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ELENA WALTER – KARYDI

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Fig. 1. Aigina, Cape Colonna, the Acropolis. Viewed from the south.

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29 ANCIENT SITES AND MUSEUMS IN GREECE 29

ELENA WALTER - KARYDI

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Translated from the German by JOAN CLOUGH

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Fig. 2. Aigina, Cape Colonna. Viewed from the west. Mt Oros, in the distance, left.

Preface

Identity, be it collective or individual, is a key concept of our times. Fear of losing it, the desire to retain it, these are very actual experiences. Asking, however, about collective identity in an early Greek *polis* such as Aigina, one has to realize that the anthropological situation is fundamentally a different one and look about for events and occurrences that might reveal something essential about a world that is so remote to us. In the following the guiding principle is that collective identity, awareness of belonging together and consciousness of a distinctive 'physiognomy' of the community, is not a given entity but rather something that forms only gradually. Aigina serves as a case study, as it were, for looking into the process of identity formation. I eschew the expression 'identity construction', which is occasionally used for this process and similar phenomena, for it seems to me to assume deliberate planning whereas, in the early Greek *polis*, identity formation is a largely spontaneous process, related to change in the collective consciousness in the course of time.

What we do know about the Aiginetans is their renown as mariners, their thriving sea trade and the wealth resulting from it, their hostility to Athens, their celebrated school of sculpture, their victorious athletes and the epinician odes celebrating these victories... This is not much, compared with the wealth of evidence that would be available if one were, for

instance, to follow the formation of the Athenians' collective identity. However, having long participated in investigations of the city sanctuary of Aigina under the direction of Hans Walter, to whom the following is dedicated, it was inevitable for me to think about the Aiginetans, who came together in this sanctuary: how did they form a collective identity?

Of the phenomena through which this process can be traced, I shall draw on the following: the celebration of Aiginetan victors in the panhellenic games as well as the victory odes and the victor statues; Aiakos as *polis* heros and Aiginetan sculpture; the Doric ethnicity of the Aiginetans; Aiginetan temples and works of art; the earliest coinage of Aigina.

Victory celebrations

The return home of a victorious athlete was celebrated in a great religious *polis* feast, where an epinician ode was performed. Epinician poetry flourished in the late 6th and the first half of the 5th centuries BC: famous poets, such as Simonides, Bacchylides and, above all, Pindar, composed odes for each victory celebration – it is significant that the cult did not call for the recitation of hymns fixed and handed down from old times. Commissioned for specific actual occasions, which are explicitly designated as such by the poet, these splendid odes might in fact be called 'occasional verse' (but see p. 17). They even impart details of the cult festivities, although these, being not strictly regulated, could vary each time.

AIAKEION. On Aigina the victor, after landing at the harbour, was led, accompanied by a festive procession, to Colonna Hill, the city sanctuary of Apollo (*figs 1-3*). On the way, the procession might make a stop at the Aiakeion, the shrine of the *polis* hero Aiakos. According to Pausanias (2, 29. 6), the Aiakeion was situated 'at the most conspicuous part of the city'. This part included the Apollo sanctuary (designated as *Apollonion* in an inscription from the 1st century BC, *IG* IV, 2 v. 36 sq.) as well as a larger area, through which modern streets run north and east (Kazantzakis Street and Patriarch Gregory V Street). So the Aiakeion was in the vicinity of the

city sanctuary. "Arriving at Aigina, Pausanias does not begin his description with the Acropolis and the main temple but instead where he landed, with the buildings right in front of him: the trade port and the nearby Aphrodite temple... He sees the shrine of Aiakos and the tomb of his son, Phokos, next to each other and at the most conspicuous part of the city"[1].

According to Pausanias (2, 29. 6-8), the Aiakeion had a square enclosure in white marble. At the entrance there were reliefs depicting the envoys of the Greeks who, after a Delphic oracle, had once appealed to Aiakos to prevail upon his father, Zeus, to relieve the drought afflicting Greece. Aiakos sacrificed to Zeus Panhellenios on the Oros (*figs 2, 4*) and his prayer was heard his wish was granted[2]. Within the enclosure

Fig. 3. Aigina, the west coast and Cape Colonna.

stood ancient olive trees and a low altar that was secretly regarded as Aiakos' tomb. It seems then, the Aiakeion was an enclosed sacred grove with an altar. There was no cult statue.

When the procession stopped there, the victor would hang wreaths at the entrance (N. 5, 56-58). It is to this ritual Pindar is referring when he proclaims he is offering "a variegated, sounding Lydian headband" (N. 8, 14 f.), ie., his ode, to Aiakos. A fillet is interchangeable with the victor's crown and the proud poet equates with them his ode, as a votive offering to the *polis* heros. Indeed he often compares a victory song of his to works of a different genre, even calling it superior to them (p. 18).

The victor's dedication of his crown was a significant ritual since, as is well known, even though victory brought financial

Fig. 4. Aigina, Mt Oros. Viewed from the harbour of Aigina.

advantages and other privileges, it was the crown that was considered to be the actual prize. Thus, a distinction was drawn between the so-called sacred games with crowns (*agônes hieroi kai stephanitai*), to which belonged the panhellenic games, and local athletic festivals with financial rewards as prizes (*agônes thematikoi* or *argyritai, chrêmatitai, hêmitalantaioi)* that were of lesser importance[3]. The crown was the sign of the *kydos* ('fame') and *areté* ('merit') accruing to the victor, which were at stake in Greek games. When a Persian accompanying Xerxes on his campaign against Greece heard that crowns were given as prizes at athletic contests, he exclaimed bitterly 'Alas, Mardonios! Against what sort of men hast thou led us to war, who hold their games for the prize of merit rather than money' (Herod. 8, 26). Ever since that time the crown is the emblem of glory *par excellence*.

By dedicating his crown, a victor let the *polis* participate to his fame through the *polis* heros. This is stated explicitly in the epigram of the victor statue of Theognetos of Aegina, winner in boys' wrestling at the Olympic games of 476 or 464 BC:

'Come to know Theognetos looking upon him, the boy Olympic victor, skilled charioteer of the wrestling, most beautiful to see, but in competing no worse than in form, who has crowned the city of good fathers' (AP XVI 2; trans. Kurke 1993, 138)[4].

THE APOLLO SANCTUARY (*fig. 5*). The ritual at the Aiakeion was an introductory one (*πρόθυμα*). The victory celebration culminated in the sacrifice at the Acropolis sanctuary. Here the third Apollo temple was built, shortly after 520, to the west of its predecessor, so that the area between the temple

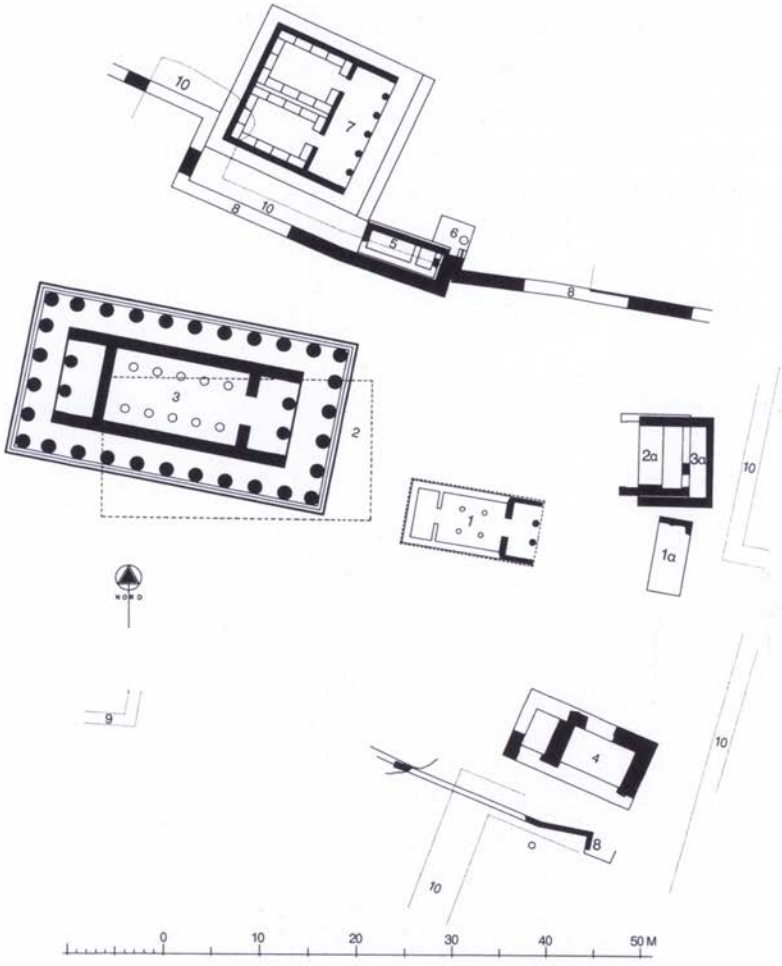


Fig. 5. Aigina, the Apollo sanctuary on the Acropolis, east section, ca 460 BC. 1-3: the Apollo temple; 1a-3a: altars; 4: the Artemis temple; 5: small building; 6: fountain square; 7: Thearion; 8: the archaic temenos wall; 9: the hellenistic temenos wall; 10: the Roman Acropolis wall (K. Hoffelner).

and the altar (*fig. 5, 3-3a*) was enlarged, thus providing more space for the religious feast to enfold. A second festival area was even created outside the temenos wall: the Thearion with an open space in front (*figs 5, 7; 6-8*). Here, according to Pindar, epinician odes were performed. In N3, 67f. the poet weaves the location into the ideology of the epinician ode: loud acclaim is due to the victorious Aristokleidas who has led this

Fig. 6. The 'inscription wall' and the Thearion (fig. 5, 7. 8). Viewed from the north.

island to glorious praise (it is because of him that Aigina is praised in the ode) and the sacred Thearion of Pythian Apollo to splendid pursuits (by making it the place where the victory ode is performed).

The *Thearion* (Doric form of *Theorion*) derives its name from the *theoroí*, cult envoys sent to the panhellenic sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo in Delphi, with which the Aiginetan Apollo sanctuary was closely linked. The *theoroí* probably also fulfilled important functions in the *polis* of Aigina itself[5]. It is evident in the forms of the Thearion, which are similar to those of the temple, as well as in the superior craftsmanship, that the building was an outstanding one. Being contemporary with the beginning of epinician poetry's heyday, it was probably erected in connection with an enhancement of the victory celebration.

At this celebration, rituals were not performed in any fixed order. The epinician ode was sometimes premièred at the place where the contest was held[6]. In any case, it was not limited to a single performance. The victor's family and native city, which, after all, had their full share in his *kydos*, are sure to have kept the text. We know that Pindar's ode to Diagoras of Rhodes was inscribed on the Athena temple at Lindos in golden letters (Schol. O. 7, p. 195, 13 f.); accordingly, epinician odes to the glorious athletes of the *polis* might have been kept in the Apollo sanctuary at Aigina. In any case, there were repeat performances and not just in the victor's native city; the ode by Simonides to the Aiginetan Krios was performed at an Athenian symposion[7]. The Bassidai, an Aiginetan shipping family, which boasted of several victors, carried 'their own shipload of epinician odes' (N. 6, 32), ie. performed them on

voyages, evidently to friends. Pindar proudly proclaims, his songs travel everywhere (N. 5, 3 f.; see p. 18 f.).

A VICTORY ODE PERFORMANCE united poetry, music, singing and dance in a multimedia event of which we only know the text, the script, as it were. Significantly, the word *mousike*, 'the art of the Muses', does not refer to music alone but also to the singing and dancing associated with it. An ode was not

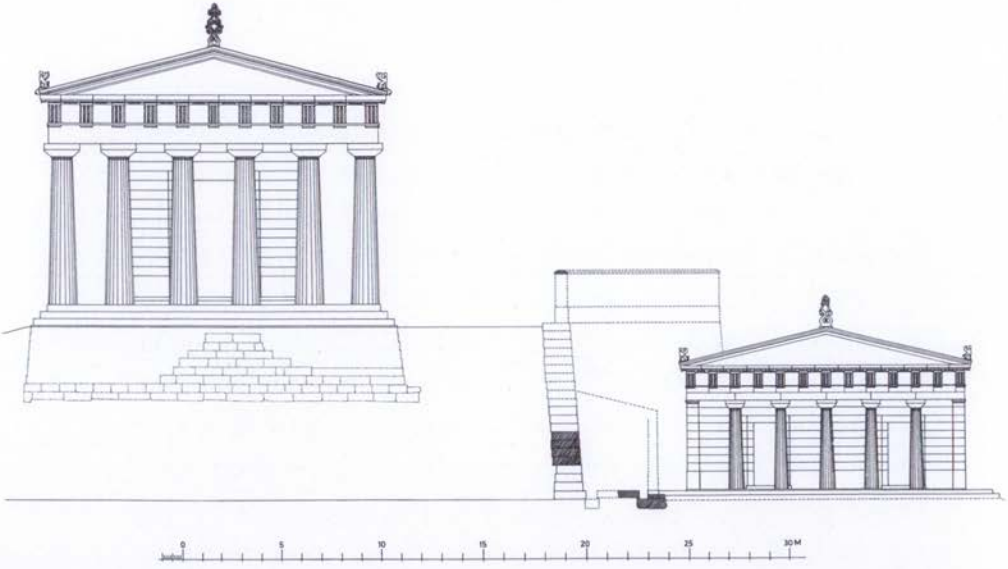


Fig. 7. The Thearion and the third Apollo temple (Fig. 5, 3. 7). Ca 520-510 BC. (K. Hoffelner).

performed by soloists, such as those who recited, for instance, Alcaeus' monodic lyrics to the close audience of a symposium, but by a chorus of citizens – who performed in front of the assembled people of the city. The victory ode was addressed to all: through its content, of which more will be said later, through the performance by a chorus of 'practised amateurs' (Fränkel 1962, 484), usually led by the poet himself, and through the public performance.

The audience, evidently familiar with the conventions of encomiastic poetry, had no difficulty in following what seems

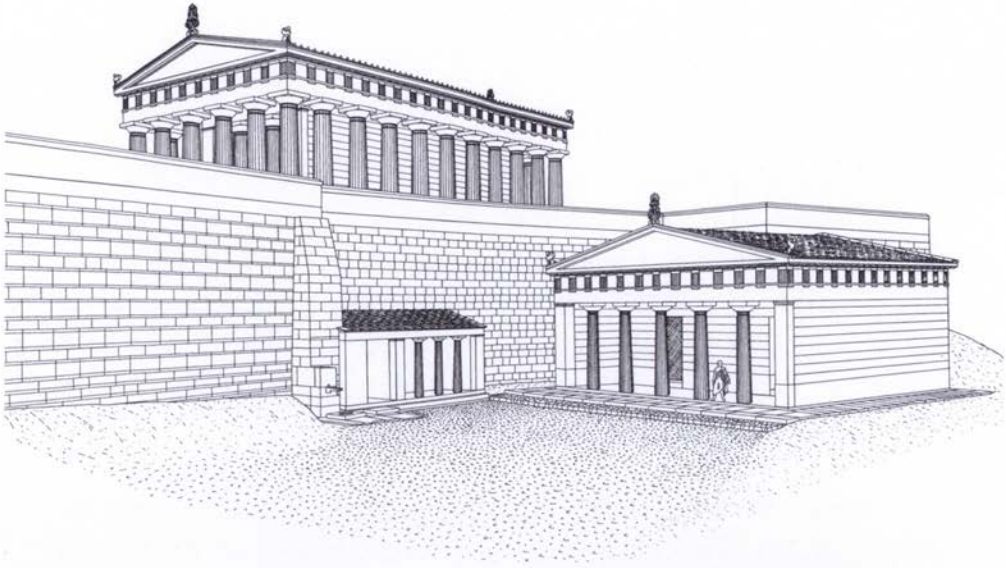


Fig. 8. Perspective projection of reconstruction fig. 7 (K. Hoffelner).

to us to be a sophisticated text. The interaction that took place between the poet and his public was supported by common beliefs and values.

The ode was indeed commissioned by the victor or his family, that is, generally aristocrats, who had both the leisure and the finances for training, necessary for victory in athletic contests, especially at the panhellenic games[8]. However, there were no class barriers in the modern sense. Everyone could participate in the athletic contests and some who did not belong to the élite of a *polis* are sure to have done so. Anyway, whoever may have commissioned the ode, everyone was welcome to participate in the victory festival; the epinician poet addressed the entire citizenry. Thus the victor, who had already let the *polis* share in his glory by dedicating his crown and who had also taken part in the sacrifice ritual, was once again integrated in the community that he had left behind through his victory.

It was, too, in the name of the community that the poet dedicated his ode to the god, in whose sanctuary it was performed; the ode was a votive offering, so that *charis* (reciprocal pleasure and good-will between the deity and the mortals) might prevail; this was, after all, the goal of all religious festivals. The formation of collective identity in the victory celebration is embedded in *charis* since nothing happens for the Greeks without the gods.

VICTOR, *OIKOS, POLIS.* The epinician ode does not elevate the victor to lonely heights of fame. The very names of his family and his native city that accompany his own name proclaim that he has won his victory as member of his family and citi-

zen of his *polis*. The ode is thus repeating the official victory announcement at the games that had already proclaimed the victor's familial and *polis* ties (it would be significant to know at what time the announcement formula in use in the years of the epinician odes was established). Consequently, the *oikos* ('family') is present in the ode: earlier victories won by family members are mentioned and the victor's achievement is called an inherited prowess. At the same time it is emphasised that his victory honours his gifted ancestors since his being crowned is shared not only by his native *polis* (p. 5 f.) but also by his *oikos*. In O. 8, 76 it says that the Blepsiades are being crowned for the sixth time: through the victories won by members of the family. The same idea is also found in statues inscriptions, such as the epigram of an Olympic victor statue (Paus. 6, 1. 7) listing earlier athletic victories won by members of his family. The victor and his *oikos* honour each other in a reciprocal way.

As a rule, the victor's native city is celebrated alongside his family. Pindar, who composed more epinician odes for Aiginetans than for the athletes of any other city (see p. 103 f.), constantly thinks up new expressions for praising Aigina: 'city beloved of the gods' (I. 6, 65 f.), 'the hospitable', 'the famous island' (N. 6, 46), 'the law-abiding *polis*' (I. 5, 22), where Themis is most venerated among men (O. 8, 23-25) etc. Alluding to her powerful fleet, he calls Aigina 'renowned for her ships' (N. 5, 9, etc.) and 'long-oared' (O. 8, 21), wondering where she had found her 'ship-commanding spirit' (Paian 6, 130 f.). The praise culminates in the address: 'Thou island of famous name, living and ruling in the Dorian Sea, shining star of Zeus Hellanios'[9].

Bacchylides too praises Aigina in his odes to Aiginetan athletes: as 'god-built *polis*' ... on the blessed island' (12, 4-8), 'mistress of a hospitable (land)' (13, 95) etc. He claims that the 'conspicuous *Areté*', aided by the goddesses of fame (Eukleia) and sound civic order (Eunomia), governs the city and 'truly honours the fame-bringing [*polis*] of Aiakos' (13, 182-186)[10]. By calling Aigina fame-bringing (φερεκυδέα) the poet points out that the victor confers glory to an already renowned *polis*: he stands then in a reciprocal honouring of past and present both as a member of his family and as a citizen of his city.

