

THE ARCHAIC STATUE OF DIONYSOS FROM IKARION

(PLATES 93–95)

THE EXCAVATIONS at the Attic deme of Ikarion carried out by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1888 and 1889 yielded a rich collection of architectural, epigraphical, and sculptural remains.¹ Until recently the only published accounts of this material were the reports written by Carl Darling Buck, the excavator of the site, in *The American Journal of Archaeology* for 1888 and 1889.² These reports, while admirable for their time, leave the scholar of today wanting for more precise information about the topography, monuments, and history of this important Attic site. No notebook, to our knowledge, has survived from this early excavation, and, regrettably, no pottery was saved. The architecture, inscriptions, and sculpture, together with Buck's reports and photographs, are all that remain to us, without further excavation, to piece together the history of Ikarion.

Recently a re-examination of the architectural remains of Ikarion was undertaken by William R. Biers and Thomas D. Boyd under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Their report provides interpretations of the walls and monuments uncovered by Buck and clarifies the plan of the site.³

This discussion of the colossal marble statue of Dionysos, the earliest and in some ways the most important of the sculptures from the site, is presented as a first step in a re-examination of the sculptural works found there by Buck. A study of the variety and range of the 26 sculptural fragments, their chronology, style, function, and iconography, can only aid in our understanding of the historical development of the deme center. A review of the epigraphical remains could add still more information toward a total picture of ancient Ikarion.

CATALOGUE

Among the sculptural fragments which Buck discovered at Ikarion were five groups of marble fragments belonging to a male statue of colossal proportions.⁴

¹ Works frequently cited will be abbreviated as follows:

Buck, 1889 = C. D. Buck, "Discoveries in the Attic Deme of Ikarion," *AJA*, ser. 1, 5, 1889, pp. 9–33, 154–181, 304–319, 461–477

Richter, *Korai* = G. M. A. Richter, *Korai*, London 1968

Wrede = W. Wrede, "Der Maskengott," *AthMitt* 53, 1928, pp. 66–95

² C. D. Buck, "Discoveries in the Attic Deme of Ikarion," *AJA*, ser. 1, 4, 1888, pp. 421–426; Buck, 1889.

³ W. R. Biers and T. D. Boyd, "Ikarion in Attica: 1888–1981," *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 1–18.

⁴ I am grateful for permission to study and measure the fragments of the statue of Dionysos in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens to Miss E. Raftopoulou. I thank Professor A. Raubitschek for encouraging me to initiate a study of this statue, and Professors Raubitschek, H. A. Thompson, B. S. Ridgway, W. R. Biers, and Dr. Nancy Bookidis for reading this article in draft form and offering their suggestions. A paper on this topic was presented by the author at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Vancouver, British Columbia in December 1978.

1. Bearded head Pl. 93

In two fragments. Pres. H. 0.442 m.; W. 0.35 m.; Th. 0.21 m. N.M. 3072.⁵

The two fragments have been joined together and the missing parts of the front of the head have been restored in plaster.⁶ The back half of the head from in front of the ears was chiseled off in antiquity, leaving the back a roughly finished, slightly concave surface (Pl. 93:d). Below the center of the back is a deep rectangular cutting for a horizontal dowel or tenon.⁷ The crown of the head is roughly worked, while the definition of the hair begins in front at the base of the crown as wavy, diagonal strands. These strands terminate in ten large, snail-shell curls with projecting centers which frame the forehead in an asymmetrical arrangement. Four of these curls, now missing, were separately carved and inserted.⁸ The forehead is smooth with a slight convex curve, and the eyebrows are sharp arching ridges. The eyes are almond-shaped, and the eyeballs bulge, curving sharply inward from top to bottom. The eyelids end in thickened ridges which meet at the inner corners of the eyes, forming an acute angle in the right eye and a loop in the left eye. The cheekbones protrude prominently on either side of the broad nose. A downturned moustache with individual wavy hairs rests on the bearded cheeks. The elaborately pat-

terned, scalloped strands of the full beard cover the sides of the face. The beard tapers downward in thickness and terminates in a rounded contour, preserved only on the right side. Four small drilled holes, possibly for the attachment of an ivy wreath, appear just above the snail-shell curls, on the right and left of the wavy strands below the crown.⁹

The larger fragment of the head was discovered below the bottom of the Byzantine church wall built over Base C,¹⁰ and the fragment of the right side of the beard was found within Building D, about one meter below the lowest course of the walls of the structure.¹¹

2. Seated male torso Pls. 94, 95:a

In three fragments: torso from collarbones to lap, lacking arms;¹² non-joining fragment of right shoulder (Pl. 95:a); left upper thigh preserving turn of body in seated position (Pl. 94:c). Pres. H. 0.875 m.;¹³ pres. W. chest 0.63 m.; Th. chest 0.44 m. N.M. 3897.

The massive chest of the figure is twisted slightly to the right with the left side thrust more forward. A chiton is represented by closely packed, undulating, vertical convex curves over the right side of the chest and upper back. Over the chiton the figure wears a himation. One end is thrown over the left shoulder

⁵ Buck, 1889, p. 461, no. 1, p. 463, fig. 43. Photographs: S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum: Collection of Sculpture*, Athens 1968, p. 18, pl. 11:a; Wrede, *Beil.* XXI:3, XXII:2, XXV:3, pl. 1.

