

THE ARCHAISTIC PERIRRHANTERIA OF ATTICA

(PLATES 41–44)

BASINS OF WATER, usually known as perirrhanteria, were used for ritual purification at the entrances to temples and sanctuaries as early as the 7th century B.C.¹ The early type consists of a broad, shallow vessel supported by a central column and, at its circumference, by three or four Daedalic karyatids, each of which stands on a lion's back.² During the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. the peripheral supports disappear, and there evolves a much simpler form, not unlike a modern birdbath.³ This latter type predominates to the end of pagan antiquity. At a date well after the latest karyatid perirrhanterion, however, a number of basins with anthropomorphic supports were set up at various Attic sanctuaries. Each consists of a single marble figure of a draped female which holds a basin at

¹ This article derives, in part, from research conducted for my doctoral dissertation, *Archaistic Draped Statuary of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*, Bryn Mawr College 1982. While a member at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, I was able to study the sculptures in the Athens and Eleusis museums. I wish to thank the American School of Classical Studies for its assistance in gaining access to material in storage, the Fulbright Foundation for its generous support of my study in Greece, and Bryn Mawr College for the Bryne Rubel fellowship, which funded my research in London.

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On perirrhanteria: L. Ziehen, *RE* XIX, 1937, cols. 856–857. The most complete treatment of ritual purification by water and the various equipment involved is found in Ginouvès, esp. pp. 299–310 on perirrhanteria.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

- Bulle = H. Bulle, *Archaisierende griechische Rundplastik*, Munich 1918
Ginouvès = R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè, recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque* (*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 200), Paris 1962, pp. 298–428
Harrison = E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, IX, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton 1961
Herdejürgen = H. Herdejürgen, *Untersuchungen zur thronenden Göttin aus Tarent in Berlin und zur archaischen und archaistischen Schrägmanteltracht*, Waldsassen-Bayern 1968
Kraus = T. Kraus, *Hekate*, Heidelberg 1960
Mylonas = G. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961
Richter = G. M. Richter, *Korai, Archaic Greek Maidens*, New York 1968

² The earliest is generally held to be that from Isthmia: Richter, no. 5, figs. 35–37, ca. 675 B.C. For other examples see Richter's nos. 6–11. These seem to be a Peloponnesian phenomenon, especially common at Olympia and in Lakonia. Both these areas had strong Oriental connections, and their Eastern formal features are often discussed. Of all perirrhanteria, these few early examples are the most frequently treated, largely because of their presumed role in the genesis of Greek marble sculpture. See B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1977, pp. 88–89. The most thorough recent discussion is F. Hamdorf, "Lakonische Perirrhanterion," *AthMitt* 89, 1974, pp. 47–64. See also M. Sturgeon, "'Rings on their Fingers . . .': The Isthmia Korai," paper presented at the 85th general meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, abstract *AJA* 88, 1984, p. 262. Sturgeon is presently preparing a more complete publication of her perirrhanterion studies.

³ These are found virtually everywhere. For a large group from one sanctuary see A. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass. 1949, pp. 370–413. For representation of such vessels in vase painting: Ginouvès, pp. 299–306, pls. 40, 41. J. Durand and F. Lissarque, "Un lieu d'Image? L'Espace du loutérion," *Hephaistos* 2, 1980, pp. 89–106.

approximately waist level. Although these are quite different in arrangement from those of the early Archaic period, a connection with something older is suggested by the fact that all are rendered in an archaistic style.

Two pairs of archaistic basin bearers have been found at the sanctuary of Demeter in Eleusis (Pls. 41:a, b, 42, 43:a). The earlier of these was set into extant inscribed bases (Pl. 41:c, d) as dedications of the Athenian demos.⁴ Letter forms suggest a late Classical or early Hellenistic date for the inscriptions, with which the carving technique of the statues is fully consistent.⁵ The two statues are reverse replicas of one another and identifiable as a balancing pair. Such an arrangement is suitable to their presumed location at either side of a sanctuary entrance.⁶ The basins themselves are not preserved, but their existence is inferred from large square cuttings in the statues' torsos, which were used to secure them.

Although the style of these statues is not one that immediately strikes the observer as archaistic, archaisms are present in both pose and dress, and the figures share two basic characteristics with more thoroughly archaistic works of Classical and Hellenistic times. First, each archaism used is not a simple copy of an Archaic feature but is a new creation with an Archaic appearance. Second, these archaistic features are skillfully blended with non-archaistic traits.

Each of the statues stands in an Archaic manner, i.e., flat-footed with one leg advanced and no *contrapposto*, but their feet are skewed while those in Archaic work are parallel. The long diagonal mantle with overfold, essentially a peplos fastened only at one shoulder, recalls Archaic work with its diagonal accent, but it is virtually unknown in Archaic times and is the most typical archaistic dress.⁷ In spite of these archaisms, the over-all proportions and particularly the very high girdle are late Classical features. Voluminous individual folds

⁴ Inv. no. 5140 (Pl. 41:a). A. Furtwängler, *Über Statuenkopien im Altertum*, Munich 1897, pp. 12–14. *BrBr*, pl. 563. Bulle, p. 26, no. 49: a. K. Kourouniotes, *Eleusis*, Athens 1934, pp. 70–71, fig. 38. Mylonas, p. 202. Harrison, pp. 52, 56. Herdejürgen, p. 83. K. Kanta, *Eleusis*, Athens 1979, p. 85, fig. 34. The companion piece (Pl. 41:b) stands in the Museum courtyard near the main entrance to the Museum building (*contra* Kanta, who puts it in London). Its base (Pl. 41:d) is at the other end of the courtyard. This second statue bears no discernible inventory number. Each figure wears a thin chiton and long diagonal mantle belted over a long overfold. They are designed to balance one another. No. 5140 stands with left leg advanced and wears its mantle fastened at the right shoulder. Its counterpart has its right leg advanced and mantle fastened at the left shoulder. Statue no. 5140 is essentially intact, but both arms, head, and basin, carved separately and once attached, are now missing. Its counterpart is preserved from the waist to the ankles and is badly weathered. Both inscriptions are published: *IG* II², 2795.

