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Divine Images and Royal Ideology in the Philippeion at Olympia

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For Olin Storvick

The use of heroic or divine iconographies for the portraits of kings, queens and rulers is one of the most well-known aspects of Hellenistic visual culture.¹ In paintings, statues and coins, Hellenistic monarchs consistently elevated themselves above those they ruled with a common iconographic language that pointed directly to their own god-like power. Indeed, since divine portraits helped generate and confirm the superhuman status of the men and women that they represented, this sort of heroic iconography was seen as a fundamental aspect of a king or queen's royal persona. Following the battle of the Granikos in 334 B.C., for example, Alexander descended upon the city of Ephesos where a royal portrait was commissioned by his court painter Apelles (Plin. *HN*. 35.92). The portrait – probably reproduced by the famous Neisos gem in St. Petersburg (Fig. 1) – showed the young king holding Zeus's thunderbolt and left little doubt as to Alexander's status as the supreme overlord of Asia.² About twenty years later, in a famous decree of 311 B.C., the grateful city of Skepsis in the Troad awarded divine honors to Antigonos Monophthalmos, honors which included a *temenos*, an altar and – most importantly – a cult statue that would have been constructed in appropriate divine guise.³ (Four years later in Athens, Antigonos and his son Demetrios Poliorketes were again given divine honors and, again, received heroic portraits, this time set along side the famous Eponymous Heroes in the Athenian Agora.⁴) The same concern with divine imagery dominated numismatic iconography throughout the Hellenistic age, with kings and queens using godly attributes on coin portraits that were distributed throughout their realms; the famous tetradrachms of Demetrios Poliorketes that show him with the divine horns of a bull (Fig. 2) are only the earliest and most famous example.⁵

While the roster of such divinizing or heroizing images is well known and virtually endless, the origins of this iconographic phenomenon have never been subjected to systematic analysis. Unfortunately, such a task is beyond the scope of this article. What is possible, however, is a discussion of a monument that may have served as one inspiration for the use of such



Fig. 1. Cast of a red cornelian gemstone showing Alexander the Great holding the thunderbolt of Zeus, possibly after Apelles' portrait painted in 334 B.C. Inscribed NEIEOY. St. Petersburg, Hermitage, inv. 609. Ht. 4.5 cm. Ca. 300-250 B.C. (Photo after Stewart 1993, fig. 66)



Fig. 2. Silver tetradrachm of Demetrius Poliorketes showing the king with the divine horns of a bull. Reverse shows a seated Poseidon with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. Minted in Amphipolis ca. 290 B.C. (Photo after Smith 1988, fig. 74.8)

divine or heroic imagery in Hellenistic royal art – Leochares' Argead portraits in the Philippeion at Olympia.

In early August of 338 B.C., Philip II of Makedon destroyed the armies of Athens and Thebes on the Boiotian plain of Chaironeia and changed the Greek world forever.⁶ To commemorate this spectacular triumph, the king commissioned a set of dynastic portraits from the renowned Athenian sculptor Leochares. According to Pausanias (5.17.4, 5.20.9-10), Leochares' royal portrait group was dedicated at Olympia and consisted of a portrait of Philip alongside portraits of his immediate family members: his son Alexander, his wife Olympias, his mother Eurydike and his father Amyntas. Sometime later, again according to Pausanias, the portraits of Olympias and Eurydike were separated from the group and moved to the nearby temple of Hera.⁷ Two physical characteristics of Leochares' Argead dynasts seem to have made them extraordinary – even revolutionary – for their time. The first of these was that the images of Philip and his family appeared to be fashioned of ivory and gold, exceedingly precious materials most famously associated with the titanic cult images of the fifth century. The second was that the portrait group was dedicated and installed inside the sacred Altis – arguably the most revered *temenos* of the Greek mainland – in a tholos specifically designed to hold them. It was this tholos that became known as the Philippeion (Figs. 3-6).

So much is known from the traveler's famous description of the monument. But what can Pausanias tell us about the use of divine or heroic ico-

Fig. 3. Olympia. Plan showing the position of the Philippeion. (Drawing: public domain)

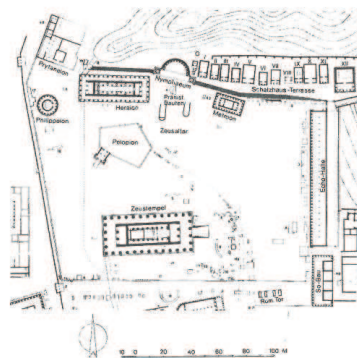


Fig. 4. Plan of the Philippeion incorporating some recent discoveries by Klaus Herrmann, Hajo van de Löcht and the author. (Drawing by David Boggs after Schlieff 1944)

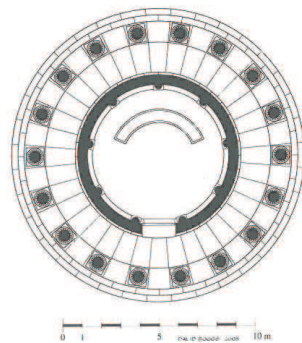
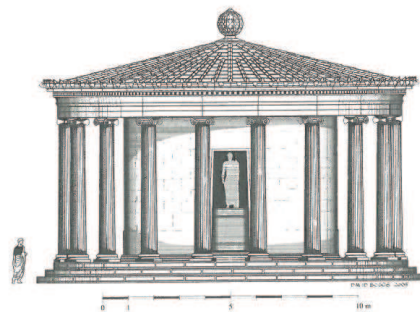


Fig. 5. Elevation of the Philippeion's eastern elevation incorporating some recent discoveries made by Klaus Herrman, Hajo van de Löcht and the author. (Drawing by David Boggs after Schlieff 1944)



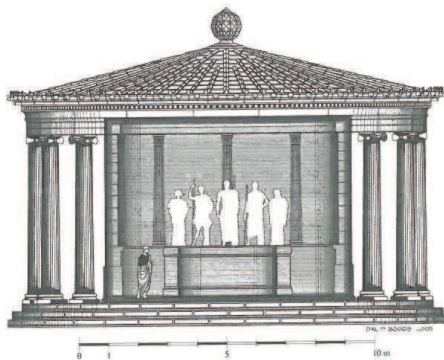


Fig. 6. Cut-away elevation of the Philippeion's interior incorporating some recent discoveries by Klaus Herrmann, Hajo van de Löcht and the author. (Drawing by David Boggs after Schlieff 1944)

nography in this particular context by what was arguably the first Hellenistic royal family? While Leochares' unprecedented use of gold and ivory is very suggestive – as is the fact that the portraits were set up in their own precinct inside the Altis – can anything more concrete be said about these images and their place in the development of Hellenistic royal portraiture and its divinizing and heroizing conventions?⁸

Here, the archaeology of the site and building becomes important. Specifically, examination of the elaborate semi-circular statue base for Leochares' dynastic portraits inside the Philippeion provides important new information about Philip's dedication generally and his sculptor's possible use of heroic or divine iconography in particular. Interestingly, this statue base has never been the subject of systematic analysis or extended discussion.⁹ This is a problem since study of the only piece of original physical evidence connected to Leochares' famous portraits is a basic, preliminary step towards a more nuanced and complex understanding of the Argead dynasts and their position in the history of Hellenistic portraiture, a step that has yet to be taken.

As it turns out, examination of the statue base in the Philippeion seems to clarify and/or complicate the answers to three questions that have consistently surrounded the monument.

The first is the question of patronage. Whose dedication is this exactly? While Pausanias tells us that *Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἐποιήθη μετὰ τὸ ἐν Χαίρωνείᾳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὀλισθεῖν* (5.20.10), in what sense is the dative used here? In the sense of agency, as it is normally understood – that the tholos was built "by Philip" – or in the proper sense, as is sometimes suggested – that the tholos was built "for Philip," with Alexander understood as the agent? Since the grammar can be read either way (and thus can support either position)

and since Philip was dead by 336 B.C. (a mere two years after the building seems to have been commissioned, a point that will become important shortly) most archaeologists have opted for two distinct phases of patronage for the monument. Original sponsorship of the building is thus commonly given to Philip while the final stages of construction and the actual patronage of Leochares' portraits are given to Alexander. This question is important for understanding the early royal use of divine imagery. A loyal son's dedication of heroic, votive portraits in honor of his murdered father is quite different than a divine family commissioned by a conquering king to commemorate his overlordship of the Greek mainland. The nuances of patronage have a direct bearing on the meaning of the monument. Can examination of the statue base in the Philippeion clarify the nature of this specific and notorious problem?

The second – more important – question is the question of composition and appearance. For the last century, scholars have wrangled over the arrangement of the images. While there is no question that the semi-circular form of the statue base corresponded perfectly with the round plan of the tholos proper, how exactly were the portraits actually displayed and what did they look like? Like the question of patronage, this issue is tightly linked to the notion of heroic or divine iconography. How can it be reasonably argued that Philip and his family represent an early phase of divinizing royal imagery if we do not know what the portraits looked like? Can the statue base tell us anything about the portraits' arrangement and appearance? Were the Argead dynasts actually shown in heroic or divine guise?

Finally, there is the question of the tholos' symbolic and practical function. How can the tholos form be understood in this particular context? Did the architecture of the Philippeion suggest some sort of pan-Hellenic council house, a treasury, a heroön, simply an elaborate victory dedication, a combination of all these or is there yet another, complementary, hypothesis that can be supported by the evidence? Can discussion – or rather, a full contextualization – of the statue base allow further insight into the significance of the portraits' elaborate setting and how might this issue have effected the manner in which they were viewed? Does the tholos itself communicate something of the heroic or the divine?

Patron and sculptor

As noted, the dominant view of the Philippeion's patronage is that it was split between Philip and Alexander. Pausanias (5.20.10) notes that the tholos was constructed after the battle of Chaironeia in 338 B.C. For this reason, Philip is generally given credit for founding the building while Alexander is seen as completing the project and commissioning the portraits.¹⁰ This conclusion is based on the notion that the twenty-two months falling between

Philip's victory at Chaironeia (August 338 B.C.) and his assassination (June 336 B.C.) were insufficient to complete the building and portraits and that the building project was thus halted and re-organized following the king's death. The questionable veracity of this assumption will be treated shortly. More significant now is the implicit claim, often made explicit in specific arguments, that the plan or composition of the monument was physically altered to accommodate Alexander's hypothetical new agenda. The most radical expressions of this popular hypothesis were given by Arnaldo Momigliano in 1934 and, more recently, by Jan Huwendiek in 1996. Momigliano thought that the portraits, but not the building, were Alexander's idea and that they were set up in 324 B.C. following the young king's move to deify his mother.¹¹ Huwendiek, on the other hand, argued that the original idea for the portraits was Philip's but that the king had initially intended only four portraits: himself, his new wife Kleopatra and his two parents. It was this program, according to Huwendiek, that was halted after the assassination with Alexander then commissioning a new set of portraits from Leochares at some later date.¹²

Autopsy reveals three physical characteristics of the statue base that stand against the notion of a divided plan and multiple building phases for the Philippeion.¹³ To begin, the marble used for the statue base, the gutters and the floor of the Philippeion is identical. Now it has been accepted since the end of the nineteenth century that the Philippeion's floor and details were made of Parian marble. This is now supported by Klaus Herrmann's recent treatment of Parian stone at Olympia.¹⁴ Identical marble, therefore, cannot mean Parian marble generally, since "Parian" can describe a wide range of marble types. On the contrary, the Parian marble used for the floor, details and the statue base shares identical physical and visual characteristics that are most likely explained if it was harvested from the same marble deposit within the same Parian quarry. Grain size is consistently large (ca. 2.5-4.5 millimeters) in both floor and base. Also consistent is the presence of pale silver-gray bands of varying size running parallel to the dominant planes of the base and floor.¹⁵ In terms of luminosity, the base, the floor and details were observed in raking morning light, in direct perpendicular noon sunshine and in diffused twilight. To the naked eye, light refraction at all times was identical. While these observations prove nothing, they do represent the first step of physical analysis and suggest that the base and building could belong to the same project. Or, to reverse the argument, if marble type and quality had varied noticeably between statue base and architecture, the hypothesis that the base and portraits were late additions to the project might be said to gain a minor piece of archaeological evidence in its favor.¹⁶ This is not the case.

In addition to similar marble, the patterns of tooling on the statue base, on the gutters and on the floor of the Philippeion are also identical. This is

most clearly demonstrated by the use of a similar claw chisel on both the statue base and the marble architectural elements. The claw chisel in question was very fine and had 5 teeth every ca. 0.011 m; its bite is consistently ca. 0.001 m.¹⁷ Traces of this tool were found on both the front and back of all base blocks and across the gutters and floor. These data, when supplemented with the discussion of marble, are significantly more telling. The chance that similar tools were used on similar stone belonging to two distinct projects is fairly small. Marble working tools were unique, handmade and often tailored to meet consistent and specific workshop criteria.¹⁸ If Leochares' statue base had been constructed and placed in the Philippeion at some date after the construction of the building or if the base had been reworked at any time after the building was finished, this physical similarity could not exist. Similar tooling of identical stone suggests a single building cycle for both architecture and statue base.

In addition to identical marble and tooling, the pi-shaped clamps used in the statue base are identical to the pi-shaped clamps found throughout the rest of the Philippeion's architecture. Now it is important to note that "identical" here does mean that the clamps were simply the same "pi-shape," or style. This, by itself, would mean nothing since pi-shaped clamps are used throughout the history of Greek architecture. Rather, identical here means that the cuttings for these pi-shaped clamps have identical dimensions. This, in turn, suggests fast, "batch ordering" not a prolonged, multi-phased project. The clamp cuttings in the statue base consistently measure ca. 0.30-0.32 m long, ca. 0.02-0.025 m wide and ca. 0.03-0.05 m deep. Similarly, all clamp cuttings found in the epistyles, frieze backers, stylobate and euthynteria of the Philippeion itself conform to these general dimensions. It is unlikely that this is a coincidence. Even casual survey of architectural pi-clamps shows how widely these units could vary in size from building to building or even vary within the same project.¹⁹ The range of possible clamp sizes available to the ancient architect was almost infinite.²⁰ The probability that identical clamps could show up in a second, unconnected building phase (in which marble and tooling is also identical) is highly unlikely. The use of pi-clamps of identical dimension in similarly tooled, identical Parian marble argues strongly for a single, uninterrupted construction cycle.

The marble, the tooling and the clamps of Leochares' statue base find direct parallels in the architecture of the Philippeion itself. If variation or discrepancy had been detected in one of these fields, reason might exist to posit a second phase of construction for the monument. (Indeed, it was exactly this sort of discrepancy that was anticipated before autopsy.) At present, however, the idea that the statue base was somehow adjusted or that it belongs to a hypothetical later or altered phase of the Philippeion's construction can be abandoned. This reading of the stones can now be combined with Dimitris Damaskos' careful demonstration that Pausanias' use of the dative

in reference to the Philippeion *could* – although not necessarily *must* – be understood in the sense of agency.²¹ (Of course, as noted earlier, Pausanias' prose composed five hundred years after the building's construction cannot be conclusive one way or another and can be used to sustain either position.) Barring the discovery of further evidence, it seems likely that if the Philippeion was commissioned and begun under Philip, as Pausanias' testimony suggests, then the king's original design was fulfilled.²² At the very least, the base provides no physical data in support of the popular notion that the building was somehow altered during the course of construction or that the statue base belongs to a later, Alexandrian building phase.

But what of the old and pervasive idea that the Philippeion could not have been completed in the twenty-two months that fell between Philip's victory at Chaironeia in August of 338 and his assassination in June of 336? While nothing conclusive can be said barring the discovery of further evidence, it is worth remembering that other architectural projects funded by powerful patrons and/or committees could be finished very quickly indeed. The more complex architectural program of the Parthenon, for example, was completed in nine years (*IG I³ 436-44*) while the vast majority of the architecture of the Propylaea was completed (although the building was never fully finished) in five (*IG I³ 462-66*). All architecture and sculpture of the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros was finished in under four years and eight months.²³ With regards to Makedonian patronage specifically, Alexander's construction of the mole at Tyre in under seven months (*Plut. Vit. Alex. 24.3-25.2*; Polyainos, *Strat.* 4.3.4; Justin. 11.10.10-4) provides an instructive example and, if Diodoros (17.115.1-5) is to be trusted, then Alexander's commission for the massive and elaborate pyre of Hephaisteion seems to have been completed in only eight.²⁴ (Makedonian kings apparently had no patience with sluggish architects and they could afford to demand speed.) Could the Philippeion – modestly adorned with a single bronze akroterion and with lion's head water spouts and constructed (with the exception of the floor and other select details) of easily worked conglomerate and limestone – have been completed in a little under two years?

