

# THE PARTHENON

*From Antiquity to the Present*

Edited by

JENIFER NEILS



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75. Reconstruction of the central akroterion of the Parthenon with casts of extant fragments. Basel, Skulpturhalle. Photo: D. Widmer SH 214.

## FIRE FROM HEAVEN: PEDIMENTS AND AKROTERIA OF THE PARTHENON

Olga Palagia

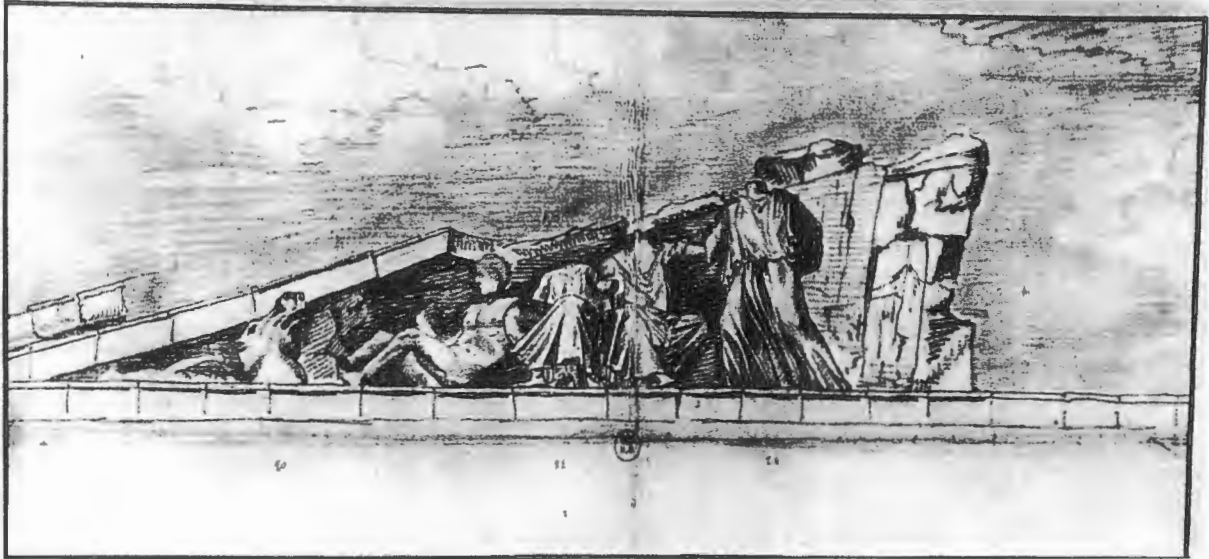
“The sculptures in the pediment above the entrance to the temple called the Parthenon represent the birth of Athena, while those in the rear show Poseidon challenging Athena for the land.” Building accounts of the Parthenon apart,<sup>1</sup> Pausanias’ (1.24.5) laconic statement is the only ancient testimony on the pedimental sculptures. Far from being considered the crowning achievement of the Periclean age, the architectural sculptures of the Parthenon were largely ignored by their contemporaries who were clearly more impressed by the glint of the gold and ivory cult statues produced by Pheidias and his followers.<sup>2</sup> Only the minor art of Attic red-figure vase painting of the late fifth and fourth centuries reflects selected figures or motifs from the pediments.<sup>3</sup> In an age when bronze was the standard medium for statuary, architectural sculptures in marble were probably perceived as superior moldings that carried messages introducing the visitor to the cult. Relief art in the Classical and Hellenistic periods reproduces echoes of Athena and Poseidon in the west pediment, as for example Herakles and his Amazon opponent on the Bassai frieze, and Athena and Zeus on the Great Altar at Pergamon.<sup>4</sup> It was mainly in the Roman period that the Parthenon pediments began to make a lasting impression on freestanding sculpture. Many figures, chiefly from the west pediment, were adapted by copyists in Attica, Ephesos, Rome, and elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> Only after a good number of the Parthenon marbles were removed by Lord Elgin and reached England, becoming accessible to a wider public as of 1817, were they upheld as paragons of the classical style, a position they have retained ever since.<sup>6</sup> They moreover



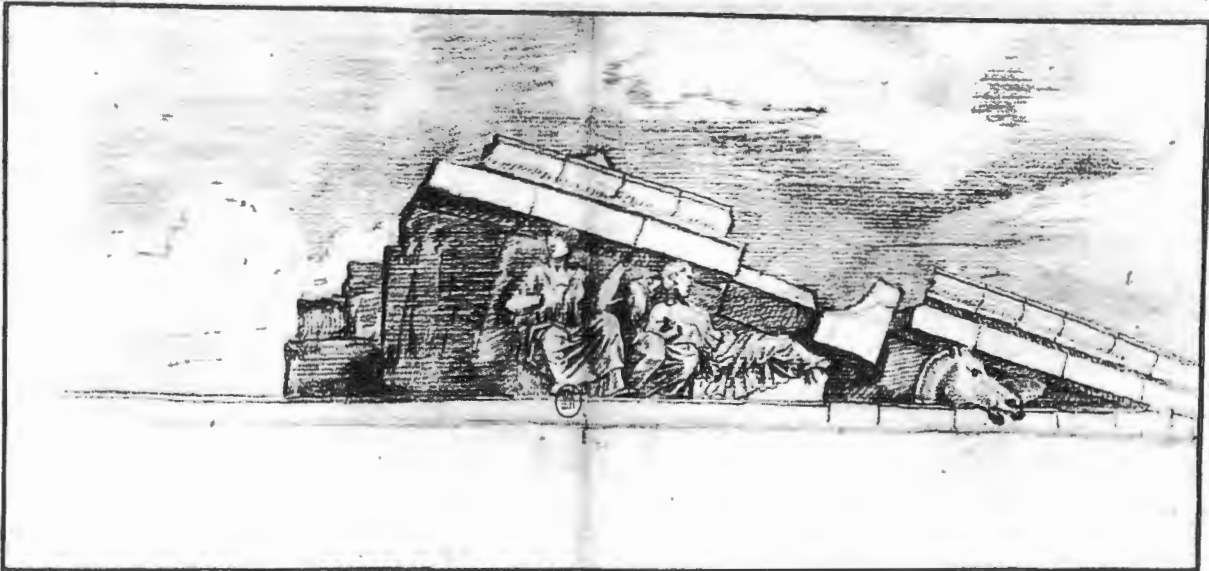
acquired political significance shortly after the foundation of the national Greek state in the 1830s, when, under the influence of German romanticism, the Parthenon was invested with a new aura as a token of Greece reborn, modeled on classical Athens. The restoration of the Parthenon, initiated by the German architect Leo von Klenze in 1834, has developed into one of the perennial projects of the new nation.<sup>7</sup> But the citizens of fifth-century Athens rather looked to the Panathenaic peplos as an embodiment of national pride.<sup>8</sup>

### History

The pedimental sculptures are presently divided among the British Museum in London, the Acropolis Museum in Athens, and the Louvre in Paris. There was some damage to the east pediment in the Roman period as witness the replacement of block 19 of the horizontal cornice.<sup>9</sup> No repairs to the actual statues are documented.<sup>10</sup> Their gradual deterioration began in earnest with the removal of the central figures of the east pediment to make way for the apse of a Christian basilica constructed probably in the sixth century A.D.<sup>11</sup> The condition of the pedimental statues in 1674 is documented by the drawings of a Flemish artist known as Jacques Carrey (Figs. 76 and 77), commissioned by the marquis de Nointel, French ambassador to Constantinople.<sup>12</sup> Their value cannot be overestimated as the temple suffered irreversible damage in the course of the Venetian bombardment of 1687 under Morosini's command. Several statues were dislocated; others fell to the ground or were severely damaged in Morosini's attempt to remove them in 1688.<sup>13</sup> As a result of Morosini's intervention odd fragments from the Parthenon were either embedded in Turkish houses built with debris<sup>14</sup> or ended up in European collections, notably the head Laborde in the Louvre (Fig. 78a-b).<sup>15</sup> The great bulk of the pedimental sculptures was removed by the agents of Lord Elgin, led by Giovanni Battista Lusieri, in 1802-3, and eventually sold to the British Museum. In addition to removing the statues from the east pediment (as drawn by Carrey, Fig. 76a-b), Lusieri's men recovered several fragments of the west pediment through demolition of a Turkish house and by excavation in front of the Parthenon where Morosini's bombardment had tossed some of them to the ground.<sup>16</sup> The condition of the west pediment after the explosion is recorded in Richard

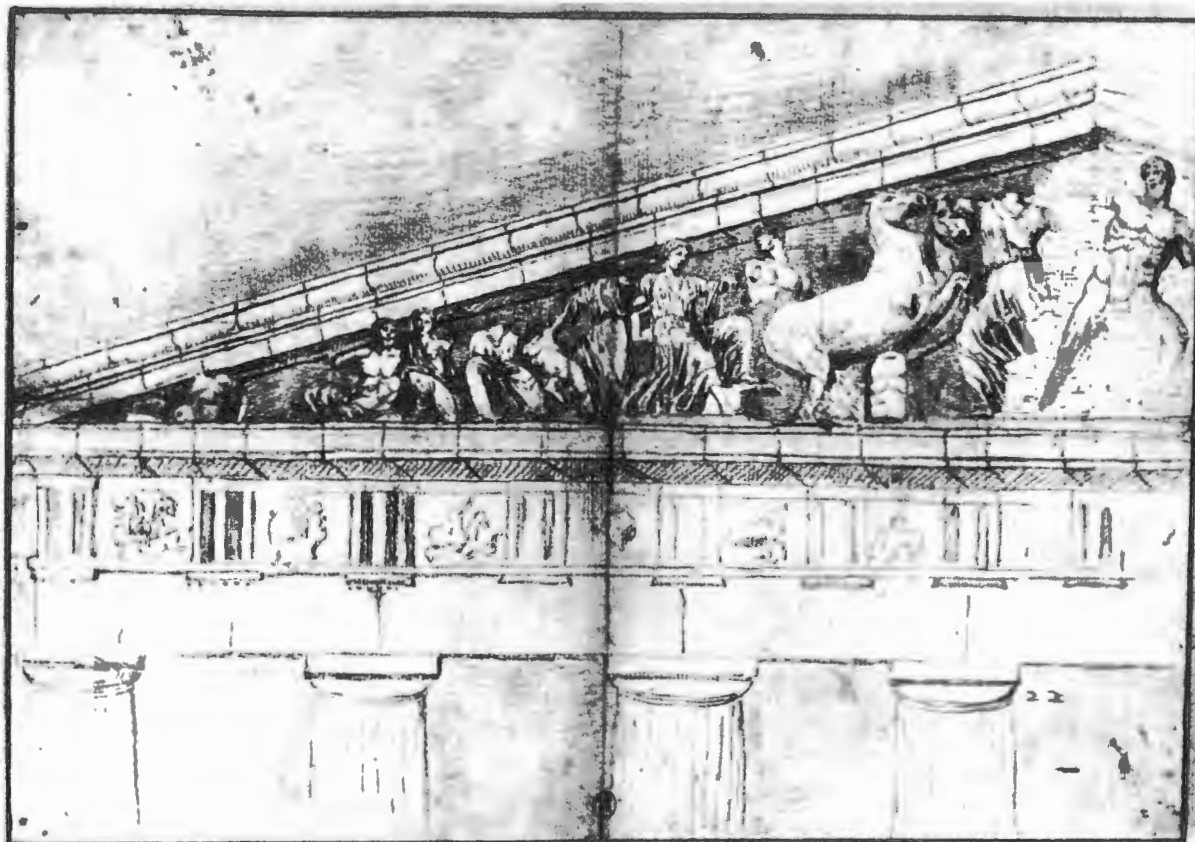


76a. East pediment. Drawing by Jacques Carrey. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. After Palagia 1993, fig. 1.