⁵ The marble surface is carefully finished and retains none of the rough tooling marks left on statues of the Roman period at this site. Cf. the later perirrhanteria discussed below.

⁶ This location was suggested by Kourouniotes, *op. cit.* (footnote 4 above), pp. 70–71, and it is generally accepted. The two statues are not precise reverse copies, as one would expect in Roman times. They would appear to have been freely carved following a general model.

⁷ Herdejürgen, pp. 37–89, esp. pp. 63–64. As is usual in archaistic work, it is worn here over a thin chiton. This garment resembles its Archaic predecessors in having a superficial covering of rippling folds, but it also falls in heavy plastic folds which are not found in Archaic sculpture. What were stylized folds on Archaic work have become simple texturing here. This archaistic feature occurs for the first time on these statues, as does the finished border at the chiton hem, another non-Archaic trait. The Peplos Kore (Akr. 679) has a narrow band left smooth along its skirt hem, which may have been for a painted border, a feature otherwise unknown on Archaic work. It is not, in any case, the distinct raised border seen on the Eleusis statue. Peplos Kore: Richter, no. 113, figs. 349–354.

occur in lively naturalistic patterns. Especially illustrative are the folds near the belt which convey the impression of a loose garment bound tightly in place. Despite the stiff-legged pose, the impression of a figure standing comfortably is convincing.⁸

This style wherein the use of archaism is limited to one or two details is commonly found in Hellenistic sculpture. It is usual in the cities of East Greece, but examples are known on the mainland as well.⁹ In these later examples, however, the archaistic traits are even more limited and generally involve only a certain axiality or symmetry in an over-all drapery arrangement which is otherwise up-to-date. The more deliberate archaism of the Eleusis perirrhanteria is best paralleled by a youthful Dionysos from the same site.¹⁰ The pose and drapery pattern of this figure recall such early Hellenistic works as Chairestratos' Themis and Polyeuktos' Demosthenes.¹¹ Even closer are the nymphs on an Attic votive relief in New York, dated by its inscription *ca.* 300 B.C.¹² The earlier Eleusis perirrhanteria (on the basis of inscriptions) and the Eleusis Dionysos (on the basis of style) can thus be placed in the late Classical—early Hellenistic period as archaistic works intermediate between the stiffer Classical Attic and looser East Greek Hellenistic archaistic styles.¹³

A second pair of basin bearers at Eleusis (Pls. 42, 43:a) is certainly Roman in date. The major fragment,¹⁴ preserving the entire torso, is covered with coarse rasp marks, and there is a considerable amount of running drillwork in the folds and shoulder curls. A shallow, rough drill channel separates the top of the himation border from the chiton folds. Such technical features are to be expected only in the Roman era.¹⁵ As Harrison has pointed out, a second fragment in the museum courtyard (Pl. 42:b) preserves the legs of the same

⁸ Some scholars see this style as "archaizing" rather than archaistic. Ridgway, *op. cit.* (footnote 2 above), p. 303. The problem with this terminology is in its introduction of a distinction in degree into a body of material too varied to abide by it. The distinction is perceptible but defies objective definition.

⁹ There are many examples. The best known from Pergamon is the small marble "dancer" excavated in the Attalid palace complex: F. Winter, *Pergamon VII*, i, Berlin 1907, pp. 63–69, no. 43. For other examples, from Rhodes, the Cyclades, and mainland Greece, see footnote 46 below.

¹⁰ Inv. no. 5139. *EA*, no. 1299. Kanta, *op. cit.* (footnote 4 above), p. 79, fig. 29. Some prefer to identify this statue as the representation of a mortal (priest?): Harrison, p. 58. Bulle, pp. 25–26.

¹¹ The Demosthenes is known from many copies: G. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks II*, London 1965, p. 219, no. 32. But note the objections to a 3rd-century date listed by Havelock, *Hellenistic Art*, 2nd ed., Greenwich, Conn. 1981, pp. 39–40, no. 25. Themis: Athens, N.M. 231; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York 1961, p. 65. The three figures all share an exaggerated weight shift which produces in the outthrust hip a focal point for the convergence of many long folds across all areas of the body.

¹² New York, M.M.A. 25.78.59. G. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture*, New York 1954, pp. 80–81, no. 143, pl. 105:a.

¹³ Classical Attic archaism is seen in the Hekate Epipyrgidia and her later reflections (see footnote 47 below) as well as in the archaistic Athena represented on certain vases. Cf. an oinochoe fragment from the Athenian Agora: Harrison, pp. 52, 62–63, pl. 63:b, c. See also Panathenaic amphoras of 363 B.C. and after: G. Becatti, "Revisioni critiche anfore Panatenaiche e stile arcaistico," *RendPontAcc* 17, 1941, pp. 85–95. Whether the East Greek Hellenistic archaism developed from the style represented at Eleusis, directly from earlier Attic style, or independently from Egyptianizing Isis figures in 3rd-century Ptolemaic art is an open question. It is virtually impossible to isolate any one source of inspiration.

