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Survival and Rebirth: Archaistic elements in the Greek art of the Classical period

Přežití a znovuzrození: Archaizující prvky v řeckém umění klasického období

Kristýna Flanderková

Abstract

This paper aims to present an overview of archaistic elements in ancient Greece in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. The first part provides a background for their emergence in the second half of the fifth century and summarises the possible reasons why it might have happened. Its primary focus lies in presenting examples from sculpture, vase painting and toreutics and in connecting the archaistic traits which appear on them. The particular elements are described and placed in time. In the final chapter, we draw a conclusion.

Key words

Archaistic style, Classical Greece, sculpture, vase painting, toreutics, archaistic art

Abstrakt

Tento článek předkládá stručné shrnutí archaizujících elementů, které můžeme najít v pátém a čtvrtém století př. n. l. v antickém Řecku. V první části se věnuje nastínění možných důvodů, proč k použití archaizujících prvků v druhé polovině pátého století mohlo dojít, v hlavní části pak sleduje uplatnění jednotlivých archaizujících znaků na vybraném materiálu ze sochařství, toreutiky a vázového malířství. Poté identifikované rysy rozebírá a komentuje jejich proměny v čase. Na závěr shrnuje vypozorovaná zjištění.

Klíčová slova

archaizující styl, klasické Řecko, sochařství, vázové malířství, toreutika, archaizující umění

1. Introduction

This paper draws from a bachelor thesis written by this author[1] (*Flanderková 2021*: Survival and Rebirth: From the Archaic to the Archaistic Style in the Arts of the Classical Period). In the past few decades, rising attention has been paid to simple and abstract patterns of the Archaistic style. It was studied and discussed from every possible angle, starting from its origin, further through its application on different kinds of material, and ending with its evolution in the Hellenistic period and Roman times. Nevertheless, various aspects and issues related to this artistic style still remain unclear and disputed.

The style itself derives from the concept of Archaism, a key element for us to start with. Because in its nature, the Archaistic style is a retro-style, originating from the stylistic features of the Archaic period and blending them with the contemporary ones of Classical Greece and later on. And these, we could say, "old" elements, transferring from earlier times to later ones, are called Archaisms.

This basic definition aside, there is not a complete one on what exactly is the Archaistic style. For example, how many archaistic features must be found on an artefact in order to mark it as archaistic? Is a type of haircut enough, or must there be also other features? In order to differentiate between certain degrees of the usage of Archaism, many supplementary concepts besides the "archaising" term were created regarding this issue in the past, however, there were not accepted by all scholars. This issue is closely related to another one, which concerns the time of origin of the style. The history of its research can be summarised into three categories (*Fullerton 1990*, 1–3). The first one assumes no pause between the Archaic period and the supposed origin of the Archaistic style but a continuation of the archaic elements (*Hauser 1889*; *Bulle 1919*; *Ridgway 1977*). The second one follows the idea of an interruption and places the origin later, in the late fifth or at the start of the fourth century (*Schmidt 1922*; *Harrison 1965*). Finally, the third group of scholars sets the emergence of the style even further in the third century or later (*Becatti 1940*; *Mitchell 1965*; *Zagdoun 1989*).

As foreshadowed above, this topic is a matter of discussion for a long time now, and our understanding concerning it is still moving forward. This short article, which, as already mentioned, draws from a bachelor thesis, cannot hope to ecompass the whole complexity of the topic as it has its limitations. Therefore for further information on it, the bibliographical references should suffice. For our purposes, we will stick to only the "archaistic" concept, which will encompass all that might carry archaistic traits. The second delimitation will be the time span investigated here, which will be the Classical period. From the end of the Archaic, we will present examples from this time, considering the sculpture, vase painting and toreutics.

2. The socio-political roots of Archaism

Before we present the possible causes for the emergence of the Archaistic style in the fifth century BC, we must stop for a moment and look closely at the Archaism appearing in this period. Firstly, there are works from the first half of the fifth century that bear the archaistic traits, which are often considered as still belonging to the Archaic and Severe styles. Moreover, secondly, besides new creations which emerge in the second half of the century, there are some continuing traditions showing Archaism throughout from the end of the Archaic period to the fourth century. These traditions are considered to be standing aside from the other archaistic works. For

that reason, scholars invented the concept of an "Archaism of a type" and also "lingering archaic". This concerns works, mainly from the fifth century BC, that carry traits of Archaism but differ in the reasons why was Archaism used there. An exact determination of a motivation, which led an artist to employ specific traits on a specific work, is probably impossible. However, the nature of these artefacts varies from the other group and indicates that the differentiation was intentional.

The production of coins can be presented as an example of this "Archaism of a type". Here, the reason for retaining the type of representation of Athena originates from a simple, practical need – the need for venerability and recognisability. Coins were bound by certain conservatism – if the image was to change, it could undermine the public's confidence to the given currency and implicitly reduce its value. The same case is the representation of Athena on Panathenaic amphorae, which remained mostly unchanged through the fifth century – this again was the result of a tradition aiming to retain the worth of the prize (*Mitchell 1965*, 331–332).

Close to this concept are the images of cult statues. In reliefs and vase painting, their depiction is mostly uniform – rendered in a smaller scale than the other figures of the scene, and they are also set on a base in most cases. As a result, they give the impression of stiffness and rigidness, emphasised by their frontal pose, with legs close together. Moreover, their garment often consists of either a foldless peplos or a dress draped in an archaistic way. Archaism can be seen in all these traits. However, this form did not become the primary manner of representing the xoana until the fifth century – before that, the cult statues mentioned in myths used to be depicted in vase painting as living beings and on the same scale as other figures. The opinions on the causes behind this change vary. However, according to some, the change also served a practical purpose – to invent a new formula for representing a cult statue. The aim was to apply a pictorial convention as an abbreviation for a statue so that it would be recognisable to everyone, and therefore Archaism was used (*Hölscher 2010*, 114–116).

Concluding the presumed practical use of Archaism, we proceed to influences of a different kind, more subtle ones, which could cause or affect the use of Archaism in the fifth century. The possible first innovative archaistic image was the triple-bodied Hekate, which comes from the middle of the fifth century. The century itself was full of changes in society and also in its approaches to the life itself. Starting with the optimistic Periclean era, which gave men confidence in themselves and the idea of control over the chaos of the outside world, society was aiming high. However, in the last thirty years of the century, the especially drastic changes afflicted everyone and changed their view on the world once more. The plague, which struck Athens in 430 BC and the Peloponnesian War (431–404), presented an uncontrollable flow of events, making the newly developed high cultural ideals seem to lose importance compared to the existential problems people faced. It is only natural that all uncertainties deriving from this time of crisis are reflected in art, where a slight change can be seen – from naturalism, it shifts towards softness and manner and in reliefs to ornamental decoration (*Pollitt 1972*, 115–125).