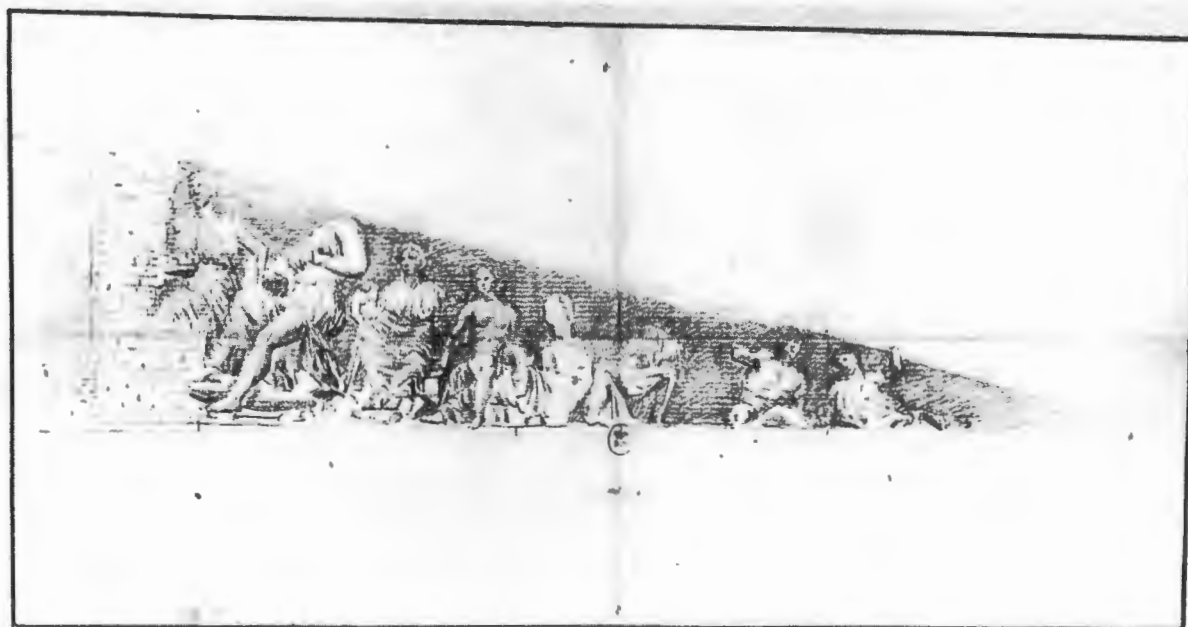


76b. East pediment. Drawing by Jacques Carrey. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. After Palagia 1993, fig. 2.

Dalton's drawing of 1749.<sup>17</sup> William Gell's watercolor of 1801 (Plate 2) captures the excavation in front of the west façade of the temple, as well as the three remaining statues in the north end of the pediment.<sup>18</sup> Whereas the reclining river god in the corner was eventually taken down by Lusieri, Kekrops and his daughter remained on the pediment on the mistaken assumption that they were Roman portraits of the emperor Hadrian and his wife Sabina.<sup>19</sup> A handful of statues that were left behind by Elgin, alongside a few excavated by the Greek state in front of the



77a. West pediment. Drawing by Jacques Carrey. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. After Palagia 1993, fig. 3.



77b. West pediment. Drawing by Jacques Carrey. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. After Palagia 1993, fig. 4.



78a. Plaster cast of Laborde head, before restoration. After Sauer 1903, pl. I top.



78b. Plaster cast of Laborde head, before restoration. After Sauer 1903, pl. II top.

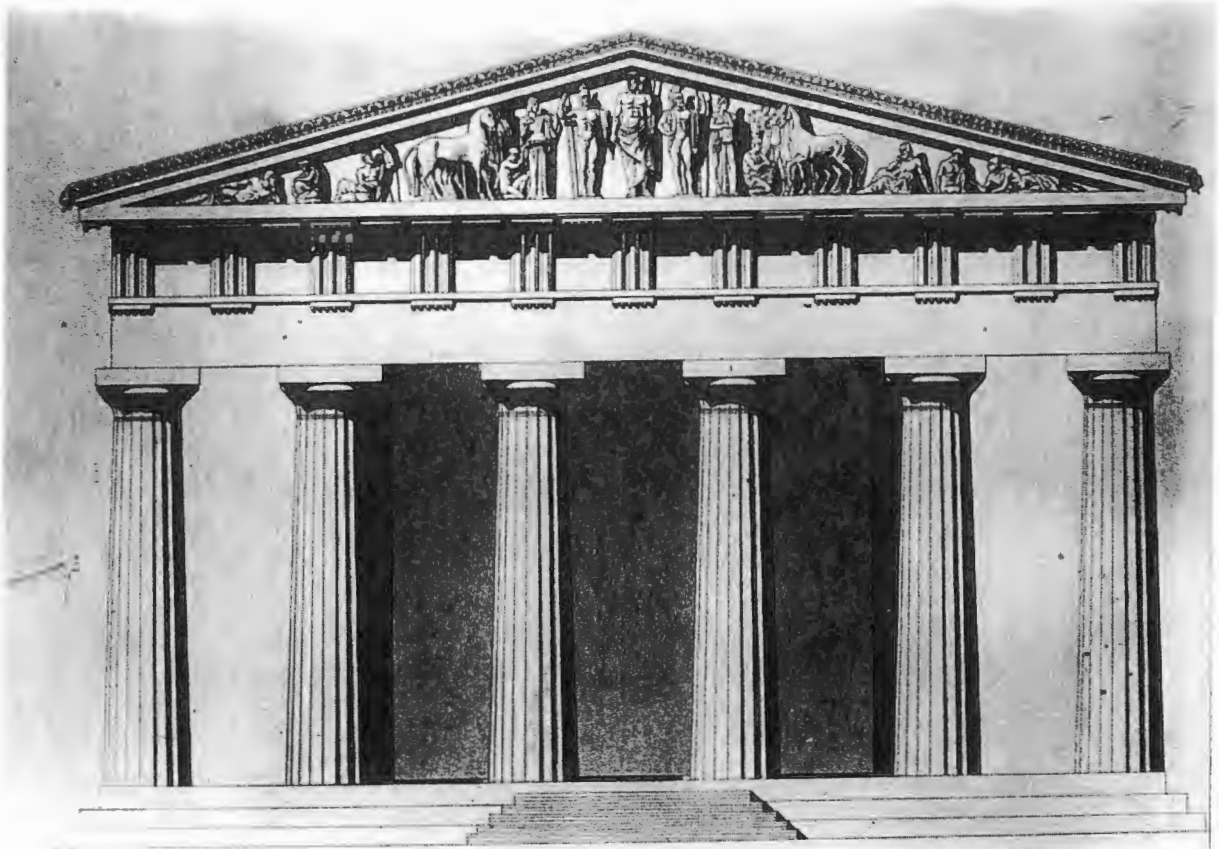


Parthenon in the 1830s and 1840s, are now housed in the Acropolis Museum.<sup>20</sup>

Because they are scattered and in fragmentary state, the pedimental statues cannot be properly understood without due consideration to technical aspects such as weathering, piecing, and means of attachment. After nearly two centuries of Parthenon scholarship there is still room for debate, not to mention further fragments yet to be found in marble piles on the Acropolis or embedded in medieval or later walls. The figures in each pediment are identified by letters of the alphabet from A to P (east) and from A to W (west) following a system introduced by Michaelis in 1871.<sup>21</sup> The various identifications proposed for them have been tabulated by Michaelis,<sup>22</sup> Brommer,<sup>23</sup> and Palagia.<sup>24</sup>

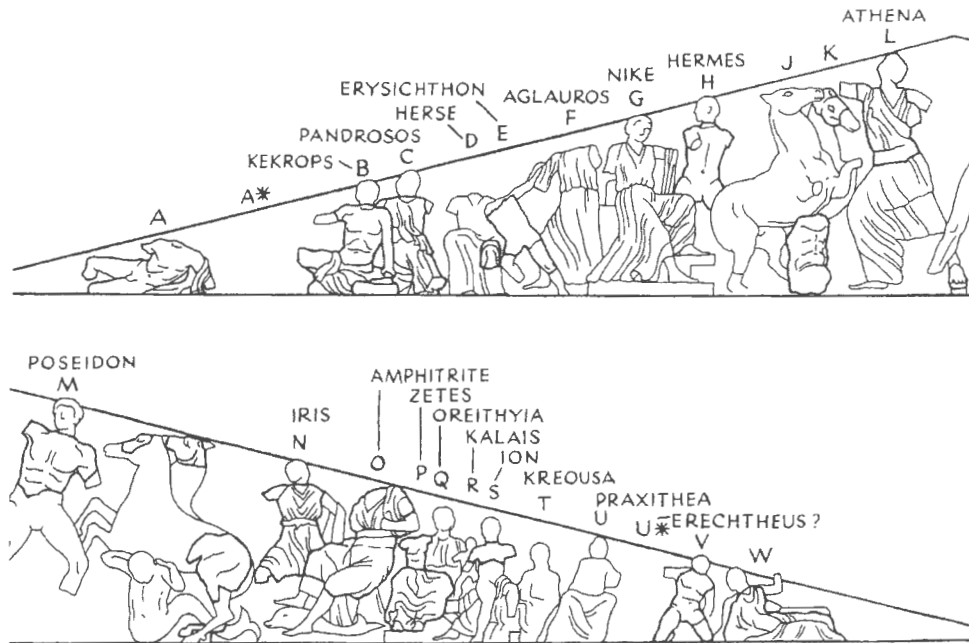
### Design and Execution

Quarrying for the pedimental sculptures was begun in 439/8 B.C., sculpting in the following year. The work was presumably finished by 433/2 B.C., the final year of the temple construction. Expenses for quarrying Pentelic marble and transporting it to the Acropolis as well as sculptors' fees are recorded in the building accounts of the Parthenon.<sup>25</sup> It is interesting that quarrying went on every year and that road-building expenses were also incurred annually, suggesting that several new quarries were opened on Mount Pentelikon in an effort to provide the finest marble.<sup>26</sup> This is hardly surprising considering the fact that these were the largest pedimental statues in Classical Greece, nearly the only ones finished in the round,<sup>27</sup> and that piecing was confined to a minimum. More than one sculptor's studio is mentioned in the accounts, implying a large number of hands at work, probably employed by two masters.<sup>28</sup> The sculptors were paid 16,392 drachmai in 434/3 B.C.<sup>29</sup> We do not know whether this represents the annual rate but the amount sounds astronomical compared with the total cost of 3,010 drachmai per pediment for the (admittedly smaller) temple of Asklepios at Epidauros.<sup>30</sup> Stanier calculated the combined cost of the pediments and akroteria to have been 17 talents.<sup>31</sup> It was recently pointed out, however, that as he did not take account of the use of recycled material from the earlier Parthenon, his estimate of the total building cost might be rather inflated.<sup>32</sup>