THE MYTHS. Praising the victor's native city leads into the presentation of local myths, which is an integral part of the epinician ode concerning the heroes who belong to the collective identity of each city. Pindar proclaims that Aigina is the home of Aiakos and his sons (I. 5, 43 f.), and he praises them selecting certain versions of a myth (sometimes following Aiginetan local tradition) or simply inventing new ones. Aiakos, he states, is 'the best in strength of hand and counsel' (N. 8, 7), one, who even settles disputes for the gods[11], and helped the Olympian gods Apollo and Poseidon, no less, to build the walls of Troy (O. 8, 30-52). This not only shows how high Aiakos' status was in the mythical world but also prefigures the fall of Troy. Namely, after the walls had been built, Pindar says, three snakes tried to jump upon the rampart. Two fell down but the third succeeded, indeed on the part of the wall built by Aiakos. This led Apollo to prophesy that Troy would fall, in fact, fall twice, through Aiakos' descendants. According to the scholia, the myth of the building of the

Trojan wall is Pindar's invention, especially devised for the victory ode[12]. By building the walls about Troy, Aiakos enabled his descendants, as it were, to perform heroic deeds: Achilles, an Aiakid, destroyed Troy – and in doing so brought 'glory to Aigina and his own descent' (I. 8, 48-58); the analogy with the victor returning home is obvious. Starting with the actual victory, Pindar moves on to the myth, which also applies to the victor, before returning to the celebration for which the ode was composed. Such connections are not irrelevant to the formation of collective identity: the Aiginetan myths, especially those of the Aiakids, represent the legendary past, in which are found the patterns that challenge the Aiginetans, the victor too, to compete with.

MYTHS AND HISTORY. It should be noted that the Greeks of this time certainly did not regard myths as being in a different category from historical deeds, such as earlier athletic victories and the role played by the Aiginetans at Salamis. In the fifth Isthmian ode, Pindar praises Aiakos' descendants as the conquerors of Troy – first with Heracles and the second time with the Atrides – before turning to the recent victory at sea off Salamis:

> *" ... and recently in war, Salamis,*
> *the city of Aias,*
> *could attest that it was preserved by her (Aigina's) sailors*
> *during Zeus' devastating rain,*
> *that hailstorm of gore for countless men".*
>
> (I. 5, 48-50; trans. Race 1997).

The association of the mythical and the historical past occurs not just in poetry, but also in historical accounts. According to

Herodotus (8, 64; 83, 2), an earthquake shook both land and sea when the day of battle dawned at Salamis, so that the Greeks decided to pray to the gods and invoke the aid of Aiakos and his descendants. Ajax and Telamon could be appealed to on the spot but a ship had to be sent to Aigina for the other Aiakids; it had returned by the time Themistocles was ordering the men to embark. Herodotus says that more fame accrued to the Aiginetans than to any other Greeks in this battle (8, 93). Plutarch adds, that the Greeks saw visions of warriors stretching out their hands from Aigina to protect the Greek ships and realised these were the Aiakids (Themist. 15, 1). For contemporaries the fighting of the Aiginetans off Salamis was indissolubly linked with the powers of the Aiakids.

Such ideas were common to the victory ode and its public, which, I repeat, consisted of all citizens. Commenting on the social context and function of the Pindaric epinician odes, Kurke in her stimulating book (1991) draws, I think, too sharp a distinction between the aristocracy, that the victor usually belonged to, and the other citizens of the *polis*: she calls the audience heterogeneous, comprising both the people at large and an élite, ascribes to Pindar strategies for relieving social tensions and even a paideutic function, "reeducating the nobility for its place in the new polis" (255). The ode, however, did not have to resolve class conflicts; everyone, after all, endorsed the ideology it invokes[13].

IN THE EPINICIAN ODE various elements are put together: the actual victory, the victor's family and the all-encompassing *polis* with its heroes, the past as a challenge to competition,

gnomes, and the omnipresent gods. The connections demonstrated amid all these elements are indeed not irrelevant to our theme, since such praising of a victorious athlete creates an awareness of collective identity. So the so-called 'occasional verse' of an epinician ode is 'elevated above the day and the actual occasion' (Snell 1965, 139). If the Aiginetans really did keep the victory odes to their athletes on their city sanctuary (p. 9), they did so realising that these odes were documents of Aiginetan identity.

Victor statues

In the victory celebration, the city sanctuary becomes the place of the Aiginetans' collective identity and the statues of victorious athletes contribute to this[14]. Pindar was well aware of, and even sought to contest, this role of victor statues. He often emphasised, after all, the superiority of his odes to other works of art, calling his song a treasury, which afforded more protection to the victor's glory than the actual treasuries built at Delphi would have (P. 6, 7-16). He proclaimed, moreover, that the poet's praise was the true reward for the athlete's exertions and victory, "for great deeds of valor remain in deep darkness when they lack hymns" (N. 7, 14-15; trans. Race 1997); it is the poet who awards the victor the most beautiful wreath: "Weaving crowns is easy – let it be! The Muse puts for you gold and white ivory together with the lily flower of marine dew (coral)" (N. 7, 77-79; cf. Fränkel 1962, 560).

The same idea is expressed by Bacchylides, who speaks of "this freshly woven fillet (= victor's headband) of songs" (13, 223). Pindar, however, goes so far as to make derogatory remarks about the statues:

"I am not a maker of statues to fashion images that stand idle upon their bases" (N. 5, 1-2; trans. Kurke 1991, 251).

And the poet proceeds to address his song that, on the contrary, travels everywhere (p. 10):

"Rather, on board every ship
and in every boat, sweet song,
go forth from Aigina and spread the news that
Lampon's mighty son Pytheas
has won the crown for the pankration in Nemea's games"
(N. 5, 1-5; trans. Race 1997).

With these verses Pindar brought up a contest among the art genres, which henceforth time and again turns up, even in modern times. Yet, this is irrelevant for our argument. What does matter is that the poet self-confidently ignores the fact that the victor statues, he is probably referring to, do not compete with the victory ode but instead fulfil a function of their own, one complementary to the song, as it were. Statues are indeed linked with the place where they are set up, but that is what assures these victor images a permanent presence in the sanctuary – the statue gives to the victor an immortal body. The victor statues function as the focus of individual achievement and the pride of both the *oikos* and the *polis*; in the sanctuary they stand as signs of collective identity. Moreover, at a time, when the modern overload of images did not exist, the evocative power of images were incomparably greater than they are nowadays.

THE VICTOR'S BEAUTY AND YOUTH. According to the inscription on the base of a bronze statue in Olympia (ca 472 BC), Euthymos of Locri, son of Astykles, three times Olympionike, has set up this *eikon* ('image') so that mortals may gaze on it (βροτοῖς ἐσορᾶν)[15]. The victor not only wishes to delight the god with the statue he dedicates and

thus attain *charis*, but he is also introducing himself to the community. He attaches importance to having people look at his portrait.

Moreover, the beauty of the represented person is often emphasised in the statues inscriptions. We should not, however, overlook the fact that, to the ancient Greeks, physical beauty was not an 'external' quality but rather one indissolubly linked with an athlete's skill or a warrior's excellence. And just as the inscription of the Theognetos statue proclaims, he was "most beautiful to see, but in competing no worse than in form" (p. 9), Pindar often refers to a victor's beauty: the Aiginetan Alkimedon, winner in boys' wrestling, was "beautiful to behold (ἐσορᾶν), in action he did not discredit his looks" (O. 8, 19; trans. Race 1997), the Aiginetan Aristokleidas, victor in the pankration, was "fair and performing deeds to match his form" (N. 3, 19; trans. Race 1997). Also, in the male beauty contests held in Elis in honour of Athena physical appearance was not all that was judged (Athen. 13, 609 f.). Significantly, the winners were awarded weapons as prizes that they later dedicated to Athena. They were also given (victor's) fillets and myrtle crowns and were led in a festive procession to the Temple of Athena. The correspondence with the religious celebration of athletic victory is obvious[16].

Apart from an athlete's beauty and skill, yet another quality deemed praiseworthy by the Greeks appears in victory odes: youth. A (for once, non-Aiginetan) winner in wrestling is said to be "young and fair and performing the fairest deeds" (O. 9, 94; trans. Race 1997).

THE VICTOR NOT CHARACTERISED AS AN INDIVIDUAL. The epinician poet creates radiant images of handsome, youthful athletes yet not of individuals. Similarly, the victor statue honours him by representing a handsome athlete's figure without individual features. Both, song and statue, do not characterize the victor as an individual. The ode does not go into his biography or details of his achievement. "Just as the contemporary "real" people in Pindar's epinician odes appear, they are akin to mythical persons (who are not less real to Pindar). The images of those who commissioned the songs are often less individualised than those of mythical heroes"[17]. The actual victory is presented in generally applying categories: as a reward for exertion, hereditary skill, the result of the gods' goodwill, etc. No data are given on the actual case. The same holds for the statue: the inscription imparts no biographical information on the victor nor does it give any details of his performance. All that is mentioned is the type of athletic contest in which he won. Nor does the statue reveal his looks.

THE PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF VICTOR STATUES. In the Early and High Archaic periods, until about 530/520 BC, victor statues are kouroi, as Pausanias (8, 40. 1) reports explicitly on Arrachion's statue in Phigalia. As is well known, the kouros is the generic statue of a standing man, which fulfilled all functions at that time as needed (cult image, funerary figure, votive offering). The earliest known statue of an Aiginetan victor, Praxidamas, Olympionike about 544 BC (Paus. 6. 18. 7), must also have been a kouros. The figure was carved of wood yet would not have differed in type from a roughly contemporary marble Attic grave kouros (*fig. 9*). Pausanias puts

Fig. 9. Attic grave kouros. H (without plinth) 2.08 m. Ca 540-535 BC. Munich, Glyptothek 169.

Fig. 10. Athlete, making a libation. Bronze. H 19.7 cm. Ca 480-470 BC. Olympia Mus.

the Praxidamas statue among the earliest victor statues yet there must certainly have been older examples, such as the one that stood in the Athena sanctuary near Francavilla Marittima in southern Italy. Only the inscription from the base is preserved, and it is dated to the first half of the 6th or even the late 7th century BC; this is the earliest epigraphically recorded statue of an Olympic victor[18]. In the inscription it says, in Ebert's translation, that, after his victory in Olympia, Kleombrotos, son of Dexilaos, dedicates to Athena (a statue) that is identical (to him) in size and sturdiness of build, as he had vowed to give the goddess a tenth of his prize. Incidentally, Pausanias himself mentions the victor statue of the Spartan Eutelidas, who won twice at the Olympic games of 628 BC (6, 15. 8; contradicting what he said about Praxidamas). We can then assume, that victor statues were set up as soon as the so-called monumental sculpture emerged in the mid-7th century. These were at first just statues of Olympic victors since only the Olympic games predate the sixth century. Then the three other panhellenic games were established and there was an increase in the number of victor statues set up at the site of the games.

In the Late Archaic period, from about 530/520 BC, when sculptors begin to take an interest in the body in motion and bronze masters invent new techniques for casting large-scale statues, the kouros type, as in *fig. 9*, often no longer suffices for a victor image. Thenceforward the victor may appear either in a motion referring to the discipline in which he had won his victory[19] or, since the early 5th century BC, in a quiet pose and gesture, for instance offering a libation to the deity (*fig. 10*).

Such visual formulae have only to do with athletics and victory; there is nothing individual about them. Aiginetan bronze sculptors created a number of such statues in the 5th century yet none has survived[20]. In fact, their character can be inferred above all as echoed in small bronzes such as the hoplitodrome (*fig. 11*), an Aiginetan or Corinthian figure, the

Fig. 11. Hoplitodrome. Bronze. H 16.35 cm. Ca 480 BC. Tübingen, University collection.

Fig. 12. Athlete, with a prayer gesture. Bronze. H (with base) 31.3 cm. Ca 470 BC. New York, Metropolitan Mus. of Art 08. 258. 10.

bearded man offering libation from Olympia (*fig. 10*), a Corinthian piece, or the East Ionian athlete raising his right hand to his chest (*fig. 12*); he recalls the victor statue of Anaxandros in Olympia, who 'looks as if he is praying to the god' (Paus. 6, 1. 7).

The victor statue, then, appears considerably earlier than the victory ode, even though recently discovered verses by Ibykos, from the mid-6th century and presumably derived from epinicia[21], predate the ode by Simonides, of about 520, hitherto regarded as the earliest[22]. In any case, the heyday of epinician poetry is not until the Late Archaic period.

VICTOR AND CROWN. It is probably not a coincidence that during those same years the crowning of athletes occurs more frequently on Attic vases. This suggests that the ritual of crowning as well as the victory celebration and epinician poetry were by then important, being evidently associated with the ties of the victor to his native city. Even though we are concerned here with the Aiginetans, I do think it is justifiable in this case to draw on Attic vase painting, indeed on non-Aiginetan works in general, since victory rituals, to which these images refer, were observed in all *poleis*; it is a matter, therefore, of parallel phenomena. The differences between the individual *poleis*, differences, which, after all, form part of the distinctive character of each community, exist above and beyond such parallels.

The great diversity possible in a minor art such as vase painting sheds light on which themes are relevant to the collective mentality of the time and how they are formally handled. Thus, these images are invaluable primary sources. In addition, they establish the broad framework, from which

certain themes at a certain time are upgraded to be dealt with in large-scale statuary – which again offers insight on the current mentality.

On a hydria (*fig. 13a-b*) a youthful athlete faces a bearded referee (?), who is winding a long red victor's headband about his head. The twigs in the youth's hand allude to the *phyllobolia*, when spectators honoured a victor by showering him with twigs and flowers. To the left of this group, a bearded man wrapped in a himation is watching a discus thrower and a runner.

In the scene *fig. 14*, all the figures are named: Kleainetos,

Fig. 13a. Crowning of a victor. Attic hydria. Ca 500 BC. Munich, Antikensammlungen 2420.

the bearded figure, is giving a crown to the youthful victor, the beautiful (*kalos*) Epainetos, who is holding *phyllobolia* twigs in his hands. A trainer, Alketes, who also sports a beard, is looking on but has turned to the right towards the young Antimenes, who is evidently being instructed by the bearded trainer Antiphanes on how to practise with the discus. At the ends of the frieze, the jumper Dorotheos and the javelin-thrower Va[tr]achos are practising while the flute-player Smiky[thos] is providing music. Both vase paintings are associated with the palaistra, especially the scene *fig. 14*. They do not, however, refer to a specific time or place since the practising athletes allude to the palaistra, the crowning to the

Fig. 13b. Crowning of a victor. Attic hydria. Ca 500 BC. Munich, Antikensammlungen 2420.

moment after victory at the site of the games, and the twigs in the victor's hands to the festive procession that is a part of the victory celebration, coming after the crowning and certainly not in the same place. As is well known, vase painters were not interested in temporal or spatial unity. For instance, the twigs in the hands of the youth who is being crowned do not represent a particular moment in the victory ritual, but are simply an attribute, identifying him as a victor. It should

Fig. 14. Crowning of a victor. Attic psykter. Ca 510 BC. New York, Metropolitan Mus. of Art 10. 210. 18.

be noted that, in such scenes, no particular emphasis is placed on the crowning of the victor amid the figures and groups.

This did not change until about 480, when the Late Archaic many-figured scenes of a marked narrative character (*figs 13-14*) disappear. From now on, no mortal appears crowning a victor; instead, as a rule, it is the goddess Nike herself who hands the crown or headband to the victor, as in *fig. 15*. The victor and the *kydos*-conferring goddess (φερεκυδής, Bacchyl. 13, 60) now appear alone. This change of imagery might suggest that the ritual of crowning the victor assumes in these years a new importance, through a greater

Fig. 15. Nike crowning a victor. Attic oenochoe. Ca 470 BC. Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1965. 5.

awareness of its relation to the victor's ties with his *oikos* and the *polis*.

In the early 5th century the ritual of the victor dedicating the crown (see p. 5 f.) becomes also a subject matter in art. The act of dedication itself is, however, rarely represented[23]; as a rule the victor appears in the act of taking off the crown in order to dedicate it, as shown in the vase painting *fig. 16a-b*. Such scenes have at times been misread, as "victor crowning

Fig. 16a-b. A victor removing his crown in order to dedicate it. Attic white alabastron. Ca 480-470 BC. Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 2258.

himself", while in the written sources there is nothing about a ritual of this kind, which would, after all, not make any sense[24]. Characteristically, in this period artists choose to represent the removal of the crown, as a prelude to the dedication ritual since, with the invention of contrapposto in the years about 490-480, the moment preceding an act, the moment of reflecting and deciding, becomes a major theme in art. In *fig. 16*, a victor appears facing Nike; she is inactive, being simply present at the ritual with which he will let his native city share his fame. The scene is, as it were, the one that would have followed the crowning of the victor by the goddess (*fig. 15*). It highlights, even more explicitly than the crowning, the victor's bond with his *polis*, the same ideas, which are expressed in epinician odes and victor statues inscriptions such as that of Theognetos (p. 6).

The theme of the athlete in the act of removing his victor's crown is so important during those years that it appears also in large-scale sculpture, such as the well-known votive stele from the Athena sanctuary at Sounion (*fig. 17*). The youth has often been called a victor crowning himself, but Claude Rolley realised he is represented in the act of removing his crown (or victor's headband) in order to dedicate it[25]. This is a gesture neither of religious veneration nor of triumph in victory, as sometimes assumed, but the beginning of the crown-dedication ritual, as is the case with the youth *fig.* 16b. The victor *fig. 17*, with thoughtfully bended head, seems to be fully aware of the meaning of the ritual.

The same theme occurred apparently also in the bronze original of the 'Westmacott Ephebe' (*fig. 18*)[26], a victor statue

by Polykleitos, which has survived in several replicas and has also, erroneously, been interpreted as an athlete crowning himself. In the pronounced turn of the entire figure towards the hand reaching for the crown, the relationship to the act of dedication, with the values implicit in this, has been more emphasized than was the case with the Early Classical image *fig. 17*.

The same theme recurs in the victor statue *fig. 19*[27]. The athlete raises his right hand to his crown – probably an olive wreath, an indication that this was an Olympic victory – and in his left hand he was holding what might be a palm frond[28]. His name and his native city are unknown yet the gesture attests to how vividly alive the idea of the victor's bond with his *polis* still is in these years although the athlete's pose and his remote gaze lack the connection to the act performed, which is evident in the earlier figure *fig. 18*.

OTHER VICTOR DEDICATIONS. Victor statues were the noblest – and most expensive – offerings made by victors but they were not the only ones. Victors also dedicated inscribed athletic equipment such as *diskoi*, jumpers' weights and the like[29]. A bronze discus, found with a pair of strigils in a grave on Aegina, bears on each side incised figures of athletes in motion: a javelin-thrower working up for his throw and a jumper swinging jumping-weights to give himself a greater impetus (*figs 20-21*). The subject matter recalls victor statues yet, since there are no inscriptions, it is not certain whether these grave goods refer to the deceased as a victorious athlete.

THE VIEWERS. People gazed at the compellingly handsome victor statues and read the inscriptions aloud, as was the standard practice then. Epigrams are a poetic genre that was performed, as it were, in a public space such as a sanctuary. The spectators were the performers and the text often gave them the opportunity for repeating the ritual of dedication, but above all the victor's name and his praise[30]. The inscribed statues made possible an everlasting celebration of the victor, ensuring too the oral form of communication that was so important to the Greeks. The viewers experienced the statue

Fig. 17. A victor removing his crown in order to dedicate it. Votive stele. H 48 cm. Ca 480-470 BC. Athens, Nat. Mus. 3344.