⁶ Photographs taken in 1889 by the excavator, now in the archives of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, show the fragments before restoration. I am grateful to the American School of Classical Studies and to the former director, Professor Henry R. Immerwahr, for permission to use these photographs in this article.

⁷ Depth of cutting 0.077 m.; width of cutting 0.072 m. The "floor" of the cutting is restored in plaster, and the restored height is 0.065 m. In a commentary in Buck's report, A. C. Merriam notes that there is a slight projection at the lower corner of the dowel hole (Buck, 1889, pp. 464-465, note 13). It is likely that the restoration of the floor at 0.065 m. corresponds to this lower projection.

⁸ Buck (1889, p. 462) records that one of these curls was found in the excavation. There is a possibility that these separately attached curls were not part of the original manufacture of the statue but were later repairs.

⁹ A bronze leaf of an ivy wreath was found in the excavations (Buck, 1889, p. 462 and note 4).

¹⁰ Buck, 1889, pp. 156, 461, 465, note 13. For Buck's plan of the site, see *ibid.*, 1889, p. 266, plan I. For the 1981 plan by Biers and Boyd see *Hesperia* 51, 1982 (footnote 3 above), p. 5, fig. 2.

¹¹ Buck, 1889, pp. 156, 463, 465, note 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 464-467, 463, fig. 44. For a back view see H. Möbius, "Form und Bedeutung der sitzenden Gestalt," *AthMitt* 41, 1916, p. 169, pl. XI. The seat on which the figure sits is not preserved, but a stool must be assumed since the back of the statue is worked.

¹³ The measurement of 0.875 m. for the height of the torso includes only the first two fragments. The present location of the fragment of the left thigh is not known; the photograph taken by Buck in 1889 is our only visual record of it, and no measurements were given by Buck.

and is drawn obliquely across the front of the torso to the right side at waist height in three superimposed horizontal sections. Small drilled holes on the chest (two on the left shoulder, two lower down on the left breast, two on the right side of the breast) may be for the attachment of separate locks of hair.¹⁴ In back the himation falls in flattened zigzag folds over the left side (Pl. 94:d). Seven long wavy strands of hair fall on the back on the right side, and a small drilled hole on the right shoulder indicates that a tress of hair was added. Deep between the shoulders in the upper surface is an irregular pentagonal or hexagonal mortise cutting to receive a tenon or dowel for the attachment of a separately worked head (Pls. 94:b, 95:b).¹⁵ A circular dowel hole and a broken section of a rectangular mortise at the left side of the figure may well be designed to support the separately attached left forearm.

The large torso fragment was found close to Base B, well below the Byzantine church floor¹⁶ at the same approximate depth as the larger head fragment. The left-thigh fragment was found on the southeast side of Monument A, probably in an excavation dump.¹⁷

3. Right hand holding kantharos Pls. 94:b, 95:d
L. hand 0.18 m.; H. including kantharos 0.32 m.
N.M. 3073.¹⁸

¹⁴ A. C. Merriam (Buck, 1889, p. 465, note 14) maintains that curls were attached by these holes, while Buck (*op. cit.*, p. 465) suggests that the six holes are for affixing some bronze ornament. The arrangement of the holes in vertical pairs which match each other diagonally makes the suggestion that they are for locks of hair very likely, especially since we know that the hair fell in long strands on the back. B. S. Ridgway ("A Peplophoros in Corinth," *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 321–322, note 15) suggests that the holes were used to attach spiral curls of metal. It is not certain that the locks of hair were metal, but if metal straps were added to the sandals of the Dionysos it would not be surprising to find additional locks of hair also made of metal. Although no traces of paint survive on this statue, we know from the well-preserved Archaic sculpture from the Acropolis how extensive was the practice of adding color to white marble statues. The seemingly discordant effect of the contrast of locks of hair of marble hanging down the back of the Dionysos with metal locks in front might have been offset by the addition of paint on the marble locks.

¹⁵ The maximum preserved depth of the cutting measures 0.057 m., and the maximum preserved width (front to back) is 0.147 m. One or possibly two sides of the cutting are broken off. The bottom of the cutting is uneven and roughly picked.

¹⁶ Buck, 1889, pp. 171, 465.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 465, 466, fig. 45.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 465.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 466, fig. 46.

²¹ The front of the left foot seems to have been worked separately. The surface is smoothed as if for joining a fragment with an adhesive substance, either as a repair or as part of the original manufacture.

The hand is preserved from just above the wrist to the tips of the long clenched fingers. The thumb folded chipped. The kantharos has a flat upper surface, two partially broken, unpierced loop handles, a flaring body with a convex lower cup, molded in petal-like sections at the base. The stem of the kantharos is not rendered on the interior of the hand. The palm of the hand is unfinished, and there is an irregularly shaped, diagonal strut between the palm and wrist, probably to secure the hand to the body, perhaps to the thigh (Pl. 95:d).

The hand was found just outside the east wall of Building D.¹⁹

4. Feet resting on sloping plinth and Pl. 95:a, c
clad in sandals

Pres. L. plinth 0.290 m.; pres. W. 0.430 m.; pres. L. right sandal 0.305 m.; pres. L. left sandal 0.230 m. N.M. 3074.²⁰

The front portions of both feet are preserved up to the ankle, although the toes of the right foot alone are fully intact.²¹ The left foot is in advance of the right which is raised slightly at the heel so that it slopes forward on the plinth; the lower border of the himation rests on the top of the right foot below the ankle. On the feet are thick-soled sandals with a V-shaped strap appearing on top and a diagonal strap on the outside of the left foot. No straps are sculptured on

the right foot, although small drilled holes appear on the soles of the sandals of both feet, on the outside and inside of the left foot beside the toes and on the inside of the right foot, for the attachment of metal straps. In front of the right foot on top of the plinth is an irregularly shaped, roughly picked cutting.²²

Buck does not record the findspot of this fragment.

