

FRAGMENTS OF AN EARLY ATTIC KOUROS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA ¹

(PLATES 81-84)

THE splendid kouroi of the Sounion group,² the earliest big marble statues that have survived in Attica, enjoy a degree of general appreciation that is rare for ancient Greek sculpture in the present day. Before them as before nothing else the classicist and the lover of modern art are able to make joint obeisance. The result has been that analysis has been carried to a finer point than is perhaps justified by the extent of our knowledge. Any new addition in marble to the original body of evidence, however small or poorly preserved, would constitute a welcome counter-balance to the growing volume of speculation. When the addition comes in the form of fragments of absolutely first-class workmanship, found in the heart of ancient Athens, it is an event that deserves some attention.

Over a period of twenty-two years there have come to light in the area of the Agora Excavations six fragments of a large marble kouros of the Sounion group. Two pairs of fragments join, making a total of four separate pieces.

A. Pls. 81, a; 82, a, b. Inv. S 530. Part of left forearm and hand. Mended from

¹ The photographs of the Agora fragments are by Alison Frantz. Especial thanks are due her for the view of the assembled fragments, Pl. 81, a, which entailed special difficulties of arrangement and execution. I am much indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Christos Karouzos for their kindness in making the Sounion and Kerameikos kouroi accessible for study and to Miss Christine Alexander and Dietrich von Bothmer for supplying photographs and measurements of the New York kouros.

² For the discussion of the group as a whole see G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi*, New York, 1942, pp. 47-95. There is a detailed discussion by Miss Richter of the relations between the Dipylon, New York and Sounion kouroi in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V, pp. 20-50, of which the text is repeated in German in the text to Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pls. 751-755, with the addition of excellent detailed photographs of the New York kouros. The individual members of the Sounion group which are relevant for the present discussion are: a) the Dipylon head and hand, Athens, National Museum, no. 3372, *Kouroi*, no. 6 (both pieces now in National Museum). Add to the bibliography in *Kouroi*: Buschor, *Frühgriechische Jünglinge*, Munich, 1950, pp. 14-17, figs. 11-14; Rodenwaldt, *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, cols. 354-364, Beilagen 3-5 (good photographs and illuminating comments on the relation of photographs to the original); E. Homann-Wedeking, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Grossplastik*, Berlin, 1950, pp. 75-78; F. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, I, Frankfurt am Main, 1950, pp. 186-189. b) the New York kouros, *Kouroi*, no. 1. Add Buschor, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-22, figs. 15-21; Homann-Wedeking, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79; Matz, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190. c) the Sounion statue, Athens, N. M., no. 2720, *Kouroi*, no. 2. Add Buschor, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-26, figs. 23-27; Homann-Wedeking, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-81; Matz, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-192. d) the Sounion torso, Athens, N.M., no. 3645, *Kouroi*, no. 3. Add Buschor, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54, figs. 54-55; Homann-Wedeking, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-82; Matz, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-193. e) the kouros from the Kerameikos, Athens, N.M., no. 71, *Kouroi*, no. 8. Add Buschor, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54, fig. 56. f) the hand in the collection of Mr. Marinos Kalligas, *Kouroi*, no. 7, Politis, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, pp. 747-753.

two fragments: 1, Wrist. Found February 28, 1935 in a marble pile in the center of the square. 2, Clenched little and third fingers and adjacent part of hand with a little of the marble from the thigh adhering. Found January 1953 in the demolition of a modern house just south of the southwest corner of the square. Total length of the joined fragments 0.32 m. Greatest pres. width of arm 0.099 m.

B. Pls. 81, a; 83, b; 84, b, c. Inv. S 287. Part of back and advanced left leg. Mended from two fragments, both preserving surface from back and proper left side, but not extending to front or right side. 1, Small of back and part of left flank. Found February 24, 1933 in a modern wall in the central part of the square. 2, Part of left thigh and buttocks. Found July 30, 1951 in a marble pile in front of the Tholos. Length of the combined fragments 0.555 m. Pres. depth of torso fragment at small of back 0.20 m. Pres. width of torso fragment 0.29 m.

C. Pls. 81, a; 83, c, d. Inv. S 1739. Right knee and back of thigh. Found July 1953 in a marble pile in front of the Stoa of Zeus. Pres. height 0.35 m.; width 0.195 m.; depth 0.215 m.

D. Pls. 81, a; 82, d. Inv. S 1908. Fragment from back of left shoulder. Max. pres. dimension 0.244 m. Found April 1955 in the same marble pile east of the Tholos which earlier yielded the left hip B 2.

All the fragments are made of a coarse-grained island marble that probably comes from Naxos.³ Its basic color is white with gray streaks, but the surfaces of A, B and D have taken on a yellowish gray color, while C has the flaked, iron-gray surface of marble that has lain above ground for a long time without much sunlight. All the pieces have traces of mortar adhering to them, and it is likely that those found in the marble piles came, like the others, from modern houses demolished in the course of the excavations. The statue itself may have stood in the Kerameikos cemetery, from which vast numbers of sepulchral marbles have come into the Agora as building-stones.

The left hand, A, has all the characteristics of the Sounion group. The hand is clenched, with the ends of the fingers resting flat against the thigh. The inner outline of the little finger is carved with the flat chisel into the flat side of the fist, and a polygon with bevelled edges is left in the center. The little finger appears to have four joints, two against the thigh⁴ and two cut free. Above the end of the finger a narrow strip of marble joins hand and wrist to the thigh for a distance of about 0.11 m., above which the arm hangs free of the body. Above the connecting strip the front and back planes of the arm meet at an obtuse angle. The traces of the drill-holes by which the arm was separated from the body have not been entirely removed.

³ See below, p. 296.

⁴ Alternatively this is described as a single joint which is made too long (Richter, *Kouroi*, p. 65; Budde, *Die attischen Kuroi*, Würzburg, 1939, p. 34).

The lower end of the ulna is represented as a knob with a ridge around it on the side toward the thumb. All the foregoing features our hand shares with the Sounion, Dipylon (Pl. 82, c) and New York kouroi and with the hand in the Kalligas Collection. It is linked more closely to the New York and Dipylon kouroi by the sharp, straight ridge that defines the course of the ulna and by the absence of the lateral grooves that continue the ridge around the elbow in the Sounion kouroi.⁵ In scale it is extremely close to the hand from the Dipylon (see table of measurements, below, p. 294). The degree of weathering is about the same on the Agora and Dipylon hands but the one from the Agora is more battered. The sharp edge of the first knuckle of the little finger is gone and the junction between hand and wrist is obscured by a break. In both hands the divisions between the fingers were marked out with the pointed chisel and the fingers shaped with the flat chisel, and on both the point-marks remain visible in the valleys.⁶ On the Dipylon hand, however, the fingers were carefully smoothed with abrasive so that the flat facets left by the chisel have been mostly obliterated, whereas the Agora fingers have been less thoroughly finished. A last difference between the two is that the angle between the back and side planes of the little finger has been rounded over on the Agora hand while on the Dipylon hand it remains distinct.

