

A TRANSPOSED HEAD

(PLATES 127 AND 128)

IN CONTRAST to the situation for the preceding, Classical period, the individual personalities and careers of artists have not played a dominant role in defining the history of Hellenistic sculpture.¹ Few surviving sculptures from the period can be attributed with confidence to specific artists, and written sources do little to fill out the careers of Hellenistic sculptors.² When a surviving Hellenistic work can be associated with a specific artist, that work naturally becomes a focus for handbooks and a basis of subsequent study. The colossal male head, comprising the face and enframing hair, found at Aigeira in the northern Peloponnesos is one such familiar work.

Discovered within a small building near the theater in 1916 at an early stage in the exploration of the site by Otto Walter, the head (Pl. 127) was given prompt and thorough publication; it was identified as belonging to the statue of Zeus by the sculptor Eukleides of Athens, a statue which Pausanias (7.26.4) reported seeing in the city.³ Four years later, Walter recovered the left arm (Pl. 128) and part of the middle finger of the right hand nearby.⁴ His identifications of the deity and the sculptor have received virtually unanimous approval, dispute focusing instead on the problem of the statue's date. From the high dating in the 4th century B.C. originally argued by Walter, the date of the head has been pushed downward continually, so that now a date in the 2nd century B.C. seems to be widely accepted.⁵ The date of the statue and the identifications of the subject and the sculptor are not independent problems, however, and given the prominent place the Aigeira head enjoys in histories of Hellenistic sculpture, the interdependence of these issues needs reconsideration.

In arriving at his early, and now universally rejected, date, Walter was guided by the sparse references in ancient literature to a sculptor named Eukleides. Pausanias (7.26.4) gives no indication of a date in his comments on the Zeus by Eukleides. He does refer,

¹ Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

Alzinger *et al.* = W. Alzinger, S. Gogos, and R. Thrummer, "Aigeira-Hyperesia und die Siedlung Phelloë in Achaia: Teil II: Theater und Umbegung," *Klio* 68, 1986, pp. 5–62

Stewart = A. Stewart, *Attika. Studies in Athenian Sculpture in the Hellenistic Age*, London 1979

² For the detailed efforts in this direction see G. Becatti, "Attikà: saggio sulla scultura attica dell'ellenismo," *RivIstArch* 7, 1940, pp. 7–116 and Stewart.

³ O. Walter, "Ein Kolossalkopf des Zeus aus Aigeira," *ÖJh* 19–20, 1919, pp. 1–14; *idem*, "Eine archäologische Voruntersuchung in Aigeira," *ÖJhBeibl* 19–20, 1919, cols. 5–42.

⁴ O. Walter, "Der Arm des Zeusstatue von Eukleides," *ÖJh* 27, 1931, pp. 146–152; *idem*, "Versuchsgrabung in Aigeira," *ÖJhBeibl* 27, 1931, cols. 223–234.

⁵ A. Hekler, "Eukleides," *ÖJh* 21–22, 1922, pp. 120–122, 200 B.C.; Becatti (footnote 2 above), pp. 25–28, last decades of the 3rd century B.C.; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York 1955, pp. 158–159, 2nd century B.C.; M. B. Marzani, *s.v.* Eukleides, *EAA*, ca. 250 B.C.; E. Thiemann, *Hellenistische Vatergottheiten*, Münster 1959, pp. 116–119, third quarter of the 1st century B.C.; S. Karouzou, *National Archeological Museum, Collection of Sculpture*, Athens 1968, p. 191, 2nd century B.C.; Stewart (pp. 51–52) compares the head to works of the second half of the 2nd century B.C.; J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge 1986, pp. 165–166, 150–100 B.C.; Alzinger *et al.*, pp. 50–52, just after the middle of the 2nd century B.C.

however (7.25.9), to four cult statues the same Eukleides produced for temples in the nearby town of Bura. Since Bura was destroyed by earthquake in 373 B.C., the commissioning of one sculptor to produce a series of cult statues for this small town is most efficiently explained as reflecting a rebuilding program undertaken in the wake of the earthquake,⁶ and Eukleides must be a sculptor active in the middle of the 4th century B.C. One other possible reference to this Eukleides occurs in Plato's will (Diogenes Laertius, 3.42), where a Eukleides, described as a *λιθοτόμος* (stonecutter), is said to have owed the philosopher three *minai*. If this reference is to the same Eukleides mentioned by Pausanias, it bolsters a date in the 4th century. Since this date is at odds with the conclusion that the Aigeira head belongs stylistically to the 2nd century B.C., scholars have sought to undercut the written evidence.⁷

