18, respectively. The first head has a hole at top center and two more toward the back, as well as a visible chaplet; it is thus thought that its calotte was not meant to

be seen. The second head is said to have "extremely fine engraved strands of hair that radiate from the crown," as well as a rectangular hole that "may once have held a meniskos" (Mattusch).

⁵⁰ Other male heads from the Athenian Akropolis, without "meniskos": Akr. 657, *AMA* no. 324, pl. 152 (Severe? perhaps from a metope; twisted fillet around smooth calotte, many holes for insertion of lead forehead curls, but central hole has traces of iron pin); Akr. 644, *AMA* no. 325, pl. 152 (Severe? smooth calotte surrounded by fillet with central added ornament, for which hole 1.2 cm deep, on axis); Akr. 306, *AMA* no. 326, fig. 275 (Severe? upper part of head calotte with forehead roll, rough surface painted red); *AMA* no. 328 (no inv. number), fig. 277 (Severe? top of head, with nape chignon).

⁵¹ J. Ducat, *Les Kouroi du Ptoion* (Paris 1971); the two male heads are his no. 134, pl. 66, and no. 144, pl. 76. The first piece consists of only the back of a head, the split having been probably caused by the hole at the peak of the calotte: diam. 1.5 cm, depth at least 6.5 cm. The second head, smaller than life size, has a hole 0.7 cm in diam., 2.3 cm in depth; I wonder whether it could belong to a sphinx.

⁵² Ducat (supra n. 51) no. 138, pl. 68; Richter, *Korai* no. 143. The two holes have different diameters (1.1 cm and 0.8 cm), the smaller still containing an iron bar. A slightly different description of this metal rod (as crossing the head from side to side, like a handle) is given by M. Holleaux, *BCH* 11 (1887) 1–5. Within a diadem, the calotte is rendered with plastic waves from side to side.



Fig. 8. Kouros Milani, detail of head, front. Museo Archeologico, Florence. (Photo courtesy Museum)

spiral curls between two fillets that decorate the forehead of the Sounion Kouros,⁵³ a head in Copenhagen, from Naxos,⁵⁴ and probably also the kouros from Moschato, which, incidentally, is our earliest instance of a "meniskos" wearer.⁵⁵

More distinctive is the so-called flame decoration, which again has been explained as short curls over the forehead, brushed up over a fillet. But the kouros from Merenda (ancient Myrrhineus), found together with the better-known Phrasikleia, should settle the question once and for all. The "flames" overlie only the upper part of a wide, flat fillet ending at the bottom edge in a narrower, smooth band, which should render the previous interpretation impossible. The decorative nature of the flames is best seen over the ears, where both parts of the fillet, the wide and



Fig. 9. Kouros Milani, detail of head, profile. (Photo courtesy Museum)

the narrow, are left plain before they disappear under the hair mass over the back. The latter is in turn bound by a double cord ending in two downward spirals, giving the impression of metal. The preliminary report of the finds mentions a "bronze nail" embedded in the head.⁵⁶

Once the decorative meaning of the pattern is accepted, several other sculptures fall into place, including the Milani Kouros in Florence⁵⁷ that has occasionally been considered a forgery, partly because of the rosette carved between the flames, on the axis of the head. But the rendering of its headdress is so close to that of the Merenda Kouros (including the bipartite arrangement of the fillet) that no doubt can possibly exist now about the authenticity of the Florence statue (figs. 8–9). Other examples of the same head orna-

⁵³ Richter, *Kouroi* no. 2, figs. 33–39.

⁵⁴ Richter, *Kouroi* no. 50, figs. 172–73.

⁵⁵ Richter, *Kouroi* no. 31, figs. 132–33. The arrangement over the forehead of this piece was stressed by Karouzos, "Φροντισματα," (supra n. 39) 20–21; it helped him attribute the piece to Naxos, as an import to Attica, also in comparison with the Copenhagen head. Both he and Richter think of the rendering as curls; note, however, the definite step that the ornament forms in relationship to the cranial hair.

⁵⁶ Merenda Kouros: E. Mastrokostas, "Η κόρη Φρασικλεία Αριστίωνος τοῦ Παρίου καὶ Κούρος μαρμαρίνος ἀνεκαλύφθησαν ἐν Μυρρινεῶντι," *AAA* 5 (1972) 298–314 and French summary on 315–24; for the description of the hair ornament, see 229–300 (Greek) and 316 (French); the best details are visible in figs. 5, 9, 12. Harrison 1988 (1986 paper, supra n. 37) 250 and n. 3, prefers to view the flames as true locks.

⁵⁷ Richter, *Kouroi* no. 70, figs. 239–44.

ment, with slight variations, can be seen on the Volomandra Kouros,⁵⁸ a male head in New York (with added metal decoration),⁵⁹ and one from Aigina (?) in Athens.⁶⁰

Male figures with elaborate headdresses are, of course, best exemplified by bronzes, where both statue and decoration are rendered in the same medium, usually in one piece. Note, for instance, two statuettes of kouroi (?), in Olympia (fig. 10) and Athens respectively, with what has been termed "a prominent wreath of radiating palm leaves or reeds."⁶¹ Another, and more elaborate, crown appears on the Ugento Zeus, larger than a mere statuette (H. 0.71 cm): a plain band studded with rosettes and surmounted by two more registers with engraved and dentated patterns, which Degraasi explains as a laurel wreath.⁶² We shall return to this point later, in connection with Archaistic statues. We can anticipate here, however, the suggestion that these head ornaments had identifying value in antiquity, and would have served to transform a mere kouros into an Apollo or other god.

OTHER SCULPTURE FROM THE AKROPOLIS

Because Aristophanes was an Athenian, and because "meniskoi" were first noted in connection with the Akropolis korai, special attention should be devoted to finds from the Athenian citadel, also in consideration of the fact that its Archaic material is thoroughly published and well known. Before turning to the numerous korai, therefore, we may briefly discuss what other evidence for bird-repellents exists from that sanctuary. Two bearded male heads may belong to a mask (?) of Dionysos and a herm; no provision for "meniskoi" is apparent, but the fragmentary condition of both precludes certainty;⁶³ I know, however, of no spike on other ancient herms, for instance those from the Athenian Agora.⁶⁴ A large marble owl, almost one meter tall, is equally defenseless, although birds perch on its head today, as it is



Fig. 10. Bronze Kouros. Museum, Olympia, B 2400. (Photo courtesy Museum)

displayed just outside the Akropolis Museum.⁶⁵

Of sculptures that can be grouped into icono-

⁵⁸ See supra n. 36 (the possible no. 12). Richter, *Kouroi* 63 accepts the interpretation of a decorative fillet, also for the following heads.

⁵⁹ Richter, *Kouroi* no. 64, figs. 217–18. This head has been considered a forgery by F. Brommer, "Falsche Köpfe," *AA* 1963, cols. 439–50; revindicated as genuine by D. von Bothmer, "The Head of an Archaic Greek Kouros," *AA* 1964, cols. 615–27; for a rebuttal by Brommer, see "Auge oder Lampe," *AA* 1965, cols. 552–53.

⁶⁰ Athens Nat. Mus. 48: Richter, *Kouroi* no. 72, fig. 253. A head from the Ptoan sanctuary remains unfinished, but the arrangement over the forehead is explained as the basis for decorative flames comparable to those of the above-cited examples: Ducat, *Ptoion* (supra n. 51) no. 143, pl. 75. Other ornamental headdresses are noted for his nos. 63 (pls. 31–33) and 106 (pl. 50).

⁶¹ Olympia B 2400, and Athens Nat. Mus. Br 7547, Mat-

tusch, *Greek Bronzes* (supra n. 49) figs. 4.13 and 4.14 respectively. See also *LIMC* 2 s.v. Apollon, pl. 186 no. 47, and cf. the relief rendering of the Apollo Philesios in Didyma, pl. 210 no. 332a.

⁶² N. Degraasi, *Lo Zeus stilita di Ugento* (Rome 1981) 21, 70–72, pls. 6–11 for details of the headdress.

⁶³ "Mask" of Dionysos, inv. 1323, *AMA* no. 329, figs. 278–79. Fragmentary bearded head, perhaps from a herm, Inv. 3694: *AMA* no. 327, fig. 276 (fillet binds smooth calotte with plastic waves).

⁶⁴ No herms from the Agora preserve "meniskoi," to judge from the official publication (E.B. Harrison, *Agora* XI, 1965), not even the life-sized Archaic example (ca. 510–500 B.C.), S 3347, excavated in more recent years: T.L. Shear, "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1980–1982," *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 40–43, pl. 10.