The torso fragment B presents no direct join with the thin sliver of thigh adhering to the hand. The hand's approximate position, close to the broken edge, may be ascertained partly from comparison with other kouroi of the group and partly from the plane of a narrow dark streak in the marble that cuts through the thigh fragment near its front edge and reappears intersecting the flaring upper part of the wrist. The streak confirms the association of hand and torso that was already suggested by the identity of color, surface finish and weathering. In B the features common to all the Attic members of the group are: 1) the presence of a girdle-like ridge above the hips (Pl. 84, c); 2) a curved groove marking the depression over the great trochanter (Pl. 84, b); and 3) a long groove running down the outside of the thigh (Pls. 83, b; 84, b). In addition it shows details of modelling that are present in the Sounion kouroi but not in the smaller statue in New York. Two grooves flanking the spinal furrow indicate the erector spinae muscles (Pl. 84, c),⁷ and the remains of a diagonal groove at the upper right edge of the fragment show that this statue had also the schematic indication of the ribs that decorates the backs of the Sounion kouroi (Pl. 84, d).

The modelling of the details in our statue is more subtle than in either the New York or the Sounion kouroi. The girdle ridge is so much understated that it scarcely

⁵ Cf. Richter, *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, pp. 26, 33, 36.

⁶ The remains of the fingers of the Sounion torso adhering to the thigh are similarly cut in facets with the flat chisel but do not show the point-marks between. The fingers of the Sounion statue are inaccessible at present.

⁷ Cf. *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, p. 40, 4.

affects the line of the profile. It differs from those of all the other statues in cutting almost horizontally across the back instead of forming a deep V. The surfaces of the back round smoothly and delicately into the grooves that bound them. Clearly the sculptor took a special delight in the working of the back, and such evidences of neglect as were noted in the hand are not to be seen here. Nevertheless, these grooves and areas are treated essentially as patterns in a plane. There is no question here of "modelled shapes," and the junction of the back and side planes of the torso is uncompromisingly rectangular. On the buttocks and leg the transition is more rounded, but back and side planes are still quite flat in their central portions. The groove on the outside of the thigh is bolder and more definite than those in the back, V-shaped in section and running out to a sharp point at the top (Pl. 84, b). In technique it is precisely similar to the grooves on the side of the neck of the Dipylon head (Pl. 84, a).⁸

The knee fragment, C, has suffered more in modern times than the others, but those portions where the surface has not flaked away preserve the same texture as the other fragments, a careful finish grained all over with the fine parallel striations left by a coarse abrasive. Its scale is the same as that of A and B, between three-fourths and four-fifths that of the Sounion statue (see table of measurements). When the fragment is placed in approximately the correct position with relation to B, the alignment of the color banding in the marble appears to confirm the attribution.

The simple massive forms of the knee recall those of the Sounion statue (Pl. 83, f). The bulge of the vasti muscles over the kneecap is what Miss Richter calls "quasi-symmetrical."⁹ As in the Sounion statue the profile view shows a distinct bulging overhang of the vasti over the kneecap in the center; this is much less apparent in the New York kouros (Pl. 83, a, e). Above the bulges are curved depressions, less definite in outline than those of the New York kouros, but deeper than those of the Sounion statue (Pl. 83, f). The sharp division between the vasti was doubtless continued upward in a forked groove as in the two Sounion kouroi.¹⁰ Below the vasti are great flat facets cut back to either side of the kneecap. That toward the inside is flatter and intersects the adjacent planes more abruptly than does that on the outside. The patella tapers more from top to bottom than on the Sounion statue, less than on the kouros in New York. The back of the leg is rounded and perfectly plain. On the outside of the leg are three grooves, precisely as in the Sounion kouroi: a long one near the back that runs the length of the thigh, a shorter one that continues upward the angle between knee and vastus externus and a still shorter one between the two. The New York kouros has only the long groove.

The shoulder fragment, D, the last to be found, is identical in surface color and

⁸ Such grooves must have been first cut with the chisel and then smoothed with abrasive. The role of the flat chisel in these kouroi has generally been underrated.

⁹ *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, p. 33.

¹⁰ *Antike Denkmäler*, IV, pls. 47, 55. *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, p. 47, fig. 33.

weathering with A and B, and since its provenance is the same as that of B 2 there can be no doubt that it belongs. It shows the upper part of the hindmost of the three grooves which mark the divisions of the deltoid muscle in all the Attic kouroi of the Sounion group. The fragment preserves little in the way of fixed points useful for determining the scale of the figure to which it belonged. It should be noted, however, that no trace of the hair is preserved on the fragment and that a minimum of 0.058 m. intervenes between the end of the groove and the break on the right-hand side. On the Sounion statue the groove runs right up to the edge of the hair. On the New York kouros it ends only a little short of the hair. In proportion to the size of the statue there seems to be more of the shoulder uncovered by the hair on our kouros than on the New York and Sounion kouroi.

Taken together these six fragments represent an Attic kouros of the first quality, whose hand and forearm show the same conventions as those of the New York and Dipylon kouroi, while the leg and torso have the same details of modelling as the kouroi from Sounion. In size it stands between the New York and Sounion kouroi and is probably the same as the one from the Dipylon. The following table compares the measurements of the Agora fragments with those of the Dipylon and Sounion kouroi in so far as comparable parts are preserved.¹¹

	DIMENSIONS				PROPORTIONS		
	A (Agora)	D (Dipylon)	SS (Sounion Statue)	ST (Sounion Torso)	A/SS	D/SS	A/ST
<i>Hand</i>							
Width of wrist at narrowest point	0.084 m.	0.083 m.	0.105		0.80	0.79	
Width across last two fingers	0.045 m.	0.045 m.	0.06 m.		0.75	0.75	
Length of two joints of little finger against thigh	0.065 m.	0.07 m.	0.09 m.		0.72	0.78	
Length from high point of wrist-bone to first knuckle	0.095 m.	0.10 m.	restored wrist-bone				
Projection of first knuckle from plane of thigh	0.065 m.	0.065 m.	0.10 m.		0.65	0.65	
<i>Torso</i>							
Width of left half of back at hip-girdle	0.166 m.		0.21 m.	0.205 m.	0.79		0.81

¹¹ Not all parts of both Sounion kouroi are at present accessible for measuring. The torso is lying on its back; the statue is standing but surrounded by a wooden framework.

	DIMENSIONS				PROPORTIONS		
	A (Agora)	D (Dipylon)	SS (Sounion Statue)	ST (Sounion Torso)	A/SS	D/SS	A/ST
Width across left buttock at point of greatest projection	0.18 m.		0.23 m.	0.215 m.	0.78		0.84
Length from below hip-girdle to center of incurve below buttocks	0.28 m.		0.32 m.	0.355 m.	0.875		0.79
<i>Knee</i>							
Depth at top of kneecap	0.195 m.		0.242 m.		0.84		
Width at top of kneecap	0.17 m.		0.227 m.		0.75		

So far I have spoken of the fragments as representing a separate statue, the Agora kouros. As one examines them more and more closely, however, becoming aware of all the details of color and texture, the feeling grows that we have to consider whether or not these battered remnants are actually parts of the Dipylon kouros. From the point of view of provenience it seems eminently possible. A similar degree of weathering on the Dipylon head and hand and on fragments A and B argues that they stood above ground for about the same length of time.¹² The assumption that the head, which was found in 1916 in the north tower of the Dipylon,¹³ was earlier used in the Themistoklean Wall¹⁴ still seems the most reasonable. Among the many sepulchral marbles recovered from modern houses in the Agora one at least, a part of an archaic grave stele with the relief carefully chopped away, looks very much as if it had come from the Themistoklean Wall.¹⁵ It would not be out of the way, then, to assume a similar history for our kouros fragments.

