

BACK-MANTLE AND PEPLOS

THE SPECIAL COSTUME OF GREEK MAIDENS IN 4TH-CENTURY FUNERARY AND VOTIVE RELIEFS

ABSTRACT

The distinctive costume of back-mantle and peplos appears most often on standing females on Late Classical funerary reliefs. These maidens are intentionally set apart from other females in group scenes on grave reliefs as well as in processional scenes on votive reliefs. A decree of 422/1 B.C. provides the earliest example of the costume, worn by Athena, whom the maidens appear to emulate. Mythological maidens approaching marriage, such as Hebe and Deianeira, also wear this costume. The monuments suggest that the maiden of marriageable status dressed in this costume occupied a special place within families and society in Classical Greece.

In the ancient world, costume was an all-important indicator of status and social standing, for clothing signified unofficial as well as official membership in a group.¹ Distinctive garments inform us not only about the characteristics of individual figures but also about the relationships among figures. The special costume—back-mantle and peplos—that identifies and characterizes Athenian maidens in the Late Classical period is the focus of this study. The consistency in the type of figures shown in this costume, as well as the high quality of the monuments on which they are depicted, indicates that these young women were easily identifiable and important to society. They are the *parthenoi* celebrated in myth and cult, girls just past their childhood and on the threshold of marriage.

Maidens in back-mantle and peplos appear on sixty funerary monuments and eight votive reliefs. The monuments date from an important

1. It is with great pleasure that I thank the American Philosophical Society for research grants to work on this material and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for assistance and cooperation. I also thank the anonymous reviewers for *Hesperia* for their useful observations. Appreciation is due to many museum staff members who enabled me to view the

sculptures, often under difficult circumstances, at the National Museum and the Acropolis Museum, Athens; Archaeological Museum, Piraeus; British Museum, London; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and Musée du Louvre, Paris. I thank Carol Lawton and Olga Palagia for their helpful comments after reading a draft of this work, Nancy Winter for research

assistance, and especially Evelyn B. Harrison, who inspired me to finish it. Although this study is based on my 1986 New York University dissertation for the Institute of Fine Arts, "The Shoulder-Pinned Back-Mantle in Greek and Roman Sculpture," there is a large shift in emphasis here and much new material is presented.

but not well-defined period of Greek art, the middle decades of the 4th century (ca. 370 to 310 B.C.). Nearly all of the monuments come from Attica—Athens, Brauron, Eleusis, and Piraeus—or from places with strong ties to Athens. Identifying examples of the costume is difficult; early photographs of sculpture often display only a full frontal view with flat lighting that obscures the back-mantle. Moreover, the garment was not considered distinctive or significant by earlier researchers. Not only Margarete Bieber's works on Greek costume² but also more recent works, such as those by Georges Losfeld, Elsa Gullberg, and Anastasia Pekridou-Gorecki,³ only briefly mention the costume considered here.

Studies show that when we isolate the distinguishing characteristics of specific garments, we can learn much about social and economic roles in ancient Greece. Elizabeth Walters has demonstrated that women who were initiates in the cult of Isis associated themselves with her by wearing a garment of Egyptian type.⁴ Although it is not known whether the maidens in back-mantle and peplos represented any particular cult, they appear to associate themselves with the maiden goddesses Athena and Artemis, who are also represented in this costume.⁵ Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood and, recently, Karen Stears suggest that the young women who wear the back-mantle and peplos are teenagers.⁶

Other scholars have explored the ritual and cultic significance of certain garments. Margaret Miller's study of the *ependytes* shows that it was worn as a status symbol at festivals.⁷ For example, a young maiden shown as a *kanephoros* in a ritual procession on a red-figure krater by the Kleophon Painter wears an *ependytes*.⁸ Nancy Serwint identifies the *exomis* as a dress worn by female athletes in initiation rites at the Heraia in Olympia.⁹ Evelyn Harrison suggests that a figure wearing a shoulder-cord over a chiton may be Themis, but Olga Palagia identifies the same figure as Demokrateia or Agathe Tyche.¹⁰

Some works focus on the identifying nature of specific garments; the dress of the Archaic korai, for example, is explored by Harrison, Brunilde Ridgway, and Judith Schaeffer.¹¹ Karin Polaschek studies the wrapped himation worn by men, and A. Geddes investigates the clothing worn by Athenian men.¹² Harrison notes that groups of horsemen on the Parthenon frieze can be distinguished by garments that identify them as members of Kleisthenic Attic tribal units.¹³ Studies such as these, as well as recent works on the low-belted chiton by Hannelore Winkler or the thickly rolled himation by Axel Filges,¹⁴ also illustrate how garments characterize the wearer. For example, youthful goddesses such as Flora and Nymphs wear the low-belted chiton, while more mature figures like Persephone wear the himation wrapped tightly across the breast.

Young women in back-mantle and peplos appear most often among the standing females on Late Classical grave reliefs published first by Alexander Conze¹⁵ and in the two- or three-figure groups described recently by Christoph Clairmont.¹⁶ Some of these maidens are also included in studies of funerary monuments by Hans Diepolder and Knud Friis Johansen (stelai), Bernhard Schmaltz (stelai and lekythoi), and Gerit Kokula (loutrophoroi).¹⁷ Two recent studies of 4th-century grave stelai, by Andreas Scholl on the "Bildfeldstelen"¹⁸ and Johannes Bergemann on the naiskos

2. Bieber (1928) discusses costume garment by garment with examples of modern reconstructions (peplos, pp. 77–82; himation, pp. 82–90); Bieber and Eckstein 1967 is a briefer study by chronological period (Classical period, pp. 32–34), with examples taken mostly from ancient sculpture. For recent bibliography on Greek dress, see Losfeld 1991, pp. 370–399; Pekridou-Gorecki 1989, pp. 138–154, for notes as there is no bibliography; and Lee 1999, pp. 558–596. I am also currently preparing an annotated bibliography.

3. Losfeld (1991) considers the textual evidence for dress; he includes a useful list of 336 terms related to Greek dress, pp. 327–339, but none seem to apply to the back-mantle. See also Gullberg and Åström 1970 for extremely brief descriptions; Pekridou-Gorecki 1989 for some useful drawings; and Losfeld 1994 for examples in art, but very few drawings.

4. Walters 1988.

5. For Athena, see *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 977, nos. 220–230, pls. 729–730, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne). For Artemis, see *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 636, nos. 125–133, pl. 454, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil).

6. Sourvinou-Inwood 1988; Stears 1995.

7. Miller 1989.

8. Ferrara 44894 T57C: *ARV*² 1143, no. 1; *Addenda*² 334; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 220, no. 303, pl. 208, s.v. Apollon (W. Lambrinoudakis); Miller 1997, p. 159, fig. 68.

9. Serwint 1993.

10. Harrison 1977; Palagia 1982; 1994. See Pekridou-Gorecki 1989, p. 97 for a diagram of this costume.

11. Harrison 1991; Ridgway 1997; Schaeffer 1975. See also Richter 1968, pp. 6–13, for the costume.

12. Polaschek 1969; Geddes 1987.

13. Harrison 1984, I, pp. 230–233; 1989, p. 49.

14. Winkler 1996; Filges 1997.

15. Conze 1922, IV, nos. 803–907.

16. Clairmont 1993, Introduction, pp. 32–33.

17. Diepolder 1931; Friis Johansen 1951; Schmaltz 1970. See also Schmaltz 1983 and Kokula 1984.

18. Scholl (1996, p. 121) includes only five panel stelai (picture panels

stelai,¹⁹ include several of these maidens in their catalogues but have little to say about the costume. In studies of votive reliefs, particularly by Ulrich Hausmann and Gerhard Neumann,²⁰ the maidens rarely receive more than a note. In general studies of 4th-century monuments, very little attention is paid to funerary and votive reliefs.²¹ These reliefs, however, depict valuable images of the world of ordinary citizens in the Classical period.

The back-mantle and peplos set the wearer apart from other females in processional scenes on votive reliefs and in group scenes on grave reliefs. The maiden wearing this costume was important enough to her family to merit her own funerary monument. Stears points out that in Conze's corpus of grave reliefs, 168 monuments depict men alone, while 176 depict women alone,²² twenty to thirty of which portray a solitary young woman wearing the back-mantle and peplos. Some fragmentary stelai may also be part of this group. Despite their frequent appearance and distinctive costume, these maidens have not previously been studied as a group.

THE COSTUME

BACK-MANTLE

The shoulder-pinned back-mantle is the unifying and distinctive identifying characteristic of all the maidens who wear it over the Attic peplos, which has the belt on top of the overfold (see below for the traditional distinction made between the "Attic" and "Argive" peploi).²³ Only one person in any given group wears the back-mantle and peplos, which mark her as special. It is this combination of garments, back-mantle and Attic peplos, rather than the back-mantle alone, that distinguishes this costume.

The back-mantle first appears in the late 5th century B.C., as the costume of the maiden goddesses Athena and Artemis, chiefly on Attic monuments. The mantle pinned on the shoulders may have been inspired by the

with low relief images set into a rectangular panel) with maidens in back-mantle, out of 528 catalogued examples (pp. 223–364). He places the maidens in his discussion of children, pp. 114–124, but devotes only one page to them and calls the back-mantle a "Ruckenschleier," or back-veil.

19. Bergemann (1997, pp. 85–86) lists only twenty-seven naiskos stelai (high relief figures with side antae and pediment or entablature) with maidens in back-mantle, out of 865 catalogued examples (pp. 158–179). He devotes a very brief space to the maidens.

20. Hausmann 1948; 1960; Neumann 1979. There is no corpus of Attic votive reliefs as yet, and no recent work on the Asklepios votive reliefs that depict the girls in back-mantle.

Olga Palagia is preparing a study of the votive reliefs from the Athenian Acropolis and Carol Lawton a study of the votive reliefs from the Athenian Agora.

21. Ridgway 1997: funerary reliefs, pp. 157–192, girls with back-mantle, pp. 169–179; votive reliefs, pp. 193–236. Boardman (1995, pp. 114–142) discusses very few of either type of relief.

22. Stears 1995, p. 113.

23. Three maidens without a back-mantle who appear on fragmentary stelai may also be considered because of their similarities to other monuments and because Clairmont (1993, VI, p. 128) includes them in his list of maidens in back-mantle: a stele in London, British Museum 1915.4–16.1

(Clairmont 1993, III, no. 3.414a; Bergemann 1997, p. 171, no. 500) like the Mantua stele; the fragmentary stele Piraeus 1778 (Clairmont 1993, I, no. 1.307; Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 751) like Silenis; and Hagnistrate on Athens, National Museum 1863 (Clairmont 1993, I, no. 1.431; Bergemann 1997, pp. 66, 174, no. 619, pl. 117:4) because her mantle could have been added in paint as suggested by Karouzou 1979 for some votive reliefs. For color, see also Schmaltz 1970, pp. 60–75; 1983, pp. 71–81; Kokula 1984, p. 359; Scholl 1996, pp. 185–200. Other maidens on fragmentary stelai could have worn the back-mantle as well, such as Clairmont 1993, I, nos. 1.294 (Bergemann 1997, p. 173, no. 574) and 1.310.