5. Fragment of right leg

Buck mentions the existence of this fragment but supplies no further information.²³ Its present location is unknown.

CHRONOLOGY

These fragments can be dated to the Archaic period. The facial features of the head are closely comparable to those of the Peplos Kore (Acropolis Kore 679),²⁴ the Acropolis Kore 678,²⁵ and the so-called Rayet Head in Copenhagen,²⁶ all usually dated between 530 and 525 B.C. All have the same flat forehead, sharp, arching ridges for eyebrows, almond-shaped eyes with an inner loop, an upper eyelid arching over a bulging eyeball which curves sharply inward from top to bottom, and high, prominent cheekbones. The large snail-shell curls with protruding doughy centers can be best paralleled on works such as the kouros from Kea²⁷ and the Boston head,²⁸ both dated about the 520's B.C. The treatment of the wavy curls of hair below the crown is a characteristic of sculptural works generally assigned to the last quarter of the 6th century, e.g. the Potter's Relief from the Acropolis and Berlin 1851.²⁹ Parallels for the very fancy, patterned beard are found in the treatment of the hair on korai from the Acropolis dated in the last third of the 6th century.³⁰

Specific parallels for the general style of the torso are more difficult to find since few seated draped males survive from this period in Attica. Two examples, not very close, are the seated male from Athens (N.M. 3711), dated to the end of the 520's,³¹ and the seated

²² This cutting may be the resting spot for a long object held in the left hand of the statue, perhaps an ivy or vine branch such as are commonly held by Dionysos in Archaic vase representations. The thyrsos can be eliminated as a possible attribute since it does not appear with Dionysos in vase paintings until the 5th century B.C.

²³ Buck, 1889, p. 465.

²⁴ Richter, *Korai*, no. 113, esp. figs. 352–354.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 112, figs. 345–348.

²⁶ The profiles of the Dionysos from Ikarion and the Rayet Head are especially close. See Wrede, Beil. XXII:1 and 2; G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi*, 3rd ed., London 1970, no. 138, p. 120, figs. 409, 410; Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen inv. no. 418.

²⁷ N.M. 3686; Richter, *op. cit.*, no. 144, p. 122, figs. 419–424.

²⁸ M.F.A. 34.169; Richter, *op. cit.*, no. 143, p. 122, figs. 413, 414.

²⁹ Acropolis Museum no. 1332 (H. Schrader *et al.*, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis*, Frankfurt 1939, no. 422; A. E. Raubitschek, "An Original Work of Endoios," *AJA* 46, 1942, pp. 245–253); Berlin 1851 (Richter, *Korai*, no. 165, p. 93, fig. 529).

³⁰ Acropolis Kore 683 (Richter, *Korai*, no. 120, esp. figs. 381, 382); Acropolis Kore 673 (*ibid.*, no. 117, esp. fig. 369); Acropolis Kore 682 (*ibid.*, no. 116, esp. fig. 362); Acropolis Kore 676 (*ibid.*, no. 183, esp. fig. 583).

³¹ W.-H. Schuchhardt, "Sitzender Dionysos," *AntP* 6, 1967, pp. 7–20. This statue, found near the Plataia Eleuthereus in Athens, has been called a cult image of Dionysos. No attributes survive, although a panther skin draped over the "camp-stool" led Schuchhardt to label the figure Dionysos. It is much more likely, as C. Picard suggests (*Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, Paris 1935, I, p. 623), that the statue is a funerary monument since there is no evidence that an Archaic temple or cult of Dionysos is located in that area of Athens, while there is an ancient cemetery near by (L. Jeffery, "The Inscribed Gravestones of

scribe from the Acropolis (no. 629), dated *ca.* 520 B.C.³² The cubic compactness of the body, the quiet, parallel undulations of the chiton folds, the superimposed rolls at the waist, and especially the sharp, flat-edged, zigzag folds of the overhanging mantle are the characteristic details which place this torso chronologically within the last quarter of the 6th century.

On both the feet and the hand fragments the joints are well articulated and knobby. On the feet the second toe is slightly longer than the first, and the toenails are squared off and curve gently downward as they do generally in Archaic sculpture dating early in the last quarter of the 6th century.³³ The sandals are typical of those found on sculpture of the period between *ca.* 550 and 520, and the addition of metal straps to the sculptured sandals is a feature only known in the Archaic period around the 530's B.C.³⁴

IDENTIFICATION

Buck concluded in his preliminary report that all these fragments from Ikarion belonged to the same statue, an Archaic seated image of Dionysos. Yet even before his attribution reached print there were doubts about it. In the commentary to Buck's report in the *AJA*, A. C. Merriam, the Director of the American School of Classical Studies, argued against the connection of the head and body fragments, citing the incompatibility of the dowel cuttings on the head and torso and the flattened appearance of the back of the head as evidence against the attribution.³⁵ Immediately after the discovery of the fragments Wolters made the suggestion that the head was a mask of Dionysos of the type known from 5th-century Attic vase representations.³⁶ Subsequently, in 1928, Wrede published the head from Ikarion among the sculptural representations of "Der Maskengott",³⁷ and since that time most scholars have accepted the head as a colossal Archaic mask of Dionysos.³⁸

This commonly accepted identification of the head as a mask can be seriously challenged. There are, first, no other *marble* masks of the Archaic period. Small terracotta masks were already being manufactured as grave offerings in late Archaic times,³⁹ and an

Archaic Attica," *BSA* 57, 1962, p. 133; B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1977, p. 136, note on p. 146).

