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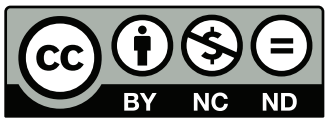
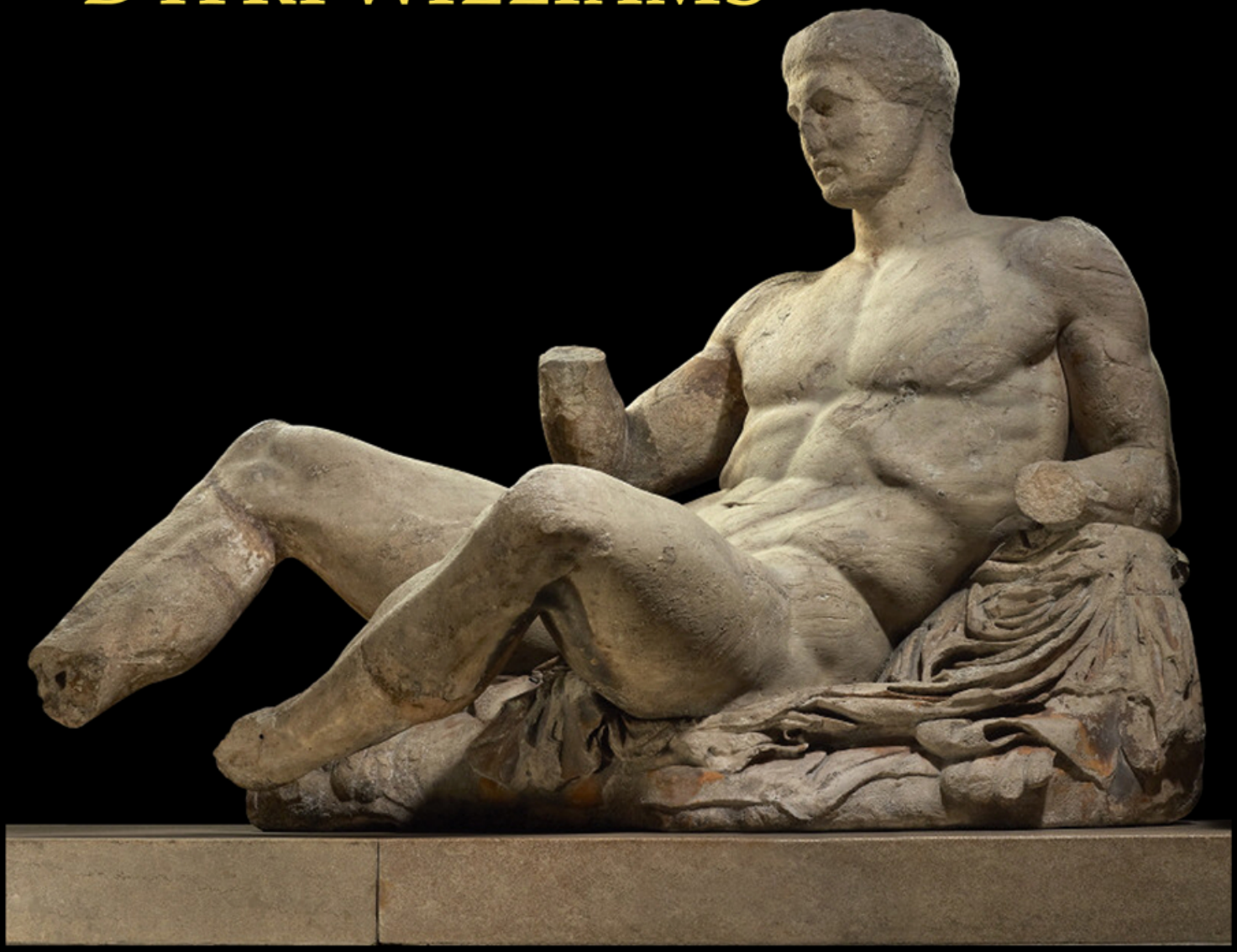


THE EAST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON

FROM PERIKLES TO NERO

DYFRI WILLIAMS



INSTITUTE OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF ADVANCED STUDY UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

THE EAST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON: FROM PERIKLES TO NERO

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THE EAST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON: FROM PERIKLES TO NERO

DYFRI WILLIAMS

With drawings by Kate Morton

INSTITUTE OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
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UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

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The cover image shows the East Pediment, Figure D (photo courtesy of the British Museum).

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In honour of Brian Francis Cook on his 80th birthday

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Some of the initial thinking and drafting was done as a Visiting Scholar at the J. Paul Getty Museum (January-March 2009) in the peaceful and productive surroundings of the Getty Villa, thanks to the support of Karol Wight and her staff. There, I was further encouraged by the sympathetic presence and scholarship of the then Villa Professor, Alain Schnapp. This work also informed parts of lectures given at Berkeley and at the University of Southern California: I am very grateful to the kindness of Andrew Stewart and John Pollini on these occasions, and for later reading an early draft of this paper. Christoph Reusser kindly invited me to lecture in Zurich, when I was also able to consult, through the kindness of Thomas Lochman, the Parthenon casts in the Basel Skultpturhalle. Other lectures, with varying emphases, were given in Edinburgh, Paris, New York and Rome, and a final version was presented as the sixth annual Byvanck Lecture in Leiden. I should like to thank the Director of the Institute of Classical Studies London, John North, and the Deputy Director, Olga Krzyszkowska, for agreeing to host a special lecture drawn from this extended study and to publish the whole in the Institute's Supplement series. I am also particularly grateful to Richard Simpson, the Institute's Director of Publications, for all his work on my text and illustrations. Finally, I should like to record my gratitude to the Gerda Henkel Stiftung for its support through a Marie Curie Senior Research Fellowship in its M4HUMAN programme, which has overlapped with the final production of this study.

Several members of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum kindly read an early draft. Cécile Evers, Natacha Massar, Tony Spawforth and Susan Woodford also read later drafts and offered helpful and encouraging comments and suggestions. Finally, Manolis Korres read the whole of the penultimate draft with great care

and made many important corrections and observations; he also kindly agreed to the use of his reconstruction of the northeast corner of the Parthenon. The faults and speculations remain my own.

This study is dedicated to Brian Cook, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum from 1976 until 1993, with deep gratitude for his support over the years. His wide-ranging scholarship and his strong administrative skills have been a real inspiration.

ILLUSTRATIONS

PREFACE

ἰδού, πρὸς αἰθέρ' ἐξαμίλλησαι κόρας,
γραπτούς <τ' ἐν αἰετ>οῖσι πρόσβλεψον τύπους[1]

(Thoas, of the temple of Zeus at Nemea)
'Look, turn your eyes upwards to the sky, and see the painted figures in the pediments'

The sculptures of the Parthenon stand at the heart of Classical art yet our understanding of them remains a constant challenge. Over the last 200 years, since their importance was recognised by the wider modern world, scholars have attempted to record them, read them and reconstruct them.

From very early on, thanks to the efforts of L. F. S. Fauvel (for Comte de Choisseul-Gouffier) and G. B. Lusieri (for Lord Elgin), both drawings and moulds were made from them.[2] Soon after the acquisition of Lord Elgin's collection by the British Museum moulds and casts of all pieces associated with the Parthenon sculptures began to be collected systematically, many being placed on display alongside or attached to the original remains, in an attempt to present as complete a picture as possible.[3] This process reached its peak in the fundamental series of studies of the sculptures and their historical context by A. H. Smith in the first two decades of the twentieth century.[4] The radical changes in taste that affected the study of Classical art in the 1920s set in train the removal of all these assiduously collected casts from display and the retention of only some of them in introductory spaces, a development that was only fully realised in the 1960s.[5]

An attempt was made in Basel to reverse this trend by Ernst Berger in the late 1960s.[6] In the following decade he began to address the issues of how to test reconstructions in three

[1] Euripides, *Hypsipyle* fr. 752c (=764 N)

[2] On Fauvel see most recently Zambon 2009; on Lusieri, Williams 2002, and now Williams 2012 177-86.

[3] See I. Jenkins, 'Acquisition and supply of casts of the Parthenon sculptures by the British Museum, 1835-1939', *BSA* 85 (1990) 89-114.

[4] See especially the following: A. H. Smith, *A catalogue of the sculptures of the Parthenon, in the British Museum* (London 1908); Smith 1910; and A. H. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his collection', *JHS* 36 (1916) 163-372.

[5] This once unique library of the Parthenon sculptures is now stored off-site, some casts across London in a disused postal sorting office, others in a former munitions bunker in the depths of Wiltshire.

[6] See Berger 1974, 8; and E. Berger, 'La reconstitution de décor sculpté du Parthénon', in S. Besques *et al*., *Le Moulage: Actes du colloque international 10-12 avril 1987* (Paris 1988) 127-32 (with bibliography).

dimensions using both plaster casts and lightweight polystyrene to link fragments and recreate missing figures, with the result that in 1979 he was able to open a special exhibition in the Basel Skulpturhalle presenting all of his work.[7] This was followed in 1982 by a major international conference on the Parthenon, the only one of its kind to be attempted on such a scale. It was in the 1980s too that Evi Touloupa developed the Centre for Acropolis Studies in the von Weiler building in Makriyannis and Ismini Trianti and Alexandros Mantis were able to assemble an immensely instructive display of casts. The display in the new Acropolis Museum in Athens, the work of Mantis and his colleagues, once again mixes originals and casts.

In the 21st century scholars must build on the work of others by using all the technologies available to address the problems surrounding the understanding of the sculptures. These include not only drawings, casts and photographs, but also now 3-D scanning and computer-generated models.[8] There is a huge potential for advance, especially if politics are not allowed to hamper research, and scholars must not be put off from constantly re-addressing what might seem too well worked-over objects and issues, not least because all such processes must begin with the careful use of the eye, enlightened by imagination, and ruled by logic – and such faculties differ from person to person.

The present study focuses on the sculptures from the East Pediment. In the first part it re-examines not only the pose, action and dress of each surviving figure but also other clues, especially traces of metal attachments, rather in the manner of the chorus of Euripides' *Ion*, who identify the sculptures on the temple of Apollo at Delphi through their attrributes – Herakles' gold sickle, Iolaos' blazing torch, Zeus' thunderbolt with flames at either end, and Dionysos' ivy-topped thyrsos.[9] Such information is used to reassess traditional identifications of these extraordinary figures of the Olympian gods. The evidence, as it is preserved, of the architectural frame is also brought to bear in order to better understand the interrelation of the figures, employing especially the cuttings that remain in the pediment floor (horizontal geison) and the tympanon behind the figures. These were recorded by Bruno Sauer, Rhys Carpenter, Nikolaos Balanos and Georgios Despinis, but all the results are here merged and clarified in the drawings by Kate Morton.[10] Such cuttings and marks reveal the processes of insertion and fixing of the sculptures in the Classical period and subsequent changes. In addition, Morton has set 'bird's eye' views of the pedimental figures in place, with projections and heads located (elements distinguished by colour – blue for heads, red for limbs). These are very useful additions facilitating a much better understanding of the figures

[7] E. Berger, 'Bauwerk und Plastik des Parthenon – Zur Austellung "Basel und die Akropolis" in der Skulpturhalle', *AntK* 23 (1980) 59-65.

[8] For a pilot 3D scanning project, centering on South Metope 4, see D. Williams, P. Higgs, T. Opper and Mark Timson, 'A virtual Parthenon metope: restoration and colour', in V. Brinkmann and R. Wunsche (eds.), *Gods in color: painted sculpture of Classical antiquity* (Munich and Harvard 2007) 112-17.

[9] Euripides, *Ion* 184-218.

[10] Sauer 1891; Carpenter 1933; and Balanos 1940. Balanos' numbering system, adopted here, begins with the first southernmost geison block; Sauer, Carpenter and later authors are concerned chiefly with the sculptures and so begin their numbering with the second block.

in their three-dimensional context. The next step, however, is surely to 3D scan the sculptures and then manipulate them in virtual space – this will require international collaboration and considerable funding, yet it needs to be undertaken. The second part of this work goes on to highlight the important repairs and alterations made in the early Roman imperial period that regularly go unmentioned. Indeed, it seeks to assess their extent and nature, which have never been properly explored before, and to set them in their historical and cultural context.

PART I: THE CLASSICAL PEDIMENT

Introduction

It is often, and reasonably, observed that if Pausanias had not recorded for posterity that the subject of the East Pediment of the Parthenon was related to the birth of Athena, we should perhaps have never known.[1] This is in no little part due to the fact that the central section of the East Pediment, perhaps some ten to twelve figures in all, or slightly more than half of the total, is almost entirely lost. The devastating fire, the cause and date of which are disputed, although the blame is often laid at the feet of either the Heruli in 267 AD or the Visigoths at the very end of the fourth century, could well have caused damage to the East Pediment, as it seems to have been particularly fierce at the east end of the temple. [2] The subsequent repairs, which included the re-roofing of only the cella and not the colonnade, left both pediments at considerable structural risk. The suppression of ancient Greek religion and the conversion of the temple into a Christian church, perhaps in the second half of the sixth century, probably resulted in the final loss of the centre of the East Pediment.[3] We cannot assume, however, that this was a case of religious fervour, for three of the nine remaining figures retained their heads until the later 17th century (*cf.* Figs 1-2). Indeed, the Christians may in some way have identified Athena with the Virgin Mary, or at least felt that she was a sympathetic presence providing for some a useful sense of continuity. As a result, it is possible that the figures were removed only for safety reasons, together with much of the tympanon wall behind them.[4]

[1] Pausanias i, 24, 5 ('everything has to do with the birth of Athena'). The standard modern treatments of the Parthenon's East Pediment are Brommer 1963, 3-29 and 148-57; Harrison 1967; Berger 1974; Palagia 1993, 18-39; Mostratos 2004; and Fehr 2004. For further discussions see n. 17.

[2] For the history of the Parthenon from the Roman period until the seventeenth century see Korres 1994, 140-55. For a powerful argument against a Herulian date see A. Frantz, 'Did Julian the Apostate rebuild the Parthenon?', *AJA* 83 (1979) 395-401. See most recently R. Ousterhout, '"Bestride the very peak of Heaven": The Parthenon after Antiquity', in Neils 2005, 293-329; J. Pollini, 'Christian Desecration and Mutilation of the Parthenon', *AM* 122 (2007) 207-28; and in general now Kaldellis 2009.

[3] For the dating of the loss of the centre of the pediment see Fuchs 1967, 163. On the issue of the conversion of the temple see B. Ward-Perkins, 'Re-using the Architectural Legacy of the Past, entre idéologie et pragmatism', in G. P. Broglio and B. Ward-Perkins (eds), *The idea and the ideal of the town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (London 1999) 225-46; and L. Foschia, 'La Réutilisation des sanctuaries païens par les Chrétiens en Grèce continentale', *REG* 113 (2000) 413-34; and Kaldellis 2009.

[4] *Cf.* Kaldellis 2009, 40-41, who quotes M. Korres as saying that the removal was 'probably due to architectural rather than religious considerations among the Christians'.

Figure 1 Drawing of south wing of East Pediment, attributed to Jacques Carrey, *c.* 1674 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; from Bowie and Thimme 1971)

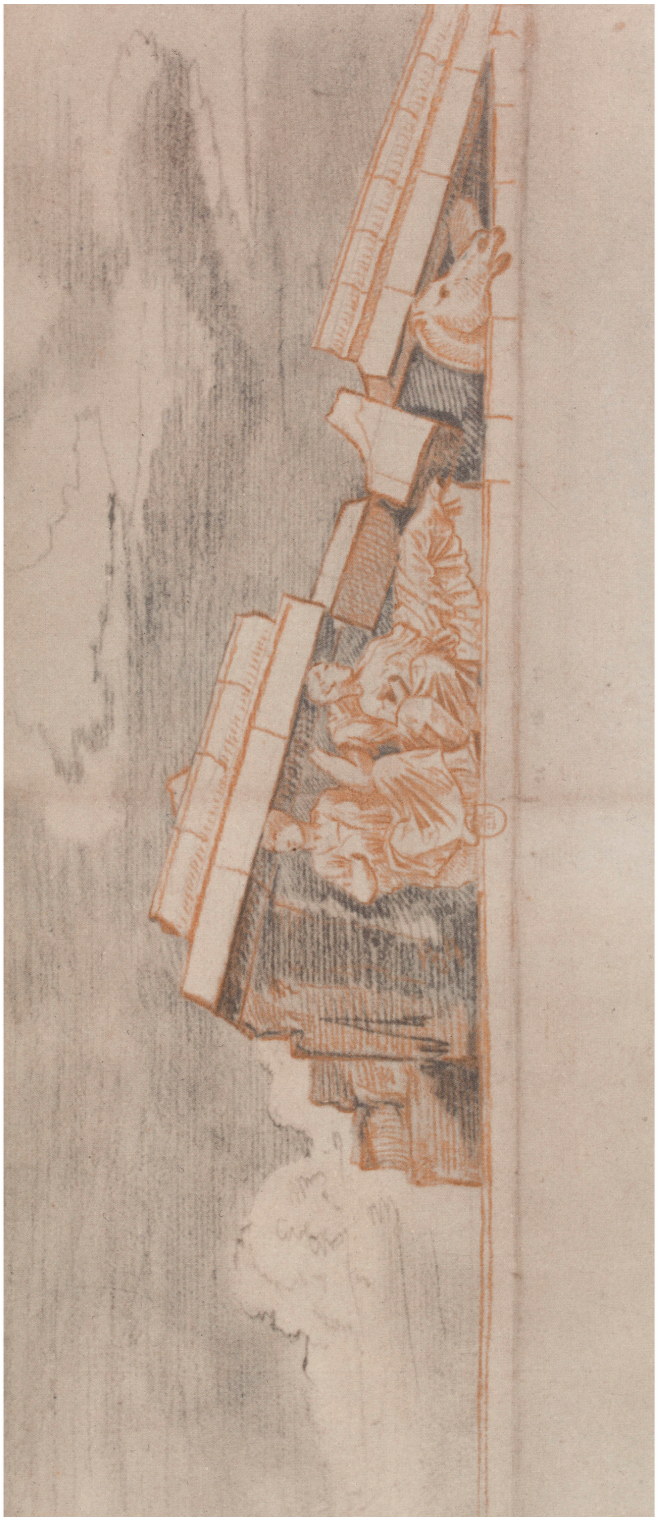

Figure 2 Drawing of north wing of East Pediment, attributed to Jacques Carrey, *c.* 1674 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; from Bowie and Thimme 1971)

What sculptures survived the dilapidation of further centuries, and the catastrophic explosion of 1687, were almost entirely removed from the pediment between 1802 and early 1803 by Giovanni Battista Lusieri on behalf of Lord Elgin, who was actually in Greece when three of them were taken down.[5] Lusieri's team of some 20 Greeks secured parts of seven sculptural groups: Figure A, with the remains of two of the heads of his four-horse chariot, Figure B (leaving the other group of two heads, Figure C, in the pediment); Figures D, E-F, and G from the left (south) wing of the pediment; and the female Figures K and L-M from the right (north) wing, together with one of the four horses' heads, Figure O (leaving the remaining two *in situ*, Figures P *a* and *b*; the fourth lost, but subsequently identified in a fragment), from the chariot group in the corner (the charioteer, Figure N, was only discovered in 1840). The four horses' heads, Figures C and P, left by Lusieri, were in due course permanently removed from the pediment by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1987-8.[6]

Identifying Figure D

The starting point for this close reconsideration of the East pediment is the extraordinary male figure from the left-hand corner of the East Pediment (Figure D) which was drawn *in situ* by Jacques Carrey in 1674 (Fig. 3), as were the other figures in the British Museum, and has, since its arrival in London, been an inspiration to many artists from Benjamin Robert Haydon onwards.[7] This beardless, naked figure faces away from almost all of the other figures in the composition (Figs 4-5). He reclines comfortably, resting on his left elbow, his legs extended and slightly spread, and his right arm bent up at the elbow and slightly raised. He displays a wonderfully developed, long torso, lithe and sharply muscled. The way he supports himself on his left elbow results in the upward displacement of his left shoulder. The right side of his body appears compressed by this pose, while his legs open up, the left relaxed, the right tense (the tendons behind the knee are taut), suggesting a seated

[5] For the process of these removals see most fully Williams 2002, 103-64; and for the story of the permission given to Lord Elgin see now D. Williams, 'Lord Elgin's Firman', *Journal of the History of Collections* 21 (2009) 49-76. Elgin was in Greece when Figure O was removed, and actually in Athens for the lowering of the great groups, Figures L-M and E-F.

[6] For these dates see Palagia 1993, 19 and 34 fn. 86. Heads P *a* and *b* seem to have been removed from the pediment and then returned sometime between 1920 and 1954: Brommer 1963, 25. For the fragment of the 'lost' horse's head, Acropolis 827a, see Brommer 1963, pl. 62; and Palagia 1993, fig. 49.

[7] Figure D: Brommer 1963, pls. 26-31; Palagia 1993, fig. 32. Carrey's drawing: Brommer 1963, pl. 2; Bowie and Thimme 1971, pls. 3-4. The subsequent dilapidation of the pediment may be traced through drawings by Dalton of 1749 (Brommer 1963, pl. 4, 1), Pars of 1765 (Brommer 1963, pl. 3) and Fauvel (Zambon 2009, fig. 78 [Louvre AG RF4841.f.199]). For Haydon see his autobiography, T. Taylor, *Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon, historical painter, from his autobiography and journals* (London 1853) 85-6 (description of Figure D); and J. Rothenberg, *Decensus ad terram: the acquisition and reception of the Elgin Marbles* (New York and London 1977) 230-53.

Figure 3 Detail of drawing of south wing of East pediment, attributed to Jacques Carrey, *c.* 1674, Figure D

Figure 4 East Pediment, Figure D, front full view

Figure 5 East Pediment, Figure D, rear full view

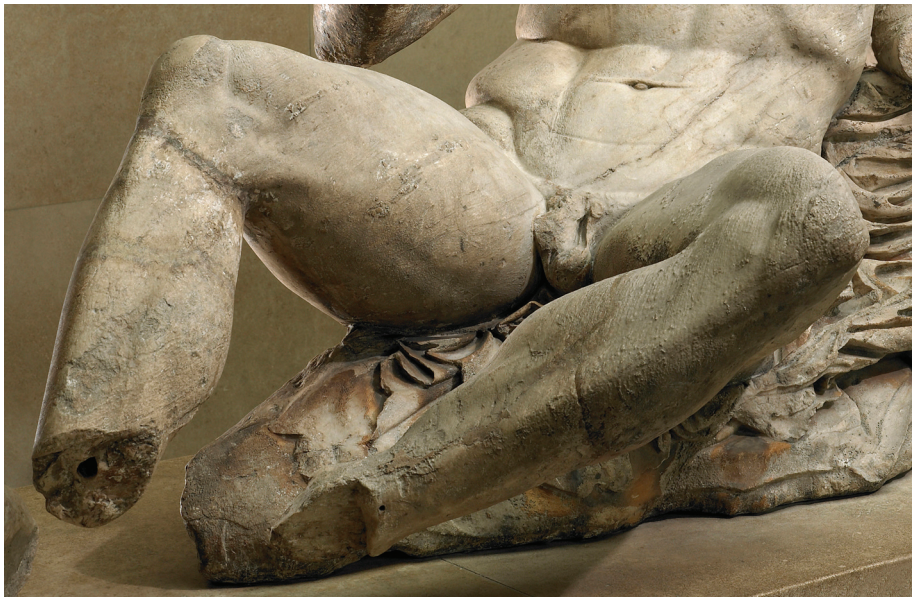

Figure 6 East Pediment, Figure D, detail of ankle and legs

contrapposto.[8] In addition, the whole figure has not only been angled across the available space in the pediment, but its shoulders and upper back have been turned so that the right shoulder is bent in and seems almost to lead the figure forward. He is traditionally said to be sitting on a rock: it has smooth contours and is partially covered with an animal skin (two feline paws are visible and part of what seems to be the tail, but not the head). His *himation* is bunched, rather untidily, under him. He seems to be careless of his surroundings, isolated, and somewhat introverted. His low, rock-like seat ends in a rounded edge under the figure's legs with the result that, from mid-thigh level downwards, they seem to project over empty space. His seat has, however, been carefully trimmed on the right, below the figure's left elbow, and, slightly more roughly, along the rear edge where the figure was pushed up close to the *tympanon* – the back in fact projects beyond the seat, and there is a small, grazed or rubbed patch visible on the back where it must have actually touched the *tympanon* wall. Both cuttings are regularly thought to have been carried out to help the figure fit into the narrow pediment and to better accommodate the seat of the figure to the right (Figure E) – we shall return to this issue below. Figure D's hands and feet are now missing, although Carrey's drawing shows that his left foot was still preserved at least until the catastrophic explosion of 1687. In the case of the figure's right foot there is an ancient dowel hole, bone-like into the core of the shin, indicating either an addition made necessary during the sculpting process or, in this case almost certainly, a repair of damage that occurred later, when the sculpture was being manoeuvred into position close to its neighbour. The right leg was carved completely free of seat and support, making it particularly vulnerable (Fig. 6). A trace of the bridge of marble that once linked the figure's lost left heel to his rock-like seat may still be discerned. Finally, there is also a much smaller hole in the front of the left shin at ankle level: this must have been for securing a metal attachment, like other such holes throughout the sculptures, whether pedimental or not.

Figure D has been variously identified as Aietes, Apollo, Ares, Dionysos, Herakles, Hermes, Kekrops, Kephalos, Olympos and Theseus.[9] Leaving aside the exceedingly

[8] *Cf.* comment in B. S. Ridgway, *Fifth Century styles in Greek sculpture* (Princeton 1981) 48.

[9] For listings and discussion of the various identifications see Michaelis 1871, 166, 168, 173-74; Brommer 1963, 148-50, with 181 (fold-out page); and Palagia 1993, 19-20 and 60 (appendix). Of the more recent opinions note especially the following: Carpenter 1962, 265-68 (Ares); K. Jeppesen, 'Bild und Mythus an den Parthenon', *ActaArch* 34 (1963) 76-77 fig. 23 c-d (Hermes, but not explained); Harrison 1967, 43-45 (Herakles); Fuchs 1969, 311-12 (Dionysos); Berger 1974, 36 (Dionysos); H. Walter, 'Zur Rekonstruktion des Parthenon-Ostgiebels', in N. Zapheiropoulos and B. Lambrinoudakis (eds), *Stele Tomos eis mnemen N. Kontoleontos* (Athens 1980) 448-62 (Dionysos); Jeppesen 1984, 267-77 (Orion or Herakles); Pochmarski 1984, 278-80 (Dionysos); Simon 1986, 65-85 (Dionysos); H. Knell, *Mythos und Polis. Bildprogramme griechicher Bauskulptur* (Darmstadt 1990) 120-21 (Dionysos); A. Stewart, *Greek sculpture: an exploration* (New Haven 1990) 153 (Dionysos); D. Castriota, *Myth, ethos and actuality: official art in fifth-century B.C. Athens* (Madison 1992), 220 (Herakles); A. Delivorrias, 'The Sculptures of the Parthenon: Form and Content', in Tournikiotis 1994, 101-10 (Dionysos); Bol 2004, 173 (Dionysos); Mostratos 2004, 114-15 (Dionysos); A. Choremi-Spetsieri, *The sculptures of the Parthenon – Akropolis, British Museum, Louvre* (Athens 2004) 121 (Dionysos); Fehr 2004, 137-43 (Apollo); Palagia 2005, 238 (Dionysos); C. Isler-Kerenyi, 'Dionysos am Parthenon', E. Fischer-Lichte and M. Warstat (eds), *Staging festivity: Theater und Fest in Europa* (*Theatralität* 10, 2009; Tübingen and Basel) 112-26 (Dionysos); and Davison and Waywell 2009, 601 (Dionysos).

unlikely figures of Aietes and Olympos, for whom no useful iconography exists, as well as Theseus, Kekrops and Kephalos, who would only make sense if the subject of the East Pediment were still mistakenly considered to be the Athenian contest between Athena and Poseidon,[10] we are left with the gods Apollo, Ares, Dionysos and Hermes, and the hero Herakles. Of these, most recent scholars have clearly favoured Dionysos, as indeed does the current label in the British Museum. In trying to decide among such candidates, rather than rehearse all the arguments for and against each identification, it seems better to privilege instead the evidence offered by the sculpture itself, together with the rest of the preserved sculptural decoration of the Parthenon, within which one could reasonably expect a uniformity of iconographical signals to be maintained.

Of the gods, Apollo is to be found in the northern group of deities on the East Frieze (Slab VI, figure 39: Fig. 7, centre), where he is characterised by his youth, his wreath (only the holes remain; presumably for a gilded bronze laurel wreath), stately dress and pose, and the proximity to his twin sister Artemis.[11] His left forearm is raised, probably holding a laurel branch (there is an attachment hole in his elbow), while the thumb of his right hand is hooked into the drapery on his lap. Evelyn Harrison has argued that this unusual gesture could be a subtle sign of the god's protective and prophetic powers, but it may simply be an observation from nature of the action of draped seated male figures.[12] It should also be noticed that there is evidence for a small footstool or rocky platform under his crossed feet, as is indicated by their higher level and the horizontal edge leading away from the stool's front leg next to a break.[13] Hermes, too, is to be found in the East Frieze, in the southern group (Slab IV, figure 24: Fig. 8, left). He is equipped with a *petasos* (on his lap), boots, traveller's cloak and once held a metal *kerykeion*. None of these identifying features on the Parthenon's East Frieze for either Apollo or Hermes are to be found on Figure D from the pediment above.