Eastern method of wearing the Oriental kandys;²⁴ a late-5th-century calyx krater in Berlin shows it hanging from Andromeda's shoulders.²⁵ The popularity of Oriental paraphernalia in the later 5th century has been noted by Miller, who interprets the adoption of such foreign luxury items as a display of elite status. Miller also notes the recent trend "towards recognition of the importance placed on clothing as indicators of status by the Greeks."²⁶ The ancient name of the back-mantle is uncertain. Losfeld cites several types of mantles, none of which seem to be the same as the pinned back-mantle.²⁷ Clairmont's choice of the term "mantlet" is particularly unsatisfactory. The term implies a small size, but many of the maidens' back-mantles extend below their knees and have an overfold.²⁸ The term *epiporpema* (literally, "pinned on") seems not to refer specifically to garments worn by women; it could as well refer to a male chlamys pinned in front.²⁹ Whatever its original Greek name, the pinned back-mantle is clearly recognizable as a garment reserved for maidens.

The pinned back-mantle is the same rectangular woolen cloth common to all Greek mantles but folded with one side shorter than the other, rather like a peplos. It is also, like the peplos, pinned on the shoulders. The back-mantle falls from the shoulders down the back to just below the knees, with an overfold about halfway down. It is best observed on a freestanding figure such as the statue of a maiden in New York (Fig. 1).³⁰

The earliest example of the pinned back-mantle with belted peplos is worn by Athena on the Rheitos Bridge decree of 422/1 B.C. in Eleusis (Fig. 2).³¹ Athena wears the back-mantle over an Attic peplos, with a small



Figure 1. Statue of a maiden. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 44.11.2. Courtesy Museum

24. For the kandys, see Miller 1997, p. 166, where she points out that in Persia the kandys is worn hanging from the shoulders, but in Greece is normally worn like a jacket, as the attendant on the Princeton stele wears it, and as Myttion on the stele in the J. Paul Getty Museum wears it: Miller 1997, fig. 91 and Kingsley 1975; see also Knauer 1978.

25. Berlin 3237: *ARV*² 1336; *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 416, no. 21, s.v. Aithiopes (F. Snowden Jr.) and p. 776, no. 8, s.v. Andromeda I (K. Schauenburg); *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 7, no. 5, pl. 8, s.v. Kepheus I (K. Schauenburg); Miller 1997, fig. 82; see also Linders 1984.

26. Miller 1997, p. 183. See also Bieber and Eckstein 1967, pp. 20–21.

27. Losfeld 1994, pp. 207–214.

28. Clairmont 1993, Introduction, p. 32. His index listing for "mantlet" (1993, VI, p. 129) is useful and the following 52 monuments are included here: 1.256, 1.267, 1.268, 1.280, 1.294, 1.310, 1.312, 1.321a, 1.329, 1.359, 1.382, 1.428, 1.433, 1.459, 1.774, 1.783, 1.814, 1.827, 1.839, 1.840,

1.862, 1.883, 1.932, 1.938, 1.943, 2.292a, 2.334, 2.344a, 2.345a, 2.357c, 2.362c, 2.383b, 2.395c, 2.417a, 2.421, 2.434b, 2.436, 2.470, 2.825, 3.337, 3.339a, 3.340a, 3.387a, 3.394b, 3.413a, 3.543, 3.860, 3.870, 3.880, 4.381, 4.420, 4.830.

29. Pollux (10.190) calls it the garment of the kitharode; see also LSJ, "garment buckled over the shoulders, cloak, mantle, part of the dress of the musician."

30. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 44.11.2: Clairmont 1993, I, p. 513, no. 1.971; Roccas 1995, p. 663, fig. 23; Bergemann 1997, p. 177, no. 703. I thank Joan Mertens for providing access to study and measure this monument. For similar statues, see below.

31. Rheitos Bridge decree, Eleusis Museum 5093: *IG* I² 81; *IG* I³ 79; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 1013, no. 606, pl. 763, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne); Boardman 1985, fig. 178; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 881, no. 446, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Meyer 1989, p. 266, no. A5; Mangold 1993, p. 19, pl. 2:1;

Figure 2. Rheitos Bridge decree.
Eleusis Museum 5093. Courtesy
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens



collar aegis and an Attic helmet. Since there are other 5th-century relief images and three later freestanding versions of this type, these representations may reflect an original statue of Athena created ca. 425 B.C., shortly before the Rheitos Bridge decree.³²

The Erechtheion caryatids, dated soon after the Rheitos Bridge decree, also wear the pinned back-mantle,³³ but coupled with the so-called Argive peplos worn by the maidens on the east frieze of the Parthenon. In contrast to the Attic peplos, the Argive peplos is belted *under* the overfold, obscuring the belt. A girl who wears the same back-mantle and peplos as the caryatids appears at about this time on an Attic white-ground lekythos by the Woman Painter in Karlsruhe.³⁴

In addition to Athena, Artemis is often shown wearing the back-mantle on votive reliefs, particularly from Brauron.³⁵ This costume is appropriate

Lawton 1995, p. 82, no. 3, pl. 2. Clinton (1992, pp. 75–76) identifies the male figure in the *dexiosis* motif with Athena as Eumolpos, founder of the Eleusinian Mysteries; Athena, as “founder,” or Archegetis, then may wear the back-mantle, as suggested in Roccos 1991, p. 407.

32. Roccos 1986. For a later statue of Athena with a back-mantle, see Acropolis 1336: Brouskari 1974, p. 21, figs. 8–9; Roccos 1991, p. 399, pl. 112:a. For Athena with back-mantle

on votive reliefs, see Mangold 1993, pp. 19–21; Lawton 1995, pp. 41–42.

33. Ridgway 1981, figs. 82–83; Boardman 1985, fig. 125; Scholl 1995, pp. 196–212. The caryatid’s back-mantle can be seen best on the Hadrianic copies at Tivoli, where more of the edges along the sides are preserved: Scholl 1995, p. 200, figs. 14:a–c. Several maidens in this costume, which Clairmont considered in his corpus, are not discussed here, see Clairmont 1993, I–III, nos. 1.152, 1.967, 2.207, 2.334b,

3.340; that costume with back-mantle and Argive peplos is best seen as a variant of the more popular back-mantle and Attic peplos costume.

34. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B1528: *ARV*² 1372, no. 17; *Addenda*² 370; Scholl 1995, p. 207, fig. 18.

35. Brauron Museum 1157: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 668, no. 621, pl. 495, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil). Brauron Museum 1182: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 658, no. 463, pl. 483, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil).



Figure 3. Boule relief. Athens, National Museum 1473. Courtesy Museum

for Artemis, the maiden goddess with a special relationship to young girls and unmarried young women; the Brauronian Arkteia was a festival for very young girls.³⁶ Older girls dedicated their belts (and toys) to Artemis Lysizonos before marriage; on a red-figure lekythos in Syracuse a maiden wearing a peplos unties her belt before Artemis.³⁷ Tullia Linders studied the inventories of dedications to Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis and found that the overwhelming majority were women's garments, as Pausanias (1.23.7) had recorded.³⁸ A type of pinned back-mantle without an overfold can be seen on images of Apollo Patroos in Athens and Apollo Kitharoidos in Delphi.³⁹ The pinned back-mantle over the belted peplos appears not only in Attica but in places influenced by Athenian art: Cyrene in North Africa and Gortyn on Crete.⁴⁰

36. Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, p. 15.

37. Van Straten 1981, pp. 90–91, who cites *Anth. Pal.* 6.280, and fig. 30, red-figure lekythos by the Achilles Painter, Syracuse 21186: *ARV²* 993, no. 80; *Addenda²* 312; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 676, no. 721a, pl. 504, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil).

38. Linders 1972, pp. 2–3, 11–13.

39. Apollo Patroos, Athens, Agora S 2154: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 204, no. 145,

pl. 195, s.v. Apollon (O. Palagia); Stewart 1990, fig. 512; Boardman 1995, fig. 30. Apollo, Delphi Museum 11876: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 204, no. 145f, s.v. Apollon (O. Palagia); Boardman 1995, fig. 14:2. The reasons for Apollo wearing a version of the back-mantle have not been fully explained; perhaps it served as a connection to Athens, as well as a contemporary musician's festival costume.

40. Artemis, Cyrene 14377: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 636, no. 127, pl. 454, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil). Apollo, Cyrene 14095 and 14097 (now lost): *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 204, no. 145e, h, k, s.v. Apollon (O. Palagia). Artemis from Gortyn, Herakleion Museum 39: Kabus-Jahn 1972, p. 91, figs. 12–15. Apollo from Gortyn, Herakleion Museum 326: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 204, no. 146c, s.v. Apollon (O. Palagia).



Figure 4. Stele, Theophile (20).
Athens, National Museum 1305.
Courtesy Museum

Two figures of Athena illustrate different methods of representing the pinned back-mantle in the Classical and Late Classical periods. The back-mantle on Athena in the Rheitos Bridge decree from the 5th century has zigzag side folds. Shortly after 340 B.C., the back-mantle is shown with curvilinear side folds, as on figures of Athena on document and votive reliefs, such as the Boule relief in Athens (Fig. 3), as well as on later statues.⁴¹ I have named the 4th-century type the “Areopagus House Athena” after the findspot of a well-preserved Roman version. This type recalls in a deliberately classicizing manner the dress of two 5th-century examples: the back-mantle of the Rheitos Athena and the large aegis of the Parthenos. In style, the Areopagus House Athena is close to some of the later maidens with back-mantle, such as Theophile (20, Fig. 4). Contemporary with the Areopagus House Athena type is a statue of Themis or Demokrateia in the Athenian Agora, about which Palagia writes: “its classicism is contrived and heralds the end of the Classical era.”⁴² The Areopagus House Athena is a similarly retrospective creation of the Lykourgan period in the third-quarter of the 4th century B.C., the era characterized by Fordyce Mitchel as recreating the Periklean era in a self-consciously deliberate manner.⁴³ It is in this period that most of the images of maidens in back-mantle and peplos occur.

A more common type of mantle—the shoulder-mantle, or *epiblema*—is simply thrown over the shoulders rather than pinned on. The shoulder-mantle is generally worn with the Argive peplos by more matronly figures: Hera in 5th- and 4th-century document reliefs;⁴⁴ Leto on a votive relief in Athens and as a Roman statue carrying the infants Apollo and Artemis;⁴⁵ Demeter on a document relief and as a Roman statue in the Capitoline Museum;⁴⁶ and the statue of Eirene with Ploutos in Munich.⁴⁷ It is sometimes pulled over the head and is generally shorter in back than the shoulder-pinned back-mantle. Bieber combines these mantles into a single category, called “the shoulder-back-mantle.”⁴⁸

In the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods, the shoulder-mantle was worn by certain young women, perhaps to signify a traditional festival

41. Boule relief, Athens, National Museum 1473: Palagia 1982, p. 109, pl. 36:d; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 146, no. 1, pl. 125, s.v. Boule (V. Komninos); Meyer 1989, pp. 303–304, no. A136, pl. 41:1; Roccas 1991, esp. p. 409, no. 4, pl. 109 and pp. 408–410 for a list of twelve examples; Lawton 1995, p. 143, no. 143, pl. 76. For the votive reliefs, see Mangold 1993.

42. Athens, Agora S 2370: Palagia 1982, p. 108, pls. 29–30; with it she compares the better dated reliefs, Athens, National Museum 1335 (pl. 31:c, ca. 330–325) and 1476 (pl. 33:b, 331/0). See also *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 373, no. 8, s.v. Demokratia (O. Alexandri-Tzahou); Stewart 1990, fig. 575; Ridgway 1990, pp. 54–56, pl. 29; Todisco 1993, pl. 156;

Boardman 1995, fig. 51; Ridgway 1997, p. 339. See also above, note 10, for other identifications of this figure by Harrison and Palagia.