³² H. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, London [1936], p. 47, pl. 118; Ridgway, *op. cit.*, p. 137 (shortly after 520 B.C.).

³³ E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, XI, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton 1965, no. 104, pp. 46-47 (*ca.* 530-525 B.C.); H. A. Thompson, "An Archaic Gravestone from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear*, Princeton 1949, pp. 373-377, pl. 51:1; G. M. A. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*, London 1961, p. 34, no. 49 (Agora S 1276 a; 535-530 B.C.).

³⁴ K. Dohan, *ῚΠοδηματα: The Study of Greek Footwear and Its Chronological Value*, diss. Bryn Mawr College, 1982, pp. 34, fig. 10:D, 41-43.

³⁵ Buck, 1889, pp. 464-465, note 13.

³⁶ P. Wolters, "Miscellen," *AthMitt* 12, 1887, p. 390. The vases depict a mask suspended from or attached to a pillar or column draped with robes and attended by female worshippers. A. Frickenhaus ("Lenaenvasen," *Winckelmannsfeste* 72, 1912, pp. 3-32) assigns the image to the Athenian cult of Dionysos Lenaios.

³⁷ Wrede, pp. 67-70.

³⁸ J. G. Frazer (*Pausanias's Description of Greece*, London 1913, II, p. 54) alone took the side of Buck and accepted the head fragment as part of the colossal statue of Dionysos. I am grateful to Dr. J. Binder for calling my attention to this reference.

³⁹ Wrede, pp. 90-91.

Athenian mask and pillar image of Dionysos may possibly date to the Archaic period,⁴⁰ but masks made of stone are not otherwise known until the Severe period. The earliest examples of marble masks are the so-called Achelōos mask from Marathon,⁴¹ the Dionysiac mask from the Athenian Agora,⁴² and Acropolis 1323,⁴³ all dated to the early decades of the 5th century. Secondly, most of the sculptures identified as masks have flattish if not perfectly flat backs.⁴⁴ None has a concave and roughly picked surface as does the head from Ikarion. Thirdly, the face of the head from Ikarion does not appear to be disproportionately broad or flat as is characteristic of true masks,⁴⁵ and the features exhibit asymmetries, unlike true masks which are usually perfectly symmetrical. Lastly, the colossal size of the head from Ikarion, greater in height and thickness than other marble masks, except the archaizing Acropolis mask,⁴⁶ makes it unlikely that a horizontal tenon set so low on the head would be sufficient to secure the head to a pillar or column. Although the Acropolis mask is proportionately much less thick front to back and has more surface area than the head from Ikarion, a large clamp above the forehead was still necessary for attachment to its joining surface. The smaller mask from Marathon (Berlin inv. no. 100) has a large rectangular dowel cutting set well above the center of the back of the head, the more logical position if a head is intended to be fixed against a vertical surface.⁴⁷

If not a mask, can this head be connected with the fragments of the seated statue from Ikarion? No one has ever doubted that the fragments of the torso, hand, and feet belong to the same statue and that they represent Dionysos (Pl. 95:a). The kantharos held in the right hand in conjunction with the seated draped male form is in keeping with the iconography and conventions of representations of Dionysos in the Archaic period. The moustached and bearded face is also appropriate for an image of Dionysos who almost always appears bearded in the Archaic period. Furthermore, the marble, the size, the stylistic and technical criteria, and apparent date of all the fragments correspond.

⁴⁰ The date of the appearance of the masked pillar image is not known. The antiquity of the two festivals with which the image has been associated, the Anthesteria (G. Van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, Leiden 1951, pp. 24–33) and the Lenaia (Frickenhans, *op. cit.* [footnote 36 above], pp. 3–32), and the primitive nature of this type of cult image and its relationship to the origins of the herm, which is at least as early as the 6th century, indicate that the mask of Dionysos that is hung on a draped pillar probably dates at least to the 6th century. For a summary account of the Anthesteria see H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1977, pp. 107–120.

⁴¹ C. Blümel, *Die archaisch griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 1963, p. 20, figs. 29–33, no. 12; Wrede, no. 2, pp. 70–73, pls. II and III, Beil. XXIII:2, XXV:4: dated to ca. 470 B.C. or shortly after.

⁴² T. L. Shear, Jr., “The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1972,” *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 402–404, pl. 74:d: dated to ca. 470 B.C.

⁴³ M. Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum, A Descriptive Catalogue*, Athens 1974, pp. 82–83; Schrader *et al.*, *op. cit.* (footnote 29 above), no. 329, figs. 278, 279; Wrede, Beil. XXI:1: dated generally to the early 5th century B.C.

⁴⁴ For example, Athenian Agora S 2485, Berlin 100, Acropolis 6461, Acropolis 1323.

⁴⁵ Acropolis 1323, for example, has a broad face with a squarish contour. Berlin 100 also appears boxy with a flattened face. Acropolis 6461 is very narrow front to back with a broad face and flattish features.