Along with that was employed Archaism, chosen for various reasons. Firstly, speaking of decorativeness, the form of Late Archaic art was also ornamental and gentle, and therefore it would fit into the current mood. Furthermore, it could bring along something more – the return to old times and a sense of venerability. Moreover, the Archaic period was still close to the fifth century, and its creations were

still vivid in memory, and so were the linear and abstract forms they possessed. The difference between the older statues and those of the Classical period could make the Archaic ones look more delicate and unreal; therefore, when current artists wanted to create something noble and venerable by its form, they could reach into the vocabulary of subtle archaistic patterns (*Harrison 1965*, 64).

Therefore, when the contemporary situation full of insecurity called for something more venerable, something people knew from before the disasters, the Archaistic style could appear as a soothing answer. When people in their now stressful lives saw the antique-looking statues, could they for a moment have the impression that there is still something stable in their world? The triple-bodied Hekate, with its linear drapery creating a geometric regularity on the lower part of the peplos and tresses across the chest, might have been an attempt to provide them with a glimpse of that solemnity and stability. The gods dressed in antique elements could have helped induce such a feeling (*Palagia 2009*, 24).

Later, in the fourth century, the nature of art slightly shifts from the ideal toward showing emotion, although it is still a universal one and not of an individual one. The artists are still keen on creating general types, and the tendency toward abstraction and decorative ornaments also continues to the Hellenistic period. While being consistent with the contemporary trends, the Archaistic style takes a more standardised form with clear and recognisable features.

3. Archaistic traits

Concerning the particular archaistic traits, we can observe either continuing archaic elements that transferred directly from the sixth century or their combinations or newly developed ones.

One of the noticeable features that transfer from the Archaic period is the overall form of the figures and the feeling of stiffness that accompanies them. It derives from korai and kouroi, which serve as a starting model and a vocabulary for the following archaistic images. When korai received their ornamental treatment, and their depiction became decoratively patterned in the Late Archaic period, these traits evolved into the basis of archaistic creation. However, it was not only the design of hair and garment; it was also the pose and mannered stance that transferred along. First, there are two apparent characteristics – frontality and symmetry. As we observe the korai and kouroi, it becomes evident that these two aspects, which encompass the whole statue, become later a favourite way to give the figure an archaising feeling. They are turned directly to the viewer while kouroi step forward with their left leg. This is something we can see later as a feature of the basin bearers, who have their leg also moved forward but at the same time are depicted with all the anatomical knowledge of the contemporary style. Concerning the Late Archaic sculptures, their frontal arrangement is further emphasised by their arms kept closely along the body and straightly held head and a forward gaze. All of these details put together create a stiff image made for frontal observation and also give space for incorporating symmetry. The central axis, which gives the statue the symmetrical and unreal feeling, is then present in many of the archaistic works and usually emphasised by other details.

Among the overall look of the statue, we already mentioned one leg forward. However, some analogies from the Archaic period transferred also concern about the position of arms – in the manner of the korai, the archaised woman sculptures or depictions often grab their skirt, bring their hand to the chest, or hold something in it.

In reliefs, regarding the overall look and posture of the figures, the method of archaising manifests somewhat differently. They are often depicted from a profile, although it is not always the case. The additional archaising, which is possible here by the nature of reliefs and more space they provide, can be seen in the composition of figures. They usually do not overlap each other; on the contrary, they tend to be evenly spaced. Their poses also are mannered, as of the free-standing statues – only here it is shown by having them tip-toe, elegantly place hands and overall take on a dance-like pose. Still, the impression they give is not of movement but of stiffness and transcendence.

As is mentioned above, the important factor of symmetry is often emphasised by other stylistic elements. Therefore we proceed to the hairstyle, a feature with a long history in the Archaic period. The final form of several rows of curls, of which we can see two types in archaistic works, developed in the late sixth century. In the Early Archaic period, it consisted of only one row and then slowly evolved into two and finally into three rows. The two types, which were later used to archaise, are the tight snail-shell like spirals and corkscrew curls, which are elongated (*Fiolitaki 2001*, 22–27). Accompanying both of them can be the long back hair, which also starts to appear in the Early Archaic period. Later, through the Severe style, a slight modification was employed – two braids, which go from the back around the head and join on the forehead. This feature was usually combined with the snail-shell-like curls, which were popular at the end of the Archaic period and in Early Classical times. As another slight modification, sometimes another row or two of curls at the back of the head was added. Finally, a third feature often complemented the long back hair and both types of the curled hairstyle. The sidelocks before the fifth century take the form of tresses, which hang free across the chest of figures, where they radiate into three or more singular tresses. Later, in depictions rendered archaistically, this evolves into a single, sometimes straight, sometimes wavy, strand of hair falling on each shoulder and across the chest.

Besides including Archaism into the stance of a figure, its overall look and coiffure, the following method of archaising a figure is to dress it archaistically. A few garments appear in the Archaic period as in the fifth and fourth centuries and are also archaised similarly, only with slight changes. Some others can be seen occurring from the fourth century, along with such archaising features like swallowtails.

Several types of a garment depicted in an archaistic manner have been investigated by Harrison (*1965*, 51–61), who described them and their use in her paper. However, it will be enough to present an overview of all mentioned ones for our purposes.

Starting with one which comes from archaic vase painting, a small draped mantle is usually employed on nude figures because the Archaistic style is easily expressed through its drapery. Chlamys is often the dress of Hermes in the form of Leader of the Nymphs. Although it is hard to archaise, it can be done by adding zigzags and emphasised by archaising the figure of Hermes himself.

Ionic himation and linen chiton, both often worn by archaic korai, were frequently archaised. The himation, slightly modified from its original form, is now fastened only on the shoulder – therefore, the sleeve of the chiton is visible. Many small changes in how the garments were displayed and their drapery rendered occurred around the fourth century. Concerning the chiton, a minor shift from the original rendering is the plastic folds on the chiton with crinkles, representing now the heavy fabric's texture, instead of tiny folds like in earlier times.