¹⁴ Inv. no. 5137 (Pl. 42:a). W. Deonna, *RA* 11, 1908 (pp. 190–204), pp. 197–198, no. 5, fig. 6. Bulle, p. 70. Mylonas, p. 202, fig. 77. Richter, figs. 683–685. Harrison, p. 56. Herdejürgen, p. 81. Kanta, *op. cit.* (footnote 4 above), p. 81, fig. 31.

¹⁵ The surface treatment on the basin bearer is very similar to that on the karyatids from the Inner Propylaea, which was erected in the late 1st century B.C.; Mylonas, pp. 156–160.

statue.¹⁶ The two pieces are compatible in scale, material, workmanship, and style. The fold patterns suggested in the upper body, masses of drapery framing the figure, central pleat, and thin folds curving down to model the thighs, continue in the lower part of the statue. Three more fragments in the Eleusis museum (Pls. 42:c, d, 43:a), which have not been previously noted, must come from the left thigh, back of the right shoulder, and buttocks of a similar statue.¹⁷ A trace of the water basin is preserved on the thigh fragment. These statues, unlike the Hellenistic examples, are carved in one piece with their basins and are direct, not reversed, copies of one another.

This pair differs greatly from its predecessors in style. We see here a more thorough imitation of Archaic prototypes. The chiton has no plastic folds of crinkly texture; the himation is given a very stiff and tightly packed ruffle border, the shoulder curls are rigid and metallic. The chiton over the arms is given in full detail with seams, buttons, and emanating folds; this rendering is very dry and academic and follows Archaic prototypes.¹⁸ The himation overfold is given more plasticity than the ruffle or chiton; the folds of the himation over the legs have still more volume and more dramatic use of chiaroscuro. The drapery pattern over the legs, long parabolic folds which loop continuously from outside flanking pleats to central pleat, is a Hellenistic feature found frequently on sculptures from Rhodes.¹⁹ This combination of Archaic with much later archaistic features recalls Roman practice and is consistent with the Roman date indicated by the carving technique.

There is no firm evidence concerning the original location of these statues, but the fact that there is more than one pair and the nature of the sanctuary and cult may offer clues. As a mystery religion, the Eleusinian cult contained essential elements of exclusivity and inclusivity. This dual concept finds its architectural expression in the plurality of propylaia which function at once as entranceways and barriers.²⁰ It is at these points that one expects to find perirrhanteria; in this context lustration probably served both as purification and renewal of initiation.²¹ One logical arrangement would place the later basin bearers in the Inner Propylaia; similarity in carving technique has already been mentioned. A date in the mid-1st century B.C. is also consistent with the statues' drapery arrangement: the pattern of folds over the legs retains Hellenistic traits, and the imitation of Archaic patterns on the torso recalls Roman practice. Exactly where in this structure they may have stood is not indicated by extant remains, but they should have flanked a doorway. It has long been assumed that there were perirrhanteria flanking the Telesterion entrance.²² The pair of late

¹⁶ Harrison, p. 56; inv. no. 5135.

¹⁷ Inv. nos. 5134 (Pl. 42:c: shoulder), 5285 (Pl. 42:d: buttocks). The thigh fragment (Pl. 43:a) bears no visible number. These fragments are all unpublished and, to my knowledge, previously unattributed.

¹⁸ This is not, however, the usual Archaic method of rendering chiton sleeves, but it is the Archaic manner of conveying the buttoning of the himation along the upper arm. Cf. for example, Richter, nos. 110, 115–118, 122, 123, 127. An exception is no. 119 (Akr. 670). On this statue, this type of rendering is found on the chiton sleeves, but there is no himation worn. The sculptor seems here to be following an Archaic prototype without fully understanding the conventions.

¹⁹ See Harrison, pp. 89–90. For the Rhodian examples, see footnote 46 below.

²⁰ By the late 2nd century after Christ there were a number of discernible stages of access: the forecourt with Artemis temple, the outer and inner propylaia, and the entrance to the Telesterion itself.

²¹ This concept is fully developed by Ginouvès, pp. 375–404, esp. (on Eleusis) pp. 376–380.

²² Mylonas, p. 202.

4th-century basin bearers is a most likely candidate for that location. Both their date and their association with the Athenian demos suggest a connection with the Portico of Philo, which was added to the Telesterion at that time and, according to Vitruvius, finished under Demetrios of Phaleron (317–307 B.C.).²³

A basin bearer now in London resembles in some ways the Roman figures from Eleusis but is more coherently Hellenistic in style (Pl. 43:b).²⁴ Its garment is the same as that of the Eleusis pieces; the treatment of the skirt is quite similar, although much less deeply carved. The Archaic treatment of crinkly chiton folds and shoulder locks seen on the Eleusis basin bearer is absent from the London statue. Furthermore, the proportions with narrow shoulders and very broad hips are decidedly those of the developed Hellenistic period. The workmanship is, all in all, mediocre, but nothing specific can be cited in support of a Roman date.