43. Mitchel 1970.

44. Hera on Acropolis Museum 1333 (403/2): Meyer 1989, p. 273, no. A26, pl. 10:1; Lawton 1995, p. 88, no. 12, pl. 7; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 1013, no. 607, pl. 763, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne); *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 691, no. 296, s.v. Hera (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); and on Athens, Epigraphical Museum 7862 (399/8): Meyer 1989, p. 273, no. A27, pl. 10:2; Lawton 1995, p. 89, no. 13, pl. 7; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 691, no. 297, pl. 421, s.v. Hera (P. Demargne).

45. Leto on Athens, National Museum 1389: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 265, no. 657, pl. 237, s.v. Apollon

(C. Daumas); Leto, Rome, Museo Torlonia 68: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 424, no. 439, pl. 337, s.v. Apollon/Apollo (E. Simon); *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 259, no. 25, pl. 132, s.v. Leto (L. Kahil); Todisco 1993, pl. 209.

46. Demeter on the Rheitos Bridge decree: see above, note 31. Demeter, Rome, Museo Capitolino 642: *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 852, no. 55, pl. 566, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi).

47. Eirene, Munich, Glyptothek 219: *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 703, no. 8, pl. 541, s.v. Eirene (E. Simon); Stewart 1990, figs. 485–486; Todisco 1993, pl. 96; Boardman 1995, fig. 24.

48. Bieber 1977, pp. 104–117. For dedications of *epiblemata* on the Acropolis, see Linders 1972, p. 13.

garment. An unusual Archaic kore from Attica known as the "Berlin Goddess" wears a long shoulder-mantle.⁴⁹ A few of the Archaic korai from the Acropolis also wear their mantles this way rather than in the more usual diagonal form.⁵⁰ The shoulder-mantle is worn with the Argive peplos by the maidens in the Parthenon east frieze.⁵¹ A veil or mantle over the Attic peplos is uncommon but appears on a mid-5th-century marble statuette of a young woman in Athens.⁵² Similarly, the *kanephoros* on the Kleophon Painter's red-figure krater in Ferrara wears the long shoulder-mantle; in an earlier study I have referred to this mantle as a "festival mantle."⁵³

In vase painting, mythological maidens wear the shoulder-pinned back-mantle. On an Attic red-figure krater in Karlsruhe, Hebe wears the back-mantle.⁵⁴ Hebe also wears this mantle on a red-figure bell krater in the Villa Giulia, where she raises the sides of the back-mantle with both of her hands, a gesture unknown in the sculpture of maidens.⁵⁵ Deianeira on a red-figure pelike by the Meidias Painter in New York makes a similar gesture.⁵⁶ Clearly, these two young women are soon to be brides. Only a few of the maidens on the funerary monuments, such as Plangon on the loutrophoros in Eleusis (46, Fig. 5), raise one side of the mantle with their hand, in the unveiling gesture of brides for the *anakalypteria*.⁵⁷ These maidens may have been closer to their wedding day when they died.

Like the Erechtheion caryatids, most of the 4th-century maidens hold the edge of the mantle with their lowered hand. Semni Karouzou suggests that the motif of holding the edge of the mantle came from a famous source, possibly the Erechtheion caryatids themselves.⁵⁸ Holding the edge of a garment seems to us a rather feminine mannerism, but it may have been a sign of youth in antiquity. Youths and boys on grave stelai often hold one edge of their mantle, as Aristion and Stephanos do on two 4th-century stelai in Athens.⁵⁹ The young Triptolemos on the Great Eleusinian Relief in Athens also holds the edge of his mantle with one hand, but in a more naturalistic manner.⁶⁰



Figure 5. Loutrophoros, Plangon (46). Eleusis Museum 5098. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens

49. Berlin 1800: Richter 1968, pp. 39–40, no. 42, figs. 129–140; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 15, no. 54, pl. 9, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias).

50. Richter 1968, pp. 8–9. Acropolis 671: Richter 1968, pp. 70–71, no. 111, figs. 341–342. Acropolis 688: Richter 1968, pp. 102–103, no. 184, figs. 587–590. See also Losfeld 1994, pp. 212–214, for korai with their mantles pinned on both shoulders, hanging down in front as well as in back more like a peplos, as on Acropolis 673 and 678.

51. Brommer 1975, pl. 186; Boardman 1985, fig. 96:15; Stewart 1990, fig. 346.

52. Athens, National Museum 1848: Tölle-Kastenbein 1980, p. 54, no. 9d, pls. 40–41.

53. See above, note 8; and Roccas

1995, p. 649, fig. 3.

54. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 259 (B 36): *ARV*² 1315, no. 1; *CVA*, Karlsruhe 1, pls. 22:4 and 23 (320–321). Athena too wears the back-mantle on this vase; see also *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 499, no. 12, pl. 378, s.v. Alexandros (R. Hampe); *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 992, no. 412, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne); *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 126, no. 2, s.v. Eutychia (H. A. Shapiro); *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 71, no. 1, pl. 35, s.v. Klymene VI (A. Kossatz-Deissmann). For Hebe, see Laurens 1987; Hebe may also be wearing the back-mantle on Louvre G508 (Laurens, pp. 68–69, fig. 16) and Paris, Musée Rodin (Laurens, fig. 17).

55. Rome, Villa Giulia 2382: *ARV*² 1339, no. 4; *Addenda*² 367.

56. New York, Metropolitan Mu-

seum of Art 37.11.23: *ARV*² 1313.7; *Addenda*² 362; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 835, no. 1681, pl. 559, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman).

57. Oakley 1982; Oakley and Sinos 1993, pp. 25–26; Reeder 1995, pp. 123–129.

58. Karouzou 1979, p. 113, note 15.

59. Aristion's stele, Athens, National Museum 4487: Clairmont 1993, I, no. 1.855; Boardman 1995, fig. 126; Bergemann 1997, p. 167, no. 337, pl. 91:4. Stephanos's stele, Athens, National Museum 2578: Clairmont 1993, I, no. 1.214.

60. Athens, National Museum 126: Boardman 1985, fig. 144; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 875, no. 375, pl. 588, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Clinton 1992, figs. 1–2; I thank O. Palagia for reminding me of this figure.

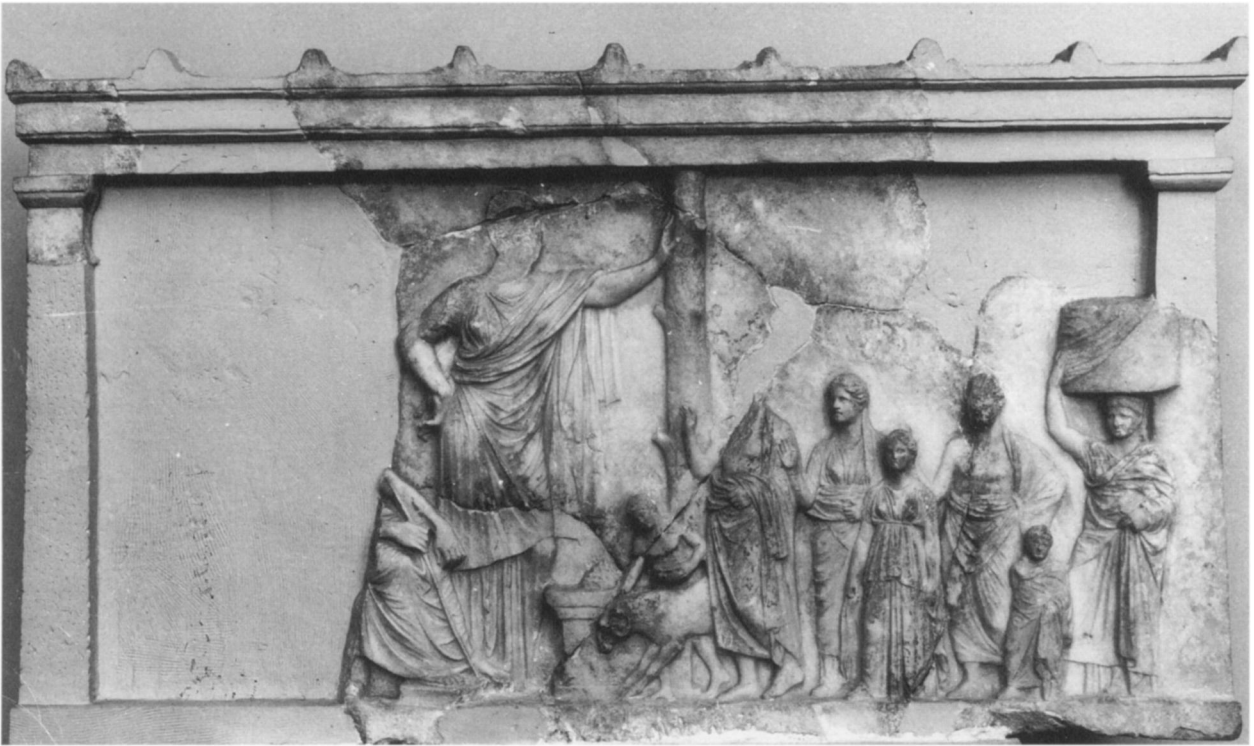


Figure 6. Votive relief from Athens, Asklepieion (61). Athens, National Museum 1333. Courtesy Museum

Sometimes maidens hold the sides of their mantles with two hands, as do all of those shown on votive reliefs (see, e.g., 61, Fig. 6). Yet only a few of the maidens on grave reliefs, those who hold no objects, grasp the mantle with both hands; see, for example, 59, the maiden on a relief base in Athens (Fig. 7). The motif of holding the mantle with both hands seems to occur later rather than earlier, after the mid-4th century.

In other media, terracotta statuettes often portray a maiden wearing the Attic peplos with back-mantle. One of the finest examples of a girl in belted peplos with crossbands who holds her back-mantle with both hands comes from the Athenian Kerameikos (Fig. 8).⁶¹ Depictions of girls wearing back-mantle and peplos on plastic vases are very similar to those in monumental sculptures.⁶² Nike, too, wears a peplos and back-mantle that seem to blend in with her wings on a fine plastic lekythos in Athens.⁶³ The maiden in back-mantle and peplos also appears in 5th- and 4th-century terracotta statuettes as a *kanephoros*, carrying a basket on her head. A late-4th-century statuette in Karlsruhe may have come from Athens, for it is quite similar to fragments of a small *kanephoros* statuette found in the Athe-

61. Athens, Kerameikos Museum 8166, 8185, 13443: *Kerameikos* XV, p. 120, no. 361, pl. 64; other examples of a girl with back-mantle appear in that volume: p. 46, no. 139, pl. 38 (a girl dressed like the Erechtheion caryatids); p. 119, no. 357, pl. 63 (belted peplos); p. 120, no. 362, pl. 64 (fragment).

62. Paris, Louvre MNC 630: Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, p. 8, no. 11. Brussels, Musée Royal A892: *CVA*, Malibu 3, pl. 1 (135), no. 6a-d; Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, p. 9, no. 16. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 692: Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, p. 8, no. 12. A further example, Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, p. 9, no. 15, is now lost.

63. Athens, National Museum 2076: Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, p. 7, no. 10, pl. 3:a-b; *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 861, no. 124, pl. 571, s.v. Nike (A. Goulaki-Voutira). See also Athens, Kerameikos T 482: Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, p. 9, no. 13, pl. 4:a; and one in the market, p. 9, no. 14.



Figure 7. Relief base (59). Athens, First Ephoreia (Fethiye Djami).
Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens

nian Agora.⁶⁴ The back-mantle is worn only by mortal maidens and maiden goddesses on votive reliefs and votive terracotta statuettes.