Herakles was a late comer to Olympos, but he cannot easily be excluded on that count – just as we must be careful not to impose our ideas as to who were or were not 'Olympians'.[14] He is to be found on one of the East Metopes (XI), for his necessary

[10] This mistake was brought about by the fact that the entrance to the Christian church was at the west end; for a recent discussion see Palagia 1993, 10.

[11] Brommer 1977, pl. 178. For the numbering of the figures used here see I. Jenkins, *The Parthenon frieze* (London 1994). Pemberton 1976, 118, notes the hole in Apollo's left elbow, suggesting something was held in his hand. She prefers a bronze kithara, but a laurel branch seems more likely – *cf.* E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter* (Berlin 1953) 37.

[12] Harrison 1979, 96.

[13] G. B. Waywell, 'The treatment of landscape elements in the sculptures of the Parthenon', in *Parthenon-Kongress*, 312-16, esp. 316 where he lists the appearance of rocks under the feet of the gods (including under the right foot of Artemis).

[14] Harrison 1979, 45, notes Pausanias v, 11, 3, where Herakles is listed among the gods who were shown at the birth of Aphrodite on the base of the statue of Zeus at Olympia. See most recently J. M Hurwit, 'The Parthenon and the Temple of Zeus at Olympia' in Barringer and Hurwit 2005, 140.

Figure 7 East Frieze, Slab VI figs 38-41, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, and Aphrodite

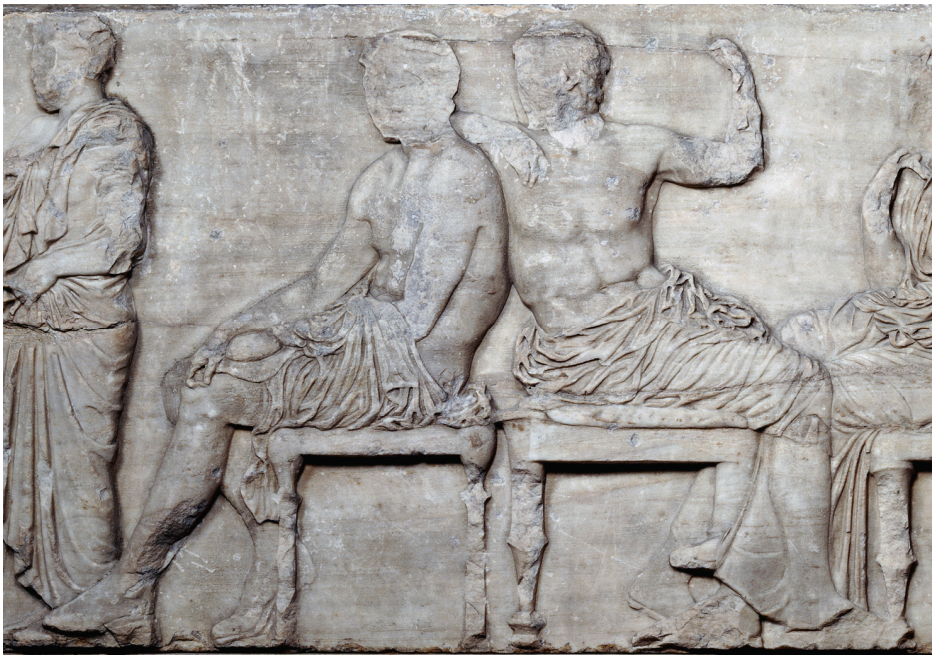

Figure 8 East Frieze, Slab IV figs 24-25, Hermes and Dionysos

presence in the gigantomachy was well recognised, but the remains are of no help.[15] An attempt some years ago to identify Herakles in the southern group of deities in the East Frieze, although thought provoking, is difficult to accept as it necessitates the exclusion of Dionysos from the assembly (*cf.* Fig. 8, right).[16] Herakles' iconography, however, is well known – a powerful and mature physique, often naked, short hair, usually bearded but occasionally unbearded at least by the middle of the fifth century, and equipped with his club and/or bow and, of course, the skin of the Nemean Lion.[17] It is difficult to make the right hand of Figure D hold a heavy club, while to put it in the left hand would leave the gesture of the right hand as a rather empty salute to Helios.[18] The clear and presumably deliberate absence of a lion's head on the skin on which Figure D rests and the apparent youthfulness of his torso would also seem to tell against an identification as Herakles.

This leaves us with Dionysos and Ares, both of whom are regularly identified among the deities on the southern side of the centre of the East Frieze and are, therefore, well worth examining in detail. Dionysos (Slab IV, figure 25: Fig. 8, right), a *himation* round his waist and sandals on his feet, is seated on a stool with turned legs (like that on which Demeter sits) and on a cushion (thicker even than Artemis'). He relaxes in a very companionable, almost tipsily patronising manner behind Hermes, his right forearm resting on the back of the messenger god's shoulders, his side pressed up close to Hermes's back. His left arm is raised, his hand clenched – presumably holding vertically a *thyrsos* that was once rendered in paint. His torso is well muscled and mature. In his hair are several holes for attaching a metal wreath (no doubt of ivy and vine) (Fig. 9). Finally, although his head is badly damaged, and weathered, there may be traces of a short beard that might not have been dissimilar to the one sported by Poseidon (Slab VI, figure 38; Fig. 7).

Ares (Slab IV, figure 27: Fig. 10) sits on a simpler stool than Dionysos and with only the thinnest of paddings, perhaps an animal skin, like Poseidon and Apollo. His back is firmly turned to Hera and Zeus – there seems to be a real *caesura* here. He too has a *himation* wound round his waist, but no sandals. He is beardless and his head is bare, lacking even a wreath around his head. His right knee is raised and held up by both his hands, his fingers interlaced. This sort of pose is known from a number of fifth-century scenes on Athenian pottery, often showing Odysseus urging Achilles to return to the fray, and most recently interpreted as a hostile, 'submissive-aggressive' pose.[19] Here, however, a new element has

[15] For Herakles in the metopes see below n. 60.

[16] M. Robertson, 'Two question-marks on the Parthenon', in G. Kopcke and M. B. Moore (eds), *Studies in Classical art and archaeology: a tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen* (New York 1979) 75-87 (esp. 75-8). He argued that the figure on the East Frieze normally identified as Dionysos (slab IV, figure 25) might be Herakles. *Cf.* J. Neils, *The Parthenon frieze* (Cambridge 2001) 164.

[17] For the first occurrences of a beardless Herakles see R. Volkommer, *Herakles in the art of Classical Athens* (Oxford 1988) 93.

[18] *Cf.* Fuchs 1969, 312.

[19] For the connection between the figure and the scenes on vases see E. Petersen, *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* (Berlin 1873) 254-5; C. Robert, 'Die Gesandschaft an

Figure 9 (left) East Frieze, Slab IV fig. 25, Dionysos, detail of head
Figure 10 (right) East Frieze, Slab IV fig. 27, Ares

been added, for Ares' left foot is also off the ground, supported it would seem by the end of his spear, a small section of which is to be seen crossing his heel at an angle from behind his ankle. It is normally, and surely correctly, assumed that the rest of the shaft must have been rendered in paint as it passed up the figure; the section reaching the ground is now lost (it was presumably carved free from the background – there is a broken area under the instep). There would seem at first sight, however, to be a problem in this, for, if a straight line were drawn from the carved section of the spear upwards, it would actually pass below Ares' left armpit. In fact, we need to understand that the designer has realised that the spear would have had to carry a good deal of weight, as Ares has neither foot on the ground, and that, if it passed between the figure's right shoulder and his neck, as one must assume it did, it would surely have bowed somewhat under the pressure (Fig. 11).[20] This detail reveals the extraordinary subtlety of the designer's vision – and something similar used to be observable, it would seem, in the case of the sticks of the eponymous tribal heroes who lean far forward in the northern section of the East Frieze (Slab VI, figures 45 and 46).[21]

Achilleus. Attischer Aryballos', *AZ* 39 (1881) 138-54 (esp. 144-45); and Pemberton 1976, 120, with fn. 69. See now Nicgorski 2004, 291-303.

[20] *Cf.* reconstruction, I. Beck, *Ares in Vasenmalerei: Relief und Rundplastik* (Frankfurt 1984) 71 (but the author does not notice that her line of the spear is not straight but bowed).

[21] Much of this slab is known only through a cast made by L. F. S. Fauvel in 1787. At some point between that date and 1801 this previously well preserved slab was disastrously mutilated; see Brommer 1977, pls. 183-4; Williams 2002, 118. On Fauvel see now C. W. Clairmont, *Fauvel: the first archaeologist in Athens and his Philhellenic correspondents* (Kilchberg/Zurich 2007); and Zambon 2009. For the modern discussion over the identity of these figures see I. Jenkins, 'The composition of the so-called Eponymous Heroes on the East Frieze of the Parthenon', *AJA* 89 (1985) 121-27; S. Woodford, '*Eponymoi* or *Anonymoi*', *Source* 6, 4 (1987), 1-5; B. Nagy, 'Athenian Officials on the Parthenon

Figure 11 Reconstruction drawing of East Frieze, Slab IV fig. 27, Ares with spear

If we now turn back to Figure D from the East Pediment, we find that he is beardless, naked and has no wreath in his hair (Fig. 4). The absence of any one of these features – beard, *himation*, or wreath – would seem to rule out the possibility of identifying him as Dionysos. Even if it could be argued that the possible traces of a beard on the East Frieze figure and the greater maturity of his torso are illusory, a naked and wreathless reclining Dionysos is essentially unthinkable in the Classical period.[22] But Figure D himself provides other more positive clues to his own identity. Despite later damage and weathering, it is clear that his hair was indicated with shallow locks (still visible, for example, over and in front of his right ear), yet, nevertheless, a number of details require explanation. Attention has been drawn by some scholars to the hair on the nape of his neck, which has been interpreted as old-fashioned or 'heroic' double braids (Figs 12 and 13).[23] In fact, the hair originally only had one, low ridge at the bottom of the main hair mass over the neck

Frieze', *AJA* 96 (1992) 55-69; and E. B. Harrison, 'The web of history: a conservative reading of the Parthenon frieze', in J. Neils (ed.), *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon* (Madison, Wisconsin 1996) 198-214, esp. 200-02.

[22] The connection between Figure D and the Dionysos on the Lysikrates Monument of 335/4 BC has been pointed out, *cf.* Palagia 1993, 20; but, as Palagia 1993, 41 herself notes, West Pediment Figure A was the source for an early Hellenistic type of reclining Herakles. For the Lysikrates Monument see B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic sculpture I: the styles of ca. 331-200 BC* (Bristol 1990) 15-17, pl. 1 with fig. 2 on p. 18.

[23] See Furtwängler 1881, 304 (correcting J. Overbeck); A. H. Smith, *A catalogue of sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* I (London 1892) 107 (*krobylos*); Brommer 1963, 9; Palagia 1993, 19 with fn. 19 on p. 31; and mentioned by Pochmarski 1984, 279.


Figure 12 (left) East Pediment, Figure D, detail of the back of the head
Figure 13 (right) East Pediment, Figure D, detail of the back of the head

(and it is not certain that it was intended to be part of a braid, as it does not go round the front of the head), but a later cutting with a point into the main hair mass to create a slightly tighter and deeper ledge has confused scholars. At the front of the head there are also features that need to be understood. The first is the unexpected, strong division of the wavy hair over the centre of the brow (Fig. 14). The second is a separate flat patch on the top of the head over the forehead, clearly worked in the same fashion as the cutting into the hair mass over the nape of the neck. The last and most obvious clue is the hole for a circular metal dowel in the top of the head (Fig. 15). This was noticed by Adolf Furtwängler, who explained it as the remains of a fixing to the tympanon wall.[24] Such an idea, however, seems particularly unconvincing as there were obviously many other, safer places for attaching a bracket, if one was really felt to be necessary. No less unconvincing is the suggestion that it was for a *meniskos* for such protection is unparalleled in Classical pediments, no doubt because they were considered superfluous precautions given the proximity of the raking geison.[25] Furthermore, the reworked areas of hair must have been covered in some way, and not left raw and visible, even if only to the gods.

[24] Furtwängler 1881, 304-5. Noted by Brommer 1958, 112; and E. Berger, 'Ein neuer Kopf aus den Parthenongiebeln?', *AM* 71 (1956) 160 n. 15. See also Brommer 1963, 9. It is not mentioned by Pochmarski 1984 or Palagia 1993.

[25] There are three other preserved heads that are regularly associated with the pediments. The so-called Laborde head has no such hole, only a row of holes for a diadem: see L. Beschi, 'La testa Laborde nel suo contest Partenonico: una proposta', *Rendiconti* 6, 3 (1995) 497. Acropolis 935 has no hole either: Brommer 1963, 65 no. 15, pl. 138; Palagia 1993, 25, figs 65-66. The fragmentary head, Acropolis 2381 (three fragments now known), does, but the hole is perhaps best connected with a peaked arc-like *stephane* set at the front edge of the veil (a type of headgear associated with Hera and Demeter): F. Brommer, 'Studien zu den Parthenongiebeln V', *AM* 84, 1969, 104-05;

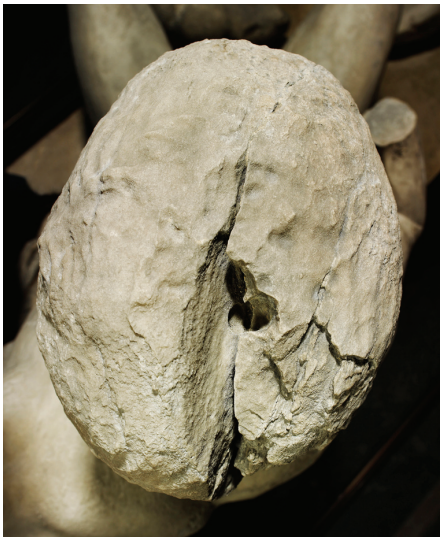

Figure 14 East Pediment, Figure D, detail of the front of the head
Figure 15 East pediment, Figure D, detail of the top of the head with the central dowel hole

There is one solution that would seem to explain all the clues and peculiarities observed above. If the figure was originally equipped with a bronze helmet (Fig. 16), then the additional ledge cut into the hair at the back can be understood as a hastily executed resting surface for the joint between the dome of the helmet and its neck-piece. Similarly, the central division of the hair may be associated with need to accommodate the visor-like part of the helmet and its nose-guard. The roughly worked flat patch over the forehead must also have been required to help the helmet sit flatter and lower than originally planned. Finally, the metal dowel in the top of the head will have been the means for securing the helmet firmly in position, while also perhaps helping to support the helmet's crest. This would mean, of course, that Figure D should be identified as Ares, the god of war.

The addition of a separate bronze helmet to both marble and bronze sculptures can, in fact, be paralleled on a variety of Greek sculptures. A marble example from the Acropolis is perhaps one of the earliest, dating around 500 BC.[26] It has a large hole for the bronze

A. Delivorias, 'Zum Problem des Zeus im Ostgiebel des Parthenon', in B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff *et al.* (eds), *Praestant Interna* (Tübingen 1982) 48 (calls it a *meniskos*); A. Mantis, 'Akropolis 2381', *BCH* 110 (1986) 231-35; Palagia 1993, figs 56-59. On *meniskoi* see J. Maxmin, 'Meniskoi and the Birds', *JHS* 95 (1975) 405-26; R.M. Cook, 'A supplementary note on *Meniskoi*', *JHS* 96 (1976) 153-54; and B. S. Ridgway, 'Metal attachments in Greek marble sculpture', in M. True and J. Podany (eds), *Marble. Art historical and scientific perspectives on ancient sculpture* (Malibu 1990) 185-206 (esp. 200-01). *Meniskoi* are not found on classical pedimental figures. For the *meniskoi* on the Olympia metopes see now Younger and Rehak 2009, 95 (late additions).

[26] Acropolis 621: G. Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* I (Cambridge 1912) 153-54; H. Schrader (ed.), *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (Frankfurt 1939) 231 no. 315, pl. 142; M. S. Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum: a descriptive catalogue* (Athens 1974) 96, figs

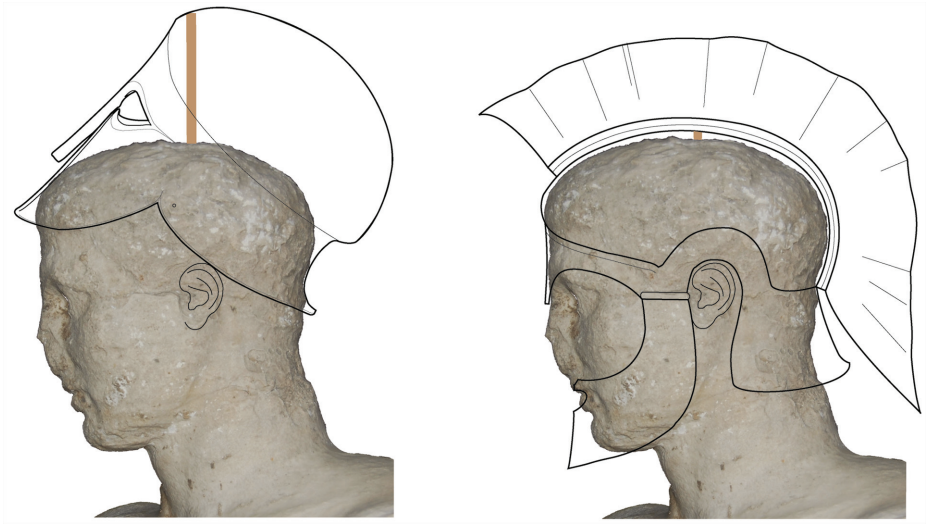

Figure 16 Reconstruction of head of East Pediment Figure D, with helmet (left, Corinthian; right, 'Chalcidian'/'Attic')

support and a number of smaller holes to aid the fixing of the Corinthian helmet in place; the upper part of the head is left rough and the added paint preserved on the hair stops at a line marking the edge of the warrior's bronze helmet. The identity of this bearded and long-haired figure is uncertain, but one possibility might be that it was in fact a statue of Ares. A slightly later bronze head that was once equipped with a separate bronze helmet is also from the Acropolis.[27] It leads on to the now famous Riace Bronzes, which Beth Cohen, while studying the marble helmeted portraits of Perikles, has convincingly argued were both once equipped with bronze helmets – statue 'B' with a Corinthian helmet; statue 'A' with one of 'Chalcidian' type pushed up high on the head, and kept in place, in large part, by a rod in the top of the head.[28]

In trying to identify the precise type of helmet for Figure D, and its disposition on the head, several factors have to be kept in mind: the way the hair has been organised, together with the later adjustments to it, and the severely limited space available between head and

180-81. See most recently Cohen 1991, 488-89. For bronze attachments see also in general now T. Schäfer, 'Gepickt und Vesteckt: zur Bedeutung und Funktion aufgerhauter Oberflächen in der spätarchaischen und frühklassischen Plastik', *JdI* 111 (1996) 25-74; and T. Schäfer *et al.*, 'Marmor und Bronze: Materialluxus griechischer Plastik in spätarchaischer Zeit', *Antike Welt* 34 (2003) 575-84.

[27] Athens NM 6446: A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes* (Paris 1896) 290-292, figs 276-7; C. C. Mattusch, *Greek bronze statuary: from the beginnings through the fifth century BC* (Ithaca NY, 1988) 91-94; and Cohen 1991, 489.

[28] For the Riace Bronzes see L. Vlad Borrellli and P. Pelagatti (eds), *Due bronzi da Riace* (*Bollettino d'Arte, 3 Serie Speciale*; Rome 1984); and Cohen 1991, 481-84 (479 for more bibliography). For the helmeted heads of *strategoi* in general see D. Pandermalis, *Untersuchungen zu den klassischen Strategenköpfen* (Freiburg 1969); R. Krumeich, *Bildnisse griechischer Herrscher und Staatsmänner im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Munich 1997) 114-25 and 238-39; and C. Bol in Bol 2004, 98-100.

raking geison.[29] We may begin with the way that the figure's hair, especially at the back, has been carved. Here, the sculptor combined short wavy hair with, it would seem, a flattish roll of hair on the back of the neck. When the helmet came to be added to the figure in its final position in the pediment, it proved necessary to make it sit lower. As a result, a ledge was cut into the mass of hair at the back of the head, while over the forehead a flat patch was made in the hair mass on the top of the head and the hair cut away to accommodate the re-entrant triangular peak-like area in the centre, a form clearly seen on fifth-century helmets of both the so-called 'Chalcidian' and 'Attic' forms (*cf.* Fig. 17).[30] Furthermore, the area round the figure's right ear very much suggests that the lower contour of the helmet curved right round the ear (Fig. 18). Overall, the head of Figure D seems to be slightly smaller than one might have expected in relation to the body and his neck is rather long. The planes of his cheeks are also unexpectedly flat and the width of his face and head rather narrow. These may all have been features influenced by the intention of giving him a bronze helmet – ways of preventing the head from seeming too large in proportion to the rest of the body. The narrowness of the lower face and the flatness of the cheeks may also suggest that the helmet's cheek-pieces were down, rather than turned upwards.[31] Thus, the evidence seems to point to a helmet of 'Chalcidian' or 'Attic' type, rather than the Corinthian that was so popular in the sixth century BC, a type which would, in any case, probably have required more space than was available under the raking geison. The deliberate carving of the hair over the whole head despite the imminent addition of the bronze helmet must have had something to do with the fact that the sculptures were for the gods and had to be finished and painted everywhere, even at the back, and that to leave the god's hair uncarved because it was to be covered by a

[29] For useful photographs of a cast in position with the old Balanos restoration above: Brommer 1963, pls. 8, 2 and 26, 1; Korres and Bouras 1983, 301; see also 492-93 (drawings by M. Korres, 1980), and *cf.* 485. For the profile of the raking geison see Orlandos 1976-78, vol. III, 541, fig. 367.

[30] See A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and armour of the Greeks* (London 1967) 69-70; E. Kunze, 'Helme' in E. Kunze (ed.), *VIII. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in* Olympia (Berlin 1967) 135-83 (for re-entrant triangle foreheads *cf.* figs 52, 56, 59, 62-64 and 65, and pls. 73, 76, 87-88, 90, and *cf. prometopidion* pl. 96); H. Pflug, 'Chalkidische Helme', in A. Bottini *et al.*, *Antike Helme: Sammlung Lipperheide und andere Bestände des Antikenmuseums Berlin* (Mainz 1988) 137-50; for the form and dating see most recently H. Frielinghaus, *Die Helme von Olympia: Ein Beitrag zu Waffenweihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern* (*Olympische Furschungen* XXXIII; Berlin 2011) 54-62 (Chalcidian); *cf.* also 45-48 (Corinthian type with 'Stirngiebel'). For a fine example of the 'Chalcidian' type from a tomb in the Mikro Bay cemetery near the fort of Mikro Karaburun, Macedonia *cf.* London, GR 1919,1119.6 (here Fig. 17): E. A Gardner and S. Casson, 'Macedonia. II antiquities found in the British Museum Zone 1915-1919', *BSA* 23 (1918-19) 38-39, pls. 8, 2 and 9. The representation of a band of hair-like decoration over the forehead depicted on many of these bronze helmets is also to be seen on Athenian vases *cf. e.g.* Vienna 3710: Beazley ARV^2 380, 171; Simon 1981, pls. 146-47. For Corinthian helmets without crests see M. Weber, 'Die Korinthische Helm ohne Busch als Strategenhelm', *Thetis* 9 (2002) 51-60. The Parthenon frieze includes helmets of various types – including Corinthian and 'Attic' or 'Chalcidian'.

[31] For examples of helmets with cheek-pieces raised *cf.* Parthenon West frieze slab 6, figures 11 and 12: Brommer 1977, pls. 18-20.

Figure 17 Bronze helmet of 'Chalcidian' type from Karaburun
Figure 18 East Pediment, Figure D, detail of right ear and cheek

helmet would have amounted to disrespect, *asebeia*, of the god, and the citizen body which had to agree the expenditure.[32]

Two final pieces of evidence, although purely circumstantial, might also be adduced here. Firstly, Carrey's drawing of 1674 reveals that already at some moment before that date the raking geison block that once overlay Figure D's head had been prised off the building (Figs 1 and 3). The way that this damage falls directly over the head of the once helmeted Figure D is very suggestive of the activities of metal robbers, intent on getting at the large bronze helmet, and the dowel that held it in place – indeed, the degree of damage to the top of the head, especially the large crack, is no doubt indicative of the force required to remove it.[33] This may have been done as late as the time of the dismantlement of the centre of the pediment. Furthermore, the damage to the figure's left (outermost) ear and the clear line of deep scarring just in front of it similarly suggest the manner in which the metal robber might have first attempted to pry loose the helmet.

The positioning of this figure in the pediment clearly caused some difficulty, as did other figures in both this corner and in the opposite one. One particular issue was their

[32] *Cf.* perhaps the comments concerning Damophon's *theosebeia* in the decrees set up by various cities in his honour: most recently, V. Platt, 'Art history in the temple', *Arethusa* 43 (2010) 203-04.

[33] A completely modern block has now been placed over the cast of Figure D on the building to help protect it: R. Economakis (ed.), *Acropolis restoration: the CCAM interventions* (London 1994) 30, upper figure.

height as they were manoeuvred into position under the raking geison which must have already been in position (see below – 'Summary of Classical adjustments' pp. 58-59). In the case of Figure D the evidence comes from the cutting away of two areas of his seat – on the right side under his left elbow, so that he could be positioned as close to the next figure (E) as possible, and at the back in order that he might be pushed up close to the tympanon behind him (Figs 5 and 19). Every centimetre to the right and to the back gained additional height for the head and especially its helmet. The final position of the figure, after such adjustments and modifications, is revealed by the pry-hole in the pediment floor that lined up with the right hand side of the figure and, to a lesser extent by the weathering outline etched on the geison blocks.[34] When the helmet came to be fitted firmly in place, probably only when the sculpture was actually up on the pediment, rapid adjustments also had to be made to help it sit as low as possible, so it would fit under the raking geison, as already outlined above.

With the realisation that Figure D was originally equipped with a bronze helmet, presumably once gilded, and was thus the war god Ares, we may now consider the two other possible confirmatory clues: the feline skin on which he reclines and the small hole in the front of the ankle of his left leg. Feline skins appear on the seats of a wide variety of deities, not just Dionysos. For example, on an earlier red-figured cup in Berlin we see not only Dionysos seated on such a skin, but also Zeus, Poseidon and even Demeter.[35] As a result, it seems clear that the skin need not in this case have been intended as a precise iconographic indicator – indeed the omission of the head of the animal only reinforces such a conclusion.[36] Its presence may, however, have been connected more generally with the god's ferocious nature. As for the hole in the figure's left ankle (Fig. 20), it was explained by Adolf Michaelis as a fixing hole for a sceptre, lance or thyrsus; others have connected it with a metal sandal or even a huntsman's boot.[37] The hole is too far round to the front of the ankle to be connected with a shaft of a spear held in the right hand, while, although the idea of a bronze sandal of some sort might seem possible (hardly a boot!), it must remain unlikely since Carrey's drawing, in which the left foot is preserved, reveals no further signs of attachments and since no other figure throughout the Parthenon sculptures seems ever to have been equipped with bronze sandals. More recently it has been taken as a hole for fixing a decorative anklet or *periskelis*.[38] Given the martial character of the figure, however, it would seem more likely that the hole was for attaching a greave pad – the leather or fabric pads that were worn around the ankles to protect them from being chaffed

[34] See Sauer 1891, 68, with pl. III, 2; Carpenter 1933, 3-4, with pl. II; and *cf.* Despinis 1982, pl. 42, 1.

[35] Berlin 2278: Beazley *ARV*^{2} 21, 1; *CVA Berlin* 2, pls. 49-50.

[36] *Cf.* comments by *e.g.* Waldstein 1885, 142; and Harrison 1967, 44. For a recent discussion of claws and tail, see Pochmarski 1984, 280.

[37] Michaelis 1871, 173; A.S. Murray, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* (London 1903) 35; and Brommer 1963, 8. *Cf.* Palagia, 1993 19, with n. 20 on p. 31-32.

[38] Palagia 1993, 19. For the *periskelis* see B. Freyer, 'Zum Kultbild und zum Skulpturenschmuck des Arestempels auf der Agora in Athen', *JdI* 77 (1962) 225-26.