There are four reasons why this possibility should be considered. First, Philip's control and influence at Olympia was pervasive up until his death in 336 B.C. There is no reason to believe that construction would have been halted for political or economic reasons.²⁵ Second, limestone and conglomerate are much easier (and thus much quicker) to work than marble, perhaps requiring as little as one-fifth the effort.²⁶ This fact must be figured into the comparisons made with the Periklean program noted above. A limestone Propylaea could have been finished quickly indeed and the use of local conglomerate at Olympia ensured that the time spent transporting material was kept to an absolute minimum. Third, formal details, in particular the architectural moldings, show evidence of hasty execution as Lucy Shoe pointed

out long ago; this, in turn, suggests a sense of urgency on the part of the builders.²⁷ Finally, and most importantly, an incomplete tholos in 336 B.C. would have been a straightforward embarrassment for the Makedonian king. 336 B.C. was the year of 111th Olympic games, the first festival after Philip's triumph at Chaironeia. It seems almost impossible that Philip's plan was to commission the building and then not have it ready for exhibition at the pan-Hellenic festival of the year. It is a well-known fact that the Olympic games had served as the dominant locus for Philip's propaganda for over two decades.²⁸ Is it conceivable that Philip – the master of pan-Hellenic propaganda and the then practical master of Olympia proper – wanted his victory monument seen as an unfinished pile of rocks, a half-finished construction site at the first games after his triumph? For anyone familiar with the king's character, the idea is bizarre at best. Indeed, one of the fundamental components of the Philippeion's impact was that the monument materialized almost overnight in the middle of the Altis for every Greek to see. The possibility that the Philippeion was finished during Philip's lifetime is real.²⁹ Indeed, unless compelling evidence can be given to explain Philip's specific inability to complete a hastily constructed tholos after his victory, the notion of Alexandrian patronage of the Philippeion should probably be rejected until compelling evidence can be found to substantiate it. The monument and portraits were almost surely Philip's idea and the dedication should be understood as a device by which the king – not his famous son – communicated a specific message to the Greek community.

Now even if it is likely that the Philippeion was completed in about two years, it must be admitted that the archaeologically based arguments given so far can prove nothing regarding the date of the monument. A construction period of ca. 338-336 B.C. is owed entirely to Pausanias' testimony. Even so, some tentative confirmation for this date comes from the statue base's ornament.

As most commentators have noted, the base and crown moldings of the pedestal are elaborate and quite distinct (Figs. 7-8) and Shoe pointed out that the base moldings were modeled on the intricate moldings found on the wall and column bases of the Erechtheion.³⁰ The most immediate parallel, however, comes from the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, specifically the crown of the Great Altar and the interior wall moldings (Fig. 9).³¹ This parallel was noted early by Carl Weickert in 1913 and Willy Zschietzschmann in 1944 but then virtually forgotten.³² Weickert and Zschietzschmann seem to have been correct, however. The moldings from the temple of Athena are very close to those used in the Philippeion; the designer of the Philippeion base was familiar with the intricate Tegean moldings which he simply scaled down and refined to fit his base. This comparison generally supports Pausanias' date in the early 330s B.C. for the dedication of the Philippeion since it is now clear that the temple at Tegea was completed ca. 350-335 B.C.³³

Fig. 7. Leochares' statue base in the Philippeion, molding profiles. (Drawing by Chrys Kanellopoulos)

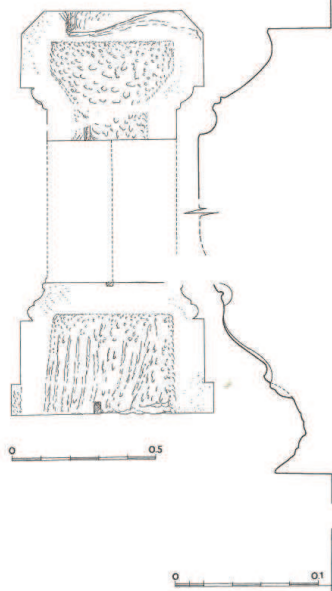
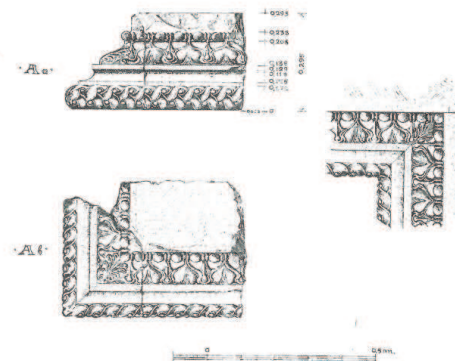


Fig. 8. Leochares' statue base in the Philippeion, photograph of the crown (top) and base (bottom) molding. (Photograph after Schleif & Zschietzschmann 1944, pl. 20)



Fig. 9. Moldings from the wall base of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. (Drawing after Dugas 1924, pl. 74)



The relationship between the temple of Athena Alea and the Philippeion as suggested by the moldings, however, is more complex than simple temporal and geographical proximity. Indeed, it is well known that the team of sculptors and architects responsible for the temple of Athena Alea were intimately connected with work on the Mausolleion at Halikarnassos. This association is supported by the attested presence of Skopas at both sites (Plin. *HN*. 36.30; Paus. 8.45-7) and archaeologically confirmed by several minor monuments, the most important of which is the famous Idrieus relief found at Tegea sometime in the mid-1860s.³⁴ The relief shows Karian Zeus flanked by the Hekatomnid rulers Ada and Idrieus, the satrap of Karia and brother of the great Maussollos himself. In the past, this important monument has been read as a votive dedicated in Tegea by a Karian craftsman who had followed Skopas to the mainland from Halikarnassos. Geoffrey Waywell, however, showed that the stele was instead the heading for a decree set up in thanks to Ada and Idrieus for money that allowed the final completion of the Tegean temple.³⁵

In this context, it is noteworthy that another parallel for the moldings on the statue base in the Philippeion comes from yet another Karian monument, this time a middle fourth century B.C. column base from Knidos drawn by Jean-Nicolas Huyot in 1820. This parallel, also, was noted early by Zschietzschmann but then ignored.³⁶ While it is true that the moldings of the Philippeion's statue base generally reflect the moldings from the Erechtheion – and are thus both Attic and Classicizing stylistically – Shoe's description of them as *purely* Athenian requires some modification. Indeed, the line of transmission for the moldings – Athens-Karia-Tegea-Olympia – could not be cleaner, even if it is more complex than previously allowed. This chain of influence is further supported by the radical use of dentils along with an

Ionic frieze in the Philippeion, an innovation that seems to manifest for the first time in Karia at the Maussoleion in Halikarnassos.³⁷ These details matter because they suggest the presence of an Athenian sculptor/architect working at the Philippeion who may also have worked in Karia before returning to the mainland in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. This description corresponds perfectly with what is known of the career of Leochares so the archaeology independently supports Pausanias' identification of the Athenian master as the sculptor of the Argead dynasts.³⁸

Even more interesting information can be squeezed from the *form* of the statue base which, like its mouldings, springs from a long and interesting tradition. In fact, because semi-circular statue bases anticipate tholoi as vehicles for dramatic sculptural display by almost a century and since Adolf Borbein and others have already pointed out that Leochares' sculptural composition was the *raison d'être* for the design of the Philippeion proper, it seems worth considering what motivated the decision to place portraits on a semi-circular base before discussing the possible significance of the tholos itself.³⁹ In the end, it may be that the building's design can best be understood from the inside out.

Semi-circular statue bases, while rare, were hardly revolutionary by the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. The famous semi-circular base for the portrait of the Athenian general Konon and his son Timotheos, dedicated after the triumph at Knidos in 394 B.C. and set not too far from Leochares' statues of Pandaites and his family, is only the most obvious example with which Leochares would have been familiar.⁴⁰ Moving outside Athens, the famous double semi-circles of the Argive dedications in Delphi (Fig. 10) and the semi-circular Achaian dedication in Olympia (Fig. 11), also may have influenced the composition.⁴¹ These two famous semi-circular monuments were intimately familiar to both patron and sculptor (the extended presence of both Philip and Leochares at Olympia and Delphi is well known and indisputable), a fact that makes them good conceptual frames through which the formal significance of the semi-circular base in the Philippeion might be more clearly understood. These famous predecessors, in other words, might help explain why Philip and/or Leochares chose a semi-circular base in the first place and this knowledge, in turn, might lead to a better understanding of the form's possible meaning and possible heroic connotations.

The semi-circular dedication holding portraits of the Argive kings at Delphi (Fig. 10) may have influenced the decision to employ a semi-circular base in the Philippeion. Why? Because the Makedonian royal house claimed direct descent from Argive heroes, a piece of well known propaganda that, significantly, was first engineered at Olympia itself by the early Argead dynasts so that they might compete in the pan-Hellenic games (Hdt. 8.137-9; Thuc. 2.99).⁴² Equally well documented is Alexander's own obsession with his descent from the Argive Herakleidai.⁴³ This idea had circulated in Pella

Fig. 10 Drawing of the semi-circular Argive dedications at the sanctuary of Apollon at Delphi. (Drawing by David Boggs 2006, after Bommelaer 1991, fig. 38)

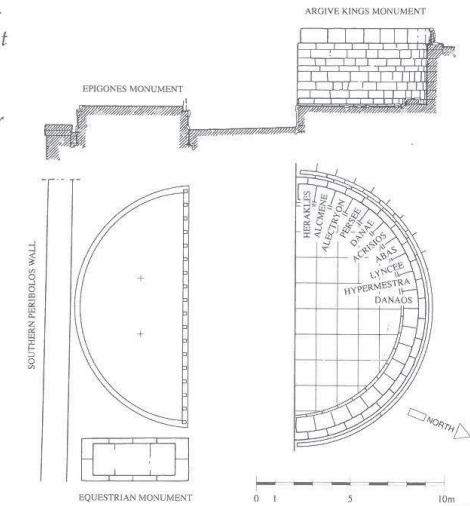
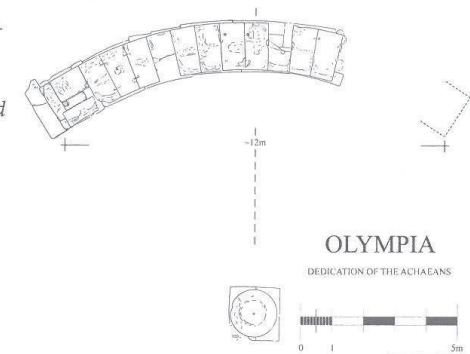


Fig. 11. Drawing of the semi-circular Achaian dedication at the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. (Drawing by David Boggs 2006)



ever since Isokrates (*Philippus* 105; 109-12) used the Argive Herakles as an ideal model for Philip. It was thus known to Leochares who had – at the very least – a business relationship with the Athenian orator since he was responsible for one of Isokrates' more famous portraits ([Plut.] *X orat.* 838d). The Makedonian-Argive connection was also reinforced during Philip's lifetime by Aristotle who, in his *Hymn to Excellence* (Athen. 15.696b-d), singled out Herakles (along with Achilles and Aias) as the heroic models from whom *aretē* might best be learned.⁴⁴

So much is known. What has not been emphasized, however, is the extent to which this perceived relationship with Argos actually influenced Macedonian policy under both Philip and Alexander. In his letter to Philip of 346 B.C., Isokrates (*Philippos* 5) included the then relatively insignificant Argos as one of the four great city states to be united by Philip in his Pan-Hellenic crusade as a nod to the king's ancestral claims.⁴⁵ Philip went to the aid of Argos in 344 B.C. with both money and mercenaries in response to pleas from his "kin" (Dem. 6.15); the Argives themselves hailed Philip as a rightful conqueror after Chaironeia (Plut. *Amat.* 760a-b) and received a major land grant from Philip for their support. It is also clear that the king had cultivated long-lasting political relationships in Argos until his death in 336 B.C. (Dem. 18.295; Polyb. 18.14).⁴⁶

Alexander continued the family tradition. After the Granikos, the Argives, as a city contingent, were placed under the command of Pausanias as the garrison of Sardeis, the first conquered Persian capital, maybe a sign of particular trust (Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.8; Diod. Sic. 17.22.1). A year later, Alexander spared the Kilikian city of Mallos and, amazingly, remitted the tribute it had paid to Dareios purely on the basis of shared ancestral ties: the town was supposedly an Argive colony (Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.9). This fixation even seems to have penetrated the realm of the utterly mundane, with Argos being granted special powers of arbitration under the League of Korinth over minor border disputes.⁴⁷

Now since it is certain that Philip, and later Alexander, valued and dramatized their Argive "heritage," it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the new conqueror of Greece might have preferred a monument that recalled, at least implicitly, his Argive roots. At the very least, it seems clear that semi-circular bases and circular galleries – some of which have been associated speculatively with cults of Argive Herakles – became popular in the royal palace at Pella immediately following Philip's death.⁴⁸ More interestingly, Bonna Wescoat has recently suggested that an Argive, or at least a Peloponnesian, influence can be detected in a number of Macedonian monuments and that this stylistic trend might reflect the Argeads' obsession with their legendary Argive origins.⁴⁹ With all this in mind, is it possible that Philip, striding triumphantly into Delphi during the Pythian Festival of 338 B.C., gave a quick nod to the Argive dynasts, making his preference for his own monument known?⁵⁰ Given the historical background, this seems possible. The form of the Argive king monument might then be understood as one direct inspiration for the form of Philip's own dynastic portrait group. And if this is true, then the connection between the early Argive heroes and the Argead dynasts would be secure. The *form* of the base linked Philip and his family with the Argive kings of old and may have provided a platform – both literally and figuratively – for a set of heroic or divine images.

Now even if the Argive kings failed to impress Philip, it seems certain that the dramatic, theatrical organization of the famous Achaian dedication at Olympia – also organized in a semi-circle – influenced the sculptor Leochares (Fig. 11). Aileen Ajootian has recently demonstrated that semi-circular bases were employed since the middle fifth century B.C. with very specific narrative strategies in mind, strategies that seem to have appealed to the Athenian master's dramatic sensibilities.⁵¹ In particular, Ajootian showed how the semi-circular base of the Achaian dedication at Olympia – sculpted and signed by the renowned Onatas of Aigina (Paus. 5.25.8-10) – was specifically designed to facilitate the viewer's entry into a narrative space that relied heavily on the visual modes of the ancient theatre. Stepping within the circular theatre that these bases inscribed – in the case of Onatas' group, the tableau showed the Achaians drawing lots from Agamemnon's helmet (held by Nestor) for the *monomachia* with Hektor (Il. 7.131-208) – the ancient audience immersed themselves in the heroic episodes of Homer and entered a world in which the distinction between contemporary and mythical time collapsed.⁵² In the Achaian dedication, Onatas emphasized this effect by placing Nestor on a separate base several meters across from the main action. Spectators walked between the heroes and into the time of legends.

This spatially defined blurring of temporal boundaries, the blending of history and legend within a distinct theatrical precinct, seems to be a direct conceptual antecedent for Leochares' sculptural and architectural tableau. Indeed, the base in the Philippeion represents an interesting development of Onatas' original idea since, upon entering the Philippeion, the ancient viewer would have been placed in Nestor's position, set across from a new set of "Greek" heroes. All of this is in line with Florian Seiler's observation that the Philippeion was designed as the locus for the specifically *theatrical* display of the Argead dynasts, an idea rooted in the tradition of dramatic form first exemplified by the Achaian dedication at Olympia as interpreted by Ajootian.⁵³ Since it seems possible that the arrangement and costumes of the Argead dynasts deliberately pointed back to late fifth and early fourth century B.C. artistic models (as will be suggested below) there seems no better precedent for the theatrical mode of display witnessed in the Philippeion than Onatas' fifth century B.C. composition less than 150 meters to the east inside the Altis; the monuments were a stone's throw away from each other (Fig. 3). That the conceptual basis for such a composition was established over a century prior to the Philippeion's construction provides a glimpse into Leochares' rich art historical self-consciousness, a point to be made explicit shortly. Even more important is the fact that we have, yet again, patron and sculptor drawing on a formal pattern of arrangement that was seen as appropriate for Greek heroes.