A piece very close to the London figure, preserved only from the neck to just below the overfold, has been found in Athens itself (Pl. 44:a).²⁵ It was found near the Akropolis with material from the Asklepion, but it has been suggested that it tumbled down at some point from the Athenian citadel.²⁶ In so far as it is preserved, its drapery pattern is essentially the same as that of the British Museum example. The rendering of chiton folds and the type of ruffle border are similar; the pattern of himation pleats is identical on the two statues. The quality of the Athens piece is mediocre. The garment is misunderstood; the treatment of the himation ruffle in back is especially confused. The surface bears many tool marks (notably of the rasp), and some details are rendered by crude incised lines with no real carving. One is tempted to assign a Roman date to these statues, but there is no concrete evidence for a date later than the 2nd century B.C.

Despite their similarity in form, it is quite unlikely that the basin bearers in London and Athens ever constituted a pair. Not only were they found at quite separate sites²⁷ but also each has its mantle fastened at the left shoulder, an aberration most frequently found when a statue is one of a balancing pair.²⁸ We may conclude, therefore, that there were set up in the 2nd century B.C. or later very similar pairs of archaistic basin bearers at two Attic

²³ Vitruvius, vii, praef. 17. Mylonas (pp. 133–135) suggests that it was begun earlier as part of the Lycurgan building activity in the area.

²⁴ A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, the British Museum*, London 1892–1904, p. 71, no. 152. E. Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, Munich 1922, p. 50, pl. 23. Bulle, p. 13, no. 46. Herdejürgen, p. 84, b 1. Attic marble. P.H. 0.86 m. The figure wears a chiton and a long diagonal mantle fastened at the left shoulder.

²⁵ Athens, N.M. inv. no. 75. White marble. P.H. 0.44 m. Deonna, *op. cit.* (footnote 14 above), p. 199, no. 7, fig. 8. G. Oikonomos, «'Εκ τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου τῶν Τράλλεων», *Ἀρχ' Ἐφ.*, 1923 (pp. 59–101), p. 81, fig. 20.

²⁶ A torso of a small Akropolis kore retains under its right breast the traces of what was possibly once a water basin. Inv. no. 628. Pentelic marble. P.H. 0.29 m. Preserved from neck to just above the waist. It wears the chiton and diagonal mantle fastened along the right shoulder and upper arm. H. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Akropolis*, London [1936], pl. 96:4. Mylonas, *Ἐφ' Ἀρχ.*, 1883 [1884], col. 40, no. 3. Harrison, p. 51. It is very close to Archaic work (both Langlotz and Payne included it among their Archaic korai), but it has been identified by Harrison as Roman and thus archaistic. Since it is not securely either archaistic or a basin bearer, it is best left out of this discussion.

²⁷ See below, p. 212, for Rhamnous as the probable provenience of the London basin bearer.

²⁸ In Archaic times, the karyatids at Delphi: P. de la Coste-Messelière and J. Marcadé, “Corès Delphiques,” *BCH* 77, 1953, pp. 346–376. Cf. also the archaistic Athena karyatids from the Odeion at Corinth: O. Broneer, *Corinth*, X, *The Odeum*, Princeton 1932, pp. 117–123, fig. 114, pls. 15, 16.

sanctuaries quite distant from one another. The Athens pair may have been set up on the Akropolis, as a number of perirrhanteria have been found there,²⁹ but the special association between lustral water and Asklepieia suggests that the original location was nearer the findspot.³⁰ They may have been set up in association with the propylon leading to the sanctuary.³¹ It now seems fairly certain that the London statue was found in 1813 by J. P. Gandy Deering to the east of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous.³² This may have been its original location since perirrhanteria were often set up at the entrances to temples. Alternatively, the statue could have been moved there at some time from another location, but the association with this sanctuary can be accepted as established.

The remains of a basin, now broken off, identify a large marble kore found at Laurion as a perirrhanterion (Pl. 44:b).³³ Its drapery arrangement is similar to that of the Roman korai from Eleusis, but its style is much more linear, and the quality of its carving is far superior.³⁴ It was long ago recognized as the earliest of archaistic basin bearers, and its 4th-century date has never been seriously questioned.³⁵

What truly separates this statue from later works is its quality, both in carving technique and in over-all design. The statue is completely finished front and back; the carving is careful with no obvious drillwork or other conspicuous traces of tooling. Within its rather rigid pattern of folds there exists considerable subtlety. The crinkly folds of the chiton are properly rendered over both sleeves. The arrangement of the himation overfold over the back is dominated by three major pleats with smaller vertical folds in between. The latter vary in width, being broader when furthest from the dominant pleats, and thus create rhythmic transitions between them. Each fold, furthermore, flares gently to accentuate the swelling buttocks. Similar refinements can be detected on the less well preserved front. The diagonal ruffle fans to reflect the curve of the breasts. The linear folds over the thighs are not strictly symmetrical but shift with the slightly advanced right leg. The sculptor has taken Archaic linear patterns and used them to model the figure beneath the drapery. The subtlety involved is rare in archaistic sculpture, but does this necessitate a late Classical date?

²⁹ See footnotes 3 and 26 above.

³⁰ Ginouvès, pp. 349–361.

³¹ The propylon of which traces are preserved is Augustan, but Travlos concludes from epigraphical evidence that there was a predecessor; J. Travlos, *A Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, New York 1971, p. 127.

³² Smith (*op. cit.* [footnote 24 above], p. 71) gives the Elgin collection as the source of this piece, but a recent re-examination of the notebook of Gandy Deering has shown that it comes from Rhamnous. B. Ch. Petrakou, «Νέες έρευνες στόν Ραμνούνα», *Άρχ'Εφ*, 1979 [1981] (pp. 1–81), pp. 54–55, fig. 20.