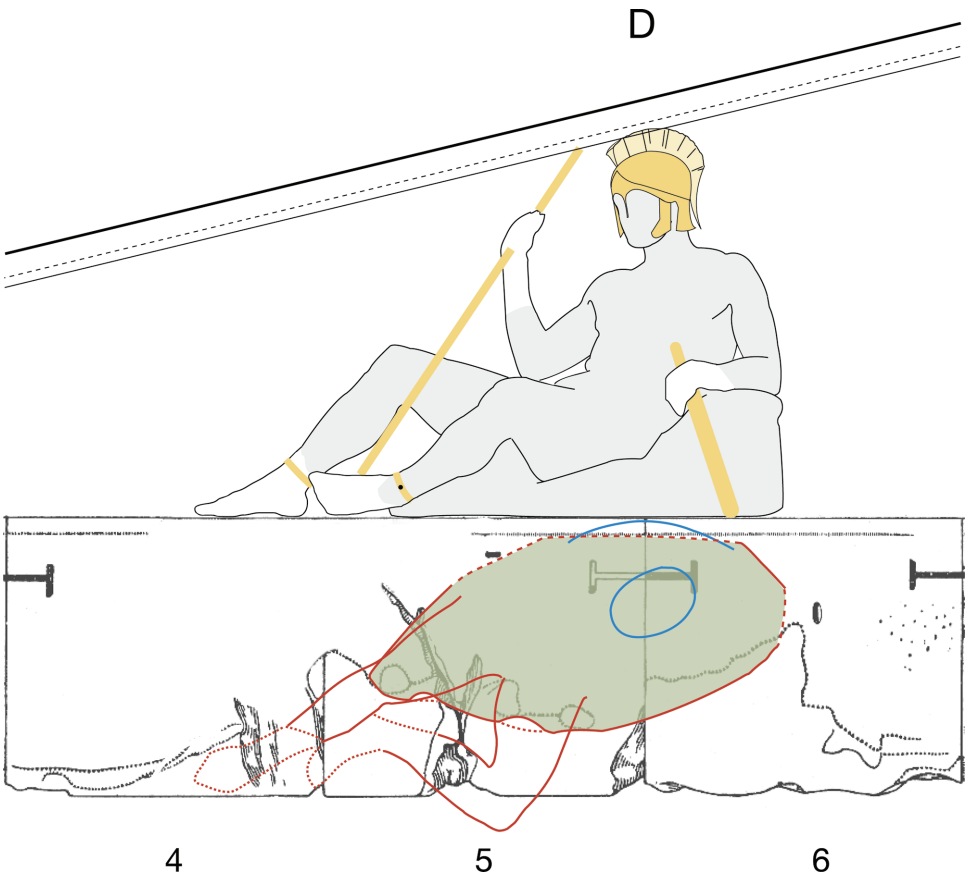

Figure 19 Reconstruction drawing of East Pediment Figure D (Ares), with geison blocks 4-6

Figure 20 East Pediment, Figure D, detail of left ankle

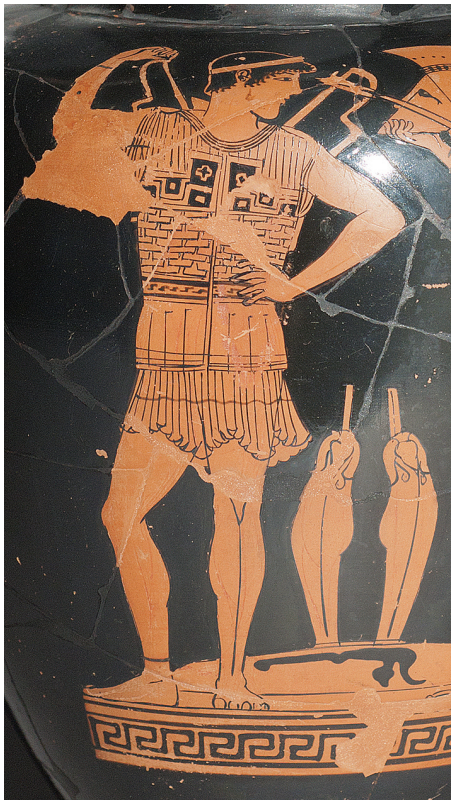

Figure 21 Athenian red-figured neck-amphora, detail of warrior arming

by the lower edge of the bronze greave (*cf.* Fig. 21).[39] The appearance of such an ankle pad on the statue in the Louvre commonly known as the Ares Borghese, even though it is there only shown on the right leg, offers an intriguing comparison with the Parthenon Ares.[40]

If we are correct in identifying Figure D as Ares, we might well expect him to be equipped with a spear, and examination of the figure's right forearm indicates that this is

[39] They are clearly shown on Greek vases below the greaves: *cf.* especially representations of warriors putting on their greaves: *e.g.* Brussels R 308 – Beazley *ARV*^{2} 362, 16 (here Fig. 21); Vatican – Beazley *ARV*^{2} 373, 48; Bloomington, Indiana 75.19.1 – E. R. Knauer, *A Red-figure Kylix by the Foundry Painter: Observations on a Greek realist* (Indiana University Art Museum, Occasional Paper, Bloomington, Indiana 1987) 5 fig. 5.

[40] For the Ares Borghese type (Louvre MA 866) see B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Glyptothek München: Katalog der Skulpturen. Band II: Klassischen Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Munich 1979) 178-87 (cataloguing the fine Munich head); P. Bruneau, 'L'Arès Borghèse' et l'Arès d'Alcamène', in L. Hadermann and G. Raepsaet (eds), *Rayonnement Grec: hommages à Charles Delvoye* (Brussels 1982) 177-99 (see 194-98 for a very useful discussion of the ankle-ring); K. J. Hartswick, 'The Ares Borghese Reconsidered', *RA* 1990, 227-83; E. B. Harrison, 'Athena at Pallene and in the Agora of Athens', in Barringer and Hurwit 2005, 119-31 (esp. 123-24); and A. Avagliano, 'L'Ares tipo Borghese: una rilettura', *AC* 62 (2011) 41-76.

quite possible, for the muscles are not tensed to carry any particular weight, but are rather relaxed. This would fit well with a hand loosely gripping the shaft of an angled spear (*cf.* Fig. 19). The bottom of the shaft probably passed between Ares' feet while the point disappeared behind his head – it was presumably all made of bronze and perhaps even formed in two sections to aid attachment, the joint being concealed by the figure's closed fist; it was probably painted brown for the shaft and gilded for the point.[41] There remains only the question as to the action of his left hand. This may have been empty and relaxed, but we need to bear in mind the possibility that Ares might have held his sword now sheathed in its scabbard.[42] The god was, it would seem, intended to be thought of as resting from battle, shield and greaves set to one side, in contrast to the East Frieze where he is unarmed in respect to the festive occasion.

An identification of Figure D as Ares was, in fact, first put forward by Charles Waldstein in 1885 but not repeated until it was more fully argued by Rhys Carpenter in 1960.[43] Carpenter's proposal, which he did not follow up with a close examination of the head of Figure D, was strangely ignored or dismissed by other scholars. In 1963 Brommer summarily noted the absence of animal skins in other representations of Ares, while Martin Robertson went so far as to write that "a recent suggestion that he might be Ares seems least likely of all".[44] With such an identification now more securely based on the detailed evidence of the head, however, we may make a number of further observations, both about the figure itself and about its role in the pediment, which add both weight to the identification and meaning to the design of the pediment.

From Ares to Aphrodite

First, we might note that the pedimental figure of Ares and the Ares of the East Frieze seem to complement each other in mood and pose. The isolation and introversion of both is clear. In the pediment there seems space, both physical and emotional, for the figure to 'unwind',

[41] On the painting of bronze, see H. Born, 'Patinated and painted bronzes: exotic technique or ancient tradition?', in M. True and J. Podany (eds) *Small bronze scultpure from the ancient world* (Malibu 1990) 179-96, esp. 189-92.

[42] J. Overbeck (see Michaelis 1871, 173) suggested that the right hand might have held a sword in its scabbard; *cf.* Sauer 1891, 58 and 82, also noted an area of bronze staining on the geison which he linked with the left hand, suggesting that it was not empty. There are no traces on the figure of fixing holes for the attachment of a baldric rendered in bronze. The fragment of a right hand, Acropolis 1214, sometimes associated with Figure D (Smith 1910, 23 no. 24, pl. 14a; Brommer 1963, 8; Fuchs 1967, 161), is unlikely to have belonged.

[43] Waldstein 1885, 144; R. Carpenter, *Greek sculpture: a critical review* (Chicago 1960) 137; and Carpenter 1962, 265-68. For the identification by Svoronos of the torso excavated by Ludwig Ross, Acropolis 880, as Ares see Palagia 1993, 25-26, figs 67-69.

[44] Brommer 1963, 149; and M. Robertson, 'The Sculptures of the Parthenon', in Hooker 1963, 51. Palagia 1993, 20 also notes Carpenter's identification, but asserts that the connection between the Ares of the East Frieze and the Ludovisi Ares militates against it. The current author, in fact, came to the identification independently, thinking first about the hole in the ankle being for a greave pad and then proceeding to examine the head, before looking at earlier literature.

but in the frieze the mood is more complex and the pressures of the moment perhaps imagined to be more invasive, causing the restless self-protectiveness that the pose suggests. The famous seated Ludovisi Ares seems somehow to draw from both Parthenonian representations of Ares, an observation that might encourage one to accept the identification of the figure as the god of war, rather than as part of a monument to an anonymous warrior.[45]

The isolation of Ares in the corner of the East Pediment, and the way he is turned away from the action in the centre, is easily explained, for ancient writers, from Homer onwards, record that he was the most despised of the Olympian gods. Indeed, Zeus is very specific in his condemnation in Homer's *Iliad* (v, 889-91), calling Ares two-faced and most hateful of all the gods because of his love of quarrels, war and fighting. He even goes so far as to actually forbid Ares from sitting anywhere near him. As a result of such hostility, one may presume, in the East Pediment Ares is seated as far away as possible, in the far left-hand corner.[46] A similar idea perhaps lies behind the way that Ares is also placed at the furthest margin of the gathering of the Olympians on the East Frieze of the earlier Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi.[47]

With such a placement, however, we find that he naturally balances the reclining female figure (Figure M) in the opposite corner (*cf.* Figs 1-2). This voluptuous woman, stretched out on a solid bench-like form that is covered with a cloak, her upper body in the lap of a second female (Figure L), is now regularly, and surely correctly, identified as Aphrodite (Figs 22-23).[48] We know of Aphrodite's love-affair with Ares from many sources, but the account given by the bard Demodokos in his second song in Homer's *Odyssey*, is particularly full.[49] Interestingly, it is revealed there that it was Helios who had first caught them in their adultery – an event which is perhaps evoked here by the way that the two male figures face each other in the corner of the pediment (for Helios, see below) (*cf.* Figs 1 and 29). Furthermore, in the narrative that precedes Zeus's condemnation of Ares in the *Iliad*, we see some of the gods deeply involved in the combat between the Greeks and the Trojans. Ares has been causing chaos and Athena has led him to one side and "made him sit down on the sandy bank of the Skamandros".[50] Later, Aphrodite, after saving her son Aineias, is wounded in the wrist by Diomedes and led away by Iris who takes her to Ares, in order to request the loan of his horses to return to Olympos. There she flings herself upon the knees of her mother Dione and is clasped in her mother's arms.[51]

[45] On the Ares Ludovisi see B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I: The Styles of ca. 331-200 B.C.* (Bristol 1990) 84-7 (bibliography 103, n. 22). Cf also the Ares Borghese, above n. 47.

[46] For a persuasive reading of the figure's hostility in the East Frieze see Nicgorski 2004, 300-01.

[47] For the Siphnian Treasury see C. Picard and P. De la Coste-Messelière, *Sculptures Grecques de Delphes* (Paris 1927) pl. 11-12, 1.

[48] Figure M: Brommer 1963, pls. 48-49. For earlier identifications see Brommer 1963, 155-56 and 181 (fold-out page); Palagia 1993, 22-23; Mostratos 2004, 118; and Fehr 2004, 128-36 (arguing unconvincingly that Figures L and M should be Demeter and Persephone).

[49] Homer, *Odyssey* viii, 266-366. See B. K. Braswell, 'The Song of Ares and Aphrodite: theme and relevance to Odyssey 8', *Hermes* 110 (1982) 129-37.

[50] Homer, *Iliad* v, 35-36.

[51] For this sequence see Homer, *Iliad* v, 335-40, 353-56 and 370-72.

Figure 22 East Pediment, Figures L and M, front view

Figure 23 East Pediment, Figures L and M, back view

This sequence of events matches what we seem to see in the pediment to quite a remarkable degree. Indeed, the smooth-edged and undulating quality of Ares' low seat is much more like a river bank than the crags of Mt. Olympos, while the way his legs project beyond it is rather puzzling until one realises that he is to be thought of as having his feet in shallow water and not on dry land (the way they overlap with the horses of Helios

K L M

Figure 24 Detail of Figures K and L-M from drawing of East Pediment, attributed to Jacques Carrey, *c.* 1674

rising from the water – see below – reinforces this).[52] He is cooling off after the rage of battle, shield and greaves discarded, like some mettlesome steed freed from his harness. Aphrodite, wearing a *chiton* that slips seductively off her right shoulder, a *himation* wrapped round her legs and richly adorned with bracelet and necklace, both no doubt of gilded bronze,[53] is shown collapsed in Dione's lap and against her knees, relaxed and languid, safe now in a mother's encircling and protective embrace, gazing out to the right, away from all the other figures (her head was drawn by Carrey: Fig. 24). That she is a "blood relation" and thus Dione, and not Artemis or even Themis, is clear from the way the two figures are carved from one block (as with Demeter and Persephone – see below) and their sheer intimacy.[54]

[52] For a similar transition from water to land *cf.* West Pediment Figure A (Brommer 1963, pl. 81) and East Metope 14 (Schwab 2009, 79).

[53] Aphrodite's necklace was suspended from holes on either side of her neck; the central pendant was fixed by means of a hole at the 'V' in her neckline. An attachment hole for a bracelet is preserved on her right forearm (presumably of serpentine form). *Cf.* the *Homeric hymns to Aphrodite* (5), 87-90 and 163, and (6), 7-11.

[54] For earlier identifications see Brommer 1963, 181 (fold-out page); Palagia 1993, 22 (Artemis); Mostratos 2004, 118-19; and Fehr 2004, 128-36 (Demeter). Harrison's identification of Figure L as Themis has not met with much support in recent years: E. B. Harrison, 'The shoulder-cord of Themis', in *Festschrift für F. Brommer* (Mainz 1977) 155-61. The narrative given here especially helps to rebut earlier identifications of Figure L; already identified as Dione by Carpenter 1962, 267-68; and E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (Munich 1969) fig. 246. For the precise positioning of this group on the pediment floor see below.

Dione's right arm was bent up, as Carrey's drawing reveals (Fig. 24), probably to hold the edge of her own *himation* over her shoulder as a protective curtain rather than out of coquettishness. Her *chiton* is held in place with a cord, as a deliberate contrast to Aphrodite's décolletage, while it has recently been discovered that the section of her *himation* that envelops her knees was once painted with lines and a curved motif, all in Egyptian blue, suggesting the richly decorated drapery that reappears on Athenian red-figured vases from about 420 BC.[55] Her solid seat is slightly higher than her daughter's, a subtle adjustment that gives her a little more height under the raking geison. Her sandal-shod feet are drawn back as she endeavours to support her daughter, who is in reality almost rolling sideways off her bench – the cloak or rug that covers its back has also revealed traces of Egyptian blue .[56] On Aphrodite's thigh, just above the knee, is a mound of folds. It is not entirely clear whether they represent one corner of her *himation* or perhaps even a separate small, scarf-like textile wrapped round her wrist (Figs 25-26).[57] These folds, however, offer another puzzle or clue, for there is also a large, horizontal hole that goes right through the "fabric" – it is too large for the attachment of some bronze addition and has no clearly defined edge but is properly smoothed and finished all around.[58] As a result, it is very tempting to see it as an allusion to the goddess's wounding by Diomedes, son of Tydeus, however invisible from the ground, for Homer records how his spear passed through her garment and cut her flesh above the wrist.[59]

The theme of the Trojan War that may thus be playing a role as one of the underlying determinants for the positions and poses of the figures of Ares, Aphrodite and her mother in the East Pediment is, of course, the subject of the series of metopes that decorates the north side of the building, past which all visitors, and the Panthenaic procession, no doubt trouped. Beneath the East Pediment itself it is clear, despite their wretched condition, that the metopes showed the fight between the gods and the giants, thus repeating the scenes that were woven into the ritual *peplos* that was given to Athena on her birthday and reinforcing

[55] Discovered by Giovanni Verri using a technique now generally referred to as Visually Induced Luminescence: see the short film on the British Museum website (and a temporary display in the introductory rooms to the Parthenon Gallery in the British Museum): http://www.britishmuseum.org/about_this_site/audio_and_video/conservation_and_science/egyptian_blue.aspx . For late fifth-century rich drapery *cf. e.g.* vases by the Eretria Painter and his circle and followers, including the Meidias Painter: A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Eretria-Maler* (Mainz 1988) nos. 215 (pl. 137), 219 (pl. 141, d), 239 (pls. 151 and 154-5), 257 (pl. 169) and 225 (pl. 195, d).

[56] Verri examined the back of Figure M at my request and discovered a line of Egyptian blue running parallel to the selvedge in the manner regularly seen on Athenian red-figure vases (unpublished).

[57] Michaelis 1871, 177, had assumed she was simply holding the drapery on her leg.

[58] Sauer 1891, 83: he noticed the hole but thought something was passed loosely through. H. Thiersch, 'Ein parthenonisches Giebelsproblem', *Sitzungsbericht der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1913, 4, 18-20, with fig. 3, and 46-47 with fig. 14, shows it either as having held a mirror handle or a spindle; *cf.* Fuchs 1969, 313 (mirror). The hole, however, is horizontal and was clearly not intended to hold a metal attachment or even take a larger metal object like the headstalls of the pedimental horses.

[59] Homer, *Iliad* v, 337-39.

Figure 25 East Pediment Figure M, Aphrodite, detail of drapery over leg, showing the hole

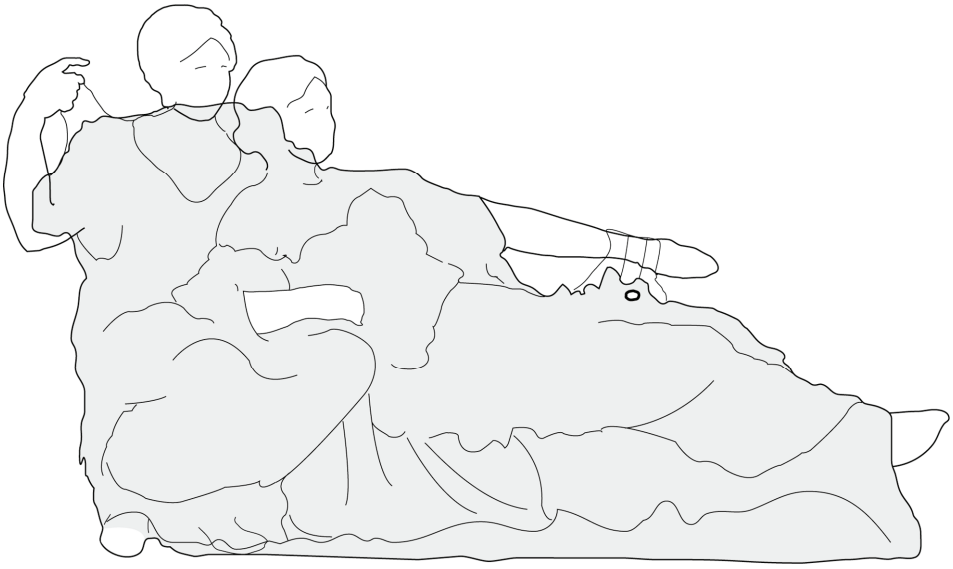

Figure 26 Reconstruction drawing of East Pediment, Figures L-M, Dione and Aphrodite

the idea that the East front, and so the whole temple, was in some sense a birthday present for the goddess.[60] Camillo Praschniker fittingly, if unwittingly, identified the metope directly below our Ares (East Metope 3) as the god of war in combat, and one of the metopes beneath the pedimental figure of Aphrodite (East Metope 12) as Aphrodite similarly engaged.[61] Finally, one might note that, whereas Archaic and early Classical representations of Ares and Aphrodite present them simply as an Olympian pair, by the late fifth century there has been a change and the focus is rather more on their erotic connection.[62] The East Pediment of the Parthenon can now be seen as the earliest example of this shift and perhaps even instrumental in it.

The corner figures

In the furthest left-hand corner of the pediment, beyond Ares, is the remarkably occluded and abbreviated group of Helios and his four-horse chariot bursting up through the waters of Ocean (Figs 27-28). The upward thrust of the group is made clear by the lowness of Helios' head and shoulders and the higher level of his horses' heads. The composition, arranged in profile for the viewer, with the body of Helios, all of his chariot and most of the horses' bodies out of sight under the waves, is very daring and seems to become particularly popular in the last decades of the fifth century, perhaps even under the influence of the scene in the Parthenon pediment.[63] The group was put together from three separate blocks: Helios' head and shoulders and his arms extended out of the water which is represented by shallow waves (Figure A); the outer pair of horses (right trace and pole horses: Figure B); and the inner horses' heads (left trace and pole horses: Figure C, in Athens).[64]

[60] For the East Metopes: Praschniker 1928, 225-35; Brommer 1967, 22-38 and 198-209; Tiverios 1982, 227-29; Berger 1986, 55-76; K. A. Schwab, 'Parthenon East Metope XI: Herakles and the Gigantomachy', AJA 100 (1996) 81-90; K. A. Schwab, 'The Parthenon East Metopes, the Gigantomachy, and digital technology', in M. Cosmopoulos (ed.), *The Parthenon and its sculptures* (Cambridge 2004) 150-65; and K. A. Schwab, 'The Metopes', in Neils 2005, 168-73.

[61] Praschniker 1928, 152-55 and 194-95 (East 3), and 173-75 and 213-15 (East 12).

[62] *Cf.* I. Beck, *Ares in Vasenmalerei, Relief und Rundplastik* (Frankfurt 1985) 117 fn. 425.

[63] *E.g.* the elaborate krater, Vienna IV 1771: Beazley *ARV*^{2} 1318 top; Erhardt 2004, 31 fig. 22a; Kratzmuller 2009, 109, fig. 4. *Cf.* also the pyxis lids, London 1873.9-15.14 (E 776; Erhardt 2004, 15 fig. 7), London 1920.12-21.1 (Beazley *ARV*^{2} 1282, 1; Erhardt 2004, 15 fig. 8; Kratzmuller 2009, 110 fig. 5), and Berlin F 2519 (Erhardt 2004, 16 fig. 9), Athens 17983 (Erhardt 2004, 19 fig. 11); and the great fragmentary calyx-krater, Naples 2883 (Beazley *ARV*^{2} 138, middle; Simon 1981, pl. 232).

[64] Figures A, B and C: Brommer 1963, pls. 21-25; Palagia 1993, figs 24-25 and 28-30; and Choremi-Spetsieri 2004, 121, fig. 86 (horses C). F. Brommer, 'Studien zu den Parthenongiebeln I', *AM* 69/70 (1954/5) 65-66, Beil. 29, suggests that two Acropolis fragments belong to the horses. The association of the head fragment, Acropolis 2381, with Helios, first suggested by J. Marcadé, 'Deux fragments méconnus de l'Hélios du fronton est du Parthénon', *BCH* 80 (1956) 161-82, pls. 4-5, is now generally refuted, see Palagia 1993, 23-24. In the British Museum the block with the horses' heads (B) should be brought to the front edge of the plinth, thus making Helios's neck central between the pairs of horses – a placement that is made clear from the traces of weathering on geison block 2 (see Sauer 1891, pl. III, 2; and Carpenter 1933, pl. II); *cf.* Brommer 1963, pl. 8, 1.

Figure 27 East Pediment, Figure A, Helios

Figure 28 East Pediment, Figure B

The scale of what remains of Helios' neck and arms suggests that his head must have been quite large. As a result, this block was positioned slightly further in towards the centre of the pediment than the corresponding placement of the horses' heads in the other corner.[65] The edge of the outer slab with horses' heads that once abutted Helios' slab is now broken

[65] *Cf.* Brommer 1963, pl. 7. Geison block 2 later moved considerably out of its original position in an easterly direction, breaking the clamp causing Figure A to rotate slightly: see most clearly Carpenter 1933, pl. II (his no. 1).

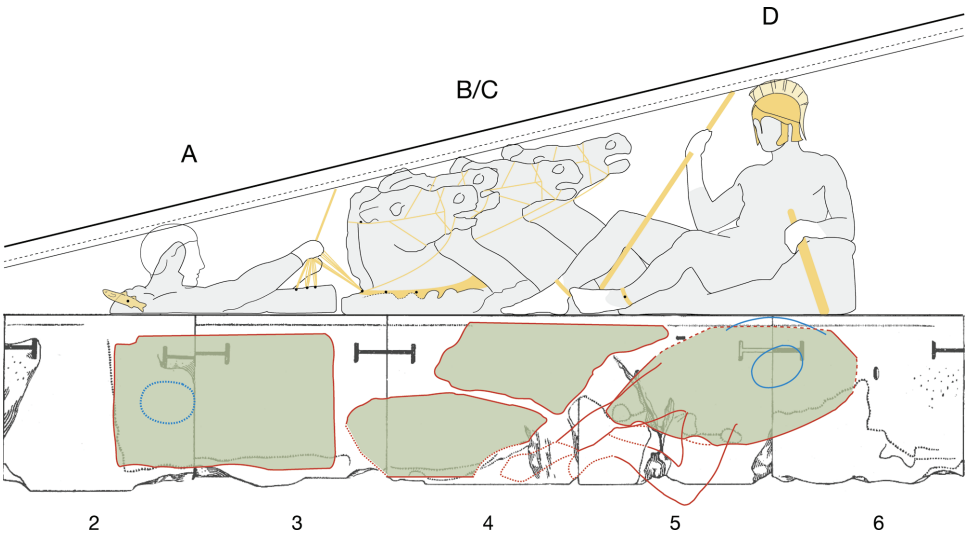

Figure 29 Reconstruction drawing of East Pediment, Figures A, B, C and D, Helios and Ares, with geison blocks 2-6

and there is also a slight difference in the height of the waves between the two parts, which led Brian Cook to suggest that the underside of the block with the two horses heads was also slightly trimmed to help with a problem over the height of the horses' heads.[66] It was clearly realised that the unplanned positioning of Helios and his team was likely to have a knock-on effect for all the figures in this side of the pediment. As a result of the potential to overlap Ares' legs even more than planned, it was decided to immediately cut away a large angled section from the front of the plinths of both pairs of horses (*cf.* Fig. 29).[67] It seems likely that it was in connection with the manoeuvring of the figure of Ares into this difficult space (or the carrying out of these hasty modifications themselves) that his right foot was broken off and thus had to be repaired. Finally, the inner cheeks of both pole horses were cut back to help them fit together closely enough to sit cheek by jowl in the pediment.[68]

It is clear that the reins of Helios' horses, two pairs in each hand, were added in copper or bronze, for two attachment holes are preserved among the waves under the right arm – two of these must be for the two pairs of reins, while a third closer under the forearm probably took the end of the god's goad (*cf.* Fig. 29).[69] In addition, there are a further two

[66] B. F. Cook, 'The Parthenon, East Pediment A-C', *BSA* 88 (1993) 183-85. This would have proved a difficult operation up on the pediment floor, so we may prefer to think that something has been cut away between A and B.

[67] *Cf.* Brommer 1963, pls. 8 and 23; and Palagia 1993, pl. 30. A pry mark on geison block 5 (Sauer 1891, 68 with pl. III, 2; Carpenter 1933, pl. II – their no. 4) shows how far to the north part of the original front of the horses' plinth (C) projected (it was wrongly connected with Figure D by Sauer).

[68] See Brommer 1963, pls. 24, 1 and 25, 1; Palagia 1993, figs 28 and 30.

[69] *Cf.* Fuchs 1967, 161. For the left hand regularly often associated with Helios, Acropolis 1215, see J. Marcadé, *BCH* 80 (1956) 179-82, figs 12 and 12 bis, pl. 5; Despinis 1982, 20 with pl. 21, 2; and Palagia 1993, 18 and figs 26-27. Its scale and pose, with veins showing, mean that it cannot belong

small attachment holes at the tops of the waves outlined on the neck of the nearest (right) trace horse's head (Fig. 28).[70] These holes can have no connection with the reins and must have held in place a decorated bronze breast-band around the horse's lower neck and shoulder (*cf.* Fig. 29). A further hole, amid the waves in between the heads of the trace and pole horses, out of view, probably held a ring that was imagined as being fixed to the (invisible) yoke over the back of the neck of the pole horse and through which the reins passed on their way to Helios' hands – as a result of the severe shortening of the distance between the god and his steeds, these reins and their angle down from the hands to the waves and then back up to the horses' heads must have risked looking rather unconvincing.[71] Larger holes are preserved in the horses' heads for bronze bit and headstall.