PEPLOS

The belted peplos seen on nearly all the maidens is that worn by Athena, especially the Parthenos,⁶⁵ and also by other maiden goddesses such as Artemis and Persephone.⁶⁶ This peplos first appears in the Early Classical period on the Severe Style figure “Angelitos’s Athena” and on the “Mourning Athena” stele, both in the Acropolis Museum.⁶⁷ Severe Style figures nearly always wear the peplos, either Attic or Argive; the style that takes its name largely from this garment has been thoroughly investigated by Renate Tölle-Kastenbein.⁶⁸ Mireille Lee presents the literary and archaeological evi-

64. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B2662: Schürmann 1989, pp. 40–41, no. 86, pl. 18. Athens, Agora T 101 and T 104: Thompson 1954, p. 106, no. 4, pl. 20 and p. 107, no. 9, pl. 22; Nicholls 1995, p. 423, note 72: the similarity in type to the figure in the Agora mold T 4064 (p. 478, no. 11) should identify that figure as a kane-phoros also; the costume is like that on 5th-century depictions of Athena; see above, notes 31–32.

65. For the meaning of “peplos” as referring specifically to the Parthenos dress from the mid-4th century on, see Mansfield 1985. See also Bieber 1928,

pp. 34–37, pls. 4–5; 1977, pp. 89–93, figs. 386–408; Pekridou-Gorecki 1989, pp. 80–81, figs. 52–53; Barber 1992; Lee 1999, pp. 218–238.

66. Artemis, see above, note 35; Bieber 1977, pp. 89–90, figs. 386–390. Persephone, Eleusis Museum 64: Mylonas 1961, fig. 75; Kanta 1979, pp. 62–63, fig. 18; Neumann (1979, p. 59, pl. 35) determined that the figure should represent Persephone, not Demeter. Neumann, however, refers to that mantle as a “Rückenmantel,” which is usually reserved for the pinned back-mantle considered here. See Ridgway 1981, fig. 96, and Boardman

1985, p. 179, fig. 137, however, who both refer to the statue as Demeter, albeit in quotes or with a question mark.

67. Angelitos’s Athena, Acropolis 140: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 972, no. 144, pl. 720, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne). Mourning Athena stele, Acropolis 695: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 1015, no. 625, pl. 765, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne).

68. Tölle-Kastenbein 1980; see also Ridgway 1977, pp. 8–9. This peplos is sometimes called the Dorian chiton, to contrast the heavy woolen garment with the voluminous Ionian linen chiton.



Figure 8. Terracotta statuette. Athens, Kerameikos Museum 8166, 8185, 13443. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens

dence for the peplos in the Early Classical period and concludes that the *peplophoros* had special meaning as a sign of Hellenic identity.⁶⁹ Lee also provides an exhaustive study of the scholarship on the peplos from the Renaissance to the present day, as well as a list of the relevant ancient literary sources.

The peplos in its various forms was the dominant mode of dress for women from the Early Classical through the High Classical periods, from about 480 to 400 B.C. At the end of the 5th century and the beginning of the 4th, the thin clinging chiton and himation had a period of immense popularity. Subsequently, there was a revival of interest in the peplos, which can be observed early in the second quarter of the 4th century on the statue of Eirene, ca. 370 B.C.⁷⁰ This is the period when the maidens in back-mantle and peplos make their first appearance.

The term “Attic peplos” has become a conventional shorthand term referring to the peplos with a belt on top of the overfold; it is retained here for its brevity as well as for its associations with Attic art. The misuse of the term *apoptygma* for overfold is regrettable; Dorothy Thompson has pointed out that the term seldom occurs and refers to various parts of drapery, not the entire overfold.⁷¹ The Attic peplos could also be called the maiden’s peplos in contrast to the “Argive peplos,” or women’s peplos—the peplos with the belt obscured by the overfold and worn chiefly by Demeter, Eirene, and Hera.⁷² A third form of peplos, without any belt at all, is often called the “Laconian peplos” and is worn by young girls or women at home.⁷³

Young women wear the peplos (with or without the back-mantle) in their role as attendants to the bride on red-figure and white-ground vases of the later 5th century, particularly those in wedding or funerary iconography. The bride wears a chiton and himation, and her attendant usually wears a peplos. In Joan Reilly’s catalogue of white-ground lekythoi, nearly half the attendants or maids wear the Attic peplos.⁷⁴ In the 4th century, the Attic peplos is nearly always reserved for maidens, whether portrayed in monumental sculptures, terracottas, or vases.

CROSSBANDS

The peplos worn by maidens in 4th-century funerary monuments is often enhanced by the addition of crossbands worn over the breast on top of the overfold (Fig. 4). A medallion or amulet is sometimes affixed to the center of the cross, an object referred to by Higgins as a *periamma*.⁷⁵ None of the maidens in the votive reliefs wear crossbands, however.

69. Lee 1999, esp. pp. 11–56.

70. See above, note 47. See also Clairmont 1993, Introduction, p. 17, for a prototype ca. 370; and Ridgway 1997, p. 339.

71. Thompson (1944, p. 198) explains that in the accounts for the golden Nikai on the Acropolis, the *apoptygma* is the part of the peplos between the “thorax,” or throat part

(that above the belt), and the “skele,” or leg part (that below the overfold). See also Harris 1995, pp. 131–132, translated there as “drapery folds,” and Lee 1999, pp. 50–54, for various uses of *apoptygma*. For a recent mention of *apoptygma* for overfold, see Ridgway 1997, p. 336, and the *Perseus Project Encyclopedia*, s.v. *apoptygma*.

72. For Demeter, Eirene, and Hera,

see above, notes 44, 46, and 47.

73. Bieber 1977, pp. 84–86, figs. 321–331; Pekridou-Gorecki 1989, pp. 78–79, fig. 51:a–e. See two grave reliefs with young girls in this peplos, Berlin 1482 and New York 27.45: Boardman 1985, figs. 51–52.

74. Reilly 1989, p. 416.

75. Higgins 1980, p. 167.

Crossbands seem to have various meanings in Greek art. They may be a sign of the wearer's marriageable state and may signify the potential fertility of the virginal maidens, or *parthenoi*. Crossbands in this role seem to have nothing to do with a supporting function, for on a red-figure lebes stand in Athens, the female dancers in skirts wear crossbands over their bare breasts.⁷⁶ Perhaps the crossbands were, like the belt, removed before marriage and dedicated to Artemis. The unusual marble statue of Artemis Kindyas found with the Piraeus bronzes wears crossbands over a large mantle covering her bound hands.⁷⁷ On a late-4th-century pelike in Athens, both the seated bride-to-be and her attendant holding the *kanoun* wear crossbands. This scene must be the preparation for the wedding, not the day after, as Karouzou has claimed, for married women never wear the crossbands.⁷⁸

Crossbands could also have served a purely practical function in securing a garment. Shoulder-cords are a similar constraint when worn by charioteers, young girls, and youthful goddesses.⁷⁹ Crossbands as a restraint are worn with a short chiton by active females such as Furies,⁸⁰ Lyssa,⁸¹ Iris,⁸² Artemis,⁸³ and Amazons.⁸⁴ Crossbands are also worn with a peplos by several of the Nikai on the Nike Temple parapet and by two Roman statues of Nikai in Berlin that have been connected with the statue of Zeus at Olympia.⁸⁵ In the 4th century and later, crossbands are worn by Athena on Panathenaic amphoras,⁸⁶ on Hellenistic coins,⁸⁷ and in the Eleusinian scene on a 4th-century relief hydria from Cumae now in the Hermitage.⁸⁸

76. Metzger 1942–1943, pl. 13.

77. Artemis on a late-5th-century votive relief from Sparta, Museum 468: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 267, no. 679, pl. 238, s.v. Apollon (W. Lambrinoudakis); Artemis on the votive relief, London, British Museum 816: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 687, no. 882, pl. 512, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil). For Artemis Kindyas, see Jucker 1967; *LIMC* II, 1984, no. 4, s.v. Artemis Kindyas (R. Fleischer).

78. Athens, National Museum 1718: *CVA*, Athens 2, pp. 17–18, pls. 32–33.

79. See above, note 10.

80. Furies on Naples 82324: *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 827, no. 4, pl. 595, s.v. Erinyes (H. Sarian); Ruvo, Jatta 1094: *LIMC* III, p. 828, no. 8, pl. 596; Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B4: *LIMC* III, p. 828, no. 11, pl. 596; Paestum, National Museum 4794: Trendall 1987, pp. 109, 142, pl. 62a; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 833, no. 64, pl. 600, s.v. Erinyes (H. Sarian).

81. Lyssa on Göteborg krater: *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 325, no. 4, pl. 167, s.v. Lyssa (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); see also *LIMC* VI, p. 325, no. 6

(Cremona 23: *RVAp*, p. 263, no. 27a) and no. 8 (London, British Museum F 271: *RVAp*, p. 415, no. 5), with pl. 167.

82. Iris on Attic red-figure bell-krater, Perugia: *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 747, no. 60, pl. 489, s.v. Iris I (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Apulian red-figure volute krater, Geneva, private collection: *LIMC* V, p. 750, no. 100, pl. 494; Apulian red-figure volute krater, St. Petersburg, Hermitage B 1717/St. 424: *LIMC* V, p. 756, no. 156, pl. 498; Apulian red-figure volute krater, Ruvo, Jatta 31: *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 705, no. 391, pl. 427, s.v. Hera (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

83. Artemis on a South Italian vase, London, British Museum F 159: *RVAp*, p. 208, no. 104. Mary Sturgeon kindly brought to my attention the Roman marble variation of a 5th-century bronze sculpture in Corinth, which she interprets as Artemis wearing crossbands over a short chiton: Sturgeon 1995.

84. Amazons on Delphi tholos metope: *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 593, no. 100,

pl. 453, s.v. Amazones (P. Devambez). Amazons on Apulian red-figure volute krater, Brussels Musée Royal A1018: *RVAp*, p. 35, no. 1, pl. 10; *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 610, no. 369, pl. 486, s.v. Amazones (P. Devambez).

85. Nike parapet, Athens, Acropolis Museum 994: Brouskari 1974, p. 160, fig. 343; *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 865, no. 160, pl. 575, s.v. Nike (A. Goulaki-Voutira); Simon 1997. For the so-called Pheidian Nikai, Berlin K181 and K182: Thompson 1944, p. 191, fig. 9.

86. Panathenaic amphora, Paris, Louvre N 3163: *ABV*, p. 415, no. 3; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 971, no. 141, pl. 720, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne).

87. Athena on a stater of Lysimachos (297–281 B.C.): *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 895, no. 720, pl. 605, s.v. Nike (A. Goulaki-Voutira).

88. Relief hydria from Cumae, St. Petersburg, Hermitage 51659: *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 878, no. 405, pl. 593, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Clinton 1992, pp. 78–81, ill. 9, figs. 17–19.

89. Helios on Apulian red-figure oinochoe in Zurich: *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 1013, no. 78, pl. 636, s.v. Helios (N. Yalouris). Orpheus on an Apulian red-figure volute krater, Naples, Museo Nazionale, Santangelo 709: *RVAp*, p. 533, no. 284, pl. 196; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 387, no. 154, pl. 224, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner). Paris on Apulian red-figure vases in Geneva (Sciclounoff), Mattinata (Sansone 685), and Melbourne (Geddes): *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 519–520, nos. 103, 104, pl. 311 and p. 535, no. 197, pl. 328, s.v. Helene (L. Kahil).