⁶⁵ Akr. 1347: *AMA* no. 389, figs. 301–302.

graphic categories, the so-called scribes have all lost their heads, and no traces of spikes appear elsewhere on their bodies, despite the inviting laps and shoulders. The riders are a mixed group. Akr. 621, a bearded head said to belong to a horseman because of its asymmetric features, has a roughly picked surface of the cranium and back hair, and a combination large hole/locking pin that is interpreted as the fastening for a Corinthian helmet.⁶⁶ A smaller figure, Akr. 623, has no provision against the birds, although, in conjunction with its horse and a tall pedestal, it would have been large enough for an outdoor setting.⁶⁷

By contrast, "meniskoi" are postulated for other equestrian figures and their mounts. The famous "Persian Rider," Akr. 606, is only preserved from the waist down, but his horse is said to have on the upper surface of its mane, shortly before it ends above the forehead, a square bronze dowel as a "Meniskosträger."⁶⁸ The entire forelock of this animal was separately made of metal strips, and I would rather see the additional bronze rod as part of its decoration, especially since no similar spikes occur in other well-preserved animals from the citadel.⁶⁹ Whatever metal attachments are attested can be explained as part of their harness. Finally, the well-known Rampin head in the Louvre, which Payne associated with an Akropolis torso and horse, has a central hole with traces of lead within it; no estimates are given of its depth and diameter.⁷⁰

Given the fact that only the soldering lead remains in place, rather than an actual bronze or iron spike, it would seem as if the head ornament of the Rampin Rider could not have been massive. By contrast, the other Akropolis head that we have already discussed

as a possible horseman had a very long and substantial rod preserved. Perhaps the Rampin head should also be visualized with a complex head ornament, but another suggestion carries greater plausibility and appeal, in view of the fact that the rider has a matching, albeit fragmentary, companion. Identification of the two horsemen as the Dioskouroi has been made before and on other grounds; now G. Roger Edwards suggests to me that the attachment hole on the head would have carried a metal star, as a characterizing attribute of the Heavenly Twins.

To be sure, the first documentation of this attribute for Kastor and Polydeukes seems to go back only to the late fifth century B.C. (430–420 B.C.) and to Euripides, but the tradition of the Twins as astral deities is said to be much older, especially in the Ionian sphere. We may even have a late Archaic example in a black-figure amphora by the Edinburgh Painter, if the star-like ornament on the rump of the foreground horse is meant to identify not only the mount but also the rider. A persistent theory, that the Rampin Horseman and his mate portray the sons of Peisistratos, can be at least nuanced in the sense that the brothers would be symbolized under the guise of the Dioskouroi.⁷¹ I believe that no secondary allusion is necessary, that the presence of the Heavenly Twins on the Akropolis is quite conceivable around 560–550, with no need to postulate tyrannical connections, and that such a superhuman identification is in keeping with what the rest of the Akropolis dedications are revealing: a heroic or divine iconography for them all. We shall return to this point in discussing the korai.

In addition, if a star is accepted for the Akropolis pair, it is legitimate to wonder whether the Lokroi Dioskouroi from the Marasà Temple might also have

⁶⁶ AMA no. 315, pl. 142.

⁶⁷ Akr. 623, connected with horse Akr. 4119: AMA no. 317, pls. 143–44. Note that the back of the man's head is left undetailed.

⁶⁸ AMA no. 313, pls. 138–39, and detail of forelock in fig. 250; for mention of the square "meniskos holder," 0.6 cm to the side, see p. 226.

⁶⁹ For other well-preserved horses' heads from the Akropolis (whether the animals once were with or without rider), which show no traces of such "meniskoi," see, e.g., Akr. 697 and Akr. 700, AMA nos. 320 and 314 respectively. Even the peculiar hippalektryon, Akr. 597, AMA no. 319, has no metal attachments or holes for them; but perhaps its small size implies an indoor setting. A horseman in Delos, A 4102 (Ridgway, *Archaic Style* 140) is badly battered, but I observed no metal attachment, although the practice is attested for the Cyclades.

⁷⁰ Rampin head in Paris, and torso Akr. 590: AMA no. 312, pls. 136–37, detail of hair calotte in fig. 215. For fragments of the companion piece, see AMA 218–25 (inv. nos. 540, 570, 520, 4112, 384, etc.), figs. 228–42.

⁷¹ For identification of the Rampin Horseman as one of the Dioskouroi, see Ridgway, *Archaic Style* 141–42; contra, Boardman, *Archaic Period* fig. 114. For a more nuanced position, see LIMC 3 (1986) s.v. Dioskouroi (A. Hermay), no. 22 and p. 591. For discussion of the star attributes, see LIMC 3 (supra) 592, where the earliest documents are considered a red-figure bell krater in Vienna, no. 186, pl. 471 (ca. 430–420 B.C.), and a red-figure hydria in Plovdiv, no. 114. I would include the black-figure amphora in London by the Edinburgh Painter, LIMC no. 182, pl. 470 (ca. 520–510). Even if the design on the horse's rump should be considered a brand-mark, the choice of symbol would still be significant. Many other examples of Dioskouroi with stars occur *passim* (e.g., LIMC nos. 8, 10, 17, 80, 157), but they are all fourth-century or later. Jane Carter points out to me that only one of the Twins, the one having divine nature, might have worn a star; since the head of the companion to the Rampin Horseman is not preserved, this point cannot be verified. On the other hand, vase paintings and other representations indicate that astral symbols were given to both Dioskouroi.

had stars rather than “meniskoi” on their heads: the holes on the shoulders could theoretically have been for rays, and other purposes could be worked out for most remaining traces of metal attachments.⁷² Simple spikes as bird-repellents, or (more accurately) devices to discourage nest building, can probably be accepted for architectural sculpture in exposed locations, but in the form of *obeloi* rather than *meniskoi*; attributes in prominent positions could however have served the same practical purpose, and not all holes need receive a single explanation.

Two more male figures complete our Akropolis review: the draped “kouros” Akr. 633,⁷³ and the famous Moschophoros. The first belongs to a restricted category that has received some attention in recent years; it remains rather rare in Athens and Attica, and finds its true habitat in East Greek areas. To judge from inscribed examples, the draped male figure may indeed represent the donor rather than the divinity, but meanings may change from region to region and from purpose to purpose—votive, for instance, as contrasted with funerary. The Akropolis youth, unusually elegant, almost effeminate, in his three garments, has two holes on his head: one just before the peak (at least 3.5 cm deep), and another, somewhat smaller and shallower, to the right and just behind the topmost row of forehead curls, with a hole for a lock pin at its edge. Between the two dowels, the marble surface is unworked. Because two “meniskoi” would be improbable, an added petasos is postulated in the official publication, but other types of headdress would also be possible.

A cap, I now believe, is also worn by the Moschophoros, probably with a finial because of the traces for an attachment fastened by abundant lead.⁷⁴ In this case as well there is ambiguity between a possible head cover and a simplified hair style within a fillet. Since the man wears a mantle, however, a cap would not be surprising. The brief dedicatory inscription gives Rhonbos (sic) as the dedicant, a name not otherwise preserved within Athenian aristocracy, and therefore perhaps suggesting a person of the lower classes. If the connection of the name with a fish is valid, the Calf-bearer might have been from a family

of fishermen; the impression that he is a farmer derives solely from the presence of the animal, but the calf is the sacrificial victim and the compositional pattern follows Egyptian models. The only puzzling feature are the inserted eyes, unusual for a mere mortal. The idea may have come from Egypt together with the rest of the iconography, or it may be inspired by woodworking, as the sharpness of the planes around the man's mouth would suggest. Certainly, this is one of the earliest Attic statues extant from the Akropolis, in Hymettian marble—an unusual medium—made when, perhaps, conventions were still fluid. I would hesitate to think of it in divine terms, without stronger evidence from the missing finial. That the latter was a “meniskos,” however, can be dismissed, since the calf's head is level with the man's, yet it is not similarly protected.

KORAI

Perhaps the most important category of Archaic statues provided with spikes and metal additions is that of the Akropolis korai. Yet it is imperative to view them in the context of the type as a whole and to assess the frequency of “meniskoi” outside Attica, or even on the Akropolis itself. Statistics inevitably have to be based on available corpora, and a thorough study could not be done on each piece. Meaningful percentages should however be obtained through a perusal of Richter's *Korai* and the extensive catalogue by Langlotz in *AMA*.

Richter's book on the female counterparts to the kouros is more inclusive because the category is less clearly defined. In my calculations, I have discounted all her entries that are undoubtedly architectural, in relief, of statuette format, in terracotta and bronze, and non-Greek (e.g., Cypriot or Etruscan). I have also supplemented Richter's mentions of “meniskoi” with information provided by other sources, such as the publication of the Ptoan material or Langlotz's catalogue. My figures thus differ slightly from those cited by Maxmin, who, using both Richter's and Dickinson's compilations, listed “at least fourteen korai and one Nike” showing traces of “meniskoi.”⁷⁵ I have counted 18 korai within Richter's catalogue alone. More im-

⁷² See *supra* n. 19.

⁷³ *AMA* no. 308, pls. 128–29; for the head, see pp. 206–207 with figs. 202–203. On the draped male figure as a type, see B.A. Barletta, “The Draped Kouros Type and the Workshop of the Syracuse Youth,” *AJA* 91 (1987) 233–46; the Akropolis Youth is no. 34 in her list. For an inscribed example, see her no. 21, Dionyshermos, in the Louvre.

⁷⁴ Akr. 624: *AMA* no. 409, pls. 153–54; cf. fig. 325, where the “meniskos hole” is barely visible; the text rejects the

possibility that the statue is shown with a cap. Since I believe in its existence, I wonder if the headdress could indicate status. It is baffling that we do not know who Rhonbos was; for the spelling (perhaps erroneous), see the actual dedicatory inscription: A.E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (Cambridge, Mass. 1949) 63 no. 59.

⁷⁵ For Maxmin's list (*supra* n. 9) see 178 n. 12; I have added Richter's *Korai* no. 131 (head of Athena, Akr. 661; by Maxmin cited from Dickinson's catalogue), the Lyons kore

portant is perhaps to consider that 35 additional pieces included in Richter seem to have no traces of "meniskoi." Even making allowance for possible omissions in the mention, the presence of a central spike on female heads seems not to have been as frequent as one might think.