One last small and puzzling attachment hole may be found in the vertical front edge of the left corner of Helios' block, beyond his neck and shoulders (*cf.* Fig. 27). Since some sort of elaborate crown of rays on the god's head can hardly be brought into relation with such a hole, it is best to imagine that it supported a small independent object. This may well have been a leaping bronze fish, frightened by the sudden appearance of Helios and his chariot (*cf.* Fig. 29), much as we see fishes carved in relief against his chariot box in East Metope 14.[72] Finally, it has recently been shown that the waves were not only indicated in shallow relief, both on the horizontal surface around Helios and his outstretched arms and on the neck of the outermost horse, but were also once painted with Egyptian blue.[73] These are, then, the "*kumasi porphureoisi*" of the *Homeric hymn to Athena*.[74]

From the opposite corner of the pediment come the remains of a female charioteer (Figure N, in Athens, Fig. 35) and her four-horse team (Figures O, Figs 30-32, in London; and P *a* and *b*, in Athens).[75] The best preserved horse's head, that of the right hand pole horse (Figure O), has a series of eleven small holes along the top edge of its mane, which were surely for a series of decorative tufts done in gilded or painted bronze, crowning the

to Helios (or, on grounds of scale, to Ares); its addition to the display in the new Acropolis Museum is not convincing.

[70] Noted by Fuchs 1967, 161, who seems to think of them as holding additions to the waves. Palagia 1993, 19 repeats the observation.

[71] The need to adjust the positioning and lengths of Figures A and B/C presumably worsened the situation.

[72] See Brommer 1963, 38 and pl. 79, 2; Choremi-Spetsieri 2004, 100, fig. 63 a (detail); Schwab 2009, 79 and 85 with figs 7.2-4. The duck in the left corner of the metope seems less concerned by the god's sudden appearance.

[73] *Cf.* above n. 55.

[74] *Homeric hymn to Athena* (26), 12.

[75] Torso of charioteer (Figure N: excavated to the east of the Parthenon in 1840 and undoubtedly part of the lost charioteer from the north wing of the pediment), Acropolis 881: Brommer 1963, 22-23, pls. 52-55; Palagia 1993, 22-23, figs 47-48; Choremi-Spetsieri 2004, 130, fig. 94. Outer trace horse: Acropolis 827a and 3671 frr. – Brommer 1963, pl. 62; Palagia 1993, figs 49-50. Outer pole horse (Figure O): British Museum – Brommer 1963, 56-57 and 60; Palagia 1993, figs 51-53. Inner pole horse and trace horse (P *a* and *b*): Brommer 1963, pl. 61; Palagia 1993, figs 54-55.

Figure 30 East Pediment, Figure O

Figure 31 East Pediment, Figure O, inner view

Figure 32 East Pediment, Figure O, angled views

careful, two-tier representation of the mane, rather than to hold any sort of repair (Fig. 32, left).[76] In addition, a clump of mane was gathered as a top-knot and, despite the fact that part of this had to be cut away as a result of the placing of the head under the edge of the raking geison, the hole which presumably held a bronze spray of hairs is preserved (Fig. 31). This bronze topped top-knot would have matched the bronze tufts down the line of the mane.[77] Such elaborate decoration of the mane, which incidentally suggests that the horse's head was really to be seen almost in its entirety and was never much obscured by the adjacent trace horse's head, was continued in the harness, for the hole in the nose indicates a decoration of the noseband that is not found on Helios' team (or perhaps the horses from the West pediment).[78] Sauer also recorded an area of bronze or copper staining on the pediment floor, presumably from the bronze harnesses and reins, in the neighbourhood of the two innermost horses, which were in his day still in the pediment. Sadly, their precise ancient

[76] Repair, Palagia 1993, 23. The eleventh hole is only recognisable from the trace of its end in the broken lowermost section of the mane: not really visible in Brommer 1963, pl. 60, 2. The date of this damage is uncertain – it might even date back to antiquity.

[77] *Cf.* Brommer 1963, pl. 60, 3. Top-knots were occasionally decorated, *cf.* on Kleitias' and Ergotimos' great krater, the François vase, Florence 4209: Beazley ABV 76, 1; G. Maetzke *et al.*, *Materiali per servire all storia del Vaso François* (Bollettino d'Arte, serie special 1; Rome 1981) pls. 75-76, 79, 81, and 131 (where they seem to distinguish the pole horses). The decoration of the rest of the mane is very rarely shown, but *cf.* perhaps Himera 5503: N. Stampolidis and Y. Tassoulas, *Magna Graecia: athletics and the olympic spirit on the periphery of the Hellenic world* (Athens 2004) no. 154.

[78] *Cf.* Brommer 1963, pl. 60, 3-4.

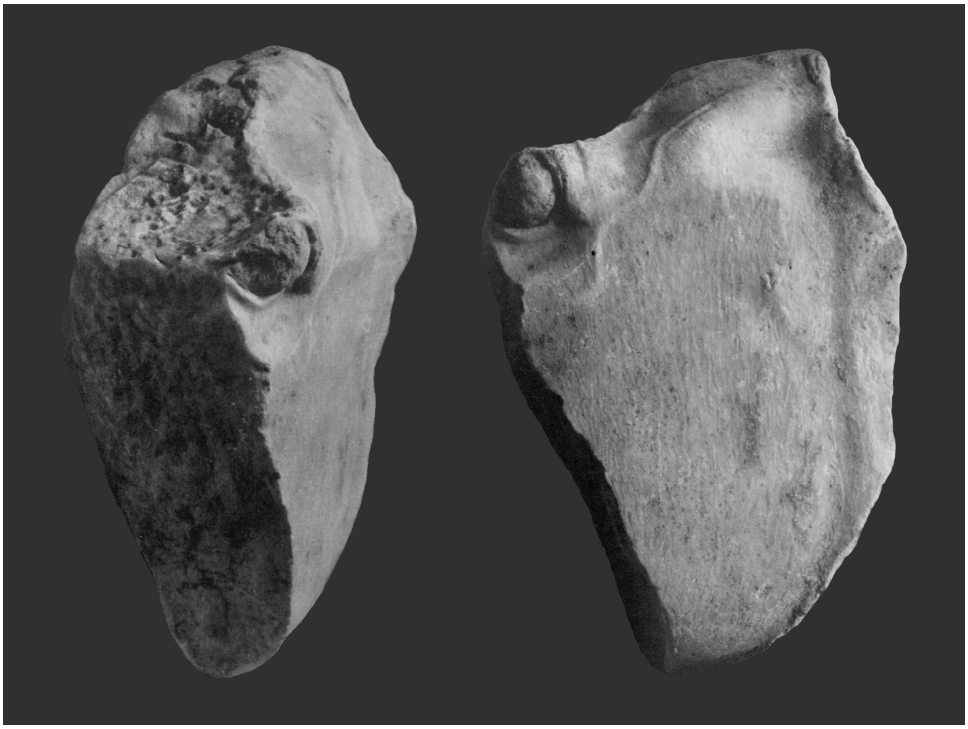

Figure 33 Fragment associated with East Pediment, Figures O/P

positions cannot be determined with any accuracy, as the collapse of the raking geison disturbed the northernmost, while the other may well have been displaced by Lord Elgin's men when removing the best preserved head (Figure O).[79]

It is clear from the extremely careful finish to the cutting away of the lower jaw of the outer pole horse's head (in London), to accommodate the horizontal geison (Fig. 32, right), that the manner in which the head breaks the illusion of the pedimental floor was exactly planned and executed.[80] The cutting in the top of the head, however, which was made to fit the raking geison, is much rougher and was clearly unplanned. The cutting between and below the eyes on the fragment of a horse's head in Athens that was associated by Frank Brommer with the outer trace horse of this group is of a very similar nature (Fig. 33).[81] Its location suggests that the head was actually both raised and slightly turned out towards the

[79] Sauer 1891, 71, no. 25. The heads were also removed sometime between the 1930s and the 1950s and replaced, *cf.* above p. 4 n.6.

[80] The horse's head in the British Museum is not currently positioned at the correct angle: it should be twisted so that the cuttings in the jaw and the top of the head are parallel with the edge of the plinth (and thus also with the drip marks that cross the horse's face).

[81] Acropolis 827a: Brommer 1963, 26 and 83 no. 184, pl. 62, 1-2. Brommer 1963, 26 and 101 no. 7, pl. 62, 3, also associated a second fragment, Acropolis 3671.

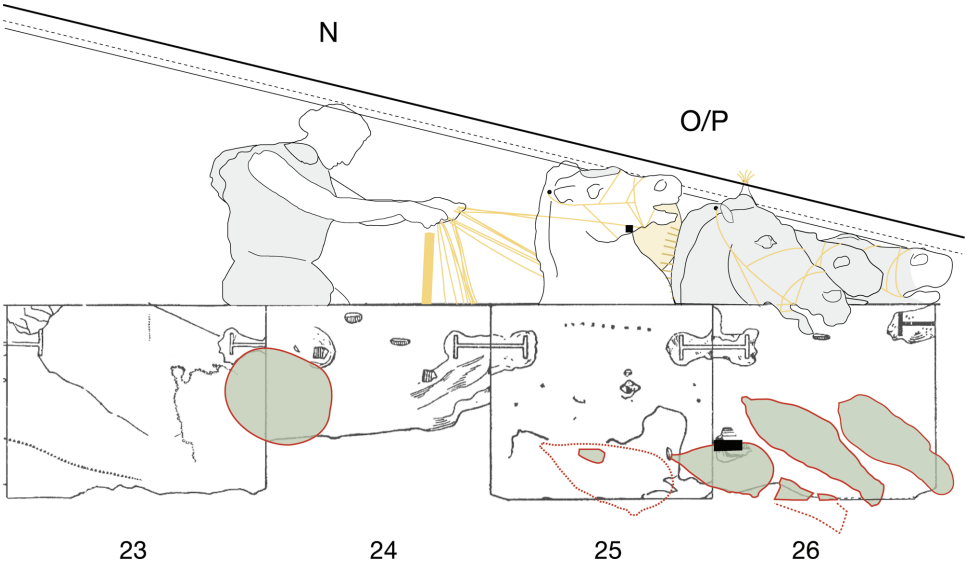

Figure 34 Reconstruction drawing of East Pediment, Figures N, O/P

viewer (*cf.* Fig. 34).[82] The roughness of these cuttings in the tops of the heads indicates that they were emergency actions as the sculptures were fitted into the pediment.

The dowel cut ready under the British Museum's head (Figure O) to fix it to the geison was never used, perhaps because it was realised that it would have involved cutting a hole too close both to the joint between two horizontal geison blocks and to the front edge of the geison. In addition, it must have been felt that the positioning of the outer right trace horse would sufficiently help to keep it in place.[83] The other two remaining heads, with their very low centres of gravity, never seem to have been fixed to the floor: the only guide to their positioning is Sauer's drawing, but this is unreliable as a result of earlier dislocations.[84] In 1891, Sauer also noted five small attachment holes in geison block 25, as well as traces of bronze or copper staining noted above.[85] These are best matched by those in the waves around Helios in the other corner. Here, as there, it seems most likely that such holes were connected with the fixing of the ends of reins and the charioteer's stick, although the deeper one (out of sight) probably held the top of the yoke pole (*cf.* Fig. 34). A further dowel hole towards the right of geison block 24 suggests that this space may well have

[82] Reconstructions employing an out-turned head for the trace horse: Beyer 1974, Beil. 4; Berger 1977, 134 with folding pl. II; Jeppesen 1984, 272 fig. 5. None of them, however, allow for the fact that the head must have been rearing.

[83] For the dowel, Palagia 1993, 23 with fig. 53. The bracket cut into the far side of the horse's head (for a reconstruction of it, see Beyer 1974, 128 and fig. 7) seems to be later, see *Part II*. The exact position of the head of the outer, right trace horse is extremely difficult to determine.

[84] Sauer 1891, pl. III, 2.

[85] Sauer 1891, 71 with pl. III, 2 (his no. 24).

Figure 35 East Pediment, Figure N

been filled by the front part of a bronze chariot rail, required here as so much more of the charioteer is visible, in contrast to Helios in the other corner.[86] The consequence of all these bronze details is that there can have been no carved block of waves, as around Helios' shoulders and between him and his horses.[87]

The torso of the charioteer was probably set towards the back of the pediment, close to the *tympanon*, so that the whole group was slightly angled across the pediment floor, giving depth to the composition and foreshortening the distance between the charioteer and the horses' heads (*cf.* Fig. 34). This female charioteer wore a *peplos* girded at the waist with a cord-like belt that had a bronze fastening at the front and bronze brooches or pins at her shoulders (Fig. 35). She also had cords crossing her breasts, and round behind her back, but at the back her speed has caused the section of her garment above to fill with air and billow out behind her. Her exact position, however, cannot now be recovered, as Christina Vlassopoulou has kindly informed me that there is no cutting under the figure for a dowel, although the need for there to be enough space for her head to fit under the raking geison means that she should have been placed well to the left of geison block 24

[86] See Sauer 71 and pl. III, 2; and Carpenter 1933, pl. II (their no. 23). For the chariot rail *cf.* the scenes on vases listed in n. 63, especially Berlin F 2519: Erhardt 2004, 16 fig. 9.

[87] The presence of waves has been conjectured by Palagia 1993, 23 with fig. 22; followed by Mostratos fig. 5.22. Other scholars have rightly been more circumspect, *cf.* G. B. Waywell, 'The treatment of landscape elements in the sculptures of the Parthenon', in *Parthenon-Kongress* 1984, 312-16; Davison and Waywell 2009, 607.

and probably projecting over block 23 (*cf.* Fig. 34). Furthermore, as now preserved, the lower edge of the torso almost seems to have been deliberately trimmed in places. Part of this may have been done in the Classical period when Figures L/M were manoeuvred into place; but it is also possible that it was trimmed rather later, in the Roman period or perhaps even in the Ottoman period, after it had fallen from the pediment, for reuse in the wall or foundations of a house at the east end of the Parthenon.

The charioteer from this right-hand corner is normally described as Selene, the moon goddess, her chariot sinking into the Ocean, but the possibility that she is rather Nyx, the goddess of the Night, has recently been re-emphasized by Bettina Kratzmuller, who has argued, as have others before, that by the middle of the fifth century Selene was regularly depicted riding side-saddle on a horse, whereas it was Nyx who drove a chariot across the skies (Fig. 36).[88] Thus, the pair of Helios and Nyx would fix the moment of the action of the pediment, the birth of Athena, simply and clearly at dawn. Individually, however, they both interact subtly with their neighbouring figures, for Helios saw Ares with Aphrodite and brought their affair into the daylight, while Aphrodite, the goddess of the affairs of the night, was similarly revealed once the cover of darkness was lifted. One last feature might be significant and that is the dowel hole noted by Sauer in the tympanon over geison block 25.[89] This would seem to be too far from the first horse's head to have ever taken any sort of supporting bracket. Perhaps it secured instead a gilded bronze disc or sickle, thus representing the moon and indicating the presence of Selene, still visible between the horses' heads as Nyx's team plunged into Ocean, a counterpart to the apparent addition of a sun disk in the metope below.[90]

The contrast between Helios' energetic, straining horses, rising up, ready to cross the heavens so that their master may bring daylight to all, and Nyx's team with their heads lower, exhausted after their long dark journey, is often made.[91] It is interesting to note that such a contrast is also inherent in the figures of the gods, with Nyx being more visible, her head bent downwards, matching the way that her horses are disappearing from view, the group angled downwards in contrast to Helios' powerful upward thrust through the waves. Finally, the decorative effect of the two teams is also counterpointed, with Nyx's being the more highly ornamented in terms of mane and bridle, but without any trace of the breast-bands of Helios' team, as they were already out of sight.

[88] Kratzmuller 2009, 108-15. For earlier identifications of the figure see Brommer 1963, 156-57 and 181 (fold-out page); Palagia 1993, 22-23 (does not consider an alternative to Selene). For other recent discussions arguing for Nyx rather than Selene see Berger 1974, 13; Jeppesen 1984, 275; E. Simon in *LIMC* ii *sv* Astra, no. 65; and Simon 1986, 75, with fn. 54. Selene is, of course, shown riding side-saddle on North Metope 29: Brommer 1967, pls. 123-26.

[89] Sauer 1891, pl. III (his geison no. 24).

[90] *Cf. e.g.* Berlin F 2519 (Erhardt 2005, 16 fig. 9) or Athens 17983 (Erhardt 2005, 19 fig. 11). For East Metope 14 see Schwab 2009, 84 with fig. 7.9; see also Berger 1986, 71-76. The row of depressions on geison block 25 might well be related.

[91] *Cf.* Brommer 1963, 7; quotes Goethe's description of Figure O on p. 24.

Figure 36 Athenian red-figure pyxis lid, Helios and Nyx in chariots and Selene on horseback

Figures E, F and G

To turn once again to the figures from the southern wing of the East Pediment, the two women to the right of Ares are carved from a single block of marble (Figs 37-38), one has her arm on the other's shoulder and both are seated on wooden chests (*larnakes*), which are set at right-angles to each other (the chest under Figure E is frontal with the tubular hinge at the back; that under F is placed sideways, the hinge on the left).[92] Both

[92] Figures E and F: Brommer 1963, pls. 34-37. For identifications see Brommer 1963, 181 (fold-out page); Palagia 1993, 20; Mostratos 2004, 115; Fehr 2004, 142 (Artemis and Leto). For the arrangement of the chests *cf.* Smith 1910, 10 fig. 17. The positioning of the group in the BM is not quite right – the edge of Figure E's chest needs to be parallel to the cutting on the side of D, which would bring Figure E slightly closer to the front edge of the plinth, and drop F's left arm back slightly. The date at which part of the knees of Figure F broke away from the rest of the figure is unknown, but it has never been repaired and so may have happened during transfers within the British Museum – possibly during the removal to safekeeping in the London Underground system.

Figure 37 East Pediment, Figures E and F, front

chests have folded textiles on top, but under Figure F is a second layer in the form of what seems to be a thicker, loosely folded garment or blanket, perhaps itself topped by a thin animal skin.[93] The poses of the figures and the fact that they are carved from one and the same block of marble surely indicate that they are to be thought of as being closely related, so that the traditional identification as Demeter and Kore or Persephone, mother and daughter, seems completely convincing. The chests may not be of the circular form often associated with the Eleusinian Mysteries, but such rectangular chests were used in religious contexts, as well as secular ones. They could clearly hold more equipment and, being wooden rather than wicker-work, made safer seats – indeed, on an early fourth-century Athenian squat lekythos with relief decoration Demeter is shown seated on just such a

[93] For the increase in height *cf.* Figure L in comparison to Figure M (Dione and Aphrodite), see above. Skin or leather rug: B. Ashmole, *A Short Guide to the Sculptures of the* Parthenon (London 1949) 32 (repeated in successive editions).

Figure 38 East Pediment, Figures E and F, back

larnax, complete with a folded textile on top (Fig. 39).[94] Furthermore, one might wonder if the use of *larnakes*, instead of circular *kistoi*, might perhaps have been intended to signify the Athenian Eleusinion rather than the sanctuary at Eleusis itself, and to have been imagined as holding all the equipment (including the wicker *kistoi*) kept there for the procession to Eleusis. The thicker textile on top of one *larnax* (that of Figure F) might well be a *peplos*, a garment that occurs in Orphic versions of the story of Demeter even in the

[94] Athens NM 2174: E. A. Zervoudaki, 'Attische polychrome Reliefkeramik', *AM* 83, 1968, 17 no. 12, pl. 10, 1-3; *LIMC* iv Demeter no. 393, pl. 591 (L. Beschi). The *larnax* is square and has small feet (?animal paws); on top is a folded textile; Demeter has a sceptre. On *larnakes* and *kistai* see I. Krauskopf in *ThesCRA* V, 264 and 274-75; see also G. M. A. Richter, *The furniture of the Greeks Etruscans and Romans* (London 1966) 74-75. For a survey of seats on which Demeter sits see Metzger 1965, 33-48; and see the comments in E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (Madison 1983) 34 n. 66 (she seems to see these chests as being kept in the Anaktoron in the heart of the Telesterion). The Eleusinian goddesses on the 'Regina Vasorum' in the Hermitage (St Petersburg 51659: Metzger 1965, pls 20-22) are seated on a variety of rectangular objects, and those on the extreme left and right might be altars or *larnakes*.

Figure 39 Athenian red-figured and relief lekythos, detail, Demeter seated on *larnax*

early fifth century.[95] As for the animal skin, might we presume that it is a fine pig skin? Pigs were the regular sacrificial offering to Demeter, and the smooth supple skins of these animals must have been highly prized.[96] Finally, the gesture of the one figure placing her arm on the shoulder of the other recalls a later fifth-century relief from Rhamnous, on which the two women are shown standing, Persephone, on the right, placing her hand on the shoulder of her mother Demeter who rests a sceptre along her left arm and still hangs her head, an indication of the suffering she has endured until the very moment of reunion.[97] The gesture of a hand on the shoulder may well indicate the wish by the

[95] Especially the work entitled *Peplos* ascribed to the early fifth-century Pythagorean Brontinus: Richardson 1974, 78 and 84; *cf.* M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983) 11. For a *peplos* used as a covering on a throne *cf.* Homer, *Odyssey* vii, 95-97.

[96] I am grateful to Natacha Massar for this comment.

[97] Munich, Glyptothek inv. 198: *LIMC* iv, *sv* Demeter no. 232, pl. 577. *Cf.* A. Shapiro, 'Demeter and Persephone in Western Greece: Migrations of myth and cult', in M. Bennett and A. J. Paul, *Magna Graecia: Greek art from South Italy and Sicily* (Cleveland 2002) 82-97, esp. 94. *Cf.* also the small group from Eleusis where a standing Persephone places her hand reassuringly on the shoulder of a seated Demeter: O. Kern, 'Das Kultbild der Gōttinnen von Eleusis', *AM* 17, 1892, 132 fig. 6. *Cf.* similar comments by Harrison 1967, 42.

Figure 40 East Pediment, Figure E, detail of the hole in the hand on her lap

daughter to console her mother after all her anxiety. It also reminds us of the passage in the *Homeric hymn to Demeter* (434-37) where mother and daughter are described as spending a happy day together, reunited, talking and hugging.

The mother (Figure F) wears the heavier, more traditional *peplos*, but with a rich array of jewellery (holes remain for a bracelet on either forearm and for pins at the shoulders), the daughter (Figure E) a lighter, sleeveless *chiton* with an overfold and bracelets, perhaps of spiral form, on either wrist (two attachment holes preserved).[98] Both goddesses seem barefoot, which might be taken to suggest that they are in some sense in their own sacred precinct, as defined also by the *larnakes*. Persephone's right hand rests on her knee, slightly arched, with the finger tips attached to the thigh. A hole between the end of her thumb and her index finger is probably not the result of a drilling channel but rather the remains of a hole for a bronze attachment (Fig. 40). This may once have held the stem of a branch from a pomegranate bush, symbolising her stay in the Underworld (*cf.* Figs 41 and 44).[99] Demeter has her left arm outstretched to the side and in front of her, but the flesh of

[98] For the drapery of these two figures, and Figure K, see Palagia 1993, 20; and Palagia 2005, 238. Harrison 1967, 43 has the same identification of the garments, but Ridgway 1981, 49 with fn. 17, differs. Palagia 1993, 20, suggests that Figure F's head was turned back towards Figure E, but this would have made her pose very ungainly.

[99] For Persephone/Demeter with pomegranates *cf. e.g. LIMC* iv, *sv* Demeter, nos. 121, 142; for Persephone with a bunch of mixed flowers *cf. Homeric hymn to Demeter* (2), 426-27; for the statuette of Demeter from the Agora (NM 3989), here Fig. 41, see N. Kaltsas and A. Shapiro, *Worshipping women: ritual and reality in Classical Greece* (New York 2008) no. 36.

Figure 41 Seated figure of Demeter or Persephone, from the Athenian Agora, holding poppy stem and wheat-sheaf
Figure 42 East Pediment, Figure F, detail of the holes in her drapery

her upper arm suggests that the arm was actually quite relaxed and not held in particular tension, as it would have been if she had been making a significant gesture, as some have supposed.[100] This means that we may perhaps best restore her hand as gripping loosely the shaft of a sceptre that supported much of the arm's weight.[101] A further detail is perhaps more difficult to explain, a small hole in the drapery that hangs down vertically below Demeter's left arm (Fig. 42).[102] The hole itself is not horizontal but angled downwards from the front; and there are two further marks in the fold behind that seem to be the ends of similar drill holes through a now broken and lost fold of drapery. These cannot be linked with the raised left arm in any way, but they could well be connected with a sheaf of wheat, one of Demeter's regular attributes, and here more suitable than a torch, given the close presence of her daughter (in contrast to the East Frieze). Such a sheaf of wheat would have been made of

[100] *E.g.* most recently I. Jenkins, *The Parthenon Sculptures in the British Museum* (London 2007) 36.

[101] Sauer 1891, 69 with pl. III, 2, does not record any traces of a suitable hole in geison block 7 (his no. 6); but Carpenter 1933, pl. II, does.

[102] Not previously recorded.

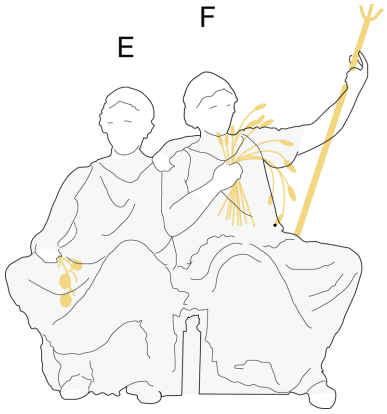

Figure 43 Athenian red-figured skyphos, detail of Triptolemos and Demeter
Figure 44 Reconstruction drawing of East Pediment, Figures E and F

bronze and been held in her right hand, angling across her body with the ears luxuriously cascading in all directions (*cf.* Fig 43).[103] One of the ears, with its multiple, spikey "silks", must have been turned inwards so that it hung down near her side, thus providing a useful way to help secure the attachment of the whole. The presence of the sheaf of wheat and the pomegranates would have made this pair of goddesses instantly recognisable, and the effect must have been quite spectacular, whether gilded or more naturally painted (Fig. 44).

The identity of the next figure to the right (Figure G), the rapidly moving bare-footed young woman, is less immediately clear (Figs 45-46). She wears a *peplos*, pinned at the shoulders (the holes for the bronze pins or brooches remain) and with a loose overfold, and holds a dramatically billowing, shawl-like *himation* behind and over her shoulders. Her left foot must have only just touched her plinth with the very tips of her toes. Her proximity to and movement towards Demeter and Persephone would seem to connect all three figures, while her youth and smaller scale would be suitable for a figure such as Hebe, Eileithyia or Hekate.[104] Of these, perhaps Hekate has the strongest iconographic connection here: it was she who set in motion the rediscovery of Demeter's daughter, having heard her cries as she was carried off, while it was Helios who was able

[103] Compare representations on Greek pottery of both Demeter, and Triptolemos: *e.g. LIMC* iv, *sv* Demeter, nos. 23-24, 31, 34, 121, 218-19, 222, 269 (seated), 340, 344 (here Fig. 43), 346, 348, 350, 363, and 382 (seated, on gold relief); and *cf. LIMC* viii, *sv* Triptolemos, nos. 59-63 and 91. *Cf.* also Getty 89.AE.73: E. Towne-Markus, *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Antiquities* (Los Angeles 1997) 47 (Syleus Painter). For gold ears of wheat *cf.* H. Hoffmann and P. F. Davidson, *Greek gold: Jewelry from the age of Alexander* (Mainz 1965) 288-94; Athens NM chr. inv. 1546; and Harris 2009, 90-91.

[104] Figure G: Brommer 1963, pls. 38-42. For reconstructions and identifications: Brommer 1963, 153-54 and 181 (fold-out page), with pl. 41, 1; Simon 1985, 278-79; Palagia 1993, 20-21. Fehr 2004 does not consider the identity or role of Figure G.

Figure 45 East Pediment, Figure G, front view

Figure 46 East Pediment, Figure G, rear view

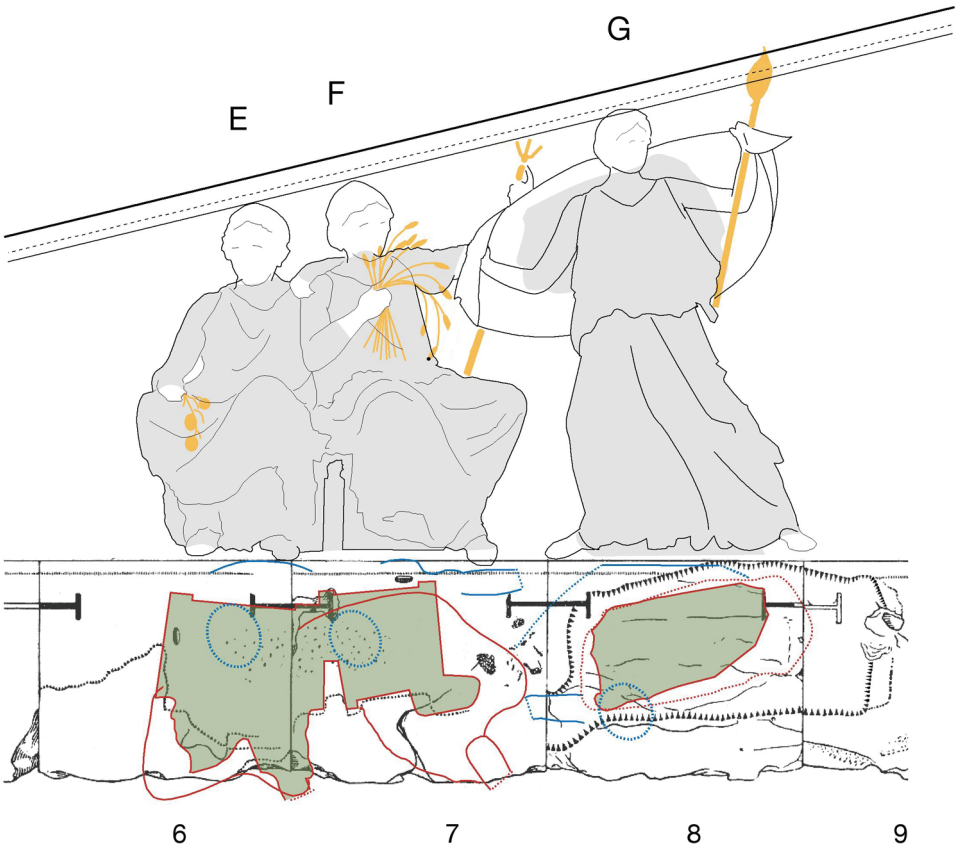

Figure 47 Reconstruction drawing of East Pediment, Figures E (Persephone), F (Demeter) and G (Hekate), with geison blocks 6-9

to identify the guilty god as Hades.[105] It was also Hekate who, together with Hermes, led Persephone back to her mother and became Persephone's attendant.[106] It is interesting to note the way that the *Homeric hymn to Demeter* having described the reunion of Demeter and Persephone immediately goes on to include Hekate in the scene, just as here in the pediment. Charles Edwards' suggestion, followed up by Erika Simon, that the figure held a torch in either hand with, presumably, the ends of the *himation* wrapped tightly round her wrists, would certainly make a dramatic and easily recognisable figure.[107] It is hard,

[105] Richardson 1974, 25-26, 54-58, 69-80.