⁴⁶ Acropolis 6461 (Wrede, Beil. XXVI:1); Brouskari, *op. cit.* (footnote 43 above), pp. 175–176 (5th–4th century B.C.).

⁴⁷ Pres. H. 0.32 m.; W. 0.21 m.; D. 0.12 m. Wrede, Beil. XXV:4.

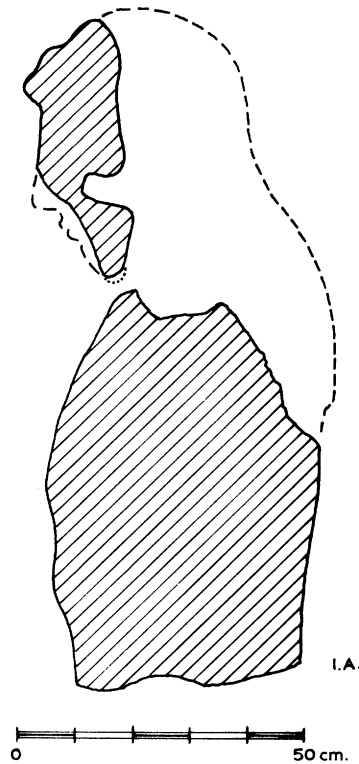


FIG. 1. Section of head and torso, reconstructed

All the fragments appear to be the same tawny, compact marble, probably Pentelic.⁴⁸ The size of the head is appropriate for the torso according to the proportions of kouroi of the period. The height of the head is almost exactly half the height of the torso from the shoulders to the lap and just over two-thirds the width of the torso at the height of the chest. The vertical section, drawn to scale, shows that the head is of an appropriate size for the body of the seated figure (Fig. 1).⁴⁹

Certain asymmetries are consistent throughout the head and torso fragments. The torso is turned slightly off axis to the right with the left side thrust slightly forward and the sternal notch and the spinal furrow off center to the left; the left thigh rises higher than the

⁴⁸ The surface color and preservation of the fragments vary, due partially to their post-excavation history. The fragment in the poorest state of preservation, the large torso fragment, was, according to the National Museum's records, left on the site at Ikarion until 1942 when it was transferred to the National Archaeological Museum. The photographs taken in 1889, however, indicate that a certain amount of the wear, in particular the incrustation across the chest, was already present when the fragment was excavated. The head, hand, and feet fragments were brought into the museum immediately after their discovery. The state of preservation and the light surface color of the hand and head fragments reflect this transfer. A comparison of the color and crystalline structure at the breaks show that the marble of all the fragments could be from the same source, although scientific analysis would be necessary for a conclusive determination.

⁴⁹ I am grateful to Iro Athenasiades who took careful measurements of the head and torso fragments and drew this sectional reconstruction. The estimated total height of the statue is over two meters.

right, and the left foot is advanced slightly. In the same way, the right and left sides of the face and hair are remarkably asymmetrical. The wavy locks below the crown of the head and the snail-shell curls framing the forehead meet to the left of the central point of the forehead. Six snail-shell curls on the right are balanced by only four on the left. The left eye is set higher than the right, and while there is a loop at the inner corner of the left eye, the right eye terminates in an acute angle. The moustache droops lower on the right than on the left. It is possible that these asymmetries of the head indicate a slight turn of the head to the right, just as the torso is turned almost imperceptibly in that direction.

Both the head and torso exhibit the same, very precise use of line and varied surface treatment. In addition, the oblique wavy locks below the crown, the incised moustache, and the scalloped pattern of the beard match the wavy contours of the seven locks of hair on the back of the torso fragment.

The head and torso fragments both show evidence of a piecing technique which is not uncommon in Archaic Attic sculpture.⁵⁰ On the head four of the snail-shell curls are worked separately. The dowel hole and mortise at the left side of the body are evidence that the left forearm was added from another piece of marble. The front of the left foot was added, either originally or as a repair, by means of an adhesive substance on a smoothed surface. Additional ornaments would have been added to these same three fragments: a metal wreath on the head, marble or metal locks of hair on the front of the torso, a tress of hair on the back of the right shoulder fragment, and metal sandal straps across the toes of the feet.

The mortise cutting in the upper surface of the torso between the shoulders is proof that the head of the seated figure was sculptured separately and inserted into the body.⁵¹ The head was most probably fastened into the deep mortise by means of a tenon at the base of the neck; the neck of the statue and any tenon are no longer preserved. It still remains to explain the preserved state of the back of the head with its rectangular cutting and concave chiseled surface. This cutting is designed to receive a horizontal tenon or dowel and can, therefore, bear no relationship to the mortise-and-tenon system which joined the head to the torso. It is doubtful that the head was originally intended to have been made in two halves, unless a flaw in the marble or an error forced the sculptor to give up the plan to make the colossal head in one piece. It is likely, however, that the rectangular cutting and chiseled back represent a later repair or reworking of the head, a repair in marble or, less likely, in stucco.⁵²

⁵⁰ Major piecing was common in marble sculpture of the Archaic period. In addition to separately worked heads which are discussed in the next footnote, there are many examples of major piecing of limbs or body sections, sculptured separately and joined, e.g., the body of Acropolis Kore 682 which is made in two pieces and joined at the knees (Richter, *Korai*, no. 116, pp. 73–75); the following have separately attached limbs or drapery fragments: Acropolis Korai 136, 594, 613, 643 + 307, 670, 672, 675, 679, 680, 683.