³³ Athens, N.M. 74. An over-life-size kore of Pentelic marble preserved from neck to knees with each forearm broken off at a point above the elbow. The figure wears a thin chiton visible on the left shoulder, breast, and upper arm. Over it is worn a diagonal mantle fastened at the right shoulder and hanging down along the outside of the right thigh. Deonna, *op. cit.* (footnote 14 above), p. 198, no. 6, fig. 7. Schmidt, *op. cit.* (footnote 24 above), pl. 22.

³⁴ The similarity in general drapery pattern between this and the Roman korai at Eleusis is striking. It is difficult, however, to infer any significance from this fact since the works come from opposite ends of Attica.

³⁵ Bulle, p. 13, no. 19. Schmidt, *op. cit.* (footnote 24 above), p. 50. Herdejürgen, p. 81. Harrison, pp. 51–52. The evidence for dating is stylistic and technical. Each author notes the stylistic similarity to Archaic work and technical features shared with 4th-century sculpture, notably grave reliefs.

This statue is characterized by a flat, linear, incised quality that has been traditionally associated with 4th-century archaistic works. The basis for this date is, in essence, the assumption that the prototypes of Neo-Attic archaistic figures were to be found in now lost works of late Classical times. Havelock challenged this theory convincingly two decades ago,³⁶ and Harrison has shown that a crucial monument in the argument, the four-gods base from the Athenian Akropolis, is probably Augustan and not 4th-century in date.³⁷ This redating has been recently substantiated by the discovery at Corinth of two marble pedestals decorated with relief sculpture in a similar flat archaistic style; these can be dated to the early Roman Empire.³⁸ Moreover, their style can be contrasted with that demonstrable in 4th-century archaistic work, e.g., the flamboyant flaring drapery of Panathenaic Athenas and the plasticity of similar figures when rendered in relief sculpture.³⁹ Aside from the very freely rendered Eleusis perirrhanteria discussed above, the pedimental idols from the Argive Heraion and Epidauros temple are the only works of archaistic sculpture in the round firmly dated to later Classical times.⁴⁰ Neither of these show the extremely flat rendering of the Laurion kore, nor do they show the meticulous rendering of chiton folds.⁴¹ It is therefore likely that this fidelity to Archaic features indicates a Roman date; the Laurion kore is thus more apt to have been patterned after the Eleusis examples than vice versa.⁴²

³⁶ C. Havelock, "Archaistic Reliefs of the Hellenistic Period," *AJA* 68, 1964, pp. 43–58; "The Archaic as Survival versus the Archaistic as a New Style," *AJA* 69, 1965, pp. 331–340.

³⁷ Harrison, p. 83. Professor Harrison informs me that she also prefers to downdate certain archaistic statue fragments of similar style which she associated with the Laurion kore (pp. 51–52). Since none of these are certainly perirrhanteria, they are left out of the present discussion.

³⁸ C. K. Williams, II and Joan E. Fisher, *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 23–24, no. 28; C. K. Williams, II, "Zeus and other Deities: Notes on Two Archaistic Piers," *Hesperia*, Suppl. XX, *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography*, Princeton 1981, pp. 175–181. The excavator initially dated the reliefs to the Augustan period on the basis of style and technique. He later suggested a Flavian date to allow association with structures of that period. B. S. Ridgway, "Sculpture from Corinth," *Hesperia* 50, 1981 (pp. 422–448), pp. 430–431. Ridgway convincingly argues for the maintenance of the earlier date.

³⁹ Panathenaic amphoras: see footnote 13 above. Samothrace frieze: P. W. Lehmann, *Samothrace*, V, *The Temenos*, Princeton 1983, pp. 172–262. Cf. also the record relief fragment (dated 321/0) from the Agora of Athens: Harrison, p. 84, no. 133, pl. 31.

⁴⁰ Argive idol: F. Eichler, "Die Skulpturen des Heraions bei Argos," *ÖJh* 19–20, 1919 (pp. 15–153), pp. 18–46. Epidauros: J. Crome, *Die Skulpturen des Asklepiostempels von Epidauros*, Berlin 1951, pp. 45–55, pl. 39.

⁴¹ Note especially the correct contrast between the fold patterns over left and right shoulder on the Laurion kore. This contrast is absent on the Argive Heraion idol and the Eleusis perirrhanteria and only summarily rendered on the Epidauros idol. It is characteristic of a close attention to Archaic features, which seems not to have been a feature of Classical or Hellenistic archaistic works.

⁴² Exactly why this was done is impossible to determine since we do not know where this statue originally stood. Museum records show its provenience simply as Laurion. It has been proposed that the statue may be the same as one seen at Thorikos in the last century and described as "of the Akropolis type". B. Staïs, «Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Θορικῶ», *Πρακτικά*, 1893 [1895] (pp. 12–17), p. 17; W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., "Anchoring Two Floating Temples," *Hesperia* 51, 1982 (pp. 410–452), p. 451. This statue stood next to a structure identified as a Demeter and Kore temple, and a connection with Eleusis would in this case be possible. The site and sanctuary at Thorikos, however, seem to have been abandoned long before the Roman era, so our statue is not likely to have stood there. The date suggested by stylistic parallels is more compelling, in this case, than an

Seven statues seem a hardly adequate basis for the establishment of a stylistic sequence, but a pattern does appear to emerge. The late 4th-century examples from Eleusis are the most freely rendered, both as archaistic works and as a corresponding pair. Those in London and Athens are quite coherently Hellenistic in style and are stylistically distinct from the Eleusis maidens. The later Eleusis pair develops from the Hellenistic type, with which it shares a similar drapery pattern over the legs. The treatment of overfold and chiton becomes more nearly Archaic in form,⁴³ and this Roman feature may be explained by the postulated association with a late Hellenistic Roman commission: the Inner Propylaia. The Laurion kore seems to be an early Imperial work, modeled after the Eleusis figures although superior to them in quality and more faithful in detail to true Archaic work. Two questions now emerge: 1) What prompted the creation of archaistic perirrhanteria at Eleusis? and 2) What influenced the abrupt stylistic distinction between these statues and the later examples?