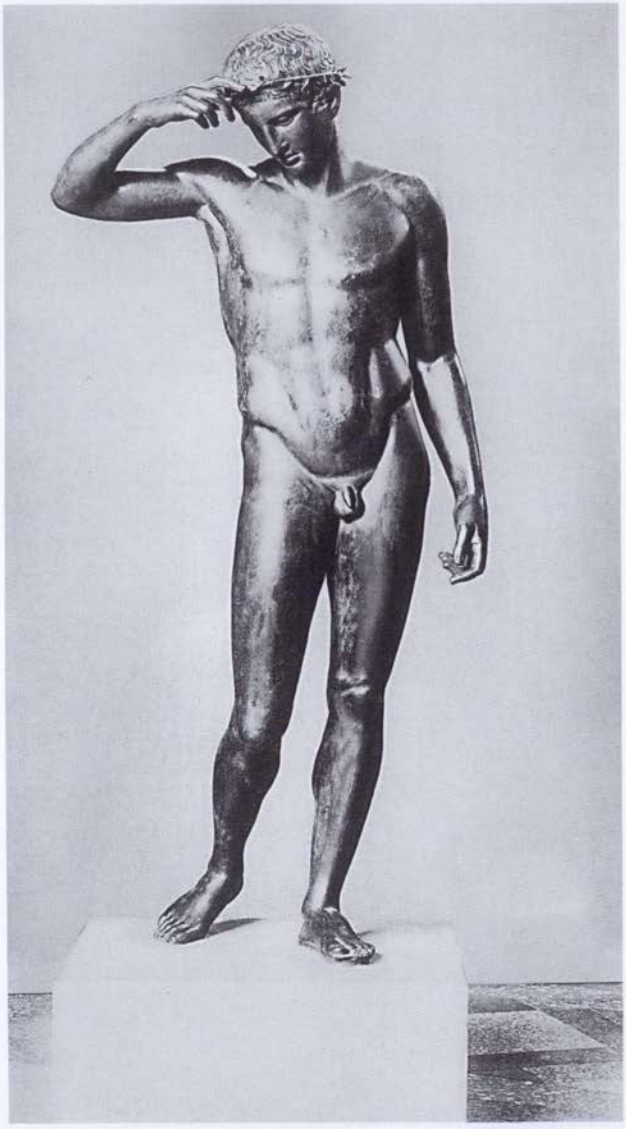


Fig. 18. A victor removing his crown in order to dedicate it. 'Westmacott Ephebe', reconstruction by G. Treu. Original ca 440-430 BC. Dresden, Albertinum.

Fig. 19. A victor removing his crown in order to dedicate it. Bronze statue. H 1.51 m. Ca 330-320 BC. Malibu, J. P. Getty Mus. 77. AB 30.

in a unity of looking, hearing and ritual acting; they participated so actively that they became themselves, as it were, part of the 'spectacle'. This must always been borne in mind when we consider ancient Greek statues even though so few have survived together with their inscriptions.

EPINICIAN ODE AND VICTOR STATUE honour the victorious athlete and ensure that he and his achievement are not for-

Fig. 20. Javelin-thrower. Bronze discus. Dm. 21 cm. Ca 480-470 BC. Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1273.

gotten – commemorating and honouring were what always mattered most to the Greeks. Both the inscribed statue and the ode present the connections in which the victory stands, the values the victor upheld. They achieve this in different but complementary ways, in language and in visual means, both equally compelling; both bring connotative meanings that, applied to Aiginetan victors, form the Aiginetan identity.

Fig. 21. Jumper (discus fig. 20).

Aiakos as *polis* heros and Aiginetan sculpture

Dear mother Aigina, on its journey of freedom
safeguard this city, together with Zeus and king Aiakos,
Peleus and noble Telamon and with Achilles.

(P. 8, 98-101 ; trans. Race 1997)

When the Pergamene king Attalus I bought Aigina from the Aetolians for thirty talents in 209 BC (Polyb. 22, 8. 10), thus acquiring an important naval base for his fleet, he was showered with honours by the Aiginetans, as was the custom. In a decree honouring the king, it says 'Attalus has taken over the [island or *polis*] because of the relationship of Heracles to Aiakos' (*fig.* 22). The kings of Pergamon regarded Heracles as their mythic ancestor and the inscription refers to the belief that Heracles and Aiakos were half-brothers since Alkmene bore Heracles to Zeus and Aiakos was the son of Zeus and the nymph Aigina. The incorporation of Aegina in the Pergamene kingdom is thus mythically justified and, therefore, represented as legitimate act by Attalus. The Greeks often made good use of myths for political purposes.

AIAKOS. In the decree *fig.* 22 it is taken for granted that Aiakos is the *polis* heros of Aigina. By the 5th century BC his status as such is evident since the victory odes to Aeginetan

athletes so compellingly praise him and his descendants. Pindar proclaims that Zeus himself made Aiakos 'ruler of the *polis* (πολίαρχος), in the glorious homeland' (N. 7, 85)[31]. Of course, the *polis* god Apollo would usually have represented

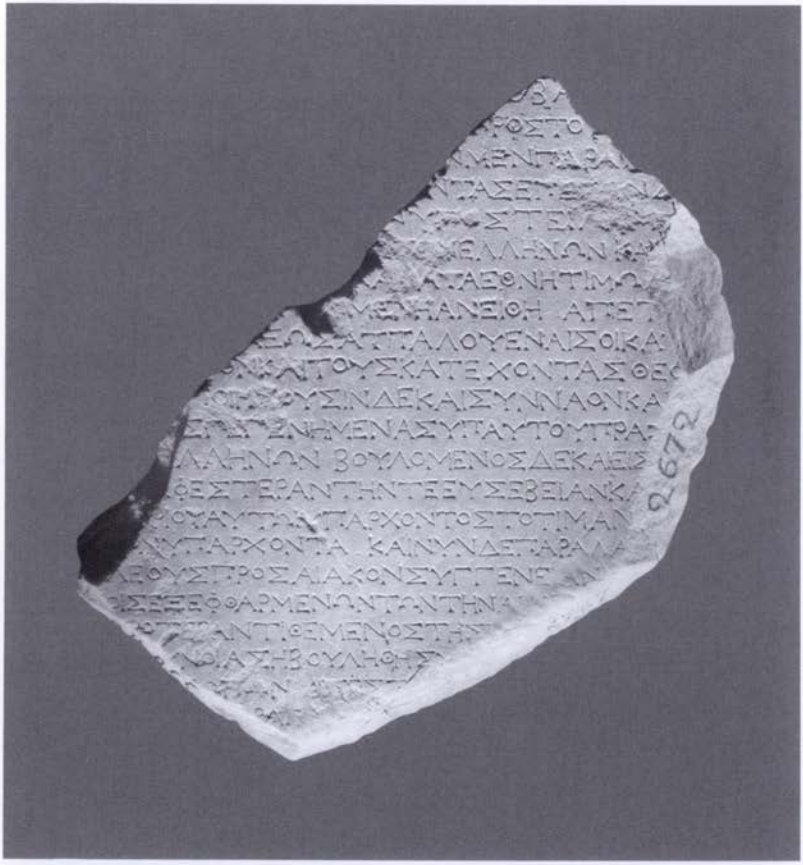


Fig. 22. Decree honouring Attalus I. Late 3rd century BC. Athens, Epigraphic Mus. 2672.

Aigina on document reliefs, as he does on one found in the city sanctuary, where he appears on the right (*fig. 23*). However, in celebrations of athletic victories, Aiakos as *poliarchos* is included besides Apollo: the feast procession stopped at the Aiakeion and victors dedicated crowns there (p. 5 f.).

The question arises of when the Aiginetans conferred the weighty role on Aiakos and his descendants, which figures so prominently in the victory odes.

There is nothing in epic poetry about Aiakos and the Aiakids being associated with Aigina. In the *Iliad* Aiakos is merely called the son of Zeus and the father of Peleus (21,

Fig. 23. Document relief. H 21 cm. Ca 400 BC. Aigina, Mus. 1427.

189). Hesiod names Aiakos as the father of Phokos, whose mother was the Nereid Psamathe (Theog. 1003-1005). The first mention of the nymph Aigina as Aiakos' mother is in the 'Hesiodic' *Catalogue of Women*. There the story is told of Aiakos dwelling alone on the island until he prayed to Zeus to give him some companions and Zeus responded by turning ants into human beings, the Myrmidons, with whom he populated Aigina. These verses, probably not earlier than the 6th century BC but going back to an older tradition[32], are among the earliest literary references to Aiakos' links with Aigina, along with the epos *Alkmaionis*, in which the Aiginetan origin of Aiakos' sons, Telamon and Peleus, is taken for granted[33]. This was in fact not the case. As Prinz puts it (1979, 54): 'There never were Aiakids on Aigina or at Salamis [...] The island of Aigina, which was up-and-coming in the 7th century, appropriated these heroes for its origin and settled them here'. Apparently, the Aiginetan Aiakid myth with Aiakos as *polis* heros was devised while Aigina as *polis* was being established and the Aiginetan collective identity was gradually being formed.

Not until the late 6th century, do historical accounts speak of the power with which Aiakos and the Aiakids were invested in Aigina. Herodotus claims (5, 80 f.), the Athenians defeated the Boeotians and Chalcidians in 506 BC, whereupon Thebes requested aid from Aigina. The Aiginetans dispatched the Aiakids to help them; this, however, proved an ineffective measure. The Thebans again asked for help, this time for troops. The Aiginetans now began to send their warships across to Attica to ravage the coast. The Athenians wanted to counter-attack at once but an oracle from Delphi advised

them to wait thirty years, found a sanctuary for Aiakos and then, but only then, attack Aigina. Instead of obeying the Athenians immediately built an Aiakeion in the Agora[34]. They apparently wanted to claim in this way the *polis* heros of Aigina or at least to make him favour their interests. It should be noted that the Delphic oracle implies the existence of both the Aiginetan Aiakeion and Aiakos' status as *polis* heros. Even though the foundation date of the Aiakeion in Aegina is unknown, its importance, which is abundantly clear in Pindar, was firmly established by the end of the 6th century at the latest.

THE AIAKEION RELIEFS. The Aiakeion reliefs Pausanias speaks of (p. 4 f.) may not have predated the early 5th century BC. A *terminus ante quem* is established by a Pindaric ode of about 464, in which the 'Aiakids' well-fenced grove' (O. 13, 109) is mentioned, possibly a reference to the Aiakeion with the relief-adorned enclosure. A fragment (*fig. 24*) may have been from those reliefs; it does not come from a free-standing stele but from an architectural context and shows two overlapping chariots, one facing to the left with part of the charioteer and one to the right. The original height would have exceeded 2 m; if this fragment really comes from the Aiakeion reliefs, it shows that they were on an impressively grand scale.

It would seem, therefore, that in the years when the pediment groups of the Aphaia Temple were created, invoking the deeds of the Aiakids (p. 47 ff.), in the city the Aiakeion reliefs honoured Aiakos. Their subject matter, a delegation of Greeks supplicating Aiakos, fits the particular character of this hero.

It is namely striking, that in the victory odes he is praised primarily as a venerable figure whereas his descendants are the excellent warriors, as they appear in the mythic battles of the Aiginetan pediments. Aiakos, a wise man, who even settles disputes for the gods (p. 14), does not need to lead in battle:

Fig. 24. Relief fragment. H 1.115 m. Ca 490 BC. Aigina Mus. 752.

... without summons the best of the neighboring heroes
were willing and eager to submit to that man's kingship,
both those who marshalled the host in rocky Athens
and the descendants of Pelops in Sparta.

(*N.* 8, 9-12; trans. Race 1997)

Then Pindar switches to the first person: "As a suppliant on behalf of this dear city and these citizens, I fasten onto the august knees of Aiakos, bearing a variegated, sounding Lydian headband". (N. 8, 13-15; trans. Kurke 1991, 190; cf. p. 5).

The image of the Greeks (headed, moreover, by Athens and Sparta, the two Great Powers of the day) as men, who voluntarily obey Aiakos' commands without the threat of war, is followed by the image of the poet as supplicant in the name of the community. Pindar is thus reminding his audience of the Greeks of myth, who once asked Aiakos for help. It is this event that is the subject of the Aiakeion reliefs; not a battle but the authority – uncontested throughout Greece – of the *polis* heros, who prays to Zeus in the name of all Greeks and whose prayers are granted. The panhellenic significance of Aiakos appeals to the pride of the Aiginetans in their *polis* heros.

In victory odes to Aiginetans, Aiakos and his descendants are closely linked. It is then appropriate that they all appear in Aiginetan sculpture: the wise *poliarchos* in the Aiakeion reliefs, his mother Aigina and above all the Aiakids in the works that will be discussed in the following.

PEDIMENT SCULPTURES. The subject matter of the west pediment of the third Apollo Temple (*figs 5, 3*) must certainly

have been an Amazonomachy since figures of Amazons have survived (*figs 25-26*). Among the preserved warriors Heracles is missing, but it is to be assumed that the amazonomachy in an archaic pediment is the one of Heracles. Further, his companion Telamon, an Aiakid, would certainly be present in an Aiginetan pediment, as he is too in the amazonomachy mentioned in victory odes to Aiginetans (N. 3, 38-40).

In the written sources, Heracles is accompanied by various heroes (Telamon, Iolaos, Sthenelos, Theseus, Peleus) on his campaign against the Amazons[35]. In 6th-century Attic vase paintings of the amazonomachy his companions are variously named but Telamon occurs most frequently. His name appears first in vase images from the second quarter of the century, as in *fig. 27*, and he also figures on Euphronios' masterpiece (*fig. 28*), which was about contemporary with the pediment *figs 25* f. A pediment group on the city god temple is, of course, a more weighty work than vase paintings but what is significant is that the arrangement of the figures is different (see p. 58 f.).

More frequently than any of the other Aiakids' deeds Pindar celebrates their role in the Trojan Wars. He presents these wars primarily as an Aiakid achievement, and the same applies to Bacchylides. No wonder then that this theme is also taken up in the Aiginetan pediments. We should, however, bear in mind that the connection between the pediment subject matter and the victory odes does neither consist in the pediment groups being poetry translated into visual terms – after all, long before Pindar and Bacchylides a feat by an Aiakid featured in the west pediment of the Apollo temple (*figs 25 f.*) – nor in the poets composing odes after seeing the

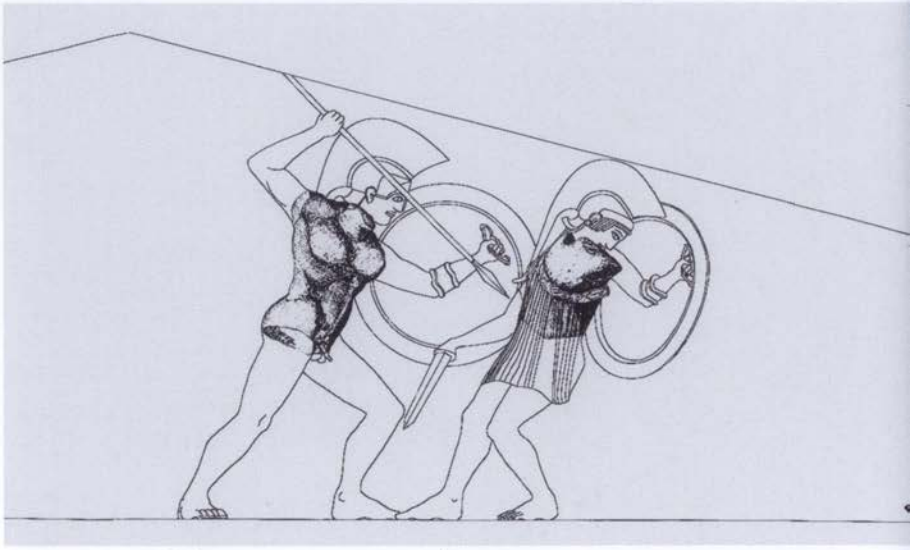
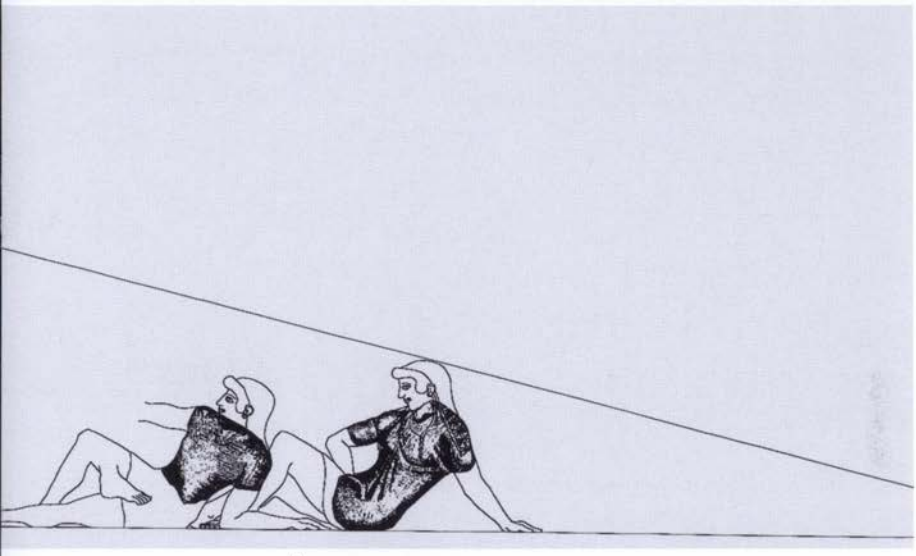


Fig. 25. Apollo temple (fig. 5, 3). West Pediment, right half (after E. Walter-Karydi). Ca 520-510 BC.



Amazon Amazon

Fig. 26. Wounded Amazon (fig. 25). H 50 cm. Aigina, Mus. 708.

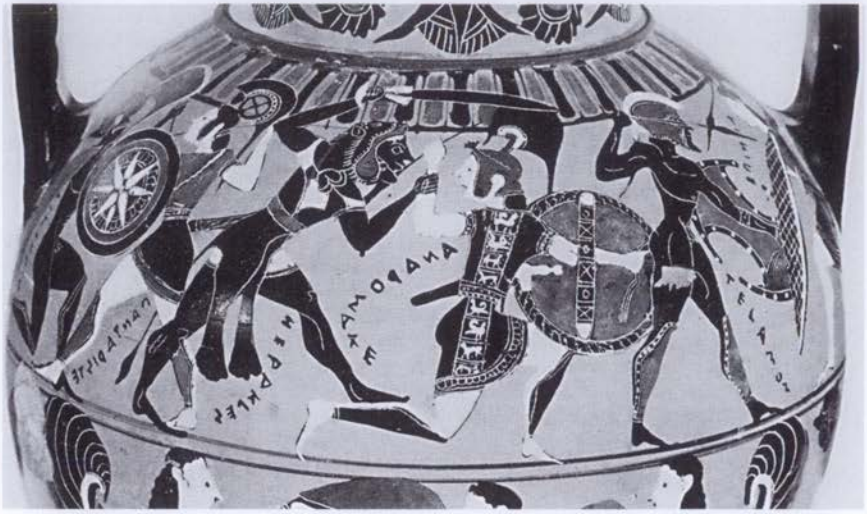


Fig. 27. Amazonomachy of Heracles, with Telamon. Attic 'Tyrrhenian' amphora. Ca 570-560 BC. Boston, Mus. of Fine Arts 98. 916.