Technical details of the Aigeira statue also are at odds with the Zeus at Aigeira. Pausanias describes Eukleides' Zeus as made of Pentelic marble. The Aigeira head initially was identified by Walter as Pentelic, but upon the discovery of the arm of the statue, he observed that this part was certainly of "island marble" and upon re-examination concluded that he had been mistaken in his assessment of the head as Pentelic.⁸ More serious than the identification of the marble is the evidence for the manner of the statue's construction. Pausanias' statement that it was entirely of marble notwithstanding, the statue has been described as an acrolith, in which the flesh portions are rendered in marble while the clothed portions are executed in wood, probably gilded.⁹ The clearest evidence that the Aigeira statue is an acrolith is the treatment of the back of the head (Pl. 127:b). The marble extends to roughly half the depth of the skull. The back of the head is hollowed, the cavity extending down the length of the neck. The joining surface around the cavity is only roughly finished, without anathyrosis, and into it are cut four large, square holes which Walter plausibly explained as used in attaching the separately worked rear portion of the head. He also identified clamp cuttings on either side of the neck above the break as used in securing the head.¹⁰

The working of the head can now be compared to the head of a contemporary acrolithic statue depicting Hygieia, which was discovered in excavations at Pheneos in Arkadia. This

⁶ On the earthquake of 373 B.C. see J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* IV, London 1898, p. 165 and Walter, "Ein Kolossalkopf" (footnote 3 above), p. 9. Pausanias' description of the events clearly links Eukleides' statues to an immediate rebuilding of the town. He states in sequence that the earthquake was so severe that even the cult statues were destroyed, that only those citizens away at the time survived to rebuild the town, and that Eukleides was responsible for the four named cult statues.

⁷ Hekler ([footnote 5 above] pp. 121–122), as the first to move the head out of the 4th century B.C., argues that a stonecutter should not be confused with a sculptor. Stewart (p. 102) suggests that the sculptor Eukleides is descended from the stonecutter. The case of the Renaissance architect Palladio illustrates the danger of placing heavy emphasis on the single description of this Eukleides of the 4th century B.C. Through age 34 Palladio appears in written records as a stonemason and exclusively as an architect only after the age of 37. Without knowing how old Eukleides was when in debt to Plato, he should not be condemned to a life of stonecutting.

⁸ Walter, "Der Arm" (footnote 4 above), p. 146, note 3.

⁹ Marzani (footnote 5 above) and Stewart, p. 152 and note 45. Bieber ([footnote 5 above] pp. 158–159) sees the statue as being of Pentelic marble but worked in a technique imitating chryselephantine statues.

¹⁰ Walter, "Ein Kolossalkopf" (footnote 3 above), pp. 3–8. Note that Walter rejects the idea that the statue was an acrolith because for a seated figure of Zeus the entire nude torso would have been worked in marble and the lower body, concealed in drapery, would have been worked in wood. This required arrangement contradicts Pausanias' description of the statue as entirely of marble.

head has also been hollowed out at the back; the missing rear portion was secured along a coarsely worked rim by dowels, the holes for which appear in the surface.¹¹

The left arm of the Aigeira statue (Pl. 128), although often overlooked, also supplies valuable evidence for the statue's construction. It extends to about the middle of the upper arm, where it was attached by a dowel or tenon that fitted into an enormous socket: 0.15 by 0.10 m. and at points reaching 0.26 m. deep.¹² In a statue of separately worked marble pieces, a mortise normally would be cut into the trunk or main mass of a statue and the adjoining appendage worked with a corresponding tenon. Here instead, it is the appendage that is cut with a socket. The great size of the socket and its location in the arm rather than the torso again are paralleled in a contemporary acrolith, the cult statue of Athena from Priene. In that case, the two marble arms were cut each with a pair of sockets, these only slightly smaller than the one in the arm from Aigeira, to secure them to the torso.¹³