In marble and technique the Agora pieces and the Dipylon head are strikingly

¹² Actually the Agora fragments show in places a little more weathering due to having been out-of-doors in modern times, but the surface is everywhere well enough preserved to show the ancient tool-marks.

¹³ *Arch. Anz.*, 1916, col. 161.

¹⁴ Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, p. 209. Miss Richter suggests (*Met. Mus. Studies*, V, p. 46, n. 74), probably on the analogy of the "Brother-and-Sister Stele" (*Archaic Attic Gravestones*, p. 72), that the Dipylon and New York kouros were broken up before the time of the Persian Wars in some of the feuds between the great families of Attica. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the weathering received in Athens in a little more than a hundred years would not be very great. For the difference between Athens and Sounion in this respect compare the present condition of the Parthenon and Propylaea with that of the temple at Sounion. The condition of the Dipylon fragments does seem to imply that they were built into *something* as soon as they were broken up and were not knocked around above ground for any great length of time. The Agora pieces, which have had a more varied career, have lost more of their edges.

¹⁵ Inv. S 1736.

alike. The marble has the same degree of coarseness and the same parallel gray streaks, some of which appear wide and blurry while others show as thin dotted lines of dark flecks, sloping only a little back from the vertical axis of the statue.¹⁶ The worked surfaces (on all but C) exhibit the same yellow-gray patina. (Similar brownish stains on the head and on A and B and similar scratches on our fragments and the Dipylon head probably go back to their use in walls and so would not be relevant to the original association of the pieces). More important is the texture of the sculptured surfaces, which is the same on all, a beautiful rough-silky finish that was obtained by careful working-over with rather coarse emery. Esthetically this is one of the most satisfying of all the kinds of surface produced by ancient sculptors. The fine parallel striations of the abrasive make clear to the eye the direction of the modelling of each form and transmit to the passive viewer something of the active pleasure of the craftsman at his work. One can see the symmetrical patterns of these striations in the view of the back (Pl. 84, c).

Since these similarities of marble and technique are obvious, it remains only to inquire how conclusive they are for linking all the pieces in a single statue. Are they duplicated in any other existing Attic kouros of the Sounion group? Even this question cannot be answered absolutely, since the kouroi from Sounion are so much weathered that the original working of the surface is visible in only a few small areas and so stained from the red earth in which they have lain that no color-banding can be seen. Some relatively fresh breaks on the torso and on the associated fragments of arms and legs show a basically white color and a grain-size like that of our fragments. Hence the marble may have been the same. The New York kouros and the little kouros from the Kerameikos,¹⁷ on the other hand, are made of a very large-grained marble in which the crystals present wide, flat surfaces to the eye. According to the Wentworth scale proposed by Herz and Pritchett,¹⁸ the marble of the Sounion, Dipylon and Agora pieces would be described as coarse—very coarse, that of New York and Kerameikos as very coarse—granular. It has been suggested that the marble for these earliest kouroi came from Naxos,¹⁹ and both these grain-sizes can be matched in hand-samples from the ancient quarries at Apollona.²⁰ The two kouroi made of the coarser

¹⁶ This color banding invariably disappears in black-and-white photographs. The variations in color that can be seen in photographs of the Dipylon head are due to the staining of the surface. Wide, blurry gray bands are typical of Naxian marble in general, but their combination with thin streaks of black flecks seems uncommon enough to be significant. The approximately vertical direction of the banding is to be expected and recurs in other statues.

¹⁷ See above, note 2, e.

¹⁸ *A.J.A.*, LVII, 1953, p. 78.

¹⁹ Richter, *Kouroi*, p. 13.

²⁰ For comparison I have used samples collected by Norman Herz and Virginia R. Grace. It is admittedly difficult to distinguish Naxian marble from some varieties of Parian (cf. Lepsius, *Marmorstudien*, p. 43) but the fact that all the varieties of color and grain-size found in these earliest Attic kouroi can be matched in Naxian marble and that we know the Naxian quarries were extensively used in archaic times makes this the most probable source. The statue of the Naxian Nikandre from Delos (Athens, N.M.1, *B.C.H.*, III, 1879, pl. I) is made of the very coarse—

marble do not show the even-grained finish of our pieces and the Dipylon head and hand. On the Kerameikos statue the surface is almost slick but with occasional deep scratchy striations. The finish of the New York kouros seems to be between the Dipylon-Agora and the Kerameikos varieties.²¹ The other accredited member of the Sounion group, the Kalligas hand,²² seems closest to the New York kouros, but is of smaller-grained marble. So much variety in so small a group would seem to strengthen the case for associating pieces made of precisely similar stone and worked in the same way. This is about as far as we can go in the questions of marble and technique.

For scale the most tangible point of discussion is the comparison of the two hands, which show some measurements identical, others differing by as much as five millimeters but not more. One has merely to decide how different the two hands of one kouros can be, and for that we have hardly enough evidence to be conclusive.²³

For style as for scale the hand forms the closest link with the Dipylon kouros. There is no stylistic difference between the two in so far as the Agora hand is preserved. The less careful finish of the fingers, like the slight differences in some dimensions, is something that might very well happen without deliberate intention on the part of the sculptor. Yet if the hand had not been preserved the torso would almost certainly have been regarded by most as later than the Dipylon kouros. By their indubitable association the hand and torso bring together precisely those elements that the orthodox chronology prefers to separate. With one possible exception²⁴ all

granular marble, as are most of the early Kouroi in Delos. Perhaps the finer-grained stone represented a very limited vein that was soon exhausted.

²¹ The quality of the finish on the New York kouros and also the large size of the crystals, which may in part have caused this less uniform finish, can be seen in the details in the text to Brunn-Bruckmann, pls. 751-755, figs. 2, 16 and 17.

²² See above, note 2, f. The hand is of island marble, not of Pentelic as stated by Politis. The original color and the quality of the finish have been somewhat obscured by much handling. In general the surface is smooth, and the grooves between the fingers do not show point-marks.

²³ Measurements of the two hands of the New York kouros, kindly furnished by Miss Christine Alexander, show more variation in the horizontal dimensions but less in the vertical than do the two hands in question:

	Left	Right
Width of wrist at narrowest point	0.073 m.	0.077 m.
Width across last two fingers	0.038 m.	0.0335 m.
Length of two joints of little finger against thigh	0.078 m.	0.076 m.
Distance from high-point of wrist-bone to first knuckle of little finger	0.081 m.	0.0785 m.
Projection of first knuckle from plane of thigh	0.084 m.	0.092 m.