Fig. 28. Amazonomachy of Heracles, with Telamon. Attic volute krater. Ca 510 BC. Arezzo, Mus. 1465.

pediments and being impressed by them[36]. Sculptures and poetry are not interdependent. What they have in common is rather the quintessential role played by the Aiakids in the Aiginetan collective identity. In both the victory odes and Aiginetan sculpture, the Aiakids represent the glorious past which, as it were, challenged the Aiginetans to hold out to with achievements of their own, in order to bring about the reciprocal honouring of past and present and guarantee the continuity of fame in their *polis*.

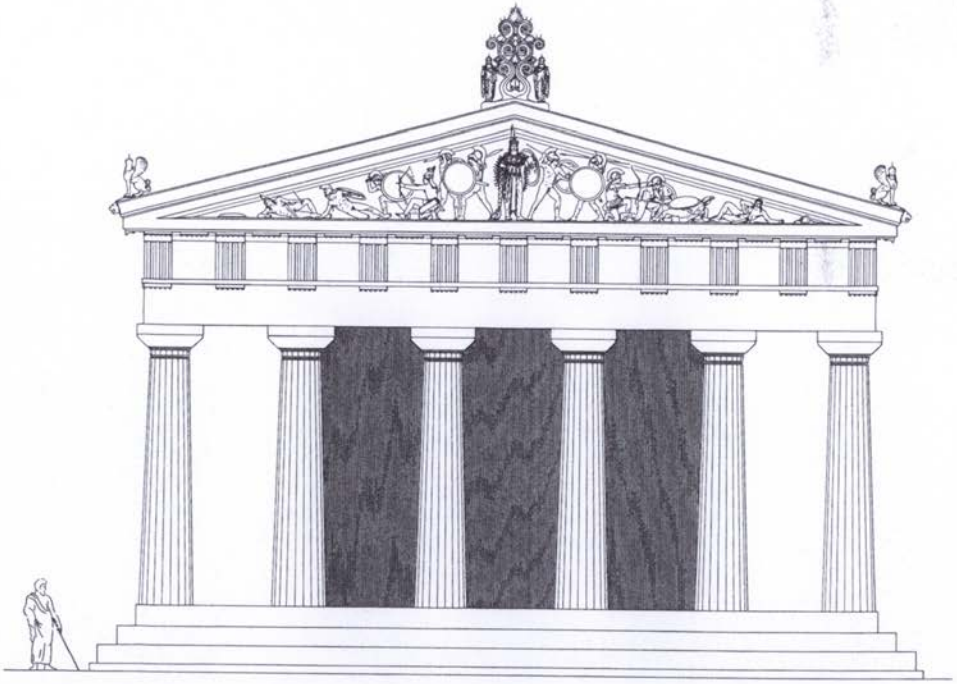


Fig. 29. Aigina, Aphaia temple. West front (after D. Ohly). Ca 500-490 BC.

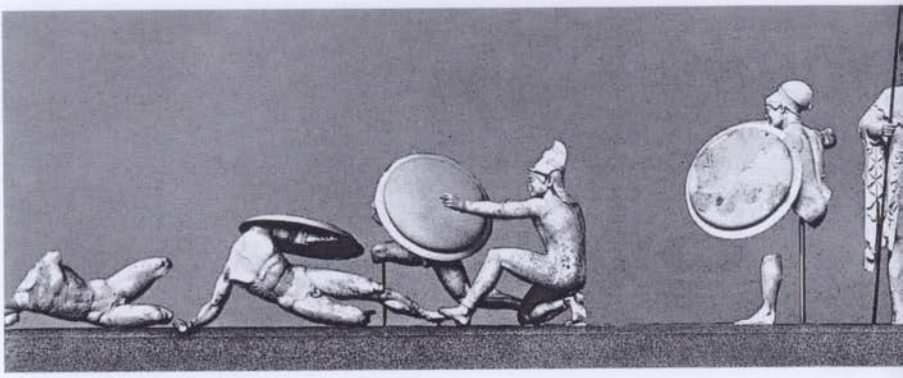


Fig. 30. Aphaia temple. West pediment. Ca 500-490 BC. Munich, Glyptothek.

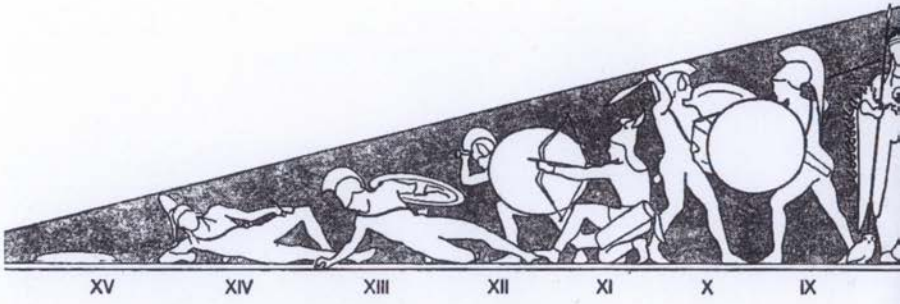
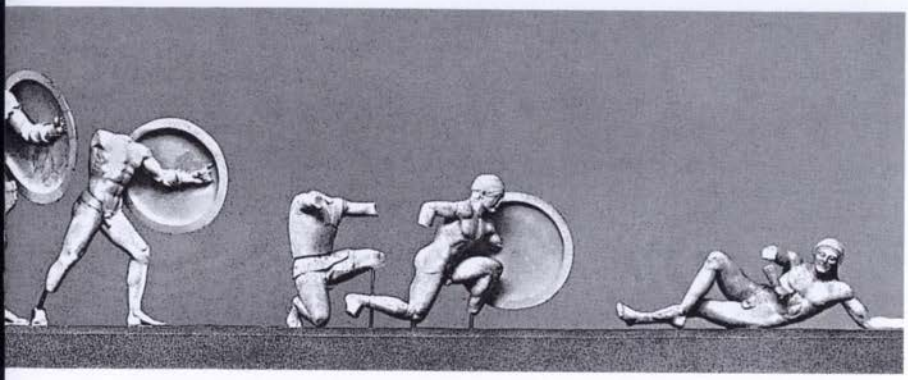
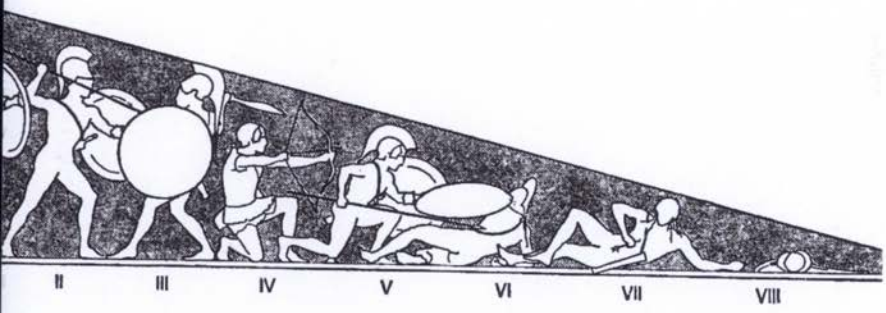


Fig. 31. Aphaia temple. West pediment (after D. Ohly).

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By the 19th century, scholars had already noticed the key role played by the Aiakids in victory odes to Aiginetan athletes and had assumed a thematic connection with the pediment groups of the Aphaia temple. Fr. Thiersch put together the passages in Pindar in which the Aiakids are praised and concluded that the Aphaia pediments (*figs* 29-36) must have represented feats of these heroes[37]. The Aiakid interpretation has been upheld, even after Adolf Furtwängler convincingly showed (1906, 308 f.) that the two Trojan Wars are the subject matter of the Aphaia pediments[38] – and rightly so, since the Aiakids appear as the protagonists of the Trojan battles, as will be argued in the following.

The presence of Heracles in the east pediment (*figs 33-34, 36*, OV) confirms the assumption that this represents the first

Fig. 32. Aphaia temple. West pediment (figs 30-31). Athena and the two champions. Munich, Glyptothek.

Trojan campaign, which was led by him[39]. As the myth has it, Laomedon, King of Troy and father of Priam, asks the hero to kill a sea monster, sent by Poseidon because Laomedon had withheld the reward promised him and Apollo for building the walls of Troy (p. 14). The monster is ravaging the region and may only be appeased by the sacrifice of Hesione, the king's daughter, to it. Laomedon promises to reward Heracles for the deed with his divine steeds. Although Heracles slays the monster and frees Hesione, Laomedon refuses to honour his pledge by giving him the horses. Postponing revenge, Heracles goes on his campaign against the Amazons. On its successful conclusion, he attacks Troy and destroys it, killing Lamedon and giving Hesione to his companion, Telamon[40].

The myth is altered by Pindar with the intention of elevating Telamon, the Aiakid, to protagonist status at the fall of Troy. Consequently, he has Telamon instead of Heracles slay Laomedon and links the campaign against Troy with other deeds of Telamon: the battles against the Amazons, against the Meropes and Alcyoneus (N. 3, 36 f.; N. 4, 25 f.; I. 6, 27-31).

Although the first Trojan War figures so prominently in poetry early on – it is mentioned several times in the Iliad and was apparently treated at length in the Peisandros epos (6th century) – it is largely ignored in the visual arts. That it was chosen as the theme of the Aphaia east pediment (*figs 33-36*) shows evidently an intention to showcase the excellence of Telamon the Aiakid. The master who designed the pediment group behaved quite like Pindar in positioning Heracles, actually the leader of the campaign, in a place of secondary importance (*figs 33-34, 36*, OV). It is the warrior without any attributes who has the champion role (*figs 33-35*, OII); he must be Telamon.

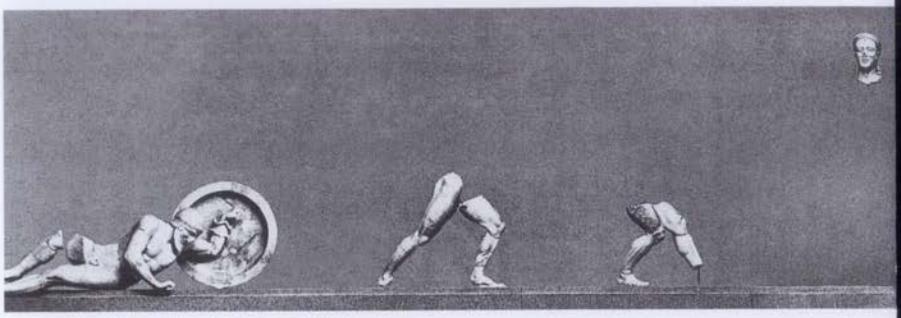


Fig. 33. Aphaia temple. East pediment. Ca 490-480 BC. Munich, Glyptothek.

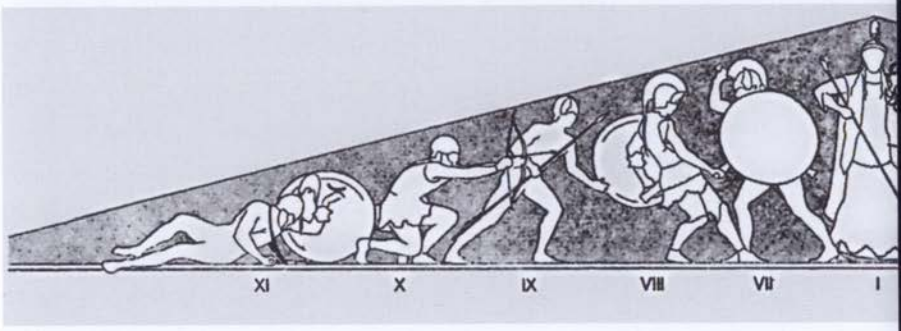


Fig. 34a. Aphaia temple. East pediment (after D. Ohly).

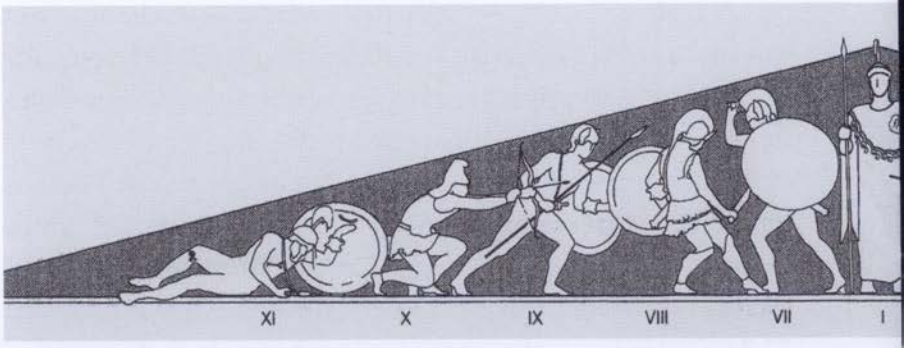
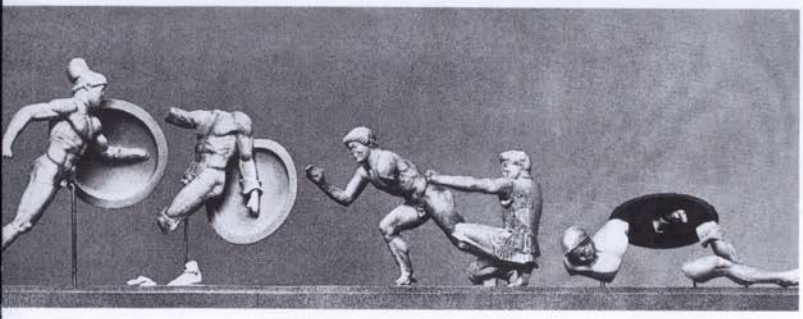
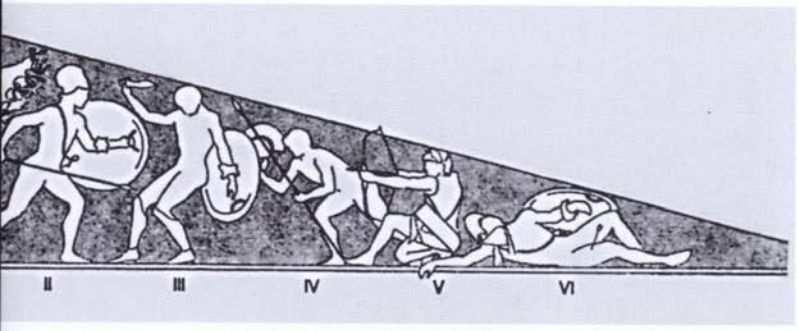


Fig. 34b. Aphaia temple. East pediment (after E. Walter-Karydi).

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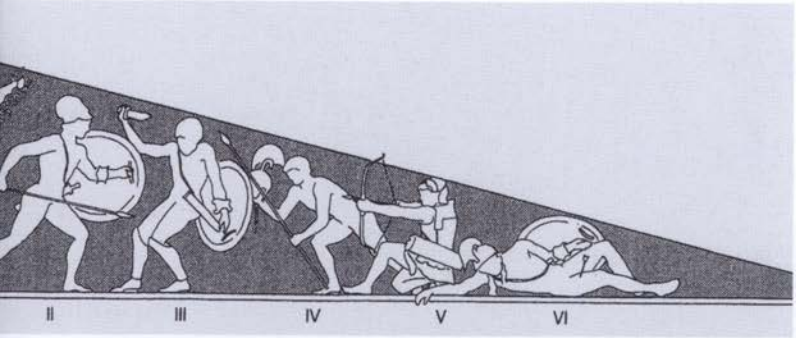
II
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The same seems to hold in the fragmentary amazonomachy *fig. 25*: Athena stands between two warriors with their backs turned to her; the one on the right, who has none of the Heracles attributes, must be Telamon. Heracles must have been his lost counterpart, to the left of the goddess. The difference between the pediment and the Euphronios amazonomachy (*fig. 28*) is striking. In this amazonomachy it is evident

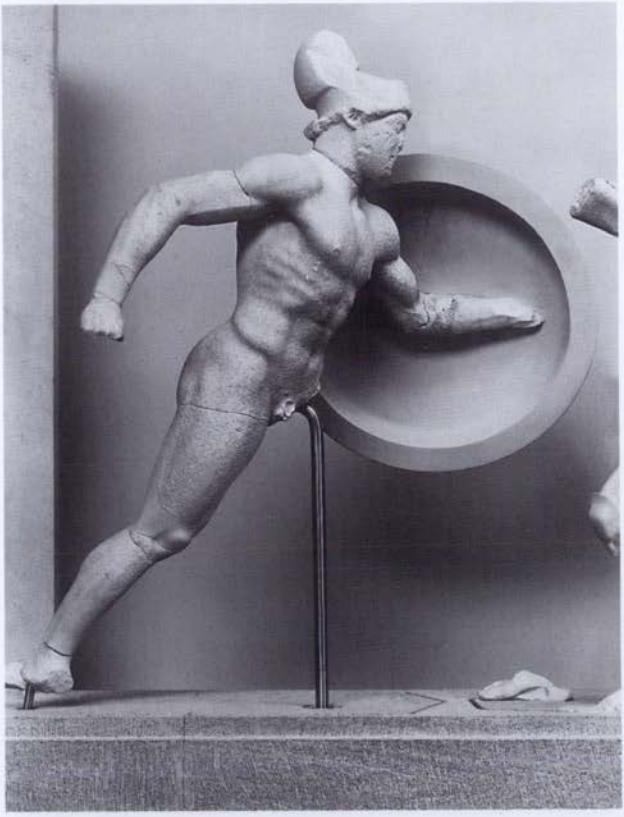


Fig. 35. Aphaia temple, East pediment. 'Telamon' (figs 33-34, OII).

that Heracles is the protagonist. He is a dominating figure, fighting against three Amazons, with a fourth lying wounded on the ground before him while Telamon has only one adversary. As a rule, in the Attic vase paintings Heracles stands out. In *fig.* 27, he occupies the centre triumphing over the Amazon Andromache while on the left Pantariste is defeating Timiades, a Greek, and on the right, Telamon is attacking

Fig. 36. Aphaia temple, East pediment. Heracles (figs 33-34, OV).

Ainippe but the outcome is uncertain. In Attic vase paintings, Heracles is always the leader, with Telamon as a companion. The masters of the Aiginetan pediments shifted the emphasis in order to raise the Aiakid to protagonist status.

The above observations lead into a further consideration. A fighting Heracles (*fig. 37*) appears also in a pediment from

Fig. 37a. Second Apollo temple (fig. 5, 2), pediment. Heracles. H 66 cm. Ca 570 BC. Aigina, Mus. 731.

the second Apollo Temple (*figs 5, 2*). Other figures in this mythic battle, such as a warrior in action and a fallen one, cannot be named. I used to think that the amazonomachy was not the subject of this pediment, since in it, Heracles must, as the chief fighter, appear in the middle of the group – during those years no deity stood there (cf. p. 74 ff.) – and the figure *37* is too small for the centre of the pediment. It seemed,

Fig. 37b. Reconstruction (fig. 37a).

therefore, more likely that this was a gigantomachy, in which Zeus and Athena would be the champions rather than Heracles; he would merely aid them. Since, however, Telamon is the champion in other Aiginetan pediments (*figs 25; 33-35*), it is possible that in this pediment too a heroic feat of Heracles *fig. 37*, with an Aiakid raised to protagonist status, was represented. Certainly, since the attribution of the fragments to the east or west pediment of this temple remains an unresolved issue and since it is not even sure whether there was a thematically unified representation in the pediment to which the figure *fig. 37* belongs, such thoughts are purely conjectural. Nevertheless, they are based on the peculiar 'downgrading' of the Heracles *fig. 37*.