There are topographical difficulties as well in Walter's identification. About the appearance and location of the sanctuary of Zeus Pausanias gives scant information. A statue of Athena, fabricated of fragile gold and ivory, that he says stood in the sanctuary must have been indoors, shielded from the elements. But the small prostyle building identified as the temple of Zeus, where the head was discovered and now called naïskos D, would have been a crowded affair (18.75 × 8.30 m.)¹⁴ with both the Athena and the colossal cult image. A somewhat larger building seems to be called for. That Pausanias mentions the sanctuary first among the monuments at Aigeira and then last when departing the city suggests that it stood near a major gate. This does not fix the location with certainty since the city's circuit walls have received only preliminary exploration.¹⁵ The most conspicuous topographic feature in the area of naïskos D is the city's theater, only 21 meters distant. It is remarkable that, in his description of Aigeira, Pausanias never mentions the city's theater or its proximity to the important sanctuary of Zeus.

There is little in Pausanias' account of Eukleides' Zeus and its sanctuary which can link them with confidence with the Aigeira head and the small temple in which it was

¹¹ E. Protonotariou-Deilake, «Ἀνασκαφή Φενεοῦ 1958, 1959, 1961», *Δελτ* 17, 1961–1962, Β' 1 (1963; pp. 57–61), pp. 57–59. Although the sculpture from Pheneos awaits complete publication, the initial conclusion of the excavator that the fragments belong to an acrolithic statue group seem warranted.

¹² Walter, "Der Arm" (footnote 4 above), p. 148.

¹³ J. C. Carter, *The Sculpture of the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene*, London 1983, p. 211. Dimensions of the four holes: 0.11 × 0.07 m. and 0.24 m. deep; 0.11–0.12 × 0.07 m. and 0.31 m. deep; 0.135 m. wide and 0.13 m. deep; and 0.12 × 0.07 m. and 0.255 m. deep. On the comparable large, square dowels used in architecture see R. Martin, *Manuel d'architecture grecque* I, Paris 1965, pp. 280–282. The rough cutting of the lower part of Athena's neck where it fitted into the wooden torso parallels the rough working on the joining surfaces on the backs of the heads from Pheneos and Aigeira. The coarse finishing of the marble surfaces without anathyrosis to join the wood occurs also on a Roman acrolithic copy of a Greek statue in Thessaloniki: G. Despinis, *Ἀκρόλιθα*, Athens 1975, pp. 12–14. Here, too, a large square socket in the marble took a wooden dowel or tenon.

¹⁴ Alzinger *et al.*, pp. 32–38.

¹⁵ Walter ("Voruntersuchung" [footnote 3 above], cols. 30–31) suggests that the path which descends in a southwestern direction from the city walls in the area of the theater is the road to Phelloe. But this path is much closer to the theater than to the small naïskos D and fits uncomfortably with Pausanias' description of the Phelloe road as leaving directly from the sanctuary. Pausanias' account of his approach to and departure from Aigeira via the port seems to describe the northern, more gently sloped part of the city rather than the higher areas of the acropolis and theater to the south.

found; indeed, the technical and topographical details discussed above make the identification unlikely. The discovery of a colossal head of a bearded male deity at the initial stages of exploration of the site perhaps made it inevitable that it be identified with one of the most famous monuments in the city. Support for the identification as Zeus has been sought in formal comparison with other Hellenistic types of the god, particularly the Zeus Otricoli and the Jupiter Capitolinus.¹⁶ The hair rising vertically off the forehead and the massive beard, parted along the vertical axis into symmetrical, spiraling curls, are cited as features of the Aigeira head that associate it with renderings of Zeus. These are only general stylistic features, however, and are shared by depictions of a great number of mature, male divinities. On an emblemata found at Miletropolis, near Pergamon, and probably dating, like the Aigeira head, to the 2nd century B.C., a silen sports a similar styling of hair and beard and illustrates something of the range of subjects for which these formal elements could be employed.¹⁷ The identification of the deity represented by the Aigeira head, then, must rely on finer details of the rendering or on independent evidence for the identity of the temple in which the head was found.