90. Hades on an Apulian red-figure krater in Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.13: *RVAp*, p. 863, no. 17, pl. 323:3; *CVA*, Malibu 3, pp. 7–8, pls. 133–135; *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 385, no. 125, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner), and *LIMC* VI, p. 727, no. 15, pl. 444, s.v. Herakleidai (M. Schmidt). Kreon on an Apulian red-figure volute krater, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3296: *RVAp*, p. 533, no. 283, pl. 195; *LIMC* VI, 1992, pp. 123–124, no. 17, pl. 54, s.v. Kreousa II (G. Berger-Doer), and *LIMC* VI, p. 391, no. 29, pl. 197, s.v. Medeia (M. Schmidt).

91. Sicilian red-figure calyx krater, Caltagirone: Trendall 1967, p. 590, no. 29, pl. 228:5–6; *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 778, no. 23, pl. 628, s.v. Andromeda I (K. Schauenburg).

92. Miller 1997, pp. 153–187.

93. Eleusis Museum 5104: Mylonas 1961, fig. 56; Kanta 1979, p. 102, fig. 47.

94. Helbig⁴ IV, pp. 181–182, no. 3217 (H. von Steuben).

95. Cyrene C14191: *LIMC* VIII, 1997, p. 241, no. 14, pl. 168, s.v. Victoria (R. Vollkommer).

96. Athens, National Museum 695: Vorster 1983, p. 351, no. 59.

97. Brommer 1975, pp. 186–188, pls. 166–169.

In mythological scenes on vases from the end of the 5th century on, crossbands are part of the festival costume worn by an Oriental king or other notable person. On 4th-century vase paintings, crossbands appear on figures who often have Eastern associations: Helios, Orpheus, and Paris.⁸⁹ Figures wearing crossbands, usually over long-sleeved chitons, appear most often in scenes based on theatrical representations and include Hades, Kreon, and others.⁹⁰ Andromeda wears crossbands in South Italian vase painting.⁹¹ In these examples, the crossbands may indicate a luxury item like the *ependytes* and parasols noted by Miller in her work on Oriental paraphernalia in Athens.⁹²

Toward the end of the Hellenistic period, the caryatids from the Inner Propylaea at Eleusis wear crossbands.⁹³ The crossband costume continues into the Roman period for young females; the caryatids now in the Villa Albani, who held cistae upon their heads, also wear crossbands over the peplos as well as the back-mantle.⁹⁴ A Roman Victory from Cyrene wears crossbands over an Attic belted peplos.⁹⁵

Nearly half the maidens on funerary monuments wear crossbands, twenty-seven out of sixty, and they occur more often on the later monuments. Crossbands may have served all three functions discussed above—a sign of fertility for marriageable young women; a restraining device, either literally or symbolically; and a status symbol borrowed from the East. Most of the maidens in large groups wear the crossbands, for example, Eukoline (1, Fig. 9) and the girl on the Mantua stele (36). A few very young girls, still children and certainly too young for marriage, wear crossbands over a chiton but without the back-mantle, as on a statue from the Ilissos area dedicated to the Eileithyiai, goddesses of childbirth.⁹⁶ None of the maidens on loutrophoroi wear the crossbands, nor do maidens in cult scenes on votive reliefs. Older females never wear them, and it may simply be that the maidens wearing the crossbands are among the youngest. One can also speculate that maidens without crossbands were those already chosen for marriage who had given up their childhood symbol.

CHITON

The maiden's chiton is the typical Classical garment, represented with four to six buttons on the arms indicating the loosely gathered arm sections. A few maidens like Mynnion (6, Fig. 10) wear a simpler chiton with short arm sections. Most of the maidens on funerary monuments wear the chiton under the peplos, but none of the maidens in the cult scenes represented on votive reliefs (61–68) wear the chiton, nor do those on the two relief bases (59, 60). There seems to be no clear reason why some maidens wear a chiton under their peplos, and others do not. Neither the date of the monument nor the apparent age of the maiden seems to provide any criteria for the absence or presence of the chiton. In general, more of the older girls represented on later monuments wear chitons under the peplos.

In the series of maidens in peplos on the east frieze of the Parthenon, only those coming from the south frieze procession, from the left of the central scene, wear a chiton under a peplos.⁹⁷ Maidens coming from the north frieze procession, from the right side, do not wear a chiton under



Figure 9. Stele, Eukoline (1).
 Athens, Kerameikos Museum 8754.
 Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches
 Institut, Athens

the peplos. This difference in dress has been explained in various ways. C. J. Herington had earlier proposed that the two processions led to different sacrifices: the northern one for Athena Polias, religious in nature, and the southern one for Athena Parthenos, a civic rite.⁹⁸ Harrison recently proposed that the north procession with its loosely arranged tribal units of four depicted an earlier time period, and the south procession depicted contemporary times with Kleisthenes' ten tribal divisions represented by differences in garments worn by ranks of riders.⁹⁹ Thus, Harrison suggests that the chiton was worn under the peplos in contemporary Athens, by the maidens in the south procession, while the peplos was worn alone in earlier times. On Classical Athenian grave monuments, most women wear a chiton under the peplos or himation,¹⁰⁰ possibly also representing contemporary styles. Those wearing only the peplos may indeed refer to an earlier era, representing families with more historical ties to Athens. Maidens who wear no chitons in the cult scenes on votive reliefs are surely taking part in a traditional sacrificial ritual.

98. Herington 1955.

99. Harrison 1984, I and II; 1989.

100. According to Bieber and Eckstein (1967, p. 19), the chiton in Homer's time is worn only by men. The word is Semitic in origin, and Carians wore it in Herodotus's time (5.88); see also *Agora* XI, p. 53, note 31. Janet Grossman has also observed this phenomenon in the grave stelai from the Athenian Agora, which she is publishing.

Figure 10. Stele, Mynnion (6).
Athens, National Museum 763.
Courtesy Museum



CHRONOLOGY

Although the maidens with back-mantle and peplos retain a similar classicizing image from their first appearance ca. 370 B.C. until the latest monuments ca. 310, the style of the figure and of the garment does change. It is possible to distinguish some of the early figures like Stratyllis (9, Fig. 11) from later ones such as Theophile (20, Fig. 4). It is far more difficult, however, to arrange the series of monuments into chronological order; perhaps, as Clairmont has also suggested, it is better to avoid such a rigid structure.¹⁰¹ The monuments discussed here are arranged in only two groups: earlier and later (see below, pp. 253–257).

Several works on different types of monuments provide guidelines for dating the maidens. Jiri Frel discusses Attic workshops that include several of the stelai; his broad chronological divisions (400–360, 360–330, and end of century) are useful for dating the stelai with maidens, and he includes several in his middle group.¹⁰² Schmaltz's study of marble lekythoi

101. Clairmont 1993, Introduction, pp. 12–18. I follow his chronology only very loosely since I date several monuments differently.

102. For the years 360–330, see Frel 1969, pp. 35–40, nos. 212, 218, 273, 274, 282.



Figure 11. Stele, Stratyllis (9).
Athens, National Museum 3691.
Courtesy Museum

includes some of the maidens,¹⁰³ and Kokula provides some dates in her study of marble loutrophoroi.¹⁰⁴ Ursula Vedder dates 4th-century funerary monuments and includes some newly published stelai.¹⁰⁵ In studying 4th-century chronology, Timotheos Lygkopoulos calls the New York maiden (Fig. 1) the “last grave monument.”¹⁰⁶ He breaks up the century into five groups that accord well with the chronology of the stelai depicting maidens, which fall into his last three groups: III, 370–350; IV, 350–330; V, 330–306. Scholl includes only five stelai and vessels with maidens in his

103. Schmaltz 1970, p. 126, no. A6 (Vienna), 350–330; p. 130, no. A122 (Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 1529), 370–350; p. 135, no. A179 (Athens, National Museum 1098), 370–350.

104. Kokula 1984, p. 185, no. H2 (Archestrata), 370–360; p. 186, no. H6 (Plangon), 360–350; pp. 187–188,

no. H10 (Musée Rodin 44), ca. 370; p. 189, no. H16 (Athens market), 340–320; pp. 193–194, no. H37 (Philhousmene, with loutrophoros in the pediment), 350–340.

105. Vedder 1985, p. 29, no. F34 (Silenis), 360–350; p. 30, no. A4 (acroterion), 360–350; p. 33, no. F2 (Kleariste), 340–330; p. 33, no. F12

(Theophile), 330–320; see especially p. 33, note 76, with a list of maidens (a–m) from Silenis, 360–350, to the New York maiden, ca. 310.

106. New York maiden: Lygkopoulos 1983, quotation on p. 68; see also pp. 76–77, no. 39, and fig. 60.

work on the “Bildfeldstelen” and dates them between 360 and 340.¹⁰⁷ A recent work on the naiskos stelai by Bergemann places several monuments with maidens in the latest two groups, dating to 360–330 and 330–300.¹⁰⁸ The maidens in this costume seem to appear for only a few years after 317, when Demetrios of Phaleron issued an anti-luxury decree, which may not have stopped the production of all funerary monuments immediately.¹⁰⁹ No maidens wearing back-mantle and peplos appear on Hellenistic grave stelai.¹¹⁰

Since all the maidens wear the same belted Attic peplos, changes in the placement of the belt on the overfold may provide a framework for a chronology. The system of proportions that results is similar to the changes in the ratio of head to body observed on 5th- and 4th-century sculptures. The body structure is more useful to us here since many of the maidens are preserved without heads.

First, from the Early Classical period until the late 5th century, the part of the peplos overfold below the belt is significantly shorter than the part above the belt. Such proportions produce a rather heavy looking, columnar figure. This top-heavy division of the overfold can be seen clearly on “Angelitos’s Athena” and the “Mourning Athena” stele.¹¹¹ None of the maidens discussed here have these proportions.

Second, from the late 5th century until ca. 350, the overfold divisions are nearly equal, for the belt roughly bisects the overfold. We can see this scheme on the statue of Persephone from Eleusis (ca. 410) and on Athena in the document relief of 409/8.¹¹² Some of the earlier maidens on stelai and lekythoi from 370 to 340 show this equal division of the overfold (see, e.g., Stratyllis, 9, Fig. 11).

Third, noticeable changes appear soon after the mid-4th century, when the section of the overfold below the belt becomes significantly longer than that above it. Such figures have a slim, attenuated appearance, which is exaggerated in the Hellenistic era. These proportions occur on Athena in the Boule stele (Fig. 3).¹¹³ Most of the maidens show this bottom-heavy division of the overfold (see, e.g., Kleariste, 18, and Theophile, 20, Fig. 4). Lawton has observed similar changes in the peplos overfold of figures on document reliefs.¹¹⁴

In addition to proportions, another important element of the maidens’ dress gives us a guide to chronology: the edges of the back-mantle are represented in two ways. Prior to the mid-4th century, the sides of the mantle are generally curved in a naturalistic manner when held out with one hand, as on an acroterion in Athens (5, Fig. 12), a scheme perhaps

107. Scholl (1996, pp. 69–70) includes most of the maiden stelai in his “Potamon Group,” 360–340 B.C., nos. 145, 482, and 484. I believe that nos. 482 and 484 (here nos. 36–37) in fact date to after 340 B.C.