Even more relevant, perhaps, is a count based on the Akropolis material alone. Of the likely pieces included by Langlotz, 16 korai do, but 31 do not have traces of "meniskoi"; four Athena heads are without, but one occurs with a "meniskos" hole; there are also fragments from a possible total of 18 Nikai, but only one head is preserved among them, and it has the central spike. The 10 seated female figures are all headless. I was unable to find a specific pattern of occurrence related to size or possible location. Euthydikos's Kore, for instance, stood on a column, therefore certainly outdoors, and can be considered close to life size; yet it has no central spike, whereas the relatively small Peplos Kore—still retaining abundant traces of paint when first found, and thus perhaps set up in an indoor location—was provided with one.⁷⁶

It is impossible here to discuss all cases of head spikes, but I shall argue that, in a few instances at least, these attachments can be explained as having architectural or iconographic meaning. Moreover, I shall stress the presence on the korai of many other bronze additions that once heavily contributed to the characterization of the individual figures. At the present state of our knowledge, we tend to consider all

korai as generic gifts to a divinity, usually but not necessarily exclusively a goddess or solely Athena. We know that such statues were given by men as well as by women, and that therefore they cannot portray the votaries themselves. Sociological interpretations have focused on the elaborate costume and the luxurious ornaments, to suggest that these marble figures represented the wives and daughters of the Athenian aristocracy, in a conscious display of riches among which female members were counted. This notion is, however, disproved by the fact that some korai are dedicated by women, not all of them even Athenian, and some by men of relatively low social status, or at least whose social status is unknown. It is also difficult to understand why only female, and not male, progeny should constitute a visible source of pride, given the fact that virtually no kouroi are extant from the Akropolis. That the korai were the Arrephoroi can also be refuted on the basis of relative age (these statues do not seem to be children), and perhaps even chronological distribution. More plausible is the suggestion that some of them represent brides or Nymphs, wearing a ritual costume.⁷⁷

One example of "meniskos" can now be safely explained on architectural grounds. Traces of anathyrosis on the top surface of the polos of the so-called Lyons Kore (fig. 11) indicate that it was meant to receive an additional block and that the iron bar in the center therefore served as a dowel.⁷⁸ Once the kore is understood as a karyatid, the peculiar render-

(Korai no. 89), the head from the Ptoion (Korai no. 143), and the head in Delos (Korai no. 189). Several Archaic or Severe heads in Delos seem to have had "meniskoi," but a precise count could not be made. Cf. *BCH* 3 (1879) pl. 8 (both male and female head), and *BCH* 4 (1880) 36–37 with note; see also A. Hermay, *Délos 34: La sculpture archaïque et classique* (1984) 4 and n. 6, no. 1, pl. 2.

⁷⁶ A list of Akropolis pieces, based on the order by Langlotz (whose serial numbers appear in parenthesis) gives the following items: *Korai*, Akr. 679 (no. 4); Akr. 670 (no. 8); Akr. 671 (no. 14); Akr. 269 (Lyons Kore, no. 25); Akr. 669 (no. 28); Akr. 681 (no. 38); Akr. 682 (no. 41); Akr. 672 (no. 42); Akr. 674 (no. 44); Akr. 685 (no. 47); Akr. 673 (no. 51); Akr. 684 (no. 55). *Nikai*: Akr. 693 (no. 68). *Female Heads*: Akr. 660 (no. 87); Inv. 218 (no. 90); Akr. 645 (no. 93); Akr. 643 (no. 96); Akr. 661 (Athena, no. 98). Inv. 305 (no. 101), a fragmentary Athena head, is said to have a 3 cm deep hole on the cranium, but it is clearly understood to be for the helmet crest and connected with another hole over the nape, for the plume.

Langlotz placed among the korai the head Akr. 617, *AMA* no. 86, pl. 95, which has a smooth calotte surrounded by a stephane and no traces of attachment. I have included it in my counts, but would rather consider it the head of a horseman or a sphinx, in either case wearing a form of cap or helmet.

A female head from the Agora, S 2476, approximately half life-size, exhibits a small hole "for a meniskos" at the top of the cranium; it has been described as a kore: T.L. Shear, "The Athenian Agora. Excavations of 1972," *Hesperia* 42 (1973) 400–401, pl. 74a–c. But it is attributed to a Nike in *The Athenian Agora*³ (Athens 1976) 238, fig. 123.

Lechat, in DarSag (supra n. 8) 1719, estimated that Archaic heads in the Akropolis Museum without "appareil défensif" were approximately one in five. He was considering all heads, not simply the female ones; nonetheless, his statistics seem to be in inverse relationship to mine.

⁷⁷ The aristocratic theory is by Schneider (supra n. 6); for a different viewpoint, see Ridgway (supra n. 6) esp. 125; most of the evidence is collected in Raubitschek (supra n. 74) with comments on 465–66. For some kore figures as brides and Nymphs, see also E.B. Harrison, in J. Sweeney, T. Curry, Y. Tzedakis eds., *The Human Figure in Early Greek Art* (Exhibition catalogue, Washington, D.C. 1988) 53–54.

⁷⁸ J.R. Marszal, "An Architectural Function for the Lyons Kore," *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 203–206; cf. also Ridgway, *Archaic Style* 108–109. The bar is said in all accounts to be of iron. One more head with polos (Akr. 696, Richter, *Korai* no. 126; *AMA* no. 20, pp. 61–62, pl. 29, and figs. 22–25; Ridgway, *Archaic Style* 108–109 and n. 31) is preserved only in the front half, and it is therefore impossible to tell whether or not it had a central dowel. The upper surface of the head-

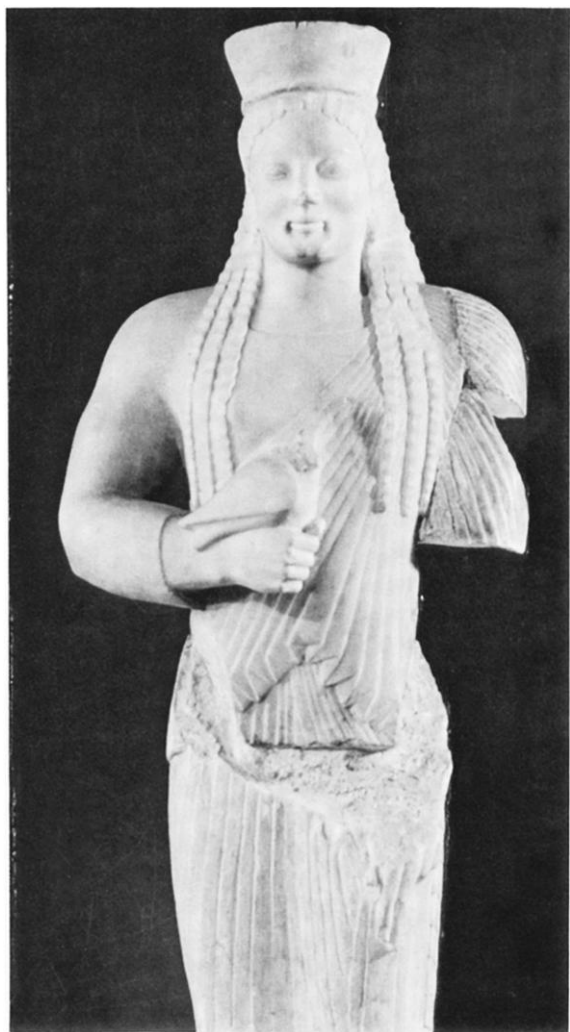


Fig. 11. The Lyons Kore (completed with cast of lower body from the Akropolis Museum). Museum, Lyons. (Photo courtesy Museum)

ing of the muscular upper body and the reversed direction of the diagonal mantle are explained, although the several idiosyncracies in the costume could still signify misunderstanding of an East Greek pro-

dress is said to be rough—as was said for the Lyons Kore. A pleated ribbon with an apparent central seam underlies the polos and surrounds the forehead. This head has been associated with four fragments of a female body, relatively smooth in back with mantle zigzags descending vertically from the left shoulder. The steep folds over the front suggest that the figure held her skirt forward, not to the side, and with her right hand, contrary to the norm. These asymmetries would again correspond to the requirements for a karyatid, which would have had a matching piece in mirror-image. If not a karyatid, kore 696 should at least be a divinity, because of the presence of the polos and the right-handedness of her gesture.

⁷⁹ Antenor's Kore, Akr. 681: Richter, *Korai* no. 110, figs.

totype. Although no definite structure has yet been connected with the piece, future research may bring it to light. It is important to note that the Lyons Kore thus becomes one of the earliest karyatids extant from Greek soil, and certainly the earliest from the Athenian Akropolis.

The famous Antenor's Kore, Akr. 681 (fig. 12), still retains a rectangular metal bar 12 cm long on the apex of her smooth calotte, which is surrounded by a completely round "stephane" standing well away from the contour of the head on all sides, and without the typical upward swing at the level of the ears. At the moment of discovery, it was noted that the outer (vertical) face of this head ornament was decorated not only with an engraved and painted meander pattern, but also with seven bronze stems terminating in buds and spaced at more or less regular intervals around the head. Five of these metal additions are still preserved, four with the terminal bud.⁷⁹

Metal attachments on the top (horizontal) surface of a headdress appear on several korai, but such decoration of the vertical face is rarer. A flower pattern is often found painted and engraved on stephanai and especially on poloi. Most distinctive is the high relief rendering on Phrasikleia's headdress, which could represent a bridal crown, given the allusion to the failed marriage and the pun on the term Kore in her epitaph. This theory could be strengthened if the buds on the funerary statue, rather than of lotus, as generally stated, are of pomegranate, as suggested to me by Louise Clark.⁸⁰ We shall return to the bridal meaning later, since some head ornaments on Akropolis korai could be open to this interpretation. Antenor's Kore may require a different explanation.