Two aspects of the head are of particular interest with regard to the deity's identity: the arrangement of the hair framing the face and the treatment of the flesh surfaces. Preserved only above the proper right side of the face, the hair spreads away from it in a series of tufts, the surfaces of which are worked with the chisel, while the channels between them are cut with the drill.¹⁸ These channels indicate that the tufts are separately defined forms rather than a series of long, overlapping locks. The tufts are severed at a uniform height above, appropriate for a wreath which should be visualized as crowning the head. The truncated surfaces are given a slightly coarsened finish, and the tufts were probably completed in plaster. Holes drilled into these surfaces aided in securing the bronze wreath to the marble. The last tuft on the right side of the head, in front of the ear, has a horizontal, downward-facing surface worked in the same way, from which a lock of hair rendered in plaster must have hung. With the tufts intact and the wreath added, the hair provides a mass equal in visual weight to the prominent beard, counter-balancing it and with it forming a circular frame for the face. In its original form then, the head would have made a distinctly different impression than that of the Zeus of the Otricoli type with its long, dripping locks cascading around the face.

The handling of the flesh portions produces an equally distinctive effect. The bony structure of the face asserts itself only along the bridge of the nose and the inner portions of the eye sockets; even here the sharper edges dissolve into fatty pouches at the outer corners. The flesh over the cheek bones appears more as an inflated volume than a thin surface stretched over a hard mass of bone. In contrast to the more gaunt appearance of Zeus types, which gives the impression of sagacity born of age and experience, the slightly turgid

¹⁶ G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums III*, Berlin 1936, no. 539; Bieber (footnote 5 above), pp. 158–159; Thiemann (footnote 5 above), pp. 116–119; Marzani (footnote 5 above). On the Jupiter Capitolinus see especially A. Zadoks Jitta, "Juppiter Capitolinus," *JRS* 28, 1938, pp. 50–55.

¹⁷ Cf. H. Winnefeld, "Hellenistische Silberrelief im Antiquarium der Königlichen Museen," *BWPr* 68, 1908 (pp. 3–25), pp. 6–12.

¹⁸ See Stewart, pp. 51–52.

appearance of the Aigeira head suggests a history of soft living and indulgence. More than the majesty of Zeus, it reflects the sensuousness of Dionysos.

The proximity of naïskos D, where the head was discovered, to the theater is consistent with a temple of Dionysos and repeats a pattern for theater and temple found at several sites throughout the Peloponnesos, particularly in the near-by cities of Aigion and Sikyon.¹⁹ The temple at Aigeira was embellished within by a pebble mosaic placed between the doorway and the cult statue; its central panel depicts a combat between an eagle and a snake. The association of the eagle with Zeus has been taken to secure the identity of the temple;²⁰ the snake, on the other hand, could as easily signal an association with Dionysos. The link between the subject of the central panel and the deity of the temple is not a simple equation, as the contemporary pebble mosaics depicting a Triton and a fish in the temple of Zeus at Olympia illustrate.²¹ But the elements enframing the central panel at Aigeira are distinctly Dionysian: griffins, kantharoi, and thyrsos.²²

Clues to the original appearance of the Aigeira Dionysos are provided by the manner in which the marble and wood pieces of the statue were fitted together. Although the lower part of the neck is not preserved, the hollowing out of the marble down through the neck makes it unlikely that it joined a torso also worked in marble. A torso rendered in wood corresponds to a clothed torso. The working of parts in marble or wood must be understood as an issue not only of representation but of weight distribution as well. The marble head and arms of an acrolith would comprise a substantial portion of the statue's weight placed high up on the statue, supported by the clothed torso and legs rendered in wood. For a male figure clothed only in a mantle and nude to the waist, the weight of stone to be supported on and secured to the lower wooden portions would be proportionally even greater. Accordingly, a figure dressed so as to leave the body above the waist nude, although a common type for Zeus, is conspicuously missing among identified acroliths, which typically are recognized on the evidence of surviving heads, hands, arms, and feet.²³ The separately worked head and arm of the Aigeira statue are good evidence for a clothed torso.