108. Bergemann 1997, pp. 158–179. His group dated to 390–360 includes only one maiden stele, no. 231, Paris, Louvre Ma 4556. The “360–330” group includes eleven maiden stelai: nos. 268, 271, 293, 333, 368, 380, 431, 436, 466,

468, 580. The “330–300” group includes seven maiden stelai: nos. 596, 618, 626, 628, 644, 650, 661; the group dating to the second half of the 4th century includes three maiden stelai: nos. 773, 795, 816. Other stelai that may represent maidens are nos. 500 and 619. The statues of maidens in back-mantle and peplos—nos. 642, 646, 703, and 815—all occur in the latest groups.

109. Ridgway 1990, pp. 30–31; 1997, p. 157.

110. Schmidt 1991.

111. See above, note 67.

112. Persephone, see above, note 66. 409/8 relief, Paris, Louvre Ma 831: Boardman 1985, fig. 179; Meyer 1989, p. 270, no. A16; Lawton 1995, p. 86, no. 4, pl. 5.

113. Boule relief, see above, note 41; for other reliefs of this period, see above, note 42.

114. Lawton 1995, p. 69.



Figure 12. Acroterion (5). Athens, National Museum 744. Courtesy Museum

inherited from the Erechtheion caryatids. Later, after mid-century, the side edges hang down in fluttering, cascading, rippling folds. A charming if unnatural effect, the wavy mantle motif seems to be a painterly device, which often approaches an abstract pattern as on the Acropolis relief base (59, Fig. 7).

Certain features of the maidens can be compared with those of other sculptures to arrive at a date. Around the middle of the 4th century, heavier, bulkier cloth resembling that on the Mausoleum sculptures appears on some maidens.¹¹⁵ The relief carving is generally deeper thereafter, as it is in the document relief of 347/6 in Athens and some stelai, like a stele in Mantua (36).¹¹⁶ After mid-century, finer drapery folds appear in the peplos, as on Kleariste (18). The static frontal poses of some of the later high-waisted maidens like Theophile (20, Fig. 4) resemble that of Athena on the 295/4 document relief and seem to reflect the monumental images of the 5th century.¹¹⁷

Major changes in art as well as in philosophy and politics are often noted for 4th-century Athens, the Late Classical period.¹¹⁸ Andrew Stewart claims that the statue of Eirene, ca. 370 B.C., represented “the first ‘official’ neo-classicism in Greek (and Western) art.”¹¹⁹ This period is indeed distinct from the preceding, strictly Classical period, as so many have observed. The strongly classicizing trends in the figures of the maidens imply that a revival of interest in the prime of Classical Athens was intentional.

115. Ridgway 1997, pp. 117–135.

116. 347/6 B.C. relief, Athens, National Museum 1471: Meyer 1989, p. 290, no. A88, pl. 28:1; Lawton 1995, p. 98, no. 35, pl. 18.

117. 295/4 B.C. relief, Athens, National Museum 4063 + 2307: Meyer 1989, p. 312, no. A169, pl. 45:2; Lawton 1995, p. 109, no. 59, pl. 31.

118. Brown 1973; Ridgway 1990, pp. 13–71.

119. Stewart 1990, p. 174.

THE MONUMENTS¹²⁰

EARLY STELAI (370–340)

- 1 Athens, Kerameikos 8754, Fig. 9. *IG II²* 9203; Clairmont 1993, IV, p. 95, no. 4.420; Traill 1994, 7, p. 328, no. 437180; Bergemann 1997, p. 164, no. 271. Three figures with girl: chiton, crossbands, bird, dog. Inscription: Ὀνήσιμος Ὀνήτορος Λ[έ]σβιος ἰ Πρωτονόη Νικοστράτη Εὐκολίνη.
- 2 Athens, Kerameikos P667/4864. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 371, no. 1.433; Bergemann 1997, p. 164, no. 268. Fragment of girl: chiton.
- 3 Athens, National Museum 113. Conze 1893–1922, no. 1236. Fragment of girl: chiton, crossbands.
- 4 Athens, National Museum 145. Clairmont 1993, III, p. 166, no. 3.340a; Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 805. Two figures with girl: chiton.
- 5 Athens, National Museum 744, acroterion, Fig. 12. Conze 1893–1922, no. 852. Girl: crossbands.
- 6 Athens, National Museum 763, Fig. 10. *IG II²* 5273; Clairmont 1993, II, p. 520, no. 2.421; Osborne and Byrne 1996, p. 322, no. 3; Bergemann 1997, p. 165, no. 293. Woman with girl: chiton. Inscription on architrave: Μύννιον Χαιρεστράτου Ἀγνο[υ]σίου.
- 7 Athens, National Museum 1017. *IG II²* 11007; Clairmont 1993, I, p. 455, no. 1.827; Scholl 1996, p. 264, no. 145; Traill 1994, 4, p. 290, no. 277550; Osborne and Byrne 1996, p. 95, no. 17. Girl: chiton, crossbands, bird(?). Inscription: Γλυκέρα.
- 8 Athens, National Museum 2775. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 309, no. 1.312; Bergemann 1997, p. 174, no. 626. Fragment of girl: chiton, doll.
- 9 Athens, National Museum 3691, Fig. 11. *IG II²* 6582; Clairmont 1993, II, p. 553, no. 2.436; Osborne and Byrne 1996, p. 407, no. 2; Bergemann 1997, p. 166, no. 333. Seated man holds hands with girl: chiton. Inscription on architrave, left: Κηφισόκριτος Γλαύκωνος Κηδαθηναῖεύς. Inscription on architrave, right: Στρατυλλὶς Κηφισοκρίτο.
- 10 Berlin, Staatliche Museum 1492 K 40 (from Attica). *IG II²* 8421; Clairmont 1993, I, p. 470, no. 1.862; Bergemann 1997, p. 169, no. 431. Attendant with girl: crossbands. Inscription on architrave: Σίληνις Μυίσκου Βοιωτία.
- 11 Eretria Museum 630. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 281, no. 1.256. Fragment of girl: chiton.
- 12 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 99. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 291, no. 1.280; Bergemann 1997, p. 169, no. 466. Girl: chiton, crossbands, bird.
- 13 Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 4556. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 316, no. 1.329; Bergemann 1997, p. 164, no. 231. Fragment of girl: chiton, doll.

120. Clairmont (1993) and Conze (1893–1922) provide references and illustrations for most of the funerary monuments. In addition, see Hausmann 1948 and *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 873, 881, s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann) for the votive reliefs (referred to below as *LIMC* II); several more are unpublished but visible in museums. All images of the girl show her in back-mantle and belted peplos; chiton and crossbands are noted as well as other attributes such as dolls, birds, and dogs.

- 14 Unknown, once private. Conze 1893–1922, no. 906; Clairmont 1993, I, p. 500, no. 1.943; Bergemann 1997, p. 166, no. 368. Attendant and woman with girl: chiton.
- 15 Unknown. Conze 1893–1922, no. 1227. Fragment of girl: chiton.
- 16 Unknown. Conze 1893–1922, no. 1235. Fragment of girl: chiton.
- 17 Unknown. Conze 1893–1922, no. 1242. Fragment of girl: chiton.

LATE STELAI (340–310)

- 18 Athens, Kerameikos P279. *IG II²* 11854; Clairmont 1993, I, p. 494, no. 1.932; Osborne and Byrne 1996, p. 263, no. 7; Bergemann 1997, p. 174, no. 596. Attendant with girl: chiton. Inscription on architrave: Κλεαρίστη Ἐπαινέτου.
- 19 Athens, National Museum 1023. Clairmont 1993, IV, p. 147, no. 4.830; Scholl 1996, p. 265, no. 150. Five figures (two seated) with girl: chiton.
- 20 Athens, National Museum 1305, Fig. 4. *IG II²* 11660; Clairmont 1993, I, p. 450, no. 1.814; Osborne and Byrne 1996, p. 221, no. 20; Bergemann 1997, p. 173, no. 618. Attendant with girl: chiton, crossbands. Inscription: Θεοφίλη.
- 21 Athens, National Museum 2107. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 313, no. 1.321a; Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 795. Fragment of girl: chiton, crossbands, bird, dog.
- 22 Athens, National Museum 2885. Clairmont 1993, III, p. 381, no. 3.453; Bergemann 1997, p. 174, no. 628. Two figures with girl: chiton, crossbands.
- 23 Athens, National Museum 4900, from Rhamnous. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 350, no. 1.382; Bergemann 1997, p. 175, no. 661. Fragment of girl.
- 24 Bignor Park, Hawkins. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 335, no. 1.359; Bergemann 1997, p. 169, no. 436. Fragment of girl: chiton, crossbands.
- 25 Brauron Museum 84. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 285, no. 1.267; Bergemann 1997, p. 175, no. 644. Fragment of girl: chiton, crossbands.
- 26 Brauron Museum BE 847. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 285, no. 1.268; Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 815. Fragment of girl: chiton, crossbands.
- 27 Brauron Museum. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 378, no. 1.459; Bergemann 1997, p. 175, no. 646. Fragment of girl.
- 28 Brauron Museum. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 440, no. 1.783; Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 816. Fragment of attendant and girl: chiton, crossbands.
- 29 Brauron Museum. Clairmont 1993, II, p. 306, no. 2.334. Seated woman with girl.
- 30 Broadlands, Broom Hall. Clairmont 1993, II, p. 365, no. 2.357c; Scholl 1996, p. 321, no. 368. Seated woman holds hands with girl: crossbands.
- 31 Unknown, once in Chalandri. Conze 1893–1922, no. 881;

- Clairmont 1993, II, p. 597, no. 2.470; Bergemann 1997, p. 167, no. 380. Attendant with girl: chiton, crossbands.
- 32 Eleusis Museum. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 458, no. 1.840; Bergemann 1997, p. 175, no. 650. Fragment of attendant with girl: doll.
- 33 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum E265. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 458, no. 1.839. Fragment of attendant with box, back-mantle of maiden.
- 34 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum E692. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 482, no. 1.883; Bergemann 1997, p. 169, no. 468. Attendant with girl: chiton, crossbands, bird.
- 35 Laon, Musée Municipale 37.1193. Clairmont 1993, II, p. 711, no. 2.825; Bergemann 1997, p. 179, no. 839. Attendant and woman with girl: chiton.
- 36 Mantua, Ducal Palace. Clairmont 1993, III, p. 292, no. 3.394b; Bergemann 1997, p. 171, no. 512. Two figures with girl: chiton, crossbands.
- 37 Marathon Museum. Clairmont 1993, III, p. 275, no. 3.387a. Three figures with girl.
- 38 Paris, Musée Rodin 32. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 366, no. 1.428; Scholl 1996, p. 351, no. 482. Attendant with girl: crossbands, bird, dog.
- 39 Princeton, Art Museum 204. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 439, no. 1.775; Scholl 1996, p. 352, no. 484. Attendant with girl: crossbands, bird.
- 40 Unknown, once Brummer Collection. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 308, no. 1.310; Bergemann 1997, p. 173, no. 574. Girl: chiton. Inscription: Μεδεία.
- 41 Unknown, once Melchett Collection. Clairmont 1993, III, p. 493, no. 3.880; Bergemann 1997, p. 173, no. 580. Man, woman, and attendant with girl: chiton.
- 42 Unknown. Clairmont 1993, III, p. 322, no. 3.413a; Traill 1994, 4, p. 291, no. 277595. Three figures with girl. Inscription: Γλυκέρα Διονυσία Ἡρακλέους].
- 43 Unknown. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 300, no. 1.294; Bergemann 1997, p. 177, no. 725. Fragment of girl: chiton, crossbands.
- 44 Unknown. Conze 1893–1922, no. 1243; Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 773. Fragment of girl.