A black-figure sherd from the Akropolis, coming from an amphora of Panathenaic shape and attributed by Beazley to a painter of Group E (ca. 530 B.C.), shows an Athena as part of a gathering of gods, probably in the Gigantomachy (fig. 13).⁸¹ The helmet she wears, with high crest, has a visor/stephane

336–40; AMA no. 38, pp. 80–85, pls. 50–52, 109. Among the earliest reports, see Studniczka (*supra* n. 7), and sketch on p. 141, restoring a flower atop the central spike. See further observations in Lechat 1890 (*supra* n. 8) 334–35.

⁸⁰ Phrasikleia: see Mastrokostas (*supra* n. 56); cf. also Ridgway, *Archaic Style* 109 and n. 32, with further bibliography; add N. Kontoleon, "Περὶ τὸ σῆμα τῆς Φρασικλείας ('Απολογία μιᾶς ἐρμηνείας)," *ArchEph* 1974, 1–12. I am much indebted to Louise Clark, of the University of Wisconsin at Madison, for letting me read a preliminary draft of her manuscript on the subject of pomegranate buds.

⁸¹ Black-figure sherd, Akr. 923: F. Studniczka, "Παραστάσεις Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κεραμείων θανυσμάτων ἐκ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως Ἀθηνῶν," *ArchEph* 1886, 118–34, pl. 8.3; cf.

rimmed with flowers and pomegranates, and with a griffin protome stretching out from the center. This



Fig. 12. Kore Akr. 681 (Antenor's Kore). Akropolis Museum, Athens. (Photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)

Graef, pl. 59. Beazley, *ABV* 667, s.v. Hippokl[es?] or Hippokl[eides], after the traces of a kalos name, dated ca. 530, near Exekias, Group E. Note that pomegranates appear along the crest of Achilles' helmet on the Sosias Cup (see supra n. 43).

⁸² Richter, *Korai* no. 109, figs. 228–35; *AMA* no. 28, pp. 68–70, pls. 38–40. On this kore, and on Antenor's Kore, one can still read with profit the comments by P. de la Coste Messelière, "Les Corés de l'Acropole, Part 2" (review of Payne's and Langlotz's works), *JSav* 1942, 55–66, esp. 59–65 and notes, where the two statues are considered still expression of the "Solonian" type. A head of Athena, distinguishable because of a neckguard to her helmet, Akr. 661, *AMA* no. 98, Richter, *Korai* no. 131, figs. 426–28, is said (Langlotz) to have a meniskos hole (see the list from *AMA*, supra n. 76); yet a crest should have provided adequate protection against birds, and the hole is more likely to have

specific decoration of a war implement may seem unusual and perhaps even barbaric to us, but I believe it reflects early imagery and practices, and may throw light not only on some korai, but also on some later cult statues, as described in the literary sources. I feel confident, in fact, that Antenor's Kore is a formidable Athena wearing a helmet: the plain dome of the head is the helmet calotte, the central spike served to support the helmet crest, and the bronze decoration of flower buds is in keeping with the rendering on the Akropolis sherd and other examples. A very similar arrangement—plain calotte, high stephane all around, central spike—recurs in fact on another kore, Akr. 669, that should also be seen as an image of the helmeted goddess.⁸²



Fig. 13. Black-figure sherd from amphora of Panathenaic shape. Akropolis Museum, Athens 923. (Photo after *ArchEph* 1886, pl. 8.3)

served for the attachment of this element. Of interest is also an almost life-size terracotta head from Medma, in the Reggio Museum: Langlotz, *Magna Graecia* (supra n. 19) pls. 60–61, dated late Archaic. A diadem surrounds a smooth calotte, with two holes just behind the ridge, above the ears, with traces of metal pins, perhaps for the attachment of two crests (cf. Langlotz 268). The snail curls in two rows over the forehead may also be typical of this type of Athena, since they recur not only on Antenor's Kore, but also on the terracotta Athena from Olympia, *OlBer* 6 (1958) 57, 68, and, perhaps more significantly, on the pedimental Athena head, probably helmeted, from the second temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi: P. Themelis, "Neues über die Giebelskulpturen des Athenatempels II in Delphi," in H. Kyrieleis ed., *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik* 1 (Mainz 1986) 153–62, esp. 156–60, pls. 68–69 (dated ca. 500–490 B.C.).

Akr. 669 shows further details of interest. The rectangular bronze "meniskos" fastened with thick lead is placed in the center of a flattened circular area cut with the chisel, for which no explanation was offered. I submit that the spike served as the inner armature of a tubular or conical crest holder that would have been superimposed on it. On either side of the calotte, over the ears, a worked triangular area has been described as the attachment point for marble "ornaments" that I believe may have been a form of raised cheekpieces. The stephane is pierced on its upper edge by 16 irregularly spaced holes for bronze pins, some still preserved to a height of 1.5 cm. Added flowers would have closely resembled those of the Athena on the black-figure sherds.

Identification as Athena of these two powerful and expensive korai would explain some ambiguities in their rendering that have been pointed out by several commentators. Both figures have stiff shoulder locks falling onto the chest with a distinctive step pattern that looks wooden and primitive compared with the advanced treatment of other details. The "early" eyes of Akr. 669 present a similar contrast to her other features; in Antenor's Kore, they are inlaid in another medium and lend the face a magnetic glance. These inserted eyes have usually been attributed to Antenor's experience as a bronze caster, but they may carry special significance, not only in terms of indicating a deity but also as reference to an earlier cult image with a similar rendering. The peculiar mixture of early and late traits that has resulted in much debate over the dating of both Akropolis pieces can in fact be explained if the marble statues are taken to imitate an early Archaic "idol," probably of wood with metal attachments and real clothing. The presence of a crested helmet would have made the identity obvious.⁸³

⁸³ For the stiffness of gold hair on a chryselephantine statue, see the Apollo from Delphi, *LIMC* 2 (1984) s.v. Apollon, no. 666, pl. 238, and cf. the diademed Artemis from the same cache, pl. 537, no. 1140. Inserted eyes recur also on another, peculiar, kore, Akr. 682: *AMA* no. 41, pls. 53–57. This unusual statue, with a long "meniskos" spike set obliquely over the egg-shaped head, is difficult to date and place stylistically; its elaboration, the wealth of details added in metal (including sandal ornaments), and the previously mentioned eyes, suggest a special identification that at present escapes me: Aphrodite? Hekate?

⁸⁴ For a bronze from the Akropolis, see, e.g., *LIMC* 2, s.v. Athena, pl. 719, no. 136; and note also the terracotta statuette from Medma, pl. 718, no. 133. For vases showing Athena in chiton/himation without aegis see, e.g., *LIMC* 2, nos. 407, 511, 585 (with kithara), 598 (with spear in right hand).

⁸⁵ Akr. 381: *LIMC* 2, pl. 762, no. 587.

⁸⁶ For round helmets in vase painting see, e.g., *LIMC* 2

Two objections may be offered to this interpretation: the fact that no aegis differentiates the two Akropolis statues from generic korai, and the peculiar shape of what I consider a helmet. The first objection falls in looking at some of the bronzes from the Athenian citadel that show Athena in chiton and himation, with no other attributes than the helmet and weapons in her hand. Attic vases also furnish a variety of examples.⁸⁴ Since both Antenor's Kore and Akr. 669 have lost their arms, we cannot be sure whether they held additional signifiers. Certainly the former pulled her skirt aside with her left hand, but Athena appears in this very pose and costume on the famous "Pig Sacrifice" relief from the Akropolis⁸⁵; Antenor's Kore may also have had a spear in her right hand, so clearly held away from the body. Too little remains of Akr. 669's arms to speculate on their position, but we may note instead the richness of the rendering, with added metal necklace and metal pins at the tips of the chest locks. Finally, that the korai are "generic" is our assumption, not based on any ancient information.

As for the helmet, it is well documented in vase painting, if not in sculpture in the round. An example without neckguard, consisting only of a round calotte and a crest, appears on the Burgon Amphora, one of the earliest Panathenaic vases extant, and recurs on several other Attic vessels of the period 570–500 B.C., always in connection with Athena. It certainly did not offer much protection to the wearer, but it may have been meant to stress the invincibility of the goddess. I suspect that it is an early form, perhaps even an imaginary one.⁸⁶

If the sherd from the Akropolis gives us a true reflection of an Athena statue on the citadel itself—perhaps the very idol of the Polias that was periodically provided with garments and other orna-

s.v. Athena, no. 118 (the Burgon Amphora, ca. 560); no. 119 (same as no. 493; ca. 550–540); no. 273 (near Lydos, ca. 560–530); no. 274 (Little Master cup, 560–530); no. 276 (Haimon Painter, 500–480); no. 485 (Siana cup, ca. 570); no. 511 (ca. 540). Note also that many of these helmets are surrounded by a "stephane." The statue of Athena Pronaia at Delphi also wore a stephane and a helmet: *IG* II/III², 1126, dated 380/79 B.C.; cf. Mansfield (*supra* n. 5) 462–64. A comparable rendering, although together with a neckguard, occurs on the two Athenas from the pediments of the Temple of Aphaia at Aigina; the statue from the West gable even has holes for metal attachments on the vertical face of her round "visor": *LIMC* 2, pl. 718, nos. 128–29. A form of this helmet type, with a neckguard, is discussed by P. Dintsis, *Hellenistische Helme* (Rome 1986) 105 and n. 2, with Beil. 8. He considers it a mixture of different types, first seen on Athena and Amazons, and of limited use in combat.