⁵¹ Separately worked heads were not uncommon in sculpture of the Archaic period, e.g., Acropolis Kore 674 (Richter, *Korai*, p. 81, no. 127), Acropolis Kore 615 (*ibid.*, p. 81, no. 125), Acropolis Kore 683 (*ibid.*, p. 77, no. 120), Acropolis Kore 604 (Schradler *et al.*, *op. cit.* [footnote 29 above], no. 35, pp. 75–76), Berlin Staatliche Museen 1725 (S. Adam, *Technique of Greek Sculpture in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, London 1966, p. 80). For an example from ca. 480–470 B.C. see Harrison, *op. cit.* (footnote 33 above), pp. 142–144, no. 156, S 211.

⁵² If the back of the head was repaired in stucco, the large cutting and the very rough surface would be unusual for this technique (V. M. Strocka, "Aphroditekopf in Brescia," *JdI* 82, 1967, pp. 110–156; see

The stylistic parallels for each of the fragments⁵³ establish their chronological compatibility and allow us to date the statue securely within the last quarter of the 6th century and perhaps more precisely to the decade between *ca.* 530 and 520 B.C.⁵⁴ There is no reason to deny the association of the head and torso fragments. All the evidence suggests that the Dionysiac image from Ikarion is not a mask but a head originally sculptured in the round for the colossal seated statue of Dionysos holding a kantharos.

FUNCTION

What function this image originally served at Ikarion is less easily demonstrated. If one considers the roles within a sanctuary and deme setting for a colossal seated marble statue of Dionysos, the possibilities are immediately limited. Architectural and funereal functions can be quickly eliminated as inappropriate, leaving for consideration the roles of dedicatory monument and cult image. There is, it must be admitted, no incontrovertible evidence from the site, such as a dedicatory inscription or a cult-statue base which can be assigned to this statue, to aid in identifying its function. There is, however, indirect evidence which tips the scale in favor of a cult image.⁵⁵

That there was a cult image of Dionysos at Ikarion is suggested by epigraphical testimonia. In a 4th-century inscription, *IG II*², 2851, there is a reference to some work on τὸ ἄγαλμα.⁵⁶ The lack of further definition suggests that τὸ ἄγαλμα must have been an

also G. S. Merker, *The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 40, Göteborg 1973, p. 29, no. 64, figs. 42–44). For a description of the technique of joining a marble hand of the 4th century see A. F. Stewart, *Skopas of Paros*, Park Ridge, N.J. 1977, p. 43, pl. 20:e. The joining surface was flattened, smoothed, and picked with a point before tenon holes were cut. The joining surface of a head with a separately carved back, dated to the 2nd century after Christ, is roughly hacked with a pointed chisel (E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, I, *Portrait Sculpture*, Princeton 1953, no. 33, p. 44). Another head of the same date, however, exhibits the use of a very carefully picked surface and anathyrosis in combination with a large rectangular cutting for joining a large fragment (*Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection*, O. W. Muscarella, ed., Mainz 1977, no. 97).

⁵³ Pp. 401–402 above.

⁵⁴ The following are the dates assigned by other scholars to these sculpture fragments from Ikarion: Karouzou, *op. cit.* (footnote 5 above), p. 18: head, *ca.* 520 B.C.; R. Özgan, *Untersuchungen zur archaischen Plastik ioniens*, diss. Bonn, 1978, p. 59: torso, 530's B.C.; Wrede, pp. 68–70: head, 530 B.C.; E. Pochmarski, *Das Bild des Dionysos in der Rundplastik der klassischen Zeit Griechenlands*, diss. Graz, 1974, pp. 42–43: head, *ca.* 530 B.C.; *ibid.*, pp. 25–26: torso, *ca.* 520 B.C.; Ridgway, *op. cit.* (footnote 31 above), pp. 321–322, note 15: torso, end of Archaic or beginning of Severe period.

⁵⁵ A cult image can be defined as a sculptural representation of a deity which served as the earthly manifestation of that deity. This image was usually the focus of worship at a shrine or sanctuary and was assigned a primary role in cult rituals as the substitute for the deity. Most often, but not always, the cult image was given the honor of a home in a temple. For a full discussion of cult images of the Archaic period see I. B. Romano, *Early Greek Cult Images*, diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1980. A recent summary of literary references concerning early Greek cult images has been compiled by J. Papadopoulos, *Xoanon e Sphryrelata, Studia Archeologica* 24, Rome 1980.

⁵⁶ *IG II*², 2851 = E.M. 13,317. Buck, 1889, no. 12, pp. 316–317. Buck restores lines 1 and 2 to read:

ἐ]πιμεληταὶ τῆς ἐρ[γασία-
s τοῦ ἀγάλματο[s ἀνέ-

and states that the ἐργασία can only refer to the execution of a new statue (Buck, 1889, p. 317), while in

important statue, one not confused with any other and, thus, perhaps the cult image of the site. In a mid-5th-century inscription from Ikarion concerning the choregic system, *IG I*², 187, there is a reference to an oath which the choregos takes with his hand placed on a statue.⁵⁷ Although the crucial words identifying the statue are not preserved, it is most likely that the choregos swears on the statue of Dionysos, the principal deity of the site and the god to whom the dramatic contests are dedicated.⁵⁸ The linking of the colossal statue of Dionysos with both τὸ ἄγαλμα and the statue on which the choregos placed his hand to take his oath must remain tentative. But, if this colossal statue is τὸ ἄγαλμα, then one might be able to identify the work mentioned in *IG II*², 2851 as the repair or reworking of the back of the colossal head.⁵⁹ Perhaps even more convincing arguments for assigning it a function as a cult image of Dionysos are the high artistic quality, the impressive size (over two meters), and seated pose, all appropriate for a cult statue of the late 6th century.