Later, more casual kouroi vary still more. On the Melos kouros the distance from wrist-bone to first knuckle of little finger is 0.087 m. on the left hand and 0.102 m. on the right.

²⁴ Beazley in Beazley and Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting*, Cambridge, 1932, p. 20, speaks of the Sounion statue as "the first masterpiece of Attic sculpture" and places the New York kouros next. He does not place the Dipylon kouros with respect to these, perhaps because it is not a complete statue.

those who have committed themselves on the relative dates of these kouroi have agreed in making the Dipylon head earlier than any of the others, and the majority of these have placed the Sounion torso near the end of the list. But of all the kouroi that preserve comparable portions it is the Sounion torso that shows the closest affinity to our fragment B. Though both the kouroi from Sounion have the same patterns of grooves and ridges, in the torso as in B the artist shows a preference for supple curves and rounded surfaces, in contrast to the square bulk of the statue. The proportions of our piece seem to have been somewhere between those of the two Sounion kouroi. The height of the first rib above the hip-girdle is no greater in proportion to the width of the back than on the statue. This may mean that the trunk was not so attenuated as that of the Sounion torso. The height of the buttocks in proportion to the width of the back is more than in the statue and less than in the torso. These relationships do not really fit into any of the genealogies that have been drawn up for the Dipylon kouros and his family. The following table gives some idea of current opinions on that subject. Grouping under one number indicates contemporaneity, a higher number a later date.

Richter ²⁵	Buschor ²⁶	Rodenwaldt ²⁷	Budde ²⁸	Homann-Wedeking ²⁹	Matz ³⁰
1. Dipylon	1. Dipylon	1. Dipylon	1. Dipylon	1. Dipylon	1. Dipylon, not before 620
2. New York, same workshop or artist	2. New York, "might even be called" a later work of the same master	2. New York and Sounion kouroi, different masters using Dipylon as model	2. New York and Sounion kouroi, different masters, the Sounion torso by the most progressive master, the Sounion statue by the most old-fashioned	2. New York same master, contemporary with Kleobis and Biton	2. New York, same master as Dipylon. Sounion statue by a different master. Around 610.
3. Sounion kouroi, same workshop or artist	3. Sounion statue, last of "early archaic"			3. Sounion torso, by a pupil of the Dipylon Master	
4. Kerameikos	4. Sounion torso, close to statue but counted as first of "high archaic"			4. Sounion statue, by a younger pupil of the Dipylon master with Argive training	3. Sounion torso, after 600
	5. Kerameikos, contemporary with Kleobis and Biton				

²⁵ *Kouroi*, pp. 47-48.

²⁶ *Frühgriechische Jünglinge*, pp. 14-26, 49-55.

In most of the above chronologies the New York kouros comes between the Dipylon and Sounion kouros, and in some the Sounion statue is placed earlier than the torso, so that two stages intervene between the torso and the Dipylon head. It may be worthwhile to reexamine briefly the bases for these assumptions which our new evidence appears to contradict.

In Miss Richter's scheme, on which all the others are to some extent based, the New York kouros is taken as the middle member in a series of advancing naturalism. In the New York kouros the shape of the skull and the treatment of the ribbons around hair and neck are regarded as more naturalistic than those of the Dipylon head. On the other hand, the Sounion kouros have details of anatomy that are lacking in the New York kouros and present a more naturalistic rendering of the hair, hence are thought to be a stage more advanced still. Finally the proportions of the New York kouros with its abnormally large head are called earlier than those of the Sounion statue, in which the relation of head to whole height is approximately one to seven.³¹

These arguments seem to have been generally accepted by other scholars. Clearly the placing of the New York kouros a little later than the Dipylon has agreed with people's intuitive feelings. The Sounion statue, on the other hand, has always been disturbing in this respect. There is something in its cubical solidity, its relative lack of sophistication and above all its sheer bulk that makes it feel early even when one has been convinced by arguments that it is late. This uneasiness is dispelled in various ways; the statue is called manneristic,³² old-fashioned,³³ provincial³⁴ or Argive-influenced.³⁵ Of all the members of the group this is the one about which there is the least unanimity of opinion. Even the estimates of its quality vary drastically.

No one of the arguments for a later date is conclusive in itself. The proportion of the head to the body seems to vary not only according to the date but according to the size of the statue. Thus the little kouros from the Kerameikos, which is placed later than the others by all who discuss it, has the same abnormally large head as the New

²⁷ *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, cols. 354-355.

²⁸ *Die attischen Kuroi*, pp. 34-37.

²⁹ *Die Anfänge der griechischen Grossplastik*, pp. 75-82.

³⁰ *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, I, pp. 185-194.

³¹ Ratios of head to whole height: New York kouros 1:6.25, Sounion statue as at present restored 1:6.90.

³² Pfeiff, *Apollon*, p. 153, n. 153; Homann-Wedeking, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

³³ Budde, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

³⁴ Langlotz, in Schrader and Langlotz, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke von der Akropolis*, Frankfurt am Main, 1939, p. 38. "Ahnlich schwierig ist die Datierung des besser erhaltenen aber recht provinziellen Apollon aus Sunion, der auch noch als dem 7. Jh. verbunden anmutet, aber sicher solonisch ist, auch wenn es bis jetzt nicht gelungen ist, seinen Kopf mit einem dieser Zeit in Parallele zu bringen."

³⁵ Homann-Wedeking, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

York kouros,³⁶ while the colossus in Thasos has a small head even by classical proportions.³⁷ Buschor apparently does not consider the large head a necessity for the earliest kouroi, since he suggests that the Dipylon kouros was probably over two and a half meters tall,³⁸ i. e. that the height of the head was included about seven times in the height of the whole.

The presence or absence of details of modelling is equally unsatisfactory as a time-scale. Thus the Dipylon head has sharp grooves marking the back of the sternomastoids below the ears (Pl. 84, a). These are barely suggested in the Sounion statue and omitted altogether in the New York kouros. It is clear that, eager as these artists were to learn new details of anatomy, they were selective in the use of their knowledge and expressed details only where they would enhance the effectiveness of the whole. It is doubtless because of this, not because the conventions were unknown, that the smaller New York and Kerameikos kouroi omit the indications of ribs and erector spinae muscles that were used in the Sounion colossi and in the Agora fragments.³⁹ The same might apply to the rendering of the muscles in the thighs, where the great simple surfaces would have seemed dull and heavy without this added articulation.