Composition and appearance

Regarding the precise composition of the Argead portraits, autopsy of the statue base again yields interesting information that is relevant to the present query. Schleif's early drawing of the base crowns and their plinth beddings has been the source of a great deal of speculation and confusion. Systematic study has clarified the picture. New drawings by Chrys Kanellopoulos show the organization of the base, its correct reconstruction and, most importantly, the shapes and sizes of the plinth cuttings (Figs. 12-15). These data can be directly translated into results regarding the original composition and appearance of Leochares' dynastic group.

The plinth bedding on block C5 (Figs. 12 and 16) provides a good starting point. The bedding cut into C5 is trapezoidal. It is consistently ca. 0.32 m wide with a varying length of 0.53 m at the front and 0.46 m at the rear. Most commentators have rightly placed a heavily draped female figure on this base.⁵⁴ In addition to being supported by innumerable other examples of trapezoidal plinth cuttings that held draped females (the shape is very common), this conclusion is specifically confirmed by the plinth socket in the statue base of Eurydike's portrait recently excavated at Vergina (Figs. 12 and 16) which is of identical shape and held, without doubt, a standing, draped female figure in marble.⁵⁵ Indeed, Eurydike's plinth bedding at Vergina, at ca. 0.59 x 0.46 m, is close in size to C5's bedding and even exhibits similar right and oblique angles.⁵⁶ This rather basic reading of the physical evidence is confirmed by the pry mark that is cut in the rear of C5's bedding. Of all the plinth cuttings on the base's crowns only C5 carries such a notch. This kind of pry mark is exactly what might be expected if the image was carefully separated from its base and moved within the sanctuary (as opposed to being hacked to pieces by metal hunters). Pausanias (5.17.4) tells us that the two female Argeads were moved to the Heraion before his visit. His testimony is confirmed by the physical evidence.⁵⁷ The Argead queens stood on the ends of the base.⁵⁸

The positions of Philip, Alexander and Amyntas have also been considered controversial. Sometimes Philip is placed in the middle of the base, sometimes Alexander is given the prominent position but most commentators agree that certainty is elusive. This may not be the case. Since the oblong plinth beddings on C2-4 have nothing in common with trapezoids that almost always hold plinths of draped females, these beddings held portraits of men. Of greater importance, however, are the actual and comparative sizes of the beddings. They vary significantly and enough to justify interpretation. As shown by Table 1, the bedding on C2, at 0.175 m², is noticeably smaller (just under 15% smaller) than that on C3 (0.202 m²) or C4 (0.200 m²) but noticeably larger (just over 15% larger) than the bedding for the female portrait on C5 (0.151 m²).⁵⁹

Fig. 12. Leochares' statue base in the Philippeion, plan of the reassembled crown. (Drawing by Chrys Kanellopoulos 2002)

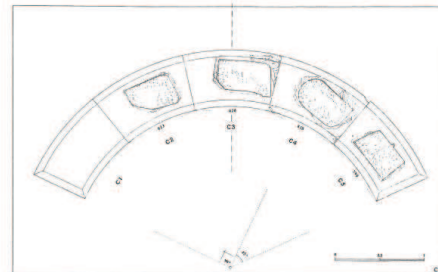


Fig. 13. Leochares' statue base in the Philippeion, plan of the reassembled base. (Drawing by Chrys Kanellopoulos 2002)

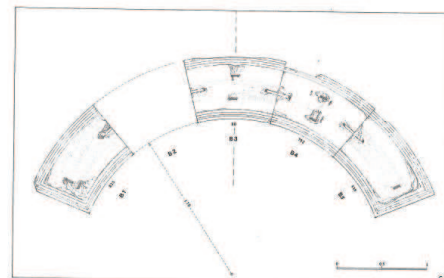
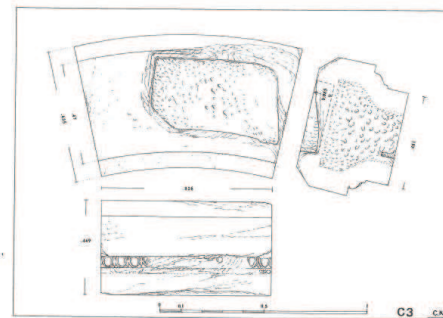


Fig. 14. Leochares' statue base in the Philippeion, crown detail C3. (Drawing by Chrys Kanellopoulos 2002)



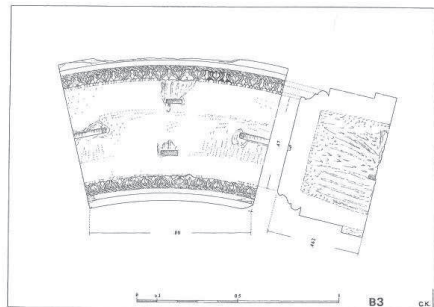


Fig. 15. Leochares' statue base in the Philippeion, base detail B3. (Drawing by Chrys Kanellopoulos 2002)

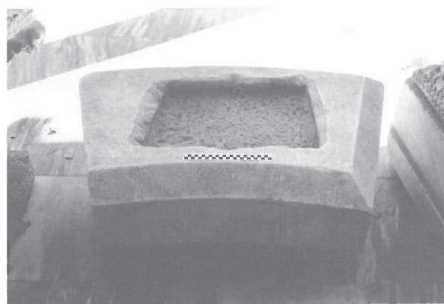


Fig. 16. Leochares' statue base in the Philippeion, photograph of crown block C5. (Photograph by author)

Table 1. Dimensions of plinth beddings, the statue base in the Philippeion

Block	Area ²
C1	missing
C2	0.175 m ²
C3	0.202 m ²
C4	0.200 m ²
C5	0.151 m ²

Now, even if it was not known that these four bases held two adult men, a youth and a woman, the size of the plinth beddings would have suggested as much. Of the three oblong beddings that held portraits of men C2, the smallest of the three, held Alexander. This can be stated with confidence since Alexander's age would have demanded a smaller size when placed next to

his elder male relatives.⁶⁰ While a shift in pose – and thus perhaps plinth type – might be seen as the reason for the difference in bedding size, it cannot be denied that the portrait placed in the position of honor next to the central figure was conceived as spatially subordinate. This makes good sense for a portrait of the young prince set up in 338 B.C. This reading of the archaeology is confirmed by the famous Kallithea Monument which clearly shows how late fourth century B.C. Athenian, free standing, commemorative marble portraiture showed teenage sons of prominent families as slightly smaller adults when placed beside their fathers in order to communicate the precise nature of the hierarchical and familial relationship.⁶¹ An identical phenomenon can be observed in the Daochos Monument in Delphi and there are many other examples.⁶² Alexander stood at his father's right hand.

This physical evidence bears upon the question of patronage. Had he commissioned Leochares' portrait group, Alexander surely would have requested to be shown *younger* than his elder male relatives but it is unlikely that the new king would have asked to be shown *smaller* and in a subordinate position to his father with whom he consistently competed. Unless compelling reason can be given to explain this physical evidence, patronage of the portraits, and thus the monument as a whole, should probably belong to Philip – a conclusion that was already suggested and supported by independent archaeological evidence in the first part of this paper.

Once it is accepted that C2 held the portrait of Alexander, the rest of the composition falls into place. Since Amyntas cannot have been placed in the center of the group, C3 (which also preserves the largest plinth cutting) held the portrait of Philip. The portrait of Amyntas was placed on C4 and his wife Eurydike was placed next to him on C5. Olympias should then be placed on the lost block, C1, next to her son. Mother and son shared the position of honor at Philip's proper right, a placement that has dramatic political and ideological ramifications.⁶³ From left to right then, the correct order of the portraits was Olympias (C1), Alexander (C2), Philip (C3), Amyntas (C4) and Eurydike (C5). Clearly, the building was called the *Philippeion* for a reason.

Now, in addition to providing some important information regarding the organization of the Argead portraits, analysis of the base also sparks a different sort of question. Namely, can the statue base suggest other information regarding the actual *appearance* of the Argead dynasts? Since the semi-circular form of the statue base is rooted in a fifth and mid-fourth century B.C. tradition and since the statue base's moldings are clearly Attic and Classicizing (even if they are strained through the filters of the Karian and Tegean monuments as noted above), one obvious question might be whether this information can be translated into anything solid regarding the *style* of the images themselves. Beyond the obviously significant Athenian ethnicity of the sculptor, is there reason to believe that the Argead portraits were stylistically Atticizing and/or retrospective?

This question would be purely rhetorical if not for the excavation of the Vergina Eurydike in 1989 by Chrysoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (Figs. 17-19).⁶⁴ This important middle fourth century B.C. marble portrait of Philip's mother was set up within the sanctuary of Eukleia in the Agora of ancient Vergina. The Vergina Eurydike provides the ideal – and at present the only – model for the queen's portrait in Olympia.⁶⁵ The two portraits are roughly contemporary, the plinth cuttings for both portraits are very similar in shape and size and Andronikos and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli would even make them simultaneous dedications commemorating Chaironeia (although this reading is not without serious complications).⁶⁶

More importantly here, however, is the fact that the Vergina portrait is both Atticizing and retrospective and that these stylistic traits provided the formal armature for an iconography of heroization, a vital point in the present discussion.⁶⁷ Saatsoglou-Paliadeli has suggested that the workmanship of the Vergina portrait is Attic, an observation that is supported by the fact that the portrait is made of Pentelic marble.⁶⁸ More significant is the fact that the dress and basic pose of Eurydike's portrait in Vergina – especially the broad back-mantle, hang of the apotygma, heavy kolpos and the columnar verticals of the lower peplos (but not the veil) – take as their immediate iconographic model Kephisodotos the Elder's famous Attic masterpiece, the statue of Eirene and Plutos set up in Athens around 370 (Fig. 19).⁶⁹ The heavy costume seems to have been particularly appropriate for traditional, matronly women and may have communicated a sense of the heroic past.⁷⁰ Sir John Boardman has noted that Eirene's peplos was specifically old-fashioned (which would make such costume in the 330s positively antique) and Olga Palagia has pointed out that the dress is worn with particular frequency by matronly, divine figures (specifically Demeter) on fourth century reliefs.⁷¹

Now none of this proves that Leochares' portrait of Eurydike in the Philippeion was stylistically retrospective or that she was costumed in old-fashioned or heroic dress. At the same time, it does seem logical to suppose that if Eurydike was iconographically heroized in the hinterlands of Makedon then she might have been similarly represented in the center of the Greek world during a time when her son's influence was utterly pervasive and at a site where her position as the queen mother was specifically being emphasized.⁷² The other retrospective facets of the monument point firmly (and independently) towards this conclusion. This hypothesis also works well with Sheila Dillon's recent discussion of costume as a defining attribute of early Hellenistic portraits of women and with Wilfred Geominy's new demonstration that heroized portraits of the early Hellenistic period could be shown in "historical" (i.e. retrospective) costume to recall ages past.⁷³ By this reasoning, the possibility that Eurydike was shown in heroic guise is real. For the first time in the history of Greek sculpture, a historical (possibly living) woman was shown in the guise of a heroine.



Fig. 17a-c. Marble portrait statue of Eurydike, mother of Philip II. From the sanctuary of Eukleia, Vergina. Ca. 350-340 B.C. Restored H. 1.90 m. (Photographs by Petros Themelis)

So much can be said for Eurydike. But what of her son Philip? If what has been suggested about his mother is correct, the restoration of a heroic or divinizing Philip at the center of the dynastic ensemble seems equally possible. (Whether any solid iconographic data can be taken from this remains speculative pending the discovery of further evidence.) It is worth remembering that the Argead dynasts, Philip foremost among them, claimed direct descent from Zeus *via* Herakles and the Argive Temenids.⁷⁴ Leonhard Schumacher, among others, has also suggested a close connection between Philip and Zeus on Makedonian coins minted in the third quarter of the fourth century.⁷⁵ This interesting (but speculative) connection is made more compelling by the presence of the subtle *anastolē* in Zeus's hair witnessed on several issues (this particular hair style would, of course, become Alexander's trademark) and the fact that the head of Zeus had never appeared on Makedonian coins before those of Philip.⁷⁶

Much more concretely, a portrait of Philip was set up inside the great temple of Artemis at Ephesos sometime before 334 B.C. (Arr. *Anab.* 1.19.11) making him a co-occupant of the Artemision. This is a critical point in the argument since later Hellenistic kings – for example, Antiochos' queen Apollonis, Attalos I, Attalos III, Antiochos III, Ariarthes V and Mithradates VI – followed Philip's lead and made specific efforts to place themselves inside other gods' temples to enhance their own royal/divine statue.⁷⁷ Also important is the fact that Philip had no qualms about commissioning his own "god-like" portrait to be carried in procession and "enthroned" with



Fig. 18. Marble portrait statue of Eurydike, mother of Philip II. From the sanctuary of Eukleia, Vergina. Ca. 365-340 (?) B.C. View of head, veil is missing. (Photographs by Petros Themelis)

the twelve Olympians on the ill-fated day of his daughter's wedding that same year (Diod. Sic. 16.92.5, 16.95.1).⁷⁸ That both of these "divinizing" portraits of the king were set up immediately *after* Leochares' commission in 338 B.C. may not be a coincidence. The establishment of a cult of Zeus Philippios by the Eresians of Lesbos further shows how closely Philip was connected with Zeus and his cult, a fact that might hint at his own divine pretensions.⁷⁹

Of even greater interest here are two pieces of neglected textual evidence. The first is a middle fourth century inscription (SEG 38.658) found reused as building material in Basilica A in Philippi and published in 1988 by Pierre Ducrey.⁸⁰ While fragmentary, this inscription clearly records the sale of plots of sacred land (*temenē*) that are specifically ear-marked as the property of the gods. A *temenos* of Ares is mentioned by name (l. 9, col. 1) as are a *temenos* of Poseidon (l. 9, col. 2) and a *temenos* "of the heroes" (l. 9, col. 2). Of critical significance is that at least two *temenē* of Philip are also plainly discussed (ll. 1 and 6). Ducrey originally argued that the existence of these *temenē* of Philip did not necessarily imply cult or divine/heroic status for the king.⁸¹ This reading, however, was immediately challenged by Miltiades Hatzopoulos, who noted that a "*temenos*" should almost certainly be understood as consecrated land.⁸² This opinion has now received strong support

Fig. 19. Eirene and Plutos by Kephisodotos. Roman copy of an original ca. 375-370 B.C. Munich, Glyptothek 216. Ht. 2.01 m. (Photograph courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek)



from Angelos Chaniotis who has suggested that this evidence represents the deciding factor in the debate over Philip's divine or heroic status.⁸³ Whatever the final solution to the problems presented by this particular stone, there can be no doubt that the inscription ranks Philip amongst the highest of heroes and gods. And if this idea circulated epigraphically in fourth century B.C. Macedonia, it is certain that the same notion could have been communicated iconographically by fourth century artists and sculptors. If this is true, then Philip stands as the father of the Hellenistic divine portrait convention and the nature of his image in the Philippeion should probably be considered divinizing or, at the very least, heroic.

A final piece of evidence lends strong support to this hypothesis. In an often overlooked passage from the thirty-seventh Discourse of Dion Chrysostom (37.42), the orator relates a story in which Mummius stole a statue of Philip from Thespias, labeled the portrait Zeus, then dedicated the image in Rome.⁸⁴ If this tale is accurate, then Damaskos must be correct when he notes that Philip's portrait should have at least resembled Zeus if Mummius could confuse the two images.⁸⁵ While this idea cannot shed any light on the prob-

lematic subject of Philip's physiognomic likeness (nothing is known with certainty), it does begin to confirm the argument regarding Philip's use of explicitly divinizing imagery.⁸⁶ That this divinizing public persona was first engineered (or maybe finally perfected?) by Leochares within the potent architectural and religious context of Zeus' sanctuary in the Altis seems likely.