Fig. 14. So-called Peisistratid Athena, from gable of Old Athena Temple. Akropolis Museum, Athens 631A. (Photo courtesy Museum)

ments⁸⁷—then other inferences can be drawn for representations of the goddess that involve decorated helmets, each of them to be seen as a specific quotation of a now lost, much earlier image, so that the allusion has escaped our notice although it would have been perfectly understandable to contemporary Athenians.

⁸⁷ On the cult image of Athena Polias see, most recently, Romano (supra n. 5) 130–31, who expands on the fact that three Athenian festivals, the Kallynteria, the Plynteria, and the Panathenaia, “involve, in part, the clothing of the old *xoanon*.” See also J.H. Kroll, “The Ancient Image of Athena Polias,” *Hesperia* suppl. 20 (1982) 65–76, but cf. also Donohue (supra n. 6) 143–44 n. 343.

⁸⁸ “Peisistratid” Athena, Akr. 631A: AMA 350–51, esp. pl. 187; cf. H. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*² (London 1950) pl. 35.1–2, where the “roundels” around the attachment holes are visible. The holes are 0.8 cm in diameter, up to 5.5 cm deep; the depressed and rough areas around them have a diameter of 2.5 cm. The helmet of the Athena was provided with a crest, for which a large rectangular hole was made at the peak of the calotte; given the size of the cavity (10 × 7.5 cm, 12.5 cm deep and widening toward the interior), the crest holder may have been in marble, although the plume itself was probably in bronze and fastened by means of two holes in the middle of

A round “stephane” with metal additions now lost surrounds the helmet (with neck-guard) of the Athena fighting a giant from the pediment of the so-called Peisistratid Temple, Akr. 631A. The 18 holes on the vertical surface were supposed by Schrader to have held rosettes, because each occurred within a circular depression having a rough surface, in a form of anathyrosis. The current restoration in the Akropolis Museum (fig. 14) has supplied coiled snakes, to account for the apparent irregularity of these outer circles, but such snakes are in visual competition with those fringing the aegis, and the imagery seems wrong, as if turning Athena into a Medusa. The black-figure sherd from the Akropolis cited above may provide an explanation: the circles would correspond to the attachment points of griffin protomai.⁸⁸

EARLY (AND LATER) CULT IMAGES

Precedents for this arrangement can be found in the many lead protomai that Boardman, with brilliant intuition, had attributed upon discovery to the helmet of a mid-sixth century wooden Athena in Chios.⁸⁹ A few years later his theory received support from the publication of a fragmentary sixth-century painting from Gordion, where several figures are shown in procession wearing a griffin crown (fig. 15).⁹⁰ Although it is unclear whether the crown-wearers are male or female, the practice is firmly attested by this Phrygian evidence, and may find further confirmation in an actual gold circlet with griffin protome found in a tomb in Kelermes, South Russia.⁹¹

Ultimately, these elaborate, even apotropaic, head ornaments go back to the Bronze Age, I believe, perhaps to Eastern practices, and their chronological continuity can be attested by the well-known terracotta idols with raised arms in Crete—from Karphi,

the hair mass on the neck, 20 cm below the edge of the neckguard. I do not wish to enter here into a discussion on the proper dating and appellation of the temple from which the sculpture comes; I may just state that I now would place the Athenian building after the Delphic Temple of Apollo, in turn dated after 513. The Athena would therefore fall around 510 B.C. An article by J.R. Marszal on the chronological problem of the Athenian temple is forthcoming.

⁸⁹ J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio* (BSA suppl. 6, 1967) 26–28, 203–205, pls. 84–85; cf. also his *The Greeks Overseas*³ (London 1980) 93, and fig. 105 for the Gordion fresco, fig. 305 on p. 261 for a detail of the sixth-century Kelermes circlet.

⁹⁰ M.J. Mellink, “Archaic Wall Paintings from Gordion,” in K. DeVries ed., *From Athens to Gordion* (The University Museum Papers 1, Philadelphia 1980) 91–94, esp. 93; the frescoes are dated ca. 525 B.C. Each crown bore at least six protomai.

⁹¹ Cf. ref. cited supra, n. 89.

Gazi, Kannia, and now even Kavousi—that range from ca. 1500 to ca. 1000 B.C. or later, in areas of proven continuity into the Iron Age. One of the earliest displays bird protomai within a dentated crown; others have poppies on tall stems, or horns of consecration.⁹² Their gesture is as appropriate to worshipers as to the divinity herself. Connections with Eastern traditions may perhaps be further supported by parallel evidence from Archaic Cyprus, where many limestone statues wear elaborate crowns with floral ornaments or mythological figures, one of the most



Fig. 15. Fresco fragment from Gordion. (Drawing by P. de Jong, courtesy M.J. Mellink)

⁹² See, e.g., Hood (supra n. 35) 108–109, figs. 91 (bird headdress, from Kannia), 92 (poppies, from Gazi), 93 (bird and disks, from Karphi). See also Boardman, *Archaic Period* fig. 1 (horns of consecration, from Karphi). The examples from Kavousi have not yet been illustrated and may be similar only in a general way, but idols with raised arms are reported in possible LM/Geometric context: G.C. Gesell, L.P. Day, W.D.E. Coulson, “Excavations at Kavousi, Crete, 1987,” *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 289; also, by the same authors, “Excavations at Kavousi, Crete, 1988,” *AJA* 93 (1989) 253.

⁹³ Worcester, Museum of Art no. 1941.49; see C.C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America* (Berkeley 1981) no. 44, pp. 72–73 and color pl. 7; cf. also nos. 45–46. See also several representations of the Cypriot Aphrodite, *LIMC* 2 s.v. Aphrodite, pls. 14–15, nos. 106–10, with very elaborate headdresses.

⁹⁴ Anatolian crown with busts: see the discussion in J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei. Neue Funde* (Mainz 1979) 38–47; 38 n. 172 lists all such portraits published by the same two authors in their previous book, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London 1966); n. 173 lists those of the current publication, for a total of 21 examples from Asia Minor. Examples from Italy are mentioned in the discussion, and reference is given to a possible Hellenistic tradition. I suspect that the tradition may go back to much earlier times.

decorated being perhaps a colossal female head in Worcester with a Dionysiac thiasos.⁹³ At the other end of the spectrum, we may even compare the complicated crowns with busts of Roman emperors or local divinities worn by many statues from Asia Minor. These have usually been considered portraits of priests and priestesses of the imperial cult, but the divine busts require a different explanation and the question seems too complex to allow a single answer.⁹⁴

I have strayed from Athens to trace back in time some of these head ornaments, but I return to the Akropolis to explain one of the least understood features on Pheidias's Athena Parthenos. Through Pausanias's description and later depictions of the chryselephantine statue, we know that its helmet had three crests, the central one supported by a sphinx, the lateral ones by winged Pegasoi. But an added ornament was a series of protomai ranged along the visor, perhaps Pegasoi and does, although in some replicas they may be griffins.⁹⁵ To the list of reproductions mentioned by Leipen (the Aspasios gem, the Koul-Oba medallions, Athenian tetradrachms, the marble heads in Berlin, Cologne, and Paris), we can add the marble statue in Boston, with traces of the visor ornament.⁹⁶ A figure as colossal as the Parthenos needed a great deal of decoration to animate the vast stretches of empty surfaces, as the recreation to original scale of the Pheidias sculpture in Nashville, Tennessee, has demonstrated.⁹⁷ Yet these details, which

⁹⁵ On the Athena Parthenos, esp. the helmet, see N. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos. A Reconstruction* (Toronto 1971) 32–33, with illustrations of all pertinent pieces; the main description, by Pausanias (1.24.5) is not complete in respect to the visor. For the protomai on Athenian tetradrachms, a better specimen is illustrated in *LIMC* 2 s.v. Athena, pl. 741, no. 329; horse's heads are said to appear on the new coinage from the beginning of the second century B.C.

⁹⁶ MFA 1980.196.56: Vermeule (supra n. 93) no. 29, color pl. 6; a more extensive article on the piece, by the same author, includes the most recent list of replicas of the Athena Parthenos, with special emphasis on heads with decorated visors: “Athena of the Parthenon by Pheidias: A Graeco-Roman Replica of the Roman Imperial Period,” *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 1 (1989) 41–60, esp. figs. 7, 14, 18–22. See also, for interest, the large marble head with inserted eyes, inv. 39.139, at Oberlin College: *Catalogue of European and American Paintings and Sculpture in the Allen Memorial Art Museum* (Oberlin 1967) 188, fig. 221; the piece, probably from Salonika, is considered an Antonine copy of a fifth-century Athena, possibly the Parthenos; a series of holes for metal attachments appears on the helmet visor. Cf. also E. Capps, Jr., “A Marble Head of Athena from Salonika,” *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 10 (1952–1953) 77–89, with a somewhat different technical explanation.

⁹⁷ The reproduction to original scale of the Athena Parthenos built within the Parthenon at Nashville, Tennessee,

to us may seem purely ornamental, now appear to² have had a special iconographic meaning, as imitation of the *kosmos* appropriate for a venerable image of much earlier times. We are reminded of the fabulous *stephanos* that Hephaistos made for Pandora, on which were creatures of the land and sea (Hes., *Theog.* 579–84).