The relative naturalism of the treatment of the hair is perhaps the trickiest of all the criteria. Unlike bones and muscles, hair has no essential universal plastic form that can be sought out and expressed by the sculptor. On the other hand, it offers a splendid variety of accidental impressions that suggest ornamental patterns capable of being elaborated for their own sake. Like its oriental prototypes, archaic Greek patternization of long hair regularly recognizes two elements, the vertical strands and the horizontal waves. Either may predominate over the other, but the richest patterns take account of both. Greek artists became aware very early of the great number of decorative possibilities offered by this simple framework, and it was a long time before they tired of any of them. Thus, of the formulae that are used in the kouroi of the Sounion group it is only the most "naturalistic," that of the Sounion torso, that does not reappear in much later kouroi.⁴⁰ In all the members of the group the vertical strand

³⁶ The legs of the Kerameikos kouros are not preserved but the head is larger in proportion to the height of the torso than that of the New York kouros. New York kouros: head height 0.308 m., distance from sternal notch to navel 0.31 m., ratio 1 : 1.305. Kerameikos kouros: head height 0.26 m., distance from sternal notch to navel 0.31 m., ratio 1 : 1.19. While the head of the Kerameikos kouros is about life size, the body is a little under. Like the heads of human beings, those of statues tend to stay closer to the norm than the bodies.

³⁷ Included a little more than seven times in the total height of the figure, Picard, *B.C.H.*, LXV, 1921, p. 125.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 16. Politis, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1937, p. 748, stretches it even further, to 2.67 m. The Dipylon head is 0.367 m. high (Richter, *Kouroi*, p. 74, n. 68).

³⁹ In the Kerameikos kouros the horizontal divisions of the rectus abdominis are retained, but pushed together into a pattern appropriate to the small space.

⁴⁰ The sharp clarity of beading seems to have appealed to Attic artists. The rendering by ridges and grooves had an especially long life in East Greece (cf. the beautiful kouros head in Istanbul, *Kouroi*, no. 111).

is the predominant division and is redivided horizontally into smaller elements: beads in the Dipylon and New York kouroi, horizontal ridges and grooves in the Sounion statue and the Kerameikos kouros and diagonal ridges and grooves in the Sounion torso. In the New York kouros and the Sounion statue these smaller divisions are aligned as in a grid. In the Dipylon and Kerameikos kouroi they are offset, emphasizing the predominance of the vertical division. The alternating slope of the ridges of the Sounion torso gives the effect of corkscrew curls.⁴¹

The pattern of the knotted hair-ribbon in back had to be superimposed on the ground-pattern of the hair without either impairing its effectiveness or being overshadowed by it. In each of the statues that preserves this part the problem is differently solved. Miss Richter sees in these different solutions varying degrees of naturalism according to how far the loose ends of the ribbon follow the encircling band before they turn down. Here again the measurable criteria do not accord with the subjective impression. Though the ends "turn down even sooner" on the Sounion statue than on the New York kouros, it is impossible to feel any increase of naturalism in the absolutely rectilinear, sharp-angled ribbon that follows the straight course of the lock all the way down. It is clear that the question of pattern is uppermost in the minds of all these sculptors and that the position of the ribbon was determined by the treatment of the hair underneath.⁴² The ribbed cylindrical locks of the Sounion statue were harder to cut across with a curved line than the round beads of the Dipylon and New York coiffures.⁴³ Of the two latter, the sculptor of the Dipylon head is more occupied with the beads *per se*, preferring to vary their size in order to fit them into the proper space rather than to cut across them. His love of decorative details for their own sake amounts almost to personification; the curved ribbon-tails are tense as if they were alive, insubordinate to the law of gravity. In the New York kouros the sculptor has become interested in the problem of cutting across the beads. It is easy to see in these two works successive attacks on a single problem;⁴⁴ the Sounion statue with its different base-pattern is not really comparable.

Probably the most convincing of Miss Richter's arguments for the series Dipylon—New York—Sounion are those concerning the outline of the skull in profile and whether or not the ribbon makes an impression on the hair, but even these may be

⁴¹ These three arrangements: horizontal, horizontal-offset, and diagonal are all common in Egyptian and Near Eastern sculpture and are used side by side for the sake of variety.

⁴² So far as I know, these bent-tailed ribbons are an Attic peculiarity. The kouroi from Thera, which certainly have many earlier features than the Attic, whatever may be their actual date (cf. Kontoleon, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1941, pp. 8-12), have ribbons that fall naturally, and the same is true of the Thasos Kriophoros.

⁴³ The sculptor of the Kerameikos kouros attempts it, with not very happy results.

⁴⁴ In the Dipylon head the extra-large whole beads between the two ribbons in front probably represent the forehead curls that are normal in this position. This assimilation of the forehead hair to the rest is carried further in the New York kouros, where the truncated second row of beads appearing below the ribbon links the forehead beads with the long strands.

questioned to some extent. Undeniably the skull of the New York kouros is more arched in profile than that of the Dipylon kouros and the same might be said to some degree of the Sounion statue, though it is certainly flatter on top than the one in New York. On the other hand, the skull of the Dipylon head shows a fine high curve in the front view, while that of the Sounion statue with its broad horizontal band of curls cutting across the forehead shows an almost Daedalic flatness from the front. Once more, decorative and compositional considerations complicate the picture and we can not set up a simple scale of increasing naturalism. In the profile view of the Dipylon head, though the artist did not show any impression made on the hair by the fillet that encircles the head, the subtle curve of the heavy mass bulging over the lower ribbon attests to a fine awareness of the volume and compressibility of hair.

What seems to emerge from this examination is that while there is something to be said for making the New York kouros follow on the heels of the Dipylon kouros, none of these arguments really holds for making the Sounion statue later than either of them. Arguments of an equally inconclusive nature might be advanced for making it earlier than both. The huge eyes with strongly curved upper lids and almost straight lower lids recall those of people on seventh-century Attic and Cycladic pots.⁴⁵ The ears are larger and more prominent than in the other Attic kouroi. The neck is not a real column, but a set of juxtaposed triangles transitional from the shoulders to the face.

The composition of the face still seems under the influence of the Daedalic scheme, and even the waves at the temples below the fillet may be found in the Late Daedalic statue from Eleutherna in Crete.⁴⁶ I say "inconclusive" because any one of these points may likewise be paralleled in later works. They are worth mentioning, however, because they form a part of the general impression which is variously translated as "old-fashioned," "provincial" or "Argive," and which might equally well be rendered as "early."

The difficulty we have in deciding what is earlier and what is later results partly, of course, from our lack of knowledge of the antecedents of these Attic kouroi: from whom their sculptors learned and what they used as models.⁴⁷ But is not part of the

⁴⁵ Comparisons of vase-paintings and sculpture are difficult to use, being even more subjective than most of our criteria. Thus the face on a fragment of a late Proto-Attic amphora in the Agora (Inv. P 17393, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. 46, 3) which strikes me as a good parallel for the face of the Sounion statue is compared by Diepolder (*Festschrift für Carl Weickert*, p. 118) to the New York kouros, while the head of a woman on an amphora in Munich (*C.V.A.*, Munich, I pls. 1-2), which has the slanting ear, the ribboned neck and the elegant lines of the Dipylon head seems to him to show the cubical solidity of the Sounion statue.

⁴⁶ Jenkins, *Dedolica*, pl. VIII, 1a.