Is it possible to suggest that the young general Alexander was also cast in heroic guise? Here, Andrew Stewart's famous archaeological hydra – the Alexander Doryphoros – grows a new, and potentially ugly, head.⁸⁷ The evidence for multiple versions of this important portrait of Alexander with spear is solid and very well-known. There can be no doubt regarding the existence of many fourth century B.C. versions. The question here, however, is whether one example of the Alexander Doryphoros could possibly have been sculpted by Leochares and set up in the Philippeion. The single conceptual problem with this line of inquiry – that the invention of the Alexander Doryphoros is often exclusively attributed on the authority of Plutarch (*De Alex. fort.* 335f; *De Is. et Os.* 360d) to Lysippos – has been effectively countered by Smith and Stewart.⁸⁸ Both have demonstrated that there is no reason to assume on the basis of Plutarch's text that there was one particularly famous prototype of the Alexander Doryphoros nor that this prototype must belong exclusively to Lysippos. The field of inquiry is open. Since this is so, might the invention of the type be slightly earlier than previously allowed and might an example of the type have been placed in the Philippeion? Three points ask that the possibility should be considered.

First, with regards to date. As is well known, the chronology and development of the Alexander Doryphoros is based on three series of bronze statuettes, the Stanford, Fouquet and Nelidow types.⁸⁹ Because of their various poses and scales, these images necessarily suggest a wide range of dates and prototypes. The Stanford Alexander – apparently the earliest of the three statuettes typologically and thus the only one that could plausibly be connected to a pre-334 B.C. monument – is often dated to the middle 330s B.C. (Fig. 20). This date is based on its reserved, introspective pose and the type's appearance on a rock cut relief at Myra in Lykia carved sometime after 334 B.C. when Alexander passed through the region.⁹⁰ Two things are worth remembering in this context. First, the Myra relief provides only a *terminus ante quem* for one possible original Alexander Doryphoros, nothing more. Second, and more importantly, an identical contraposto was broadly used throughout the late fifth and fourth century B.C. for portraits of athletes and soldiers as well as for heroes and deities.⁹¹ That the Stanford Alexander might generally reflect a prototype of ca. 338-336 B.C. as opposed to ca. 334 B.C. cannot be rejected on the basis of style or typology. More to the point, even if there is no direct connection between the Stanford statuette type and Leochares' portrait of Alexander in the Philippeion, there is no question that the basic type was available for use in the middle 330s B.C.

Fig. 20. Bronze statuette of Alexander, Hellenistic/Roman copy after an original of 330 B.C. Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, inv. no. 1975-47. H. 10.7 cm. (Photo: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University. The Hazel Hansen Fund, neg. 19231)



Second, heads associated with the Stanford statuette can provide some useful (if still hypothetical) data as to a possible connection between the type and a possible Alexander Doryphoros in the Philippeion. Only two portrait types can be firmly associated with the Alexander Doryphoros: the Azara types and the Schwarzenberg types. The Azara-type has, for good reason, been seen as reflecting a late portrait of the king, so it cannot be realistically connected to the Stanford statuettes which reflect an early prototype.⁹² This leaves the Schwarzenberg head which does seem particularly suited to the Stanford type statuette on account of the very slight tilt of the head to the proper left.⁹³ (This stance, incidentally, would be ideal for an Alexander placed slightly to the viewer's left on a high pedestal, just as he was placed in the Philippeion.) Of particular importance here is the apparent youth of the sitter. From the rarely photographed oblique proper right (Fig. 21), Alexander appears just as young – if not younger! – than the Akropolis Alexander that is consistently associated with Leochares' portrait.⁹⁴ His age is specifically emphasized by his boyish large ears, his thin neck and his very short hair. These

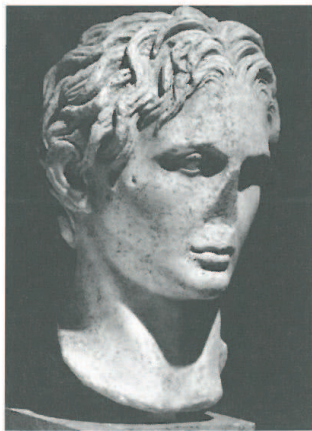


Fig. 21. Head of Alexander, the "Schwarzenberg" Alexander. Roman copy (?) of an original ca. 340-330 B.C. Vienna, Collection Erkingen von Schwarzenberg. Marble. H. ca. 35.5 cm. Oblique view from the proper right. (Photograph by Andrew Stewart)

features are more than appropriate for a portrait carved when the sitter was in his late teens. The conspicuous lack of long, leonine mane, so important in later characterization of the king, is particularly telling and must be explained.⁹⁵ Also important is the fact that Erkingen Schwarzenberg showed long ago that the *anastolē* seen in this young portrait derives directly from the portrait of a man from the Maussolleion at Halikarnassos.⁹⁶ As has been shown, the link between the Philippeion and the Maussolleion is firm archaeologically and Leochares' presence is attested at both sites in the literature. While this argument does not demand that the Schwarzenberg head reflect a Leocharean original, it does seem worth pointing out that the only portrait head that can be firmly associated with an early Alexander Doryphoros can also be associated with the Attic sculptor – an interesting coincidence.⁹⁷

Third and finally, an Alexander Doryphoros in the Philippeion makes good sense iconographically. The connection between the mighty spear-bearing Achilles and Alexander had been cultivated in Pella since the prince was a boy (Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 2.1). There is no reason to believe that the type must be a post-334 B.C. invention. More importantly, the Philippeion was a *war* monument. With Philip divinized beyond worldly concerns and the Argead queens heroized and calm, an Alexander Doryphoros might have provided a device by which the actual occasion for the monument was subtly (or not so subtly) evoked. Certainly Alexander's position in the battle of Chaironeia as Philip's right-hand general was known throughout Greece (Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 9.4; Curtius 8.1.23) and this, too, may have inspired the use of the spear-bearing type in this particular context. The appropriation of what was still considered to be a quintessential Greek (and specifically Ar-

give) form would also have accorded perfectly with Argead propaganda and the Makedonian quest for racial legitimacy on the mainland, a quest that began at Olympia.⁹⁸ Also important here might be the interesting tension between the idealized, heroic sculptural category (the *doryphoros* type generally) and the historical reality (Alexander's status as general) that made the form viable as a realistic image of the young warrior-prince.⁹⁹ More interesting, however, is the fact that some versions of the Stanford type (and only the Stanford type) show Alexander with his spear held point down. Among other examples, the motif is most famously shown on the Alexander fresco in Pompeii. Stewart has provocatively noted that women are present at this and all other occasions in which Alexander holds his spear point-down and that the reversal of this old military motif might have communicated the idea that War has given way to Peace.¹⁰⁰ The point-down spear as a peace sign is hardly a Roman invention, as the famous Bendis relief (329/28 B.C.) in Copenhagen, among others, demonstrates.¹⁰¹ The presence of Alexander's mother and grandmother in the Philippeion and the particular propaganda required by Philip for his Common Peace provide an ideal archaeological and historical frame for this interpretation of the motif. A heroized Alexander Doryphoros, with spear held point-down, would have perfectly communicated much of the monument's message.

An interesting point is raised by the preceding arrangement and reconstruction of figures. If the dominant central figure of Leochares' group (a divinized Philip) was, in fact, flanked by a heroic younger couple on his proper right (Alexander/Doryphoros and Olympias/Peplophoros) and an elderly couple on his proper left (Amyntas and Eurydike/Peplophoros), then Leochares' sculptural composition in the Philippeion takes as its most obvious model the center of the temple of Zeus's east pediment about 120 meters to the east as correctly restored by Herrmann, Stewart, and Boardman (Fig. 22).¹⁰² This blatant example of early Hellenistic *invenzione all'antica* is not surprising. On the contrary it is quite typical of the hyper-intellectualized fourth century B.C., quite in line with the other retrospective characteristics of Leochares' composition and more than appropriate when Philip's long standing patronage of the site and his strong connections to Pelops, Olympic chariot racing and Olympian Zeus are remembered.¹⁰³ The iconographic implications of this comparison are fairly obvious. The Makedonian royal family is likened to the founding heroes of Olympian myth with Philip likened specifically to Zeus, an iconographic move that receives independent confirmation from Dion Chrysostom (37.42), as noted above.

Now within this context of speculative heroizing and/or divinizing portraits, the materials that Leochares used for his heroic composition are worth discussing again. Indeed, everything suggested so far regarding the possible composition and appearance of the Argead dynasts is perfectly supported by the sculptor's supposed choice of precious materials since the use of gold

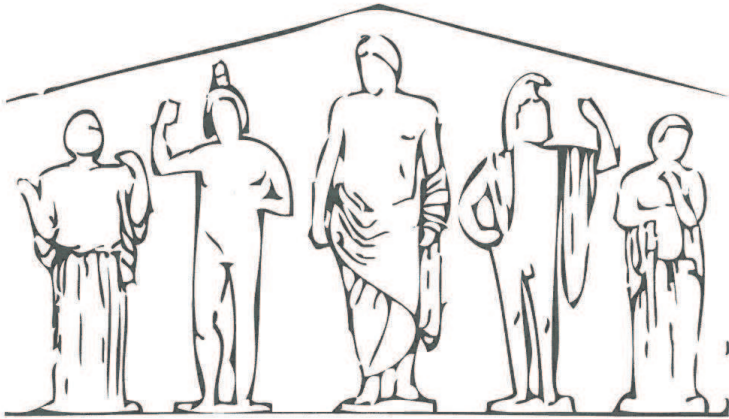


Fig. 22. The east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia as restored by Hermann (1972), Stewart (1990) and Boardman (1991). (Drawing by David Boggs 2006, after Boardman 1991, fig. 18)

and ivory (the material of the dynasts as reported by Pausanias) had been hitherto reserved for Classical cult images most famously constructed by the Attic school.

The problem, of course, is that one look at the plinth cuttings (Figs. 12, 14, 16) found on the Philippeion's base should be enough to convince any archaeologist that Pausanias was misinformed when he reported the materials from which the Argead portraits were fashioned. The beddings on the Philippeion's base were made to hold stone images – presumably of marble – not images of gold and ivory.

This is not a new idea. In his 1987 commentary on Pausanias, Felix Eckstein suggested that Leochares' Argead portraits were made of marble on the basis of the obvious evidence on the statue base.¹⁰⁴ The idea was embellished by Konrad Hitzl in 1995, who acknowledged Eckstein's hypothesis but proposed that Leochares had used a hitherto undocumented type of akrolithic technique using marble and ivory although no comparanda for a hybrid ivory/marble free standing portrait was given.¹⁰⁵ Eckstein's hypothesis seems like it may be the better one.¹⁰⁶ If these bases had been excavated without Pausanias' testimony and if the archaeologist responsible had proposed that the bases held images of ivory and gold, the excavator's proposal would have been dismissed out of hand. The physical evidence is that clean.¹⁰⁷ The beddings are meant to hold stone plinths.

To clarify the point, it might be useful to review how chryselephantine images were mounted. The best example comes from the Athenian temple on Delos most recently treated in detail by Kenneth Lapatin.¹⁰⁸ In this case, the gold and ivory statues were fashioned and mounted on wooden armatures. The support structures of these images were wooden frames like those employed for the Athena Parthenos in Athens.¹⁰⁹ These wooden frames were secured to their statue bases by way of square wooden posts wrapped in bronze sheet. The sockets for these posts on Delos are consistently 12–18 cm deep. This is over twice the depth of the flat beddings on the Philippeion base. If the base in the Philippeion held images of ivory and gold, the cuttings for the posts of the chryselephantine statues' wooden armature would remain as Lapatin has already pointed out.¹¹⁰ They do not. Indeed, even if the plinth beddings on the Philippeion's base belonged to some hypothetical second phase – for which there is no evidence – traces of the original fastenings would still remain within the shallow beddings themselves. The Argead portraits were almost certainly made of stone.

Now there is good reason to question Pausanias' account in this particular case. The traveler also mistook the Philippeion's limestone ashlar wall for fired brick (5.20.10). This error is acknowledged by all modern commentators. The traveler does not seem to have inspected the Philippeion first hand. Indeed, since Pausanias generally prefers sacred to profane monuments, since he laments the "tragedy of Chaironeia" on five separate occasions (1.25.3, 5.20.10, 7.10.5, 9.6.2, 10.3.2) and since he specifically detested Philip (5.4.9, 8.7.5), he may have had less interest in a war monument that commemorated Philip's triumph and the ruin of Greece than modern archaeologists have assumed.¹¹¹ If this was true, then he probably just asked his guide – Aristarchos, supposedly a descendant of the great Iamos – who then gave him the usual run around. It is important to remember that Christian Habicht, Pausanias' most formidable modern defender, has explicitly noted that this same Aristarchos was responsible for the most ridiculous story in the traveler's entire work.¹¹² Aristarchos might also be responsible for the other errors that W.K. Pritchett and Anne Jacquemin have discussed in connection with Pausanias' description of the Altis.¹¹³ These acknowledged errors were consistently made in connection to sculpture and architecture that the traveler did not personally inspect. Since Pausanias is very reliable elsewhere, the oversight regarding the materials from which the Argead dynasts were made should probably be attributed to his guide.¹¹⁴ More important than all this, however, is the fact that the statues of Eurydike and Olympias are specifically *not* included in Pausanias' list (5.17.3) of the other chryselephantine images that he saw inside the Heraion. Instead they are added as an after thought. Indeed, since the text gives no reason to believe that he inspected these images first hand Pausanias probably depended (again) on the problematic Aristarchos for his information.

It is not difficult to speculate how this story of chryselephantine portraits may have circulated. The most likely possibility is that the images of Philip and his family were heavily gilded and/or painted either originally or at some later date.¹¹⁵ This gilding, when combined with the natural aging and polishing of Parian stone, could have produced an image that appeared chryselephantine, an effect that would have been enhanced if the images were, in fact, heroizing or divinizing in appearance.¹¹⁶ This idea was then fostered by local guides looking for something spectacular to say about the most historically significant monument on the site – an easy habit to get into when a tour or lecture demands a spectacular material correlate for a spectacular battle!¹¹⁷ The phenomenon of painting, gilding and polishing ancient marble is well known so this hypothesis is not particularly radical.¹¹⁸ Praxiteles' gilded portrait of Phryne (Paus. 10.15.1) is probably the most relevant example, but certainly not the only one.¹¹⁹ There may even have been something of a tradition of gilded Makedonian royal portraits upon which Philip based his decision. Alexander I set up gilded (not solid gold or chryselephantine) portraits of himself at Delphi and, more importantly, at Olympia itself.¹²⁰ Alexander III followed suit and seems to have ordered his generals to erect gilded (again, not solid gold or chryselephantine) portraits of himself at Delphi.¹²¹ It is also worth remembering that the notion of secondary gilding is specifically attested within the context of Alexandrian portraiture when Nero had a fourth century B.C. portrait of the young king plated in gold (Plin. *NH* 34.63).¹²² The use of gilding for the Argead dynasts seems to be the best one, reconciling as it does Pausanias' second-hand information, the clear evidence on the statue base and the archaeological comparanda.

This conclusion that Leochares' Argead portraits were gilded and/or heavily painted marble as opposed to gold and ivory need not affect the hypothesis that Philip and his family were shown in heroic or divine guise. Clearly, the materials from which the portraits were made represent only one factor among many in an argument for the restoration of heroizing or divinizing images. In any case, by the end of the fourth century B.C. the use of marble for portraiture may have had heroic connotations. This was certainly the case a generation later when the use of marble for portraiture (as opposed to bronze) had blatantly heroic or divine connotations.¹²³

Setting

It remains only to comment briefly on the Philippeion itself. The architectural setting of Leochares' Argead portraits contributed greatly to the significance of the sculpture group.¹²⁴ At Olympia, a sanctuary in which portraits had been dedicated under the open sky for centuries, the creation of a closed, exclusive architectural zone for the display of the Argead dynasts was unique. In many ways, the significance of the Philippeion can be seen to rest in this

simple fact. The elaborate venue for Leochares' images – by its very existence – divided and distinguished the Argead dynasts from the hundreds of other portraits that had been dedicated at Olympia in the past. Simply by virtue of their placement within the tholos, the portraits made a powerful statement. The significance of later galleries for other groups of heroized portraits, like the rectangular gallery that held Daochos' family at Delphi for example, can also be understood in this manner.¹²⁵ The architecture framed and emphasized the royal images, elevating them above the common throng of votive portraiture.