79. Reconstruction of the east façade of Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens OL. 174.

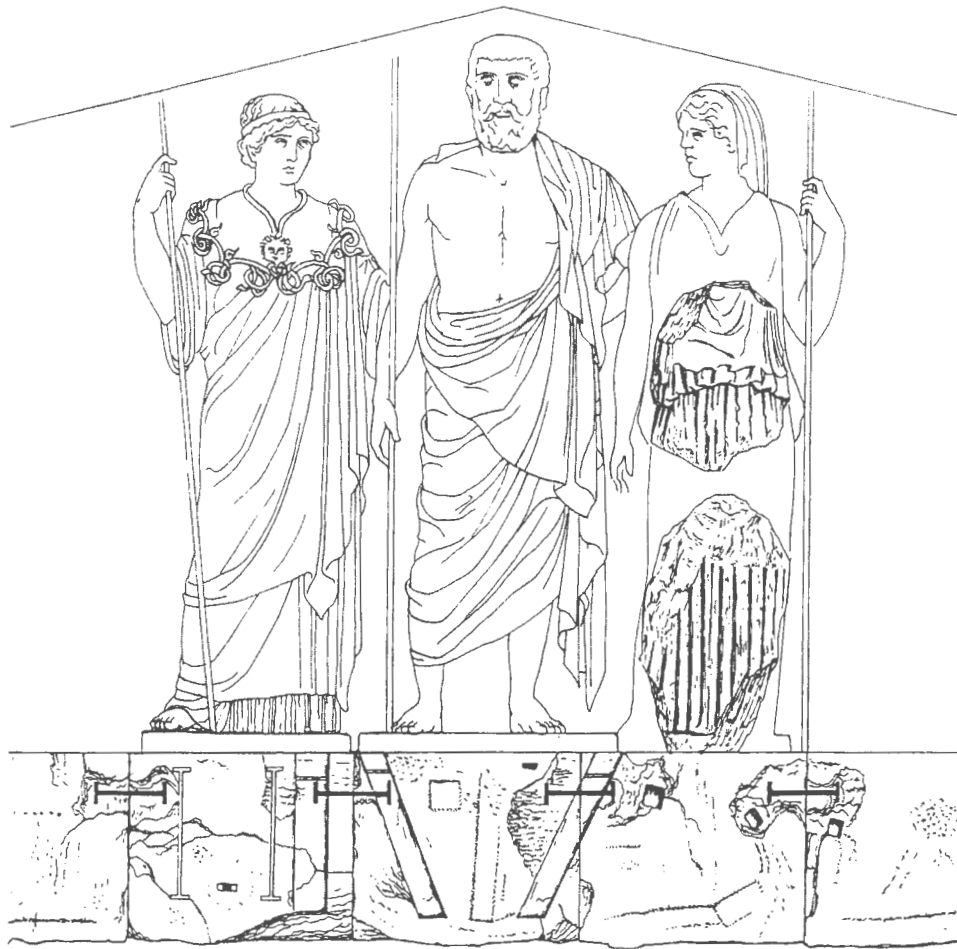
The Parthenon pediments surpassed in scale and quality of execution their immediate predecessor, the pediments of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Fig. 79), completed about twenty years earlier. The Olympia pediments seem to have inspired the carvers of the Parthenon pediments in several matters of technique and composition. The maximum height of the tympanum at Olympia is 3.44 meters, that of the Parthenon 3.47 meters. The depth of the pediment floor is ninety centimeters for both the Parthenon and the west pediment of Olympia, whereas the east pediment of Olympia has a depth of one meter.<sup>33</sup> In both temples the pedimental statues were attached to the floor or the tympanum (or both) by means of dowels or cramps. The west pediment of the Parthenon (Fig. 80) seems to draw on the composition of the east pediment of Olympia,<sup>34</sup> echoing, for example, the reclining spectators in the angles and the chariots flanking the central group. The introduction of river gods and other local personifications encompassing the action is also a borrowing from Olympia. The group of quietly standing figures in the middle of the east pediment of Olympia may have served as a model for the (now lost)



80. West pediment. Drawing: Marion Cox, after Palagia 1993, fig. 22.

central triad of the east pediment of the Parthenon (Fig. 81) although there is no consensus on this. Such parallels bring to the mind Pausanias' statement that Alkamenes, Pheidias' pupil, was one of the masters of the Olympia pediments.<sup>35</sup> Even though the Parthenon pediments are anonymous, Pheidias' influence is pervasive, and it is not inconceivable that one or more of his associates had worked in both temples. Why Pausanias is silent on the authorship of the Parthenon pediments while he is so forthcoming in the case of other temples,<sup>36</sup> remains a riddle.

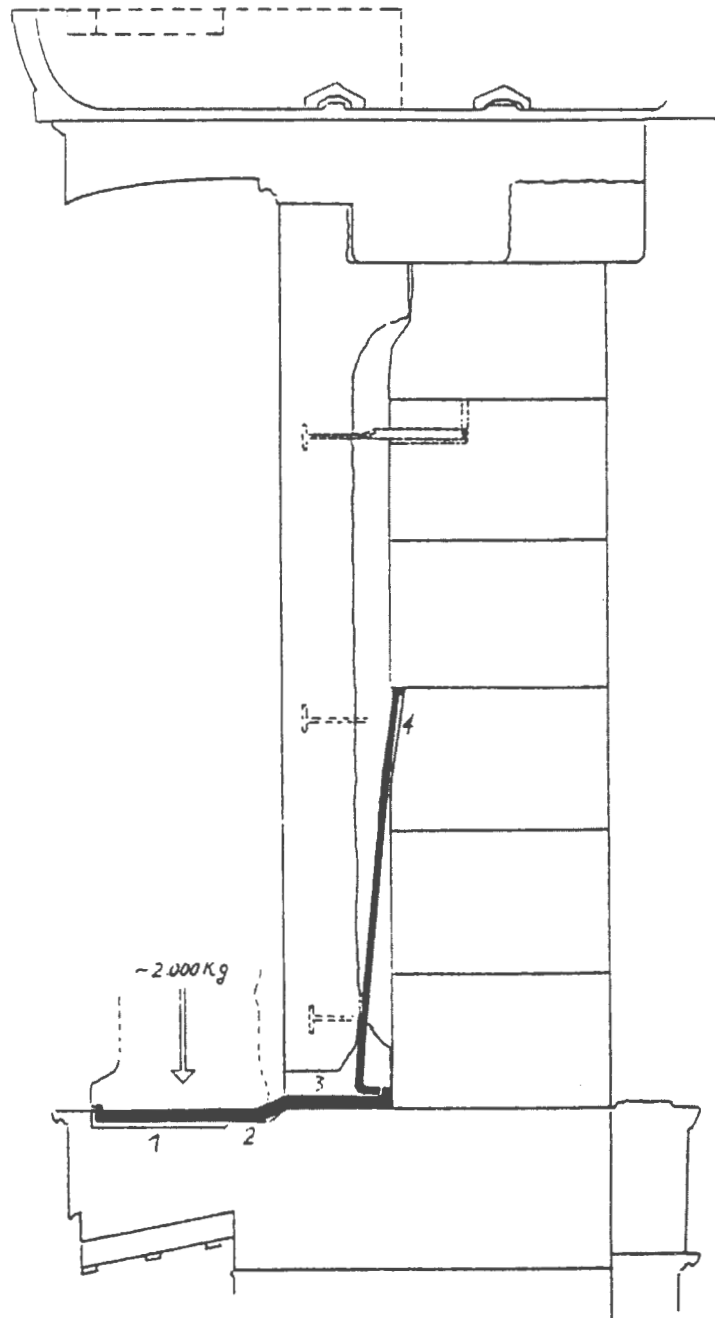
In the case of the Parthenon, seventy centimeters of the pediment floor projected into space. To reinforce the support of the heavy central figures that literally rested on the overhanging cornice, the Parthenon masters invented a revolutionary technique of structural iron (Fig. 82). Five L-shaped bars, some running obliquely along the floor, were inserted into both the horizontal cornice and the tympanum at the center of each pediment. These bars projected into the statues' plinths, anchoring them to the floor and acting as cantilevers by transmitting the weight of the statues to the back of the horizontal cornice.<sup>37</sup> The heaviest statues were supported by pairs of bars. Some statues projected up to thirty centimeters beyond the horizontal cornice,<sup>38</sup> others overlapped the raking cornice. As a rule, seated figures do not have plinths and their feet tend to project beyond the pediment floor. Their diagonal setting, their tendency to burst from their frame and the scale discrepancies



81. Conjectural reconstruction of the missing figures in the middle of the east pediment: Athena, Zeus and Hera. Drawing: Kostis Iliakis, after Palagia 1993, fig. 20.

*Blocks 12, 13 and 14 of the horizontal cornice preserve cuttings for iron bars and dowels. Hera is made up of the head Acropolis Museum 2381 and the Peplos Figure Wegner. Athena and Zeus are imaginary, based on Classical prototypes.*

among them (due to age, rank, gender, or position within the raking cornice),<sup>39</sup> contribute to a sense of restless motion. The general upheaval is understandable in the west pediment representing the dispute for the land, less so in the east, which carries a birth scene. Athena's birth is set on Mount Olympus, while the contest with Poseidon takes place on the Acropolis, literally next door to the Parthenon, on the site later occupied by the Erechtheion. The juxtaposition of the Athenian Acropolis to Mount Olympus was clearly deliberate. Even though the Parthenon was sacred to Athena, the center of each pediment is occupied by a male god, Zeus in the east and Poseidon in the west. The east façade is moreover dominated by the twelve gods, who recur in the pediment, frieze, metopes, even the statue base within the cella: the Athenians are here



82. The position of iron bars supporting the heaviest statues in the Parthenon pediments. Drawing: M. Korres.

obviously evoking the protection of the Olympians, not relying on their patron goddess alone.<sup>40</sup>

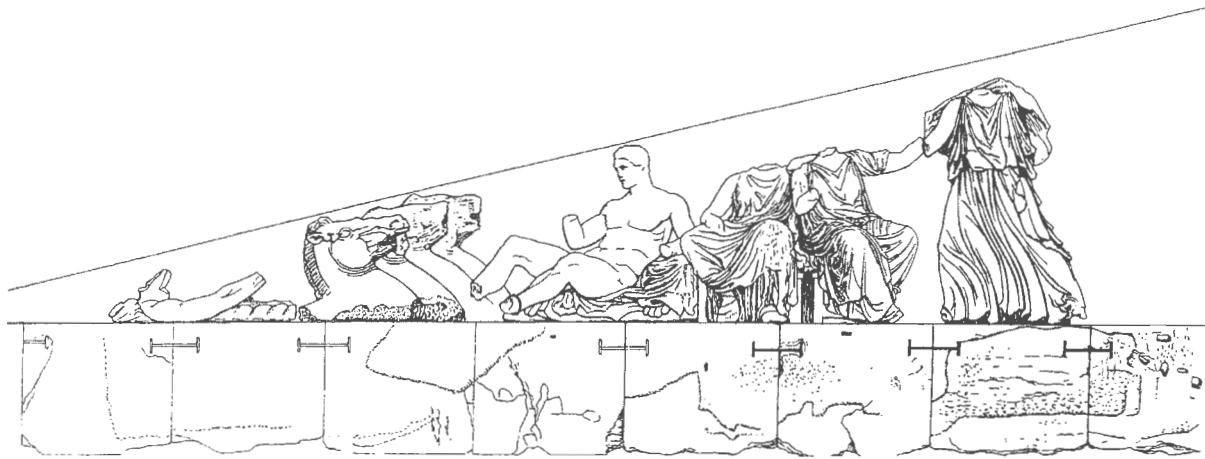
### East Pediment

The east pediment illustrates the occasion for the principal festival of Athens: Athena's birthday was celebrated at midsummer with the



83. South end of east pediment: Helios (A) driving two pairs of horses (B and C). A and B are in the British Museum, C in the Acropolis Museum. After a cast in the Athens metro station "Akropolis". Photo: O. Palagia.