It has been suggested that the earlier Eleusis perirrhanteria stood at the entrance to the Telesterion, perhaps in Philo's portico, as instruments of purification and initiation. The garment worn by these figures is appropriate to Demeter and Kore, and by extension to their worshippers.⁴⁴ Thus the garment itself may have been considered a mark of initiation and the basin bearers perpetual worshippers, servants to the cult who offer fellow-worshippers symbolic means to lustration and renewal of initiation. Stasis is another factor: during the later 4th century there is a tendency in statuary away from static poses and toward the more momentary. To create a basin bearer in a contemporary stance would have been incongruous, because the functionally essential immobility of the object would thus be destroyed. An earlier example of this same phenomenon can be seen in the Erechtheion karyatids, whose stability is demanded by their role as supports. Their archaism is limited largely to hairstyle; the balance of the late 5th-century chiastic stance made any further reversion to Archaic form unnecessary. Finally, since these basin bearers were set up by the Athenian *demos*, the archaism might also have been considered appropriate as a reference to the long-standing control of the sanctuary by Athens.⁴⁵

emended provenience. On Thorikos, generally, see H. Mussche, "Recent Excavations in Thorikos," *Acta Classica* 13, 1970, pp. 125–136.

⁴³ This form of overfold with three main pleats falling to approximately the same level is a late Archaic feature. It is found on the central Athena from the west pediment at Aigina, where it seems to imply a combination of the Ionic himation with the horizontal accent of a peplos overfold. See B. S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1970, pp. 15–16. At least one archaistic type of late Hellenistic/early Imperial date shares this rendering (the Dresden Athena) and is, in fact, almost exactly modeled after the Aigina figure. The major difference is the substitution (as at Eleusis) of the long diagonal mantle with overfold for the Archaic chiton/himation arrangement. For the Dresden Athena see Bulle, pp. 8–9, no. 4; D. Willers, *Zu den anfangen der archaischen Plastik in Griechenland*, *AthMitt*, Beiheft 4, 1975, p. 59, pl. 32:1.

⁴⁴ Cf. Harrison, pp. 56, 64. Ridgway (*op. cit.* [footnote 38 above], pp. 439–440) discusses the well-known Classical (or Classicizing?) Demeter-Kore type with this dress. Examples are known from both Athens and Corinth.

⁴⁵ Ridgway (review of *Antike Plastik, Lieferung I, Teil 1–5*, *AJA* 68, 1964 [pp. 80–81], p. 81) has raised the question whether perirrhanterion korai existed in Archaic times; she cites several Archaic pairs and the existence of plinth cuttings flanking the temple ramp at Aigina. If this were true, an Archaic tradition could have suggested archaistic form, as is the case with archaistic herms, coin obverses, and Panathenaic Athenas. There is no firm evidence, however, for such perirrhanterion korai earlier than the 4th century B.C.

The stylistic difference between these Eleusis basin bearers and their Hellenistic successors is drastic. Religious motives for archaizing probably persisted, but lack of clear proveniences makes specific cultic explanations tenuous. A useful clue is provided, however, by the strong formal similarity between the Hellenistic basin bearers and the numerous Artemis-Hekate images found throughout Hellenistic Greece.⁴⁶ Common features include the pose with legs held tightly together, the heavy framing folds outside the legs, and the strong axiality formed by a single central dominant pleat. The archaistic Artemis-Hekate figure ultimately derived from the triple-bodied hekataion, which itself originated with Alkamenēs' Hekate Epipyrgidia of the later 5th century B.C.⁴⁷ Examples of triple-bodied hekataia in Hellenistic style are frequent, as are their single-bodied counterparts.⁴⁸

One formal distinction is that hekataia, originally and most commonly, are dressed in the peplos, while our perirrhanteria figures wear the long diagonal mantle. Many Artemis-Hekate idols, however, wear a diagonal ruffled mantle, and at least one triple-bodied hekataion does so as well.⁴⁹ The correspondence in other details is so thorough that it is almost certain that the Hellenistic perirrhanterion type derives from the general Hellenistic type of Artemis-Hekate. Perhaps the diagonal mantle was chosen with respect to the earlier Eleusis basin bearers, or, more likely, it was intended to distinguish the figure from the goddess

⁴⁶ The traditional Artemis-Hekate figure wears a peplos, e.g., from Rhodes: G. Gualandi, "Sculpture di Rodi," *ASAtene*, n.s. 38, 1976 [1979] (pp. 7–259), pp. 162–163, 168, nos. 158, 162, 163; from Aulis: I. Threpsiades, «Αὔλις», *Ἔργον*, 1958 [1959] (pp. 53–60), p. 56, figs. 58, 59; two, one of which is archaistic, on Paros: I. Kleeman, "Ein Weihgeschenk an die delische Artemis in Paros," *AthMitt* 77, 1962 (pp. 207–228), pp. 207–227. One of these bears a dedication to Delian Artemis.