Around this time, the archaistic draped mantle also came in use. It is easily archaised by archaistic patterns, especially regarding its application in depicting dancers. An artist could include it in the dance itself in various decorative ways, which emphasised the archaistic ornaments of the garment.

A long mantle with overfall, which employs the underchiton and is fastened on one shoulder, is depicted as a dress mainly in the case of divinities and ceremonial occasions, again primarily from the middle of the fourth century. It was a garment that votaries used in cult ceremonies, and when depicted, it is often archaised by adding a ruffle on the top fold. This is also one of the features that support the idea that at least archaistic garment was connected with religiosity (*Harrison 1965*).

Connected to the type of dress used for the figures is the rendering of drapery. We already mentioned the linearity and geometric nature of patterns, which were used to adorn the surface of garments worn by korai. These prominent features evolved in the last century of the Archaic period, as before, the korai were usually dressed in a foldless garment. Archaistic art draws from these late developments of the style and transfers them in the form of simply rendered straight folds and the central pleat on the skirt. By being in the middle, it provides a central axis for the statue and therefore becomes another detail that emphasises the overall symmetry of the figure. Slight change affected the subsequent folds – they now appear on the sides as U-shaped catenaries, where earlier, they would obscure the contour of legs. In the fifth century, contrary to the Archaic period, legs could be modelled through drapery – therefore, there was no need to avoid the covering. This practice of geometrical drapery is even more visible in vase painting and reliefs, which can display the linear rendering to a higher degree. The folds often radiate from the central fold in repetitive lines, which creates a simple and decorative pattern, often complemented by zigzags. These were often used to enrich the falling edges of a garment worn by korai but found their use also as an archaistic trait – in the free-standing sculpture, reliefs, and vase painting.

Among all these modified features, a few appear to be a combination of some traits coming from the Archaic period. From the types of garments, we left as the last one the archaistic peplos, which we could see on many archaistic examples. Peplos in the Archaic period is usually shown foldless, saved for a few decorative patterns. However, it can take on two forms in the fifth century – the open peplos and closed peplos. The closed one represents xoana, and the open one can be decorated with zigzags and swallowtails. It is girded over a long overfall, and it becomes a typical dress for the majority of Hekataia, in which it is combined with an underchiton. This combination resembles the fourth-century fashion, as in this century, the peplos becomes an overgarment (*Harrison 1965*, 52–54). In the next chapter, we will describe the tradition concerning this newly archaised peplos and its possible beginning with either the statue of Hekate Epipyrgidia made by Alkamenes or the Athena on the red-figure oinochoe, from which we have a fragment of a neck. The peplos is draped in two ways – the upper part is draped in a classical manner while the one under the girding is done in the linear, archaistic technique. Therefore we can observe an archaising drapery on a work combined with a contemporary style and dress, in the particular sculpture also with the tresses of hair across the chest.

The swallowtails are the second development, which appeared this time in the fourth century, although we can see something like their less extensive version on the above-mentioned oinochoe fragment. Their standard use can be then seen on the Epidaurus base

or later Panathenaic amphorae. Their use in free-standing sculpture is impossible, but they found their place in vase painting and reliefs. They probably derived from the overlapping chiton on archaic korai and, in the fourth century, took the form of emphasised pointy tips of edges of a garment that do not always obey the movement of the figure's body (*Mitchell 1953*, 76–77).

4. Archaism in the Classical period

In order to investigate the tradition of using archaistic traits in the art of the fifth and fourth centuries, we will present a series of works from sculpture (mainly, as the archaistic traits were often employed there), vase painting and toreutics. These artefacts span from the Early Classical period to the end of the fourth century.

We start with the herms, as we have a few examples from the first half of the fifth century, although they are not in great condition. One of such finds, a head from a herm found at the Agora (*Harrison 1965*, 140–142) (Fig. 1), dated between 480 and 470 BC, can show us a few traits from the Late Archaic period, which can be then seen on later herms. It is somewhat oval and symmetrical, and its long back hair, which is usually falling on the neck and the back, is tied in two braids running around the head. Above the forehead, there are (possibly) two rows of curls emerging from under the braids. The rest of the hair on top of the head is rendered like wavy lines. Behind the ears, heavy long side-locks are hanging. Although the beard is broken off, we can still see some remains and therefore conclude that it was broad – its sides are a continuation of the sides of the face, and it is rendered in curved, thin lines. The chin is almost completely broken away as well, however, on the right side, a part of a moustache can be seen hanging along the corner of the mouth. The little preserved part of the lips also suggests the use of an archaic smile. The eyes are modelled in an early classical manner, as they have heavy eyelids, continuing at the outer corners (*Harrison 1965*, 142). There is also another head in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen *(Willers 1975*, ch. 3), which resembles the described one in many ways, such as the rendering of the hair, beard and moustache. However, its archaic smile is merely suggested and not so visible.

Since we started with the herms, we shall continue with one of the most known and most discussed archaistic sculptures, the Hermes Propylaios, ascribed to Alkamenes. As the original has not been found, the general look of the copies will have to suffice. There are two existing attributions to Alkamenes on two different copies of the herm, which both are a part of two herm series with slight modifications. They are conventionally named the Ephesus (Fig. 2) and Pergamon (Fig. 3) types after the sites of discovery of typical examples, while the former is known from more copies. There are many suggestions on which one is the original made by Alkamenes, or whether both or perhaps, whether none was made by him. The last theory, which proposes that Alkamenes did not have to be the sculptor of Hermes Propylaios, is based on the mention made by Pausanias. He states that the statue stood by the Propylaia along with Charites of Socrates; however, his text is ambiguous and unclear on who the Hermes' sculptor was (*Francis 1998*). Further epigraphic testimony and cultic practice, however, is in favour of its attribution to Alkamenes (*Stewart 2003*; *Sideris 2021*, 542). Nevertheless, for our purposes, we will only look at the general appearance of the two types, which we primarily know from Roman copies.

Starting with the Ephesus type (*Willers 1967*, 42–44), it is a bearded head with three rows of tight, snail-shell-like curls. The rest is

Fig. 1. Head from a Herm, Inv. no. S 211, Agora museum of Athens. An Early Classical herm, battered on the face and beard (after *Harrison* 1965)

Obr. 1. Hlava hermy, inv. č. S 211, muzeum na Agoře v Athénách. Herma z raně klasického období, poničená na tváři a vousech (podle *Harrison* 1965)

rendered in wavy lines, and the rear hair is long and hangs free on the back of the neck. Then, falling on the shoulders and across the chest, we see wavy hair tresses, much like in the old kouroi. The face of the Ephesus copy is severely battered, and the lower part is missing entirely; however, we can investigate it on other copies of this type. The beard is depicted mostly broad, organised symmetrically according to a central axis and rendered in wavy strands ending in small curls. The moustache is relatively thick and hangs down along the corners of the mouth. The whole expression is serious and quite solemn.