That this statue was housed indoors or at least within a covered structure is clear from the excellent state of preservation of the head fragment. Once again the evidence favors the identification of the statue as a cult image, usually housed indoors, rather than a dedication, commonly found outdoors.

It is very likely that a temple of Dionysos existed at this famed Dionysiac site. A 4th-century inscription from Ikarion records a decree that the ψήφισμα is to be set up in "The Dionysion" (ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ).⁶⁰ Thus we know that at least by the 4th century B.C. there existed somewhere at the deme of Ikarion an area set aside and designated as the sanctuary of Dionysos, possibly with a temple structure.⁶¹ It is clear from what remains at Ikarion that Buck uncovered the center of the deme site. One should expect to be able to find the ἱερόν of

the *Corpus* the last word in line 1 is restored as ἐπισκευῆς. Either reading is possible since only one vertical stroke of the last preserved letter in line 1 remains.

⁵⁷ *IG I*², 187, lines 10–12; Buck, 1889, no. 9, pp. 307–315.

⁵⁸ Buck (1889, p. 308) restores in line 11 ἐμ [Πυθίῳ Ἰκαριῶν. There is no reason, however, why Πυθίῳ should follow ἐμ in this case but ἐν τῷ in line 30.

⁵⁹ The date of the chisel work and the mortise in the back of the head cannot, to my knowledge, be precisely determined from comparison with other works of sculpture (note the variations in technique listed in footnote 52 above). Circumstantial evidence suggests that the repair of the head might be contemporary with the architectural renovation of the sanctuary and deme of Ikarion in the 4th century B.C. Professor H. A. Thompson has kindly reminded me of the various sanctuaries of Athens and Attica, including the Theater of Dionysos on the south slope of the Acropolis, which were refurbished in the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C. following the destruction of the Persian Wars. The renewed activity at Ikarion in this period, both architectural and sculptural, including work on the ἄγαλμα, may well have been part of this general clean-up of the venerable cult spots of Attica.

⁶⁰ D. M. Robinson, "New Inscriptions from Icaria," *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 142–143, no. 3, line 8: dated ca. 330 B.C. The more accurate transcription of the stone is in *SEG* 22, 1967, p. 44, no. 117. ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ is clearly visible on the stone.

⁶¹ That "The Dionysion" might be a specific building rather than simply a label for a temenos of Dionysos is suggested by the Delian inventory accounts which refer to the Temple of Artemis as "The Artemision" (e.g., *ID* 1442, B, line 54), the Temple of Hera as "The Heraion" (line 44), and the Temple of Serapis as "The Serapeion" (line 57). It is more likely, however, that a public decree would be set up outdoors in the sanctuary of Dionysos rather than within the temple.

Dionysos and a temple of Dionysos among the extant structures, but no certain identification has yet been made. Biers and Boyd have tentatively proposed that a structure only partially excavated by Buck, Building G, may be a temple, perhaps the elusive Temple of Dionysos.⁶² Building D has also been suggested as a possible temple.⁶³ Since the cleaning of the site by Biers and Boyd, the plan of Building D has become clearer, and it appears to have opened to the southwest along its long side. Such a plan would, of course, be unusual for a temple.⁶⁴

If the findspots of the fragments of the statue of Dionysos can aid in identifying its original location, a place should be sought near Building D and Bases B and C to its southwest, for all the fragments were found within a radius of about seven meters in this vicinity. The torso, the largest of the fragments and therefore the least easily transported, was found close to Base B.⁶⁵ A large pile of blocks left by Buck after the dismantling of the church obscures the entire area (possibly unexcavated) between the choregic monument and Base C and between Base B and Building D. This area might provide crucial evidence for the original location of the statue. Despite the un-templelike plan of Building D, the concentration of major monuments along its southwest flank would seem to indicate that Building D is worth considering further, at least in one of its phases, as a candidate for the temple and the home of the colossal seated statue of Dionysos.

SUMMARY

The colossal statue of Dionysos, made around the decade from 530 to 520 B.C. by an unknown sculptor, probably Attic, was set up at the deme of Ikarion in "The Dionysion", possibly in the structure identified by Buck as Building D. The statue was damaged at some time before the 4th century B.C., perhaps during the Persian Wars. Some repairs, including perhaps that to the back of the head, were carried out in the 4th century B.C. and were recorded in *IG II²*, 2851. We have no notion of how long the image was visible at the site, but the statue does not show any signs of having suffered deliberate damage during the iconoclastic movement in Late Antiquity. We can assume from the discovery of the fragments below the Byzantine church walls that the statue of Dionysos had long been forgotten, its broken fragments scattered and buried by the time of the building of that church.

If we may, lacking further evidence, tentatively assign the function of cult image to the statue, it becomes one of the rare surviving examples of an Archaic cult image and one of the earliest made of stone.⁶⁶ For the history of Ikarion the statue of Dionysos ranks as one of the

⁶² Biers and Boyd, *op. cit.* (footnote 3 above), p. 6, note 12. See plan on p. 5.