There also exist several examples wearing the long diagonal mantle. From Rhodes: Gualandi, *op. cit.*, pp. 159–170, nos. 156, 159, 166; Γ. Κωνσταντινίδης, «Ἀρχαιοτήτες καὶ μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου», *Δελτ* 23, 1968, B' 2 [1969] (pp. 432–449), p. 439, pl. 408:B. The last was found together with several columnar perirrhanterion supports. From Delos: J. Marcadé, *Au musée de Delos*, Paris 1969, pp. 212, 303, note 2, 432, pl. 54, no. A5294; from Amorgos: F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, Copenhagen 1951, p. 40, no. 20, pl. 2; from Dion: D. Pandermalis, "Ein neues Heiligtum in Dion," *AA (JdI)* 97, 1982 (pp. 727–735), p. 734, fig. 8.

⁴⁷ The main work on the Hekate of Alkamenēs remains: Kraus, pp. 84–118 with bibliography. More recently: F. Eckstein, "Das Hekataion in der British School zu Athen," *AntPl* 4, 1965, pp. 27–36. Harrison, pp. 86–107. L. Capuis, *Alkamenēs. Fonti storiche e archeologiche*, Florence 1968, pp. 26–27. Willers, *op. cit.* (footnote 43 above), pp. 48–52. W. Schuchhardt, *Alkamenēs (BerlWinckProg 126)*, 1977, pp. 27–30. W. Fuchs, "Zur Hekate des Alkamenēs," *Boreas* 1, 1978, pp. 32–35. B. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1981, pp. 174–175. *Idem*, *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture*, Ann Arbor 1984, pp. 62, note 32, 70–71, 78–79, note 37.

An important work on Hekate has appeared since this article was submitted: E. Simon, "Hekate in Athen," *AthMitt* 100, 1985, pp. 271–284. Professor Simon publishes here a fragment from an Attic red-figured skyphos of the late 5th century which represents a triple-bodied hekataion. This sherd, a stray find from the Kerameikos, provides the earliest datable representation of such a triple-bodied image. Discussions relevant to my arguments include the lustral nature of hekataia (p. 274, note 22), the connection of Hekate with the Eleusinian cult (pp. 278–280), and her association with Asklepieia (p. 280). This find determines once and for all that triple-bodied hekataia did exist in the 5th century B.C. Whether, as Simon argues, the representation in question is of an *Archaic* idol remains unproved; see M. Fullerton, "Alkamenēs' Hekate and Archaism in Athens," *AA (JdI)* 101, 1986, forthcoming.

⁴⁸ Kraus, pp. 153–165.

⁴⁹ For the hekataion: Kraus, pl. 23:1 (from Samos). The Artemis-Hekate idols with diagonal mantle are listed above, in footnote 46.

Hekate. It would have been inappropriate for Hekate, who inhabited the world of the ghostly unknown, to have been represented performing so mundane a chore.⁵⁰

This formal assimilation of the archaistic perirrhanterion to the archaistic Hekate idol must be due to the close functional similarity between the two.⁵¹ Both stood at the entrances to sanctuaries. As an apotropaic device, the hekataion prevented the spiritual pollution of sacred ground. As a lustral basin, the perirrhanterion enabled worshippers to enter the sanctuary spiritually cleansed. The use of an archaistic style in both was similarly motivated. Beyond the purely formal considerations already mentioned, there is in both cases the necessity of permanence and immobility. Moreover, if both were conceived as apotropaic, there would also have been the need that they exist within the spiritual rather than the material world. Archaism helped strengthen this sense of the “unreal”.

Exactly why this form of perirrhanterion occurs where it does is impossible to determine precisely, since we do not know the proveniences of all the examples. Specific arguments for a connection with Hekate can be offered for all the sanctuaries considered, but when undermined by uncertainty, specific arguments are idle.⁵² In the case of Eleusis, there remains one final question: Why are two pairs of korai at one site of such differing styles? We have proposed that the 4th-century maidens were set up at an entrance to the Telestion; they were dressed in an archaized version of the garment of Demeter and Kore to identify them as perpetual servants, worshippers, and initiates. Perhaps the Hekatelike form of the later pair is related to their suggested location in a propylon. Hekate was

⁵⁰ The implication here may be that the basin bearer is Hekate's servant as the earlier Eleusis figures are Demeter's. Cf. hekataia and Hekate-herms on which Charites are represented. The latter often take just this form, with strong axial vertical folds and diagonal mantle: Kraus, pp. 129–152, esp. pls. 8–10, 16.

⁵¹ Iacopi (“Nuove sculture camiresi – Contributo agli studi su Alcamene,” *BdA* 30, 1936, pp. 443–451) argued for a connection between the archaistic hekataion and the *Archaic* perirrhanteria. He sees the three “potnia theron”-type supports of a perirrhanterion from Kamiros, and other examples elsewhere, as derived from a similar Hittite deity. Iacopi maintains that Hekate is a Hellenized version of this Oriental goddess; the three supports were thus fused by Alkamenes into the archaistic hekataion. He does not consider that not all such perirrhanteria have three supports, and so purely formal a derivation of the triple nature of Hekate has not drawn many adherents, but Iacopi's theory does add another possible aspect to the hekataion-perirrhanterion connection.