Now, turning to the Pergamon type (*Willers 1967*, 75–78), it is modified mainly in the type of coiffure and the beard. First, the three rows of curls are modelled as the corkscrew type; therefore, they are elongated and pressed next to one another while hanging down. The next modified feature is the beard, which is rendered in long, wavy unorganised strands in contrast to the systematically executed one of the Ephesus copy. Long side locks hang from behind the ears. The other differences concern the face – the eyes are slightly smaller, and the nose is shorter than the previous type. The mouth is narrow, and the moustache above it is long with slightly pointy tips. This herm's expression is also severe.

The common factor, which is important for us, is the archaistic rendering. Whether it is the snail-shell-like curls or the corkscrew ones, this type of haircut is a coiffure descending from the Archaic period (as we could see it on the firstly mentioned herm) and not appearing from the

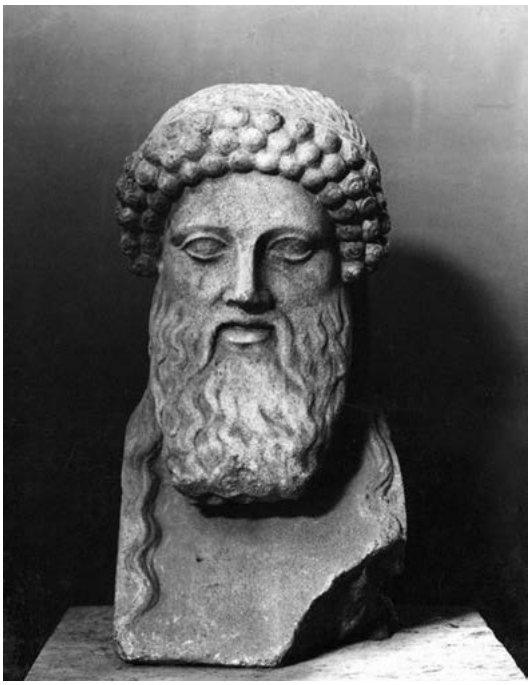

Fig. 2. Herm, Inv. No. 7, Museo Ostiense. Marble head of a Herm. A copy of the Ephesus type (after https://dati.beniculturali.it/lodview/iccd/fotografico/resource/CulturalProperty/E023895.html)

Obr. 2. Herma, inv. č. 7, muzeum v Ostii. Mramorová hlava z hermy. Kopie efezského typu (podle https://dati.beniculturali.it/lodview/iccd/fotografico/resource/CulturalProperty/E023895.html)

time of Kimonian herms onwards (*Fiolitaki 2001*, 86). This is also the case of the shoulder locks, which is again an archaising feature, standard on archaic kouroi. We also have few examples from the fourth century – the copy from Delos, dated by its inscription to the second half of the fourth century BC. Although it is severely battered and the features of the face are barely visible, it still can be recognised as the Pergamon type by the long corkscrew curls, which are visible on the left side of the head (*Marcadé 1951*, 189, fig. 103). Also, a connection has been made between this head and another one, which shows very similar features, indicating that the Delos copy indeed belongs to the Pergamon type (*Marchadé 1951*; *Hermary 1979*, 137–138). Another head from Chersonesos (*Trofimova 2007*, 120–121) was identified either as Dionysos or Hermes, although the Hermes version is considered more probable. We have one more from Thasos (*Holtzmann 2000*, 254, fig. 190), and it is dated to the second half of the fourth century. From the Agora of Thasos four more replicas are known, this one is the best preserved among the five.

After this overview, we shall leave the herms and return a bit in time in order to investigate the Three Graces of Socrates (Fig. 4). The relief is also mentioned by Pausanias, along with the above-described Hermes Propylaios. He claims that Socrates, the son of Sophroniskos, made them, therefore attributing them to the well-known philosopher of the second half of the fifth century. The issue is that the famous relief was recognised in a series of Neo-Attic copies, which, however, show the Graces in the Severe

Fig. 3. Herm from Pergamon, Inv. No. 1333, Istanbul museum. A herm with an inscription on the base. The Pergamon copy (after https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=2405348)

Obr. 3. Herma z Pergamu, inv. č. 1333, muzeum v Istanbulu. Herma s nápisem na podstavci. Pergamonská kopie (podle https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=2405348)

Fig. 4. The three Graces of Socrates, Inv. No. 2043, Piraeus Museum. A relief of Three Graces, the upper part is preserved (after https://brewminate.com/the-graces-in-ancient-greek-mythology/)

Obr. 4. Tři Grácie Sókratovy, inv. č. 2043, muzeum v Pireu. Reliéf Tří Grácií, zachována je vrchní část (podle https://brewminate.com/the-graces-in-ancient-greek-mythology/)

style. Thus, the work's attribution to the philosopher is impossible since he would have to be very young when creating the piece. Therefore it has been suggested that Pausanias may have been wrong, and a different Socrates probably made the Graces around 470 BC – perhaps a Boetian artist of the same name living in the fifth century (*Palagia 2009*, 29). The relief represents three maidens, which walk in a row hand to hand. They are fully preserved on the so-called "Chiaramonti relief" (*Fuchs 1959*, 59–63, pl. 12 b). The figures do not overlap and are evenly spaced. The first Grace is rendered from a three-quarter profile, the middle one is frontal from her hips, and the third is represented in full profile. Their garment is not extensively draped; the folds are linear and heavy. Some of the edges are depicted in a strict zigzag pattern, and the legs behind the cloth are only subtly modelled, thus making the impression of thick and weighty fabric. The third Grace has her chiton, where it can be seen, rendered in wrinkled, thin lines. The haircut of the middle Grace decorates her forehead with several rows of curls. There is a similar copy in the Acropolis Museum, concerning which it has been suggested to re-identify the figures as nymphs. There was a sanctuary dedicated to the nymph on the south slope of Acropolis, where the fragment was excavated. Also, regarding iconography, there is nothing against it; therefore, this possibility is to be considered (*Palagia 2009*, 30–31). Concerning the fame of Socrates's Three Graces, it is possible that other artists were inspired

by this piece and used its composition to express similar themes.