In the Aphaia west pediment (*figs* 29-32), the subject is the Trojan War of the Iliad as a battle in which the fighters have been given no individualizing features. Adolf Furtwängler was right in not trying to assign names (1906, 308 f.), but Aiakids are sure to have been among them. In the expedition led by the sons of Atreus participated the Aiakids Ajax, Achilles and Neoptolemus. The greatest heroes of the Iliad war are of course Achilles and Ajax, with Achilles the leading one among the Achaeans. Consequently, even though one cannot identify the other warriors, the champions in the battle may be named: Achilles must be the right-hand one (*figs 30-32*, WII), in the most important place, and Ajax the left one (*figs 30-32*, WIX)[41]. Let us recall how Bacchylides, in his victory ode to Pytheas of Aegina (13), praises Achilles and Ajax in the Iliad war. He presents them as Aiakids, the 'battle-inciting sons' of the brothers Peleus and Telamon, before turning to Ajax and his defence of the Greek ships. He then

elaborates at greater length on Achilles, setting off his rank among the Achaeans by showing the devastating consequences his absence from the battlefield has for them. He finally emphasizes the destruction of the Trojans was due to the Aiakids (13, 166 f.).

As I have already pointed out, the strategies of epinician poetry include celebrating the *polis* hero and to accomplish this, poets sometimes even tinker with the myths. This wilful handling of myth is not limited to victory odes. For instance, in the epigrams on three herms in the Agora in Athens extolling the Athenian victory at Eion ca 475 BC[42], the marginal role played by the Athenian contingent under Menestheus in the Trojan War (mentioned only in the ships' catalogue, *Il.* 2, 545-556) is inflated into significance in order to lend glory to the Athenian role in the war. Of course, Bacchylides has no need of manipulating myth material when he praises Achilles' prowess in the Iliad war since Achilles is uncontested as the greatest Achaean hero. All the poet has to do is to emphasize that the glorious son of Peleus is an Aiakid – what mattered to the Aiginetans was his family tree. In letting Achilles and Ajax be the champions in the Iliad battle, the master of the Aphaia west pediment is, therefore, doing much the same as Bacchylides.

Incidentally, it seems that in pediment battles with a deity at the centre the deity is flanked by the warriors who are on the winning side. A characteristic example is the west pediment of the Zeus Temple at Olympia (*fig. 44*). In the fight between the Lapiths and Centaurs, the champions flanking Apollo at the centre are Theseus and Peirithoos, the two heroes who will lead to victory against the Centaurs.

Accordingly, in the Aphaia pediment groups the champions flanking the goddess cannot be Trojans but rather, in the east pediment, they are Telamon and another Greek (Aiakid?) and, in the west pediment, Achilles and Ajax.

Two other Aiginetan pediment groups represent mythic battles that cannot be identified. One of these is the earlier east pediment of the Aphaia temple[43], the other a pediment of the Artemis temple in the Apollo sanctuary (*fig. 5, 4*). Ohly

Fig. 38. Artemis temple (fig. 5, 4), pediment. Head of Athena. H. 20 cm. Ca 470-465 BC. Louvre Ma 3109 (Vogüé Coll.).

(1985, 46 n. 32) thought that the earlier Aphaia East pediment represented the amazonomachie of Heracles and Telamon. Since there are no Amazons among the preserved figures, this reading is only an assumption. From the pediment of the Artemis temple only two heads are preserved: the head of Athena, who was at the centre (*fig. 38*), and that of a dying warrior (*fig. 39*). The subject matter may have been a feat performed by an Aiakid but there is no certainty at all that this was the case.

Fig. 39. Artemis temple (fig. 5, 4), pediment. Head of a dying warrior. H. 18 cm. Ca 470-465 BC. Athens, Nat. Mus. 3459.

Let us return to the Aphaia pediments. They are well known, famous sculptures, in no history of ancient art are they omitted. The meaning of their subject matter is still very much a matter of controversy and recently it has even been linked with their dating. Thus I cannot leave out a discussion about their date, which, by the way, is made easier by their outstanding quality. The prevailing consensus is, and rightly so, that the west pediment (*figs 29-32*) dates to about 500-490 and the east one (*figs 33-36*) to ca 490-480[44]. The temple architecture is consistent with these dates (Bankel 1993).

The formal differences between the two pediments have quite often been pointed out. It will not be necessary, therefore, to go here into comparisons between individual figures. Just this: that the change in the form of the figures and their arrangement between the west and east pediments is so obvious is due mainly to the crucial break between Late Archaic and Early Classical sculpture that occurred in the brief timespan between the two groups. The contrapposto stance, the emerging of which in the second decade of the 5th century represents a major stylistic event throughout Greece, indicating too a profound shift in mentality, brought fundamental changes in the conception of the individual figure but also of a group[45]. As a result, not only do the individual figures in the east pediment differ in the forms and the pose from those in the west pediment, but also their number is different. There are thirteen figures in the west but only eleven in the east pediment because figures in contrapposto need more space. Moreover, the wounded warriors from the west (*figs 29-32*) are not lying in the half of the pediment in which the outlines of their bodies would correspond with the slope of the pedi-

ment. On the contrary, they are in the other half because they develop a relationship of tension with the boundaries of the image. This is Late Archaic. The case is different with the wounded warriors in the east pediment (*figs 33* f.) since these figures have a core, a centre, and their plasticity lies not in their contours but is instead concentrated around this core. Consequently, they have a new independence, not developing any tension with the boundaries of the image. A further difference is that, in each half of the west pediment, the action is complete in itself. Athena is flanked by pairs of warriors locked in close combat, followed by an archer on each side, aiming at an adversary whom he has already shot at and who is lying in the corner. Between the archers and the wounded, there is in each side a second pair in close combat. In the east pediment, by contrast, the two halves are interlocked by the fight extending beyond the centre: on each side of the goddess there is a triad of a pair in close combat and an assistant, followed by an archer aiming at already wounded adversaries lying, not in the corner of the same half of the pediment, as is the case in the west, but instead in the opposite half. Although battle is the theme in both pediments, the master of the east one has fundamentally restructured the group, thus marking the beginning of the Early Classical pediment groups.

The later date, ca 480-470, suggested by David Gill[46], is not convincing. Nonetheless, I cannot simply brush it aside without commenting on it because this date is linked with an interpretation that found favour with some scholars. The deeds of the Aiakids are, he suggests, represented in the Aphaia pediments because the two victories won by the

Greeks over the Trojans are the mythical equivalent of the historical victory over the Persians. A. Erskine includes the victory odes too in his line of reasoning in support of this argument (2001, 62-68): "The Aiakids were crucial to the development of early parallels between the two wars. Adorning Aigina's temple of Aphaia and featuring in Pindar's poems in praise of Aeginetan athletes, they offered a mythological model for the Aiginetan struggle against the Persians".

It is not just the dating of the Aphaia Temple pediments to ca 500-480 on stylistic grounds, which speaks against the possibility that they are linked with the Persian Wars. The victory odes to Aiginetan athletes composed after the Persian Wars (see table p. 103 f.) also fail to show any such connection. In the odes, the victory at Salamis is not presented as a contemporary event viewed in analogy to the mythical past of the Trojan War. Instead Salamis itself is viewed as the glorious past as are the earlier athletic victories won by relatives of the victors praised in the odes (p. 13). In the epinician odes, I repeat, the past includes the mythical deeds of the Aiakids as well as those of the Aiginetans' historical forebears. It is both the mythical and the historical ancestors, who are to spur on the Aeginetans to new deeds, in order to ensure the continuity of glory and the reciprocal honouring of past and present.

In this connection, a comparison of victory odes with poems such as the Simonides elegy[47] is illuminating. This elegy too celebrates a contemporary event, the Greek victory over the Persians at Plataea ca 479 BC. However, epinician poets praising an athlete's victory concentrate solely on his family and native city, using the myths so that the *polis* heroes come out as the protagonists (see above). Simonides,

on the other hand, is celebrating a panhellenic victory speaking of the participation of many Greek cities. Consequently, the assumption (Boedeker 1996, 241) that the elegy was premièred at a panhellenic religious feast in Plataea rather than at a *polis* festival is convincing. Moreover, in this elegy Simonides does indeed represent the sack of Troy and the death of Achilles (who is here not in the first instance an Aiakid but the Achaeans' greatest hero) as the mythical/panhellenic equivalent to the defeat of the Persians, who, like the Trojans, are a non-Greek enemy. The difference to the victory odes is a fundamental one.

Like the epinician odes to Aiginetan athletes, the Aiginetan pediment sculptures refer solely to Aigina, celebrating the *polis* heroes and invoking the Aiginetans' glorious mythic past. This is true of the pediment groups that predate the battle of Salamis – the amazonomachy of Telamon and Heracles (*fig. 25*) and the Aphaia pediments (*figs 29-36*) – and true also of the Artemis temple pediment (*figs 38* f.) dating after the Persian Wars, if its mythical battle represented an Aeakids' feat. The choice of subject matter for Aeginetan pediment sculpture is determined by the Aiginetans' concentration on their own *polis* and its heroes, and it has to do with their identity.

ZEUS AND AEGINA. AMOROUS PURSUIT. In discussing the architecture of the Aphaia temple, Bankel (1993, 50 f.) rightly rejected the assumption that the temple had not only an earlier east pediment but an earlier west one too[48]. The theme of the group attributed to this pediment – Zeus pursuing Aegina in order to seduce her[49] – would be unsuitable for a

pediment group of that time, when a deity stood at the centre (p. 77 ff.), yet is plausible for a free-standing votive group, which needs not feature such a figure at the centre[50]. The female *fig. 40* may belong to this group being Aigina or one of her sisters fleeing from the god.

Amorous pursuit and abduction are themes more frequently represented from the close of the 6th century, not only on vases but also in large-scale sculpture. Since at that time both sculptors and vase painters were intensively working at depicting the body in motion, they represented love myths as action, so, for instance, the abduction of Antiope by Theseus in the west pediment of the Apollo temple in Eretria, ca 500-490 (Touloupa 2002). Such groups show, it is true, erotic lust; nevertheless, they often also represent unions of gods or heroes and mortal women or Amazons or nymphs, unions that resulted in the founding of hero houses and mortal *ethne*: a mythical event generating history. This is why

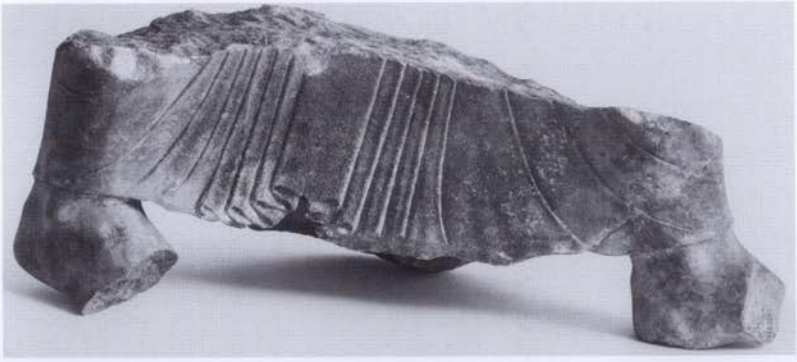


Fig. 40. Striding female figure. H. 21 cm. Ca 500-490 BC. Aigina Mus. 695+Munich, Glyptothek 164, 123.

such themes became popular, being taken up in epinician odes as well as large-scale sculpture, when people became stronger aware of collective identity and of citizens' bond with their *poleis*. Mythical genealogies acquire a new actuality at this time (p. 83).

In Attic vase painting, the female figure pursued by Zeus is sometimes labeled Aigina, as is the case in *fig.* 41. Even without an inscription Aigina is probably often meant in such scenes, although there certainly were other heroines who also aroused the god's passion. To Aiginetans, of course, the abduction of the nymph, which led to Aiakos' birth and the

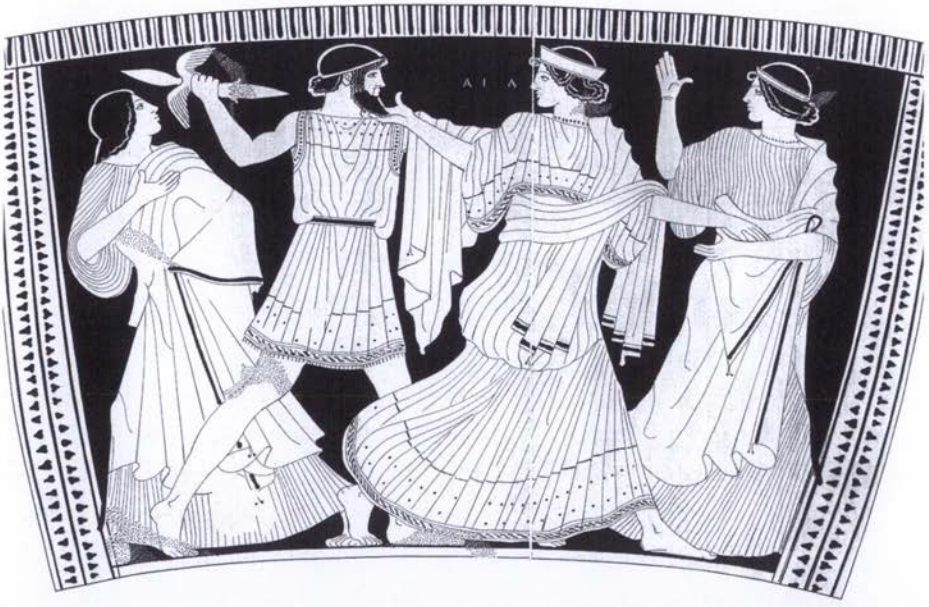


Fig. 41. Zeus pursuing Aegina. Attic column krater. Ca 460 BC. N. York, Metropolitan Mus. of Art 96. 19. 1.

founding of the house of the Aiakids, was a particularly important event. The myth is recounted in epinician odes to Aiginetans as well as in Pindar's sixth Paean. It seems plausible, therefore, that it could also have been represented in a votive group in an Aiginetan sanctuary; the fragments from the Aphaia sanctuary (*fig. 40*; n. 48) might well come from such a group.

Remarkably, the nymph Aigina is not just celebrated in victory odes to Aiginetans but also in one to an athlete from Phlius (Bacchylides 9, 53-59). The poet names the river Asopos as the father of famous daughters, among them Thebe and Aigina, and Aiakos as Aigina's son. Thus he can turn to feats of the Aiakids and place the victor he is praising in the reciprocity of fame with great heroes, as is the rule in a victory ode. The same claim to Aiakid genealogy recurs in two offerings of Phlius in Olympia und Delphi: bronze groups of Zeus and Aigina (Paus. 5, 22. 6; 10, 13. 6). Their date is unknown; they were probably made in the first half of the 5th century when such themes were popular. The Delphic group consisted only of Zeus and Aigina and Pausanias mentions no action (pursuing or abducting) while the Olympic one is said to depict Zeus abducting Aigina and to include her father Asopos and her sisters Nemea, Corcyra, Thebe and Harpina. Many-figured groups of this subject appear in Attic vase paintings, as on a stamnos by Hermonax, ca 460, on which Zeus is pursuing Aigina (both named in labels) in the presence of a bearded man and female figures, obviously Asopos and other daughters of his[51].

There is a good reason for featuring Aiakid genealogy in both the offerings (or double offering?) by Phlius and the vic-

tory ode to an athlete from Phlius. This *polis* was in fact small and insignificant; its citizens wished for a glorious mythic past they could invoke in order to form their collective identity, constructing a civic pride. So they appropriated the myths concerning the river Asopos, whose daughters were the eponymous nymphs of great *poleis* and gave birth to celebrated heroes. In so doing, they identified the Asopos near Sicyon with the Asopos in Boeotia - dealing with myths for self-serving purposes was, as already noted (p. 40), not at all unusual. Unsurprisingly, Thebes voiced objections to this identification of the two rivers (Paus. 2, 5. 2) since such claims had consequences on the level not only of ideas but also of *Realpolitik*.

ATHENA IN THE PEDIMENT GROUPS. It is understandable that Aiakos, his mother and the Aiakids are represented in Aiginetan sculpture. But why does Athena, who has nothing to do with the Aiakos myth and does not figure in the Pindaric celebration of the Aiakids (cf. Sinn 1987, 142) appear in five Aiginetan pediments? The reference of Aiginetan pediments to the *polis* and its heroes, which I discussed above, cannot explain the presence of the goddess; this presence must, therefore, be interpreted from an angle of its own.

Scholars have hitherto discussed only the role played by the goddess in the Aphaia pediments and their interpretations are controversial. Athena has been declared the patron goddess of the island of Aigina or of the Aiakids, a symbol of fighting or a goddess of battles[52] or, finally, the "city goddess of Athens" who might represent "an alternative [political] development of this *polis*", meaning that Athens was to become oligarchic[53].

The presence of Athena in the Aiginetan pediments cannot be interpreted, however, without a general review of the role of a deity at the centre of a pediment group.

Not before the Late Archaic times, from about 520-510, does a deity appear in the centre of a pediment group. Its presence brings an overall change, as can be seen in the Late Archaic pediment group that is best preserved (*figs 29-32*). Formally the deity is a centre with all the figures arranged around it in free symmetry. In content is the deity an invisible presence in the midst of the other figures, who determines the outcome of the action being a mighty non-partisan authority. In this sense the deity has been rightly called the 'effective centre' of the group[54].

To anticipate: it is Athena who is invariably the 'effective centre' in all Late Archaic pediment groups known to date, not just the Aiginetan ones and on no account only on temples consecrated to her. She appears as the 'effective centre' in the following:

- the amazonomachy of the west pediment of the Apollo Temple (*fig. 25*);
- the Trojan War of the west pediment of the Aphaia Temple (*figs 29-32*);
- most likely the mythical battle of the first Aphaia east pediment[55];
- the roughly contemporary (ca 500-490) mythical battle of the west pediment of the Apollo Temple in Eretria, where the amazonomachy is linked with the abduction of Antiope, queen of the Amazons, by Theseus (Touloupa 2002, 75 f.);
- the roughly contemporary mythical battle of the pediment of a temple in the Apollo sanctuary of Karthaia on Keos[56].

This temple has occasionally been considered an Athena temple just because the goddess appears at the centre of the pediment. It might be consecrated to Artemis, sister of the main god of the sanctuary, but the issue remains unresolved until inscriptions or other evidence comes up;

– the roughly contemporary mythical battle in a pediment of the temple to Athena Pronaia in Delphi[57].

Only at the Athena Pronaia temple is Athena the patron goddess. Obviously, her presence in the pediments is not connected with the cult. Nor is it necessary to conclude from her appearance in the Aphaia pediments that she displaced the old-established local goddess Aphaia[58]. After all, the occasion for Pindar's song to Aphaia (Paus. 2, 30. 3) very probably was, as Furtwängler (1906, 500) suggested, the opening ceremony of her new temple.

If the presence of Athena in all known Late Archaic pediment groups with an 'effective centre' cannot be explained by a cult connection, neither does it seem plausible that Athena would appear in them as the city goddess of Athens, as has been assumed for the Aphaia pediments (see above). What would have been the political motive for choosing the city goddess of Athens for this role in Aigina, Keos, Eretria and Delphi? The founding of an Aiakeion in Athens (p. 44), to take one example, may well have been a primarily political act yet the appearance of the goddess at the centre of pediments cannot, as noted above, be put on a level with the foundation of a cult. After all, the daughter of Zeus is not just the city goddess of Athens; she is worshipped all over Greece and there are images of her everywhere[59]. Written sources mention three archaic cult statues on the Peloponnesus and one, the work of

Kallon, an Aiginetan, is recorded for the Acropolis of Troizen[60]. Herodotus (3, 59. 3) speaks of an Athena sanctuary on Aigina. Nonetheless, it is hardly necessary to recall all this since the appearance of the goddess at the centre of pediments cannot be explained in terms of her cult.