⁴⁷ The idea that monumental stone sculpture began in East Greece and the Cyclades (Richter, *Kouroi*, pp. 44-46; Homann-Wedeking, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-98) has much to recommend it. Since the marble for the early Attic kouroi was imported from the Cyclades, it is hard not to imagine that some craftsmen were imported too in the beginning. Surely it would be cheaper and safer for the

trouble simply that all the statues in question are so close to one another that almost any of the differences we find between them could be due to the conscious desire of the sculptor for variety rather than to a differing stage of development? In any case, the bases of the accepted chronology are clearly too uncertain to prove that the maker of the Dipylon kouros could not have known and used the anatomical conventions that the Agora fragments share with the Sounion kouroi. Whether or not our pieces turn out to belong to the Dipylon kouros itself, they demonstrate one thing beyond dispute. There stood in the cemetery of Athens an elegant kouros, at once strong in design and subtle in execution, of the size of the Dipylon statue and made in the Dipylon master's shop out of the same kind of marble, which was at the same time blood-brother to the colossi from Sounion.

Thus the fine lines that we have tried to draw, between city and country, between shop and shop, master and master, decade and decade, are suddenly washed out and we are back where probably we should have been content to stay, with a single group of remarkably similar and at the same time remarkably inventive works, no one of which can be separated very far from the others.⁴⁸ Since in each new work the sculptor experimented with fundamental proportions as well as with details, any attempt to reconstruct our kouros on the basis of existing statues could be sure only of being wrong. We are probably safe in deducing that our kouros had slenderer proportions than the Sounion statue; the longer line of the buttocks, the fact that the width of the thigh is less in proportion to its depth, and the less chunky proportions of the hand suggest this. On the other hand, it was probably not so elongated as the Sounion torso nor so tall as Buschor's hypothetical two-and-a-half-meter Dipylon statue. The head cannot have differed much in size from the Dipylon head.

The extraordinary beauty of the Dipylon head has given it a special place in the minds of lovers of archaic sculpture. Having no body, it has acquired a sort of demonic soul that persists even after the finding of its hand has proved it human. It draws to itself all superlatives, and we feel that as it is first in quality so should it

Eupatrid who commissioned the first Attic kouros to order an experienced sculptor along with his block of marble, to pass on its suitability and supervise its preliminary trimming in the quarry before accompanying it to the place where it was to be finished and set up. Since the kouroi of the Sounion group already show a formulated local style that is different from anything we find in the Cyclades, one is tempted to suppose that the earliest kouroi from Attica have yet to be found.

⁴⁸ Our knowledge of the organization and workings of an Athenian sculptor's workshop in this early period is so nearly non-existent that the terms "shop" and "master" have less meaning than one might suppose. We tend to think that we are sticking our necks out less by assuming several different sculptors for a group of statues than by assigning them all to one, but it is difficult to see how very many sculptors could have supported themselves in Attica in this early period, however wealthy the Eupatrids may have been. I am inclined to go one step farther than Miss Richter and to group the Kerameikos kouros with the others. It does seem a little later than the rest—the raised planes for the shoulder-blades especially suggest this—but its marble and surface connect it with the New York kouros, its ears, neck and hair with the Sounion statue.

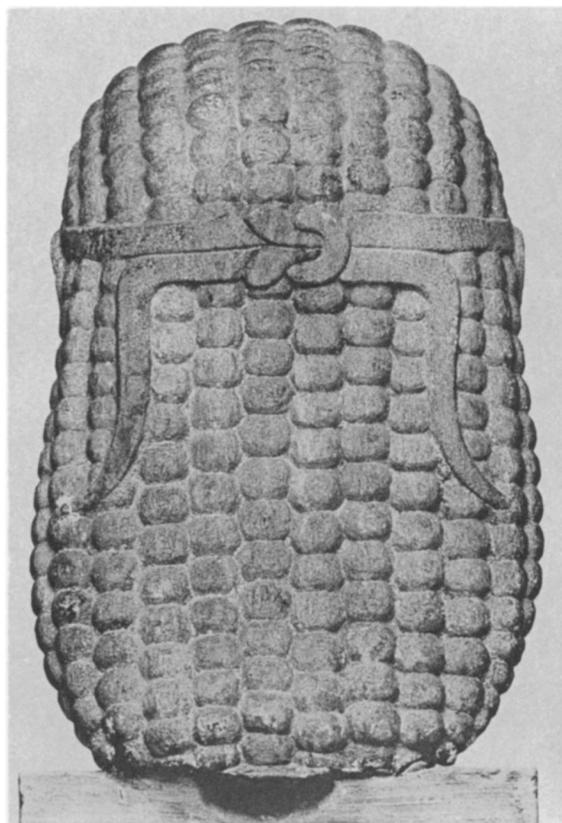
also be first in time. To attribute to it equals or even contemporaries seems a sort of impiety, much more so to suggest that a disjointed assemblage of battered chunks of anatomy may actually belong to it. Perhaps we ought to stop and remember that to the ancient Greek a broken head, however fine, was scarcely more precious than any other broken part. The whole was what counted, and a statue in pieces was no longer sculpture but building-stone. If we do not want to be stuck half-way on the road to understanding ancient sculpture, we must forego some of the romantic pleasure that we find so easily in beautiful fragments and persist in the sterner endeavor to comprehend the whole. Whether we can ever succeed is another question, but until we are ready to give up the attempt we cannot honestly reject any scrap that tells us more than we knew before about what we are trying to understand. Whether or not they belong to it, the Agora fragments are in many ways closer to the Dipylon kouros than anything that we have known hitherto. Like it they are the product of a hand that never drew an awkward line or left a surface without meaning, and even in so small a compass it is a pleasure to see that hand at work.

EVELYN B. HARRISON

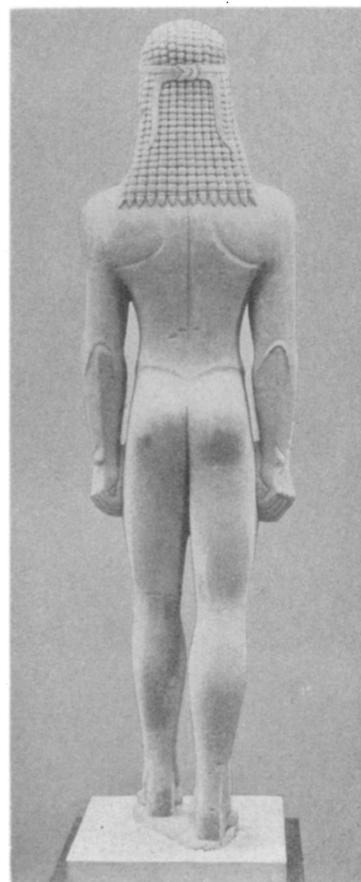
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a. Fragments of Kouros A - D