Now we return to a free-standing sculpture of the second half of the fifth century, namely the Hekate Epipyrgidia – also mentioned by Pausanias. He states that Alkamenes was the first to give her the triple-bodied representation. Since there are no images of this design before the late fifth century, it is probably correct. It is presumed that the original stood on the Nike bastion in the south of the Propylaia of the Acropolis (along with Hermes Propylaios), sharing a cult with the Three Graces there (*Palagia 2009*; *Sideris 2021*). There are a handful of copies of this statue. The Hekataion in the British School at Athens, sometimes dated in the late fifth century (*Schmidt 1922*, 48*; Fiolitaki 2001*) or further on, to the first century AD (*Harrison 1965*, 88), is usually considered closest to the original. Nevertheless, the general consent suggests it is a direct copy of the original, based on several details – there are slight differences in the rendering of the drapery of the particular figures. These small changes were probably part of the original – thus, it is probable that if this Hekataion was only a part of a series of copies – deriving from another copy – then these minor variations would have not be retained (*Willers 1965*, 49).

The initially three figures – on this copy only two, as one is broken off – stand back against a pillar, with their hands almost touching. Their heads, as well as their legs down from the knees, are also missing. The main archaistic trait lies in their garment – the peplos girded over a long overfall is a Classical dress (*Harrison 1965*, 62). Although in the upper part the drapery is classical, below the girding it becomes linear, in the manner of the Late Archaic period, and the overfall forms an inverted V. The skirt is draped symmetrically, with a central pleat as an axis, from which U-shaped catenaries run down, contouring the legs. The folds emerging from the girding are straight lines. Concerning the faces, this copy cannot help, but from others, it is presumed that they were made in the classical style. The coiffure was probably also classical, parted in the middle. However, we can notice the tresses falling from the shoulders of the figures, which remind of the archaic treatment of hairstyle in the previous period. Therefore, what we have here, is a use of two styles – a contemporary one of the fifth century and the style of the Late Archaic period. This combination of two types of drapery design and hairstyles can be later seen in other works. This is why this statue of Hekate is often considered the first example of intentional use of the Archaistic style.

Also, in connection to the archaistic peplos, there is another work originating roughly around the same time as Hekate Epipyrgidia, where it can be noticed. From the late fifth century comes a shard of a neck of a red-figure oinochoe depicting Athena (*Green 1962*, 82–94, pl. 31, 15) (Fig. 5). She is facing to the right, advancing and striding. She wears a peplos girded over a long overfall and a mantle over her shoulders. The overfall under the girding forms the inverted V, which also occurs on the Hekataia and in works possibly inspired by them. The lower part of the peplos has a central fold, which is decorated by zigzags, and so are the edges of the overfall and of the mantle. We can notice the tips of the overfall forming swallowtails, while the endings of the mantle do not – contrary to the Athena on fourth-century Panathenaic amphorae, which we will mention later (*Harrison 1965*, 52, 53).

Another example of this archaistic peplos can be observed in the statue of Aphrodite of Corneto, found in Tarquinia and also dated to the late fifth century (*Croissant 1975*, 95). Aphrodite holds a veil in one hand and covers her face with it from the side while leaning on a pillar – in front of which stands a Hekate-like

Fig. 5. Neck of red-figure oinochoe, Inv. No. 14793, The Agora Museum of Athens. Archaistic depiction of advancing and striding Athena (after *Harrison 1965*)

Obr. 5. Hrdlo červenofigurové oinochoé, inv. č. 14793, muzeum na Agoře v Athénách. Archaizující zobrazení kráčející Atény (podle *Harrison 1965*)

figure. Although it is a single figure, other characteristics are the same – she is sculptured on a small scale and bears archaistic traits similar to those on the red-figure oinochoe and Hekate of Alkamenes. Again, the peplos is similar – girded over the overfall, with classical drapery on the upper torso and straight lines of folds under the girding. We can also notice the central pleat in the middle of her skirt. The face and hair are again modelled classically – only the tresses on shoulders reveal another element of Archaism. However, she holds her arms close to the body, and together with her frontal pose, it gives the feeling of stiffness, which is not present in the figures on the Hekataion.

We will leave the sculpture for a moment and proceed to a bronze hydria from the early fourth century. It probably belongs to an experimental phase, based on its shape and the execution of its vertical handle (*Sideris 2021a*, 192–197, cat. 243). A figure placed below the lower handle attachment, a winged female, is most likely identified as Nike. She is displayed in the Archaistic style, shown in her stance, garment and with two tresses falling on her shoulders. She stands frontally, her wings curve at her head level and their tips end at her ankles. Her pose reminds of archaic korai – she brings her right arm to the chest while holding a lotus flower. With the other, she grasps her skirt. She wears a sleeved chiton, the buttons of which are visible on her arms, and a peplos fastened only on her right shoulder. It is decorated with a fringe along its upper edge. The drapery is what reveals the use of Archaism here – on the peplos, it is linear, with the central pleat in the upper and also in the lower part. It then continues in the chiton, which can be seen under the

Fig. 6. Epidaurus Base relief, Inv. No. 1425, National Archaeological Museum of Athens An archaistic figure holding an oinochoe, probably Hebe (after *Fiolitaki 2001*)

Obr. 6. Reliéf z Epidauru, inv. č. 1425, Národní archeologické muzeum v Aténách. Archaizující postava držící oinochoé, pravděpodobně se jedná o Hébé (podle *Fiolitaki 2001*)

lower edge of the peplos, above her ankles. The folds of the chiton are rich, petite and ornamental, while the U-shaped folds of the peplos are simple and contour her legs. The symmetry of the whole image is emphasised by her wings, spread behind her and along her sides. The interesting thing about this image, besides its detailed rendering, is the way Archaism is used – not to make the figure appear as a statue, as it was with earlier depictions on bronze vessels, but in the same manner as with the Hekate – as a decorative motif.

We return again to the sculpture, namely to the Epidaurus base relief (*Ridgway 1997*, 209) (Fig. 6). Its dating is not completely clear, as it ranges from around the middle of the fourth century to 330 BC. The archaistic figure is often identified as Hebe, advancing towards a gathering of gods and holding an oinochoe (*Ridgway 1997*, 209). Her pose is mannered. She wears a chiton, a diagonal himation, and a mantle wrapped around her arms. As in the other archaistic images, her drapery is linear, and she has three tresses on each shoulder. However, here we also can see a newly introduced archaistic element – the edges of the cloth end in many expressive swallowtails, which twist away from her body. Therefore the whole impression is very decorative and ornamental. It is because of those prominent swallowtails why this image is often put into context with other archaistic works.