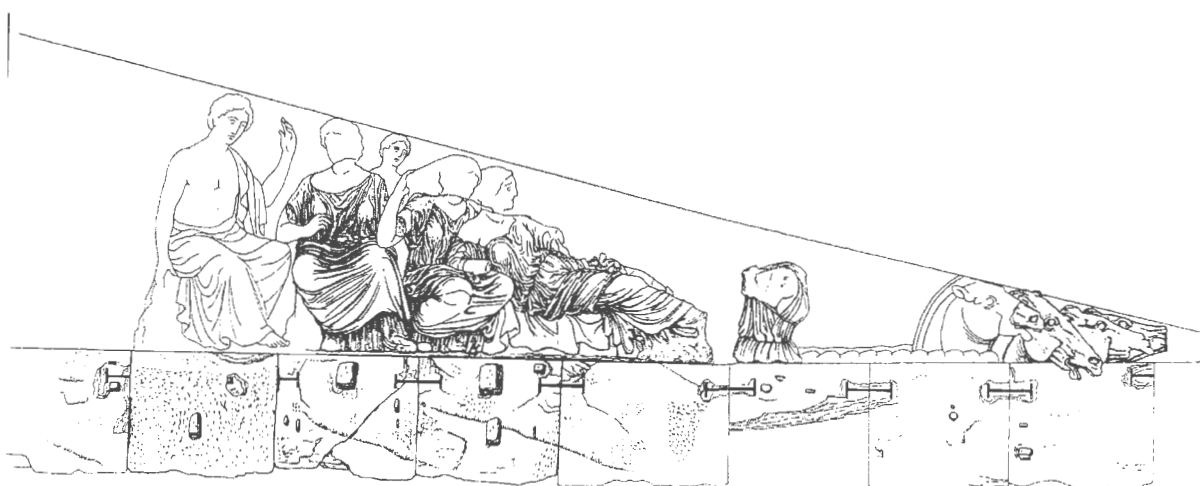
Panathenaia, which forms the subject of the Parthenon frieze. Her peplos, offered every four years at the Great Panathenaia, appears on the east frieze just below the pediment (Plate 4). It was decorated with the gigantomachy, which is depicted in the east metopes. In Attic art before the Parthenon Athena's birth is confined to vase paintings representing a fully grown goddess, albeit in miniature, springing from Zeus' head, and attended by various gods. Hephaistos is essential to the drama for he split open Zeus' skull with an axe. Zeus is always seated. Even though all the main actors are missing, there is general consensus that the master of the Parthenon pediment broke with tradition and chose the aftermath of the birth as described in the *Homeric Hymn to Athena* (1.7–16). Athena stands by her father's side, equal in scale, removing her gear (Fig. 81), while the Sun (Fig. 83) stops in his tracks to calm the waves, which were shaken by an earthquake. The scene has a cosmic setting (Figs. 84 and 85): Mount Olympos is encompassed by the ocean, whence the Sun (Helios, A) rises at left and into which the Moon (Selene, N) plunges at right. The pediment floor serves as the horizon, its angles penetrated by figures moving up and down. This cosmic frame may have been a Pheidian invention, as it is found not only on Pheidian statue bases with birth scenes<sup>41</sup> but also in the east (Fig. 86; see also Fig. 47) and north metopes of the Parthenon.<sup>42</sup> Personifications of astral bodies driving their chariots over the horizon begin to appear in Attic vase painting soon after the completion of the



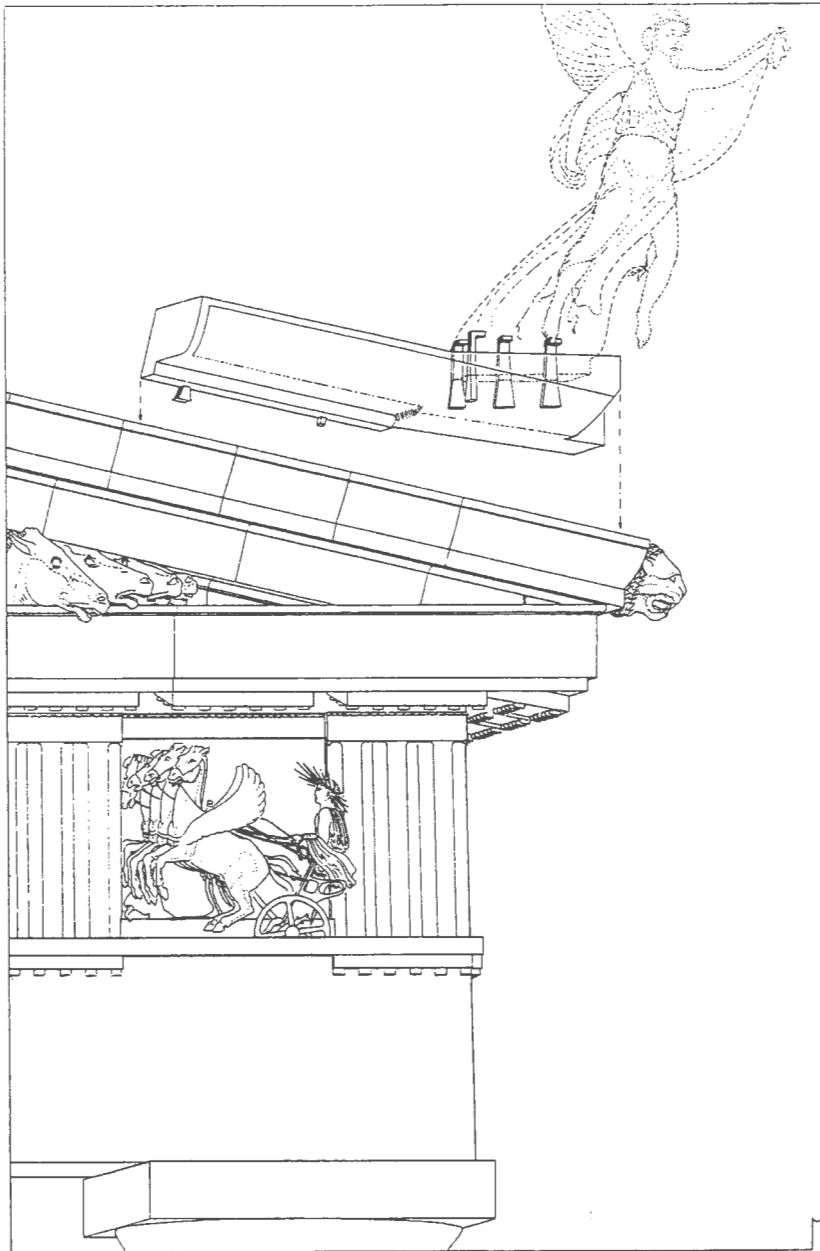
84. East pediment: Helios (A) with his horses (B, C), Dionysos (D), Kore (E), Demeter (F), Hekate (G). Drawing: Kostis Iliakis, after Palagia 1993, fig. 19.

Parthenon.<sup>43</sup> As the pediment faces east, it is meant to be illuminated by the first rays of the sun rising over Mount Hymettos, for the action is taking place at dawn.

The scene can be “read” continuously from left to right thanks to the profile view of the corner figures. The identity of the gods attending Athena’s birth is by no means certain as we have no “canonical” twelve gods as yet. Correlation with the gods in the east frieze, immediately below the pediment, can be particularly helpful. Between the horses of Helios (B, C; Fig. 84) and Selene (O, PA, PB; Fig. 85) the surviving statues form two symmetrical groups: a reclining figure (male [D] in the south, female [M] in the north) faces the corner, followed by two seated figures



85. East pediment: Apollo (conjectural), K (Leto), Eros (conjectural), L (Artemis), M (Aphrodite), Selene (N) with her horses (O, PA, PB). Drawing: Kostis Iliakis, after Palagia 1993, fig. 21.



86. East metope 14 with Helios, Selene's horses in the pediment, conjectural akroterion on NE corner. Drawing: M. Korres.

(E, F in the south, and K, L in the north). The south group also comprises a running girl (G). A youth in flight is sometimes postulated on the north side by reasons of symmetry,<sup>44</sup> but the seated figure K leans so far out of balance that she was probably supported by another seated figure. A fragment of a running girl (Acropolis Museum 922),<sup>45</sup> wearing a peplos that exposes her thigh may be additionally restored here as a pendant to figure G. Mantis has recently added two joining fragments to the running girl, interpreting her as moving to the spectator's left, and identifying her



with one of the daughters of Kekrops (F) in the west pediment (Fig. 80).<sup>46</sup> The restored plaster figure that he illustrates,<sup>47</sup> however, suggests that he may be looking at the figure back to front and that her naked thigh is the left rather than the right. If the figure is indeed from the pediments and not the akroteria, it is best placed in the right side of the east pediment rather than the left side of the west.<sup>48</sup>

The reclining position of god D (Fig. 84) and his raised right hand, once holding a cup, denote a symposiast. Because women do not recline at table, M rests in the arms of her companion, L (Fig. 85). Both D and M recline on rocks of Mount Olympos covered with their garments.<sup>49</sup> D is the only pedimental figure retaining his head (Fig. 87). He has spread his himation over a panther skin, exposing his powerful physique. His long hair is caught in two braids at the nape of his neck, an old-fashioned hairstyle that is also found in one of the old men in the north frieze (X 41).<sup>50</sup> D is carved out of a single block of Pentelic marble except for his right foot, which was attached by means of a pin. Carrey's drawing preserves his bare left foot, now broken off (Fig. 76a). His portrayal as a symposiast, the feline skin and the fact that he turns his back on the other gods characterize him as the non-Olympian Dionysos, also the odd-man-out in the east frieze.<sup>51</sup> Goddesses E and F sit on chests, using a pile of clothing as cushions (Fig. 87). They are generally identified as the Eleusinian goddesses, often shown as a pair in Greek art. Being headless, they can be distinguished by their dress code, chiton for Kore (E) and peplos for Demeter (F). Kore's chiton is sleeveless and has an overfold. Chitons with overfolds are rare; they are nevertheless found in K in this pediment (Fig. 88), as well as in the Nemesis of Agorakritos.<sup>52</sup> The chests locate the scene in the women's quarters. E and F are carved out of a single block, the outlines of which are cleverly disguised by their oblique setting. Demeter is also close to Dionysos in the frieze.<sup>53</sup> G, shown on a smaller scale, must be a young girl, judging by her size and the fact that her peplos is open, exposing her leg.<sup>54</sup> She clearly runs in fright and can be compared with west pediment F (Fig. 80), also making her escape from a terrifying central scene. G's billowing cloak, now mostly broken off, would have been balanced by her large plinth, exceptionally embedded into the horizontal cornice. Her identity is problematic.<sup>55</sup> Her association with Demeter and Kore suggests that she may be Hekate, who is sometimes shown running with torches to light Kore's way in Attic red-figure vase painting.<sup>56</sup>