Nor can it be assumed, as it occasionally has been, that the presence of Athena in pediments may have been due to the stylistic influence of Attic sculpture since the pediments of Aigina are Aiginetan works, that in Eretria an Euboean-Parian[61], that in Karthaia a West Cycladic[62].

The choice of Athena as 'effective centre' has rather to do with her personality, as it was seen in those years, that is, as a goddess familiar with battle and war but also prudent and wise. These are the qualities that stand out among the many ascribed to her. Moreover, Athena is the Olympian deity most often featured in Late Archaic, and not just Attic, myth images. When, therefore, the 'effective centre' was devised – which changed the arrangement of figures and placed pediment scenes under the authority of the deity at the centre – Athena was the natural choice. She does not intervene in the battle raging about her – significantly, these are never battles of gods. She remains invisible and determines destinies. She is non-partisan but it is she who decides the outcome. She is not involved in the action and for this reason she appears always as a standing, not striding figure.

That the master of the Aphaia east pediment was a pic[illegible]r of Early Classical pediment sculpture is also shown in his Athena. She does not stride, as she has been reconstructed in *fig. 34a*, but stands with the aegis over both shoulders (*fig. 34b*). (In the reconstruction *fig. 34a*, the archer OX should

also be altered since the helmeted head assigned to him[63] cannot be his. The archer certainly must have worn the pointed Phrygian cap [*fig. 34b*] matching his 'Scythian' dress. This characteristic headgear is never missing as can be seen, for instance, in vase painting. In both pediments there is a 'Scythian' archer in the left half [*figs 29-32*, WXI and *fig. 34b*, OX] and an archer dressed as a hoplite in the right half [*figs 29-32*, WIV and Heracles *figs 33-35*, OV]).

Dieter Ohly assumed (1976, 64. 84 f.) that Athena sides with the Greeks and the champion on the right (*fig. 33 f.*, OII; *fig. 36*) is Priam, to whom the goddess is indicating her displeasure with a "threatening gesture". As already said, the champion on the right cannot be a Trojan but is instead Telamon (p. 55). How, then, is the gesture of Athena to understand?

The goddess is certainly a standing figure, as she is in the west pediment (*figs 29-32*), but here she has her left arm outstretched and her fingers grasping the serpent-fringed edge of the aegis (*figs 34b; 42*). This is not a fighting gesture as that

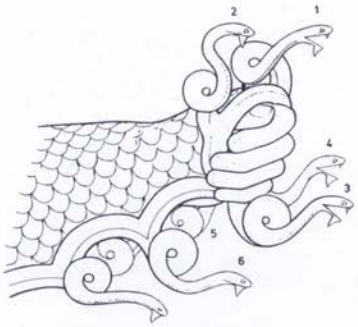


Fig. 42. Left hand of the Athena figs 33-34 (after D. Ohly).

of the striding Athena in the Attic gigantomachy pediment, towards 520, who, it should be noted, is taking part in a Battle of gods. In this pediment, the last major one without 'effective centre', Athena and Zeus are the middle figures fighting back to back against the Giants, as in the reconstruction by J. Miliadis[64]. The Athena figure *fig. 34b*, on the other hand, is not involved in any action. In brandishing the aegis, she is revealing her authority rather than threatening anyone. The goddess has this gesture even in scenes such as *fig. 43*, where she appears in a sculptor's workshop as Athena Ergane, the patron goddess of craftsmen. The master is working with hammer and chisel on a horse statue, and two men are looking on. This is a peaceful workaday scene but shows

Fig. 43. Athena in a sculptor's workshop. Attic cup. Shortly before 480 BC. Munich, Antikensammlungen 2650.

also, through the gesture of the goddess, the sphere of her divine impact.

Athena' brandishing of the aegis (*fig. 34b*) has the same meaning as Apollo's raised arm in the west pediment of the Zeus temple at Olympia (*fig. 44*): Apollo appears invisible in the midst of fighting Lapiths and Centaurs and determines the outcome of the battle. He will punish the Centaurs for their *hybris*. He, too, is a standing figure, like Athena (*fig. 34b*). In his lowered left hand he held a bronze bow and arrows, now lost, and he raises his right arm, the hand pointing to the left in a gesture demonstrating his authority. The choice of Apollo as the 'effective centre' of the pediment group, a god who played no role in cult or myth of Olympia – just as Athena does not occur in the Aeginetan myths – can also be explained on the basis of his personality as it was perceived at that time: he was the god of order and good governance.

In Early Classical pediments, gods appear as judges or punishers. This enhancement of their power as 'effective centre' started with the Athena *fig. 34b* – in this, too, the master of the east pediment is a pioneer. The Athena *fig.* 38, who also stood in the midst of a battle, was probably characterised by a gesture of authority too.

Discussing all these issues is not a digression from my subject as far as might at first appear since it was necessary to go into the themes of the pediment groups as well as the arrangement of the figures and their distinguishing features in order to explain how pediment sculpture was involved in the process by which the Aiginetan collective identity was formed.

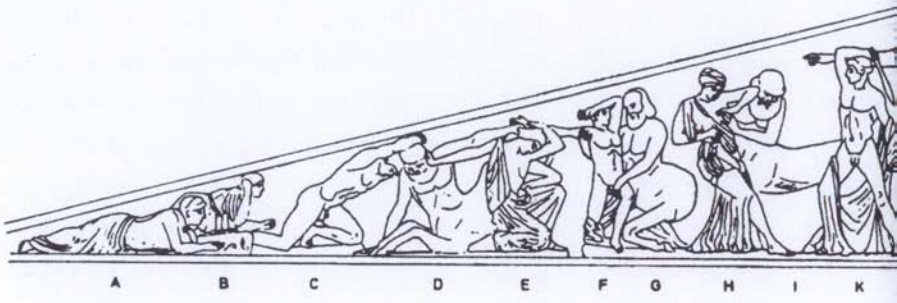
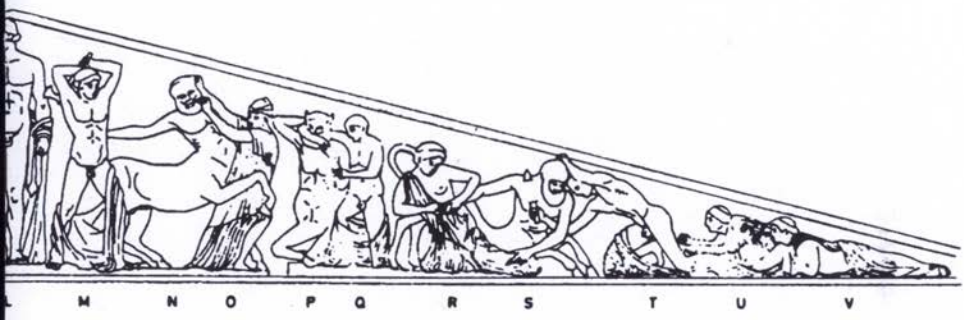


Fig. 44. Olympia, Zeus temple. West pediment (after H. V. Herrmann). Ca 470-460 BC.

To sum up: putting a deity as the 'effective centre' of a pediment group was devised about 520-510 and marked a change in form and meaning of the group. In all known Late Archaic pediments, Athena is the deity at the centre, a fact, which has nothing to do with either cult or politics but is connected with the 'personality' of the goddess as perceived at that time. The feats performed by the Aiakids are chosen as subject matter for the Aiginetan pediments regardless of the deity at the centre; the focus is on the deeds of the Aiakids. From the late 6th century at the very latest, Aiginetan sculpture demonstrates



the Aiginetans' ties with their *polis* heros and his descendants as well as the links between the present they lived in and their historical and mythic past. Both the links with Aiakos and the Aiakids and the reciprocal references outlined above, distinguish the victory odes as well as the Aeginetan sculpture, above all the pediment sculpture – victor statues have already been discussed – and reveal the role of poets and sculptors in the process of forming an Aiginetan identity. They all contributed to giving Aigina a distinctive 'physiognomy' that sets it apart from all other *poleis*.

The Dorian *ethnicity* of the Aiginetans

The Aiginetans belong to the Dorian *ethnos* but the historical sources on the 'Dorisation' of the island do not convey a clear picture. In any case, the Aiginetans did speak a Dorian dialect and observed cults related to those of the northeastern Peloponnesus, first and foremost the prevailing cult in the Argolis, that of the Pythian Apollo, who became the city god of Aigina[65]. That is why Aigina maintained such close ties with Delphi. The *theoroí* were dispatched from the Thearion (*figs 5, 7; 6-8*) to the panhellenic sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo and the Aiginetan *hieromnemones* were numbered among the 'Dorians from the Peloponnesus'[66]. What the cults attest to is the Aiginetan connection with the Peloponnesus rather than their 'Dorian *ethnicity*' as such.

Pindar praises Aigina as a 'hospitable Dorian island' (N. 3, 2 f.). He contradicts himself, however, when he claims that Aigina 'had been under the stewardship of the Dorian people since Aiakos' (O. 8, 30) while, in another passage, he states that the Dorians had arrived in Aigina under Hyllos and Aigimios (I, 9, 1-4). Such conflicting statements reveal that the poet aimed not at providing consistent historical data, but at praising the Dorian *ethnicity* of the Aiginetans. And that is significant since it is not the Aiginetans' historical *ethnic* affili-

ation we are concerned with here but rather their *ethnic* consciousness as Dorians. This seems to be very pronounced in the first half of the 5th century when, in the victory odes, merits attributed to the Aiginetans, such as a sense of justice and hospitality, are said to be Dorian features. Since the poet of the ode and the audience shared, after all, the same ideas, Dorian *ethnicity* being considered praiseworthy in the odes means that it was important to the Aiginetans.

It is difficult to say how far back this *ethnic* consciousness goes. In recent years, historians have pointed out how late the Greeks' *ethnic* identities emerged and what "constructs" they were: "*Ethne* often were late constructs, emerging in specific political constellations and supported ideologically by 'myths' and genealogies retrojected into a distant past"[67]. Chr. Ulf (1996, 279) has emphasised that *ethnic* identities developed relatively late, in a creative process that spanned the 6th and 5th centuries BC. Accordingly, the poets of that time dealt much with mythical genealogies[68], and similarly, scenes featuring amorous pursuit and abduction are more numerous in the late 6th and the first half of the 5th century (p. 70 f.). Such phenomena attest to a desire to invoke the origins of a *polis* or *ethnos*, a desire primarily concerned not with historical research but with the identity of the community concerned. The Aiginetans considered first among such myths the abduction of the nymph Aegina (p. 71 f.).

Ethnic consciousness is not, therefore, a given quality which preceded the *polis*. Instead it is part of the collective identity, formed together with the growth of a *polis*. After all, the *polis* itself did not leap ready-made into existence.

Only gradually did it grow into what was a political state as well as a mentality entity. In this process the Aiginetans evidently fitted their *ethnic* consciousness into their collective identity (cf. Gehrke 2000, 160).

Aiginetan temples and works of art

The role played by sculpture in regard to the Aiginetan collective identity has already been discussed. Nevertheless, temples and works art are also in other respects instructive on this process. Further, construction projects and art commissions also shed light on the collective mentality prevailing at a particular time in a *polis*.

REGIONAL SCHOOLS. A school of art is born in connection to the *polis* in which it is at home. In the close space of an early Greek *polis* life is lived intensely; poetry, the visual arts and cult observance are inseparably linked with the athletics and festivities of the community. Sculptors and vase masters participate actively in all this; moreover, they have close ties to their workshop and their teacher. The school of art emerging from such a situation lends the political entity of the *polis* a dimension of distinctive artistic character. A *polis* is invariably the core of an archaic art school. Consequently, in areas without *poleis*, no distinctive school of art developed. Instead, there occur isolated, even quite good yet peripheral works of art.

TEMPLES. If the formation of the Aiginetans' collective identity was connected to that of their *polis*, the question arises of when Aegina emerged as a *polis*. No date is recorded; the process probably set in during the 7th century. An indication

provides the first stone temple to Apollo on the Acropolis (*figs* 5, 1; 45), the building of which presupposes an organised community: the temple of a city god is indeed an "emblem of collective identity" (Burkert 1988, 44). As Snodgrass (1977, 24)

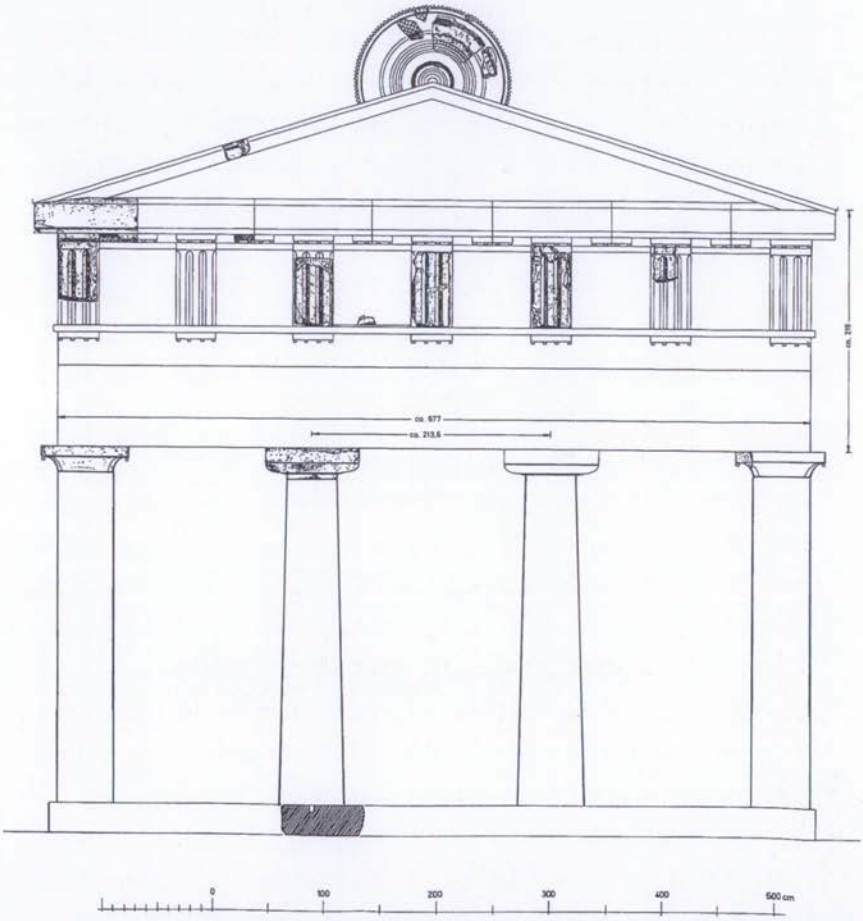


Fig. 45. First Apollo temple (fig. 5, 1; after K. Hoffelner). Ca 600.

pointed out, "The building of a monumental temple, to a recognised patron deity, especially if it is the first of a long line on the same site, may be our clearest physical indication that the emergent polis has arrived, or is at hand."

The sanctuary, of course, thrived long before the first stone temple was built. Finds from Colonna Hill bear witness to it despite the severe damage the hill sustained over the centuries. The colossal sphinx column (*figs 46 f.*), landmark of the cult place, was set up years before the stone temple stood.

Fig. 46. Votive sphinx. H 76 cm. Ca 620 BC. Aigina Mus.

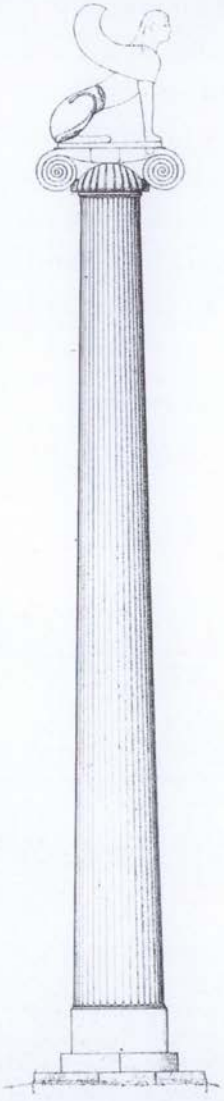


Fig. 47. Sphinx column (after G. Gruben: sphinx fig. 46+column from the Aphaia sanctuary).

Among the votive offerings from the 7th century there are colossal statues[69] as well as imported pottery of the highest quality, as the Attic 'Ram Jug' (*fig. 48*) and outstanding examples of the Corinthian polychrome group (*figs 49 f.*).

The emergence of local pottery styles after the mid-8th century is an indication of the first stirrings of *poleis* formation[70]. This, however, cannot be followed in Aigina since no high quality pottery with a distinctive local character has been found here (Walter-Karydi 1997). There is, nonetheless,

Fig. 48. Odysseus and his companions, concealed beneath rams, fleeing from Polyphemus' cave. Attic oenochoe. Ca 670. Aigina, Mus.

an Aiginetan school of sculpture, which is celebrated in the written sources. As regards the question of when the *polis* of Aigina emerged, it is significant that this school can be traced back as far as the late 7th century in extant pieces. The formal and thematic affinities of Aiginetan sculpture with north-

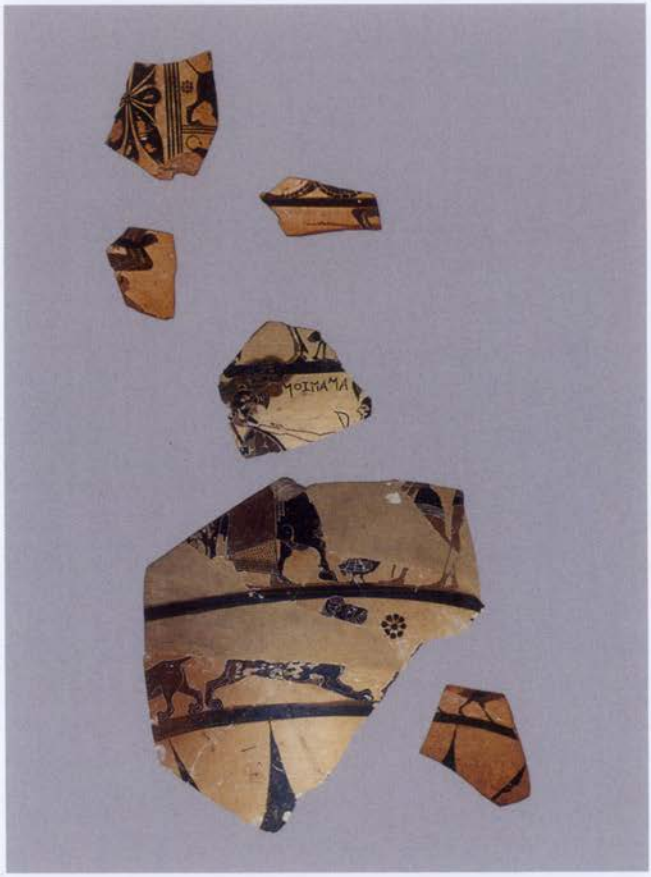


Fig. 49. Corinthian oenochoe, several friezes: rays; animal frieze; preparation of bull sacrifice; satyr; amazonomachy (inscription); Heracles fighting Hydra. Ca 640 BC. Aigina, Mus.

eastern Peloponnesian schools of sculpture are striking – ranging from the sphinx (*fig.* 46) to the pediment figures from the Aphaia (*figs 29-36*) and Artemis (*figs 38 f.*) temples and the sphinx from the Apollo sanctuary (*fig. 51*). The Aiginetan school is especially closely related to the Corinthian; it may, in fact, be called its 'island sister'. The same holds for architecture[71]: Aigina belongs to the core area of the Doric temple and many features reveal the closeness of Aiginetan temple builders to their Corinthian colleagues. If the Aiginetan cults are connected with those of the northeastern Peloponnesus

Fig. 50. Corinthian skyphos. Animal frieze; in the main frieze a pair of sphinxes, a pair of Centaurs between lions, bearded man and youth attacking a lion. Ca 640 BC. Aigina, Mus.