Elaborate headdresses are described by ancient sources on many cult statues of different divinities made during the fifth century, but they are probably "traditional" as well, rather than innovative. The chryselephantine Hera of the Argive Heraion wore a crown with Horai and Charites.⁹⁸ The marble Nemesis of Rhamnous is said to have had deer and Nikai adorning her headdress; the fragmentary head in London taken by the Dilettanti at the site shows, through its attachment holes, that these figures were added in metal.⁹⁹ The head of Hera from the east pediment of the Parthenon has such a complex system of holes that much more than a simple *stephane* must be postulated;¹⁰⁰ what the arrangement might have looked like is suggested by the depiction of the goddess on the Baksy krater, which seems inspired by the Athenian gable: a series of flowers on long stems growing from the head at different angles, above a wreath of berries.¹⁰¹ Finally, the Ephesian Artemis, to judge from later representations, wore a *nimbus* or veil decorated with *protomai* and held in place by her tall *polos* or turreted crown.¹⁰²

As Fleischer has convincingly argued, the *kosmos* of the Ephesian wooden statue was removable and changeable, thus accounting for the different renderings of the marble replicas through time. Among the examples of comparable images—the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, the Artemis of Perge, the Kore (as now believed) of Sardis—particular interest should attach to the Hera of Samos, for which a wooden statuette from the island, now destroyed, provides a rare contemporary (that is, early Archaic) replica (fig. 16).¹⁰³

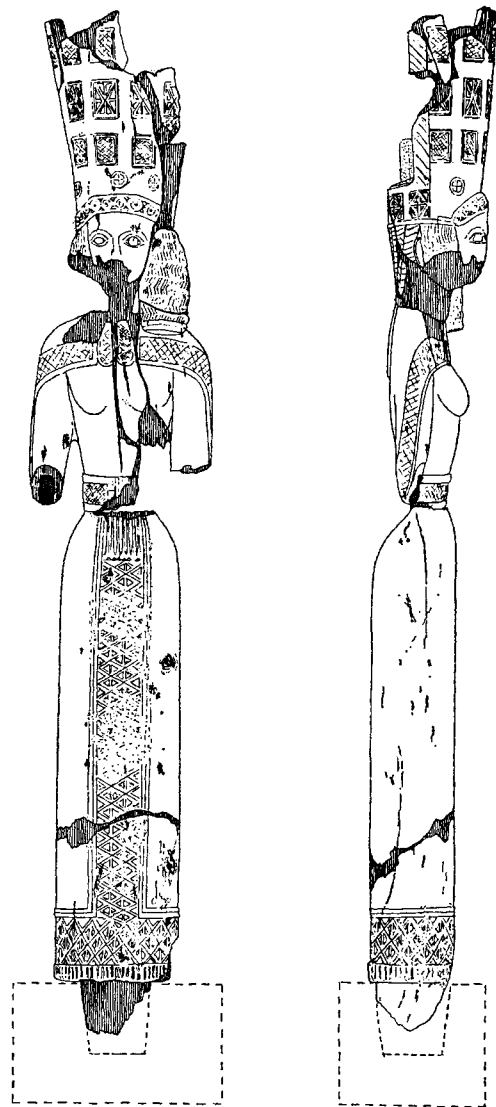


Fig. 16. Wooden statuette from Samos (now lost), two views. (Drawing after D. Ohly, *AM* 82 [1967] 92, fig. 1)

by Alan LeQuire, does not include the decoration of the visor because of the vagueness of the ancient replicas in this detail.

⁹⁸ Paus. 2.17.4. See in particular the Roman Imperial coins of Argos that show a seated figure with an elaborate "spiky" crown: e.g., G.M.A. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven 1950) figs. 654, 657.

⁹⁹ Paus. 1.33.2. For the head in London, see G. Despinis, *Συμβολή στη μελέτη του έργου του Ἀγορακρίτου* (Athens 1971) 45–50, pls. 54–55, although his discussion is more directly concerned with identifying possible replicas of the piece; the reconstruction drawings on pls. I–IV do not include the crown.

Akr. 2381: F. Brommer, *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel* (Mainz 1963) 92, no. 7, pls. 134–35. The head had

also been considered male and attributed to the Helios on the same gable, but the addition of a newly found fragment proves that it was turned to the right (thus being incompatible with the Helios), and it is likely to be female: A. Mantis, "Neue Fragmente von Parthenonskulpturen," in Kyrieleis (supra n. 82) vol. 2, 75–76, pl. 106.2–3.

¹⁰¹ B. Shefton, "The Krater from Baksy," in D. Kurtz and B. Sparkes eds., *The Eye of Greece* (Cambridge 1982) 149–81, esp. 165, pl. 42a; cf. also Harrison (supra n. 37) 251–53 and n. 42.

¹⁰² See supra n. 5.

¹⁰³ On the sacred image in general, see *LIMC* 4 (1988) s.v. Hera (A. Kossatz-Deinmann) 662 no. 20 and p. 668; the wooden statuette is no. 92 on pl. 408. On the latter, see also infra n. 104.



Fig. 17. Kore Akr. 673, detail of head. Akropolis Museum, Athens. (Photo courtesy Bryn Mawr College Archives)

The tall headdress—a mitra rather than a polos, since it is open in the back—suggests a removable ornament in perishable or precious material. Others could probably have replaced it from time to time. Occasionally, leafy crowns could have been used, as appropriate for a deity epitomizing marriage, and, within the Anatolian sphere of influence, perhaps assimilated to fertility goddesses. Sixth-century Phrygian statues of Kybele in sandstone, for instance, combine inserted eyes with leafy crowns and tall polos adorned with rosettes and covered by a veil.¹⁰⁴ We may also profitably recall here the strange depiction of a female divinity on a relief pithos in Cycladic style but found in Boiotian Thebes; usually considered the image of

a birth goddess with two helpers, the scene has also been explained as a vesture ceremony for Hera helped by Charites or Horai and flanked by lions. The remarkable feature of the goddess is her tall crown with branches emerging on either side; this vegetal decoration is probably echoed by bridal crowns, such as the votive terracotta polos dedicated in Boiotian sanctuaries, and Phrasikleia's relief headdress, as well as the stephanai with metal attachments of some Akropolis korai.¹⁰⁵

THE MEANING OF THE AKROPOLIS KORAI

We may now profitably return to the korai on the Athenian citadel, to focus on some of the more prominent forms of head decoration. Akr. 675 has 17 holes for metal ornaments on the top edge of her stephane;¹⁰⁶ in the same position, Akr. 670 exhibits 14 holes, spaced at 0.15–0.20 cm intervals, some of them still retaining 2–5 cm long, bent bronze rods;¹⁰⁷ and Akr. 673 (fig. 17) has an equal number of rods still on her diadem, as well as a very long “meniskos” just behind it, well before the peak of her cranium.¹⁰⁸ The original arrangement might have resembled some women's crowns shown on vases, topped by flowers or leaves, especially in bridal or marital contexts;¹⁰⁹ we may note, however, that within the encircling stephane the hair of all three examples is rendered as smooth or with plastic waves only.

Strands are instead detailed by carved patterns on several korai that have holes pierced directly into the hair mass, either in front or behind the stephane, or both. For instance, Akr. 685 has two holes per side in front of her diadem,¹¹⁰ Akr. 662 has an equal number just behind the stephane, above the ears, still containing three bent lead pins,¹¹¹ and Akr. 678, who does not wear a typical stephane but a chaplet of pearls, has 24 holes above and seven below it.¹¹² What these various attachments would have looked like, when in place, might be visualized through a reconstructed

¹⁰⁴ F. Prayon, *Phrygische Plastik* (Tübingen Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte 7, Tübingen 1987) esp. Kat. 8, from Salmanköy, ca. 550–500, pl. 3d–e, which parallels the Kybele from Bogazköy in headdress. Prayon also comments on the wooden statuette of Hera from Samos.

¹⁰⁵ Boiotian pithos: For an interpretation as the pregnant Leto, see P. Blome, “Die schwangere Leto,” *AM* 100 (1985) 39–51, pls. 13–14; for Hera, see E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (Munich 1980) 57–61, fig. 51; cf. also E. Simon, “Hera und die Nymphen. Ein böotischer Polos in Stockholm,” *RA* 1972, 205–20. For a recent discussion, see *LIMC* 4 s.v. Hera, no. 417 (= Eileithyia 58*); cf. also several representations in vase painting, e.g., nos. 142, 144, 154, for elaborate crowns. See also *infra* n. 125, for comparisons to Phrasikleia's polos, whose floral chain is anticipated, in engraved outline, on the headdress of the so-called Berlin Kore, Boardman, *Archaic Period* fig. 108; *LIMC* 2 s.v. Aphro-

dite, no. 54 pl. 9.

¹⁰⁶ *AMA* no. 43, pls. 60–61.

¹⁰⁷ *AMA* no. 48, pls. 14–16.

¹⁰⁸ *AMA* no. 51, pls. 74–75, and esp. detail on pl. 16.

¹⁰⁹ See, e.g., *LIMC* 4, s.v. Helene, nos. 239, 250, 262, 265, 274, and *passim*. It seems clear that the same type of crown can be worn by Aphrodite (see *infra* n. 115); see also the examples mentioned for Hera (*supra* ns. 100–101, 105). A. Krug, *Binden in der griechischen Kunst. Untersuchungen zur Typologie* (6.–1. Jhrh. v. Chr.) (Hösel 1968) has proved of only limited help in identifying headdresses; see, however, her charts and lists for Type 13, pp. 47–51, Lists 13 A–N, pp. 106–109, Chart III. 13a–c; also Appendix I, pp. 54–55, and Appendix II, pp. 55–57.