87. East pediment A, B, D, E, F, G. London, British Museum. Photo: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



88. East pediment K, L, M. London, British Museum. Photo: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

On the other side of the pediment, K, L, and M (Fig. 88) sit or recline on rocks. They all wear chitons and himatia. L and M were carved out of one block which makes the master's virtuosity all the more remarkable. Technical accomplishment and mastery of style here represent one of the highlights of the Parthenon sculptures. M's stylistic similarity to Agorakritos' Nemesis has often been remarked.<sup>57</sup> This group of goddesses appears open-ended and must have comprised a fourth figure, seated at K's proper right to support her. As this hypothetical fourth statue rested on block 19 of the horizontal cornice, which was replaced in the Roman period, it may have been damaged in antiquity.<sup>58</sup> In the visual language of the Parthenon pediments, figures leaning on one another are blood relations; we are therefore compelled to interpret this closely knit composition as a family group. M is recognized as Aphrodite on account of her relaxed stance and discretely provocative clothing. Her indifference to the central episode is not easily explained. She lies in L's lap just like Aphrodite sits arm-in-arm with Artemis in the frieze.<sup>59</sup> L must be a youthful goddess judging by her shoulder-cord, normally worn by active figures. She has been variously interpreted as Dione, Aphrodite's mother, or Peitho, who shared Aphrodite's cult on the south slope, Hestia, or Themis. But the most plausible identification is Artemis, based on the arrangement of the east frieze.<sup>60</sup> If L is Artemis, then K could be her mother Leto, and the hypothetical seated figure on her proper right might well be Apollo (Fig. 85). A concentration of celestial deities on this side would form a pendant to the chthonic divinities (Eleusinian goddesses with Dionysos) at the other end and would be in accord with similar groupings in the frieze. The composition here could be hypothetically completed with Eros standing on a ledge behind L's rocky seat<sup>61</sup> and with the running girl (Akr. Mus. 922) set beside Apollo. She could be one of the Graces, who also attended Aphrodite's birth on the statue base of Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia.<sup>62</sup> The running Graces are also shown in close proximity to the Apolline triad in the east frieze of the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis.<sup>63</sup> Eros' presence in the east pediment is quite plausible, for he also accompanies his mother in the east frieze,<sup>64</sup> and the pair is also shown on adjacent metopes on the east side.<sup>65</sup>

Besides the figures drawn by Carrey (Fig. 76a-b), the torso of Selene (N) and the horse heads from her chariot (PA and PB) (Fig. 85), other

attributions to the east pediment include the female head Acropolis Museum 2381 (consisting of three fragments)<sup>66</sup> and the so-called Peplos Figure Wegner made up of two nonjoining fragments, Acropolis Museum 6711 and 6712 (Fig. 81).<sup>67</sup> The peplos figure is a frontal, erect goddess forming a sharp contrast to the agitated figures in the pediment sides. The head 2381 wears a headband pierced with holes for the insertion of metallic ornaments. Three additional rows of holes, large and small, in her wavy hair must have held bronze flowers, berries and leaves. The back of the head is covered with a veil as is appropriate for a matronly figure. A large dowel hole in its right side served for attachment to the tympanum, indicating that only the left profile was visible, therefore the head was turned toward the pediment axis. This head is usually associated with the Peplos Figure Wegner making up a statue about 3–3.15 meters high. Because there is no trace of a himation on the peplos figure's back, it is assumed that the head's veil was short. The position of the peplos figure on the pediment is determined by two cuttings on different levels at the back of her skirt. These probably held iron cramps that anchored her to the pediment floor and could be placed in corresponding holes in either block 14 or block 15 of the horizontal cornice. If located on block 14, the cramps would be conveniently out of sight; it has therefore been argued that the composite figure stood to the spectator's right of the pediment axis.<sup>68</sup> Her matronly appearance and large size suggest that she may be Hera, consort of Zeus. The floral ornaments in the hair of Akr. Mus. 2381 match the hair arrangements of Hera in the east frieze.<sup>69</sup>

The Laborde head (Fig. 78a–b)<sup>70</sup> of a young goddess wearing a twisted headband, pierced for the addition of metallic ornaments, is a roaming attribution, having failed to find a permanent home in either pediment.<sup>71</sup> Her correct viewpoint is in three-quarter view from her proper left; she was therefore turning toward the pediment center from the viewer's right. Her nose, mouth, and chin were restored by the French sculptor Pierre Charles Simart (1806–57), who was also responsible for the chryselephantine Athena Parthenos commissioned by the duc de Luynes for the Château de Dampierre.<sup>72</sup> The restored features, modeled on fourth-century prototypes, give the face a classicizing look. A groove cut at the top of the head indicates that it abutted the raking cornice. The fifth-century date of this groove has been questioned, especially by those who wish to disregard it as evidence that the head was flush with the

cornice.<sup>73</sup> At any rate it cannot be attributed to Simart because it appears in a cast taken before his restoration. It is interesting that D too has a break at the top of his head, perhaps relating to the cornice above (Fig. 87).<sup>74</sup> The vertical grain of the marble indicates that the Laborde head belonged to a standing figure. Her large scale and turn toward her proper right compel us to place her in the right side of either pediment, about four blocks away from the axis.<sup>75</sup>

The missing figures in the center of the east pediment have taxed the ingenuity of experts for nearly two centuries. Attempts at restoration must deal with a number of technical and iconographic issues, for example, the accommodation of a 3.30-meter-high statue, carved in the round, on a shelf only ninety centimeters deep on the pediment axis; and how to coordinate the position of the statues with the cuttings for iron bars and dowels in both the tympanum and the horizontal cornice, as well as with the weather marks left on the pediment floor by strips of lead that were placed under the statues' plinths to keep them level (Fig. 82).<sup>76</sup> Was the axis occupied by a single figure or a pair, was Zeus seated to conform to the iconography of Athena's birth in Attic vase painting, and if so, was he facing, in profile or three-quarter view? Finally, if Athena was on Zeus' side which deity stood on the other side? The restorations proposed since 1802 have followed four basic patterns.<sup>77</sup> Because of the technical and aesthetic problems presented by a colossal Zeus seated on the axis, the solution of a standing Zeus flanked by Athena and Hera has gained ground in the last decades.<sup>78</sup> The composition of three quietly standing figures in the center of the pediment is conditioned by the placement of the erect Peplos Figure Wegner near the axis (Fig. 81). Such a scene would represent the aftermath of the birth when Zeus no longer needs to sit; his placement on the axis offers a counterpart to Poseidon who dominates the center of the west pediment (Fig. 80).

### West Pediment

Although the extant figures of the west pediment are mostly fragmentary, very few are missing and the basic composition is intact (Fig. 77a-b). This is the earliest visual record of the gods' dispute for the land of Attica. The purpose of the myth was to explain the origin of the cult of Poseidon on the Acropolis. Even though his cult there was well established,<sup>79</sup> by

the fifth century it had become inferior to that of Athena, and this was accounted for by his defeat in the contest for the patronage of the city. Whereas Athena was worshipped in several temples on the rock, Poseidon had a single cult space, in the Erechtheion, which he moreover shared with Erechtheus, legendary king of Athens.<sup>80</sup> The Erechtheion also housed cults of Athena, Hephaistos and Boutes,<sup>81</sup> as well as the tomb of Kekrops, another legendary king of Athens,<sup>82</sup> who had a special role to play in the gods' dispute. Poseidon was primarily lord of the seas but he was also responsible for earthquakes.<sup>83</sup> His chief contribution to mankind was the horse, and he was worshipped as Hippios in Attica<sup>84</sup> and elsewhere.

The mythographer Apollodorus (3.14.1) has the fullest account of the strife:

Kekrops, a man born of the earth, whose body was a combination of man and snake, was the first king of Attica. He renamed the land, formerly called Akte, Kekropia after himself. It is said that in his time the gods decided to take possession of cities in order to establish their own cults. Poseidon came to Attica first and struck his trident on the Acropolis producing a salt spring now called the sea of Erechtheus. Athena came after him calling Kekrops as witness of her taking possession; she planted an olive tree, which is still to be seen in the sanctuary of Pandrosos. And when the two gods fought for possession of the country, Zeus parted them appointing as judges, not as some say Kekrops and Kranaos, nor Erisychthon, but the twelve gods. Their verdict gave Athena the land thanks to Kekrops' testimony that she planted the olive tree first. Athena then gave her name to the city, Athens, while Poseidon in his rage flooded the plain of Eleusis and turned Athens into an island.

The tokens of the two gods, the rock with Poseidon's trident marks out of which sprang the seawater, and the olive tree, were to be seen in and by the Erechtheion at least since the fifth century.<sup>85</sup> All variants of the myth seem to agree that Athena stole the victory.<sup>86</sup> In certain late accounts the men and women of Attica judge the contest. The women, who outnumbered the men, all cast their vote for Athena, and she won the day.<sup>87</sup> The issue was primarily a question of speed in a race to the top but Poseidon had no witness to prove that he arrived first. The gifts of olive tree and salt spring were mere tokens. Only in Latin sources does the intrinsic value of the offerings become a determining factor.<sup>88</sup> Some name the

horse as Poseidon's gift.<sup>89</sup> Two fourth-century Attic hydrias in the Hermitage and in Pella (Plate 6) depicting the strife prefer the horse to the salt spring, showing that both versions were current in the Classical period.<sup>90</sup> The Pella hydria has Zeus' thunderbolt crashing into the olive tree and this is often restored hanging from the cornice between the two deities.<sup>91</sup> Because Hermes and Iris are featured in the pediment as Zeus' messengers trying to resolve the dispute, it is generally agreed that it represents the consequences of Poseidon's wrath and Zeus' intervention.<sup>92</sup>

Carrey's drawing (Fig. 77a-b), shows the two duelists flanked by the chariots on which they were driven to the Acropolis. Nike served as Athena's charioteer, Amphitrite as Poseidon's. They reign in the rearing horses not because they have just arrived at the top but because the horses were frightened by whatever natural catastrophe was provoked by Poseidon's rage.<sup>93</sup> By the time Carrey drew the pediment, Nike's and Iris' wings and Poseidon's horses had already vanished. There are two more gaps near the corners that imply further loss of figures.<sup>94</sup> The spectators include a number of children and the women outnumber the men (Fig. 80). This suggests that we are not dealing with the twelve gods but with the heroes of Attica, who must have acted as judges at the trial. According to an interpretation going back to the nineteenth century, the heroes belong to two legendary royal families of Athens.<sup>95</sup> The family of Kekrops, Athena's champion, can be recognized on the left, and that of Erechtheus, who played a major role in Poseidon's cult on the Acropolis, is usually, although not always, reconstructed on the right. It has been argued that the pediment incorporates the issue of autochthony;<sup>96</sup> we must therefore assume the presence of both earth-born Athenian heroes, Kekrops and Erechtheus.<sup>97</sup> Autochthony is of course interpreted not only literally but also metaphorically, in the sense of the Athenians not being of immigrant stock but of having lived on their land since time immemorial. Poseidon is here perceived as the outsider, challenging Athena, whose claim on the land is recognized and upheld by the native population.