(p. 82), this is equally true of Aiginetan sculpture and architecture.

A generation after the first stone Apollo temple, a much bigger one was built, the first peristyle temple (*fig. 5, 2*; front cover ill.: Antefix)[72]; parts of its pediment sculpture have survived (*fig. 37*; p. XXX). During those years a temple was also built in the Aphaia sanctuary, which, moreover, was enlarged

Fig. 51. Votive sphinx. H (with plinth) 1.66 m. Ca 460 BC. Aigina Mus.

(Schwandner 1985). In other respects too there is a correspondence to the city sanctuary: about twenty years after the sphinx column (*fig. 46*) had been set up, a similar one was erected in the Aphaia sancturary (see *fig. 47*), and the third Apollo temple (*fig. 5, 3*) was followed by a new Aphaia temple (*fig. 29*), again after about twenty years had elapsed.

Other Aiginetan temples and sanctuaries mentioned in the written sources have not yet been located so that we cannot know whether they, too, were remodelled in the second quarter of the 6th century. Yet, as regards the Aiginetans' identity, it is above all what went on in the city sanctuary that is illuminating, and so are Aiginetan attitudes to Zeus, who, although not a city god, was especially venerated in Aigina – not without reason was the island addressed as the 'shining star of Zeus Hellanios' (p. 13).

ZEUS AND THE AIGINETANS. Apollo and Zeus – the two gods determine Aiginetan religious life. There is no Zeus sanctuary in the city, just the Aiakeion, the cult precinct of Zeus's son. The site of the Zeus cult had been on the Oros from old times (*fig. 4*)[73]. There was here, however, no building activity comparable to the one in the city sanctuary in the second quarter of the century. Still, the *polis,* when it built a peristyle temple to Apollo (*fig. 5, 2*) did not neglect Zeus. About the time the city sanctuary was being remodelled, Aigina, like Samos and Miletus, was granted the right by Pharaoh Amasis to found a sanctuary of her own in the trading colony of Naucratis whereas the other Greek cities had to be content with sharing a sanctuary, the *Hellenion*. Aigina consecrated her sanctuary, which has not yet been located, to Zeus (Herod. 2, 178)[74]. The

founding of this sanctuary is firm evidence that the Aiginetans showed their veneration with sumptuous offerings, at the same time, to both gods, Zeus and Apollo, impressing too their contemporaries both at home and in Egypt. Such dedications reveal Aigina's wealth as a maritime trading city and its citizens' desire of self-representation – as well as the growth of Aiginetan collective consciousness.

SOSTRATOS. Aiginetan traders, even when far from home, expressed their veneration of Apollo in votive offerings. The best-known example is the Sostratos of whom Herodotus tells (4, 152) that he was an Aiginetan, the son of Laodamas, and had amassed more wealth than all other Greeks in maritime trade. On a marble anchor (*fig. 52*) found outside the Greek sanctuary in Gravisca, the port of Tarquinia, there is an inscription in the Aiginetan alphabet. The anchor speaks in the first person, using the conventional dedicatory formula: 'I belong to the Aiginetan Apollo; Sostratos has made this.' Sostratos must surely also have dedicated the anchor and his patronymic would have been on the part of it that has been lost. Mario Torelli (1971) identified him as the trader Herodotus mentioned, and P. A. Gianfrotta (1975) realised that the votive offering was an anchor. Stone anchors are not rare as votive offerings. One found at the port of Aigina bears an early 5th-century votive inscription to Aphrodite Epilimenia, whose temple Pausanias saw on the harbour (2, 29. 6)[75]. However, what distinguishes the anchor *fig. 52* is that the god is addressed as *Aiginatas*, which is definitely not a cult epithet. In this unusual expression the votary's bond with the city god of Aigina and his civic pride are evident.

Sostratos was apparently lavish with votive offerings to the sanctuaries of his native island too: the remains of inscriptions on bases in the Aphaia and the Apollo sanctuaries imply he dedicated statues[76]. Moreover, Williams (1986, 186) assumes that rich Aiginetans who distinguished themselves with votive offerings also contributed financially to the building of the Late Archaic Aphaia temple; Santi (2001) assumes the same for Sostratos[77]. This would be just like this trader who was wealthy as well as committed to the deities of his home island.

Sostratos was evidently a key figure in the years about 500 when various phenomena bear witness to the growth of both the Aiginetans collective identity and their bond with their native *polis*.

Fig. 52. Marble anchor dedicated by Sostratos. Ca 500 BC. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. II4094.

Coins

It is probably not a coincidence that in the second quarter of the 6th century, that is, about the years the Aiginetans were building the second Apollo temple on their Acropolis (*fig. 5, 2*) and the first Aphaia temple as well as founding the Zeus sanctuary in Naucratis, they also introduced coinage[78]. As Colin Kraay pointed out, the early coinage bears witness to a surplus wealth, which is also shown in the building of large temples (1976, 321).

Dating the beginning of coinage in Aigina to the second quarter of the 6th century means dissociating it from Pheidon of Argos, to whom some ancient sources ascribe it[79]. Perhaps these sources, as John Kroll thinks (2001, 83), simply indicate that the system of weights attributed to Pheidon was used on the Peloponnesus for silver ingots long before the Aiginetans minted the first silver coins.

In introducing coinage, Aigina was the first *polis* in mainland Greece or the islands close to it to take up this invention, which was devised in Lydia or the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor in the late 7th century or about 600 – both the priority and the date are controversial and it is here not necessary to go into all the ramifications of the debate, which, after all, does not have any direct bearing on Aigina. The earliest coins were struck of electron; Aigina, however, used silver for her coins, which from then on became the general

practice. It was not long before Athens, Corinth and the Aegean islands began to mint silver coins of their own.

THE INTRODUCTION OF COINAGE. It is noteworthy that the early coinage (or at least its spread and the consistent use) represents a Greek phenomenon. Other peoples, such as the Etruscans, Phoenicians, Carthaginians and Egyptians, took a long time to adopt coinage[80]. In the Near East, 'money' was not coined; it was, generally, precious metal whose value depended on its weight and its fineness[81].

Coinage is an invention and indeed one of far-reaching consequences even though it was not without 'antecedents' and even though there is continuity to a certain extent between them and the first coins. As is well known, apart from barter – with animals, utensils such as tripods and all sorts of other objects ('*Gerätegeld*') – the early Greeks used as currency ingots of unrefined metal or iron spits (*obeloi*), which were also dedicated at sanctuaries and used as grave goods[82]. In the 7th century there were also lumps of precious metal, whose weight and fineness were guaranteed by a seal. They are, and this is noteworthy, devoid of devices. The use of such pieces anticipated most, if not all, practical functions of coins and continued in use even after the invention of coinage, especially in areas such as the interior of northern Greece, where there were no *poleis*[83]. '*Gerätegeld*' also continued in use. There was in fact 'money' in Greece long before there were coins – and it continued to exist alongside coinage. What then was new about coinage?

Colin Kraay's realisation that the first coinage did not develop primarily for commercial reasons[84] opened up the

way to relating it to other contemporary phenomena since the invention of coinage did not happen in a vacuum; it is a mentality event. In this connection, Karl Polanyi's observation that our conception of money is entirely different to that of the early Greeks is indeed significant. In the modern age, the economy, politics, social matters, culture, etc, are separate fields, each developing its own reasoning, values and dynamic. In early Greece, on the other hand, there was no such thing as an independent economy. It was instead embedded in non-economic institutions and factors: "the term 'economic life' would here have no obvious meaning" (1968, 84). The singular quality of an indivisible whole, which distinguishes life in early Greek society evidently makes it necessary for anyone attempting to interpret a phenomenon of that time to begin by distinguishing it from modern phenomena that go by the same name.

In striving to account for the earliest coinage, scholars have pointed out the functions of the first coins and several models for interpretation have been considered[85]. The assumption of a connection with the *polis* is convincing. Yet what was this connection? Colin Kraay suggested (1976, 321) that coinage represents the supreme authority in the state, Anthony Snodgrass concurring with this interpretation (1980, 134f.)[86]. Other scholars speak of "civic pride"[87]; this might link up with my approach. Namely, it must be borne in mind that the crucial difference between the earliest coins and the bullions that preceded them or continued to be used besides them consists primarily in the device, which marks coins, as the sea turtle the Aiginetan (*fig. 53*; back cover ill.); the reverse at first bore no image.

Fig. 53. Aiginetan coin. Sea turtle.

Coins *stricto sensu* always bear a device. It is the device, which gives a coin its face, differentiating it from all other media of exchange and relating it to the *polis*, which struck it. The invention of coinage brought forth a new art genre that bore masterpieces – a genre that, by the way, is nowadays about to disappear or has already died out. Anyway, as regards the beginnings, coins with devices, that is, money with images, were an invention closely associated with the *polis*. This would also explain why it took root at a time when the *poleis* were fully developed. In coinage, each *polis* has not only a prime means of communication as well as a medium for proclaiming its authority but, above all, an identity sign, which bullions without device could never be. Each *polis* mints its own coins; they demarcate it from the others. A somehow similar modern age development might be the flag becoming the sign of national identity in the 19th century.

THE AIGINETAN SEA TURTLE. The sea turtle, which the Aiginetans chose as their sign of identity on their coins (*fig.* 53; back cover ill.), is a suitable device indeed for such a seafaring *polis*. The reason Aigina struck her first coins is then not only the prosperity that enabled the *polis* to build large temples at that time but above all the Aiginetan collective consciousness that, obviously, had by then grown enough for a sign of identity to be devised.

Conclusion

Drawing on various phenomena, I have attempted to present the formation of an Aiginetan identity as a process in which myths, rituals, poetry and works of art have played an essential role. I repeat, however, that the formation of collective identity was, for the most part, not a deliberate process in an early Greek *polis*. Rather it was one, which followed of necessity in the course of change in mentality, in close association to the formation of the *polis*, a process in itself. Athletes and poets, sculptors and the master builders of temples contributed to the formation of a collective identity. It is manifest in rites and cult festivities. In it, the beliefs and myths of the *polis* heroes are just as present as is the historical past.

There is at present a lively discussion about collective identities in ancient Greece. By including works of art and their visual language, subject matter and function, I have tried to provide an archaeological contribution to this dicussion. The aim was to look into phenomena, which, although they are not causally interrelated, when viewed together might convey an overall picture of the anthropological situation in each case – in the present case, the early *polis* of Aigina.

The term 'collective identity' seems to me to preferable to others because it is comprehensive. In speaking of religious, political, economic, cultural, etc, identity, one runs the risk that the modern meanings of these terms might intrude and thus make it impossible to take into consideration the singu-

lar wholeness of Early Greek society, the fact that no single phenomenon can be regarded separately in an early Greek polis.

Many phenomena that have been discussed in this connection are not characteristic of Aigina alone. They are encountered in other *poleis* as well and bear witness there also to the formation of collective identity. This circumstance seemed to me to justify drawing on non-Aiginetan works. Nonetheless, taken in their entirety, the phenomena discussed above reflect a distinctive 'physiognomy', one that is unmistakably that of the *polis* Aigina.

This also means, of course, that the Aiginetan collective identity has not an opposite Other. As Irad Malkin has noted (2001, 14), "The concept of 'difference' itself needs some refinement. A sophisticated approach to that concept as a defining factor of identity goes beyond bipolar opposites to look for 'differences' within what seems the 'same'". The collective identities formed in the individual early Greek *poleis* do reveal differences in character yet they are subsumed under the panhellenic collective identity.

The formation of the panhellenic identity has not been discussed here. Aigina is certainly a separate entity with its own distinctive features – I hope I have been able to show this – and, at the same time, part of the world of Greek *poleis*. An essential feature of this world is that it consists of individual *poleis*, with each major *polis* in it possessing a 'physiognomy' of its own and creating its own collective identity.

Epinician odes to Aiginetan athletes

In the following the athletic victories are, as far as possible, in chronological order. The chronology follows B. Snell, H. Maehler, Pindari carmina cum fragmentis I. Epinicia[8] (1987); cf also C. M. Bowra, Pindar (1964) 406-413; Zunker 1988, 50f.; Mann 2001, 192f.

Simonides	to Krios (Zunker 1988, 39f.; Mann 2001, 303-307).
Pindar, N. 7	to Sogenes, son of Thearion, victor in the boys' pentathlon; ca 485(?)
Pindar, N. 5	to Pytheas, son of Lampon, victor in the boys' pankration 483(?); Pfeijffer 1999, 59: ca 487.
Pindar, I. 6	to Phylakidas, son of Lampon, victor in the boys' pankration; ca 480 (?)
Pindar, I. 5	to Phylakidas, son of Lampon, victor in the pankration; ca 478(?)
Pindar, I. 8	to Kleandros, son of Telesarchos, victor in the pankration; ca 478(?)
Pindar, N. 3	to Aristokleidas, son of Aristophanes, victor in the pankration; ca 475(?); Pfeijffer, 1999, 197f.: ca 498-457.

Pindar, N. 4	to Timasarchos, son of Timokritos, victor in boys' wrestling; ca 473 (?)
Pindar, N. 6	to Alkimidas, grandson of Praxidamas, victor in boys' wrestling; ca 465 (?)
Pindar, O. 8	to Alkimedon, son of Kallimachos(?), victor in boys' wrestling; ca 460.
Pindar, N. 8	to Deinias, son of Megas, victor in the diaulos (double stade); ca 459 (?)
Pindar, P. 8	to Aristomenes, son of Xenarkes, victor in wrestling; ca 446.
Bacchyl. 12	to Teisias victor in wrestling (Nemea) ?
Bacchyl. 13	to Pytheas, son of Lampon, victor in the pankration (Nemea); ca 481 (?); Pfeijffer 1999, 59: 487.

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The abbreviations follow the guidelines of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI): *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1997, 611 f.; Archäologische Bibliographie 1993, XXVII f. In addition, the following abbreviations have been used:

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Notes

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1. H. Walter, in: Wurster 1974, 6. Cf. Zunker 1988, 45f. 69-72; Walter 1993, 54 f. fig. 48, 7. The conjecture that the Aiakeion was in the Apollo sanctuary (Welter 1938a, *fig.* 36, 3; F. Felten, in: Zona archeologica, Festschrift H. P. Isler, [2001] 129) is not convincing. Arguments against it include not only aspects of the sanctuary topography, which I do not go into here, but also the idea that the son of Zeus should have a cult place separate from the Apollo sanctuary, although votive offerings and altars dedicated to other deities certainly stood here as they did in any large sanctuary. On Zeus and Apollo as the greatest gods of the Aiginetans see p. 93 f.

2. On the myth: Zunker 1988, 67 (Lit.). On Aiakos: ibid. 63 f.; Roschers, *Myth. Lex.* I1 (1884-1886) 109-14 *Aiakos* (E. Wörner); *LIMC* I (1981) *Aiakos* (J. Boardman); Erskine 2000, 62 f.

3. *RE* I1 (1893) *agônes* 836-866, especially 847-849; Pleket 1975, 57; von Reden 1997, 165.

4. Ebert 1972, 58 no. 12 ('Simonides'), 11 n. 2; Blech 1982, 109 f, 114. The statue was the work of the Aiginetan bronze sculptor Ptolichos (cf. Walter-Karydi 1987, 45 f.). Theognetos' native city is not named; it was either mentioned in a second inscription or left out because the statue stood in Aigina as a replica of the one Pausanias saw at Olympia (6. 9, 1).

5. Walter-Karydi 1994; 1999a.

6. Gelzer 1985, 97 f.; M. Hose, in: Bagordo, Zimmermann 2000, 161 f.

7. Aristoph., *Clouds* 1355 f.; Schol.

8. Pleket 1975. On the objections raised by D. C. Young, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics* (1984) see H. W. Pleket in: W. Coulson, H. Kyrieleis (eds.), *International Symposium on the Olympic Games, Athens 1988* (1992) 147 f. Cf. also Hubbard 2001, 389 f.

9. *Paian* 6, 123-126. The reference to Zeus fits since the verses come from an Aeginetan prosodion to Aiakos (Rutherford 2001, 306 f.).

10. Cf. ibid. 250 f.; Mann 2000, 39 f. 43 f.

11. I. 8, 23 f. Cf. Zunker 1988, 78 f.

12. Hubbard 1987, 17-22.

13. On the distinctive character of the early Greek aristocracy see Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989; Fouchard 1997, 25-56 ('L'identification de l'aristocratie à la cité'); Seaford 2001, especially 149, 158.

14. On victor statues see Herrmann 1988; F. Rausa, *L'immagine del vincitore. L'atleta nella statuaria greca dall'età arcaica all'ellenismo* (1994); Krumeich 1997, 89 f., 200 f.; Himmelmann 2001, 58-61; Mann 2001, 49 f.

15. Ebert 1972, 69-71 pl. 4, 16; *CEG* 1983, 399; *Mind and Body* 1989, no. 114. Cf. Paus. 6, 6. 4-11. The sentence τήνδε βροτοῖς ἐσορᾶν is a later emendation.

16. On beauty contests in ancient Greece see Crowther 1985.

17. Fränkel 1960, 366; cf. ibid. 564 n. 19; Köhnken 1971, 230 f.

18. Guarducci 1967, I, 110 f. no. 3 *fig.* 14: late 7th-early 6th century; Ebert 1972, 251-55 pl. 14 *fig.* 32: first half 6th century; *CEG* 983, 394: 600-550?; L. Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Grande Grèce* II (2002) 23 f.: end of 7th century.

19. Among the earliest extant examples is the marble figure of a runner from Naxos, roughly life-size, ca 530 BC: V. Lambrinudakis in: Kyrieleis 1986, 109 f., pl. 42 f.; Kokkorou-Alewras 1995, 95 f. no. 30; Himmelmann 2001, 60 n. 9.

20. Walter-Karydi 1987, 35 f. (Glaukias), 45 f. (Serambos, Synnoon, Ptolichos, Philotimos).

21. J. P. Barron, *BICS* 31, 1984, 13-24; E. A. B. Jenner, *BICS* 33, 1986, 59-66.

22. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (1961) 311 f.; Mann 2001, 307 f.

23. It can perhaps be identified on a cup, ca 490 BC (*ARV*^{2} 331, 15: Circle of Onesimos; Add^2 217; Kefalidou 1996, C13 pl. 21): A victor (?), arms outstretched, stoops over an altar on which no fire is burning but two crowns are lying.

24. As Neumann 1965, 84 and Blech 1982, 121 emphasize.

25. Rolley 1994, 358 *fig.* 374. Cf. also Schäfer 1996, 109 f. *fig.* 1 pls. 19-21.

26. Cf. Rolley 1994, 357; Rolley 1999, 37 f. figs 24 f.; Schäfer 1996, 137 n. 122.

27. Claude Rolley was the first to recognize the theme (*Die griechischen Bronzen*, 1983, 44 f.); Rolley 1999, 331 fig. 344 f. Concurring: Schäfer 1996, 138 n. 122.