[106] *Homeric hymn to Demeter* (2), 438-40: see Richardson 1974, 294-95. *Cf.* especially New York 28.57.23: Beazley *ARV*^{2} 1012, 1; G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven 1936) no. 124.

[107] C. M. Edwards, 'The Running Maiden from Eleusis and the early Classical image of Hekate', *AJA* 90 (1986) 307-18, esp. 317-18. Simon 1985, 278-79, added the telling comparison with a skyphos in Laon, pl. 51, 1; at p. 282 she noted a small hole in the figure's exposed left thigh and suggested it might be an attachment hole for the torch in her left hand, but close examination reveals that it is not a

however, to provide a convincing reconstruction of the ballooning *himation*, if at least one of the hands was not actually clutching one of its ends, a solution that was used, perhaps significantly, by the sculptors of similar action figures from the later so-called Nereid Monument (*cf.* Fig. 47).[108]

This is the only sculpture from the pediments for which a bedding was cut in the horizontal geison (block no. 8) to accommodate its base or plinth;[109] it is also clear that the ballooning drapery was carefully trimmed at the back in order to allow it to go as close up to the tympanon as possible (Figs 46 and 47).[110] Although it is possible that it was always intended that Figure G's base should be sunk into the geison floor, no other pedimental figure, east or west, had its base so treated, while the geison floor was not construed as any sort of "absolute" level for the figures, as the different treatment of Helios and Nyx reveals – the former's waves are above geison level. One may perhaps, therefore, conclude that the cutting in the pediment floor was necessitated by the figure being slightly too tall to fit under the raking geison (a recurring problem, as we have already seen) and the decision to cut away the geison to a depth of *c*. 5cms rather than the underside of the figure was taken in this case on grounds of practicality. The figure was slid into its bedding from the north, down the slight ramp there. The plinth, as now preserved, is broken all around and is considerably smaller than the cutting that was made to take it.[111] In conclusion, this trio of figures, Persephone, Demeter and Hekate, would thus seem to have had a close internal narrative, while also having links, beyond Ares, to the corner figure of Helios.

deliberate drill-hole, rather a roughly circular pit caused by weathering. For a Parthenon fragment of a raised left hand holding a torch (Athens NM 5688) see Despinis 1982, 32-34, pls. 33-34 and 35, 1. This is noted by Simon in the context of her identification of the Figure G as Hekate – Simon 1986, 72-73. The scale, however, would seem too large to permit an association with Figure G.

[108] For the so-called Nereids see GR 1848,1020.83 and 75 (*BM Cat. Sculptures* nos. 910 and 912): W. A. P. Childs and P. Demargne, *Fouilles de Xanthos VII: Le Monument des Néréides, Le décor sculpté* (Paris 1989) pls. 94-96 and 102-04. For a fleeing maenad with very similar drapery *cf.* the red-figure bell-krater: A. J. Paul, *A View into Antiquity: Pottery from the collection of William Suddaby and David Meier, Tampa Museum of Art* (Tampa 2001) no. 31; NY market, Antiquarium, *Ancient Treasures IX* (New York 2011) pp. 26-27. *Cf.* also the similar figure on the two Antonine reliefs in Ostia: K. Schefold, 'Athenas und Hephaistos Leben auf einem Fries in Ostia und Berlin', *AK* 22 (1979) 99-103, pls. 29 and 30, 1. *Cf.* the fleeing Niobid pulling her peplos overfold up behind her head, Copenhagen NCG, i. n. 520: M. Moltesen, *Catalogue Greece in the Classical period Ny Carlsberg Gylptotek* (Copenhagen 1995) 43-45, no. 1.

[109] Brommer 1963, 12-13 (Sauer geison block no. 7).

[110] Brommer 1963, pl. 42.

[111] The southern edge of the bedding seems to be damaged. The cutting of the sculpture's plinth all around was presumably done by Lusieri's team to free the sculpture from its bedding, since it was still standing in 1801 when Dodwell drew the south-east corner of the temple: Williams 2002, 127 fig. 4; and Williams 2012, 180 fig.107. The size of the plinth would have been determined by the need to counterbalance the mass of drapery at the figure's back and the forward thrust of the figure (*cf.* Pallagia 1993, 20).

Figure 48 East Pediment, Figure K, front
Figure 49 East Pediment, Figure K, proper left side

Figure K and her neighbours

From the other, northern, wing of the pediment, to the left of Dione (Figure L), Aphrodite's mother, sits a further woman, Figure K (Figs 48-49).[112] Her identity has often been connected with her two neighbours, but her movement is away from them and there is no actual physical connection – indeed, Dione's protective gesture with her *himation* clearly tends to isolate her and her daughter.[113] Sadly there are no apparent physical clues to aid in the identification of Figure K. Nevertheless, three circumstances suggest that this figure, and those immediately beyond it, represented the Delian triad, Apollo, Artemis and their mother Leto. Firstly, the East Frieze of the Parthenon sets Artemis and Apollo next to Aphrodite (Fig. 7), as, indeed, does the earlier Siphnian Frieze; secondly, continuing the Homeric link between Aphrodite and Ares, it was Apollo who came to the rescue of Aphrodite's son, Aineias, after Aphrodite had been forced wounded from the battle, while

[112] Figure K: Brommer 1963, pls. 46-47; Palagia 1993, figs 42-44.

[113] For the identity of Figure K see Brommer 181 (fold-out page); Palagia 1993, 22 (Leto); Mostratos 2004, 118-20 (Artemis); Fehr 2004, 136-37 (Rhea); Palagia 2005, 240 (Leto). Note also Carpenter 1938, 86 (Artemis). For the identification of the three figures as the Fates or the daughters of Kekrops (the Dew Sisters) see Brommer 1963, 181 (fold-out page).

it was Artemis and Leto who healed him in the sanctuary of Apollo in Troy; and thirdly, Dione was one of the goddesses that helped Leto at Apollo's birth on Delos.[114]

It would, thus, seem likely that Figure K was either the young huntress, Artemis, or her mother, Leto, and of the two the more likely candidate would seem to be Leto, as she would thus be seated next to another divine mother, and indeed correspond well to Demeter in the opposite, southern wing. Carrey's drawing shows her now lost head turned slightly away to her right, towards the centre of the pediment, and provides a little more of her right arm, revealing that it was bent at the elbow and positioned forwards and towards her knees (*cf.* Figs 2 and 24). It is an active pose and suggests that she was holding something, perhaps a sceptre. Her left arm is completely lost, but the way that her *himation* is drawn tightly across her back indicates that it must have gone over her upper left arm and passed down on the front side of the arm. Since there is no sign of the attachment of this drapery to the side of the figure, her left arm was probably in a forward and flexed pose, but close to her body; the himation may not have been rendered much beyond her biceps, as with Demeter (*cf.* Fig. 37). The displacement of the garment around Leto's neck is probably to be explained directly by her movement or indirectly by an aspect of her story, such as her reaching out for the palm tree on the island of Delos during her long labour or the very fact of the birth itself, as represented on a fine late fifth-century pyxis in Athens (Fig. 50).[115] Indeed, if she was seated next to a gilded or naturalistically painted bronze palm tree, it would have made her instantly recognisable.

Rhys Carpenter in his study of the pediment floor plausibly argued that the figure next to K, the lost 'J' as it might be labelled, was probably an active youngish figure moving to the right, balancing Figure G (Hekate) from the other wing (Fig. 45).[116] He also suggested that 'I', the lost figure beyond 'J', might have been seated on a rock, but other scholars have not

[114] Parthenon East frieze: Brommer 1977, pls. 178-79. For the Siphnian Treasury see above n. 47. Homer, *Iliad* v, 431-53. For rescue of Aineias, Homer, *Iliad* v, 436-48. For Dione on Delos, *Homeric hymn to Apollo* (3), 92-95. It should be noted that Homer's authorship of the *Homeric hymns* was accepted as fact in fifth-century Athens: G. Nagy, 'Reception of the *Homeric hymns*' in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric hymns: interpretative essays* (Oxford 2011) 286-88.

[115] Athens NM 1635: Schefold 1934, 59 no. 580; B. Philippaki, *Vases of the National Museum of Athens* (Athens n.d.) 134-5; *LIMC* vi, *sv* Leto, no. 6. For the story of the Delian palm tree *cf.* the *Homeric hymn to Apollo* (3), 117. The dowel hole for it might have been in the back right-hand corner of the original geison block 20 – for the replacement of this block see *Part II*. Furthermore, there would have been plenty of space for it since Figure K was set far forward on geison block 21 (see below). Homer, *Odyssey* vi, 162 mentions a palm tree on Delos next to the altar of Apollo. On palm trees as parts of monuments see O. Palagia, 'A Niche for Kallimachos' Lamp?', *AJA* 88 (1984) 515-21 (esp. 520).

[116] Carpenter 1933, 18-22. Many scholars followed Carpenter, identifying 'J' as a moving Hermes or Nike (see Brommer 1963, fold-out pl. 1; and Harrison 1967a, pl. 22 fig. 30); but some later scholars have ignored his arguments – *e.g.* Berger 1959, pl. 2a (seated figure); Berger 1974, 71 fig. 17a (seated figure); Jeppesen 1984, 272, fig. 5 (tree); Palagia 1993, fig. 21; Mostratos 2004, fig. 5.22.

Figure 50 Athenian red-figured pyxis, Leto on Delos

followed him in this (or in his reading of 'J').[117] An active 'J' could have been Artemis with her bow, but an active Apollo, holding either a bow or an instrument, would have echoed the image of him provided by the *Homeric hymn to Apollo*.[118] Indeed, the principle of *variatio* that we may observe between the corner groups suggests that 'J' might be better imagined as a partially clad male. The trio, Figures 'I', 'J', and K, or Apollo, Artemis and Leto in whatever order, would have paralleled that of Persephone, Demeter and Hekate in the other wing of the pediment, but with a pleasingly variant rhythm.

We might briefly turn again to the East Metopes below this area of the pediment in search of further support for such an identification of Figures K, 'J', and 'I'.[119] The figures in East Metope 11 were recently securely identified by Kathy Schwab as Herakles with Eros, while East Metope 10 is regularly interpreted as Artemis in her chariot and East Metope 9 as having shown Apollo in combat with a giant.[120] The correspondence between

[117] Carpenter 1933, 20-22 with fig. 3, compared the traces for 'I' with the Ludovisi Apollo. *Cf.* also the seated Apollo in the Museo Barracco (inv. 1096): Berger 1959, 49-52 with pls. 10-12); and W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* II (4th ed., H. Speier; Tübingen 1966) 614 no. 1846. For a fragment of a left hand holding a lyre see Acropolis 6673: Despinis 1982, 37-44, pls. 39-41; and G. Despinis, 'Neue Fragmente von Parthenonskulpturen und Bemerkungen zur Rekonstruktion des Parthenons-Ostgiebels', in *Parthenon-Kongress* 299 with pl. 44, 1-4 and p. 300 fig. 2; Palagia 1993, 26 with pl. 103, right. For different reconstructions of 'I' and 'J' *cf.* Berger 1974, 71 fig. 17a; Beyer 1974, Beil. 4; and Jeppesen 1984, 272 fig. 5.

[118] *Homeric hymn to Apollo* (3), 2-4 and 131-32.

[119] For the East Metopes see above n. 60.

[120] On East Metope 11 see especially Schwab 1996. For East Metope 10, Praschniker 1928, 211-13; Tiverios 1982, 228; Berger 1986, 66. For East Metope 9, Praschniker 1928, 209-11; Tiverios 1982,

pediment and metopes could not always be rigidly applied, but such connections do seem to have been in the designer's mind.

Finally, we should note that it is very difficult to ascertain the precise positions in the pediment of Figure K and even of Figures L-M, for both great sculptures seem to have been disturbed in the Roman period and repositioned (for a full discussion see *Part II* below). As a result, we need to examine here what evidence has been preserved to suggest their original positions. In the case of Figures L-M (Dione and Aphrodite), it would seem quite likely that the back of the block-like bench seat for Figure M was intended to be roughly parallel with the tympanon behind. This slight anticlockwise rotation of the later position in fact brings the left hand corner of the group more into line with its pry hole in geison block 21 (*cf.* Figs 51-52).[121] The feet of Figure M would probably have come close to the charioteer Figure N with the result that there may have been some cutting away of either the back of the end of Figure M's bench or the right side of Figure N, or, indeed, both.

The original position of Figure K (Leto), however, is much harder to determine as its base has been so mutilated (see further in *Part II*). There are two pry holes on the left side of geison 21, but one must suppose that only the left one was actually used, as its edges are damaged (the other was unused, as was the one on the right side of geison 22, which falls under the mass of L-M, and the one probably covered by the first of Nyx's horses' heads). The positioning of the used pry hole and the way that the sole of Leto's left sandal has been fully carved far back indicate that she must originally have been set right at the front edge of gesion 21, with part of the foot jutting beyond its ledge, as with Figure F (Demeter),[122] and, indeed, slightly further to the left, closer to the pry hole (*cf.* Fig. 52). Unfortunately, there is no clear evidence for reconstructing the pose of Leto's left arm, so that one cannot estimate the space required to accommodate her arm and Dione's right arm, which was bent up to hold her drapery (as Carrey's drawing reveals, *cf.* Figs 2 and 24). This forward position of K would have better revealed the fine and complex drapery on Leto's proper left side, which is otherwise invisible (especially now in the gallery in the British Museum; but *cf.* Fig. 49).[123] It would also separate her more clearly from Dione (Figure L), although at the same time strengthening the connection, across the width of the pediment, with the other, essentially more important, divine mother of the Olympian pantheon, namely Demeter.

228; and Berger 1986, 65. For recent images of metopes 9 and 10, Choremi-Spetsieri 2004, 99, figs 61-62. Note that the head of the god was replaced in antiquity (*cf.* also Part II below).

[121] Sauer 1891, pl. III, 2 (his no. 20); and Balanos 1940, pl. 114.

[122] I am particularly grateful to Kate Morton for this important observation.

[123] *Cf.* Palagia 1993, pl. 44. The twist given to Figure K cannot be so great that the alignment between its base and the pry hole is lost.

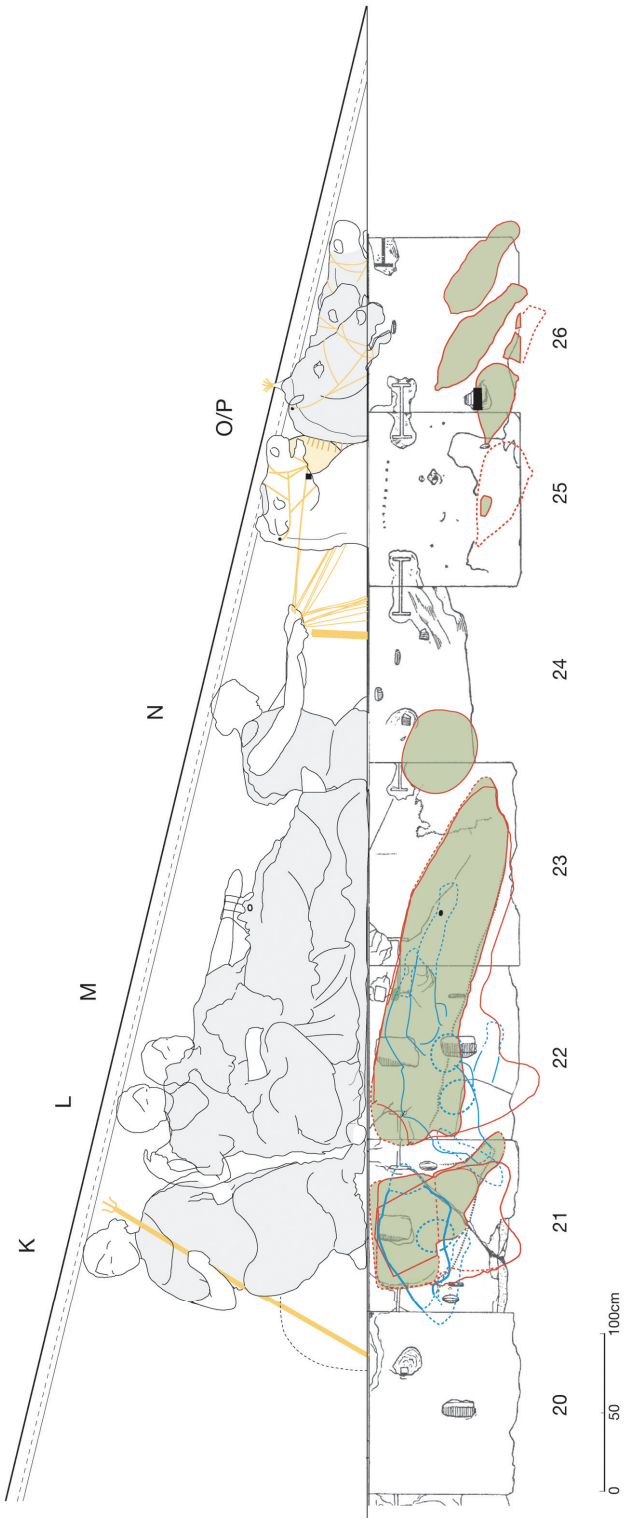

Figure 51 Reconstruction drawing of East Pediment, Figures K, L-M, N, O and P, in the Roman period, with geison blocks 20-26

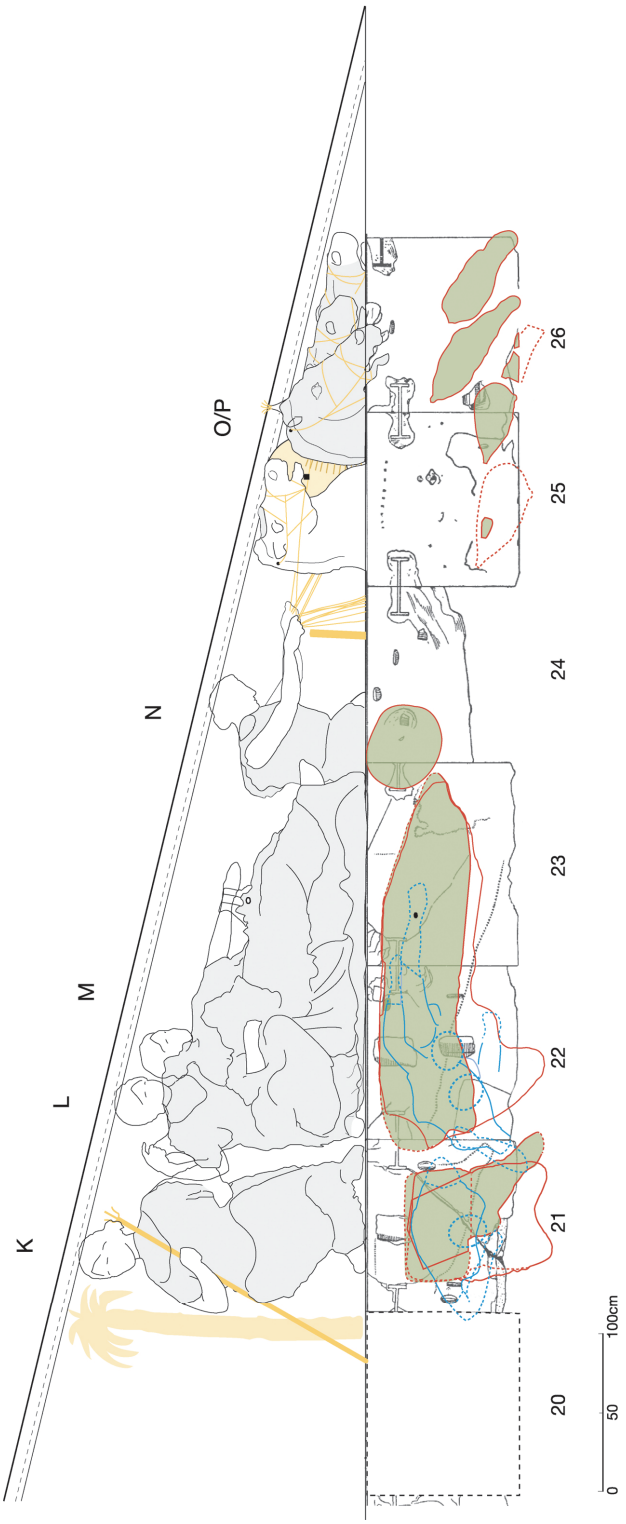

Figure 52 Reconstruction drawing of East Pediment, Figures K, L-M, N, O and P, in the Classical period, with geison blocks 20-26

The lost centre

Beyond these two triad groups (Figures E, F and G in the left wing and the lost Figures 'I' and 'J' together with K in the right wing), and filling the central section of the pediment, several other deities were once to be found. Who they were is perhaps easier to imagine than how they were actually arranged, so that, thanks both to the sad history of the temple and Pausanias's challengingly reticent description, much scholarly effort has been expended on reconstructing the lost centre of the pediment.[124] It is worth summarising the position here, even if little substantial can be added to the discussion.

The group of gods on the East Frieze suggests that in addition to the key players required for the miraculous birth, that is Zeus, Athena and Hephaistos, also present were Hera, Dionysos, Hermes and Poseidon, who, on the evidence of the East metopes, might well have been accompanied by Amphitrite. There may have been some further minor figures, such as Eileithyia, Nike, or Iris, but the total of lost figures is unlikely to have been more than eleven (the number of geison blocks) and was more probably of the order of nine. The suggestion that the pediment contained two chariots, one each side of the central group, first proposed by Werner Fuchs, has been taken up by various other scholars as it might plausibly account for the reinforcement of geison blocks 11/12 and 17, on the analogy of the West pediment.[125] Nevertheless, little iconographic or other support has been presented for such an idea and other scholars have preferred to see either a large seated figure in the middle of each wing of the pediment or two figures standing close together.[126]

There are two main traditions for the representation of the birth of Athena. The first is that found on Athenian black-figure and red-figure vases down until roughly 460 BC: it shows a reduced scale figure of the new-born Athena either standing on top of seated Zeus' head or on his knees (*cf. e.g.* Fig. 53).[127] This tradition seems to disappear thereafter, until it recurs among the engraved scenes on Etruscan bronze mirrors of the fourth and third centuries BC (*cf.* Fig. 55).[128] The second tradition is represented by a Roman altar with relief decoration, the so-called Madrid puteal, the relevance of which was first recognised by

[124] For a recent summary history of the reconstructions of the central section, see Palagia 1997, 28-49.

[125] Fuchs, 1967, 163-4; followed by *e.g.* Berger 1974, 26-29; Beyer 1974, 141-47; see Palagia 1993, 28, for bibliography and discussion.

[126] For seated figures, see Mostratos 2004, 131-32, with figs 5.18-22 (Lloyd 1861; Furtwängler 1896; Svoronos 1912; Schwerzeck 1904; and his own reconstruction). For two standing figures close together, see Carpenter 1933, 23.

[127] For the scene see Brommer 1961, 71; LIMC ii, *sv* Athena nos. 356-58 and 370 (no. 358 is Fig. 53 here); and Kossatz-Deissmann 1986, 136-46.

[128] For the Etruscan mirrors see Brommer 1961, 79; H. Salskov Roberts, 'The creation of a religious iconography in Etruria in the Hellenistic period', *Acta Hyperborea* 5 (1993) 287-317 (esp. 311-12); L. B. van der Meer, *Interpretatio Etrusca: Greek Myths on Etruscan Mirrors* (Amsterdam 1995) 119-22 and 228-35; and J. Swaddling, *CSE* GB 1, BM 1 (London 2001) 35-36 (on no. 24 = Brommer 1961, 79 no. 5), updates Brommer's list.

Figure 53 Athenian red-figured pelike, birth of Athena

Robert Schneider in 1880.[129] Here, in a scene that was later also identified among the series of so-called Neo-Attic reliefs, Athena appears full-sized and standing on the ground in front of the seated Zeus, but still with a sense of movement in her pose.[130] Georgios Despinis has subsequently argued that this series of reliefs depends upon an iconographic tradition no earlier than the fourth century BC. To supplement these two schemes a third was first imagined by Immo Beyer in 1974: it has Zeus standing flanked by the main protagonists in a very static composition that, it has been argued, presents a later moment after the birth.[131] In support of this scheme, Olga Palagia has recently tried to establish an iconographic parallel in the form of a four-sided Neo-Attic base from the Acropolis.[132] This relief, which depicts

[129] Madrid, National Archaeological Museum 2691: R. Schneider, *Die Geburt der Athena* (*Abhandlungen des Archäologisch-epigraphischen Seminares der Universität Wien* 1, 1880). For rejections of the puteal see Brommer 1958, 112-16 (no. 29); and Brommer 1963, 108-09, no. 16. See also the comments of Kossatz-Deissmann 1986, 140-43.

[130] For a discussion of the Neo-Attic reliefs see Despinis 1982, 97-110, pls. 65-67, who posits derivation from a fourth century statue-base; *cf.* Kossatz-Deissmann 1986, 141-43. The late sixth-century hydria in Würzburg (309: E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* [Munich 1980] fig. 191) does not show the birth, as Hephaistos is not present).

[131] Beyer 1974, 123-49. For the moment depicted see most recently Palagia 1993, 18 and 29; and 2005, 235. *Cf.* also Brommer 1963, 148; C.J. Herrington *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias: a study in the religion of ancient Athens* (Manchester 1955) 63 n. 3; and J. Neils, 'Pride, pomp, and circumstance', in J. Neils (ed.), *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon* (Madison 1996) 189.

[132] Palagia 1997, 31 and 45; already mentioned in Palagia 1993, 31, fn. 2. See E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora, volume xi: Archaic and Archaistic sculpture* (Princeton 1965) 81-84, pl. 64, a-d.

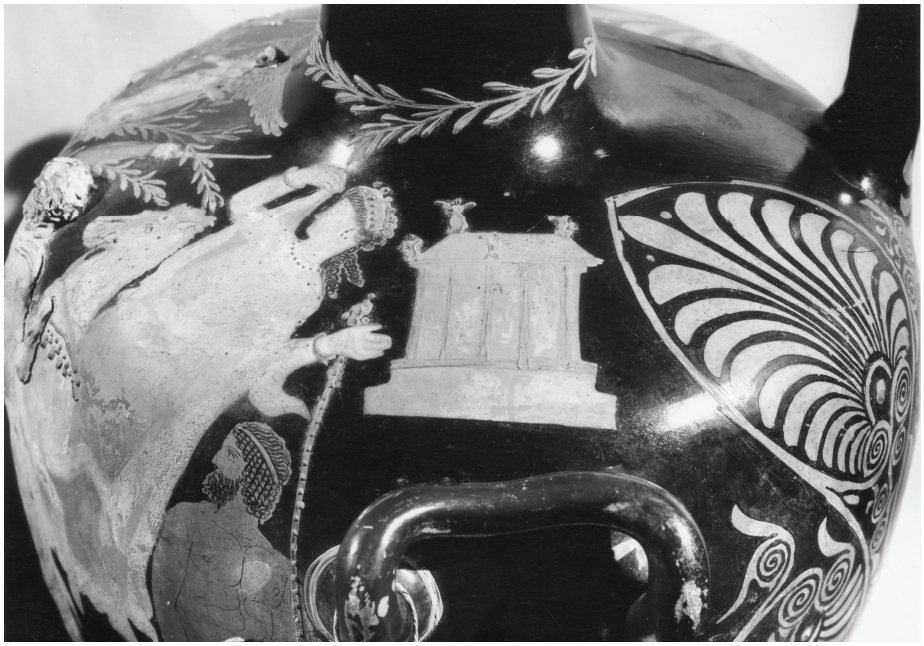

Figure 54 Athenian red-figured hydria, detail showing the Parthenon

the four gods, Zeus, Athena, Hephaistos and Hermes, may, however, simply be an assembly of deities suitable to Athens and its agora rather than a representation of the birth of Athena.