The action is focused on the central pair (Fig. 80). It is all sound and fury. Athena (L) occupies the position of honor to the left of axis, which signifies victory. She was probably brandishing her spear and holding a shield in her left hand. There is a dowel cutting in the tympanum wall for the support of the shield. All that remains of her is a torso in the British Museum, joining a fragment of her head with the neck,



89. Head of west pediment L (Athena). Athens, Acropolis Museum. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens Akr. 530.

carved separately (Fig. 89), and a bit of shoulder with a fragment of her aegis in the Acropolis Museum.<sup>98</sup> She stands out among all Parthenon sculptures for the considerable additions in bronze, attested by holes and cuttings. Her Attic helmet had three bronze crests at the top and sides, probably overlapping the raking cornice. Its neck guard was also metallic, attached to four holes under her ear and at the nape of the neck. Her right ear is pierced for the insertion of an earring. A bronze gorgoneion was fastened onto her diagonal aegis, which held bronze snakes at its edges. This narrow, diagonal aegis is an innovation and recalls a baldric rather than the old fashioned aegis covering the entire chest.

Poseidon's (M) wide stride straddles the middle blocks of the horizontal cornice. He is larger than his female opponent, as if the Athenians



could not bring themselves to cede precedence to a woman. His powerful anatomy (Fig. 90) counterbalances her gleaming armor. We should restore a trident in Poseidon's right hand by analogy with the Pella hydria. Athena's gift, the olive tree, is usually restored on the axis between the two deities. It was presumably attached to the tympanum wall by dowels, the cuttings for which are still extant. All marble fragments tentatively associated with the olive tree are of Roman date and are best ignored.<sup>99</sup>

Carrey's drawing (Fig. 77a) includes a medieval niche in the position of Poseidon's horses, presumably built after their removal.<sup>100</sup> Athena, Poseidon, and Iris are partly embedded in the rubble wall. Athena is still standing despite the loss of her left leg because she was fastened to the tympanum wall. Poseidon's suspension in midair despite his lack of feet entails that he too was somehow secured to an external support. A large break at the rear of his left shoulder may be all that remains of that support, which was possibly Athena's olive tree.

Poseidon retreats while Athena runs for cover. The two contestants are sundered as if by an explosion. Poseidon appears to be striving for balance as if struck by lightning. Various explanations have been proposed. Zeus' thunderbolt crashing into the olive tree between the two gods is a possibility, based on the evidence of the Pella hydria.<sup>101</sup> In addition, Poseidon may be pulling his trident off the rock from which sprang the seawater. Alternatively, he is thrusting it into the rock to provoke a flood<sup>102</sup> or an earthquake. The latter is not attested by the literary sources but may be implied by the spooked horses, the violent reaction of the two main figures to a now invisible threat, and by F, who runs for cover toward her family (Fig. 80). The depiction of an earth tremor on a building may sound too much like tempting fate, but we must not forget that the east pediment, too, probably showed the aftermath of if not an actual earthquake. The action recalls the poetic description in Euripides, *Erechtheus*, produced in 424/3 B.C.:

Chorus: we feel the ground dance and toss! Poseidon is contemplating the city's loss . . .

Athena: I call on you, Poseidon, lord of the sea, pull your trident off the ground, stop shaking the earth, don't reduce my beloved city to ruins!<sup>103</sup>

The composition of the west pediment, unlike that of the east, offers no continuous narrative and does not compel a reading from left



90. West pediment M (Poseidon). Chest in the Acropolis Museum with cast of torso in the British Museum. After Palagia 1993, fig. 95.

to right. This is mainly because the figures at the sides mostly confront the spectator rather than witnessing the action in the center (Fig. 77a–b, 80). The strict symmetry of the groupings near the corners of the east pediment has given way to a subtler composition. The reclining A in the left corner (Plate 7) is a mature man, virtually naked, caught in a momentary pose, shifting his weight onto his left hand as he rouses himself to view the action.<sup>104</sup> His cloak has slipped off his left arm, its end trailing on a smooth rock, very like a boulder on a riverbank. He leans forward, presumably the better to be seen from the ground. The underside of his left thigh was trimmed, giving the impression of penetrating the pediment floor as if lying in water. This impression, along with his flowing anatomy and the boulder on which he rests, has prompted his identification with a river god by comparison with the river gods in the east pediment of Olympia.<sup>105</sup> He is usually known as the Ilissos River, but the Eridanos is a more likely identification on account of its geographic proximity to the northern corner of this pediment. His counterpart at the other end is a reclining woman, W, her feet pointing toward the

angle, like A.<sup>106</sup> Unlike A she is fully clothed. If A is a river god, she must be a water nymph, and the river god identification must attach to her companion, V,<sup>107</sup> with whom she is engaged in conversation.<sup>108</sup> Both V and W lean forward, the better to be seen from the ground, like A in the northern corner. V kneels, presumably into water, as his right leg gives the impression of sinking into the pediment floor. In Carrey's drawing he raises the stump of his right arm (Fig. 77b). He was perhaps holding up his cloak that falls over his side.<sup>109</sup> His powerful musculature would have been barely contained in the cramped space of the pediment corner. It is a piece difficult to match for vitality and exuberance. V's style transcends classical antiquity, looking forward to the Italian Renaissance and the art of Michelangelo. Figure A\*, A's companion, is missing. It may have been a water nymph forming a group with the river god A, or someone related to the next figure.<sup>110</sup> If we accept the river god – water nymph motif at the corners, we may view the action as framed by local personifications, just as Athens was contained by its rivers. Commentators tend to forget these rivers because they run underground in the modern city, but in antiquity their presence was all pervading. The contest for the land of Attica is thus not only set on the Acropolis but also encompassed within the geographic boundaries of the city rivers, just like the east pediment, set on Mount Olympus, is framed by astral bodies.

According to an alternative theory, V is Eumolpos, Poseidon's son by Chione (who would be W in this case), one of the daughters of Erechtheus.<sup>111</sup> This carries an association with the Eleusinian Mysteries (since Eumolpos was the first hierophant), which is simply impossible on a temple on the Acropolis.<sup>112</sup> It moreover anticipates the patriotic myth of the war between Erechtheus (Athens) and Eumolpos (Eleusis),<sup>113</sup> which is not attested before Euripides, *Erechtheus*, and was probably invented during the Peloponnesian War.<sup>114</sup>

Figures B and C (Fig. 80) are carved of one block and exhibit great technical virtuosity.<sup>115</sup> They constitute one of the most stylistically advanced sculptures of the Parthenon, providing instances of post-Pheidian mannerisms such as eye folds. A snake, coiled between them, was carved separately and glued onto their base. This is sometimes considered to be a replacement because its rear carries no dowel hole even though the surface between the figures does.<sup>116</sup> A similar problem occurs with the underside of east pediment O (Selene's horse): it carries a dowel hole,

which finds no corresponding cutting in the pediment floor.<sup>117</sup> Nobody ever suggested that east pediment O is a replacement. The snake serves to identify Kekrops (B), who was sometimes depicted with snake legs, as indeed he is shown on the hydria from Pella.<sup>118</sup> In the Parthenon Kekrops is fully human but the snake remains as his attribute. He sits on a rock leaning on his left hand, right hand raised, perhaps once holding a scepter. A young girl (C) embraces him, kneeling on the rock and raising her left arm. The intimacy indicates family ties, and she is identified with one of the king's daughters. The fact that her left breast is exposed is a puzzle. Normally bare breasts in the Parthenon sculptures denote women in distress (see Fig. 53), but this is not the case here. This iconographical oddity may serve to identify C as Pandrosos, responsible for the nurturing of Erichthonios, Hephaistos' son, who was brought up by Athena, acting as his foster mother.

Carrey's drawing (Fig. 77a) preserves Kekrops' other children, his daughters Herse and Aglauros and his son Erisychthon (E), shown here as a boy supported by his sisters. Only scraps survive, mainly the back of the boy's torso, carrying two dowel-holes for fastening to the tympanum wall.<sup>119</sup> The boy's unbalanced pose is not easy to understand unless he is reacting to an earth tremor.

The realm of the gods begins with Athena's chariot, with the statues here designed on a grander scale. Athena's charioteer (G) has vanished. Despite the lack of wings, she is recognized as Nike (Victory). We assume that her wings broke off before Carrey drew the pediment (Fig. 77a). No fragments of chariots have come to light so far, but there is no reason to believe that they were not made of marble. Behind Athena's team hovers Hermes (H), bringing Zeus' verdict.<sup>120</sup> He turns back to look at Nike and extends his arms forward, with his chlamys probably draped over his left forearm. His chlamys, now mostly broken off, was fastened with a bronze brooch pinned between his collarbones.

Athena's horses have come down to us in a very fragmentary state. Because there was not enough room for two full horses, the rear horse was cut down at the back.<sup>121</sup> In Carrey's drawing (Fig. 77a) the belly of Athena's outer horse is supported by a headless male torso. This was dislocated by the bombardment, then fell off the temple and was eventually excavated west of the Parthenon in 1835.<sup>122</sup> The torso can be completed with a man's head and arms, its bottom ending in a snake or a fishtail. If

a snake, it would have represented an earth-born hero similar to Kekrops as depicted on the Pella hydria.<sup>123</sup> A fishtail would have turned him into a Triton. But a Triton under Athena's horse can only mean that Poseidon has flooded Attica, and the pediment carries no other evidence of this flood.

A team of horses drawing a chariot is postulated at Poseidon's proper left by reasons of symmetry with Athena's chariot.<sup>124</sup> His outer horse is thought to have been supported by a Triton by comparison with the torso with snake legs under Athena's horse. This hypothesis is reinforced by the appearance of a Triton beneath Amphitrite on the Pella hydria.<sup>125</sup> Possible physical remains of the Triton are two joining fragments of a crested serpentine tail with a plinth projecting on the right to support an extra piece.<sup>126</sup> The position of the plinth shows that the tail belonged to a figure in the right half of the pediment. Poseidon's wife, Amphitrite (O), served as his charioteer.<sup>127</sup> She was accompanied by her usual attribute, the ketos, which has vanished without trace (Fig. 77b).<sup>128</sup> Beyond Amphitrite, Zeus' second messenger, Iris (N), hovers above ground. Her torso (Plate 8) survives in the British Museum.<sup>129</sup> Marble wings were once attached to large cuttings at her back. The impression of flight is enhanced by the many fluttering folds blown against her body by the wind, some indicated by ridges and others enlivened by incisions. She wears a short chiton girded at the waist with a metallic belt, now missing. Her body can be clearly made out through the transparent material. The remains of an iron pin over her left thigh suggest the attachment of an attribute carried in her right hand and falling across her body, perhaps a bronze ribbon for crowning the victor. Because the figure is really flying over the chariot, her feet were never meant to touch the pediment floor. This raises the question of support. She could not have rested on any drapery falling between her legs because her dress stops short of the knees. An elevated base, perhaps in connection with a cloak falling over her left forearm, may provide the answer.