But even if the architecture is understood as an elite gallery, the Philippeion hardly had to be designed as a tholos. What motivated the decision to place Leochares' portraits in a *round* building? Here it is worth considering other readings that have been given for the Philippeion's architecture. To begin, there seems to be little doubt that the Philippeion could be understood as a victory dedication and thank offering to Zeus.¹²⁶ It is also possible that the Philippeion's architecture may have communicated the general idea of "treasury" (even though it now seems clear that the building's primary function was not to protect chryselephantine images) or even "pan-Hellenic headquarters" (an old idea based on false analogy with the tholos in Athens).¹²⁷ While there seems to be no unequivocal evidence for cult in connection with the building, the urge to understand the Philippeion's architecture as communicating the idea of "heroön" is also very strong, and probably correct on some level if the Argeads were shown in heroic or old-fashioned costume.¹²⁸

While all these readings of the Philippeion are interesting, the difficulty with them is that the defining characteristic of the tholos – its *circular* plan – does not play a central role in defining the architecture's meaning. Indeed, since Townsend has now shown that the Philippeion's form as a whole must be broadly understood as a text to be decoded and unpacked, the *roundness* of the tholos should have at least something to do with the architecture's significance.¹²⁹ In this context, it must be admitted that the Philippeion's status as a victory dedication is not uniquely communicated, or even emphasized, by the tholos form. By the same token, treasuries were consistently rectangular, not round.¹³⁰ While the Philippeion's circular architecture may have recalled a Mycenaean tholos tomb (and thus hinted at the heroic past) the vast majority of known, monumentalized heroa from the Geometric period and later were polygonal not circular.¹³¹ In the end, the characterizations of the Philippeion as a victory monument, a treasury, or a heroön do not seem to fully explain the defining circularity of the tholos nor why this form was chosen as the appropriate locus for the presentation of the Argead dynasts.

One alternative idea that might move the discussion forward would be if the Philippeion's round architecture could be understood as a straightforward *theatron* – literally a place for seeing – or more specifically, a place for

spectacle. Indeed, if other symbolic readings of the building's architecture are necessary, they could all be built on top of the practical and fairly mundane idea that by the second quarter of the fourth century B.C., tholoi (and round spaces generally) had become the ideal spaces for the spectacle and display. While the Philippeion obviously was not open to the air like a fourth century B.C. Greek theater, it was still a monumentalized orchestra and its design was based upon an identical circular geometry. All of this may have factored into the building's design. The formal significance of the Philippeion's round architecture, to come full circle, may be nothing more than a simple expression of its simple function as a space for the presentation of Leochares' votive portraits.

Now this notion of circular spaces as ideal zones for sculptural display seems to originate in the early fifth century B.C. with the invention of semi-circular statue bases and their inscribed *theatra*. As noted above, Ajoonian has shown how the semi-circular base of the Achaian dedication at Olympia, and others like it, were designed to facilitate the viewer's entry into a narrative zone that was blatantly heroic and theatrical.¹³² Equally important here are other important fifth and fourth century B.C. semi-circular bases that were set within their own, distinct architectural contexts. The semi-circular bases within the choregic monuments in the Dionysion at Thasos (Fig. 23) and the semi-circular statue base inside the "dynastic" Monument to the southwest of the Daochos Monument in Delphi (Fig. 24) are only the best known examples.¹³³ In these instances, the function and significance of the semi-circular statue bases was, as Borbein showed regarding the choregic monuments on Thasos, patently *dramatic* in the full Greek sense of the word while the buildings that framed these bases were designed to protect the sculpture from the elements and to provide a setting within which the theatrical tableau might be observed.¹³⁴ Even more important is the fact that, at least in the case of the Thasian monuments, the statues set on these semi-circular bases were not simple portraits but rather images of gods and personifications. The same might be said of the Philippeion. The building performed the same theatrical function as the galleries noted above and may have communicated the same notion of elevated status for the images set within it. The distinction between the Philippeion and other fourth and third century B.C. galleries is that the round form of the tholos, in contrast to the rectangular buildings noted above, followed the shape of the base and thus hinted at the building's function. In this sense, then, the building was designed from the inside out.

Of course, the Philippeion was not the only early Hellenistic tholos to be used as a *theatron*. The tholos on the highest terrace of Knidos – excavated by Iris C. Love in the late 1960s and early 1970s – was almost certainly designed for the specific display of Praxiteles' Knidian Aphrodite (Fig. 25).¹³⁵ While the function and date of the Knidian tholos has become somewhat (and maybe

Fig. 23. Plan of the Dionysion on Thasos showing the choregic monuments statue bases, late fourth century B.C. (Drawing by David Boggs 2006)

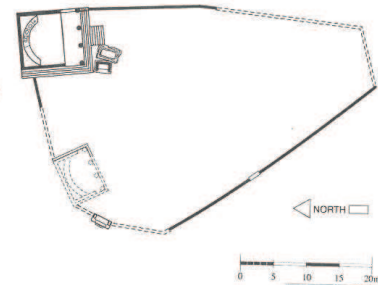
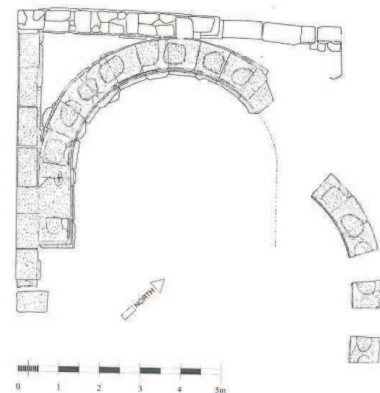


Fig. 24. Plan of the "dynastic" Monument at Delphi, ca. 325 B.C. (Drawing by David Boggs 2006)



needlessly) controversial since Hansgeorg Bankel's 1997 re-study of the monument, the famous testimony of Pliny (*NH* 36.21) and Pseudo-Lukian (*Amores* 13-4) is strong, unambiguous and cannot be lightly dismissed.¹³⁶ Both authors stress the importance of the theatrical setting within which the image was placed and the manner in which the tholos specifically facilitated viewing. For Pliny (*NH* 36.21): "the whole of its small temple is open, so that the likeness ... can be seen from every side. The same wonder is provoked from every view." While for Pseudo-Lukian (*Amores* 13-4): "the temple has doors on both sides, for those who want to see the goddess in detail from the back, in order that no part of her be wondered at. So it is easy for men entering at the other door to examine the beautiful form from behind." The Knidian tholos was a *theatron* – it was a display space.¹³⁷ (Interestingly, Giorgio Ortolani has now shown that an identical concern dictated the design of the Roman copy of the

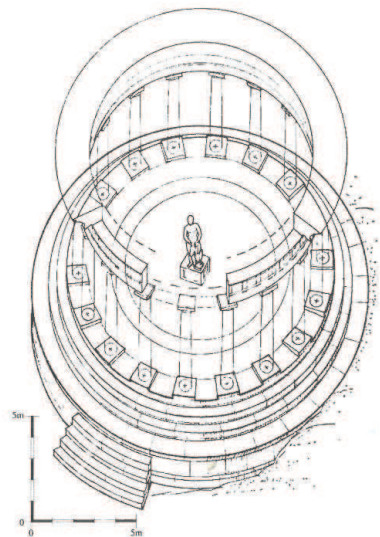


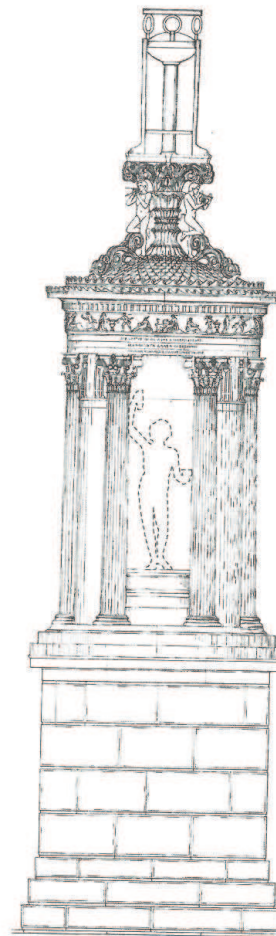
Fig. 25. Reconstruction of the temple of Aphrodite Euploia on Knidos, ca. 350-330 B.C. (?) (Drawing by David Boggs 2006, after Love 1972, fig. 9)

Knidian tholos in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.¹³⁸) Praxiteles' sculpture was meant to be viewed from all sides – the goddess was situated to be seen – and the tholos' circular form both facilitated and communicated this idea.

The theatrical viewing demanded by the Knidian Aphrodite was hardly unique in the early Hellenistic period. Indeed, a concern with fully three-dimensional sculpture and the need to view and appreciate these objects in the round is one of the most well known aesthetic concerns of fourth century B.C. sculpture.¹³⁹ More importantly, if the traditional date and function of the Knidian tholos are correct, then Leochares could have been directly inspired by the temple/theatre there. Leochares knew Praxiteles, he was active in Karia and the moldings on his statue base in the Philippeion can be directly traced through a Knidian prototype as was noted above.¹⁴⁰ The chain of influence is firm. That the Knidian tholos held the image of a goddess should not damage this hypothesis, especially if Philip and his family were shown in heroic or divinizing guise. By the early 330s B.C., there would have been nothing surprising about a tholos used as a gallery for the display of heroic, semi-divine or divine figures. That an architectural frame of this sort would have reinforced the overall heroic and/or divine sense of the images (whatever they looked like) seems obvious.

The Philippeion's famous descendant, the Lysikrates Monument (Fig. 26), provides another good example of a tholos being used as a *theatron*, albeit in somewhat different manner. The comparison is relevant since it is well

Fig. 26. The Lysikrates Monument in Athens, 335/34 B.C. (Drawing by David Boggs 2006, after Bauer 1977, pl. 9)



known that the little building was intimately connected to the Philippeion on stylistic and typological grounds.¹⁴¹ In terms of function and significance (beyond advertising Lysikrates' victory in the boys' dithyramb in 335/4 B.C.) the small building's purpose was to facilitate the exhibition of Lysikrates' tripod and, more importantly, the statue of Dionysos that the monument contained. The small tholos was designed as a miniature *theatron*. Critical here, of course, is Heinrich Bauer's demonstration that the Lysikrates Mon-

ument was originally designed to encourage the view of the statue of Dionysos from all sides. The panels which now close the bays between the monument's columns were added only later as support for the entablature.¹⁴² The building was designed to be walked around and the image within intended to be scrutinized from multiple vantage points. This is proved by the design of the frieze. While the primary view of the statue was from the east, Wolfgang Ehrhardt has now shown that the frieze's full narrative can only be understood *via* circumnavigation.¹⁴³ In other words, the monument itself promoted a very particular sort of behavior on the part of the ancient viewer: the tholos forced the audience to walk *around* the image that it contained.

Here again, it is the peculiar and defining *circularity* of the tholos form that lends itself to the framing of fully realized sculpture. More important, however, is the fact that the connection between the Lysikrates Monument and the Philippeion is secure and that there is no question that one purpose of the former was to serve as an architectural setting for the display of a free standing sculptural monument. Since Leochares' presence in Athens during the 330s B.C. and later is certain, the possibility that the two monuments could have been governed by similar aesthetic concerns hardly seems strange. Again, that the little tholos held an image of a god seems very much in line with the possible heroic or divine depictions of the Argead dynasts.

But what of the Philippeion's two most famous predecessors, the tholoi at Epidauros and Delphi?¹⁴⁴ Here as well, the notion of circular tholoi as spaces designed for divine spectacle – or maybe it should be said *epiphanies* – seems to manifest.

Pausanias (2.27.3) saw important paintings by the fourth century B.C. painter Pausias in the tholos at the Asklepieion at Epidauros.¹⁴⁵ At least in Roman times, the Epidaurian tholos was used for display or presentation, although Pausias' fourth century B.C. date suggests that this function could have been original. Also supporting an original, theatrical function for the Epidaurian tholos are the fourth century building inscriptions (e.g. IG IV² 103) that call the building the *thymelē*. From the end of the fifth century B.C. onward (Pratin. fr. 708.2 P.), *thymelē* had blatantly theatrical connotations – specifically with song and dance – and signified the orchestra or the altar to Dionysos set therein.¹⁴⁶ Later, in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Phrynichos 142; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 67; *Vit. Dem.* 12) the word specifically meant theatre or stage. The possibility that the tholos at Epidauros was called the *thymelē* in the accounts simply as a means to distinguish it from the theater proper deserves serious thought.

Of even greater interest in this specific context is the fact that some would see the *thymelē* as the locus for the performance of the renowned Epidaurian paeans.¹⁴⁷ This controversial hypothesis is far beyond the scope of the current paper but even so, there is no doubt that Epidaurian tholos' strange basement when combined with the hole in the center of its floor

transformed the entire building into a mighty acoustical chamber perfectly suited for the performance of the well-known hymns to Asklepios.¹⁴⁸ Again, it is the *circularity* of the tholos – this time as an ideal acoustical zone – that made it the perfect space for divine spectacle.

The famous tholos in the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia at Delphi also seems to have been designed for display and, in Pausanias' day (10.8.4), held imperial portraits placed on the wide shelf that supported the tholos' interior colonnade. In 1988, Georges Roux argued convincingly that this shelf was originally designed to hold sculpture, possibly images of deities, and that the Delphic tholos was designed from the beginning as a sort of gallery or spectacle-space.¹⁴⁹ Again, like the tholos at Epidauros, the tholos at Delphi would have provided the perfect locus for the performance of the famous paeans to Apollon, even if it is missing the fully developed underground resonance chamber seen in its slightly later Peloponnesian cousin.¹⁵⁰ While these observations prove nothing regarding the theatrical function of the Philippeion, they do show that the two poorly understood tholoi at Epidauros and Delphi could be read in a similar manner. At the very least, Pausanias' testimony regarding these two fourth century B.C. buildings – the only literary evidence available regarding their function – does not stand against the hypothesis that the Philippeion was conceived primarily as a space designed for viewing and displaying divine or heroic images.

By the middle of the fourth century, it seems possible to understand monumental tholoi as the ideal architectural settings for the divine spectacles of the age. Indeed, if this reading of these buildings is correct, then the notion of tholos as sacred viewing place might even have been a bit dated by the time Leochares sculpted the Argead dynasts in ca. 338-336 B.C.; the sculptor may simply have been operating within a fashionable new architectural tradition.¹⁵¹ In other words, for the Athenian master, the notion of tholos as locus for divine display may not have been revolutionary. It may have been expected.

Now it is freely admitted that this hypothesis raises a number of interpretive problems and possibilities that require sustained treatment. These will be dealt with in detail at a later date. Even so, it might be useful to speculate how the idea of tholos as viewing place (like the Knidian tholos or the Lysikrates Monument) or spectacle space (like the tholoi at Epidauros and Delphi) was generated by fourth century B.C. sculptors and architects within the sphere of the plastic arts.