⁶³ The author first suggested Building D as a possible temple in a paper read at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Vancouver, British Columbia, in December 1978.

⁶⁴ Biers and Boyd (*op. cit.* [footnote 3 above], p. 9, note 20) point to one possible parallel for this form, a temple of Artemis from the 4th century B.C. at Messene.

⁶⁵ Buck (1889, p. 465) assigns Base B to the Archaic statue of Dionysos. If, as seems likely, the statue is a cult image, then a location outdoors on Base B does not seem plausible.

⁶⁶ Romano, *op. cit.* (footnote 55 above), pp. 370–371. We know from at least one possible example, an over-life-size cult statue of Artemis from the Delion on Paros (A. Kostoglou-Despini, *Προβλήματα τῆς παρίανης πλαστικῆς τοῦ 5^{ου} αἰῶνα π.Χ.*, Thessaloniki 1979, pp. 3–62, date: pp. 32–52; G. Touchais, "Chronique des fouilles en 1976," *BCH* 101, 1977, p. 635; A. Orlandos, "Ἀήλιον τῆς Πάρου," *Ἔργον*

earliest archaeological remnants to establish the origins of Dionysiac worship on the site. Together with an inscription dated to *ca.* 525 B.C. recording dedications to both Dionysos and Apollo Pythios,⁶⁷ it testifies to a cult of Dionysos at Ikarion at least as early as the beginning of the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. It is perhaps odd that, despite the epigraphical testimonia for a festival and contests dedicated to Dionysos as late as the 4th or 3rd centuries B.C.,⁶⁸ Dionysos does not appear again in the sculptural record at Ikarion. This colossal Archaic statue remains as a unique and impressive sculptural monument which can be related iconographically to the cult of the major deity of Ikarion.

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1976, pp. 217–220; “Πάρος. Δῆλιον,” *Ἔργον* 1977, pp. 153–155) that marble was definitely an acceptable choice of material for a cult image by the early 5th century B.C.

⁶⁷ Robinson, *op. cit.* (footnote 60 above), p. 142, no. 2. This inscription is not only the earliest epigraphical evidence of Dionysiac worship on the site but is also the earliest inscription from Ikarion.

⁶⁸ For example, *IG II²*, 1178 (Buck, 1888, pp. 421–423, no. 1); *IG II²*, 3094 (Buck, 1889, pp. 27–28, no. 6); *IG II²*, 2851 (Buck, 1889, pp. 316–317, no. 12).



a. Head (N.M. 3072). Front view.
Courtesy DAI, Athens



b. Head. Front view before restoration, *ca.*
1889



c. Head. Profile view. Courtesy DAI,
Athens



d. Head. Back view. Courtesy National
Archaeological Museum, Athens

PLATE 94



a. Torso (N.M. 3897). Front view. Courtesy DAI, Athens



b. Torso and right hand (N.M. 3897, 3073). Right profile view. Courtesy DAI, Athens



c. Torso. Front view of fragments on the site *ca.* 1889



d. Torso. Back view. Courtesy DAI, Athens



a. Torso, hand, and feet (N.M. 3897, 3073, 3074) as displayed in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens



b. Mortise in top surface of torso. View from right side

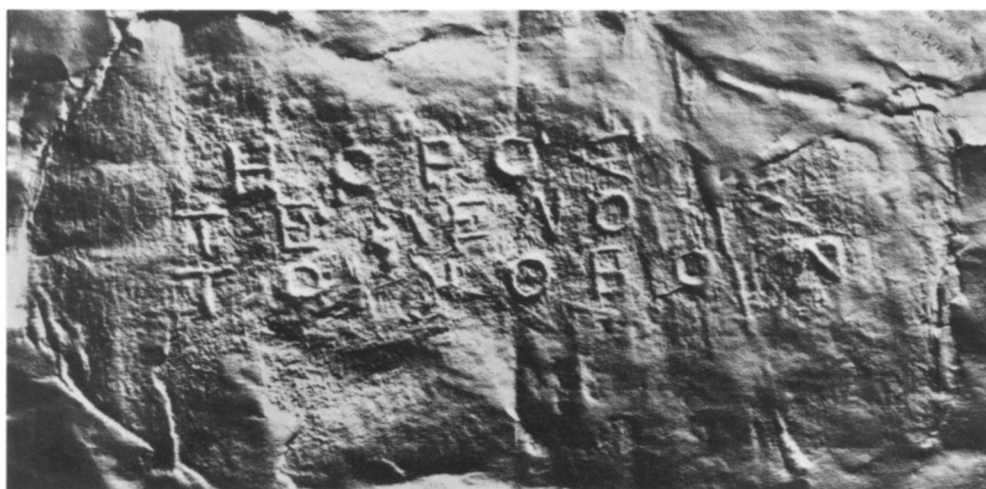


d. Right hand and kantharos (N.M. 3073). View from left front. Courtesy DAI, Athens



c. Feet (N.M. 3074). Courtesy DAI, Athens

IRENE BALD ROMANO: THE ARCHAIC STATUE OF DIONYSOS FROM IKARION



IG II/III², 2600, Louvre MNC 2282, from Thorikos (squeeze)

WILLIAM B. DINSMOOR, JR.: ANCHORING TWO FLOATING TEMPLES