EARLY LOUTROPHOROI (370–340)

- 45 Athens, Agora I 4516. Clairmont 1993, III, p. 486, no. 3.870. Three figures with girl. Fragmentary inscription.
- 46 Eleusis Museum 5098, Fig. 5. Clairmont 1993, III, p. 480, no. 3.860. Attendant, girl holds hands with seated woman. Inscription: Πάγων.
- 47 Mariemont, Musée Royal B 18. Clairmont 1993, III, p. 162, no. 3.337. Man, seated woman holds hands with girl: chiton, crossbands.

EARLY LEKYTHOI (370–340)

- 48 Athens, National Museum 1098. Clairmont 1993, II, p. 378, no. 2.362c. Man holds hands with girl: crossbands.
- 49 Athens, National Museum. Clairmont 1993, II, p. 481, no. 2.395c. Youth with girl: chiton. Inscription: Νικοδρόμη.
- 50 Athens, Roman Agora 1073. Clairmont 1993, IV, p. 80, no. 4.381. Three figures with girl. Inscription: Χρύσιον.
- 51 Brauron Museum. Clairmont 1993, II, p. 442, no. 2.383b. Seated woman holds hands with girl: chiton, crossbands.
- 52 Brauron Museum. Clairmont 1993, II, p. 552, no. 2.434b. Seated woman holds hands with girl: crossbands.
- 53 Milan, private collection. Clairmont 1993, I, p. 498, no. 1.938. Attendant with girl: chiton, crossbands.
- 54 Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 1529. Clairmont 1993, II, p. 234, no. 2.292a. Woman with girl: crossbands. Inscription: Μνησάρητη.
- 55 Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 3027. Clairmont 1993, II, p. 512, no. 2.417a. Seated woman holds hands with girl. Inscription: Φήλη.

LATE LEKYTHOI (340–310)

- 56 Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 3365. Clairmont 1993, II, p. 330, no. 2.344a. Youth holds hands with girl: chiton, crossbands. Inscription: Νικοδρόμη.
- 57 Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 3367. Clairmont 1993, II, p. 332, no. 2.345a. Youth holds hands with girl: chiton.
- 58 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 886. *IG* II² 5475; Clairmont 1993, III, p. 164, no. 3.339a. Attendant, seated woman holds hands with girl: crossbands. Inscription over seated figure, not the maiden: Δ[η]μοστράτη Χαριτάδου Ἀλαιέως.

LATE BASES (340–310)

- 59 Athens, First Ephoreia (Fethiye Djami), Fig. 7. Clairmont 1993, I, pp. 10–13, fig. 10. Thirteen figures on three sides, girl frontal.
- 60 Athens, Second Ephoreia 2346. Schmalz 1978. Fragment of figure with girl.

LATE VOTIVE RELIEFS (340–310)

- 61 Athens, National Museum 1333, from Athens Asklepieion, Fig. 6. *LIMC* II, p. 873, no. 66, pl. 639.
- 62 Athens, National Museum 1367, from Athens Asklepieion. Hausmann 1948, p. 143, no. A58.
- 63 Athens, National Museum 1377, from Athens Asklepieion. *LIMC* II, p. 881, no. 201, pl. 650.
- 64 Athens, National Museum 1426, from Epidaurus. *LIMC* II, p. 881, no. 204, pl. 650.

- 65 Athens, National Museum 1429, from Piraeus Asklepieion.
Hausmann 1948, p. 142, no. A9.
66 Eleusis Museum 5057. Kanta 1979, p. 71.
67 Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 755. *LIMC* II, p. 873, no. 64,
pl. 639.
68 Poligyros Museum 300. Unpublished.

The maidens in back-mantle and peplos appear on nearly all types of funerary sculpture: stelai and their acroteria, relief vessels, and bases of vessels. The maidens also appear on votive reliefs from Athens and Epidauros, chiefly those dedicated to Asklepios. As noted above, nearly all the monuments, both funerary and votive, come from Attica, particularly from Athens, Brauron, Eleusis, and Piraeus.

Many of the extant funerary monuments are simple one- or two-figure stelai, but they are occasionally quite large, such as 9, depicting Stratyllis (Fig. 11). Often the maidens are portrayed with a larger figure, presumably an adult. Mynnion (6) may be portrayed with her mother (Fig. 10); Stratyllis with her father; or, on some lekythoi, a brother appears. Inscriptions rarely clarify the relationship, however, even when a man or woman is named. Three- or four-figure groups as on the stele in Mantua (36) appear to portray the maiden with her parents. Several monuments include a variety of figures in a large family grouping, for example, the three figures with Eukoline (1, Fig. 9) on the stele in the Kerameikos. Such family groups occur on large and small stelai, as well as on vessels. The largest groups include three to five figures of varying types, as if created for specific families. In all groups the maiden appears to be younger than the adults since she is shown as shorter, yet she is taller than the children sometimes included.

All the lekythoi and loutrophoroi represent the maiden with one or more figures, such as Plangon in Eleusis (46, Fig. 5), who is presumably with members of her family. Kokula's claim that all loutrophoroi were meant for maidens¹²¹ is supported by Friis Johansen's observation that Hagnistrate on Athens NM 1863 stands beside her loutrophoros because she died a maiden.¹²² Several lekythoi depict a maiden with another figure. Far more lekythoi (eleven) than loutrophoroi (three) depict the maiden. Two lekythoi, 56 and 57, found together in the Piraeus, have the same two figures represented. Clairmont, who claims that many of these memorials were intended to honor the girl, thinks that both vessels were for the maiden. It is also possible, however, that both were intended for the youth, or even one for the maiden, the other for the youth.¹²³ Without clarifying inscriptions it is impossible to determine the honoree.

Figural decoration on relief bases of marble vessels is uncommon. One fragment in the Piraeus Museum shows a maiden and the hand of a second figure reaching out to her. The large base in Athens (59, Fig. 7), found in 1954 on the south slope of the Acropolis, is particularly impressive. Schmaltz suggests that the youth who is portrayed on all three sides of the base with various other figures is the recipient of this monument,¹²⁴ but signs of extreme grief in the gesture of two figures near the maiden may

121. Kokula 1984.

122. Friis Johansen 1951, p. 60. For Hagnistrate, see above, note 23.

123. Clairmont 1993, II, nos. 2.344a and 2.345a.

124. Schmaltz 1978, p. 84. For 5th-century relief bases, see Kosmopoulou 1998.

indicate that she too has died, perhaps before the youth. Here the maiden is clearly separated from her family by a stele rendered in relief. The stele appears in profile like that on the funerary lekythos of Myrrhine—a thin slab thought to separate the living from the dead, the mortal from the immortal.¹²⁵

The acroterion in Athens (5, Fig. 12) is unique among extant figured acroteria. The combination of figures within a floral ornament occurs more often in South Italian art than in Attic. On a red-figure Campanian hydria in New York, a young girl holding a phiale is surrounded by a floral ornament much like the scene on the acroterion.¹²⁶

Several beautiful freestanding statues of the maiden in back-mantle and peplos attest her importance in ancient Greek society (e.g., Fig. 1). Although these figures are not considered here, they provide additional evidence for the costume, often including back views. A statue in the Athenian Agora, which is missing both sides of the back-mantle, is stiff and frontal rather like a caryatid, although nothing is preserved of the arms to indicate the hand positions.¹²⁷ Unless the figures were found in a funerary context, such as a maiden and her attendant in Athens,¹²⁸ it is difficult to tell whether the monuments were funerary or votive.

On votive reliefs, for the most part dedicated to Asklepios and Hygieia, the maiden usually appears prominently in the front plane among a large family of worshippers.¹²⁹ Unusual is the shrine relief to Asklepios, 63, where the maiden, although placed in the front plane, is somewhat lost among a large family group. On some votive reliefs in Athens the maiden is placed conspicuously in the front and turns away from the group in a rather self-conscious manner, for example on 61 (Fig. 6) and 62. Occasionally a child or smaller attendant appears, wearing clothing different from the maiden. Although several females in the gatherings wear the ubiquitous chiton and wrapped himation, only one female on each relief wears the maiden's costume. The votive reliefs show most clearly that this girl is singled out as special not only by her costume but also by her position in the forefront of the group and by her open pose,¹³⁰ holding her back-mantle with both hands.

There are names of only a few maidens inscribed on stelai and vessels. In many inscriptions it is not clear to which female the name refers. Even fewer provide an ethnic or demotic for clues to their families or place of origin. The names are not uncommon for Greek women and appear on other grave monuments listed by Osborne and Byrne: Glykera (36 times), Plangon (17 times), and Theophile (25 times).¹³¹ A few names are quite unusual: Stratyllis (2 times) and Mynnion (7 times). Traill's work on Athenian names includes only a few of the maidens in the eight volumes published so far, but there are far more examples of each name: Eukoline (44) and Glykera (46).¹³² Overall, more vessels than stelai have inscriptions, but those inscriptions do not necessarily name the maidens. Only when the name is directly overhead can we be sure that it belongs to the maiden. A few inscriptions indicate the father's name or place of origin: Stratyllis Kephisokritou of Kydathenaion (9), Mynnion Chairestratou of Hagnous (6), and Kleariste Epainetou (18). There are also a

125. Athens, National Museum 4485: Friis Johansen 1951, pp. 160–161, fig. 82; Clairmont 1979; Boardman 1985, fig. 154. For tomb markers represented on stelai, see Ridgway 1997, p. 178, note 5; Clairmont 1993, Introduction, p. 98.

126. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.230: Trendall 1967, p. 411, no. 342, pl. 165:3.

127. Athens, Agora S 339: Shear 1935, pp. 372–374, figs. 1–3.

128. Alexandri 1969; *AR* 1970–1971, pp. 4–5, fig. 3.

129. Hausmann 1948; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 873, nos. 64, 66, pl. 639 and p. 881, nos. 201, 204, pl. 650, s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann). Few votive reliefs come from Epidauros, however, and none from the sanctuary on Cos; see *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 891–892. For the Asklepios cult in Athens, see Larson 1995, pp. 61–64.

130. For the girl opening the mantle herself, cf. Harrison 1979 on Apollo's cloak, and Neumann 1979 on the statue of Persephone (also known as Demeter) at Eleusis, note 66 above.

131. Osborne and Byrne 1996.

132. Traill 1994.

few girls of non-Athenian origin: Silenis of Boeotia (10) and Eukoline from Lesbos (1); these girls emulate the Athenian maidens in dress, pose, and monument type.

The maidens in back-mantle and peplos seem to belong to a single age group, about eleven to fifteen years old. The youngest-looking figure is Mynnion (6, Fig. 10), the oldest in appearance, Stratyllis (9, Fig. 11). Stears has recently noted that these teenage girls fall in the middle of age groups portrayed on grave reliefs (baby, child, teenager, married woman, old woman).¹³³ Lesley Beaumont in her exploration of the iconography of childhood in Athenian art notes that relative rather than specific ages were most commonly represented.¹³⁴ Greek art of the 4th century makes distinctions in age that had not previously been attempted, and the maidens in particular seem to represent quite accurately the varying stages of adolescent growth. Motifs are used to distinguish younger from older: the young girl holds a bird or a doll, the older girl holds her mantle up with one hand in a bridal gesture (e.g., Fig. 5). These 4th-century maidens are between two worlds, no longer children but not yet adults. Dedications by women of dolls and toys as well as veils and belts parallel the differences seen in the maidens.¹³⁵

In her study of animals in funerary contexts, Daphné Woysch-Méautis found that birds appear most often, especially with children.¹³⁶ Of the 201 examples of birds catalogued by Woysch-Méautis on grave monuments, six birds appear with maidens (1, 7, 12, 21, 38, 39). Of the eighty-seven dogs catalogued, three accompany maidens (1, 21, 38). Both bird and dog appear on the same three stelai, as, for example, with Eukoline (Fig. 9). There are no horses, hares, goats, or felines with the maidens. Interestingly, on vessels, none of the maidens have animals.