The scale of the figures behind Amphitrite drops dramatically as we are now dealing with the heroes of Attica. The predominance of women and children supports the suggestion that the heroes on Poseidon's side belong to the family of Erechtheus, who had a large number of daughters.<sup>130</sup> In Carrey's drawing (Fig. 77b) we see two mothers (Q, T) sitting with their sons (P, R, S). They are obviously related, as the child in the middle (R)

embraces his neighbor (S). Q is frontal, flanked by a pair of standing boys (P, R).<sup>131</sup> She appears perched on a high-stepped seat, her feet barely reaching the bottom step, which serves as a footstool. The boy on her proper right stands on an intermediate step, while the boy on her left stands on the top step, which is capped with a molding. The mother's draped legs are carved of one piece with the thighs of one of the boys, who clings to her side. Her seat was made separately and attached by means of two rectangular dowels at her rear. The precarious position of her legs and the arrangement of her sons on two levels may be taken as an indication that she sits on a stepped altar. This group is generally thought to represent Erechtheus' daughter Oreithyia and her sons. She was abducted by Boreas, the North Wind, while sacrificing at the altar of Athena. Boreas became important to the Athenians after the naval disasters he inflicted on the Persian fleet in the Persian Wars of the first two decades of the fifth century. Twin boys were born of this union and were known as the Boreads. Their mother's agitated drapery, ruffled by the wind, provides additional support in identifying the bride of the North Wind.

The woman (T) sitting on a low rock facing left with a large boy (S) on her lap is probably one of her sisters (Fig. 80). The bare outlines of her torso can be made out in Carrey's drawing (Fig. 77b), indicating that the figure was already damaged in 1674, and her torso misplaced. Only the back of her right thigh remains, with part of the rock covered with her himation.<sup>132</sup> It is meticulously finished even though not visible from the ground. She is generally identified with Kreousa, another of Erechtheus' daughters, holding her son by Apollo, Ion (S), legendary ancestor of the Athenians.<sup>133</sup>

Carrey's drawing (Fig. 77b) shows that the next figure is a woman (U), seated facing and leaning heavily to her proper left. Her tilted position is not easily explained unless she was leaning on someone (U\*).<sup>134</sup> An alternative explanation is that the off-balance pose is due to damage.<sup>135</sup> She has been interpreted as a third daughter of Erechtheus (U) clinging to her mother, Praxithea (U\*).<sup>136</sup> However, if we assume that the composition at the two ends of the pediment is symmetrical, then we should envisage the group as a pendant to Kekrops (B) and his daughter (C), restoring the missing figure U\* as Erechtheus, sitting low and embracing one of his daughters (U).<sup>137</sup> Two fragmentary seated statues of women found on the Acropolis have been attributed to this group but there is no

consensus as to their pertinence or identity.<sup>138</sup> The statue Akr. Mus. 1363, excavated west of the Erechtheion in 1860, has often been associated with the daughter (U). Her attribution to the Parthenon, however, is problematic for both technical and stylistic reasons. Her stiff frontal pose does not conform with the rest of the pedimental sculptures, which are set at an angle to the horizontal cornice. Her feet rest on a plinth in contrast to the other seated female figures that step directly on the pediment floor. The peplos figure Akr. Mus. 888, excavated southwest of the Parthenon in 1835, is a candidate for the missing U\*, if recognized as Erechtheus' wife, Praxithea, but again the association is at best tentative. The fact that her rocky seat is not covered by a himation would be unusual for the Parthenon pediments. The placement of the two figures side by side in the Cast Gallery (Skulpturhalle) of the University of Basel serves to demonstrate their incompatibility, as the larger figure is placed nearer the corner, an impossible position by the rules of any pedimental composition.<sup>139</sup>

The ultimate purpose of the west pediment is the reconciliation of Athena and Poseidon, who join forces to protect Athens. At the time of the Parthenon, Athens was the head of a maritime empire extending beyond the Aegean to the west coast of Asia Minor; it was also a capital of the arts, its state patronage drawing talent from all over the Greek world. The Athenian fleet, ensuring that the city ruled the seas, was Poseidon's domain,<sup>140</sup> while Athena was not only the patroness of arts and crafts and intellectual pursuits but also promoted agriculture, the cultivation of the olive tree in particular. Her contribution was encapsulated in the Panathenaic festival with the weaving of the peplos and the olive oil forming the principal prize at the Games. If we glance at the entire west façade of the Parthenon, however, taking in the sculptured decoration of the metopes, the frieze, as well as the pediment, we find ourselves in the domain of the horse. The metopes are dominated by a host of riding amazons, the frieze depicts the Athenian knights and the pediment carries a pair of two-horse chariots. Poseidon is here glorified as Hippios, aristocratic patron of the cavalry and the chariot race, as described by Aristophanes (*Knights* 551–64). This less-than-democratic god was ostensibly rejected by the Athenians, yet he dominates the view of the visitor coming in through the Propylaia and incidentally provides a clue to the excessive number of horsemen in the frieze. The god of earthquakes is here seen as the guarantor of the stability of the wealthy



91. Reconstruction of central akroterion of the Parthenon with casts of extant fragments. Athens, Acropolis Study Center at Makrigianni. After *Anthemion 5* (1999) 12, fig. 5.

classes, which serve as the bedrock foundation of the volatile Athenian democracy. The Athenians could ignore him at their peril.

### Akroteria

The survey of the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon would be incomplete without at least a brief mention of the akroteria crowning the apex and corners of each pediment. The evidence for the akroteria of the Parthenon, however, presents a paradox. We have fragments of the central floral akroteria but no trace of their bases, whereas the bases of the lateral akroteria are preserved in situ but not a scrap of the actual akroteria



has come to light so far.<sup>141</sup> About twenty-seven fragments of one or two floral akroteria in Pentelic marble survive in the Acropolis Museum and the British Museum.<sup>142</sup> The novelty of the central floral akroterion of the Parthenon consists in its openwork design and its great height.<sup>143</sup> Two current reconstructions, incorporating plaster casts of the extant fragments, are on display in the Skulpturhalle in Basel (Fig. 75) and in the Acropolis Study Center at Makrigianni (Fig. 91). The earlier view that the lateral akroteria were also of floral design<sup>144</sup> has now been abandoned in favor of figural akroteria. The fact that no Greek temple carries six floral akroteria,<sup>145</sup> combined with technical details of the lateral akroteria bases<sup>146</sup> suggests that the latter carried statues that projected into space, therefore probably flying Nikai (Fig. 86).

#### Notes

1. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 444–9. Only a fraction of these inscriptions survives. See Burford 1963a; Boersma 1970, 68–9, 177; Palagia 1993, 7; Pope 2000.
2. On these statues, see now Lapatin 2001, 61–119. See also Lapatin in this volume.
3. See my nn. 43 and 90.
4. Bassai frieze: British Museum slab 541; Jenkins and Williams 1993, fig. 2. Great Altar of Pergamon: Berlin, Pergamonmuseum; Andreae 2001, 142, pls. 110–13.
5. On copies and adaptations of the Parthenon pediments cf. Brommer, 1963, 104–11; Palagia 1993, 9, and index, s.v. copies.
6. Jenkins 1992, 75–101. Cf. p. 87, “the Elgin marbles are the most wonderful productions that man has yet produced” (letter to the British Museum Trustees, 1838).
7. Fittschen 1999, 136; Bastea 2000, 102–4. As Hurwit 1999, 302, has aptly put it, “No reconstruction will ever, perhaps, be definitive and the Restoration Period will never end.”
8. Aristophanes, *Knights* 565–6: “we praise our fathers for having proved themselves worthy of this land and the peplos.” See also Neils in this volume.
9. Orlandos 1978, 516 n. 3; Palagia 1993, 22 with n. 65; Korres 1994c, 140.
10. Possible Roman repairs to the statues are discussed and rejected by Palagia 1993, index, s.v. repairs. Repairs are again suggested by Harrison 2000, 284 n. 60.
11. Palagia 1993, 9; Korres 1994c, 146–7. See also Ousterhout in this volume.
12. Palagia 1993, 10; Beard 2002, 76–7.
13. Palagia 1993, 10; Korres 1994c, 155–6, fig. 21; Beard 2002, 77–80. By his own account, Morosini tried to remove Poseidon, as well as Athena’s horses from the west pediment: Palagia, *ibid.*
14. Palagia 1993, 11 with n. 40; Williams 2002, 119–22.
15. Paris, Louvre 3740. Palagia 1993, 24–5, fig. 64; Beschi 1995.
16. On the removal of the Parthenon marbles by Elgin’s men, see Rothenberg 1974; Palagia 1993, 11–12; Williams 2002.
17. Palagia 1993, 10, fig. 5; Beschi 1995, 509–11, fig. 11.
18. Williams 2002, 120–2, fig. 1.

19. This erroneous identification originated with Jacob Spon and George Wheler, who published their travel accounts in 1678 and 1682, respectively, and were very influential: Palagia 1993, 10, 43.
20. The inner horses of Helios' quadriga (east pediment C), taken down in 1988, were the last to be removed from the temple.
21. Michaelis 1871.
22. Michaelis 1871, 165, 180-1.
23. Brommer 1963, 181.
24. Palagia 1993, 60-1.
25. See n. 1.
26. Cf. Korres 1992, 63-7 on the quarries used for the Parthenon and the remains of one of the roads leading down from the quarries.
27. With the exception of the Early Classical east pediment of the temple of Aphaia on Aigina, Ohly 1976, e.g., pls. 34, 56. The Classical statues placed by Augustus in the pediment of the temple of Apollo Sosianus in Rome need not have originally formed part of a Greek pediment; see Hafner 1992.
28. The pediments of the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros also were executed by two workshops (*IG IV<sup>2</sup> I*, 102, B I 89, 98-9) and so were the pediments of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Pausanias 5.10.8).
29. *IG I<sup>3</sup> 449*.
30. *IG IV<sup>2</sup> I*, 102, B I 99; Burford 1969, 216.
31. Stanier 1953; Kallet (1998, 48) takes Stanier's estimate to be reasonable.
32. Pope 2000, 65-6.
33. Palagia 1993, 7 n. 4.
34. On the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, see Säflund 1970; Kyrieleis 1997.
35. Whether we choose to believe him or not, Pausanias (5.10.8) assigns the pediments of Olympia to Paionios and Alkamenes. Ridgway (1999, 17-18 with n. 44) discusses the issues involved in Pausanias' problematic attribution.
36. For example, on the pediments of the temple of Apollo at Delphi (10.19.4) and of Herakles at Thebes (9.11.6). See also Ridgway (*supra* n. 35).
37. Orlandos 1978, 525-31; Palagia 1993, 27 with nn. 162-3; Korres 1994b, 61, fig. 7. For the reasons of the oblique setting of the bars, see Orlandos 1978, 530.
38. Korres 1994b, 61.
39. The scale discrepancies are tabulated by Harrison 1967a, 55. See also Castriota 1992, 151.
40. On the theme of the twelve Olympians on the east side of the Parthenon, see Boardman 2001b, 243-4. I am grateful to John Boardman for drawing my attention to it.
41. Pausanias 5.11.8. Palagia 2000, 60-2; Kosmopoulou 2002, 114, 118.
42. Berger 1986, pls. 1 (north metope 1) and 14 (east metope 14).
43. Helios: Attic red-figure hydria in Karlsruhe, Badische Landesmuseum 259 (B 36), *LIMC* 5, s.v. Helios, no. 94. Selene: Attic red-figure pyxis lid, British Museum 73.9-15.14 (E 776), *LIMC* 2, s.v. Astra, no. 20.
44. For example, Harrison 1967a, fig. 30.
45. Smith 1910, no. 101, pl. 14B.
46. Mantis 2002.
47. Mantis 2002, fig. 5.
48. The correct viewpoint can be seen in Berger 1959, pl. 2. For the modeling of folds between the legs of a running peplos figure compare the Classical metope with Leto and Artemis, Villa Albani 178, Bol 1992, no. 287, pl. 71.