The preserved left arm (Pl. 128) is worked in marble from about the middle of the upper arm. The left hand held a thick staff, probably a thyrsos, so that the arm was held in

¹⁹ Christoph Schwingenstein (*Die Figurenausstattung des griechischen Theatergebäudes*, Munich 1977, pp. 26–28) discusses the dedication of theaters to Dionysos and the incidence of associated temples to the god. In addition to his bibliography and list of sites where theaters are associated with temples, see A. Griffin, *Sikyon*, Oxford 1982, p. 16; M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris 1985, pp. 231–232 (Megalopolis); E. Deilake, «Τὸ Θέατρον τῆς Πόλεως τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου», *AAA* 5, 1972, pp. 347–357; J. Kleine, *Führer durch die Ruinen von Milet-Didyma-Priene*, Ludwigsburg 1980, pp. 54–58 (Miletos); T. Hackens, «Thorikos 1963. Le théâtre», *AntCl* 34, 1965 (pp. 39–46), pp. 40–43. Schwingenstein shows (pp. 59–60) that dedications of theaters to Zeus and that temples to Zeus and images of Zeus proximate to theaters are extremely rare.

²⁰ Alzinger *et al.*, pp. 36–37.

²¹ D. Salzmann, *Untersuchungen zu den antiken Kieselmosaiken*, Berlin 1982, pp. 118–119.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34, 49–50, 82. On the association of griffins with Dionysos and the theater, compare the griffins carved on the front of the throne of the priest of Dionysos in the theater at Athens, dated to the 4th century B.C.: M. Maass, *Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen*, Munich 1972, pp. 60–76.

²³ The Alexander the Great in the Brooklyn Museum (54.162) is a telling example. He must have worn a mantle diagonally across the torso, exposing the upper right side. But the work is small in scale and very likely was completed in a contrasting colored stone rather than in wood. See R. S. Bianchi *et al.*, *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*, Brooklyn 1988, p. 144.

front and away from the body. A mantle alone, thrown up over the left shoulder and sliding down the upper arm, might cover the outside of the arm but would not wrap entirely around it, as required by the flat surface at the end of the piece. It is more consistent with the physical evidence that the upper arm was clothed in the sleeve of a chiton. The combination of mantle with chiton beneath remains in the Hellenistic period standard garb for the mature, bearded Dionysos type.²⁴ Finally, it can be concluded that the figure of Dionysos probably was seated, as suggested by the large scale of the head (0.87 m.) and the small size of the temple (18.75 × 8.30 m., cella length: 12.00 m.).

The use of the acrolithic technique for the Aigeira Dionysos is of particular interest in light of the designs of both the statue and the temple in which it stood. Walter pointed out in his first publication that the temple in proportions and plan was reminiscent of the second temple of Dionysos near the theater in Athens.²⁵ Both were tetrastyle prostyle, with special emphasis given to the east end by the steps, which extend along the front and down the sides only as far as the antae.²⁶ These formal similarities were regarded at the time as merely incidental, but it is apparent now that they reflect a consistent effort on the part of the architect and sculptor at Aigeira to emulate the famous temple and statue in Athens. Both temples are located near theaters and probably served the cults there, and they contained cult statues of precious and visually similar materials: gold and ivory for the Dionysos in Athens; gilded wood and marble for the Dionysos in Aigeira. The two statues also share individual details: the seated pose, the wreathed head, the thyrsos in the left hand, and the older, bearded type of the divinity. Very likely, the garb of the Aigeira statue (chiton and mantle) also is in imitation of the earlier statue, and it can be surmised further that, like the Athens statue, the Aigeira Dionysos held out a kantharos in the right hand.²⁷

²⁴ Compare the relief of Dionysos visiting a poet (Vatican, Sala Busti 783): Pollitt (footnote 5 above), fig. 211; or the Dionysos of the Sardanapolis type (Athens, N.M. 1656): E. Pochmarski, *Das Bild des Dionysos in der Rundplastik der klassischen Zeit Griechenlands*, Vienna 1974, pp. 32–37. Against identifying Dionysos with figures clad only in a himation, see E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, XI, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton 1965, p. 58.

²⁵ Walter, "Voruntersuchung" (footnote 3 above), pp. 26–27.