¹¹⁰ *AMA* no. 47, pls. 70–71.

¹¹¹ *AMA* no. 102, pl. 104.

¹¹² *AMA* no. 10, pls. 20–21.



Fig. 18. Kore Akr. 679 (the Peplos Kore), frontal view of head. Akropolis Museum, Athens. (Photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)

drawing that illustrates, however, not a head from the Akropolis but probably from Thasos, the so-called Bulgarides Head now in Basel: the kore had inserted eyes, 10 holes on the forehead hair, below the stephane, and four behind it with traces of bronze pins, as well as a "meniskos" on the dome and separately carved roundels of hair attached in front of the ears. The reconstruction fills the forehead holes with metal rosettes, and completes the pins behind the stephane with buds visible from the front as "rampant" above the diadem.¹¹³

That these elaborate headdresses identified the statues as more than "generic korai" can readily be maintained for Akr. 679, the famous Peplos Kore.¹¹⁴ Although similar to Akr. 678 (occasionally called her "sister") in not wearing a typical stephane, the figure has two rows of 35 holes drilled into her hair, the forward row with irregular spacing, the one behind at intervals of 2.5–3 cm. Lead pins are still preserved

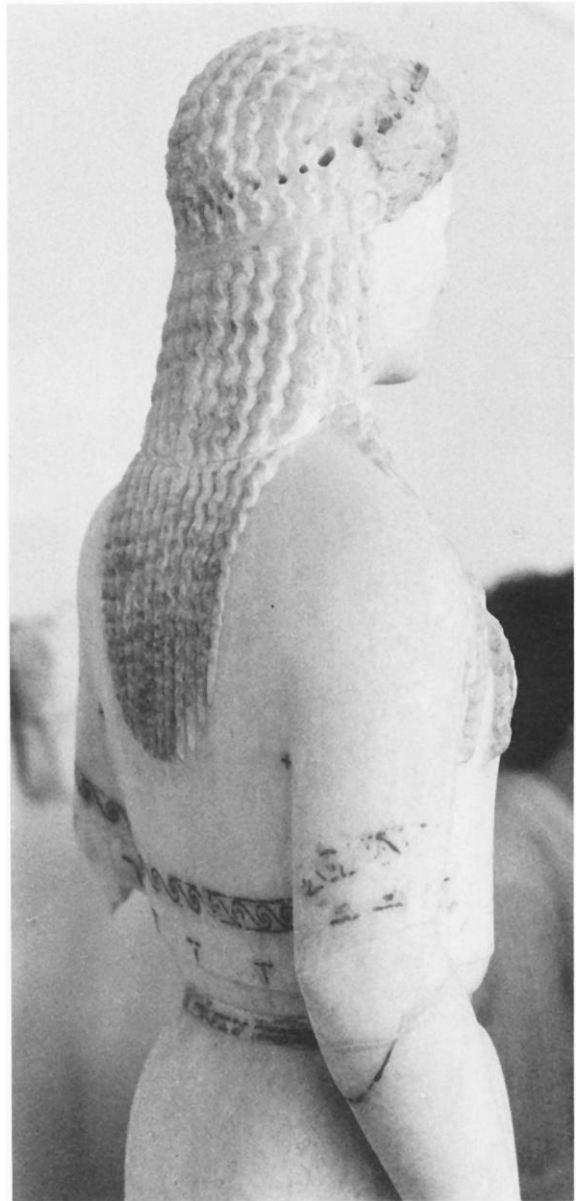


Fig. 19. Kore Akr. 679, detail of head. (Photo E. Vanderpool)

in some cavities. Farther up on the cranium, but well before the peak, a thicker metal projection has been taken to be a broken "meniskos," but I suspect that it belongs together with the rest of the decoration (figs. 18–19).

¹¹³ D. Boschung, "Ein thasischer Korenkopf in Basel," *AntK* 28 (1985) 146–56, pls. 33–37; for the reconstructed drawing, see 149 fig. 5. The head is dated between 530 and 520 B.C. Note also the comparison with the head Akr. 659, *AMA* no. 95, pl. 100: the curls over the forehead of this Athenian piece still retain marble plugs for the insertion of separate marble ornaments, probably rosettes; a beaded tainia appears in front of the stephane, of which it follows the curve. Since the latter dips down onto the nape, I suspect

this head may belong to a helmeted Athena; the hair calotte within the diadem is too battered to determine its rendering.

¹¹⁴ *AMA* no. 4, pls. 3–8. For the costume, and a divine identification, see B.S. Ridgway, "The Peplos Kore, Akropolis 679," *JWalt* 36 (1977) 49–61, with additional parallels. See also Ridgway, "The Fashion of the Elgin Kore," *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984) 29–58. Both articles contain additional references to similar renderings that may go back to early idols.

I have already argued, on grounds of costume and blocklike rendering of the body, that the Peplos Kore echoes an early cult image, probably of wood. The elaborate head crown could suggest Aphrodite, who is often shown with splendid head ornaments, and for whom a tradition of early idols is also attested.¹¹⁵ The attributes once in the statue's hands, now missing, would have clarified and added to the iconography: a spear in the right, a shield in the left, would have been appropriate for Athena; a bow in the left, an arrow in the right, would have signified Artemis. This type of planklike Artemis is not only attested by the Nikandre discussed above, but also by other figures, including small bronzes, such as a statuette from Mazi in Boston, and one from Lousoi, for which the argument has already been made that they reproduce earlier sacred images.¹¹⁶ This concept, which is readily accepted for statues and statuettes in bronze or terracotta, has instead found little credence when applied to the marble Peplos Kore. Yet the difference is solely in the medium, not even in the size, and the practice is well documented not only for Classical cultures, but even for Chinese religion and art.¹¹⁷ The case of the Ephesian Artemis, moreover, of which numerous marble replicas in all sizes, from the diminutive to the colossal, are extant, should suffice to put any doubt to rest; it is in fact known that the original image in Ephesos was made of wood.¹¹⁸

It is therefore time to view *all* Akropolis korai in this light. To say that they represent goddesses or

divine beings 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.¹¹⁹ Even on the Akropolis, seated clay figurines with poloi or other head ornaments have been called Athena, despite the fact that some lack the aegis or other distinctive attribute. In those cases, the throne was perhaps influential in determining identity, but standing images have also been so identified.¹²⁰ In Magna Graecia, where terracottas abound in contrast to marble dedications, all female figures have been called Demeter, Kore, Hera, Aphrodite, Athena, according to location, without hesitation and with widespread agreement.¹²¹ From this point of view, it seems surprising, rather, that the Akropolis korai should have received a different interpretation. As is the case for the terracottas, moreover, stylistic changes are introduced, in keeping with the developments of the times, yet some "earlier" elements linger, as allusion to the venerable images in the sanctuaries, and are thus responsible for the formal discrepancies and stylistic unevenness present in these Archaic/early Classical marbles. We would probably find them also in the colossal cult statues of the fifth and fourth centuries, were they still extant.

To be sure, not all Greek korai represent divinities, and some with an inscribed name, like Philippe and Ornithe from Samos,¹²² should be statues of mortal women. But again a comparison with terracottas may be instructive. It has been amply demonstrated that

¹¹⁵ See *LIMC* 2, s.v. Aphrodite, pp. 12–13, and nos. 41 (pl. 7), 42, 44, 52 (pl. 8). Note especially the elaborate head-dresses of these last representations in vase paintings. For other renderings, see, e.g., nos. 8, 191, 210, 212, 798, 804, and *passim*.

¹¹⁶ P.C. Bol, "Die 'Artemis von Lousoi': Ein klassische Wiedergabe eines frühgriechischen Kultbildes," *Kanon* (Festschrift E. Berger, *AntK-BH* 15, 1988) 76–80. The Lousoi statuette is also illustrated in *LIMC* 2 s.v. Artemis, no. 104 pl. 450, the Artemis from Mazi is no. 81, pl. 448, and "Nikandre" is no. 83 on the same plate. For an idol of Artemis wearing an elaborate crown, which may include birds and flowers, see no. 113a pl. 452. On the Mazi bronze see also, most recently, *The Gods' Delight* (supra n. 49) 62–65, no. 4. The figurine wears a double twisted fillet.

¹¹⁷ I am indebted to Miranda Marvin and her colleagues for reference to a Chinese statuary type known as the Udhya Buddha. This was an ancient Indian image of the Buddha copied for centuries in China because of the venerability of the image itself, not just as a representation of the Buddha: W. Willets, *Chinese Art* (New York 1958) 316–21. Prof. Marvin also pointed out to me the similarity between the votive "korai" and terracotta dedications elsewhere.

¹¹⁸ That the Ephesian Artemis was of wood is stated, e.g.,

by Pliny, *HN* 16.213–14, and Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 2.9.13; cf. Fleischer 1973 (supra n. 5) 121, 390.

¹¹⁹ On votive offerings in general: F.T. Van Straten, "Gifts for the Gods," in H. S. Versnel ed., *Faith, Hope and Worship* (Leiden 1981) 65–151, esp. 81. For dedicated statuettes of divinities others than the major deity of a sanctuary, see B. Alroth, "Visiting Gods—Who and Why?," in T. Linders and G. Nordquist, *Gifts to the Gods* (Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium, 1985. *Boreas* 15, Uppsala 1987) 9–19; although the practice seems sporadically attested for the Archaic period at the four sanctuaries there presented, it increases in later times. On the Athenian Akropolis, several other cults beside that of Athena were present, and therefore statues of other deities may not have been considered as "visiting."