28. Mattusch 1997, 37. 51.

29. Cf. for instance the bronze discus from Cephallonia (*CEG* 1983, 391: ca 550-525?) and the jumpers' weight from Olympia (Ebert 1972, no. 9: late 6th century; *CEG* 1983, 372: 550-525?).

30. Kurke 1993, 141 f.; Walter-Karydi 1999c, 296 f.

31. On Aiakos see n. 2. On the 'Aiginetan' Aiakid myth: Prinz 1979, 34-56.

32. West 1985, especially 125-171.

33. Prinz 1979, 39; Zunker 1988, 61 f.

34. Herod. 5, 89. Cf. Thompson, Wycherley 1972, 132; Stroud 1998, 85-104.

35. *LIMC* V (1990) *Heracles* 71, K (J. Boardman). On Telamon see Prinz 1979, 44 f.; Zunker 1988, 121-132; *LIMC* VII (1994) *Telamon* (F. Canciani).

36. Refs.: Sinn 1987, n. 61.

37. In: C. A. Böttiger (ed.), *Amalthea oder Museum der Kunstmythologie und bildlichen Altertumskunde* I (1820) 149 f.

38. Most scholars agree with Furtwängler; opposed: Sinn 1987 (Dorians invading Aigina, led by Hyllos or Heracles); concurring: Oppermann 1990, 95f. 129f.

39. On the myth: Zunker 1988, 121-126; *LIMC* V (1990) *Heracles* V, A (J. Boardman); *LIMC* VI (1992) *Laomedon* (J. Boardman).

40. Some variants of the mythological motifs have been omitted here.

41. Ohly too calls the champion on the left Ajax but views the one on the right as a Trojan and finds no place for Achilles in the pediment (1981, 62 f.).

42. Page 1981, 255-259 no. 40. Cf. Boedeker 1998b, 190.

43. Furtwängler 1906, 256-274: "Nichtgiebelkrieger"; Ohly 2001, pls. 170-191.

44. Earlier refs.: Walter-Karydi 1987, n. 242. Cf. also Williams 1987, 669-671; Schindler 1988, 74; Rolley 1994, 202-204; D. Ohly in unpublished notes (Williams ibid.).

45. Walter-Karydi 2001.

46. *BSA* 83, 1988, 169-177; *BSA* 88, 1993, 173-181.

47. West 1992, 118 f. no. 11; West 1993; Boedeker 1996; Rutherford 1996; Aloni 1997; Boedeker 1998a.

48. Ohly 1981, 68-70 fig. 23; 2001, pls. 163-169.

49. On the subject: Kaempf-Dimitradou 1981; Zunker 1988, 58 f.

50. Walter-Karydi 1987, 133; cf. also Sinn 1987, 145 n. 82. The head of a female figure looking back, find site unknown, might come from this group (Walter-Karydi 1987, 116 fig. 186 = New York, Metropol. Mus. of Art 1991. 11. 7).

51. Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1981, no. 23 pl. 284.

52. Refs. in Sinn 1987, 167.

53. Schindler 1988, 75. Cf. also Stewart 1990, 138.

54. E. Buschor, cf. Walter-Karydi 1987, 132 f. The 'effective centre' is a rule only in pediment groups, not necessarily in the freestanding sculpture groups of the time (ibid. 26-30 and passim).

55. She cannot, however, be the striding figure, which Ohly (1981, 68; 2001, pl. 170) considered as Athena at the pediment's centre, since the goddess as 'effective centre' is always a standing figure (see p. 76).

56. Walter-Karydi 1987, 109 figs 177-79; Touloupa 1998, 610 *fig.* 1: amazonomachy.

57. P. Themelis (in: Kyrieleis 1986, I, 609 f. pl. 68 f.): Athena in the midst of fighting warriors.

58. Ohly suggested (1981, 48 no. 10 display-case A. 53 f.; 1985, 16 f.) that an Athena cult statue was set up in the temple about 500 BC and the Aphaia cult statue was displaced to the rear of the cella. Opposed: Williams 1982, 55f. n. 98; *LIMC* I (1981) *Aphaia*; Sinn 1987, 133-136. 165, 1; Walter-Karydi 1987, 71. 76 no. 25 pls 21 f.

59. Cf. recently Villing 1997; Ritter 2001, 162.

60. Walter-Karydi 1987, 15 f.

61. Walter-Karydi 1987, 109 n. 288 (refs.). Differently: Touloupa 2002, 68f. (refs.).

62. Walter-Karydi 1987, 114-116; Touloupa 1998, 611.

63. Cf. Walter-Karydi 1987, 97 f. pls 30, 39. A. Furtwängler has rightly assigned the head to a slightly later date than the east pediment.

64. A Concise Guide to the Acropolis Mus. (1965) 32 f. A different reconstruction (K. Stähler, Antike u. Universalgeschichte. Festschr. H. E. Stier, 1972, 88-112; *Boreas* 1, 1978, 28 f.: Zeus frontally, driving a chariot with a team of four at the centre of the pediment group); opposed: Walter-Karydi 1987, 133; Mantis 1994, 33; Marszal 1998, 173 f.

65. On the Apollon Pythaeus und Pythios in der Argolis: Billot, 1989/1990, 52 f.; Tausend 1992, 9 f. Cf. Hall 1997, 99 f.

66. Walter-Karydi 1999a.

67. Raaflaub 1997, 14. Cf. Gehrke 2000; Malkin 2001, 1. 4.

68. Malkin 2001, 10 f.

69. For instance the head fragment of a kouros or kore or sphinx from the late 7th century (Walter-Karydi 1987, 49 no. 3 pl. 9).

70. Coldstream 1983; 1984, especially 11 f.

71. Aiginetan temples: Wurster 1974; Schwandner 1985; Bankel 1993; Hoffelner 1996, 10 f.; idem 1999; Gruben 2001, 121-127.

72. Hoffelner 1999, 47-64 figs 34-57 pls 41-44 colour pls 1, 2.

73. Furtwängler 1906, 473 f.; Welter 1938a, 26 f., 91 f., 102; idem 1938b,

8-16; Walter 1993, 24 f.; H. Goette, *AA* 1999, 589-592; idem, *AA* 2001, 640-642.

74. See most recently Bowden 1996; Boardman 1999, 118-121.

75. Welter 1938b, 489-491 *fig.* 11; Gianfrotta 1977, 288 *fig.* 7.

76. From the Aphaia Sanctuary: Williams 1983, 185 (Furtwängler 1906, 368 no. 10 pl. 25, 2). From the Apollo Sanctuary: Hoffelner 1996, 21 f. fig. 9 pl. 3a; Santi 2001, 204 fig. 13.

77. Cf. also Maaß, Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998, 67.

78. Dating of the earliest Aeginetan coins: Kraay 1976, 42. 313 f.; Howgego 1995, 1 f.; Kim 2001, 11.

79. On Pheidon see recently Foley 1997.

80. Kraay 1976, 317 f.; Howgego 1995, 1 f., 14, 18.

81. Schaps 2001, 94. Cf. Thompson 2003.

82. Strom 1992; von Reden 1997, 159 f.; Kroll 2001, 86 f.

83. Howgego 1995, 12 f.

84. Kraay 1964. Cf. already Cook 1958; Martin 1996, 258 f.: 'providing a medium of exchange for commerce and trade per se was not an important motive for the original adoption of coinage by the Greeks' (with refs.).

85. Cf. for instance Price 1983, 6 f.; Howgego 1995, 3.

86. Likewise Leslie Kurke who, presenting highly stimulating thoughts on coinage, yet maintains that its introduction should be viewed as a threat to the aristocracy (1999, 46 f.). Rightly objecting: Von Reden 1997, 155; Kroll 2000; Seaford 2001; Fr. de Callatay, RevNum 157, 2001, 86 f.; Kim 2002, 46 f.

87. Martin 1996, 259 with refs. (M. Finley, Ch. Starr *et al.*).

References to the illustrations

Fig. 5. Hoffelner 1999, 127 fig. 137 pl. 68. The location of the first Apollo Temple is hypothetical since no foundations have been found, just architectural members attesting the existence and date of this temple. K. Hoffelner will return to the location of the temple in the volume on the early Apollo sanctuary (Alt-Ägina I, 4).

Fig. 6. Thearion: Hoffelner 1999, 135f. pls. 55f. 71f.

Fig. 9. Richter 1970, no. 135.

Fig. 10. U. Hausmann (ed.), Der Tübinger Waffenläufer (1977); Walter-Karydi 1987, 95f. *figs* 137f. 144; Rolley 1994, 329f. fig. 327. The shield on the left hand is lost.

Fig. 11. A. Mallwitz, H. V. Herrmann (eds.), Die Funde aus Olympia (1980) 159 pl. 100 (W. Fuchs); Walter-Karydi 1987, 96 *figs* 146f.

Fig. 12: G. Richter, Metropolitan Mus. of Art. Bronzes (1915) no. 79; Himmelmann 2001, 60 fig. 38.

Fig. 13a.b. CVA München 5 pls. 218, 3. 220, 1-2. 221, 3. 226, 3; ARV^2 32, 3: Pezzino group; Add^2 157; Mind and Body 1989, no. 199 (B. Kaeser); Kefalidou 1996, C35 pl. 5.

Fig. 14. ARV^2 54, 7: Oltos; Para 326; Add^2 163; Kefalidou 1996, C37.

Fig. 15. Para 345: Berlin Painter. Cf Blech 1982, 179; Kefalidou 204f.; Thöne 1999, 80 f.

Fig. 16. ARV^2 405: manner of the Foundry Painter; Add^2 231; Kefalidou 1996, C80; Thöne 1999, CA 1; D. Williams, in: A. J. Clark, J. Gaunt (eds.), Essays in honor of D. v. Bothmer (2002) 343: Painter of London D15.

Fig. 17. Kaltsas 2002, no. 152.

Fig. 18. H. Protzmann, Das Albertinum vor 100 Jahren – Die Skulpturensammlung Georg Treu. Katalog Dresden (1994)

25 f. no. 7. The copy in the British Museum, London, from the Westmacott Collection, gave the statue type its name; see most recently Himmelmann 2001, 60 f.

Fig. 19. Mattusch 1997.

Fig. 20. 21. Walter-Karydi 1987, 84f. 103 pls. 46, 62.

Fig. 22. IG II^2 885; Allen 1971, 6f.

Fig. 23. H. Möbius, W. Wrede, AA 1927, 392; Welter 1938a, 121 fig. 55; Brackertz 1976, 55; LIMC II (1984) s. v. Apollon no. 805 (G. Kokkorou-Alewra); A. Delivorrias, in: Beck, Bol 1993, 224-26. – On the Apollo cult in Aegina: Walter-Karydi 1994 and 1999a.

Fig. 24. Walter-Karydi 1987, 82f. 126f. pl. 43, 57. Welter (1938a, 52) is probably referring to this fragment, when he dates the founding of the Aiakeion to 490. The relief comes from the Colonna Hill; this does not necessarily mean that it stood in the Apollo sanctuary since sculpture pieces that certainly come from near the hill, such as gravestones, were used as building material for the houses that spread out there from the 5th century AD (Walter 1993, 64).

Fig. 25. Walter-Karydi 1987, suppl. pl. I, top. On the pediment see ibid. 139f.

Fig. 26. Ibid. 142f. pls. 58, 81.

Fig. 27. CVA Boston 1 pls. 15; 17, 1-2: Timiades Painter; Kluiver 1995, 72 no. 47. The theme often occurs on 'Tyrrhenian' amphorae (Kluiver 1995, 65 nos. 3. 5. 17, etc).

Fig. 28. ARV^2 15, 6; Add^2 152; Euphronios der Maler (Exhibition Berlin, 1991) 128f. no. 13.

Fig. 29. Ohly 2001, suppl. pl. K.

Fig. 31. Ohly 2001, suppl. pl. F.

Fig. 33. Ohly 1976, suppl. pl. A top.

Fig. 34a. Ohly 1976, suppl. pl. C.

Fig. 34b. Walter-Karydi 1987, 136f. n. 362.

Fig. 35. Ohly 1976, 60-74.

Fig. 36. Ohly 1976, 33-40.

Fig. 37a.b. Walter-Karydi 1987, 130 f. no. 67 fig. 203 pls. 48 f.

Pediment figures from the temple: ibid. 129-132 nos. 66-69 pls. 47-50. The Gorgo (ibid. 129 no. 66 fig. 202) shows the height of the central figures.

Fig. 38. 39. Walter-Karydi 1999b, 283f. On the temple: Hoffelner 1999, 101f. figs 105-136 pls. 52-54. Fig. 39: Kaltsas 2002, no. 130.

Fig. 40. Furtwängler 1906, 256 f., fig. 214; Walter-Karydi 1987, no. 44 pl. 33; Ohly 2001, pls. 163-165.

Fig. 41. ARV^2, 536, 5: Boreas Painter; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1981, no. 15.

Fig. 42. Ohly 1976, 26 fig. 20.

Fig. 43. ARV^2 401, 2: Foundry Painter.

Fig. 44. Herrmann 1987, fig. 4; Trianti 2002, 282 f. figs 1. 4-9.

Fig. 45. Hoffelner 1999, 15-45 *figs* 1-33 pls. 28-40 colour pl. 1, 1.

Fig. 46. Walter-Karydi 1987, 49 no. 2 pl. 9; Hoffelner 1996, 10-14 fig. 1 pl. 1.

Fig. 47. Gruben 1965 combined the sphinx fig. 46 and the sphinx column from the Aphaia Sanctuary to give an idea of how the two works looked as a whole. Cf. Gruben 2001, 344 fig. 262, 1.

Fig. 48. Kraiker 1951, no. 566 pls. 44 f.; Walter-Karydi 1997, 389 n. 40.

Fig. 49. Ibid. no. 340 and recently found fragments.

Fig. 50. Ibid. no. 296 and recently found fragments.

Fig. 51. Walter-Karydi 1987, 80. 118 f. no. 52 pls. 35. 38-40.

Fig. 52. Torelli 1971; Johnston 2000, no. 1.

Front cover ill.: Hoffelner 1999, 60 no 73 fig. 53 pl. 43,1.

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Figs. 1. 2. 6. 26. 40. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51: phot. Colonna excavation. Fig. 3: AntW 26, 1995, 475 Fig. 2 (H. Pflug). Fig. 4: phot. K. Hoffelner. Fig. 5: Hoffelner 1999, 127 fig. 137. Fig. 7: Hoffelner 1999, pl. 71. Fig. 8: Hoffelner 1999, pl. 77. Figs. 9. 10. 12. 17. 19-22. 27. 30. 32. 33. 35. 36. 38. 43: phot. Mus. Fig. 11: DAI Athens neg. Ol 6281. Fig. 13a.b: Mind and Body 1989, no. 199. Fig. 14: G. Richter, L. F. Hall, Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1936) pl. 4. Fig. 15: after a postcard. Fig. 16a: after a postcard. Fig. 16b: phot. Archäolog. Institut Munich. Fig. 23: DAI Athens neg. Aeg 267. Fig. 24: DAI Athens. Fig. 25: Walter-Karydi 1987, Suppl. 1. Fig. 28: Pfuhl, MuZ fig. 395. Fig. 29: Ohly 2001, Suppl. F. Fig. 31: Ohly 1981, fig. 21. Fig. 34a: Ohly 1976, Suppl. C; 1981, fig. 81. Fig. 37a: DAI Athens neg. Aeg. 677. – Fig. 37b: Walter-Karydi 1987, fig. 203. Fig. 39: DAI Athens neg. NM 4052. Fig. 41: Richter op. cit. pl. 94. Fig. 42: Ohly 1976, 26 fig. 20. Fig. 44: H. V. Herrmann, Die Olympia Skulpturen (1987) fig. 4a. Fig. 45: Hoffelner 1999, pl. 60. Fig. 46: DAI Athens neg. Aeg. 144. Fig. 47: G. Gruben, AM 80, 1965 pl.3. Fig. 52: after JHS AR 1973/74, 50. Fig. 53: phot. Numismatic Mus. Athens.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY AT ATHENS

When the state of Greece was founded in 1830, after the War of Independence, the first governments were immediately faced with the great problems of the economy, public administration and education. The last of these also included the question of the country's ancient treasures, which had been looted and destroyed over the centuries by traffickers in antiquities. However, the official Antiquities Service was undermanned and incapable of taking proper care of the ancient remains, and so on January 6th 1837, on the initiative of a wealthy merchant named Constantinos Belios, a group of scholars and politicians founded the *Archaeological Society at Athens* with the objects of locating, re-erecting and restoring the antiquities of Greece.

The Presidents and Secretaries of the Society in its early days were politicians and diplomats, whose enthusiasm was such that in spite of the shortage of funds – for it was financed entirely by members' subscriptions and voluntary donations and received no assistance whatever from the State – they were able to carry out a number of ambitious projects such as the excavation of the Acropolis, the restoration of the Parthenon and excavations of the Theatre of Dionysos, the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and the Tower of the Winds, all in Athens.

Until 1859 the Society was in such a precarious financial position that it was constantly on the verge of collapse. In that year the distinguished scholar and epigraphist Stephanos Kumanudes became its Secretary, and he held the position until 1894. With his expertise, his methodical mind and his energy he breathed new life into the Society, and on his initiative large-scale excavations were carried out in Athens (Kerameikos, Acropolis, Hadrian's Library, Stoa of Attalos, Theatre of Dionysos, Roman Agora), elsewhere in Attica (Rhamnous, Thorikos, Marathon, Eleusis, the Amphiaraeion, Piraeus) and in Boeotia

(Chaironeia, Tanagra, Thespiai), the Peloponnese (Mycenae, Epidaurus, Lakonia) and the Cyclades. Meanwhile the Society founded several large museums in Athens, which were later amalgamated to form the National Archaeological Museum.

Kumanudes was succeeded by Panayiotis Kavvadias, the General Inspector of Antiquities (1895-1909, 1912-1920), who carried on his predecessor's work with undiminished energy and presided over excavations in other parts of Greece – Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia and the islands (Euboea, Corfu, Kefallinia, Lesbos, Samos and the Cyclades) – as well as the opening of numerous museums in provincial towns. Kavvadias was succeeded by three university professors, George Oikonomos (1924-1951), Anastasios Orlandos (1951-1979) and George Mylonas (1979-1988). Under them the Society managed to keep up its archaeological activities in spite of the difficulties caused by the Second World War and its aftermath, which hampered its work for a considerable length of time.

As an independent learned society, the Archaeological Society is in a position to assist the State in its work of protecting, improving and studying Greek antiquities. Whenever necessary, it undertakes the management and execution of large projects: this has happened with the excavations in Macedonia and Thrace in recent years and with the large-scale restoration projects in the past.

An important part of the Society's work is its publishing. It brings out three annual titles: *Praktika tes Archaiologikes Hetairias* (*Proceedings of the Archaeological Society*), since 1837, containing detailed reports on the excavations and researches carried out in all parts of Greece; *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (since 1837), containing papers on subjects to do with Greek antiquities, including excavation reports; and *Ergon tes Archaiologikes Hetairias* (*The Work of the Archaeological Society*), since 1955, published every May, with brief reports on its excavations. *Mentor* is a quarterly whose contents consist mainly of short articles on ancient Greece and the history of Greek archaeology, as well as of news on the Society's activities. All these are edited by the Secretary General. Besides the periodicals, there is the series of books with the general title *The Library of the Archaeological Society at Athens*: these are monographs on archaeological subjects and reports on excavations, mostly those carried out by the Society.

The Society is administered by an eleven-member Board, elected every three years by the members in General Meeting. Every year, in May or thereabouts, the Secretary General of the Board reports on the Society's activities over the past twelve months at a Public Meeting.

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