Three interconnected developments seem relevant. First, it is well known that the sculptors of the fourth century B.C. grew increasingly interested in fully three-dimensional compositions as the century progressed. Indeed, an obsession with three-dimensional form, characterized most famously by the work of Lysippos, a point made earlier, is one of the hallmarks of middle fourth B.C. century sculpture.¹⁵² Second, it is equally well known that fourth

century sculptors often did double duty as architects. The examples of Skopas (Paus. 8.45-7), Pytheos of Priene (Vitr. *De arch.* 7.pr.12-3; Plin. *NH* 36.30-1), Satyros of Paros (Vitr. *De arch.* 7.pr.12-3; Plin. *NH* 36.30-31) and Polykleitos the Younger (Paus. 6.6.2, 2.27.5) are only the most obvious examples. The exchange of ideas between the two disciplines was thus fluid and dynamic. Sculptural concerns were translated directly into architecture (and vice versa) while theories of vision and reception were readily passed between two fields the distinctness of which is almost wholly a modern construct. Finally, it is now clear that the development of the circular orchestra of the Greek theatre should also be dated to the middle of fourth century B.C. This point has been finally demonstrated by Clifford Ashby, Floris van den Eijnde and now Rush Rehm.¹⁵³ In this period of increasingly sophisticated ideas, it seems possible to suggest that the sculptor-architects of the age saw a new potential in the tholos form, namely that the tholos perfectly facilitated the framing and viewing of fully three-dimensional art. While this notion of tholos as spectacle space is separated here (for the purposes of analysis) from the broader aesthetic concerns of early Greek cult, music and theatre, a holistic interpretation of the fourth century B.C. Greek tholos could not make such distinctions. Indeed, it seems possible that the development of the Greek tholos as divine *theatron* can be shown to spring precisely from the hyper-intellectualized atmosphere of fourth century B.C. art and cult as an indivisible whole. In this sense, the tholos represents an ideal architectural response to the new and far reaching aesthetico-religious concerns of the early Hellenistic period.

It is difficult to exclude Leochares from this matrix of ideas. Indeed, the master's presence at Halikarnassos along with Praxiteles and Skopas (Plin. *NH* 36.30) makes it certain that the Athenian sculptor was up to date with current aesthetic thought. This seems to be demonstrated by the Philippeion itself. Cleverly playing with ancient expectations, viewers entering the Philippeion's theatrical realm became both spectator and spectacle. On one hand, the semi-circular statue base and the portraits themselves, when set in their circular frame, were meant to be circumnavigated and inspected on all sides. The statue base in the Philippeion was separated from the tholos' rear wall by over one meter so that it could be walked around. The base was also carefully finished on both front and rear and was meant to be seen from all sides. In this sense, the building's design facilitated the dramatic and holistic display of Leochares' Argead dynasts. The traditional patterns of theatrical viewing – seen first in the tholos at Knidos and, later, the Lysikrates Monument in Athens – were retained. The tholos could be seen as a straight forward gallery, a *theatron* in which Leochares' Argead dynasts were observed as heroic or divine actors performing on the stage of the world.

At the same time, however, it seem equally clear that when standing in the center of the tholos, the spectators themselves were metaphorically observed by the Argead dynasts and that Philip and his family were trans-

formed into a divine or heroic audience. In this sense, the arrangement of the Philippeion represents an interesting inversion of the usual patterns of theatrical viewing. In this *theatron*, spectators entered and observed but were then simultaneously subjected to symbolic scrutiny. The enclosed space of the Philippeion emphasized the size of the Makedonian dynasts and controlled a spectator's distance from the images. Unlike the tholos at Knidos or the Lysikrates Monument, but very much like the tholos at Delphi, the Philippeion's round architecture and semi-circular base enclosed and encircled the viewer, making them subject to the royal, divine gaze of Philip and his family. The blatantly political (and possibly religious) intent of the monument could not have been more perfectly communicated. With a stroke, Leochares' portrait group was transformed into the eternal audience and the heroic lords of all they could see and it was precisely the tension and suspension of the traditional categories of "divine" image and mortal viewer that promoted the overall effect.

Now, the appropriate response demanded from a fourth century B.C. Greek as he or she stood before the Argead dynasts – the potentially rich (but at present speculative) *performative* functions of the Philippeion and the manner in which this contributed to total religious, political and propagandistic effect of the monument – is still under investigation.¹⁵⁴ One final topographical point, however, can be made. One neglected facet of the Philippeion's design and placement in Olympia is the building's position in relation to what has traditionally been seen as the massive altar of Zeus.¹⁵⁵ Since most scholars now favor an eastern facing door for the Philippeion – a door that opened on a direct axis with Zeus's altar – this line should be allowed to effect the possible significance of the building. A Zeus-like Philip and his heroic family standing on axis with Zeus's altar would have left little to the imagination.

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Notes

- 1 The bibliography on the subject is vast. Smith (1988), Stewart (1993 and 2003), Svenson (1995) and Bergmann (1998) give solid overviews and bibliographies. The theory of Hellenistic kingship – particularly the significance of Hellenistic royal power – employed here is based on Smith (1988, 32-53), Stewart (1993) and Chaniotis (2003).
- 2 Stewart (1993, 121-209) gives the fundamental treatment of the image and its meaning.
- 3 *OGIS* 6, translated by Austin 1981, no. 32. For the decree and cultural context see Chaniotis 2003, 439.
- 4 Eponymous Heroes Monument, see Shear 1970.
- 5 Kroll 2007.
- 6 Tracy (1995, 7-23), Habicht (1997, 6-35), and Palagia & Tracy (2003) give current bibliographies and detailed treatments of the period.
- 7 The famous lacuna at 5.17.4 makes it impossible to claim certainty as to the specific identity of this "Eurydike." Kenneth D.S. Lapatin (2001, 117 n. 198 with comprehensive bibliography), however, has shown that Pausanias must refer to Philip's mother, not the wife of the mentally challenged Arrhidaios and certainly not Philip's last wife Kleopatra who changed her name to Eurydike after marriage. While Palagia (2008) has recently argued for this later identification, for the purposes of this paper, Lapatin's argument is assumed correct.
- 8 For the Philippeion generally: Bringmann & Steuben 1995, no. 329; Kotsidu 2000, no. 305 and Schmidt-Dounas 2000, 102-7. For Leochares: Stewart 1990, 282-4; Todisco 1993 103-7 and Muller-Dufeu 2002, 523-9. Interest in the monument has increased in recent years. Leochares' portraits have been discussed in a recent study of Hellenistic cult statues by Dimitris Damaskos (1999, 263-9), a survey of family portraits by Christoph Löhr (2000, 115-8), an important monograph treating chryselephantine sculpture by Lapatin (2001, 115-9) and a major new article treating the contexts and complexities of the Philippeion's architecture by Rhys Townsend (2003). Further study of the architecture for the purposes of *anastylōsis* was completed by Kostas Zambas and Gerasimos Thomas under the auspices of the Committee for the Restoration of Ancient Monuments and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in 2002 and a comprehensive investigation and re-study of all architectural elements is currently being completed by Klaus Herrmann and Hajo van de Löcht. (Reports prepared by Herrmann, van den Löcht, Zambas and Thomas – *Στατική μελέτη για τμηματική αναστήλωση του Φιλιππέιου στην Ολυμπία* and *Αίτηση για τμηματική αναστήλωση του Φιλιππέιου στην Ολυμπία* – are currently unpublished. They were generously made available to me by Demosthenes Giraud, Director of Restoration of Ancient Monuments for the Greek Ministry of Culture and by Klaus Herrmann, architect of the DAI.)
- 9 Schleif & Zschietzschmann's (1944, 51) original discussion of the base was cursory; Seiler's (1986, 98) was restricted to the base's relationship to the architecture.
- 10 For divided patronage of the Philippeion see, for example: Schleif & Zschietzschmann 1944, 2; Roux 1961, 404; Miller 1970, 179; Mallwitz 1972, 128; Borbein 1973, 66-7; Romano 1990, 71; Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 29 with n. 119; Hu-

- wendiek 1996, 156-7; Damaskos 1999, 266 n. 52; Löhr 2000, 116-7; Lapatin 2001, 116 and Jeppesen 2002, 170.
- 11 Momigliano 1987, 174-7.
 - 12 Huwendiek 1996, 156-7.
 - 13 Miller (1973, 191 n.11) and Seiler (1986, 101 n. 424) had previously shown that there is no architectural evidence for a break in construction.
 - 14 Herrmann 2000, 386.
 - 15 The presence of these bands indicates that the marble used in the base and in the floor is not Lynchrites, the finest quality Parian stone. This might be seen as another, indirect, indicator for hasty construction. Had the project been planned well in advance, stone of the highest quality could easily have been quarried and shipped to the site. I am grateful to Klaus Herrmann and Olga Palagia for discussing the Philippeion's Parian marble with me.
 - 16 The Hephaisteion in Athens (Wyatt & Edmondson 1984; Barringer, forthcoming) and the temple of Apollon at Bassai (Palagia 2002a, 376-8), for example, both employ different marble types and both projects experienced significant breaks in construction. On the other hand, the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (Daux & Hansen 1987, 26-32; Palagia & Herz 2002, 242) and the temple of Athena Nike on the Akropolis (Palagia 2000, 350) both use two different marble types (significantly, within their sculptural programs) and both seem to have been completed within short, single building phases. The employment of different marble types, therefore, can only suggest multiple phases for any given construction project; it cannot demonstrate the existence of such phases unconditionally (unless, of course, solid source data makes the contemporary or near contemporary harvest of the different marble types impossible). The question of marble source should therefore be seen as one piece of a larger data set.
 - 17 Methodology: Bessac 1988, 49. Such a fine claw chisel work seems rare in architecture and is much more common in fourth century sculpture. The claw chisel on the grave stele of Aristonantes (Athens, NM 738), for example, had 5 teeth every 0.013 m, the claw chisel used on the Alkmaionid pediment at Delphi had 5 teeth every 0.015 m while the claw chisel used on the pediments at Tegea was very rough indeed with 3 teeth every 0.01 m. (Adam 1966, 18 and 20); all these chisels produced a coarser finish than that seen on the Philippeion's statue base and architectural details.
 - 18 Adams 1966, 18-22, 115-8; Bessac 1988. Even today, the tools used by masons working for the Akropolis Restoration project are shaped by hand and produce a *very* unique finish. I am indebted to Richard Anderson, Demosthenes Giraud, Michaelis Lefantzis, Tassos Tanoulas and Stephen Tracy for discussing this point with me.
 - 19 Early builders did not always employ a single style of clamp (much less a single *size* of a single style clamp) in their monuments. This fact makes the consistency of the pi-shaped clamps in the Philippeion (both in terms of style *and* size) all the more significant. "Early" Z-shaped clamps, for example, are mixed regularly with double-T clamps (as in the temple of Aphaia on Aegina, the Marathon base in front of the Treasury of the Athenians in Delphi, the lower Tarantine base at Delphi, the Argive niche of the Epigonoï at Delphi, the Hephaisteion, the temple of Apollon at Bassai, the hall of the Thessalians at Delphi

- and the temple of Zeus Ammon in Kallithea, Chalkidiki), dove-tail clamps are mixed with pi-shaped clamps (as in the fourth century temple of Apollon at Delphi, the *temenos* of Zeus Soter at Megalopolis, the temple of the Athenians on Delos and the temple of Athena Nikephoros at Pergamon) and double-T clamps are used with almost all other clamps types (as in the Hephaisteion in Athens, the Temple of Apollon Patroos in Athens, the Stoa of the Asklepieion in Athens, the Telesterion in Eleusis, the Treasury of Kyrene at Delphi, the Doric propylon in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrake and the tholos at Epidauros, among others). Martin (1965, 242-53; 256-8; 264-71; 274-7) gives complete lists and bibliographies. W.B. Dinsmoor Jr. (1980, 28) also gives many good examples of clamp mixing; I am indebted to David Scahill for this reference.
- 20 Bommelaer 1991, fig. 117 with corresponding references.
 - 21 Damaskos (1999, 266 n. 52) gives a comprehensive treatment of the problem. Löhr (2000, 117) argues for the use of the proper dative based on the supposed problem of chronology (but see below). I am indebted to Brian Bosworth for sharing his thoughts on this question with me.
 - 22 Schalles (1995, 667) and Löhr (2000, 117) have revived the old idea (Bötticher 1886, 343) that the tholos and portraits were sponsored by Alexander alone. While the archaeology (specifically, the fact that the building and base belong to one phase) is not precise enough to support or reject this hypothesis, there is one piece of physical evidence that strongly suggests exclusive Philippic patronage or, at the very least, an adherence to his original design.
 - 23 Burford 1969, 55.
 - 24 Palagia 2001, 167-75 and Fredricksmeier 2003, 257 n. 18 with bibliographies.
 - 25 Ellis 1976; Hammond & Griffith 1979, 500-1, 670; Hammond 1994, 40, 69, 114, 120, 158.
 - 26 Burford 1969, 247 with bibliography.
 - 27 Shoe 1936, 24.
 - 28 See, for example, Hammond & Griffith 1979, 692, 694-5; Romano 1990; Lawton 2003, 122.
 - 29 While consensus will never prove anything, architects Richard Anderson, Demosthenes Giraud, Chrys Kanellopoulos, Michaelis Lefantzis, David Scahill and Petros Themelis all support the arguments given above and believe that if the building was begun after Chaironeia then the Philippeion must have been completed prior to Philip's death in 336. Obviously, the fashioning of the portraits did not have to wait for the completion of the architecture. Work would have proceeded on them while the tholos was being constructed. If Hektoridas and his apprentices, for example, could complete a complex pedimental group of ca. twenty marble figures at the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros in less than eighteen months (*IG* 4² I, 102, BI 87-8, 109-10; Yalouris 1992; Schultz 2007a, 209-10 and 228 n. 19 and Schultz, forthcoming), Leochares and his crew could easily have completed a commission of five figures in two years.
 - 30 Shoe 1936, 19.
 - 31 Other stylistic connections between the Philippeion and the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea: the engaged half-columns of the interior of the Philippeion (similar with those in Athena Alea's cella; see Norman 1984, 176-9), the cyma reversa on the Philippeion's toichobate (similar to Athena Alea's external to-

- ichobate; see Shoe 1936, 81) and the Korinthian capitals of the engaged colonnade (similar to those in the Athena Alea's cella; see Dinsmoor 1950, 236). I am indebted to Erik Østby for discussing these points with me.
- 32 Weickert 1913, 74-5; Schleif & Zschietzschmann 1944, 51. Compare the argument below with Miller 1970, 183-4 n. 379.
- 33 Norman 1984, 191-4; Voyatzis 1999, 155. Erik Østby kindly informs me that new stratigraphic evidence absolutely confirms a date for the temple in the second half of the fourth century.
- 34 The Idrieus relief: Waywell 1993; Gunter 1995 and Jeppesen 2002, 171 with bibliographies. Archaeological attested contact between Tegea and Karia: Stewart 1977, 95-103; Leventi 1993.
- 35 Waywell 1993.
- 36 Schleif & Zschietzschmann 1944, 51 n. 2. Knidian column base: Pontremoli & Haussoullier 1904, 160.
- 37 Schleif & Zschietzschmann 1944, 50-1; Miller 1970, 179 and 190-2; Miller 1973, 203-4 with n. 66; Townsend 2003, 94 n. 8.
- 38 Leochares' commissions at Halikarnassos: Plin. *NH* 36.30; Vitruvius *De arch.* 7. pr.12-3, 2.8.11 (less certainly); Scheibler 1975; Waywell 1978, 79-84; Cook 1989; Waywell 1997; Rolley 1999, 307-8. Leochares' possible commission on Knidos: Ashmole 1951; Stewart 1990, 189, 191 and 284; Todisco 1993, 104, 106-7; Rolley 1999, 289-90. Ridgway (1997, 249, 332-3) rejects the connection.
- 39 Borbein 1973, 66-7; Seiler 1986, 91-2, 98; Hintzen-Bohlen 1990, 133; Kotsidu 2000, 431-2.
- 40 Semi-circular statue bases in the early Hellenistic period: Onians 1979, 157-60; Gruben 1982, 654 n. 60; Lauter 1986 149, 238-9; Thüngen 1994, 39-42; Schmidt 1995, 111-23; Steuben 1999. Portrait of Pandaites: Keesling 2003, 166, 176, 192 and 196. Portrait of Konon and Timotheos: Keesling 2007. Leochares' portrait of Pandaites and his family: Keesling 2007 with bibliography.
- 41 Achaian dedication: Ajootian 2003 with bibliography. Argive dedications: Jacquemin 1999, 314 with bibliography.
- 42 Borza 1982; Scaife 1989; Badian 1994; 1996, 11; Borza 1999, 5-8. The genealogy is also given in Euripides' *Archelaos* (Austin 1968, II.V.20.)
- 43 Palagia 1986; Bosworth 1988, 281-4; Stewart 1993, 57-8, 78-9, 158-61, 303-6; Stewart 2003, 40.
- 44 Leochares and Isokrates: [Plut.] *X orat.* 838d. Aristotle's Hymn to Excellence: Fredricksmeier 2003, 255-6 and n. 7.
- 45 Hammond & Griffith 1979, 457-8, esp. 458 n. 1.
- 46 Hammond & Griffith 1979, 476-8, 616.
- 47 I am indebted to Brian Bosworth for discussing these points with me.
- 48 Miller 1970, 181; Price 1973; Lauter 1986, 137-8, 149, 238-9, fig. 45b. Schmidt-Colinet (1991, 43-6) also gives a useful discussion of the exedra in Pella; I am indebted to Craig Hardiman for this reference.
- 49 Wescoat 2003, 114-5.
- 50 Philip's presence in Delphi in 338 B.C.: Hammond & Griffith 1979, 615.
- 51 Ajootian 2003. Leochares' composition in the Philippeion as *Schaubild*: Borbein 1973, 67; Seiler 1986, 92; Hintzen-Bohlen 1990, 133. Leochares' theatrical mentality, in so far as it can be known independently from the Philippeion: Todisco 1993, 105-6.