More precisely, with the Athena on Panathenaic amphorae of the middle of the fourth century, from which her depiction might derive, the Four Gods base, by which she might also be influenced, and the Samothracian frieze, with which she is often compared. To present this possible connection, we proceed to the Panathenaic amphorae and, specifically, to the change which occurred in the first half of the fourth century.

We mentioned the whole series along with the production of coins as two traditions in

Fig. 7. Panathenaic Amphora, Inv. No. B 610, British Museum. Athena facing left, between two columns with statues (after https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1873-0820-370)

Obr. 7. Panathenajská amfora, inv. č. B 610, Britské muzem. Aténa je obrácena doleva a stojí mezi dvěma sloupy se sochami (podle https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1873-0820-370)

which the archaic look was retained for a long time. Although there were slight modifications throughout the fifth century, no significant ones – at least regarding the Archaistic style – occurred until the year 363 BC and further. From this year to 360 BC, new developments in the pose and garment were employed. Firstly, Athena gained her archaistic image, which was achieved mainly through her garment – essentially by the use of swallowtails, which from this moment became the primary archaising tool in vase painting and relief (*Bentz 1998*, 59). Her garment was also rendered linearly; in some examples, the U-shaped lines contoured her advancing leg, but the centre of her lower cloth was draped in straight lines (Fig. 7).

Fig. 8. The Samothrace frieze, Inv. No. 2455, Louvre. A relief depicting a row of dancing maidens (after https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=102595)

Obr. 8. Samotrácký reliéf, Inv. č. 2455, Louvre. Reliéf zobrazující řadu tancujících dívek (podle https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=102595)

Furthermore, the swallowtails at the ends of her mantle formed an inverted V and turned away from each other, and other tips of her garment were also visibly pointed. Besides these archaistic adjustments, which gave the Archaistic style the decorative tool of swallowtails, other changes happened in the following years concerning Athena's pose – first, she was turned from left to the right, and after 336 BC, she often gained the form of the Palladion (*Fiolitaki 2001*, 224).

Another work of Archaistic style we mentioned in connection with the Epidaurus base is the Samothrace frieze (*Williams – Lehmann 1982*, 252) (Fig. 8). It is usually dated to 340 BC and by some scholars to the second century BC. We can see a row of female dancers on the frieze, all rendered in Archaistic style. The figures are equally spaced and turn their heads or their whole bodies to another figure or reach out to each other – the whole impression an observer receives while looking at it is of a decorative pattern, which is even more emphasised by the similarity of the women. This frieze was probably intended as a ceremonial dance representation dedicated to the Great Goddess, who had a cult on the island. A ceremonial theme might be connected with their archaistic garments and the drapery – the Archaistic style was later often used to depict worshippers (*Fiolitaki 2001*, 254).

Our second example of an Archaistic image on a vessel is a depiction on a hydria from New York (Fig. 9). It dates around the middle of the fourth century, and the relief shows Eros rubbing through his hair and looking in a mirror while leaning on a kore statue. She stands on a small round base, frontally and with feet close together. She brings one hand to the chest, and the other grabs the skirt of her garment. The peplos she wears is belted and is archaised in a typical manner that we saw before – under the belt linearly, while the skirt has a central pleat and U-shaped folds that systematically contour her legs. She is marked evidently as a statue – and may be a votary of Aphrodite or represents a cult statue of the goddess herself (*Richter 1946*, 361–363, cat. 2, pls. 22–23).

We end our presentation of archaistic works with the Piraeus kouros (*Dontas 1986*, fig. p. 192) (Fig. 10), a work that received many dating changes, which is why we will start with its complicated history. It was discovered in the harbour of Piraeus in 1959, along with other monumental bronze statues, and upon

Fig. 9. Bronze Hydria, Inv. No. 44.11.9, Metropolitan Museum. A bronze hydria depicting Eros leaning on a kore statue (after https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/254515?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&where=Greece&what=Bronze%7cHydriae&ft=hydria&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=9)

Obr. 9. Bronzová hydrie, inv. č. 44.11.9, Metropolitní muzeum. Bronzová hydrie s motivem Eróta opírajícícho se o sochu koré (podle https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/254515?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&where=Greece&what=Bronze%7cHydriae&ft=hydria&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=9)

Fig. 10. Piraeus kouros, Inv. No. 4645, Piraeus Museum. An archaistic bronze kouros advancing on right leg (after https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=71024254)

Obr. 10. Kúros z Pirea, inv. č. 4645, muzeum v Pireu. Archaizující bronzový kúros vykračující pravou nohou vpřed (podle https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=71024254)

its discovery, it was dated to the last quarter of the sixth century. However, eventually, after re-examination based on several distinctions that differentiate him from the majority of preserved kouroi, he was marked as archaistic and placed in the second or first century BC. Nevertheless, this dating again became disputable after examining the shards, which were found clinging to his clay core. Several scholars reached a similar conclusion and suggested a date between the sixth and fourth centuries. Therefore a new date was suggested, placed in the second quarter of the fifth century. However, since we have no free-standing archaistic sculpture until the last quarter of the fifth and none on a monumental scale until the late fourth century, the date of creation of this statue is probably somewhere between the end of the fourth and early third century (*Palagia 2016*, 237–243). Finally, to the statue itself – it is an over-life-size bronze kouros, identified as Apollo. Although he shows significant similarities with the kouroi of the Archaic period, a few details, as mentioned above, are off. He advances with his right leg instead of the left one, brings his arms in front of his body instead of keeping them by his side, and his head is bowed down, while the archaic kouroi usually gaze forward. Another modification is his eyes, which are cast with the head, which would be unusual in the Archaic period since they were more often inlaid. Overall, even though he was given a slight archaic smile, he still appears more natural and living than the kouroi of the sixth century. Therefore if he is a creation of the late fourth century, then as one of the archaistic kouroi, which are scarce, he is a nice end to this chapter.