49. Rocks serving as seats in the Parthenon pediments are usually covered with garments.
50. Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 51; Neils 2001a, fig. 105.
51. On the debate whether D is Dionysos or Herakles, see Palagia 1993, 19–20. Dionysos in the east frieze: Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 132; Neils 2001a, figs. 76–7.
52. Boardman 1985, fig. 122.
53. See n. 51.
54. Palagia 1993, fig. 39.
55. G has been variously identified with Artemis, Eileithyia, Iris, or Hebe: see Palagia 1993, 21.
56. For example, Attic red-figure bell-krater, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 28.57.23. ARV<sup>2</sup> 1012, 1; Boardman 1989, fig. 121.
57. Despinis 1971, 124–8.
58. See n. 9.
59. Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 136; Neils 2001a, fig. 76.
60. Palagia (1993, 22) discusses the identifications. Considering that the cult of Dione was probably introduced to the Athenian Acropolis during the Peloponnesian War and therefore after the completion of the Parthenon pediments (cf. Palagia 2002, 174), the identification of L with Dione is very problematic.
61. Palagia 1993, 22.
62. Pausanias 5.11.8.
63. Harrison 1997, 110, figs. 2–3.
64. Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 136; Neils 2001a, fig. 76.
65. East metopes 11 (Herakles, Eros, giant) and 12 (Aphrodite and giant); Berger 1986, pls. 64–5.
66. Palagia 1993, 23–4, figs. 56–9. The third fragment, attached in 1990, is still unpublished. See *5th International Meeting for the Restoration of the Acropolis Monuments* (Athens 2002) 408, fig. 2.
67. Named after Max Wegner who first attributed her to the east pediment: Wegner 1932; Palagia 1993, 24, figs. 61–3. Further attributions to the east pediment are listed in Palagia 1993, 25–6.
68. Beyer 1974, 130–3, fig. 9.
69. Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 133; Neils 2001a, fig. 76.
70. See n. 15.
71. A list of the suggested attributions is given by Beschi 1995, 493–4.
72. Türr 1994, 20, 277, fig. 4; Beschi 1995, 496; Boardman 1995, fig. 244; Prater 2002, 30, pl. 3.2.
73. So Beschi 1995, 498.
74. Palagia 1993, 19, fig. 33.
75. For arguments placing her in the east pediment, see Harrison 1967a, 40 with n. 111, fig. 19; Palagia 1993, 24–5, fig. 18. Harrison argues that the Laborde head was not drawn by Carrey because it had already fallen from the pediment by 1674, and that it was picked up by the Venetians on the ground. Both Harrison and Palagia place the figure on or straddling block 17 of the horizontal cornice. A recent attribution to west pediment N by Beschi, 1995, has been tested by means of casts in the Acropolis Study Center at Makrigianni. The head appears too large for the body and is moreover set within the raking cornice. The Laborde head on N (Skulpturhalle, Basel) is illustrated in Rolley 1999, fig. 89.

76. Palagia 1993, 27–8; Palagia 1997, 31–3. The hypothetical chariots that are sometimes added on either side of the central group by analogy with the chariots in the west pediment are discussed and rejected by Palagia 1993, 28.
77. Traced in detail by Palagia 1997.
78. First proposed by Beyer 1974 and variously adapted by Jeppesen 1984 (with references to his previous restorations); Palagia 1993, 29–30, figs. 18, 20; Palagia 1997, 42–5, fig. 24. See also Hurwit 1999, 178, fig. 146.
79. That his cult is older than the fifth century is argued by Shapiro 1989, 102, 105–6.
80. Homer, *Iliad* 2.550 is the earliest reference to Erechtheus' cult on the Acropolis. Cf. Pausanias 1.26.5 on the joint altar of Poseidon and Erechtheus inside the Erechtheion. Cf. Kontoleon 1949, 31; Kearns 1989, 160. On the priests of Poseidon Erechtheus, see Aleshire 1994, 330–2.
81. Pausanias 1.26.5–6.
82. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 474. Cf. Kontoleon 1949, 69–79; Kearns 1989, 175; Korres 1997a.
83. March 1998, s.v. Poseidon.
84. Notably at Kolonos Hippios; Pausanias 1.30.4.
85. Herodotos 8.55 is the earliest source. See also Pausanias 1.26.5; 1.27.2. Hurwit 1999, 203–4; Boardman 2002, 109–10, fig. 80.
86. For the ancient sources on the myth, see Palagia 1993, 52, nn. 1–2.
87. Augustine, *City of God* 18.9. Castriota (1992, 148) suggests that this version was used on the pediment on account of the large number of women present.
88. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.70–82.
89. Virgil, *Georgics* 1.12–14.
90. St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum KAB 6a, Palagia 1993, 44, fig. 10; Boardman 2001a, 105, fig. 140. Pella, Archaeological Museum 80.514, Palagia 1993, 44, fig. 11; Drougou 2000; Boardman 2001a, 105, fig. 139.
91. Simon 1980 advocated the thunderbolt iconography before the discovery of the Pella hydria. Cf. Palagia 1993, 44.
92. Castriota 1992, 147 is a dissenting voice.
93. Schwab 1995, 163.
94. A\* and U\* on Fig. 80a.
95. Furtwängler 1895, 457–63.
96. Castriota 1992, 143–51. On autochthony in Attic art around the time of the Parthenon, see Shapiro 1998.
97. On earth-born Kekrops: Apollodorus 3.14.1. See also Kearns 1989, 175; Shapiro 1998, 136, “No preserved story recounts the autochthonous birth of Kekrops, but the snaky lower body that marks him whenever he attends the birth of Erichthonios clearly establishes this essential link between the only two genuinely autochthonous heroes. Elsewhere . . . he may be shown in fully human form.” Erechtheus born of the earth: Homer, *Iliad* 2.548. See also Kearns 1989, 160.
98. Palagia 1993, 45–6, figs. 92–4.
99. Palagia 1993, 47; Hurwit 1999, 177, fig. 144.
100. Korres 1994c, 148, figs. 15–17, 20.
101. See nn. 90–1.
102. Apollodorus 3.14.1; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 164.
103. *Erechtheus* fr. 18 (65A), Carrara 1977, 54. Translation by the author. See also Palagia 1999, 298 with nn. 11–12. This earthquake was occasioned by the defeat of Eumolpos in the war against Erechtheus: Apollodorus 3.15.5.

104. British Museum. Palagia 1993, 41, figs. 71–2.
105. The river gods at Olympia were so identified by Pausanias. See Säflund 1970, 60–1, figs. 6–7.
106. Acropolis Museum. Palagia 1993, 51–2, figs. 119–20.
107. Acropolis Museum. Palagia 1993, 51–2, figs. 117–18; Harrison 2000, 285, figs. 15–16. V identified with Ilissos: Palagia 1993, 52.
108. The identification of the corner figures as river gods and water nymphs goes back to the early nineteenth century and is still current today: Palagia 1993, 42, 52. Reclining river gods are otherwise unknown in fifth-century iconography (except at Olympia, where we rely on Pausanias' testimony only for the identification), but it is hard to see what else the corner figures can be but local personifications by analogy with the astral bodies in the angles of the east pediment. For alternative identifications see below.
109. Harrison 2000, 285, suggests that he held a staff or scepter. If he held anything, it was more likely a reed.
110. Palagia 1993, 41–2.
111. First proposed by Harrison 1967b, 9 n. 55; reiterated in Harrison 2000, 280–1, 285. Followed by Spaeth 1991. See also Weidauer 1985 for the Eleusinian connection.
112. Cf. Clinton 1992, 77.
113. Spaeth 1991.
114. Palagia 1999, 298 with n. 13.
115. Acropolis Museum. Palagia 1993, 42–3, figs. 74–9.
116. The problem is discussed in Palagia 1993, 42, figs. 75, 78–9. Weidauer and Krauskopf 1992 have gone so far as to suggest that the snake did not belong to B but to A\* (turning him into Kekrops) and that the dowel hole between B and C served for the attachment of a rock.
117. Palagia 1993, 42. See also my n. 119.
118. Drougou 2000, pl. 39.2. For Kekrops' snake legs, cf. my n. 97.
119. Acropolis Museum. Palagia 1993, 44, fig. 82. There are no corresponding cuttings in the tympanum wall. An alternative identification of the boy as Erichthonios (proposed by Harrison 1967b, 9 n. 55, and followed by Spaeth, 1991, 350) goes against the tradition, visual as well as literary, that of the three sisters only Pandrosos nurtured Erichthonios. For the story of Erichthonios, see Reeder 1995, 250–66; Shapiro 1998.
120. British Museum with right leg in the Acropolis Museum. Palagia 1993, 44, fig. 83. Rear view: Brommer 1963, pl. 92.2.
121. All fragments of horses from this pediment are in the Acropolis Museum. Palagia 1993, 44–5, figs. 84–86.
122. Acropolis Museum. Palagia 1993, 45, fig. 90.
123. See n. 118.
124. For horse fragments in the Acropolis Museum attributed to Poseidon's team, see Palagia 1993, 47–8, figs. 98–102, 104.
125. Drougou 2000, pl. 37.1.
126. Acropolis Museum. Palagia 1993, 47–8, fig. 103 center.
127. British Museum, with fragments of limbs in the Acropolis Museum. Palagia 1993, 49, fig. 108.
128. The marble head of a monster, Athens, National Museum 4799+4799a, attributed to the pediment by Yalouris 1984 has been challenged on account of

- the well-preserved surface, unfinished rear, probably Roman date, and lack of provenance. See Palagia 1993, 57 n. 165.
129. There are fragments of her back in the Acropolis Museum. Palagia 1993, 48–9, figs. 105–107; Mantis 1995b. One of Iris' wings, in Hymettian marble, was recently identified in the storerooms of the Acropolis Museum: *5th International Meeting for the Restoration of the Acropolis Monuments* (Athens 2002) 393.
  130. *Supra* n. 95.
  131. British Museum. Palagia 1993, 49–50, figs. 109–11.
  132. British Museum. Palagia 1993, 50, fig. 113.
  133. His torso is in the Acropolis Museum. Palagia 1993, 50, fig. 112.
  134. Palagia 1993, 50–1.
  135. Harrison 2000, 282 n. 54.
  136. Palagia (1993, 50 with n. 193) discusses and rejects this identification. Reiterated by Harrison 2000, 284.
  137. Furtwängler 1895, 453–5; followed by Palagia 1993, 51.
  138. Acropolis Museum 1363 and 888. The problem is compounded by the association of two statuettes from a Roman pediment at Eleusis, supposedly copying U and U\*: Harrison 2000, fig. 18. The issue is discussed in Palagia 1993, 50–1, figs. 114–16. Further arguments in favor of attribution to the west pediment can be found in Harrison 2000, 282–4.
  139. Berger 1977, pl. 36.
  140. Cf. Pollitt 2000.
  141. Orlandos 1978, 561–80.
  142. Gropengiesser 1961, 2–17; Danner 1989, 13–14, no. 77.
  143. According to recent estimates, the central akroterion was about 3.9–4.0 meters high: Danner 1988, 41–3; Korres 1994b, 61. Earlier estimates tended to be more conservative, for example, Berger 1980, 67, 15 and 77 (3.442 or 3.86 meters high).
  144. Summarized in Orlandos 1978, 566–75.
  145. As pointed out by Delivorrias 1984.
  146. The bases carry cuttings for iron cramps supporting heavy statuary and moreover project beyond the cornice to balance the overhanging figures: Korres 1994b, fig. 8.