Of the twenty-eight examples of figures holding dolls listed by Clairmont, only three are maidens (8, 13, 32).¹³⁷ The type of doll is usually a simple female figure with stump arms and legs, more an anatomical study than a toy.¹³⁸ None of the maidens on vessels hold dolls.

The maiden in back-mantle appears quite often with an attendant. On sixteen funerary monuments—thirteen stelai (e.g., Fig. 4) and three vessels (e.g., Fig. 5)—the maiden is attended by a small girl with a box, presumably for jewelry (10, 14, 18, 20, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 41, 46, 53, 58).¹³⁹ Just as on red-figure vases maidens carry chests to the bride, these smaller girls on grave stelai carry chests or boxes for the maiden, who will never be a bride. Identifying these attendants as sister, servant, or slave is problematic. Clairmont believes that the girls were sisters rather than servants, but Beaumont notes that smaller size usually denotes inferior status (but see above, where smaller size is discussed as an indication of youth).¹⁴⁰ The attendants are never named. They stand quietly holding an object, as a friend or a servant would. In some cases the attendant's hair is cut short, perhaps in mourning, and she wears a simple chiton with shoulder-cord and long overfold similar to that worn by younger children on Athens NM 693 and 694.¹⁴¹ On some monuments attendants wear the same long-sleeved chiton and head covering worn by attendants on other 4th-century stelai, such as the attendant to Hegeso in Athens.¹⁴² Miller

133. Stears 1995, pp. 118–121.

134. Beaumont 1994, esp. pp. 86–93.

135. For the dedications to Artemis on the Acropolis, see Linders 1972.

136. Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 110–124, nos. 65–255.

137. Clairmont 1993, VI, p. 102.

138. Schmidt 1977, pp. 114–128; Reilly 1997.

139. Brümmer 1985.

140. Clairmont 1970, p. 30, pl. 15, regarding Munich, Glyptothek 491 (Mnesarete); Ridgway 1997, pl. 39. See Beaumont 1994, p. 88.

141. Vorster 1983, p. 330, nos. 1 and 2; Beaumont 1994.

142. Athens, National Museum 3624: Boardman 1985, fig. 151; Stewart 1990, fig. 477; Ridgway 1997, pl. 38.

has recently pointed out that the long-sleeved chiton does not necessarily mark one as a slave or foreigner, since women are shown wearing it in the late 5th century, and girls wear it in the 4th century.¹⁴³

When the maiden appears as part of a family group of three or four, either named or unnamed, it is unclear who is the deceased. Friis Johansen explored this unsolved question, concluding that the ambiguity is purposeful, that we are not meant to distinguish the living from the dead.¹⁴⁴ Sally Humphreys points out that the dead are shown as still alive, thus making it nearly impossible to distinguish the two states.¹⁴⁵ Several monuments indicate signs of grief in the tender gesture of a mother's hand toward the maiden's face, as on Mynnion's stele (6, Fig. 10), or a father's hand held to his head as on the Melchett stele (41).¹⁴⁶ Already noted were the quite melodramatic gestures on the Acropolis base (59, Fig. 7), and we may imagine that the object of the grief—the maiden—has died.

The *dexiosis* (hand-clasp) gesture is associated with adults more often than with children, but some of the maidens are shown in this pose. The gesture has been studied by Friis Johansen, Glenys Davies, and Elizabeth Pemberton.¹⁴⁷ Most scholars agree that it is a gesture of unity, by which a newly deceased person may join one previously deceased. Maidens on vessels, especially on some of the earlier examples (46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58), usually clasp the hand of a woman, as does Plangon (46, Fig. 5). Stratyllis is the only maiden in back-mantle on grave stelai who holds the hand of another figure (9, Fig. 11).

Very few of the maidens hold the edge of their mantle up next to their heads, as brides and married women often do with a veil. On some monuments, like the loutrophoros depicting Plangon (46, Fig. 5), the maiden holds her back-mantle with one raised hand and is accompanied by a small attendant with a box (see also 18, 33, 41). These maidens were possibly the closest to marriage. John Oakley and Rebecca Sinos have pointed out the increasing number of women's scenes on late-5th- and 4th-century Attic red-figure vases that relate to wedding iconography.¹⁴⁸ There are, however, very few examples of the girl in back-mantle and peplos in these scenes, one example being a red-figure lebes in Athens on which a girl holds one end of her back-mantle with her lowered left hand and the upper edge with her raised right hand.¹⁴⁹

On the grave reliefs, the maiden is nearly always represented as shorter than the adults who accompany her. Mynnion (6, Fig. 10), for example, is shorter than the woman with her, and Stratyllis (9, Fig. 11) stands next to her seated father, yet their heads are close in height. Eukoline (1, Fig. 9) is much shorter than the other individuals in her group. This difference in height is not shown as clearly on the vessels, which are also generally earlier. On votive reliefs, the maiden tends to be much shorter than other figures, except for children. She is always much taller than her small attendant (see, e.g., 20 and 46, Figs. 4–5). If there are other children in a group scene on funerary or votive reliefs, they are smaller and presumably younger than the maiden.¹⁵⁰

Stears, as mentioned above, places the maidens in a middle group between children and married women.¹⁵¹ Signs of age for girls represented at the Brauronian Arkteia are classified by Sourvinou-Inwood in very gen-

143. Miller 1997, pp. 160–161.

144. Friis Johansen 1951, pp. 28–36.

145. Humphreys 1993, pp. 148–168.

146. Humphreys (1993, p. 108) points out that 4th-century memorials show more expression of feelings for those who died young. See also Neumann 1979, pp. 108–115, figs. 50, 53; Bergemann 1997, pp. 52–53.

147. Friis Johansen 1951, p. 29; Davies 1985; Pemberton 1989; Stears 1995, p. 126; Scholl 1996, pp. 164–167; Bergemann 1997, pp. 61–62.

148. Oakley and Sinos 1993.

149. Athens, National Museum 15851: Roccas 1995, p. 662, fig. 21.

150. Clairmont (1993, Introduction, pp. 19–29) has very little to say about the ages of the maidens.

151. Stears 1995, pp. 118–123.

eral iconographical types, usually identified as a younger and an older figure.¹⁵² Her “age signs” may be used only as a rough guide to determine the ages of the maidens in back-mantle and peplos. If we use her criteria—taller stature, a proportionally smaller head than body, and budding breasts—to indicate older females, then small stature, a proportionally large head, and a flat chest should indicate younger girls. Most of the maidens, like Theophile (20, Fig. 4), show signs of budding breasts, which Sourvinou-Inwood notes on the oldest *arktoi* (bears). Some maidens are relatively full-breasted, like the girl shown on 59 (Fig. 7) and Stratyllis (9, Fig. 11). Only a few seem to be as flat-chested as Mynnion (6, Fig. 10). When shown with an adult, however, the maiden is usually shown with smaller breasts, like Eukoline (1, Fig. 9). Variations in breast size may indicate a close observation of the variations in female adolescence on the part of 4th-century sculptors.

As a group, the maidens in back-mantle and peplos appear to be older than the girls who are *arktoi* (five to ten years of age) and *arrhephoroi* (seven to eleven). The signs of size, body type, and pose best represent the stage of the *kanephoros* (aged eleven to fifteen) as defined by Sourvinou-Inwood. Recognition in ancient Greece of the physical changes on the path to adulthood granted significance to each stage along the way. Just as boys underwent their ephebic rituals, girls experienced their own transitions, from *arrhephoros* (grinder) to *kanephoros* (basket-bearer). Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* notes the roles she has played:¹⁵³

ἐπὶ τὰ μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ’ εὐθὺς ἡρρηφόρου
 εἴτ’ ἀλετρις ἢ δεκέτις οὔσα τάρχηγέτι,
 καὶ τ’ ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους.
 καὶ κἀνηφόρου ποτ’ οὔσα παῖς καλὴ χούρ’
 ἰσχάδων ὀρμαθόν.

As soon as I was seven years old, I was an Arrephoros;
 then I was a Grinder; when I was ten, at the Brauronia,
 I shed my saffron gown as one of the Foundress’s Bears;
 and I was also once a basket-bearer, a beautiful girl,
 wearing a string of dried figs.

Being a *kanephoros* is the last in the series of roles played only by selected aristocratic young women. It is the stage just preceding marriage, represented by an iconographical type similar to the bride.¹⁵⁴ For example, on a pelike in Athens, the same peplos and crossbands are worn by both bride and attendant.¹⁵⁵ According to Sourvinou-Inwood, the *kanephoros* is represented with full breasts, but she is slightly shorter than any adult female with her. She is not to be confused with the cista-bearers, who appear in the back row of groups on some votive reliefs, as Sourvinou-Inwood claims.¹⁵⁶ Although the beautiful and virginal *kanephoros* was the ideal prototype of well-born young women in Classical Greece, all young women could be represented as *parthenoi* at the moment between childhood and adulthood. They were portrayed as such in 4th-century Athens wearing the special costume of back-mantle and peplos.

152. Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, pp. 33–38, 55–57.

153. Ar. *Lys.* 641–647; trans. A. Sommerstein. See also Neils 1992, pp. 23–24, for the *kanephoros* at the Panathenaia.

154. Geagan (1994, pp. 167–169) discusses the dedicatory monuments for *kanephoroi*.

155. Athens pelike: see note 78.

156. Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, p. 95, note 256. See also Van Straten 1981, p. 84, for the figure as a servant carrying a cista.

CONCLUSIONS

Maidens who wear the back-mantle and peplos in the 4th century B.C. can no longer remain anonymous among so many "standing females" on funerary monuments. Their distinctive costume sets them apart from the multitude of women wearing the chiton with himation. Although there are only sixty-eight monuments representing these maidens out of a much larger total corpus, the monuments are of high quality. The maiden is usually portrayed alone in a heroizing manner or with a small slave or servant girl. Less often she is shown within a family group, which may reflect the loss to family and society of a future mother.

Athena and Artemis also wear this costume in the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C., and an association of the maidens with these goddesses was most likely intended. In a similar fashion, devotees of Isis dressed in the same garment as the goddess to identify themselves with her; the devotees were not necessarily priestesses, but worshippers.¹⁵⁷ Likewise, the maidens in back-mantle and peplos are not priestesses, but important in their own right.

The maiden's size, pose, and unique costume emphasize her importance within a group. She appears younger than adults in group scenes but older than the child attendants often accompanying them. She is usually shown in the forefront of a group and is always standing. She often has a smaller attendant, as do older women on grave stelai. Finally, her costume of back-mantle and peplos distinguishes her from other females. She represents the ideal maiden, the postpubescent *parthenos* on the brink of marriage, arrayed in her festival costume.

The maidens who wear this distinctive and easily identifiable costume occupied a special place within their families and wider society of Classical Greece.¹⁵⁸ They were of an age to be married, and their deaths meant the loss of future offspring, a loss not only to their families but to the entire culture. Votive reliefs that represent the maidens remind us of the young women's participation in ritual. Splendid funerary monuments underline the maidens' importance to their own families, who erected their memorials, and to Classical Greek civilization as a whole.

157. Walters 1988, pp. 56–57.

158. See Larson 1995 and Lyons 1997 for recent works on the heroizing of females in ancient Athens; girls and young women in particular were greatly esteemed.

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