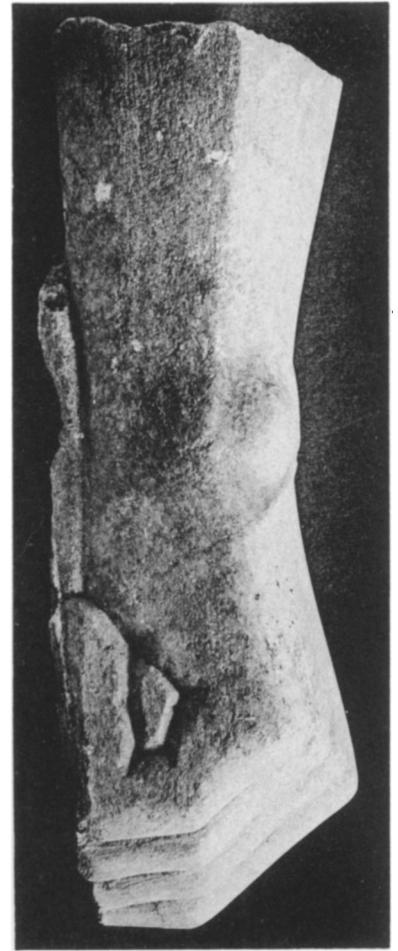
b. Head from the Dipylon (back).
Athens, National Museum



c. New York Kouros (back)



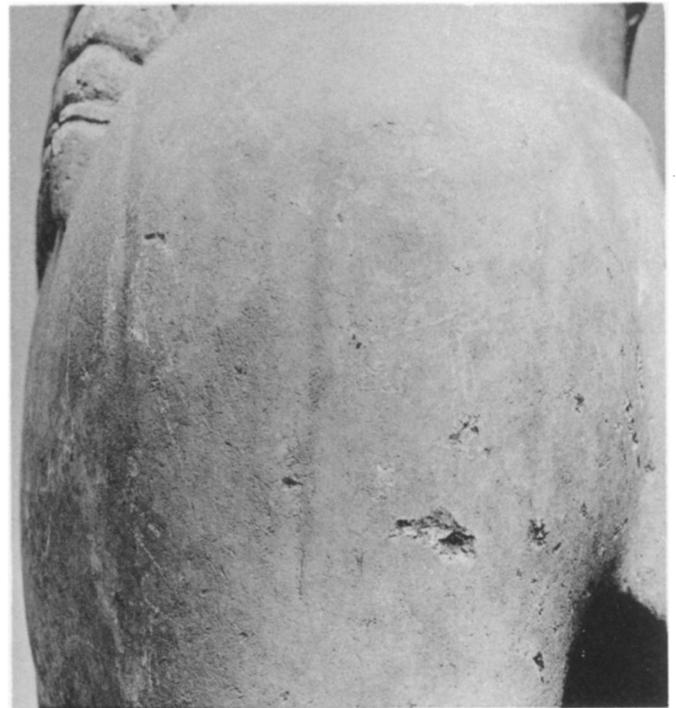
a - b. Left Hand A



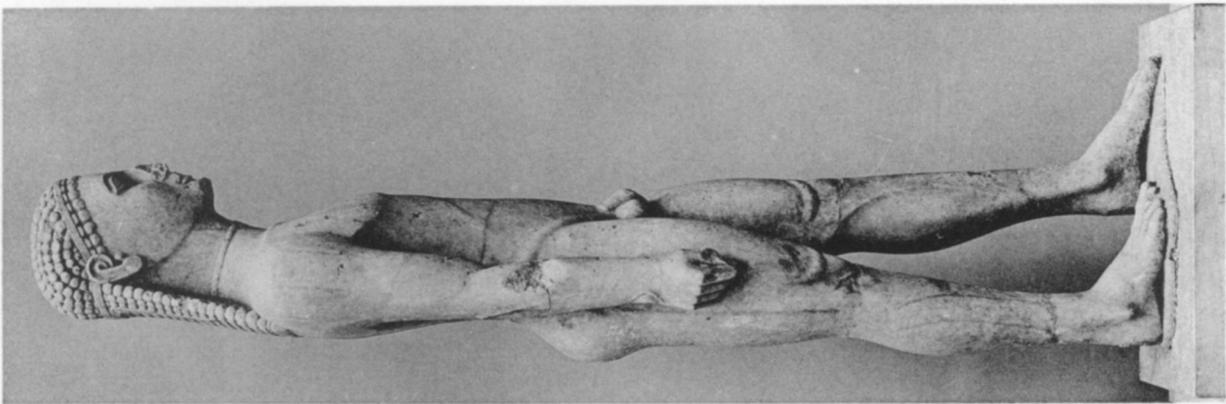
c. Hand from the Dipylon.
Athens, National Museum



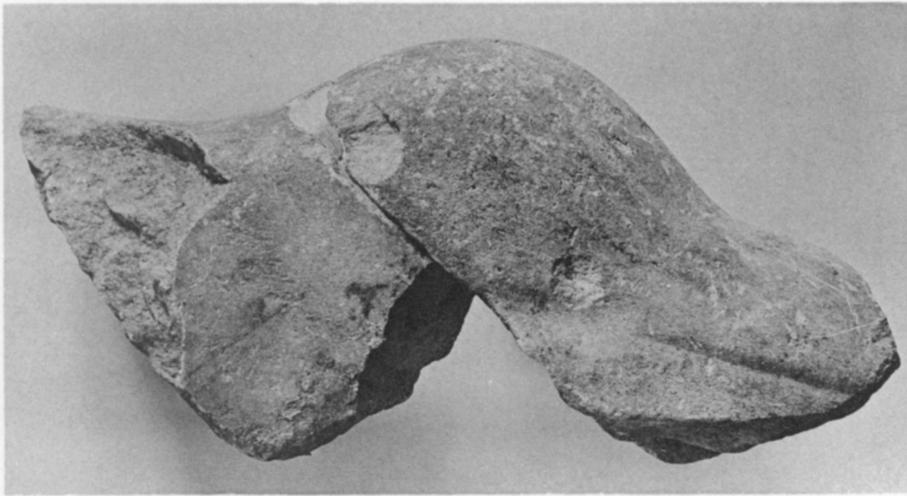
d. Right Shoulder D



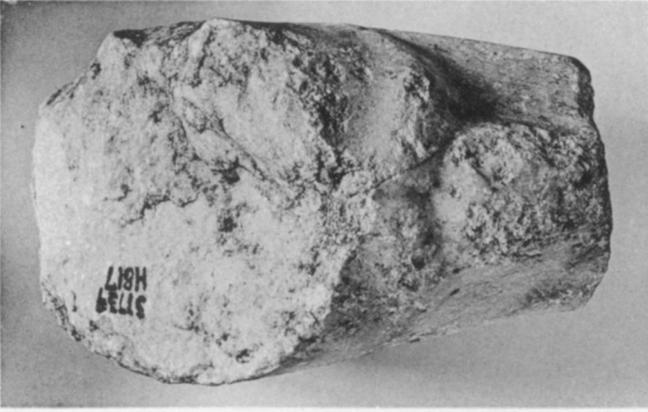
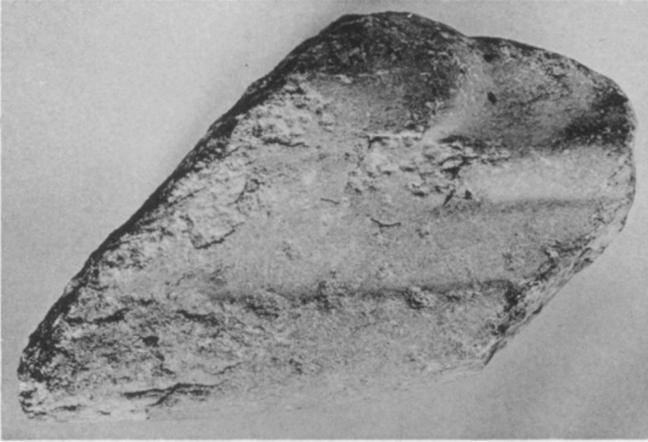
e. Right Shoulder of New York Kouros
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