²⁶ W. B. Dinsmoor (*The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 3rd ed., New York 1975, p. 184) supposes the Athenian temple to have been built in the later 5th century B.C. and in the Doric order. More recent exploration of the Athenian temple has suggested a date in the second half of the 4th century B.C. and that it may have been in the Ionic order. See P. G. Kalligas, «'Εργασίαι τακτοποιήσεως καὶ διαμορφώσεως τοῦ ἱεροῦ Διονύσου Ἐλευθερέως τῆς νοτίου κλιτύος Ἀκροπόλεως (1961–1962)», *Δελτ* 18, 1963, Β' 1 (1965; pp. 12–18), pp. 14–15. If so, the Aigeira temple would have imitated the Athenian in both plan and order.

²⁷ Pausanias (1.20.3) assigns the chryselephantine statue of Dionysos to the 5th-century sculptor Alkamenes; the pose and attributes of the statue are gleaned from possible renderings of it on coins and one statuette: E. Reisch, "Der Dionysos des Alkamenes," in *Eranos Vindobonensis*, Vienna 1893, pp. 1–23; C. Walston, *Alkamenes*, Cambridge 1926, pp. 158–159; and *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos, p. 446, no. 214. Although the mantle worn by the god is clear on the coins, the presence or absence of the underlying chiton is less certain. John Travlos (Travlos, p. 537) now dates the temple to the mid-4th century B.C., and Charles M. Edwards ("Greek Votive Reliefs to Pan and the Nymphs," diss. New York University 1985, pp. 98–107) dates the reliefs on the statue base to the same period. The attribution of the statue itself to Alkamenes thus may be less certain. The temple of Dionysos that stood near the theater in the neighboring city of Sikyon also held a chryselephantine cult statue (Pausanias, 2.7.2). As such, it would have reinforced the choice for a visually similar statue at Aigeira. If the statue appearing on coins is correctly identified as the Sikyon statue, it also held the same attributes, the thyrsos and kantharos, but in contrast to the Aigeira and Athens statues was a standing, youthful figure of the god, appropriately clothed in a short chiton and boots. See Griffin (footnote 19 above), p. 16 and

This new identification of the temple and cult statue requires the reassessment of conclusions drawn about the occasion of their construction. When identified as the temple to Zeus, naïskos D and the other buildings with which it forms a group, the theater and the two smaller naïskoi E and F, could be viewed as a major civic complex. Ceramic and numismatic evidence date the theater to the 3rd century B.C., and the style of the mosaic in naïskos D suggests a similar date for the temple. The complex therefore has been seen as part of a building program linked to Aigeira's participation in the Achaian League.²⁸ The proposed identification of naïskos D as a temple to Dionysos makes this connection with the activity of the city in Hellenic politics less compelling. If Pausanias' failure to mention the theater area can be taken to indicate that he did not regard it as one of the most important sanctuaries in the city, there again is less need to associate the buildings here with the city's political fortunes. The absence of any link to a single historical event, like joining the Achaian League, perhaps is intimated in the delay in providing Dionysos' temple with its cult statue. The temple must be no later than the pebble mosaic within, the second half of the 3rd century B.C.; scholars, however, date the statue on stylistic grounds in the 2nd century B.C.

The source of funding for the cult statue is to be sought within the context of theatrical or festival performances. Following the construction of the temple, those in control of the sanctuary might provide for a new and opulent statue as funds allowed. In addition, artists who visited Aigeira to perform or artists from Aigeira who had won contests elsewhere might piously contribute towards the cost of a new cult statue. During the Hellenistic period such artists (known as the *technitai* of Dionysos) were organized into guilds. Those from Aigeira, like others from the Peloponnesos, belonged to one of the most powerful of these guilds, the Isthmian and Nemean.²⁹ Inscriptions relating to dedications by members of the guilds suggest a taste among them for statues in mixed and costly materials, a taste to which acrolithic sculpture would appeal. They are found adding to the value of statues of the god with dedications of gold and jewelry, and in one case from Argos, an acrolithic statue of Dionysos is given a robe of gold by a member of the local branch of the Isthmian and Nemean guild.³⁰ Whether the statues referred to are of great antiquity or contemporary recreations is unclear, but the sentiment is genuine. In this prevailing aesthetic atmosphere

F. W. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Ancient Coins Illustrating Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art*, Chicago 1964, p. 28.