⁵² For Eleusis: Kraus, pp. 63–64, 92–93. Hekate was worshipped at Eleusis and is prominent in the Homeric hymn to Demeter. That the London statue is from Rhamnous is very probable. Nemesis and Hekate were both associated with the dreaded unknown. In Asia Minor, at least, the two shared dedications: *ibid.*, p. 167, no. 15, from Stratonikos. In the Hellenistic and Roman period, Nemesis could be represented in an archaistic form similar to that used for Artemis-Hekate. E.g., the Nemesis statue from Salamis (Cyprus): V. Karageorghis and C. Vermeule, *Sculptures from Salamis I*, Nicosia 1964, pp. 12–14, no. 4, pl. 12. Two statuettes and an inscribed relief from Tomis (Costanza, Romania) all represent archaistic images of Nemesis which are extremely close to Rhodian Artemis-Hekate figures: G. Bordenache, “Il deposito di sculture votive di Tomis,” *Eirene* 4, 1965 (pp. 67–79), pp. 72–75; *idem*, *Sculture greche e romane del Museo Nazionale di Antichità di Bucarest*, Bucharest 1969, pp. 54–55. Bordenache believes that these reflect a Nemesis at Smyrna, by a Hellenistic Bupalos. On this Bupalos, see R. Heidenreich, “Bupalos und Pergamon,” *AA (JdI)* 50, 1935, cols. 668–701. A pre-Hellenistic connection between Hekate and Nemesis may be implied by the Hekate idol on the Xenokrateia relief, who holds her right hand at her breast in the Nemesis gesture. In any case, the basin bearer from Rhamnous is Hellenistic at the earliest and its drapery arrangement similar to that of these Nemesis and Artemis-Hekate figures from the Hellenistic East. For Hekate and Asklepios: Kraus, pp. 169–170, no. 4; he cites here a hekataion from the Athenian Asklepieion itself. If, on the other hand, this statue is from the Akropolis, one need only cite the Epipyrgidia for evidence of Hekate there.

especially associated with gateways; at Eleusis she was worshipped as Propylaia,⁵³ and outside the sanctuary in a forecourt there is a temple to Artemis Propylaia mentioned by Pausanias (1.38.6).⁵⁴ Here, at least, the hekataionlike basin bearers may have been deemed more appropriate for location at the temenos entrance, while perirrhanteria of a different form were associated with the temple itself.

CONCLUSIONS

Among this group of archaistic perirrhanterion korai are some of the very earliest free-standing statues in an archaizing style, and so one would hope to gain from them some information concerning the origin, distribution, and motivation of this important stylistic phenomenon. Unfortunately, the body of material is small, and proveniences are not always well documented, but a few observations can be offered:

1. The occurrence of these figures is limited to Attica but not to any area within Attica. In fact, two very similar examples come from quite separate locations.
2. They are not the creation of any one particular period but were set up in Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman times.
3. Any connection with the very old karyatid perirrhanteria is limited to those features necessitated by their common function, i.e., immobility, symmetry, and axiality.
4. The formal relationship with triple-bodied hekataia and especially single-bodied Artemis-Hekate idols is also functional.
5. The earliest pair, at Eleusis, is essentially late Classical in style. The archaisms of garment and pose are used for the sake of identification and functional coherence.
6. That the succeeding examples become more completely archaistic is partially caused by their assimilation to hekataia but also seems to reflect a taste developing toward a more "Archaic-looking" archaistic style.

One would wish to know more exactly why this particular type of perirrhanterion was set up, but this answer can come only through more finds, either of new basin bearers or of information concerning proveniences of those examples presently known.

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⁵³ Kraus, pp. 63–64.

⁵⁴ Fragments of other archaistic korai at Eleusis may have been associated with the Outer Propylaia; although nothing in their form secures their identification as basin bearers, Harrison (p. 56) assumes that they probably were.



a. Eleusis Museum inv. no. 5140



b. Eleusis Museum, counterpart to inv. no. 5140



c. Eleusis Museum
inv. no. 5140, base



d. Eleusis Museum,
counterpart to
inv. no. 5140, base



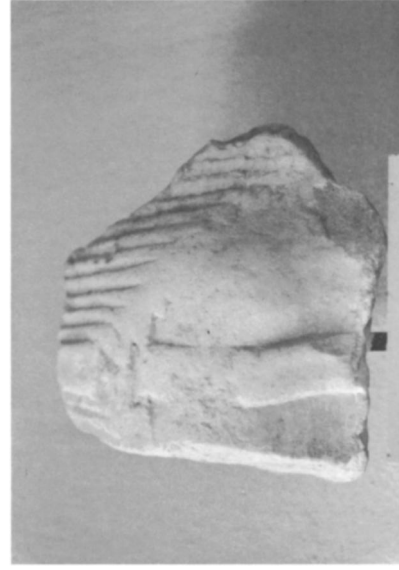
a. Eleusis Museum, inv. no. 5137



b. Eleusis Museum, inv. no. 5135



c. Eleusis Museum, inv. no. 5134



d. Eleusis Museum, inv. no. 5285



a. Eleusis Museum, thigh fragment



b. London, British Museum, Sc 152. Photograph
courtesy the British Museum



a. Athens, National Museum inv. no. 75. Photograph courtesy the National Archaeological Museum, Athens



b. Athens, National Museum inv. no. 74. Photograph courtesy the National Archaeological Museum, Athens