As a result, it would seem that we really only have a clear ancient iconographic tradition for a seated Zeus at the birth of Athena. A figure of Athena standing on the ground, spear in hand, rather than emerging from the god's head, might be suggested by the words of the *Homeric hymn to Athena*, while Pausanias' language could be thought to admit a slight degree of uncertainty as to the scene, perhaps for this very reason.[133] Indeed, on early fourth century Athenian vases we find a number of elaborate scenes of deities gathered round a seated Zeus with Athena standing at or near his side, left or right.[134] None, as yet, has been found showing the birth of Athena, but there may be echoes of the East pediment of the Parthenon, especially in the grand figure of a seated Zeus. By contrast, in the case of the West pediment the vase tradition is, as luck would

[133] *Homeric hymn to Athena* (28) 7-16; Pausanias i, 24, 5 ('everything has to do with the birth of Athena').

[134] See four superb vases in St Petersburg: (i) St Petersburg, Baksy 8, frr.: B. B. Shefton, 'The krater from Baksy', in D. C. Kurtz and B. Sparkes (eds), *The eye of Greece: studies in the art of Athens* (Cambridge 1982) 151-881; and 'The Baksy Krater once more and some observations on the East Pediment of the Parthenon', in H. Froning, T. Hölscher and H. Mielsch (eds), *Kotinos: Festschrift für E. Simon* (Mainz 1992) 241-51. (ii) St Petersburg 1909.91 (16878), frr.: K. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen* (Berlin 1930) 19, pl. 15a; Schefold 1934, 22, no. 166. (iii) St Petersburg St 1793 (KAB 43b; Iuz Oba): Schefold 1934, no. 369, pl. 32, 1-3. (iv) St Petersburg St 1792 (KAB 25a; Pavlovsky): Schefold 1934, no. 368, pl. 35, 2.

Figure 55 Drawing of Etruscan bronze mirror, birth of Athena

have it, more specific, notably in the form of a hydria in St. Petersburg which not only shows the contest between Athena and Poseidon similarly presented, but also the earliest preserved representation of the Parthenon itself (Fig. 54), complete with figured corner akroteria, not dissimilar to the winged Nikai imagined by Manolis Korres.[135] This connection between the scene and a representation of the monument on which such a scene appeared is perhaps continued on the Etruscan bronze mirrors where the deities assembled for the birth of Athena are posed in front of the façade of a temple that, despite the degree of conventionality in such Etruscan representations, might even have been intended here to represent the Parthenon. Indeed, in the case of the two finest and most detailed of these (Fig. 55), dating from the end of the fourth century, not only is Zeus shown seated on an elaborate throne, virtually frontal, with the diminutive figure of Athena in the so-called Promachos pose on top of his head, but on the left of the group is the seated figure of Ares (named Laran, the Etruscan for Ares) in a relaxed pose, a helmet on his head and a spear at his shoulder, uncannily reminiscent of Figure D from the

[135] St. Petersburg P 1872.130 (KAB 6a): *Compte-rendu de la commission imperial archéologique, St. Pétersbourg* 1872 (St Petersburg 1872), pl. 1; Palagia 1993, fig. 10; B. Cohen, *The colors of clay: special techniques in Athenian vases* (Los Angeles 2006) 339-41, no. 105. For the figured akroteria see Korres 1994, 61-64, fig. 8. *Cf.* also Pella 80.514: Palagia 1993, fig. 11; S. Drougou, *War and peace in ancient Athens: the Pella Hydria* (Athens 2004) 21. The subject has been suggested for fragments of a sixth-century amphora of Panathenaic shape from the Acropolis, P. A. Marx, 'Athens Acropolis 923 and the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the land of Attica', *Antike Kunst* 54 (2011) 21-40, but this seems unlikely.

pediment, here identified as Ares.[136] Nevertheless, we do not know how the scene was transmitted into Etruscan art, nor can we safely conclude that on the Parthenon Athena was shown emerging from Zeus' head rather than already on the ground.

In the end, therefore, we must admit that, despite the presence of impressive cuttings in the pediment floor to hold iron supports, the absence of certain and substantial fragments of the figures that could provide useful clues means that there seems no way of resolving with any real degree of confidence the problems underlying possible reconstructions of the centre of the East pediment, however much we might wish to do so.

Summary of Classical adjustments

This re-examination of the East pediment has touched on several adjustments that were made to the figures in either corner of the pediment. As they were manoeuvred from the central space into these corners, where the raking geison was already in place, it was clearly realised that modifications were required.[137] The sculptors, although they must have been given guiding measurements, were faced with a very difficult task of fitting large three-dimensional sculptures in a small space. The dimension that they seem to have had the most difficulty with was the height of their figures, no doubt because it was severely complicated by the need for them to fit under a sloping geison. This need for adjustment is paralleled by similar examples in the case of the metopes, especially at the corners of the temple where contraction was required.[138] It would seem that sculptors, builders and architects were all working at the limits of their technical skills.

In the left, or southern corner, we have noted three interconnected groups of alterations. These seem to have been initiated by a problem with the height of Helios' head which meant that it had to be placed slightly further away from the corner than planned, but there may well have been additional anticipated pressure outwards from the huge figures made for the centre of the pediment. To compensate, a series of interventions was made to both Helios' horses and the seated Ares in order to fit them more closely together and prevent further compounding of the problem later on in the insertion process. The trimming of the invisible sides of the horses' heads, of parts of the water that surrounded them and of the section Ares' seat next to the tympanon wall were all undertaken to allow the two groups to overlap even more than planned. The adjustment made to the setting of Ares' bronze helmet was either necessitated by a miscalculation in

[136] Berlin 2979 (now lost): Gerhard 1867, pl. 284, 1; Brommer 1961, 79 no. 2. London GR 1856.12-13.4: H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London 1899) no. 696; Gerhard 1867, pl. 284, 2; Brommer 1961, 79 no. 3.

[137] *Cf.* Carpenter 1933, 4.

[138] *E.g.* East metope 14: Brommer 1967, 38 and, for all metope dimensions, 163-64. J. J. Coulton, 'Greek architects and the transmission of design', in P. Gros (ed.), *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romaine* (Paris and Rome 1983) 467. I am very grateful to Dr. Natacha Massar for this reference. Similar alterations have not been noticed in the West pediment, although the channel cut in the back of the shoulders of Poseidon, Figure M, might have had a similar origin: Brommer 1963, pls. 104, 3 and 106, 1; *cf.* Palagia 1993, 47.

his height, similar to that made in the case of Helios, or because his new position actually meant that there was less height than anticipated. The trimming of the right-hand end of Ares' seat was presumably intended to keep Persephone and Demeter as close as possible. In the case of the figure of Hekate, it seems that her height was also an issue and that, exceptionally, it was decided to sink her plinth into the floor of the pediment. The back of her flying cloak was trimmed flat so that it could go flush against the tympanon wall. In the other corner of the pediment, the northern end, the heads of two of Nyx's horses were cut into in order to ensure their better fit under the raking geison, while the rear edge of Aphrodite's plinth and the contour of Nyx's drapery may also have been adjusted to help them fit closer to each other.

The quality of the work involved in these interventions differs. That to the jaw of Nyx's horse (Figure O) was clearly planned and carried out by the sculptor himself while the head was on the ground, for it is sharply cut and smoothly finished (*cf.* Fig. 32). The cutting back of Hekate's billowing cloak has not been smoothed to quite the same degree, but it is carefully done and was surely also carried out on the ground prior to lifting. The cutting back of the right hand end of Ares' seat seems more hurried and could have been done on the ground or up on the pediment. The cutting away of part of the back of his seat and of Helios' waves to make room for Ares' legs, as well as parts of the tops of the heads of two of Nyx's horses, seems particularly rough and suggests the urgency of workers up on the pediment. Although it is true that as far as possible such work was directed chiefly at seats and waves rather than the figured parts, there appears to have been less interference with the architectural elements, which might suggest something of the importance of the sculpture relative to the architecture, at least in the minds of those fixing the sculptures in place. There are further substantial interventions connected with Figures K and L-M, but these seem different in character and are surely later in date: they are dealt with below in *Part II*.

Finally, it would seem likely that the painting of the sculptures was done on the ground, although there was always the opportunity for touching-up once they had been manoeuvred into place in the pediments. The metal additions, which must often have been important in helping the viewers identify several of the figures, were also no doubt planned and prepared on the ground, but it may well be that, although perhaps provisionally attached there, they were only firmly fixed in place once the figures were in their final positions in the pediment, when adjustments were sometimes necessitated, as with Ares' helmet.

Conclusion

In order to assess some of the broader iconographic issues played out on the front of the Parthenon and the East Pediment in particular, it is perhaps best to concentrate on the pieces that were recorded by Carrey as having been on the pediment. If Helios and Nyx set the time and cosmic nature of the event, they also served to turn Athena's birth into a metaphor of a new dawn for Athens itself.[139] They also, as we have seen, interacted with their neighbouring figures, complementing the narrative connecting Ares and Aphrodite with its surprisingly fully worked out Homeric thread. But there may be other, more political allusions embedded in this positioning and pairing of Ares and Aphrodite. They

[139] For a different view see Ehrhardt 2004, 1-39.

are the only figures, it would seem, that are totally uninvolved in the action, almost banished from it. Might there be some connection, on the one hand, with a possible attempt by Perikles to draw a distinction between the justified war as symbolised by Athena and the senseless fury and aggression of Ares, and so position Athens' growing number of skirmishes with her own allies on the side of right rather than naked imperialism? Might there also be, on the other hand, some sort of a contemporary moral reaffirmation of motherhood through the emphasis on the mothers, Dione, Leto and Demeter, with the last two forming an interestingly visual echo across the pediment, as well as an implicit rejection of the love affairs of the gods and of Aphrodite's role, and might such a moralising image perhaps be connected with Perikles' new citizenship laws?[140] Such thoughts may have been in the minds of Perikles and his designer, but they might also have come to the many informed and politically aware ancient viewers.

The next pair of groups working inwards, however, takes the viewer in different but related directions, the connections emphasized by the visual parallels. The group of Demeter and Persephone, with Hekate, represent Eleusis and the Eleusinion in Athens, while Apollo and Artemis, with Leto, probably stand for Delos. Both Eleusis and Delos were key to Periklean policy and aspirations. In Eleusis Perikles had inaugurated under Iktinos, the architect of the Parthenon, a rebuilding programme that included the remodelling of the Great Telesterion.[141] Furthermore, the Athenian Eleusinion with its temple and sanctuary just at the foot of the Acropolis itself, also seems to have received attention during the Periklean years.[142] From Delos Perikles had brought the treasury of the Delian League to Athens in 454 BC, essentially turning an alliance into an empire. The apparent halt to the construction of a new temple on the island may have soon been regretted and from the time of the plague (430-426 BC) we find both scenes of sacrifice to Apollo on Athenian red-figure vases and renewed building activity on Delos, especially the construction of the Temple of the Athenians.[143] In Athens, however, a small temple to Apollo Delphinios, Apollo of the Ionians, seems to have been built around the middle of the fifth century, perhaps under Periklean influence.[144] Apollo, of course, needed to be honoured, as he was losing precedence as chief deity of the League and his treasury to Athena, and so the possible inclusion of the sacred Delian palm tree, which would in some

[140] For Perikles' citizenship law see Podlecki 1998, 159-61.

[141] See J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken* (Tübingen 1988) 94-95, 135-40.

[142] Eleusinion in Athens: Travlos 1971, 198-203; A. Corso, *Monumenti Periclei. Saggio critic sulla attività edilizia di Pericle* (Venice 1986) 103; Miles 1998. For a Periklean decree (*c*. 434 BC) see *IG* I^3 50: B. D. Meritt, 'Attic inscriptions of the fifth century', *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 87-93; Miles 1998, 193 no. 25.

[143] Peripteral temple: F. Courby, *Exploration archéologique de Délos XII: Les Temples d'Apollon* (Paris 1931) 1-106 (esp. 104-05); P. Bruneau and J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos* (3rd ed. Paris 1983) 130-31. On Apollonine iconography see H. A. Shapiro, 'Athena, Apollo, and the religious propaganda of the Athenian empire', *Boreas* 24 (1996) 101-13 (he does not make a link with the plague). On the Temple of the Athenians see Lapatin 2001, 105-09.

[144] Travlos 1971, 83-90. See also the creation of a shrine to Apollo Delios at Phaleron in *c*. 430 BC: D. M. Lewis, 'Apollo Delios', *BSA* 55 (1960) 190-94.

ways have echoed Athena's olive tree in the West pediment, though on a smaller scale, might have played an important role in giving Delos special visibility, one that was reinforced in the metopes below, where Apollo and Artemis were set.

Through the pediment, and the whole of the sculptural programme, the new role of Athena had to be made clear to all the Athenians and their allies. The remaining groups, however arranged, must have drawn the viewer on towards the central moment that announced the change – the miraculous appearance of Athena. Close to the Eleusinian group was probably Dionysos, accompanied perhaps by Hermes (as on the frieze), while near Artemis and Apollo there were perhaps Poseidon (with Amphitrite) and Hephaistos, paying homage to their cult connections with both Athena and Athens (as on the frieze). Zeus and Hera, perhaps somewhat reconciled after her anger at Zeus' usurpation of the role of birth-giver, dominated the centre together with Athena, who represented the new power of Athens.

As the prime decoration of the front of Perikles's great new temple for Athena, the scene in the east pediment must have stood at the heart of his political and cultural agenda. The viewer is taken on a journey from the Ocean at the edges of the world (Helios and Nyx) via an allusion to the Trojan War (and so perhaps the defeat of the East or more specifically the Persians) to Greece and the religious and political power and importance of Athens (through Eleusis and Delos), finally, to the divine home of the gods on Mount Olympos, where Athena, the special goddess of Athens was born in such a miraculous fashion. This is a deeply allusive, rather than real, journey travelled by the eyes and minds of the ancient viewers of the great temple, one drawing on the richness of Athenian culture and thought, especially Homer and the *Homeric hymns* and the city's important cult environment, but with an agenda that must have been mapped out between Perikles and his close artistic advisor, Pheidias, in the early years of the building programme.[145] While celebrating Athens and her past, it was a political necessity for Perikles to set Athena, Athens and the Athenians at the head of the new Athenian League and this is what the Parthenon and its sculptural programme as a whole did, with the East pediment playing its particular role in relation to Athena's special and symbolic position as the goddess born from the head of mighty Zeus.[146]

[145] For a balanced discussion of their roles see Podlecki 1998, 101-09; see also now Davison and Waywell 2009, 571-82. For the Homeric theme, note Strabo viii, 3, 30, who reports that Pheidias based his Olympian Zeus on Homer's description (*Iliad* i, 527-530).

[146] For Athena as the daughter of Zeus see C. J. Herrington, 'Athena in Athenian literature and cult', in Hooker 1963, 61-73.

PART II: HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN ADDITIONS AND REPAIRS

Introduction

The first part of this reconsideration of the East Pediment of the Parthenon focussed on the Classical pediment, the pediment the outline design of which was, one presumes, conceived by Perikles and Pheidias. The Parthenon, of course, was to remain a temple for centuries to come, whether Athens was independent, part of the Hellenistic world, or under the domination of Rome, and through those centuries the building was inevitably damaged and repaired, and its original meaning and importance perhaps altered, appropriated or even abused. That, on the whole, the Parthenon was not severely damaged at any time until it was engulfed by a fire, perhaps during the Herulian attack, is clear from Plutarch's *Life of Perikles*, although we should be careful not to take too literally his rhetorically crafted prose, in particular the words 'untouched by time'.[1]

Classical and Hellenistic interventions

Manolis Korres has, indeed, suggested that during the great series of earthquakes and tsunamis of 426 BC, described by Thucydides, there may well have been some damage to the Parthenon.[2] Nevertheless, the remarkable strength of the building meant that serious repairs do not seem to have been immediately required. One often mentioned human intervention on the Parthenon comes at the frontier between the Late Classical and the Early Hellenistic periods. This is the supposed addition of shields, sent to Athens by Alexander the Great, following his victory at the battle of Granikos in 334 BC. The two main ancient sources for this dedication differ in details: Arrian refers to three hundred Persian panoplies but Plutarch to three hundred shields. They agree, however, over the accompanying dedicatory text – 'Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks (except the Lacedaimonians) dedicate these spoils,

[1] For the fire see Korres 1994, 140-45. For condition in second century AD *cf.* Plutarch, *Life of Perikles* 13, 3. For recent comments on the history of the Acropolis in the Hellenistic and Roman periods see R. Krumeich and C. Witschl, 'Die Akropolis als zentrales Heiligtum und Ort athenischer Identitätsbildung' in Krumeich and Witschl 2010, 1-53 – and other papers in this volume.

[2] Thucydides, iii, 89; Korres and Bouras 1983, 328-30; Korres 1994, 138 – 'a large part of both façades [of the Parthenon] shifted 2cm north'. However, Korres has subsequently substantially revised his earlier opinion and now suggests that much of the damage may rather have been the result of a later earthquake in the 13th century: M. Korres, 'Seismic damage to the monuments of the Athenian Acropolis', in S. Stiros and R. E. Jones (eds), *Archeoseismology* (Athens 1996), 69-74, esp. 71-72. I am very grateful to Professor Korres for this reference.

taken from the Persians who dwell in Asia'.[3] There is no certainty that a selection of the shields that made up part or all of this dedication were actually fixed to the Parthenon, rather than simply being stored on the Acropolis in the usual manner. Furthermore, it is far from clear that the Athenians would in fact have been particularly glad to receive this gift, since Alexander refused to return the Athenians he was holding as prisoners: the message behind the gift was surely aimed at influencing the minds of the Greeks in Alexander's army.[4]

The epistyle of the Parthenon, however, does bear witness to the attachment of shields on all four sides of the temple, but there were clearly several phases to this process, as Manolis Korres has outlined.[5] Those at the east end were certainly circular and were the largest, almost three times the military norm: they could not have been real battle shields but must have been specially made to fit the space between the taenia below the metopes and the bottom of the architrave block below. Those on the other sides were slightly smaller and were placed over the columns. The dates and the sequence of attachment of these series of shields are difficult to determine, but Korres has observed that at the east end there were three successive arrangements of the large shields. The first had fourteen shields, each set below a metope; the second had only twelve, the spaces under the first and last metopes being left bare; the third was of only two smaller shields, set above the fourth and fifth columns, in the manner of those on the other sides of the temple.

Pausanias reported seeing gold shields on the architrave of the Late Classical temple of Apollo at Delphi.[6] One series had been set up by the Athenians on the east and north sides, as booty from the battle of Marathon; the other by the Aetolians with shields taken from the Gauls on the west and south. The Athenian dedication is most probably to be connected with Aischines' report that the Athenians had added gilded shields to the east and north sides of the new temple, even before it was finished and consecrated, and that they were inscribed: 'The Athenians, from the Medes and Thebans when they fought against Hellas'.[7] However, whether these shields were in fact part of a Persian Wars

[3] Arrian, *Anabasis*, i, 16, 7; Plutarch, *Alexander* 16, 17. See K. Bringmann and H. Von Steuben, *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer* (Berlin 1995) 17-18, K Nr. 2. For more recent brief comment see M. Rathmann, 'Athen in hellenistischer Zeit – Fremdbestimmung und kulturelle Anziehungskraft', in Krumeich and Witschel 2010, 57-58. Demetrios Poliorketes sent 1,200 panoplies to Athens in 306 BC: Plutarch, *Demetrios* 17, 1 (see Bringmann and Von Steuben, *op. cit.* 31, K Nr. 11). Pausanias, i, 25, 7, reports that Lachares removed some shields, but the reference is non-specific and probably refers to gold votive shields in the Parthenon or elsewhere rather than shields attached to the architrave – *cf.* below. On the shields in the treasuries of the Parthenon and Hekatompedon, see Harris 1995, 85-87, 117-19.

[4] For the likely negative reaction of the Athenians to this gesture see F.W. Mitchel, *Lykourgan Athens* (Cincinnati 1970) 8; *cf.* Habicht 1995, 30.

[5] See G. P. Stevens, *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon* (Hesperia Supplement 3; 1940) 64-66; Korres 1994, 138 and 158 n. 5; M. Korres, 'Νέες διαπιστώσεις στην ανατολική πλευρά του ναού. Επιτευχθέντα αποτελέσμτα (αρχιτεκτονική)', in F. Mallouchou-Tufano (ed.), *Proceedings of the 4th International Meeting for the Restoration of the Acropolis Monuments, Athens, 27-29 May 1994* (Athens 1995) 19-20.

[6] Pausanias, x, 19, 4.

[7] Aischines, *Against Ktesiphon*, 116.

dedication (Marathon, Plataea or a combined offering) that was simply rehung, or were part of a new initiative, perhaps linked to a political manoeuvre in connection with the Delphic Amphictyony in the 330s BC, is now very difficult to determine.[8]

At Athens, it was clearly soon after 490 BC that the predecessor of the Periklean Parthenon began to be constructed on the south side of the Acropolis, a temple that is regularly thought of as having been begun with the spoils of the battle of Marathon and as, in some way, in honour of that victory.[9] This assumption is seemingly supported by the positioning of the column monument, once topped by a winged messenger figure and set up in memory of Kallimachos, the Athenian general who had died on the battlefield, since it was only a few metres north of the north-east corner of the unfinished temple.[10] It is tempting, therefore, to see the first series of shields on the east façade of the Periklean Parthenon as matching those attached to the temple at Delphi, a conspicuous offering to celebrate the Persian Wars. They might perhaps have been added in fulfilment of an earlier vow connected with the Parthenon's predecessor. Furthermore, their presence in the Classical period could be reflected in Demosthenes' mention of temples being decorated with Persian spoils, including it would seem the Parthenon.[11]

There were, of course, various later occasions that might have led to the addition of these shields, and those on the other sides of the temple, not least when, towards the end of the third century, the Attalid kings of Pergamon determined to celebrate their triumphs over the Gauls and their claim to being heirs to the triumphs of Athens and its culture, by setting up sculptural groups on the south parapet wall of the Acropolis.[12] Indeed, in the Attalid world the use of images of shields, and other weapons, as relief decoration on civic and funerary buildings seems to have become particularly popular.[13]

The next reported incident was the scandalous misuse by Demetrios Poliorketes of the rear room of the Parthenon in 304/3 BC, at the invitation of the Athenian people, as described by Plutarch.[14] This is regularly taken at face value and the image of his

[8] *Cf.* W. Gauer, *Weihgeschenke aus den Perserkriegen* (Beiheft 2, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*; Tübingen 1968) 26-27.

[9] For a recent discussion see Hurwit 1999, 132-35.

[10] See Korres 1994 b, 178 with fig. on p. 174; Hurwit 1999, 130-31.

[11] Demosthenes, *Against Androtion*, 22 [597]: καὶ τ'ἄλλ' might be construed to suggest that the Parthenon was also decorated with Persian spoils. For another belated Marathon monument *cf.* the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous: Pausanias i, 33, 2.

[12] For these war monuments: Pausanias i, 25, 2; and see A. Stewart, *Attalos, Athens, and the Akropolis* (Cambridge 2004); Hurwit 1999, 269-71. *Cf.* the shields at Delphi set up by the Aetolians – Pausanias, x, 19, 4.

[13] See P. A. Webb, *Hellenistic architectural sculpture* (Madison 1996) 33 – civic and funerary contexts. For the date of one of the earliest funerary uses, the Lion Tomb near Knidos, see now I. Jenkins, *The Lion of Knidos* (London 2008) 27-28 (preferring 201 BC).

[14] Plutarch, *Demetrios* 23, 3; 24, 1; 26.3; and 12, 4. *Cf.* Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptikos* 4, 54, who does not mention either living or dining in the Parthenon. For a narrative of the last years of the fourth century and the first of the third see C. Habicht, *Athen. Die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer* Zeit (Munich 1995); and J. D. Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (Berkeley 1998).

entertaining *hetairai* under the gaze of Athena reported by more modern commentators with horror. But it is surely nothing more than partisan propaganda combined with comic vitriol – indeed the idea has been preserved for us by the contemporary comic poet Philippides.[15] After all, the rear room of the Parthenon was no doubt really little more than a dark and inhospitable treasury filled with precious offerings that were probably heaped on shelves or stored in chests, without any of the comforts and conveniences that Demetrios and his entourage would have needed and expected.[16] One must presume that in reality Demetrios held his extravagant parties, private in function rather than public, in the far more finely appointed setting of the Pinakotheke, on couches perhaps stored among the goddess' treasures in the Parthenon.[17]

The sequel to this story, namely Lachares' bankruptcy and the drastic action that he is reported to have taken to solve his predicament, namely the stripping of the gold off Pheidias' huge chryselephantine statue of Athena within the Parthenon in order to pay his troops in 296/5 BC, is no less suspect (Fig. 56).[18] Indeed, it would seem that this tradition derives from another contemporary comic poet, Demetrios (II), an ally of Kassandros and so an enemy of Lachares. It is much more likely that Lachares simply 'stripped' the temple (and so Athena) of all the new gold and silver offerings that Lykourgos had provided it with, as in fact Pausanias himself explicitly notes.[19] Thereafter, without this store of treasure, the Parthenon was, not surprisingly, slow to recover its prestige.

The only certain Hellenistic intervention is, in fact, the addition of a large, rectangular pillar monument close up against the north-east corner of the Parthenon. This seems to have been topped by a bronze quadriga flanked by standing figures and to have been erected in the middle of the 2nd century BC, presumably in celebration of a victory in the Panathenaic Games and most probably by Attalos II (Fig. 57).[20] Such a pillar dedication

[15] Philippides fr. 25 (= Plutarch, *Demetrios* 26, 3 and 12, 4). See further Habicht 1995, 86; and L. O'Sullivan, 'History from Comic Hypotheses: Stratocles, Lachares and *P.Oxy.* 1235', *GRBS* 49 (2009) 53-79 (esp. 64-65).

[16] *Cf.* description by Harris 1995, 1-3.

[17] Harris 1995, 91-92 (Milesian and Chian couches); for a recent comment on the arrangement of couches in the northwest wing of the Propylaia see W. B. Dinsmoor and W. B. Dinsmoor Jr., *The Propylaia to the Athenian Akropolis* (Princeton 2004) 396, n. 35.

[18] Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 379D; Athenaeus ix, 405 (=Demetrios II, fr. 1); Pausanias i, 25, 7. For the association of a rare gold issue with this event see J. Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes* (Munich 1923-6) pl. 21; J. P. Shear, 'The coins of Athens', *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 248-49.

[19] Pausanias i, 29, 16. See T. Linders, 'Gods, gifts, and society', in T. Linders and G. Nordquist (eds), *Gifts to the gods: Proceeding of the Uppsala Symposium 1985* (*Boreas* 15; Uppsala 1987) 115-22, esp. 117; Harris 1995, 38; T. Linders, 'Gaben an die Götter oder Gold Reserve?', in W. Hoepfner, *Kult und Kultbauten auf der Akropolis. Internationales Symposiun vom 7. Bis 9. Juli 1995 in Berlin* (Berlin 1997) 31-6, esp. 34-5; Lapatin 2001, 88-89.

[20] Korres 1994a , 139 with fig. 1; Korres 1994 b, 177-78 with fig. on p. 179; Hurwit 1999, 271-72; Shear 2001, 876-77 and 907. I am very grateful to Manolis Korres for granting permission for the reproduction of his drawing. For other bibliography see R. Krumeich and C. Witschel, 'Die

Figure 56 Gold coin of Lachares, obverse and reverse

followed on from two other such monuments erected by the Attalid dynasty, one in front of the Propylaia and one in the Agora.[21] The monument up against the Parthenon seems to have marked a departure from the military celebration inherent in the earlier Pergamene sculptural groups on the Acropolis and to have been more clearly connected with *agon* and victory in honour of the goddess Athena.[22] Nevertheless, it is possible that it was at this moment, rather than later, that the series of fourteen shields on the epistyle of the Parthenon (whether over two hundred years old or less than one hundred) was replaced by one of twelve, thus avoiding the occlusion of the shield at the northeast end by the new pillar monument.[23]

Akropolis als zentrales Heiligtum und Ort athenischer Identitätsbildung', in Krumeich and Witschel 2010, 21-22 fn. 118. For its re-dedication see below nn. 48, 55.

[21] For the other Attalid pillar monuments see Shear 2001, 873-80. See also W. B. Dinsmoor, 'The monument of Agrippa at Athens', *AJA* 24 (1920) 83; E. Vanderpool, 'Athens honors the Emperor Tiberius', *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 86-90; C. M. Keesling, 'The Hellenistic and Roman Afterlives of Dedications on the Athenian Akropolis', in Krumeich and Witschel 2010, 307-08; and R. Krumeich, 'Vor klassischem Hintergrund', in Krumeich and Witschel 2010, 331, 350-51.

[22] It is possible that the Kallimachos pillar recorded both the general's death at Marathon and a victory in the Panathenaic Games, see Hurwit 1999, 130. For the text, IG I^3 784; R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC* (Oxford 1988) 33-34 (no. 18).

[23] The alternative is that the change from 14 to 12 shields was made in Nero's time – see below. For Hellenistic repairs to the Erechtheum, see Lesk 2009 *passim*.