- 52 Ajootian 2003, 157-9. Borbein's (1973, 51-4) discussion of the encompassing, theatrical effects these semi-circular bases were meant to provoke within the context of the Thasian choregic monuments is fundamental. See also Onians 1979, 157-60; Gruben 1982, 664 n. 60; Lauter 1986 149, 238-9; Thüngen 1994, 39-42, 183 and Schmidt 1995, 111-23. Foucault's famous concept of the *heterotopia*, a theatrical space artificially separated from the normal constraints of time (usually "storing time" like a museum or memorial) might also be relevant here (Foucault 1986).
- 53 Seiler 1986, 91: "Beim Philippeion konzentriert sich die materielle und künstlerische Qualität auf die Ausstattung mit der chryselephantinen Statuengruppe des Leochares auf der reich verzierten Marmorbasis; das Bauwerk dient ihrer *Inszenierung* (my italics)." See also Borbein 1973, 67; Hintzen-Bohlen 1990, 133 and Kotsidu 2000, 431-2. Royal Makedonian interest, understanding and patronage of the theatrical arts in all their guises: Cohen 1997, 156-9.
- 54 See, for example, Schleif & Zschietzschmann 1944, 51-2; Hitzl 1995, 12; Lapatin 2001, 116.
- 55 Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1993; 1996. Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2000, 28-31. For the sanctuary of Eukleia generally: Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1987.
- 56 I am indebted to Andrew Luxem for providing these dimensions.
- 57 The presence of this pry cutting (along with the fact that no other evidence for reuse or adjustment can be observed on the base blocks) seems to demonstrate that the entire base was not disassembled when the portraits of Olympias and Eurydike were transferred to the Heraion. Only the statues themselves were moved. Lapatin's (2001, 116) good observation that B1 and C5 displayed slightly different patterns of weathering before they were cleaned is absolutely correct but, in my opinion, does not translate into multiple phases for the base. The fact that no other traces of reuse or adjustment can be found on the crown or within the plinth cuttings also seems to rule out Hitzl's (1995, 11-2) otherwise interesting hypothesis that portraits of Nero and Messallina were placed in the Philippeion and substituted for the Argead women sometime in A.D. 66-67 during the emperor's athletic tour of Greece. Such modification of the upper surface of the crowns would have left easily discernable physical evidence; compare, for example, Shear 1970, 163-5, fig. 8 and Themelis 2000, 68-9, figs. 55-7.
- 58 So Lapatin 2001, 116. With regards to the composition, Lapatin (2001, 107-9) has persuasively proposed a similar placement of Leto and Artemis on the ends of the semi-circular statue base in the Athenian temple on Delos. There, he suggested that the two goddesses framed Apollo and, possibly, his four Ionian sons. The existence of this divine "dynasty" on an architecturally framed semi-circular base would not have been lost on Leochares.
- 59 Because of the irregularity of the beddings, these dimensions must be seen as very close approximations. To calculate square areas within these fields, the beddings were broken down into six (or more) rigid geometrical sub-units. All calculations are based on measurements taken independently by Chrys Kanellopoulos, Spencer Pope and myself in October 2002 and then again in March 2003.
- 60 Alexander also seems to have been physically small (Diod. Sic. 17.37.5, 17.66.3; Curt. 3.12.16, 7.8.9). This personal trait may have been employed as a form of

somatic individualization by at least one fourth century Attic sculptor in connection with Alexander's public image. The Alexander Rondanini's compact, stocky physique (to be distinguished, of course, from scale) certainly seems to point in this direction. Alexander Rondanini: Palagia 1980, 46-7 (for somatic individualizations); Ridgway 1990, 113-6 (with an introduction to the debate over the identity of the portrait); Stewart 1993, 113-21, 429 (for the fourth century B.C. date, the traditional identification and bibliography) and von den Hoff 1997 (for a spirited revival of Schwarzenberg's 1976 thesis that the Rondanini Alexander is not Alexander but rather Achilles). Since Alexander had styled himself since childhood as the new Achilles (Stewart 1993, 78-86; Cohen 1995; 1997, 106-12; Palagia 2001, 192; Fredricksmeier 2003, 256 n. 8 – the confusion over the portrait could thus be the result of successful propaganda), since the pose is picked up by other early Hellenistic kings (Laubscher 1985, 336-7; Smith 1988, 154, no. 10) and since the search for diminutive Achilles has, unsurprisingly, come up short, the traditional identification is here retained.

61 Kallithea Monument: Steinhauer 1998, 83-4.

62 Geominy 2007 with bibliography.

63 Much has been made regarding the presence of Olympias in Leochares' group. Indeed, the queen's loss of favor in Pella at the end of 338 B.C. has been taken by many (e.g. Hitzl 1995, 12; Huwendiek 1996, 156-7; Löhr 2000, 117) as proof that Alexander was responsible for the completion of the monument. Why? Because, it is reasoned, Philip could never have included his disenfranchised wife amongst his honored family after she has been expelled from the capital and had roused her brother, Alexander of Epeiros, to war against Makedon. Fortunately, this line of argument has now been completely dismantled by Elizabeth Carney (1992; 1994; 2000a, 212 with n. 45; 2000b, 24-5. See also Perez 1998a; 1998b; 2000 and Ogden 1999) who has shown how the notion sprang from a Victorianesque misunderstanding of Makedonian royal marriage and polygamy. (The hypothesis also fails to account for the archaeological data discussed above which shows that the monument belongs to Philip not Alexander.) Two further points are worth mentioning.

First, in terms of iconography, the presence of the Argead queens in the Philippeion is obviously and directly based on Karian dynastic portrait groups which always included images of women (the Maussolleion at Halikarnassos is only the most obvious example, for which see Waywell 1978 and now Jeppen 2002, 171-8). These prototypes were intimately familiar to both Philip and Leochares. Any discussion of the Philippeion that ignores this obvious connection (and thus the blatant need for a consistent female presence in the dynastic group) must be regarded with suspicion. From a purely art historical perspective, the presence of Olympias (and Eurydike) in the Philippeion is not surprising.

Second, *IG II² 236*, the famous copy of the alliance made between Philip and the Greek city states in 338/7 B.C., specifies (ll. 11-2) that the cities swear to not overthrow the kingdom of Philip or, importantly, his descendants. The durability of the treaty, in other words, was directly dependant upon the durability (and the stability) of the Argead royal line. The Argead portraits at Olympia, under construction while the treaty was being forged, testified to the strength, longevity and stability of that dynasty and – by extension – the strength, lon-

gevity and stability of the treaty itself. In essence, both building and treaty reflect and reinforce identical Makedonian plans and their corresponding propaganda. The violent reactions to the news of Philip's death in 336 B.C. (Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 16; *Vit. Dem.* 22; *Vit. Alex.* 11.1; *De Alex. fort.* 327c-d; Diod. Sic. 17.3.3-5; Justin *Apol.* 11.1.2-3), the false rumors of Alexander's demise in 335 B.C. (Arr. *Anab.* 1.7.1-3; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 11.3; Diod. Sic. 17.8.2; Justin *Apol.* 11.2.7-8) and the tumult that followed Alexander's actual death in 323 B.C. show how quickly the pact could be set aside. That Philip would, for some reason, advertise possible weakness within of the Makedonian succession at the precise moment when its strength was most crucial to his agenda runs counter to everything we know of the Makedonian king. Not only was Olympias' presence in the group unsurprising iconographically it was necessary politically. Her appearance in the Philippeion provides no basis whatsoever for an argument for Alexandrian patronage. Alliance and common peace: Adams 1999 with comprehensive bibliography. I am indebted to Robin Osborne for sharing a preliminary draft of his commentary on *IG II² 236* and to Brian Bosworth for discussing these points with me.

64 Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1993; 1996. Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2000, 28-31.

65 There is little reason to doubt the fact that this image is a portrait (Carney 2000a, 270 n. 28). Eukleia is never shown as an elderly, individualized woman nor is this particular personification normally shown in heavy, matronly garb (*LIMC IV*, s.v. *Eukleia*). That the inscription does not specifically name the image as portrait finds parallel, for example, in the near contemporary dedication on the statue base of the portrait of Nikokleia from Knidos (Eule 2001, 76-8, and now Dillon 2007).

66 Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1987, 737 with n. 20. Many scholars – Greenwalt (1989, 42), Borza (1990, 192-3, 308-9); Mortensen (1992, 165) and Palagia (2002b, 4-5) – have pointed out an apparent problem with Saatsoglou-Paliadeli's date for the sanctuary in the early 330s B.C. The primary objection is that Eurydike seems to drop from historical record in 368/7 B.C. and that Aischines (2.28) does not mention her in his speech to Philip of ca. 346 B.C., a speech that specifically refers to the events surrounding her husband's death in the 360s B.C. If she had been alive, the argument goes, this omission seems strange.

67 Retrospective style associated with gods and heroes: Stewart 1979, 35 with n. 6; Ridgway 1997, 260, 328, 366. Stylistic retrospection generally: Fullerton 1990; 1998a; 1998b; 2003.

68 Attic workmanship: Drougou & Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2000, 30-1. However, both Palagia and Themelis suspect local workmanship following an Attic style (personal communication). Attic influence on fourth century B.C. Makedonian culture generally: Stewart 2003, 34-5. Similar Attic influence on fourth century B.C. Makedonian architecture: Wescoat 2003.

69 Eirene: Boardman 1995, fig. 24 and Agnoli 1998 with bibliography; I am indebted to Antonio Corso for this reference. Connection between Eirene and Eurydike: Ridgway 1997, 347.

70 See, for example, the "Hestia Giustiniani" (Boardman 1991, fig. 74), the Demeters of Eleusis and Sparta (Palagia 1980, figs. 51-3) and the Torlonia Leto (Palagia 1980, figs. 58-9). The notion that the peplos possibly served as a divine or heroic signifier is not new. Böttiger (1794, 62), Müller (1878, 473) and Winkel-

- mann (1968, 9), among others, all considered the peplos as the appropriate garb for heroines and goddesses. This hypothesis is now reviewed and supported by Mireille Lee (2000; 2001; 2003). Retrospective peplophoroi in fourth century B.C. sculpture: Palagia 1980, 26-7, ns. 126-31. See Dillon 2007 for other traditional early Hellenistic portraits of women and a comprehensive bibliography on heroizing/divinizing female costume.
- 71 Boardman 1995, 52; Palagia 1980, 27-30 with connections to Attic sculptors.
- 72 See now Perez 1998a, 1998b; 2000; Carney 2000a; 2000b for the image and importance of Eurydike in Pella and abroad.
- 73 Dillon 2007 and Geominy 2007.
- 74 See now Le Bohec-Bouhet 2002. I am indebted to Cornelia Zanon for this reference.
- 75 Schumacher 1990. See also Damaskos 1999, 265 n. 49.
- 76 *Anastolē*: Stewart 1993, 170 with n. 48. It should also be noted that the *anastolē* seen on these coins might also simply reflect fourth century B.C. iconography that connects the *anastolē* with wisdom and age, see Bergemann 1997, 113. Philip II and Zeus: Caltabiano 1999 and Kroll 2007.
- 77 Schmidt-Dounas 1993-94.
- 78 Habicht 1970, 14-6 and Schmidt-Dounas 1993-94.
- 79 Habicht 1970, 14-6. See also Bosworth 1988, 281 and Badian 1996, 13. Brian Bosworth kindly informs me that it is still his opinion that the derivation of a cult epithet from a mortal man may suggest that Zeus was fused with Philip and that they may have shared a joint cult.
- 80 The inscription is now in the Philippi Museum.
- 81 Ducrey 1988. This position is supported by Giallombardo 1999.
- 82 Hatzopoulos 1989, no. 473.
- 83 Chaniotis 2003, 434. See also Habicht 1970, 16; Walbank 1984, 90 and Pilhofer 2000, 167-9.
- 84 Pape 1975, 19 with n. 152.
- 85 Damaskos 1999, 264-5. The identifications of Priam and Nestor given to statues of "youths" (Dio Chrys. 37.43) do not necessarily stand against this hypothesis since we have no idea what these statues looked like. More importantly, see Keesling's (2007) discussion of Dion Chrysostom's treatment of these early Hellenistic portraits and the relationship between their original appearance and the appearance of the men and women they were used to represent.
- 86 Both Badian (1996, 13) and now Damaskos (1999, 266-7) have pointed out that this historical evidence does translate into proof for Philip's formal deification. Here, I see the debate over the existence of early ruler cult as distinct from the question of the divinizing image. The notion that a heavily constructed, "divinizing" royal portrait must somehow reflect pre-existing religious institutions seems problematic, especially when so little is understood about the origins of early Hellenistic "ruler cult" in the first place. It seems possible to argue that Philip self-consciously constructed his own *image* as "divine" – and thus utterly distinct from and above those he ruled (Smith 1988, 38-9; Stewart 1993, 95; Bergmann 1998, 26-40; Chaniotis 2003, 433) – without arguing that he called himself a god. But even so, see Pollitt 1986, 271-4; the patterns of intent are blurry and much will be gained as recent finds further complicate the picture. With regards to Philip's likeness nothing certain can be said, although many

- have tried. Smith (1988, 147), Ridgway (1990, 141 n. 20) and, most vividly, Oikonomides (1989) give treatments of what evidence there is.
- 87 Stewart 1993, 161 n. 14. See also Stewart 1995, 258-60.
- 88 Alexander Doryphoros as purely Lysippan: Moreno 1974, 137; 1987a, 93; 1988, 259. Response: Smith 1988, 62; Stewart 1993, 161.
- 89 Stewart 1993, 162-71; 2003, 36-7.
- 90 Stewart 1993, 165-6 and 408 with comprehensive bibliography and discussion.
- 91 Himmelmann 1989, 99, 148; 1998, 156-86.
- 92 Himmelmann 1989, 94; Ridgway 1990, 135; Stewart 1993, 165 n. 30
- 93 So Stewart 1993, 166.
- 94 Bringmann & Steuben 1995, 406 and Kotsidu 2000, 432 with bibliographies.
- 95 Ridgway 1990, 135; Himmelmann 1989, 94; Stewart 1993, 165.
- 96 Schwarzenberg 1967, 74 ns. 91-2, 86-8; 1976, 250 n. 1.
- 97 In spite of the archaeological and iconographic evidence noted above – in particular the Schwarzenberg head's short hair – skeptics might see this association as hopelessly speculative. This may be. But it is no more speculative than other ideas that have circulated around this important portrait. Stewart (1993, 166) for example, would tentatively associate the Schwarzenberg head with a prototype of 334 B.C., while John Polini (personal communication) kindly informs me that, in his opinion, the piece is an Augustan period creation that can best be understood within the historical and aesthetic contexts of the end of the first century B.C. Olga Palagia (personal communication), on the other hand, has suggested that the piece is a modern forgery. Clearly, there is room for a wide range of opinion.
- 98 Polykleitan Doryphoros: Stewart 1997, 86-97 and Wesenberg 1997. For a fundamental revision of the piece's identity and appearance see Themelis 2000, 74-87; Franciosi 2003 (with comprehensive bibliography) and Themelis 2003, 126-8. For Makedonian concern with Argive models expressed in architectural terms, see Wescoat 2003, 114-5.
- 99 Hölscher 1971.
- 100 Stewart 1993, 164 and 168; 2003, 41.
- 101 Moltesen et al. 1995, 138-41, cat. no. 73.
- 102 Herrmann 1972, fig. 95; Stewart 1990, fig. 262; Boardman 1991, fig. 18.
- 103 Intellectualized fourth century B.C. art: Pollitt 1986, 13-6, 164-84; Moreno 1987b, 101-28; Stewart 1990; 2007; Schultz 2007b. Philip at Olympia: Hammond & Griffith 1979, 230, 246, 254, 307, 664, 685-98; Romano 1990.
- 104 Eckstein 1987, 249 n. 55 and now Jacquemin (2001, 296-7) who reaches the same conclusion independently.
- 105 Hitzl 1995, 12 n. 43.
- 106 Lapatin (2001, 116 n. 184) also noted the strangeness of the cuttings and the possibility that Pausanias made a mistake. He suggested that the chryselephantine statues may have been fashioned in an otherwise unknown technique, but did not offer comparanda. Professor Giorgios Despinis kindly expressed the same opinion privately to me in 2002 and has now published his remarks (Despinis 2004, 254-8) but, again, no archaeological comparanda is given. While the idea of a hybrid ivory/marble image seems quite possible (as Despinis has made absolutely clear), the lack of archaeological parallels makes me hesitate when a reasonable and very well attested alternative exists. More to the point,