5. The "aftermath" of Archaism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods

As mentioned above, the employment of Archaism in the second half of the fifth century was an innovative feature, a way to give art a certain expression in order to evoke a feeling in a person. Since it was at its start, the form taken by the Archaistic style in this period was not firmly set and was only slowly taking shape through the fourth century. This process takes a turn during the Hellenistic period. As the nature of art shifts from the ideal and perfect to emotion and things around us, so does the Archaistic style change its purpose. However, there are two categories in sculpture regarding Archaism, which we should approach differently – reliefs and free-standing sculpture.

As the change mentioned above concerns mainly reliefs, we will start with them, specifically with an example. A tripod base in the Agora Museum has been dated to the late Hellenistic period (*Shear 1935, 387*, fig. 15–17). We can see Herakles, Dionysos, and a maenad decorate its sides and display evident archaistic traits. They all are depicted in strict profiles, which emphasises the linearity of their drapery. The garment of Dionysos is adorned with a geometric zigzag pattern, as are all the edges. The folds are long and linear and make the figures seem tall and slender, creating a contrast with their natural anatomy. Concerning Herakles and Dionysos, whose bodies are clearly visible, their musculature is also stressed, strengthening this effect. In the figure of Herakles, since his only garment is a non-archaised chlamys, Archaism is employed exactly through this expressively rendered musculature and stiffness of his body. The maenad is also archaised through her stance – she tiptoes in a dance-like pose.

The overall impression of this relief is decorative, which perfectly fits the need of Hellenistic sculpture, as many of it was created to fulfil

this purpose. Ornamental and elegant features like zigzags, pointed swallowtails, and linear drapery gave space to many symmetrically and orderly placed details, making the impression of richness. Moreover, the way they are used in Hellenistic reliefs is clearly recognisable and mechanical. While observing the image, one can single out the elements employed in it as if they were used from a manual on how to create in Archaistic style. In this way, Archaism loses its original purpose – to give a certain impression and provoke a feeling – and becomes a perfect decorative tool.

Here we proceed to the free-standing sculpture. As an example, we can name the Artemis from Pompeii in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples. She probably comes from the first century BC and is an eclectic sculpture. Her drapery is rendered in straight folds, and the endings are treated as zigzags. Her hair is made into two strands on her shoulders, and she was given an Archaic smile which lends her a bit of that unreal expression of the ancient korai. The difference between this statue and the relief mentioned above is in their decorativeness – when compared, here it is not so prominent. Instead, this Artemis resembles more the Archaic votive images in their very nature, and it was also used as a cult image in a house shrine (*Pollitt 1986*, 183–184). Therefore we can imagine that although the Archaistic style was mainly used as a means to decorate, some attempts to return to its Archaic origin and venerability have been made.

The final development of the Archaistic style concluded in Roman society by being modified for the current needs of society and its tastes. Its position among Roman art is unsure, as the whole concept of it is a complicated matter. The core of Roman art is formed by several characteristics making it a suitable foundation for creating – it is imitative, involves eclecticism and also a duality between official imperial and regional art *(Fullerton 2018*). From this base, new creations arose, combining elements of different art styles collected from nations under Roman rule and fulfilling patrons' specific needs. Their requirements had an attributive nature, and therefore, the particular sculpture had a precisely set role. The artist then chose various tools in the form of stylistic elements to achieve these aims. And one of these tools was most probably also the Archaistic style.

The mechanical and relatively firmly set form gained in the Hellenistic period was of much use for the later eclectic statues. It can be seen in archaistic reliefs, the production of which extends from the early Hellenistic period to the Neo-Attic tradition (*Mitchell 1953*). When we look at their elaborate design, it can be said that their purpose probably had not changed from the one in the Hellenistic period – decorativeness is still the primary aim. The relief from the Villa Albani, showing Athena advancing towards a candelabrum, presents a richly ornamented and elegant image, where all the archaistic elements seamlessly blend together. Drapery is rendered in delicate straight folds, which complement the tresses on her shoulders and a gentle zigzag pattern on her right leg. With Athena's mannered pose, it creates a harmonious composition, fulfilling its adorning purpose.

Concerning the free-standing sculpture the variety of what we can find is wide. Firstly, there are direct imitations of the Late Archaic prototypes, such as can be, for example, the Dresden Athena (*Fullerton 2018*). Secondly, we can observe a plenty of sculptures with differently used archaistic traits. Concerning the subjects, which are usually archaised, the broad spectrum reveals little about the reasons behind the application of Archaism. However, it seems that Romans favoured the implication of antiquity, which the Archaistic style offered. Employed in a sculpture, it could provide a false feeling of

old to new cult statues and cults themselves, as was the imperial cult of Spes. The traits of an ancient, antique style, whose main feature was the impression of venerability, might have been an attempt to add legitimacy and the feeling of permanency (*Fullerton 2018*). Such features would undoubtedly be welcomed, as well as the formalised appearance of the style.

6. Conclusion

After this swift overall look at the archaistic traits in the fifth and fourth centuries, we could see that in some way, whether it was in the depiction on coins or Athena on Panathenaic amphorae, Archaism was always present throughout the fifth and fourth centuries. The Archaism of a type resulted from the conservativeness of these forms, which was needed to retain their value and people's faith in their venerability. The appearance of other archaistic traits, which could be marked as deliberately used and perceived as old elements and used in this sense, can be seen from around the second half of the fifth century. Suppose we connect the archaistic traits with the feeling of stability and venerability that they could evoke in a person – in that case, the emergence of this style, or perhaps of these elements, in this particular time may become understandable. The Hermes Propylaios, whether the Pergamon or the Ephesus version, uses the overall look, although a bit modified, of previous herms, at least from what we can gather from the few examples which have been preserved. After a time gap, it connects itself to the tradition of older herms, which could be in a way assuring, considering the stressful times people were just experiencing. The socio-political instability probably led people to turn to old values and ideas, which could provide them with hope for better times again. The same might have been the case with the statue of Hekate Epipyrgidia, which was an innovative creation, but at the same time, thanks to its archaistic elements, it seemed like something old and everlasting. The combination of the recognisable features of the Late Archaic art, which were placed in the frame of a contemporary style, created something like the old sculptures, but with the addition of the current knowledge.