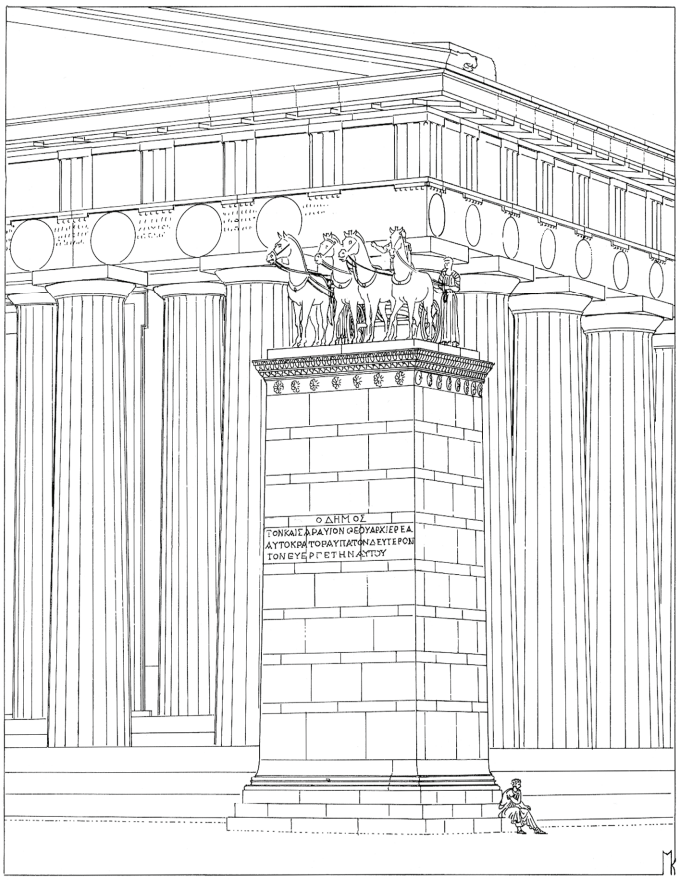

Figure 57 Reconstruction drawing of Attalid pillar monument at north-east corner of Parthenon, by Manolis Korres

A Roman repair

In 1890 Bruno Sauer argued that Figures 'J' (lost), K, and L-M, and three of the horizontal geison blocks on which they rested (here nos. 20-22; his nos. 19-21) were removed from the building together with the two tympanon blocks behind them and the raking cornice or geison above (*cf.* Fig. 51).[24] This conclusion has subsequently been modified by Korres who has noted that, although geison block 20 (Sauer's no. 19) was clearly a Roman replacement (roughly tooled upper surface, no clamps to its neighbours

[24] B. Sauer, *Antike Denkmäler* I (Berlin 1890) 51; Sauer 1891, 70. Sauer was followed by Carpenter 1933, 11-12 (note that on p. 12 there is repeated error, geison block 22 instead of 21); and Dinsmoor 1934, 98-99. The changes have also been mentioned by Berger 1959, 52; Delivorrias 1982, 47 with fn. 20; and Palagia 1993, 22 and 33-34 fn. 65. For photos of the relevant geison blocks see Balanos 1940, pls. 114-5; Brommer 1963, pls. 16, 1 and 3-4, 17; Despinis 1982, pls. 57a, 57b, and 58b. For drawings see Sauer 1891, pl. III, 2; Balanos 1940, overlays to pls. 114-15; Carpenter 1933, pl. II; whence, redrawn, Orlandos 1976-78, vol. I, pl. 72; and Palagia 1993, fig. 21.

on either side and a lewis lifting hole), there was no evidence for the removal of geison blocks 21 and 22 (Sauer's nos. 20-21), since the cuttings for tongs in their upper surfaces are merely evidence of the normal procedure for inserting the last two blocks in a series.[25] Furthermore, he argued that there was no need to remove a tympanon block either (and so any raking geison elements), for the replacement horizontal geison block was specially shaped (its rear, western end, being thinner than its front edge) so that it could effectively be slid home under the tympanon. Finally, Korres noted that geison block 20 (Sauer's no. 19) had been given imitation Classical mouldings on its forward edge and that 'the high quality of the dressing and the laying of the cornice probably advocate a date in the first century AD'.[26]

The replacement of geison block 20 means that the original must have been badly damaged and this further suggests that the now lost Figure 'J' had also been affected and had to be repaired or more probably completely replaced – indeed, the lack of patina over all of the geison block, as noted by Sauer, would seem to indicate that figure had a large plinth unlike any other sculptures from the pediment. There is, however, evidence for further damage in the neighbourhood of this repair that is most probably to be associated in one and the same event. The first is the remains of two adjacent minor architectural repairs, one to the left part of the front edge of geison block 21, the other to a similar part of geison block 19 (see Fig. 64).[27] These may well have been necessitated by the same event, or by the subsequent repair process, although that is unlikely to be the case at least with the repair to geison block 19 as it is from the far side of the block. The second is much more drastic and consists of severe damage to the underside of Figure K, which sat on geison block 21, and is surely to be directly connected with the event that caused geison 20 to be replaced.

This damage to Figure K has not previously been discussed and no real attempt has been made to explain it.[28] It takes the form of the deliberate cutting away of much of the rocky, cloak-covered seat under Figure K, which thereby rendered the sculpture completely unstable (Figs. 58-59 and 48-49). There appear to be two elements to this intervention: the

[25] M. Korres in Korres and Bouras 1983, 329. *Cf.* also Korres 1994, 140 with fn. 18 on p. 158. I am particular grateful to Manolis Korres for clarifying issues to do with the horizontal geison blocks, the tympanon and the raking gesion.

[26] Korres 1994, 140 and 158 fn. 18; he also estimated the weight of the new geison block at nearly 4 tons.

[27] For geison blocks 19 and 21 see the drawings of Sauer 1891, pl. III, 2 (his nos. 18 and 20); Carpenter 1933, 19 fig. 20 and pl. II; and Balanos 1940, pl. 114. A minor repair to the left side of East Metope 11, apparently in Parian marble, might be mentioned here too: Praschniker 1928, 173 (insert 45cms long and 5cms wide); Dinsmoor 1934, 98-99; Brommer 1967, 35 and pl. 71. Korres informs me that he thinks this repair might have been made at the time of the construction of the temple. The repair to the foot of the figure on the left of the metope (Eros) might be early, as this metope clearly had to be cut down to fit the reduced space available as a result of contraction towards the corners –see Brommer 1967, 34 and 176.

[28] The only suggestion of there being a problem here is to be found in B. Sauer, *Der Weber-Laborde'sche Kopf und die Giebelgruppen des Parthenons* (Berlin 1903) 117, n. 131; *cf.* Fuchs 1967, 164. His idea that Figure K had a separately made seat, however, makes little sense of the remains.

Figure 58 East Pediment, Figure K, proper right side

first is a shallow dome-like cutting into the proper right hand side of her seat, which reaches *c.* 49cms above the lowest plane of the block; secondly, there is a lower section that goes right through to the other side, where it is only *c.* 25cms high and the profile seems roughly trapezoidal or slightly arched. The surface of this cutting has not been left raw but seems to have been partially smoothed (unlike the other post-Classical cuttings in this figure and L-M, to be described below). Until, however, it proves possible for the modern base

Figure 59 East Pediment, Figure K, back

Figure 60 Cast of East Pediment, Figure K, the recut folds on her proper right side

supporting the figure to be removed, the exact form and nature of this cutting cannot be fully determined.[29] It should be noted, however, that at the forward edge of the dome-like cutting, where it has taken away some of the drapery that covers K's seat, a chain of simple, diagonal flat folds has been cut into the broken surface (Fig. 60). This apparent re-cutting does not seem to have quite the same character as any of the other Parthenon drapery nor follow the logic of the drapery on the seat: it is best understood as a later intervention.

[29] This work was requested at the beginning of 2011, but was not supported by the Museum's administration. The cast in the new Acropolis Museum, which does not have a modern seat block cast in, suggests a smooth, somewhat undulating surface, with no dowel hole.

Figure 61 Detail from watercolour of the East Pediment, by William Pars, 1765

The drawing of the pediment made in 1674, and attributed to Jacques Carrey, shows Figure K upright and Figure 'J' already totally missing, lost in a previous century probably together with the rest of the centre of the pediment and tympanon (see *Part I, Introduction*) (Fig. 2). In the drawings made by Richard Dalton in 1749 and by William Pars (Fig. 61) in 1765-66, however, Figure K has clearly fallen backwards. This change presumably took place at the same time that parts of the remaining raking geison and tympanon collapsed, an event which also knocked off the heads of both Figure K and Figure M, as well as damaging the remains of the latter's right arm: all this was most probably caused by the catastrophic explosion of 1687.[30] The drawing by Pars includes, lying to the left, an unexplained object. This consists of a long section which appears to have a slightly curved upper surface, cut off flat at one end, but with some large possibly rounded shape at the other. Given its form and location, it seems quite possible that it is what was once under Figure K and was, indeed, still in place when Carrey had drawn the pediment, for then, as has already been noted, Figure K was still upright.

It is useful here to consider the nature of the event that caused this damage and necessitated such repairs and think about what the latter might have entailed. The cause was presumably either an earthquake or a lightning strike. Although it is possible that there was an earthquake in Athens in the first century AD, perhaps connected with the series of tremors that affected the whole seismogenic arc that passes from southern Asia

[30] For this sequence *cf.* Brommer 1963, 19 – Dalton, pl. 4, 1, and Pars (detail), pl. 4, 2. For the state immediately prior to Lusieri's removal of Figures K and L-M, *cf.* Dodwell's drawing of 1801 (Williams 2002, 127 fig. 4; and Williams 2012, 180 fig. 107) which shows only Figure L-M clearly, as Figure K was on its back.

Figure 62 East Pediment, Figures K and L-M, cuttings in rear of base and shoulders of Figures K and L

Minor, through Greece and Crete, to Italy in the early AD 60s, none is actually recorded.[31] Furthermore, the damage seems particularly localised and severe, which might better suit a lightning strike, one that destroyed geison 20 and Figure 'J', while also seriously damaging the rear of Figure K's seat. It is quite possible that Figure 'I' on the other side of 'J', was also damaged, together with the front edge of its geison (19).

Repairs would have proceeded with the removal of the remains of Figure 'J', if there were any, and of the damaged Figure K (and perhaps 'I', if also affected). The damaged geison block (20) would then have been hacked out and checks made for any further damage below and behind, as well as to either side. On the ground, a completely new geison block was cut, shaped so that it could be carefully driven home into its position. Minor damage to the adjacent geison blocks, 19 and 21, would have also been repaired with inserts of new marble (now lost). The fractured marble under Figure K would have been cut away and a new stable and partially

[31] Asia Minor: Tacitus, *Annales* xiv, 27; *cf.* Eusebius, *Chronica* 210, 4; Pliny ii, 97, 211 (40 days of seismic activity in Lycia – *cf.* A. Ballard, *Fouilles de Xanthos VII: Inscriptions d'époque imperial du Létôon* (Paris 1981) 30-31); *cf.* also R. M. J. Isserlin, 'The great Essex earthquake (AD 60/1?), *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies* 12, 2005, 126-31. See further B. C. Papazachos *et al*., http://geophysiscs.geo.auth.gr/ss/CATALOGS/seiscat.dat, who record the southern Asia Minor earthquake as being magnitude of 6.8, the Aigio earthquake as 6.3; and the Cretan event of AD 62 as 7.5. For the Pompeii earthquake of AD 62 see Tacitus, *Annales* xv, 22; E. Boschi *et al*., *Catalogo dei forti terremoti in Italia dal 461 a.C. al 1980* (Rome 1995) 159-60; see now also A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Herculaneum: past and future* (London 2011) 15-36.

smoothed surface achieved. Discussions would have ensued to determine how best to support Figure K back in the pediment. Some sort of support under Figure K was clearly necessary and may well have taken the form of the strange object seen in the drawing by William Pars, or something like it. The dome-like stub at one end would have fitted into the arched cavity in the proper right side of Figure K. It was also decided to reposition the figure in the pediment so that its back was up against the tympanon wall for extra support and to secure it with a metal cramp between the back of the shoulders and the tympanon (Fig. 62).[32]

As these matters were being planned, it must have been realised that in order to back the seated Figure K up against the tympanon, it was advisable to remove an area of the rear left corner of the seat of Figure L, an intervention that also took with it a small section of the cloak that covered the rock-like bench and a small part of the figure's own drapery close to this (Fig. 62).[33] This cutting was not taken right down to the level of the pediment floor perhaps because there was some thought that the corner of Figure L's seat might help support Figure K (*cf.* Fig 63). It was also further realised that an area of the back of Figure L had to be hacked out in order to accommodate Figure K's left arm.[34] Subsequently, however, it was decided to try to make more space for the manoeuvring of Figure K, and the introduction of Figure 'J' (and perhaps 'I'), by moving the large group of L-M slightly to the right (north) and, more obviously, rotating it so that it was angled across the pediment floor. This final position of Figures L-M would seem essentially to have obviated the need for the cutting in the seat of Figure L, but the cutting in her back was no doubt still required, perhaps even more so. The group of Figures L-M was then also fixed in position by means of an additional metal cramp between the top of the back of the bench on which Figure M reclined and a cutting in gesion block 22: the two marry perfectly when Figures L-M are rotated from their likely Classical position (Fig. 51; ctr. 52).[35] There is also a fairly long area of damage along the bottom edge of the back of the rock on which Figure M (Aphrodite) reclines – this may have been caused by levers employed in a reduced space while trying to rotate the group.[36]

[32] This cutting has been interpreted as either for a support that was fixed to the tympanon behind her or, far less plausibly, for attaching a new head or a further figure: Brommer 1963, 20; Fuchs 1967, 164 (a repair of the head necessitated by the removal of the figure from the pediment); Palagia 1993, 21 (tympanon fixing).

[33] This intervention was tentatively associated by Palagia with the addition of a figure of Eros between Figures K and L: Palagia 1993, 22 and 34 fn. 76, with figs. 18 and 21. It is too rough, and curved, to have held a figure's feet – and, more significantly, there are no preserved dowel holes or the like for the attachment of such a figure.

[34] This intervention was noted by Johannes Overbeck and explained as being required to accommodate K's lifted himation: see Brommer 1963, 19-20; *cf.* Palagia 1993, 33 note 63, who dismisses this explanation with little cause. Palagia, 1993, 22, notes that 'whereas the hollowed surface in the rock [ie base of L] is covered with the orange-brown accretion normally found on finished surface, the cutting in L's back seems to have been hacked out through the varnish.' There are in fact patches of the orange-brown accretion in the cutting in L's back. On the whole, the upper parts of the figures in the pediment are more weathered and so very little of this layer is normally preserved.

[35] See Sauer 1891, pl. III, 2; Carpenter 1933, pl. II; *cf.* Palagia 1993, fig. 21 (their no. 21).

[36] This is *c*. 37 cms in length; there is a second smaller one, *c*. 5cms long.

Figure 63 Casts of East Pediment, backs of Figures K and L, hypothetical preliminary arrangement

When these adjustments had been made and Figure K was safely in place, supported by the new marble insert below and secured by the bracket to the tympanon, Figure 'J' could be moved into position on top of the new geison block 20. This sculpture, most probably a completely new creation, seems to have been given a large plinth or base that covered the whole of the gesion block.[37] If we are right in thinking of Figure K as Leto and the lost Figure 'J' as either Apollo or Artemis (see *Part I*), the new domed form now set between them could well have represented the Delphic *omphalos*, replacing the Delian palm tree that, it was suggested above, once stood next to Leto alluding to Apollo's birth place and its manner.

[37] *Cf.* Sauer 1891, 70. Carpenter 1933, 18 linked a dowel or bracket hole in the northwest corner with the fixing of 'J' on gesion 20 -*cf.* 19 fig. 2 (his geison 18) and pl. II: see Fig. 64.

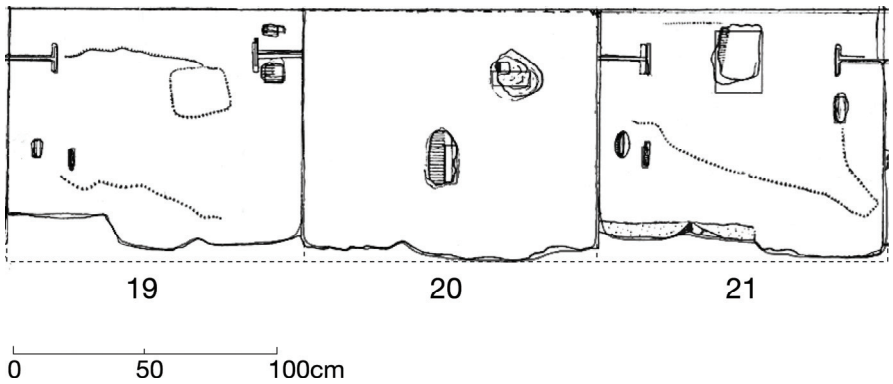

Figure 64 Drawing of East Pediment, geison blocks 19-21, by Kate Morton

We do not know for certain whether the other member of the Delian triad, Figure 'I' on the other side of Figure 'J', was damaged in any way, although this seems quite likely given its proximity. Indeed, it would appear likely that the dowel hole cut in the northwest corner of geison block 19 was cut to help secure Figure 'I' (rather than 'J'), just as a bracket was made to fix Figures L-M in place (Fig. 64 and *cf*. Fig. 51). This would go well with similar evidence for other interventions in the corner of this northern wing of the pediment, which are probably to be connected, given their character, with the repairs and re-positionings outlined above (Fig. 51; ctr. Fig. 52). These take the form of attempts to secure some of the figures by attaching bracket elements to the geison floor.[38] It is clear that the well preserved horse's head (Figure O, in London), the outer pole horse, was moved slightly to the right (north) and fixed in position with the aid of a bracket fitted into its 'invisible' side (*cf*. Fig. 32) and into the pediment floor between it and the next horse's head.[39] Similarly, it seems likely that the head of the right trace horse, now preserved only as a fragment (Fig. 34), was also fixed in place with a bracket that was set into the dowel hole in geison block 25.[40] Nyx's torso, too, may have been secured at this period with the aid of a bracket fitted between the figure's missing left shoulder and the dowel hole in the rear left corner of geison block 24 (there may also have been some trimming of the lower edge of her drapery).[41]

Finally, the appearance of dowels on geison blocks 15 and 16, closer to the centre of the pediment should also perhaps be considered here.[42] They have been associated with cuttings in the rear of the lower fragment of the so-called 'Wegner Peplophoros': the two in geison block 15 were used by Beyer, followed by Palagia, while Despinis chose rather to employ

[38] The adjustments made in the southern half of the pediment, involving Figures A-C, D and G (see *Part I* above) reveal no traces of associated cuttings for brackets.

[39] See Beyer 1974, 128 and fig. 7.

[40] Sauer 1891, 71 and pl. III, 2; Carpenter 1933, pl. II (their no. 24).

[41] Sauer 1891, 71 and pl. III, 2; Carpenter 1933, pl. II (their no. 23). For the trimming of her drapery see above).

[42] Sauer 1891, 71 and pl. III, 2; Carpenter 1933, pl. II (their nos 14-15).

the two in geison 16.[43] Beyer's reconstruction neatly tucks the brackets out of sight and is probably to be preferred. His further observation that the 'Wegner Peplophoros' was leaning slightly forward, whether it was placed on block 15 or 16, reveals its inherent instability which would help explain the decision to fix it more securely. Such instability might also account for the dowel hole at the northern edge of the bedding for Hekate (Figure G) on geison block 9 – it, too, was felt to be at risk and so a bracket was added, presumably gripping the edge of the plinth (see Fig. 47, right edge).[44] These more minor interventions suggest that the state and stability of the sculptures in the whole of the East pediment may have been surveyed at this time – indeed, the same may have been done in the West pediment, although no retaining brackets seem to have been employed. There may well also have been some repainting of the sculptures and some remaking of the bronze or copper attachments, such as sceptres and horses' reins, although as yet no evidence of such activities has been discerned.

Date and context of the repair

Any attempt to date these interventions in the East pediment has to bear in mind both the likely physical cause that necessitated such repairs and a plausible historical and cultural context. The concentrated nature of the damage to Figures 'J' and K (and perhaps 'I') and geison block 20 (together with minor damage to the adjacent blocks 19 and 21) discussed above would seem to indicate, as already noted, that the most likely cause was a lightning strike. Indeed, if a bronze palm tree, alluding to Leto's difficult delivery of Apollo on Delos, had once stood in the right hand (north) back corner of the original geison block 20, it could well have acted rather like an unearthed lightning rod in just this location (see Fig. 52). Such a strike, however, may have also worked on earlier damage from earthquakes.[45] As to the moment, there would seem to be three general horizons and one particular occasion that might suit Korres' dating of the new geison block 20 to the 'first century AD'.[46]

[43] Beyer 1974, 129-35 with figs. 8-10; Despinis 1982, 44-51 with figs. 3 and fold-out plate; Palagia 1993, 24. Note, however, that Carpenter 1933, 50 does not see the cuttings in the Wegner Torso as being suitable for dowels; nor (p. 9) does he see the 'dowel' hole in the joint between geison blocks 15 and 16 as such, but prefers to see it as taking the end of a staff or the like since its form is different.

[44] Sauer 1891, 69, with pl. III, 2 (his no. 8). Carpenter 1933, 25-26 with fig. 5 and pl. II, uses this dowel to reconstruct and added swirl of drapery for which there is absolutely no indication on the figure itself.

[45] For earthquakes see above nn. 2, 31. For the idea of a fire in the roof see Dinsmoor 1934, 99 – this idea was predicated on the supposition, now known to be mistaken, that three geison blocks and two tympanon blocks had been removed.

[46] Korres 1994, 140 and 158 fn. 18. Palagia 1993, 33-34, note 65, refers to the date as being 'Augustan'; she was followed in this by Hurwit 1999, 274. I. Beyer, 'Der Hephaistos-Torso des Parthenons-Ostgiebels', in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (Mainz 1990) 298 with fn. 12 and fig. 5, associated the repairs with the earthquake of 426 BC, following Korres' earlier view that the repair was perhaps of the fifth century; *cf.* Despinis 1982, 82.

The first suitable historical setting for such an intervention would be during the last decades of the first century BC, following Octavian's victory at the battle of Actium in 31 BC. The small, circular Ionic *monopteros* dedicated by the Athenian people to Roma and Augustus was erected, probably in 20/19 BC, somewhere on the eastern plateau of the Acropolis, opposite either the Parthenon or the Erechtheion, perhaps in order to effect, as is generally thought, some sort of reconciliation with Augustus, not least after the story of the statue of Athena turning to the west and spitting blood.[47] At approximately the same time we find on the fringe of the Acropolis next to the Propylaia, the re-assignment of the Attalid monument to Agrippa and the earlier equestrian monument near the temple of Nike to Germanicus (AD 18).[48] This might have been a moment also to carry out repairs on the Parthenon, but these are not mentioned in the lengthy Athenian restoration decree, seemingly Augustan in date, for it is chiefly focused on shrines outside Athens and from the Acropolis only mentions the Attalid sculptural dedication on the south wall.[49] Furthermore, Augustus and his 'alter ego', Agrippa, seem to have been more interested in funding new, larger projects associated with the commercial heart of Athens, namely the Roman Agora and the Agrippeum.[50]

During the reign of the emperor Claudius (AD 41-54), in addition to the return of sculptures removed by Caligula,[51] we find restoration work being undertaken in Attica, at

[47] W. Binder, *Der Roma Augustus Monopteros auf der Akropolis in Athen* (Stuttgart 1969); see also Hoff 1996, 192-93 (for date); T. L. Shear Jr., 'The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1989-1993', *Hesperia* 66 (1997), 506-07; Shear 2001, 904-07; Lesk 2004, 288-97 (persuasively reopens the question of location); R. Di Cesare, 'L'Acropoli dall'ellenismo all'impero "umanistico"', in Krumeich and Witschel 2010, 238-39. J. Fouquet, 'Der Roma-Augustus-Monopteros auf der Athener Akropolis. Herrschercult und Memoria', *Thetis* 19 (2012) 47-95. For the statue of Athena: Cassius Dio 54, 7, 1-4.

[48] For the three phases of the Agrippa Monument see Keesling 2010, 307-08; and Krumeich 2010, 331, 350-51 n. 116, and 355. For the Germanicus Monument see Krumeich 2010, 355-60. Korres reads the rededication (*IG* II^2 3272) of the Attalid monument next to the Parthenon as referring to Augustus, Korres 1994, 139-40; see further G. Touchais, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1985', *BCH* 110 (1986) 675; but see Shear 2001, 911-12; and now Schmalz 2009, 117-19 no. 147, who, like Shear, argues for a Claudian date and offers AD 41/2 or 42/3.

[49] For the restoration decree, *IG* ii^2 1035, see G. R. Culley, 'The Restoration of Sanctuaries in Attica: *IG* ii^2, 1035', *Hesperia* 44 (1975) 207-23; *SEG* 26 no. 121; G. C. R. Schmalz, 'Inscribing a ritualised past: the Attic Restoration Decree *IG* ii^2 1035 and cultural memory in Augustan Athens', *Eulimene* 8-9 (2007-8) 9-46; Spawforth 2012, 107-12. There is no mention either of any restoration work on the Erechtheion, which is regularly linked with the construction of the *monopteros*; but such restoration has now been redated to the first half of the second century BC, see Lesk 2004, *passim*; and '"Caryatides probantur inter pauca operum" Pliny. Vitruvius and the semiotics of the Erechtheion maidens at Rome', *Arethusa* 40 (2007) 25-42.

[50] *Cf.* Hoff 1996, 194-200. For Agrippa's construction of the Odeion in the Agora see H. A. Thompson, 'The Odeion in the Athenian Agora', *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 31-141; H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora xiv – The Agora of Athens: the history, shape and uses of an ancient city center* (Princeton 1972) 111-14; and most recently Spawforth 2012, 59-70.

[51] Return of sculptures removed by Caligula see Dio 60, 6, 8 and Pausanias 9, 27, 3; for remains of inscriptions connected with them (*IG ii*^{2} 5173-9) see Nt. Peppa-Delmouzou, *Arch Delt* 25, A (1970) 2002-03; M. C. Hoff, 'So-called Agoranomion and the imperial cult in Julio-Claudian Athens', *AA* 1994, 116 and n. 126.

Rhamnous, which might have included the rededication of the temple of Nemesis to the deified Livia,[52] and in Athens perhaps in front of the Hephaisteion,[53] and to the upper end of the Panathenaic Way before the Propylaia.[54] Finally, it should be noted that the inscription now associated by Manolis Korres with the Attalid monument in front of the northeast corner of the Parthenon and its re-assignment has recently been re-dated to Claudius' reign.[55] Nevertheless, there is yet again no clear evidence for any interference with or restoration of the major buildings on the Acropolis.

It is, indeed, only with Nero that we find record of a specific intervention on the Parthenon. This is the monumental inscription, made up of bronze letters, presumably once gilded, and attached to the Parthenon's east façade (Fig. 65). This inscription, which now exists only as a series of holes cut into the marble architrave blocks to take the fixings for the letters (each once some 14cms high), can be read, thanks to Kevin Carroll's full publication, based on the work of Eugene P. Andrews (the first decipherer) and Sterling Dow, as follows:[56]

> ἡ [ἐξ Ἀ]ρείου Πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶ[ν] ν Χ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων Αὐτοκράτορ[α] μέγιστον Νέρωνα Καίσαρα Κλαύδιον Σεβαστὸν
> Γ[ερμ]ανικὸν θεοῦ υἱὸν στρατηγοῦντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας τὸ ὄγδοον τοῦ [κ]αὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ καὶ νομοθέτου
>
> Τ[ι Κλ]αυδίου Νουίου τοῦ Φιλίνου ἐπὶ ἱερείας wreath Παυλλείνης τῆς Καπίτωνος θυγατρός.

[52] For the base at Rhamnous, *IG ii*^{2} 3275, see most recently Høtje 2005, 310 Claudius no. 103; Schmalz 2009, 120 no. 149 (AD 45/6) – it is normally associated with the rededication of the temple of Nemesis to the deified Livia, *IG ii*^{2} 3242: W. B. Dinsmoor, 'Rhamnountine Fantasies', *Hesperia* 30 (1961) 186-94; but Schmalz 2009, 103-05 no. 132, now argues for an earlier date, AD 6-10. On Roman repairs to the temple see M. M. Miles, 'A reconstruction of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous', *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 133-249, esp. 181, 199-200, 220, and 235-39.

[53] The staircase in front of the Hephaisteion: H. Thompson, 'Buildings on the west side of the Agora', *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 221-22; Shear 1981, 367.

[54] For the Propylaia approach, see G. P. Stevens, 'Architectural studies concerning the Acropolis of Athens', *Hesperia* 15 (1946) 73-106 (92); W. B. Dinsmoor and W. B. Dinsmoor Jr., *The Propylaia to the Athenian Akropolis II: The Classical Building* (Princeton 2004) 85-86 and 91 fn. 127 (notes *IG ii*^{2} 2292 and 2297, and a possible date not long after AD 45/6 for completion). For improvements to the upper Panathenaic Way see H. Thompson, 'Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1958', *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 94; and 'Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1959', *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 332 and 336; Miles 1998, 88 and 156; Shear 2001, 912. *IG ii*^{2} 3271, 4-5 (naming Novius) was linked with the Propylaia by P. Graindor, 'Inscriptions attiques d'époque romaine', *BCH* 1927, 258 no. 22; see also Shear 1981, 367; but Schmalz 2009, 117-19 no. 147, and 291, seems to prefer to associate it with the re-dedication of the Attalid monument.