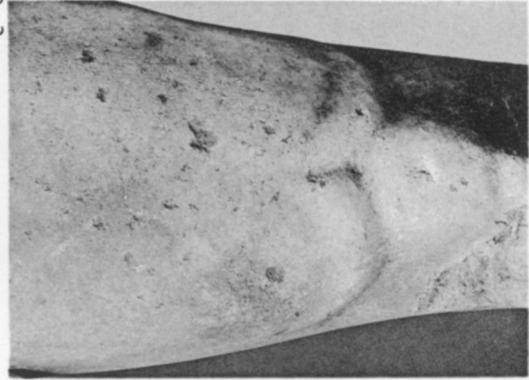
a. New York Kouros (side)
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



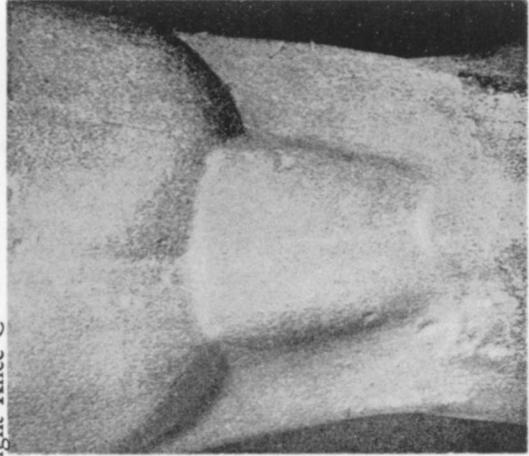
b. Left Hip and Back B (side)



c - d. Right Knee C



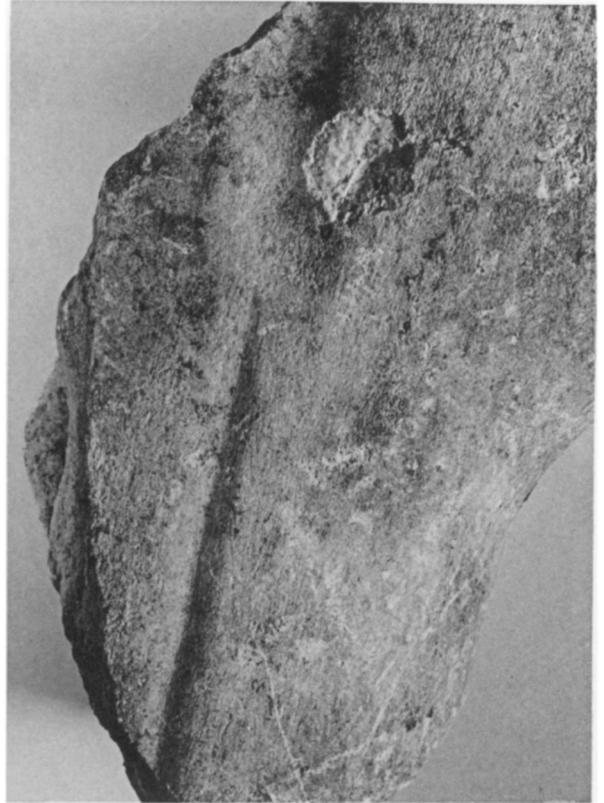
e. Knee of New York Kouros
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



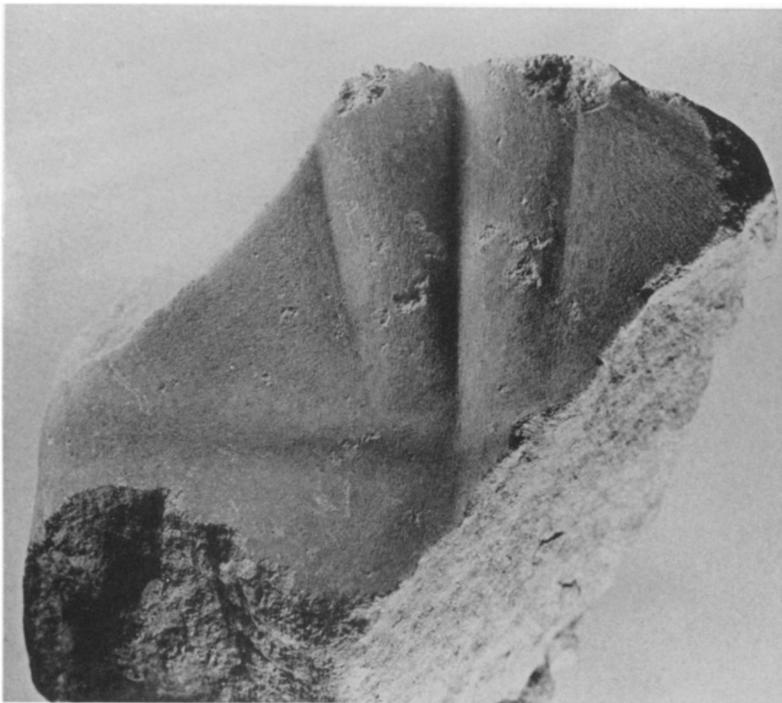
f. Knee of Sounion Statue.
Athens, National Museum



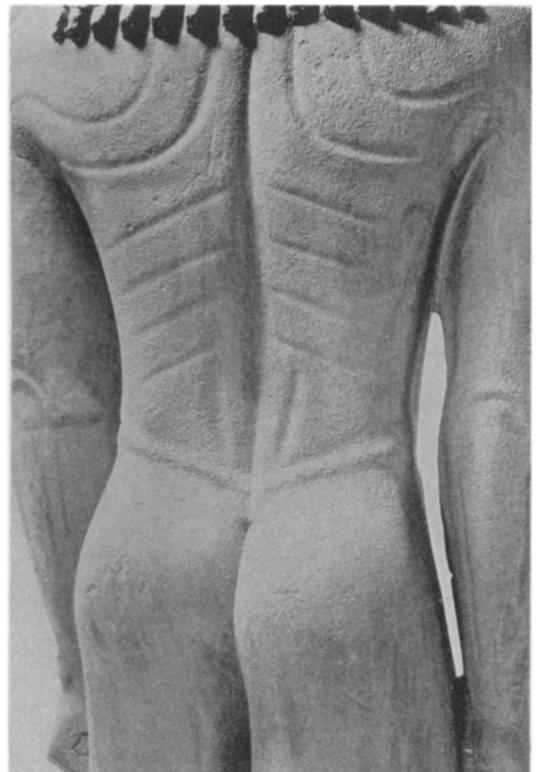
a. Detail of Dipylon Head



b. Detail of Left Hip B



c. Detail of Back B



d. Detail of Sounion Statue