Concerning the collected material and the certain archaistic traits we presented here, continuous use of the archaic elements throughout the sculpture, vase painting and toreutics in the fifth and fourth centuries can be observed. There are features, like the archaistic coiffure, consisting of the two types of curled hairstyle, long back hair and tresses across the chest, which can but do not have to be used all together, that transfer from the Archaic period. The side-locks are very popular – they appear continuously from the Archaic period and can be combined either with the curled hairstyle, in the way we can see it on Hermes Propylaios, thus creating a proper archaising look, or with a classical hairstyle, in which they found their firm place on the Hekataia. They appear on the little support figure, on which the Aphrodite of Corneto leans, Hebe has them combed in their more archaic version on the Epidaurus base while, in contrast, the women figures in Samothrace frieze have a single archaistic tress falling from their shoulders on each side. And although it is an abbreviated version, we can also see them on the statue support depicted on the bronze hydria from New York. The curled hairstyle as a single element of the haircut can be found in the middle Grace from the relief of Socrates. The long back hair has its standard use in the coiffure of herms but can also be seen on some fourth-century korai.

A newly created feature made by combining Archaism with a contemporary style is the archaistic peplos girded over a long overfall. Whether it was first introduced on the statue

of Hekate Epipyrgidia or the red-figure oinochoe with Athena on its neck, it established a new archaising tradition of representations, which continued from the fifth century further throughout the fourth. Already in the fifth century, it appears on the above-mentioned statue support for Aphrodite of Corneto, and then later in the fourth century, it can be seen again on the bronze hydria in the Metropolitan Museum. Its singular features, namely the central fold on the skirt, linear drapery (here under the belting) and U-shaped catenaries contouring the legs, can be then found as basic methods for archaising drapery concerning also other garments, besides favoured zigzags and from the fourth century, extensive swallowtails. We can see them without the girded peplos on the archaised winged figure on the bronze hydria from Vasil Bojkov Collection, where the middle fold creates a pleasant visual connection of all parts of the garment. The zigzag pattern is present in a rather strict, geometrical version as a decoration of the falling edges of the dresses worn by the Three Graces of Socrates, and then it appears again, adorning the hem of the Hekate's overfall, although here it is only a little detail. It is more visible on the red-figure oinochoe, where it decorates the central fold of Athena's dress. Its use became more extensive in the fourth century, and it is often combined with long lines of linear drapery and other fairly new feature of the fourth century, the swallowtails. We can already see some tendencies towards this development in the mantle of Athena from the oinochoe. However, still, it was in the fourth century on the Panathenaic amphorae, the Epidaurus base and other reliefs of that time where their true extravagant nature started to show. We ended our collection of material with the Piraeus kouros, and since it is our only kouros mentioned here, we cannot make any connection with other presented works. However, regarding his archaistic features, which transfer from the Archaic period, his naked form, advanced leg (although a wrong one), and long hair give a fair idea.

Overall, when we look at the archaistic works of the fifth and then the fourth century, a slight shift towards a more defined form of a style can be seen. The archaistic elements used sporadically in the fifth century may have served as an innovative way to produce a work that induced a feeling of something old, venerable, and stable in dark times. Then, in the fourth century, the bases of archaising means obtained in earlier decades slowly began to take a more all-encompassing form, which showed itself in the garment, drapery, hairstyles, and mannered poses; and found its primary purpose in representing religious and ceremonious scenes and in decorating the garments of gods.

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Přežití a znovuzrození: Archaizující prvky v řeckém umění klasického období

Archaizujícímu stylu v umění antického Řecka a později Říma se v posledních desetiletích dostává zvýšené badatelské pozornosti. Přítomnost jeho prvků v pátém a čtvrtém století př. n. l. je jednou z hojně diskutovaných oblastí, jelikož dokladů z tohoto období je nedostatek, známe je především z kopií a jejich datace je často nejednotná.

Jedná se o retrostyl, který vychází z prvků archaického umění, a to především z pozdně archaického období. Na některých typech artefaktů tyto prvky nacházíme od archaického období po další století bez přerušení – na athénských mincích, na panathenajských amforách. Na tyto druhy archaismu se však nahlíží jinak, jelikož jejich užívání pokračovalo z praktického důvodu – pokud by se změnilo archaické zobrazení Athény na mincích, nebo právě na panathenajských amforách, lidé by mohli v tyto komodity ztratit důvěru, což by pak vedlo ke snížení jejich hodnoty. Proto pokud hovoříme o archaizujících prvcích v pátém století, je nutné rozlišovat, kterou z tradic máme na mysli.

V druhé polovině pátého století se objevují jiné příklady využití archaismu – na sochách Herma Propylaia a Hekaté Epipyrgidie. Vysvětlení, proč k tomu dochází zrovna v tomto období, se může skrývat v tom, co v současné době lidé v Athénách zažívali – období války, nemoc, a následkem toho velkou nejistotu a změnu životních ideálů a hodnot. Archaizující prvky, které se objevují na Hermovi a na Hekate, mohly sloužit k navození dojmu, že jsou sochy součástí delší tradice, a tedy vyvolat pocit stability a dodat naději k přečkání těchto těžkých časů.

Hlavní část článku se věnuje popisu vybraného archeologického materiálu a následnému rozebrání jednotlivých archaizujících znaků. Časově se artefakty pohybují od počátku pátého století jako příklady doznívajících archaických prvků až po pozdní čtvrté století a zahrnují doklady z oblasti sochařství, toreutiky a vázového malířství. Materiál je seřazen chronologicky. Některé prvky, mezi které patří tzv. „curled hairstyle" a další úpravy vlasů ve formě pramenů na ramenou a dvou typů kudrlinek nad čelem, můžeme společně s lineární drapérií v rámci doznívajícího archaického a později přísného stylu pozorovat na reliéfu Tří Grácií a několika zachovaných hermovkách. Uplatňují se poté znovu po časové pauze přes známé sochy Herma a Hekaté v druhé polovině pátého století až do století čtvrtého na reliéfu z Epidauru, anebo bronzové hydrii z poloviny století. Se sochou Hekaté se k těmto prvkům přidruží i tzv. archaizující peplos, který nově kombinuje klasickou i archaickou drapérii a i on se objevuje na výše zmíněných dílech. Ve čtvrtém století dochází k vývoji dalšího prvku archaizujícího stylu, a to špičatých cípů oděvu, tzv. „swallowtails", které můžeme pozorovat jak na lehce proměněných panathenajských amforách, tak na již zmíněném reliéfu z Epidauru. Na základě studia vývoje jednotlivých prvků si můžeme všimnout, že ve čtvrtém století dochází k jejich postupné syntéze a širšímu využití, přičemž objektem archaizace byly často ty figury a předměty, které souvisely s náboženskou tematikou.

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