- even if this idea of ivory/marble portraits is accepted, it still must be acknowledged that Pausanias' testimony is incomplete. Thus the issue is methodological and epistemological – it is about why and how we choose to fill the inevitable gaps in his account.
- 107 Examples of identical plinth beddings dating from Archaic to Roman times are beyond number. A sample of famous fourth century monuments which preserve plinth bedding and marble statue: the Eleusis Asklepios (Adam 1966, pls. 50-1); the choregic dedications in the Dionysion on Thasos (Grandjean & Salviat 2000, figs. 46 and 48); the Daochos Monument at Delphi (Stewart 1990, figs. 552-3); the Vergina Eurydike (Drougou & Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2000, fig. 30), the Themis of Rhamnus (Stewart 1990, fig. 602), the Demeter and Kore from Kallipolis (Themelis 1998, fig. 5) ... the list is almost endless.
 - 108 Lapatin 2001, 105-9 with comprehensive bibliography.
 - 109 Lapatin 2001, 63-79, esp. 70-3.
 - 110 Lapatin 2001, 116.
 - 111 I am indebted to Andrew Stewart for sharing this hypothesis with me. See also Habicht 1998, 112. Pausanias' preference of sacred to profane monuments: Habicht 1998, 23 with n. 91.
 - 112 Habicht (1998, 146) refers, of course, to the tale of the fifth century B.C. Elean warrior whose body was miraculously found intact on the roof of the Heraion after 700 years.
 - 113 Pritchett 1999, 82-95; Jacquemin 2001.
 - 114 Habicht 1998, 28-63, 148-9.
 - 115 Eckstein 1987, 249 n. 55. Dinsmoor (1950, 236) offered a similar solution to explain Pausanias's mistake with regards to the walls; he suggested that they were stuccoed and painted to look like brick.
 - 116 For the polishing and care of votive portraiture, see Krumeich 2007.
 - 117 Pausanias' (2.23.6) thoughts on the guides of Argos are worth remembering here: "The Argive guides themselves are aware that not all the stories they tell are true; yet they stick to them, for it is not easy to persuade common men to change their opinions." For other problems with Pausanias' guides, see Habicht 1998, 144-6.
 - 118 Painting and gilding of ancient statuary and marble: Reuterswärd 1960; Tiberios et al. 2002; Artal-Isbrand et al. 2002 with bibliography. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, E.D. Clarke was told by members of the team working for Giovanni Battista Lusieri (Elgin's agent) that the artists drawing the pedimental sculpture of the Parthenon had observed traces of gilding on the statues along with traces of paint (Palagia 1993, 12). Neoptolemos of Melite also offered to gild an altar of Apollon in the Athenian Agora ([Plut.] *X orat.* 834f-44a); I thank Carol Lawton for this reference. *IG* I³ 343, l. 10 records a gilded kore in the treasures of the Parthenon. The personification of Messene seen by Pausanias (4.31.11) during his tour of the city is specifically described by the traveler as being made of gilded Parian marble. Since the practice is well known, this solution seems preferable to the idea that the portraits were crafted of ivory and marble.
 - 119 Praxiteles's Phryne: Corso 1997 with bibliography.
 - 120 Krumeich 1997, 25-7 with bibliography.
 - 121 Stewart 1993, 413 with bibliography.

- 122 For other gilded Alexanders see Krumeich 2007. As noted above, it is also possible that the gilding of the portraits in the Philippeion took place at some later date.
- 123 Smith 1988, 15 with n. 6; Stewart 1998, 89; Damaskos 1999, 308-9. See also Dillon 2007; Geominy 2007 and Krumeich 2007.
- 124 Rhys Townsend's (2003) recent discussion of the Philippeion's architecture as signifying and symbolic matrix is fundamental. In the argument that follows, I assume familiarity with the ideas presented in that paper. It is also essential to note that Herrmann and van de Löcht's study for the purposes of *anastylōsis* has already revolutionized our conception of the Philippeion's design. More exciting information will be forthcoming in van de Löcht's final published study. For now, it is sufficient to point out that the new discoveries incorporated into Figs. 4-6 – such as the absence of evidence for windows in the Philippeion's cella (personal communication, Klaus Herrmann) and the reduction of the height of the elevation and Ionic colonnade by one drum length (personal communication, Klaus Herrmann) – have already effected the manner in which the portraits would have been seen. The absence of windows, for example, would have focused both light and attention – at least from outside the building – almost exclusively on the central figure Philip, while the reduction of column height has the inevitable effect of causing the portraits to appear larger in the correspondingly shorter space of the Philippeion's interior. (The significance of this last discovery cannot be overstated since my preliminary restorations of slightly over-life sized portraits in Schlieff's original interior elevation seemed hopelessly small in their setting; van de Löcht's reduction of the building's height solved this problem immediately.) Also: Treatment of Stella Miller's (1970; 1973) hypothesis that the Philippeion architect may have been a Makedonian rather than an Athenian as previously supposed (Schleif & Zschietzschmann 1944; Dinsmoor 1950, 236; Roux 1961, 355) is outside the scope of the present paper. Here, I simply follow Seiler (1986, 91-3; see also Borbein 1973, 66-7 and Hintzen-Bohlen 1990, 133) in assuming that Leochares and the Philippeion architect (whoever he was) did not consider their works as distinct projects. This idea is supported by the evidence reviewed in part one of this paper. Like the sculpture of the Parthenon or the Maussoleion at Halikarnassos, the sculpture of the Philippeion was an integral part of the finished ensemble. As such, the sculptor would have been consulted on all points that effected the final presentation of the images.
- 125 Hellenistic portraits galleries: Lembke 2000; Adams 2002, 39-40 and Jeppesen 2002, 170-82 with bibliographies. See also Geominy 2007.
- 126 See, for example, Roux 1984, 169; Lapatin 2001, 117; Townsend 2003, 93-4.
- 127 Treasury: Townsend 2003, n. 14 and Krumeich 2007. Pan-Hellenic headquarters: Dörpfeld cited by Schleif & Zschietzschmann 1944, 2 and Hammond & Griffith 1979, 694. The argument was dismantled by Miller (1973, 191-2).
- 128 Philippeion as heroön: Habicht 1970, 140-1; Borbein 1973, 66-7; Green 1991, 80-2; Caltabiano 1999, 201-2, all with bibliographies. See Krumeich 2007 on the lack of evidence for cult.
- 129 Townsend 2003.

- 130 Treasuries at Delphi: Bommelaer 1991, fig. 4 and plans 2-3 and Partida 2001 with comprehensive bibliography. Treasuries at Olympia: Kaltsas 1997, fig. 14 with references.
- 131 See, for example, the rectangular temple/heroön of Herakles at Dodone (Dakarīs 1993, 19-20), the trapezoidal heroön of Pelops at Olympia (Kaltsas 1997, fig. 14; Whitely 2001, 155), the rectangular heroön of Helen and Menelaos at Therapne near Sparta (Antonaccio 1995, 155-66), the triangular heroön at the west gate of Eretria (Bérard 1970), the rectangular heroön of Phrontis(?) at Sunion (Antonaccio 1995, 166-9) and the pentagonal shrine of Archemoros at Nemea (Antonaccio 1995, 176-7). Even so, it cannot be denied that Bronze Age tholos tombs functioned as the locus for hero and/or ancestor cult from at least the eighth century (Morris 1988; Alcock 1991 and now Huguenot 2003 with comprehensive bibliography) or that this practice continued well into the Roman period. The possibility that a connection exists between fourth century B.C. tholoi and those of the Greek Bronze Age might repay systematic investigation.
- 132 Ajootian 2003, 157-9. See also Onians 1979, 157-60; Borbein 1973, 51-4; Gruben 1982, 654 n. 60; Lauter 1986 149; 238-9; Thüngen 1994, 39-42; 183; Schmidt 1995, 111-23.
- 133 The choregic monuments in the Dionysion at Thasos: Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 92-4 with bibliography. The "dynastic" Monument at Delphi: Jacquemin 1999, 367 with bibliography. Schmidt-Colinet 1991 and Turner 1994 give bibliographies.
- 134 Borbein 1973, 53-4.
- 135 Love 1972 with bibliography. The Knidian Aphrodite and its theatrical setting: Borbein 1973, 188-94; Corso 1988, 42-6; Ajootian 1996, 98-103, esp. 102-3 with bibliography. Seaman (2004) gives a holistic treatment of the image and its art historical contexts.
- 136 Bankel (1997) argued that the Knidian tholos was a temple of Athena and has dated the tholos to later in the second century B.C., but he failed to mention the discovery of an important third century B.C. decree (Blümel 1992, 105) pertaining to the cult of Aphrodite found directly outside the tholos. Corso (2000) gives a good summary of the evidence with the arguments for the traditional identification; Seaman (2004, ns. 84-90) gives a comprehensive bibliography.
- 137 Osborne 1994, 81-5; Stewart 1997, 97-106.
- 138 Ortolani 1998.
- 139 Osborne (1994, 82-3) and Stewart (1997, 100-3) have both stressed the explicit sexual drives that seem to have motivated the circular architectural and theatrical contexts of the Knidian Aphrodite. These important observations, of course, must be read within the context of the broad aesthetic concerns of fourth century B.C. sculptors. Skopas' Maenad (Stewart 1990, fig. 547; in which three-dimensional viewing is encouraged by formal torsion), Lysippos' Herakles (Stewart 1990, fig. 566; in which three-dimensional viewing is encouraged by narrative action) and the Aphrodite Kallipygos (Boardman 1995, fig. 82; in which three-dimensional viewing is encouraged by a combination of formal torsion, narrative action and visual/sexual titillation) are only the most well known examples within which full, circular viewing was stressed and ex-

- pected by fourth century B.C. sculptors. I am indebted to Robin Osborne and Andrew Stewart for discussing this point with me.
- 140 Antonio Corso's (2000, 230) comparison of the fourth century B.C. Korinthian capital found in the Knidian tholos and the Korinthian capitals of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea also deserves careful consideration. The connection between the Philippeion and the Tegean temple is firm and the possibility of the fourth century predecessor has been suggested. See also Stewart 1997, 97.
- 141 McCredie 1984 and Townsend 2003, 94 n. 8 and 98-9.
- 142 Bauer 1977, 204.
- 143 Ehrhardt 1993, 47-52 and figs. 1-4.
- 144 Delphi: Seiler 1986, 56-72. Epidaurus: Seiler 1986, 73-89.
- 145 That the paintings seemed to have communicated explicitly musical and/or Dionysiac themes seems significant. Lynn LiDonnici (1995, 12) provocatively suggests that the paintings denote an artistic or, more importantly, musical function of the building. I am indebted to Bronwen Wickkiser for this reference.
- 146 See LSJ s.v. *θυμέλη*. That the word might also mean "burning place" does not effect this hypothesis since the firing of braziers during paeans and processions has a history that continues well into modern Greek religion.
- 147 A fully developed version of this hypothesis, which seeks to holistically re-frame the famous paeans of Asklepios and Apollon within the aesthetic, architectural and political contexts of fourth century B.C. Pan-Hellenic shrines, is currently being pursued as a collaborative study by Chrys Kanellopoulos, Bronwen Wickkiser and myself. Preliminary reports: Kanellopoulos 2006; Schultz 2006 and Wickkiser 2006. For Epidaurian paeans and paeans generally see Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1886; Käppel 1992; Rutherford 2001, esp. 41.
- 148 At the very least it seems clear that Polykleitos the Younger, supposedly the architect of both theater and *thymelē*, was obsessed with complex acoustic effects.
- 149 Roux 1988, 294. See also Miller 1973, 214 and Seiler 1986, 63-4. Lerat's (1985) reading of the Delphic tholos as a display case for elaborate armor placed on the broad shelf also works well with this hypothesis.
- 150 Bommelaer 1991, 67. Paeans at Delphi: CA 141-8, 149-59 and 165-71. See also Stewart 1982; Bélis 1988; Käppel 1992, 207-90 and Rutherford 2001. I am indebted to Bronwen Wickkiser for these references.
- 151 For the late fourth century B.C. architectural avant-garde see: Townsend 2003.
- 152 For the transformation of this idea in the late fourth and early third centuries, see Geominy 2007. In this context, Charles Edwards' (1996, 153) beautiful description of Lysippos' contribution to the principles of motion in middle fourth century B.C. sculpture is worth quoting in full: "What we might call Lysippos' contribution, is his study of motion and how motion is perceived in sculpture. Shifts in weight, unsteady poses, arms that change direction, risings from bent postures, even rocking, are experiments in movement which had never been explored so thoroughly. In order that the viewer appreciate the movement, the composition of a Lysippian statue refuses to resolve itself into a single, primary viewpoint from which everything can be understood. We keep moving, looking for the front, when there is none. By forcing the viewer to be con-

- stantly on the move, the illusion of movement in a statue is increased. Lysippos knew that. Maybe we would do best to translate the quote from from Lysippos in Pliny simply and literarily: older sculptors made men as they are, he made them as they are seen to be." The tholos as *theatron* seems perfectly suited to facilitate this sort of aesthetic concern.
- 153 Ashby 1999, 25-6; Van den Eijnde 2000, 11-2, 103-8; Rehm 2002, 37-41, esp. 39 n. 17 with bibliography.
- 154 The possibility that paeans were sung in the tholoi at Epidauros and Delphi raises the possibility that similar hymns were sung in the Philippeion, an idea, which would further substantiate the idea that the building was the locus for divinizing imagery. Unlike these two tholoi, however, there is no primary evidence that can be used to support this conclusion. Even so, it does seem significant that beginning in the fourth century B.C. paeans were sung to men, particularly generals and kings who had received heroic or divine honors (Cameron 1995, 291-5 and now Chaniotis 2003, 431-2). The earliest paeon of this sort seems to have been sung for Lysander at the beginning of the fourth century B.C. (ca. 400 B.C., Plut. *Vit. Lys.* 18; Athen. 15.695e). This famous example is followed by paeans to Hermeias (ca. 344 B.C., Athen. 15.696a-7b), Antigonos the One-Eyed (ca. 306 B.C.; Athen. 15.697a), Demetrios Poliorketes (ca. 306 B.C. and again ca. 291 B.C., Athen. 6.252f-3d, 15.697a), and Ptolemy Soter (ca. 304 B.C., *FGH* 515 F 19). Considering what is now known of Philip's own status, does it seem likely that he would have allowed himself to be outdone by Lysander or, even worse, Hermeias? Clearly, more investigation is warranted. The picture will become much more vivid.
- 155 But see now Rambach 2002.

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