¹²⁰ Athena terracottas from the Akropolis: see, e.g., *LIMC* 2 s.v. Athena, nos. 19–21, and *passim*; cf. also pinax no. 43, pl. 708.

¹²¹ Terracotta molds shared by different sites and divinities in Magna Graecia: see, e.g., R.L. Miller, "Medma and the Exchange of Votive Terracottas," *Papers in Italian Archaeology* 4.4: *Classical and Medieval Archaeology* (BAR-IS 246, Oxford 1985) 5–14.

As part of the dedication in the Samian Heraion carved by the sculptor Geneleos: see, e.g., Boardman, *Archaic Period* figs. 91–93.

the same general type, indeed even the same mold, could be used to produce images of different deities, each identified by separately added ornaments or attributes. The same must have been true for the korai: the generic female type could be transformed into a goddess by a specific costume, the addition of a veil, the presence of a polos or other headdress, and objects in the outstretched hands. It is regrettable that most of the East Greek/Cycladic figures have lost their heads, and that most of the Akropolis korai have lost their hands. But even in the present state, they can be taken as confirmation of the widespread notion, both in antiquity and today, that the image of the patron deity of a sanctuary, or of another god, is the most appropriate offering to a divinity.

This point is confirmed by the well-known Lokroi pinakes, and by the less famous but perhaps more significant plaques from Francavilla of Sicily (ca. 470–460 B.C. on context) that copy and imitate them.¹²³ They are cited here not simply as an example of transference of types and molds, regardless of the specific cult at each site, but also because of the elaborate headdresses exhibited by the divinities on the plaques. The stephanai on the goddesses, some with a dentated upper border, are decorated with rosettes having from eight to as many as 15 petals; male figures wear wreaths of oak leaves or of roses with projecting large flowers. They recall much earlier examples of floral head ornaments, such as the Triton on a white-ground sherd or the hero Peleus on a Protoattic vase from Aigina.¹²⁴ Two large, albeit fragmentary, terracotta female protomai from Lokroi even wear a polos with lotus (pomegranate ?) buds and flowers in relief, like Phrasikleia's. The same type of headdress recurs on terracottas of the Zeus-with-thunderbolt type as late as the late fifth century B.C.¹²⁵

¹²³ A recent discovery at Francavilla, Sicily, has shown that molds and iconography from Lokroi (South Italy) were adopted at the insular site, although some variations were also introduced and new types were created: U. Spigo, "Francavilla di Sicilia. Santuario di età greca," *Kokalos* 32–33 (1986–1987) 25–32; see esp. no. 21, pl. 224.1, and no. 22, pl. 224.2.

¹²⁴ Triton, on white-ground cup by the Eleusis Painter: Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases* (supra n. 43) fig. 217; Peleus, on Protoattic neck amphora in Berlin from Aigina: *LIMC* 1, s.v. Achilleus, pl. 58, no. 21.

¹²⁵ Terracotta protomai from Lokroi with relief polos (like Phrasikleia's): M. Barra Bagnasco, *Protomi in terracotta da Locri Epizefiri. Contributo allo studio della scultura arcaica in Magna Grecia* (Turin 1986) 87–89, nos. 138–39, pl. 24, dated in the second half of the sixth century B.C. For terracottas of Zeus with thunderbolt and floral headdress, see *Locri Epizefiri* I (Florence 1977) 170–87, pls. 35–37, and cf. fig. 38 for a female head with similar ornament.

ARCHAISTIC RENDERINGS

Perhaps further proof for our theory can be found in Archaistic statues in the round and in Neo-Attic reliefs, where the presence of attributes and the intentional harking back to a much earlier style leave no doubt as to the divine nature of the images.¹²⁶ Elaborate crowns appear on several figures, of which I shall single out only two statues in the Louvre: the so-called Palladion with her flowery stephane surrounding a helmet (crowning element partly restored),¹²⁷ and the Talleyrand Zeus with a lotus-and-palmette chain worked *à jour* against a diadem.¹²⁸ The same type of headdress, in a different medium, appears on the bronze statue of Apollo from the House of C. Julius Polybius in Pompeii, regrettably still unpublished.¹²⁹ Other examples could be profitably adduced, but two points can already be made: that Archaistic works may bear a closer relationship to truly Archaic renderings than previously suspected (as confirmed, for instance, by the similarity of the crown on the Ugento Zeus), and that in turn such later adaptations and creations may help us identify as divine the "generic" kouroi and korai that have come down to us deprived of their attributes and head ornaments.¹³⁰

CONCLUSIONS

To summarize this extensive discussion, the following points can be made:

1) The idea of a *meniskos* as a bird-repellent is an Aristophanic joke with no true counterpart in reality. Perhaps the playwright alluded to some of the helmet crests on statues of Athena, seeing them as crescent moons, or he had other forms of ornament in mind, perhaps even stephanai, that may recall a crescent

¹²⁶ Archaistic renderings have been treated most recently by M.-A. Zagdoun, *La sculpture archaïsante dans l'art hellénistique et dans l'art romain du Haut-Empire* (Paris 1989); a book by M.D. Fullerton exclusively on Archaistic sculpture in the round is also forthcoming.

¹²⁷ Zagdoun (supra n. 126) no. 324, pl. 1.5.

¹²⁸ Zagdoun (supra n. 126) no. 322, pl. 63.229–230.

¹²⁹ Zagdoun (supra n. 126) 214 and n. 23. I am indebted to F. Zevi who showed me the piece while it was being restored in Rome, in 1982. Other Archaistic headdresses of interest are Zagdoun, pls. 24–25 (relief representations of Apollo crowned by a laurel wreath and struggling with Herakles for the tripod), pl. 30.113 (relief of Nike and Apollo with crown showing upright leaves), pl. 64.232 (Artemis from Pompeii, with stephane decorated by rosettes, similar to the female deity on the Francavilla pinakes).

¹³⁰ For a viewpoint entirely at variance with my conclusions, see F. Brommer, "Gott oder Mensch," *JdI* 101 (1986) 37–53.

moon, albeit upside down, with horns incorrectly turned downward. We should admit that, by and large, Aristophanes' own meaning escapes us¹³¹ and we should not try to interpret Archaic evidence in the light of his verses. Probably some form of spike to keep birds from nesting was used in architectural sculpture, but the practice is by no means general and is in need of further evidence and study.

2) The metal attachments on the heads of Archaic statues should be read as part of elaborate head-dresses functioning as attributes and helping in the identification of the figures. Interpretations should be made on a case-by-case basis, but the very presence of such ornaments serves to indicate superhuman or divine beings, and our inquiry should therefore be pointed in that direction. That "generic" types could be used to represent mortals should not deter us from making divine identifications whenever appropriate, in the same way in which a "human" mother and child can be seen as the Madonna with Baby Jesus whenever crowns and costumes are provided. The evidence of Archaic sculpture should support this contention.

3) Treatment of surfaces and special patterns (such as roughly picked cranial surfaces or smooth calottes with plastic waves) that had been taken as artistic conventions, simplifications, or even license should instead be analyzed with the possibility in mind that they are actual elements of costume which have so far been misunderstood or disregarded.

4) Many Archaic sculptures may represent slightly modernized "copies" of wooden idols covered with true clothing and jewelry; once their religious connection is understood, stylistic discrepancies may be resolved, and specific traits, such as inserted eyes, be attributed to the venerable prototype.

5) By the same token, certain elements in the decoration of Classical cult images that may appear bizarre to us or be considered later additions, should instead be recognized as belonging to much earlier times, in iconographic continuity from the Dark Ages and perhaps even from prehistory. Influence from the East should also be considered.

6) "Kouroi" and "korai" within sanctuaries should finally be interpreted as traditional votive offerings comparable to terracottas and small bronzes. This consistency in forms of dedications should have been expected, and may solve one of the longstanding puzzles of antiquity for modern scholarship.

As a minor corollary, we may venture the statement that additions in metal to Archaic marble statues seem more at home in Attica and the Aegean islands than in Asia Minor or Magna Graecia. This pattern is consistent with the artistic link, already postulated, between Athens and the Cyclades, while some of the Aegean islands, like Thasos, appear more clearly connected with both Paros and Athens than with the neighboring coast of Anatolia.

These conclusions are all interconnected, and should be valid in general application if not in specifics. If, in my quest for *meniskoi*, I have succeeded in recovering at least one statue of Athena—Antenor's Kore—and in catching a glimpse of Archaic motivations and traditions, this pedantic analysis of metal spikes and attachment holes will have served its purpose.

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¹³¹ Those who may wish to explore further for the real meaning of Aristophanes' reference to *meniskos* should note that, in addition to the citations in *LSJ* (which are, of course, a selection), there are many other instances of the occurrence of the word in ancient authors. These are now easily available for study via the Ibycus computer compilation of the *The-saurus Linguae Graecae*, some 65 citations from 18 authors, several of them referring to geometric or astronomical matters, others to moon-shaped ornaments worn at the throat. It seems pertinent to point out in addition that *Meniskos* is

also known as a proper name; see, e.g., J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin 1901) no. 10106, of the end of the fifth century. A rough survey (by G.R. Edwards) of entries in the prosopographical index of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J., revealed 43 occurrences of "Meniskos" as a personal name in Athens. If, indeed, there was no such thing as a bronze crescent or disk to avert fouling by birds, then it may seem to follow—Prof. Edwards suggests—that Aristophanes' use of the word had some personal reference.