[55] *IG ii*^{2} 3272: see Korres 1994, 139-40 (dating to the time of Augustus). See further G. Touchais, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1985', *BCH* 110 (1986) 675; Shear 2001, 911-2; and now Schmalz 2009, 117-19 no. 147, who, like Shear, argues for a Claudian date and offers AD 41/2 or 42/3.

[56] For this inscription, *IG ii*^{2} 3277, see E. P. Andrews, 'How a riddle of the Parthenon was unravelled', *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 54, 2 (June 1897) 301-09; Dow 1972, 13-21; Carroll 1982; *SEG* 32 (1982) no. 251. See also the comments in Spawforth 1994, 234-6; who is followed by Hurwit 1999, 280-81; and Shear 2001, 913-15. See now Schmalz 2009, 124-25 no. 155.

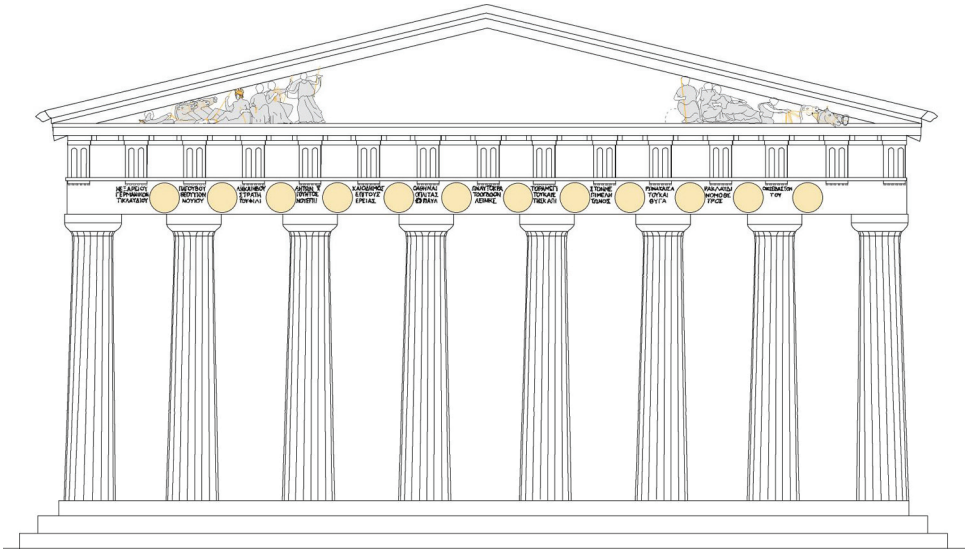

Figure 65 Reconstruction of the East façade of Parthenon with pedimental figures, metopes, and Neronian inscription, by Kate Morton

> The council of the Areopagus and the council of the six hundred and the Athenian people [honoured] the supreme emperor Nero Caesar Claudius Augustus Germanicus, son of a god, while Ti[berius] Claudius Novius son of Philinos was hoplite general for the eighth time, overseer and lawgiver, and while Paulleina daughter of Capiton was priestess [of Athena Polias].

These three lines of '*litterae aureae*' were interrupted in their course across the façade by the twelve shields already fixed there (the text begins before the first shield and the twelfth closes its right hand end, see Fig. 65).[57] The placement of this inscription more towards the southern end than the north (from under the second triglyph to under the thirteenth; leaving the space under the fourteenth and fifteenth triglyphs empty) has been explained by Manolis Korres as an attempt to avoid the inscription being obscured by the tall Attalid monument that stood on line with the last column of the east side of the temple (*cf.* Fig. 55).[58]

Claudius Novius, son of Philinos, was clearly a member of the very wealthy Athenian élite during the reigns of both Claudius and Nero and his prominence in the text of this great bronze inscription set on the grandest building on the Acropolis would strongly suggest that he funded its erection.[59] Under Nero (AD 54-68), he prospered and indeed, following the

[57] For *litterae aureae* see G. Alföldy, *Der Obelisk auf dem Petersplatz in Rom* (Heidelberg 1990) 68-81; and 'Augustus und die Inschriften: Tradition und Innovation. Die Geburt der imperialen Epigraphik', *Gymnasium* 98 (1991) 297-99.

[58] Korres 1994, 139-40 with fn.16. There was also a change of mind over the placement of the beginning of the Parthenon inscription – see Carroll 1982, 16-18.

[59] In addition to Dow 1972 and Carroll 1982, 43-58, see P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* (Cairo 1931) 141-43; T. C. Sarikakes, *The Hoplite General in Athens: A Prosopography* (diss.

death of the young emperor's mother, Agrippina, in AD 59, he may well have been one of those involved in facilitating burgeoning plans for a possible imperial visit to Greece. In AD 60 Nero initiated in Rome the first *Neroneia*, games modelled after those held in Greece, no doubt pointing the way to an imminent visit there to attend and perform in such games and so make reality of his claim, reported by Suetonius, that 'only the Greeks know how to listen and only they are worthy of my efforts'.[60]

Nero's strong personal interest in musical and poetic performance added depth to the regular epigraphic and visual metaphors associated with the Julio-Claudian emperors.[61] The obvious metaphor of Apollo, which, of course, had a precedent with Augustus but was particularly liked by Nero, is first securely recorded in Rome at the *Ludi Iuvenalium* of AD 59, when, following Nero's appearance on stage to sing to the lyre, the imperial claque, the 5000 'Augustiani', compared Nero with Apollo.[62] This was expanded upon and memorialised at the first *Neroneia* in AD 60 at which the young poet, Lucan, recited his *Laudes Neronis*, for he linked Nero as a poet and a god with Apollo, on the one hand, as an inspiration for Roman poetry, and with Phoebus, on the other, in his chariot as he brought light to the earth.[63] In Athens, the metaphor of Nero as Apollo would have been readily accepted and we may observe its impact in the years immediately preceding Nero's planned visit both in the setting up and re-dedication of a number of altars to Nero as the 'New Apollo' [64] and, indeed, in the refurbishment of the Theatre of Dionysos, with

Princeton, 1951; Chicago 1976) 74-76; S. Follet, *Athènes au II^e^ et au III^e^ siècle: études chronologiques et prosopographiques* (Paris 1976) 160-61; D. J. Geagan, 'Tiberius Claudius Novius, the hoplite generalship and the *Epimeleteia* of the Free City of Athens', *AJP* 100 (1979) 279-87; Perrin Saminadayar 2007, 139-41; D. J. Geagan, 'The Athenian elite: Romanization, resistance, and the exercise of power', in M. C. Hoff and S. I. Rotroff (eds), *The Romanization of Athens* (Oxford 1997) 25-8; Schmalz 2009, 290-92; J.-S. Balzat and A. J. S. Spawforth, '"Becoming Roman": À propos de deux générations parentes de néo-citoyens romains à Sparte et à Athènes', in R. Catling *et al.* (eds), *Onomatologos: studies in Greek personal names presented to Elaine Matthews* (Oxford 2010) 183-94; and Spawforth 2012, 131-32. For Paullina Scribonia, see Carroll 1982, 29-30; for her dedication on the Acropolis (*IG ii*^{2} 3199) see Schmalz 2009, 91-2 no. 112, and p. 300; and now J. M. Müller, 'Basen von Weihgeschenken für Athena auf der nachklassischen Akropolis', in Rumeich and Witschel 2010, 171 with pl. 28 figs. 18-19.

[60] Suetonius, *Nero*, 22, 3.

[61] See M. Bergmann, *Die Strahlen der Herrscher: Theomorphes Herrscherbild und politische Symbolik im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz 1998); Smith 2000, 532-42.

[62] Cassius Dio 61, 19-20. For the metaphors used by Nero see Champlin 2003, 112-44, esp. 135-36; and his 'Nero, Apollo and the Poets', *Phoenix* 57 (2003) 276-83. On Nero and Apollo see also now F. Graf, *Apollo* (London 2009) 126-27.

[63] These became part of the prologue to his *Pharsalia* i, 33-66.

[64] The best known is *IG ii*^{2} 3278 (Athens, EM 3110): P. Graindor, 'Inscriptions attiques d'époque romaine', *BCH* 51 (1927) 260 no. 23; *AE* 1929, 75; A. S. Benjamin and A. E. Raubitschek, 'Arae Augusti', *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 82 n. 74; Carroll 32; Højte 2005, 322 Nero no. 23; Champlin 2003, 117. See also the following three other bases or altars: (a & b) *SEG* 32 (1982) no. 252; Høtje 2005, 322 Nero nos. 24 and 25; and (c), *SEG* 44 (1994) no. 185. See also D. J. Geagan, 'Imperial Visits to Athens: the Epigraphical Evidence' in C. Pelekides (ed.), *Praktika tou H' Diethnous Sunedriou*

a dedicatory inscription to Dionysos Eleutherios and to Nero set over the *porta regia*, no doubt the intended venue for the emperor's forthcoming performances.[65]

According to Cassius Dio, Nero's prime motive in going to Greece was to take part in, and so win, the *periodos* – the series of games that then included the four original Panhellenic Games (Olympian, Pythian, Nemean and Isthmian) and the early Roman additions of the Aktia (at Nikopolis) and the Aspis (at Argos).[66] The idea for Nero's visit to Greece was probably given focus by the Olympic Games of AD 60/61 and planned for the next Olympic year, AD 64/65, but then suddenly delayed by the conspiracy of Gaius Calpurnius Piso. It would seem most likely, therefore, that preparatory building work, including imperial accommodation as well as improvements and repairs to venues and other existing buildings, would have been set in motion from AD 60 with the intention of everything being completed in advance of AD 64/65. In the end, however, the emperor did not visit Greece until AD 66-67, and, indeed, never actually went to Athens, despite the preparations of Novius and the Athenian élite.

What then is the sense of the Parthenon inscription, which may be dated to AD 61/62? It has been suggested that either the whole temple was rededicated to Nero or that a statue of the emperor was placed inside or in front of the temple.[67] Neither of these solutions, however, is very plausible, the former since the name of Nero is in the accusative rather than the dative (as with, for example, the rededication of the Rhamnous temple to Livia), the latter because the inscription should, in such a case, have been on the base of the statue itself

Ellenikes kai Latinikes Epigraphikes I (Athens 1984) 73-74 and 76; and comments in Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2007, 228-31 and Perrin Saminadayar 2007, 128-29 and 141. See now Schmalz 2009, 122 nos. 152-54 (who identifies them all as altars). Their dates may be earlier than is often supposed; on their function see Price 1984, 216-17. For Nero-Apollo on the coinage of AD 64-66 see C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman imperial policy* (London 1951) 170; Champlin 2003, 117 with fnn. 8 and 9 on p. 300.

[65] *IG ii*^{2} 3182: A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The theatre of Dionysos in Athens* (Oxford 1946) 247-49; Carroll 1982, 65; L. Polacco, *Il Teatro di Dioniso Eleutereo ad Atene* (Rome 1990) 181; S. Gogos, *To archaio Theatro tou Dionysou* (Ag. Demetrias 2005/6?) 193-207. Some readings in this inscription are difficult, but see now Schmalz 2009, 85-8 no. 107, who prefers the correction to the number of the tenure of the hoplite-generalship made by J. and L. Robert, 'Bulletin Épigraphique', *REG* 55 (1942) 332 no. 39, and, following Oliver 1950, 82-3, argues strongly for T. Cl. Hipparchos of Marathon as the dedicator (rather than Novius, who has been preferred by others). *Cf.* work at Delphi (probably after Nero's visit to Greece and in preparation for his planned second visit): R. Weir, 'Nero and the Herakles Frieze at Delphi', *BCH* 123 (1999) 397-404; Champlin 2003, 106-07 and 135-38; and for Herakles/Hercules as a metaphor for rulers see O. Palagia, 'Imitation of Herakles in ruler portraiture: A survey, from Alexander to Maximinus Daza', *Boreas* 9 (1986) 137-51.

[66] Cassius Dio, 63, 8, 3. See N. M. Kennel, '*Neron periodonikes*', *AJPh* 109 (1988) 239-51; A. J. S. Spawforth, 'Agonistic Festivals in Roman Greece', in S. Walker and A.Cameron (eds), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (*BICS Supplement* 55; London 1989) 193-97; and Shear 2001, 636-37.

[67] See Carroll 1982, 8-9 and 59-63.

not on the temple.[68] As a result, Carroll plausibly argued that it was simply an unusual honorary decree, or rather a summary record of such a decree.[69] He went on, however, to write that 'the archaeological record does not suggest a reason for the Athenians' honouring Nero' and so developed the idea that the location of the inscription was associated with military action against Parthia and proposed that the inscription commemorated an eastern victory, even though identifying such a victory proved impossible.[70] The apparent lack, however, of an archaeological and historical context for the inscription can now be filled by the repairs undertaken in the East pediment, as discussed above, together with the expected visit by the emperor in AD 64/5.[71]

The Parthenon inscription, indeed, seems to be the most grandiose example of a wider phenomenon of the Athenian *boule* or *demos* re-designating monuments, from the large Attalid ones to the simpler honorary statues on the Acropolis, to important Romans (including consuls), a phenomenon that may be observed in the Julio-Claudian period.[72] In the case of Nero himself, Favorinus records that a statue of Alkibiades was redesignated in his honour.[73] This process cannot have been seen as a cheapskate practice but must have been intended and understood as a means of embedding the Roman honorand directly in the famous past of Athens, thus monumetalising the fusion of new Roman values and Greece's heroic and cultured history.

In the case of the Parthenon, the scale and prominence of the inscription was perhaps justified by the fact that restoration was part of the package, much as it would seem to have been at Olympia in the previous century. There, a lightning strike in 56 BC, at the time of the Olympic Games, is recorded by Eusebius as having damaged the statue of Zeus inside the temple, which would suggest the burning and collapse of much of the roof.[74] The necessary repairs may well have been incremental. Indeed, it seems most likely that their final completion was recorded by the spectacular bronze inscription sunk into Phrygian marble and set in the pavement of the *pronaos* that named Agrippa, an inscription to be dated sometime in the years between 17 and 15 BC, as has now been suggested by Tony Spawforth.[75] In their recent study of the history of the sculptures from

[68] On the use of the accusative see Carroll 1982, 61; referring to A. Benjamin and A. E. Raubitscheck, 'Arae Augusti', *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 67-68, who gives further references at 68 n. 20.

[69] Carroll 1982, 62-63.

[70] Carroll 1982, 67-74. This idea has been followed by others, some of whom seem to take the idea now as fact: Spawforth 1994, 233-47 (234-35); Hoff 1996, 193-94; Hurwit 1999, 280-81; Shear 2001, 913-14; Perrin Saminadayar 2007, 139-41; Schmalz 2009, 124-25 and 290-92; Spawforth 2012, 132.

[71] The visit by Nero was mentioned by Andrews 1897, 308; but it is dismissed by Carroll 1982, 66.

[72] Shear 2007, 220-46; Keesling 2010, 303-27; Krumeich 2010, 329-98.

[73] [Dio Chrysostom], 37, 40; Shear 2007, 241.

[74] Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* iv, 2.

[75] For the inscription see W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, *Olympia V: Die Inschriften* (Berlin 1896) 775 no. 913 (ht. of letters 16cms.); Mallwitz 1972, 107; Mallwitz 1999, 274; A. J. S. Spawforth, '"*Kapetolia Olympia"*: Roman emperors and Greek *agones*', in S. Hornblower and C. Morgan (eds), *Pindar's poetry, patrons and festivals: from Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire* (Oxford

the temple of Zeus John Younger and Paul Rehak have argued forcefully that the reclining Pentelic marble Figures B and U from the corners of the West Pediment were the last in a sequence of repairs and replacements of and for the earlier Figures A and V.[76] They may well, in fact, have formed part of the Agrippan renovation.

Final speculations

There is one final subject for speculation that derives from the suggested association between the repairs and the grand Nero inscription. Might such repairs have included the addition of any subtle or even overt allusion to the person of the emperor Nero? It is quite possible that the simple addition of a radiate crown could have adequately introduced the Neronian metaphor, but we should consider the possibility that Apollo might actually have been given the features of the emperor himself, however controversial that might seem.[77] It is clear that, in addition to commissioned portraiture, the Romans practiced what Evelyn Harrison has called 'adaptive reuse', both in Greece and even back in Rome.[78] We hear, for example, that Nero's predecessor, Caligula, had wanted famous statues, including Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia, brought from Greece to have their heads removed and replaced with his own portrait.[79] Although no imperial portrait has yet been recognised as having been recut from a Classical Greek sculpture, Georgios Despinis has pointed out that a classicising Roman head of Athena from the area of the agora in Thessaloniki was reworked in the third century AD into a portrait of Julia Domna as Athena.[80] As a result, we might perhaps entertain the possibility that the head of Apollo

2006) 386-87; Spawforth 2012, 163-67. For a new series of lion-head spouts see F. Willemsen, *Die Löwenkopf-Wasserspeier vom Dach des Zeustempels* (Berlin 1959) 81-90 (series E 3), pls. 79-92.

[76] Younger and Rehak 2009, 58, 91-93, and 101: their dating seems too vague and too high. For earlier interventions see P. Grunauer, 'Der Zeustempel in Olympia – Neue Aspekte', *BJb* 171 (1971) 114-31; P. Grunauer, 'Der Westgiebel des Zeustempels von Olympia: Die münchener Rekonstruktion-Aufbau und Ergebnisse', *JdI* 89 (1974) 1-49; and P. Grunauer, 'Zur Ostansicht des Zeustempels', in A. Mallwitz (ed.), *Olympia-Bericht X. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* (Berlin 1981) 256-301. See also Mallwitz 1972, 105; Mallwitz 1999, 245-50.

[77] For a cautious reading of the case of the colossus commissioned for the *vestibulum* of the Domus Aurea see Smith 2000, 536-38; and Champlin 2003, 129-31. For the radiate crown of Nero-Apollo on the coinage of AD 64-66 see C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman imperial policy* (London 1951) 170; and Champlin 2003, 117 with nn. 8, 9 on p. 300.

[78] See Harrison 1990, 173.

[79] For Caligula see Suetonius, *Life of Caligula* xxii, 2, and lvii, 1; *cf.* Josephus, *Antiquitates Judicae* xix, 1, 1 (and 7, 8); and D. Boschung, *Die Bildnisse des Caligulas* (Berlin 1989) 82. I am very grateful to Cécile Evers for these references.

[80] G. Despinis, Th. Stefanidou Tiveriou and E. M. Voutiras, *Catalogue of sculpture in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki: I* (Thessalonike 1997) 99-101 no. 72 (figs. 160 and 164-65); K. Fittschen, 'Nicht Sabina', *AA* 2000, 508-10; B. Lundgreen, 'Use and abuse of Athena in Roman imperial portraiture: the case of Julia Domna', in J. Eiring and J. Mejer (eds), *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens IV* (Athens 2004) 70; and S. Descamps-Lequime and K Charatzopoulou

Figure 66 Cast of East Metope 9, Apollo and a giant

(whether Figure 'J' or 'I') could have been given the emperor's features. Indeed, one might similarly wonder if the head of Apollo in East Metope 9, which was carefully replaced at some point in time, might have formed part of the same series of repairs as those in the pediment and, thus, similarly have been given a portrait of Nero (Fig. 66).[81]

The strong probability, however, is that the lost pedimental Figure 'J' was not simply repaired but that it was actually completely replaced. The new figure may have simply repeated the earlier one as closely as the sculptor could, as seems to have happened with the replacement corner figures of Olympia's west pediment in the last decades of the first century BC. It is equally possible, however, if the figure was that of Apollo, it might have

(eds), *Au royaume d'Alexandre le Grand: La Macédoine antique* (Paris 2011) 575 no. 363. I am very grateful to Cécile Evers for pointing this head out to me. For a possible statue of Zeus with the features of Hadrian in the Olympieon at Athens, A. D. Nock, '*Sunnaos theos*', *HSCP* 41 (1930) 32.

[81] For repair to the head of the deity in East Metope 9 see Praschniker 1928, 210, fig. 126; Brommer 1967, 31 and pls. 65 and 67, 2; and Berger 1986, 65, with pls. 58-59. The date of this repair is essentially indeterminable, but the technique of insertion is different in the case of the head of the charioteer of North Metope 29 (lacks metal dowel): Praschniker 1928, 26 and 90; Brommer 1967, 55 and pls. 123 and 125, 1; Berger 1986, 45-46.

been decided that the new sculpture should not take the form of the original striding partially clad Apollo holding bow or lyre but of a Neronian Apollo dressed in festal attire and with a kithara, and that the Delian palm tree between him and his mother should be replaced with the Delphic *omphalos* (*cf.* Figs. 51-52). This would have represented an extraordinarily powerful image, one that would have fitted particularly well with Nero's intention to perform at the Pythian Games at Delphi.[82] Furthermore, it would have been a striking example of Novius' wish to appear responsive to Roman cultural pretensions in old Greece, even if it ultimately failed to secure Nero's presence in Athens.[83]

In any case, this avoidance of Athens by the emperor, at a moment when he could have easily taken part in the Great Panathenaia which fell during his visit, requires explanation, even though we can only really speculate. Perhaps it was because the Panthenaia was not part of the *periodos* and was not, therefore, particularly prestigious.[84] Or perhaps one should view matters more strategically, as Susan Alcock has suggested, the change of plans being caused by a shift in the direction of imperial thinking away from the Augustan, with a new concentration on Corinth being Nero's way of highlighting a 'New Greece', his imperial Achaia, a concept that left the 'Old Greece' of Athens and Sparta in the shade.[85] The 'tabloid' literary tradition, however, as represented by Cassius Dio and Suetonius, was that following the murder of his mother, Nero was afraid to go to Athens, since the Furies were said to live there.[86] This may seem exceedingly fanciful, but it should not perhaps be dismissed out of hand. If sometime before AD 61 the statue of Apollo, once placed near that of his mother Leto, was damaged by lightning (or earthquake), perhaps even falling out of the east pediment of the Parthenon, Nero may well have seen it as a particularly unlucky augury, which could not be expunged even by the repairs (however 'personalised') and the grandiose honorific inscription devised by Novius.

Finally, one long-term (and at the time no doubt unappreciated) benefit that might have stemmed from such an inauspicious event was that any possible intention that the emperor might have entertained of his freedman Acratus removing sculptures from the Parthenon

[82] For the Delphic image of Apollo see *Homeric hymn Apollo* (3), 182-85. For Nero and Delphi see R. Weir, 'Nero and the Herakles frieze at Delphi', *BCH* 123 (1999) 397-404; and Champlin 2003, 133-34. Champlin's work suggests that the use of Herakles in the Delphi frieze might mean that it was created after Nero's visit, and for a planned second visit that he did not live to achieve.

[83] For the interaction of the local élites with Rome see Price 1984, 65-77; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's cultural revolution* (Cambridge 2008) 441-54; and now Spawforth 2012, *passim*.

[84] For the general state of Athens see the survey, Shear 1981, 365-68; and *cf.* Perrin Saminadayar 2007, 37-38.

[85] See S. E. Alcock, 'Nero at play? The emperor's Grecian odyssey', in J. Elsner and J. Masters (eds), *Reflections of Nero: culture, history & representation* (London 1994) 98-111, esp. 105-06.

[86] Cassius Dio 62, 14, 4. Suetonius, *Nero* 34, adds his refusal to go to Eleusis. *Cf.* Champlin 2003, 90-91 and 98.

during his mission of AD 61 to gather treasures for his first palace, the Domus Transitoria, was deflected.[87]

Epilogue

After Nero's death it is normally assumed that his name would have been erased and all his portraits throughout the city taken down. This may not have been so rigorously carried out in every corner of the empire, and the Greeks seem always to have thought highly of Nero, not least as a result of his grant of freedom.[88] Nevertheless, the inscription in bronze letters on the east façade of the Parthenon would presumably have been particularly vulnerable. Indeed, the final rearrangement of the shields on the architrave, with only two of their number placed over the two central columns, means that the *litterae aureae* must, in fact, have been removed, while Pausanias' failure even to mention them might suggest that all had been made good by his time.

The process of cultural appropriation was to continue in the following century, for it would seem that the emperor Hadrian went even further than Nero. Not only did he perhaps have repairs made to the West Pediment (when reduced copies may have been created), but he is also recorded by Pausanias as having had a statue (*eikon*) of himself actually set up inside the Parthenon, near the statue of Athena.[89] The use here of the word *eikon* within a religious context would seem to suggest that this statue did not receive any cult attention but was rather honorific.[90] In the third century AD, however, the Athenians decreed that Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, should have a gold statue (*agalma*) of herself set up in the temple as Athena Polias and so receive sacrifices.[91] This implies that Julia Domna was represented as Athena, or rather that Athena was shown with the face of Julia Domna, and prompts the idea that something similar might have also

[87] See K. R. Bradley, *Suetonius' Life of Nero, an historical commentary* (Brussels 1978) 172 and 189; and Griffin 85 with fn. 10 on p. 256. For Acratus see Tacitus *Annals* 15, 45 and 16. 23. This palace was burnt in the great fire of AD 64.

[88] See Champlin 2003, 28-34; and Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2007, 225-49 (for the Parthenon inscription, 234).

[89] West Pediment repairs: Delivorrias 1982, 47-48 n. 20 (full bibliography); Despinis 1982, 81-85; B. F. Cook, 'Parthenon West Pediment B/C: the Serpent-fragment', in M. Schmidt (ed.), *Kanon, Festschrift E. Berger* (*AK Beiheft* 15; Basel 1988) 4-8 (esp. pp. 6-7 with nn. 14-18 and 20-24 (n. 19 – J. Binder's paper at the 1986 London conference was sadly not submitted for publication); Harrison 1990, 169-70; and Palagia 1993, 42 and 45. West Pediment 'copies': J. Travlos, '*Ho Thesauros tes Eleusinos kai ta antigrapha ton glypton tou dutikou aetomatos to Parthenonos*', *ADelt* 16 (1960) *Chronika* 55-60; Brommer 1963, 104-06; R. Lindner, 'Die Giebelgruppe von Eleusis mit dem Raub der Persephone', *JdI* 97 (1982) 303-400; and Palagia 1993, 42-43. For the Agora pieces: H. Thompson, 'The Odeion in the Athenian agora', *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 103-24, pls. 59-76; and Palagia 1993, 47. For Hadrian's statue, Pausanias i, 24, 7.

[90] For a discussion of this issue see Price 1984, 176-88.

[91] See J. H. Oliver, 'Julia Domna as Athena Polias', in *Athenian studies presented to William Scott Ferguson* (*HSCP* Supp. 1; Harvard 1940) 521-28; *cf.* Lesk 2004, 257.

happened in Thessaloniki where, as noted above, a head of Athena was recut to present a portrait of the emperor's wife.

We have seen how the Parthenon was, in antiquity, both vulnerable and mutable, but there was much more to come. It was to suffer a severe fire, conversion into a Christian church and then an Ottoman mosque, a catastrophic explosion when an Ottoman gunpowder store was struck by a Christian mortar bomb, removal of much of its sculptural decoration for Lord Elgin and, finally, modern 'sanctification' as an archaeological relic.[92] Any modern understanding of the Parthenon sculptures must attempt to recognise and accommodate all the possible shifts in form and meaning, however subtle. To enable this, however, we must first seek out what evidence has been preserved across the millennia by looking closely and then thinking about what we can see both historically and imaginatively.

[92] For this final stage see Y. Hamilakis, *The Nation and its ruins* (Oxford 2007); D. Damaskos and D. Plantzos (eds), *A singular antiquity. Archaeology and Hellenic identity in twentieth-century Greece* (Athens 2008); Y. Hamilakis, 'Indigneous Hellensims/indigenous identities: classical antiquity, materiality, and modern Greek society', in G. Boys-Stones *et al.* (eds), *The Oxford handbook of Hellenic studies* (Oxford 2009) 19-31.

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The cover image is of Figure D from the East Pediment of the Parthenon.
(Photo courtesy The British Museum.) All rights reserved.

The sculptural decoration of the Parthenon, conceived at the height of Athens' power, was deeply rooted in the culture and aspirations of the city-state. The group of huge figures carved completely in the round and set in the triangular gable at the east end, the front of the temple, were perhaps among the most important.

This new study by Dyfri Williams uses all the visible clues provided by the sculptures and the floor blocks on which they were once mounted to reconstruct the figures and the way they interacted. Securer identifications for the figures are thus reached and a better understanding of the allusive way the pediment's subject, the birth of Athena, was treated. To aid the process, a series of sketch-drawings of each figure seen from the front, combined with a bird's eye sketch of it in place on the pediment floor, has been prepared by Kate Morton.

Detailed observation and analysis lead to an unexpected identification of the superb Figure D, shown on the cover, that opens up new ways of reading the remaining groups. It also reveals how the arrangement of the sculptures that has come down to us is in fact Roman rather than Classical, for several sculptures were disturbed by a rarely mentioned Roman repair. Finally, a highly intriguing historical context is suggested for this repair and its motivation.

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