²⁸ Alzinger *et al.*, pp. 49–50 and S. Gogos, "Das Theater von Aigeira in hellenistischer Zeit," *ÖJhBeibl* 56, 1985, cols. 159–176. On the date of the pebble mosaic in the temple, see Salzmann (footnote 21 above), pp. 33–34 and 82.

²⁹ On the *technitai* of Dionysos, see especially F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinwesens*, Leipzig 1909, pp. 129–147. For subsequent literature on the guilds, see G. Sifakis, "Organization of Festivals and the Dionysiac Guilds," *CQ*, n.s. 15, 1965, pp. 206–214; O. de Cazanove, "De quelques théories modernes sur l'association dionysiaque," in *L'association dionysiaque dans les sociétés anciennes: actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École Française de Rome*, Rome 1986, pp. 1–11; F. Dunard, "Les associations dionysiaques au service du pouvoir Lagide (III^e s. av. J.-C.)," in *ibid.*, pp. 85–104; D. Musti, "Il dionisismo degli Attalidi: antecedenti, modelli, sviluppi," in *ibid.*, pp. 105–128; H. Lavagne, "Rome et ses associations dionysiaques en Gaule (Vienne et Nîmes)," in *ibid.*, pp. 129–148; and R. Hanoune, "Les associations dionysiaques dans l'Afrique romaine," in *ibid.*, pp. 149–164. A member of the Isthmian and Nemean guild from Aigeira is listed in an inscription dealing with the branch of the guild headquartered in Argos: *IG IV*, 558.

³⁰ Dedications by artists are discussed by Poland, *op. cit.*, p. 472. *IG IV*, 558 deals with the Argive acrolith and dates to 113 B.C., placing it within the same chronological frame as the Aigeira acrolith.

the colossal ivory-and-gold cult statue of Dionysos at Athens would be a natural model. The increasingly acrimonious competition during the latter half of the 2nd century B.C. between the Peloponnesian guild and that of Athens perhaps further contributed to the desire in Aigeira to have a temple and statue equal to the Classical monument in Athens.³¹

With the link between the Aigeira head and Eukleides sundered, there is no reason to suppose the existence of a sculptor by that name in the Hellenistic period, and this shadowy figure sinks back into the unilluminated reaches of the 4th-century landscape. Recognized as a Dionysos, the statue provides evidence for the influence of Alkamenēs' Dionysos on cult statues of the god during the Hellenistic period. The Aigeira Dionysos belongs with both the Hygieia from Pheneos and the Athena Polias from Priene as 2nd-century B.C. acroliths in a classicizing style. Moreover, the Aigeira Dionysos and the Athena Polias illustrate more specifically the use of the acrolithic technique, along with a classicizing style, in emulation of the great Athenian chryselephantine cult statues of the Classical period.

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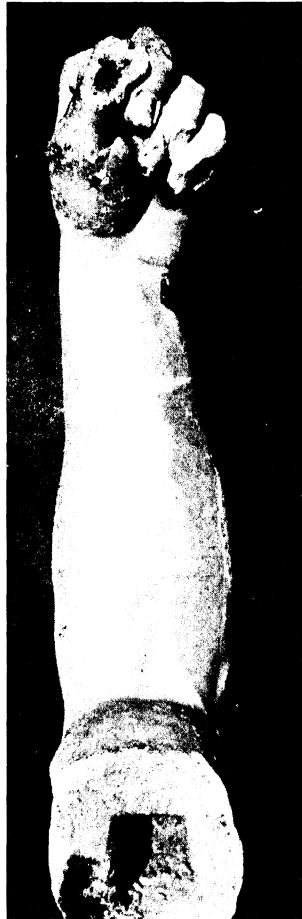
³¹On relations between the two guilds, see G. Daux, *Delphes au II^e et au I^{er} siècle*, Paris 1936, pp. 356–372 and A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1968, pp. 288–290.



b. Athens, National Museum 3377 (photograph, D.A.I. Athen)



a. Athens, National Museum 3377 (photograph, D.A.I. Athen)



a. Athens, National Museum 3481 (photograph, *ÖJh* 27, 1931, fig. 94)



b. Athens, National Museum 3481 (photograph, *ÖJh* 27, 1931, fig. 95)