III ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE

The erection of a building – whether temple, treasury, colonnade, or theatre – argues purpose, means, advance planning, and commitment over many years.[1] The number of people involved in any communal project, from sponsors (whether states, individuals, or sanctuary officials) to designers, architects, masons, and sculptors, was enormous. In studying architectural sculpture, we are face to face with originals, usually found in context, with some closely dated on the basis of inscriptions and references in written texts; although the later writers who held free-standing sculpture in such high regard had little to say about architectural compositions. The embellishment was usually added to religious buildings: the temples and treasuries that were erected in local and Panhellenic sanctuaries. The subjects chosen were mainly myths, with themes repeated down the centuries (Battles of the Gods versus the Giants, and Greeks versus Amazons, Centaurs, or Trojans) – they became the default choice, the stock-in-trade, and raise the question of the extent to which there was indeed any specific programmatic intent or local significance behind these mythical encounters. Who chose the subjects? With what purpose? To instruct, to underline social cohesion, to express political identity, to demonstrate superiority? Who were the viewers the designers had in mind?[2] As the brightly coloured sculptures were integral to the building and came to be placed high above the heads of viewers, visitors, and pilgrims, they were obviously intended to take notice of them. Can we know what their reactions were and how deep their understanding was? Euripides in his tragedy *Ion* (412 BC) presents a chorus of Athenian women on their first visit to Delphi (vv. 184–218). They look up at the sculptures on the outside of the Apollo temple and express wonder and excitement at the figures they can recognize: Herakles, Pegasos, the battle of the Gods and the Giants, and particularly their own patron goddess, Athena. Euripides fits their

[1] Two excellent books that deal with architectural sculpture are Jenkins 2006 (on British Museum holdings) and Spawforth 2006 (on temples). They both include general introductions on the designs, funding, meaning, motifs, etc. See also Ridgway 1999. On sanctuaries, see Pedley 2005.

[2] Osborne 2000.

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reactions to their status – they are just glad to identify their favourites, and delight, as it were, at meeting old friends.

In considering the compositions, the limitation of the shapes to be filled was a major generating force behind the development of advances in Archaic sculpture. Whereas the stance of free-standing single statues remained static for generations, the dynamic narratives forced the sculptors to seek solutions to movement and interaction. The metopes demanded individual subjects on separate slabs, and their connection is not always clear. The friezes called for a continuous subject, at least on each side. It was the centrally focussed and larger pediments that were the most difficult to design, and to execute, and the most impressive. As the sixth century progressed, the early pedimental compositions – in which more than one myth was presented and the figures were fitted into the triangle at various sizes – were replaced by both single stories and standard dimensions; during the fifth century, the complexity of the designs and the imagination invested in them developed further, seen best on the Parthenon.

Archaic[3]

The Doric and Ionic orders were developed piecemeal over generations.[4] The evidence from the seventh century is thin, and the placing of the friezes lower down on the walls, which was particularly favoured on Crete, was soon abandoned.[5] After the beginning of the sixth century, sculptured groups in the metopes, friezes, and pediments of religious buildings set the tradition for future generations. The west pediment of the Doric Temple of Artemis on the island of Corcyra (Corfu) is still by chance the earliest canonical example (580–570 BC) of a pedimental composition that can be interpreted with some chance of success.[6] The central section displays the Gorgon Medusa as an apotropaic frontal image, with her monstrous progeny, Chrysaor, and the winged horse, Pegasos, by her side, born from her decapitated neck; the perpetrator Perseus is not included in the ensemble. Massive panthers, symbolic animals of power and terror, frame both sides of the central scene, while the two sets of corner figures at a smaller scale present individual themes: perhaps on one side Zeus' victory over the

[3] Ridgway 1993: part 3; Marconi 2007: ch. 1.
[4] Barletta 2001. Curiously, she denies the influence of wooden construction.
[5] A. Stewart 1990: 107–8; Boardman 2006.
[6] Ridgway 1993: 276–81.

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Titans and on the other the death of Priam at Troy. The sculptures demanded piety and obeisance from their observers. The future of architectural sculpture with the dramatic presentation of episodes from myth is now beginning.

To a large extent, the major research work that has been conducted on the Athenian Acropolis over the last generation has concentrated on the Classical buildings; however, the earlier periods have reaped their own rewards.[7] By the late eighth century the Acropolis was the central sanctuary in Attica,[8] but it is not until the second quarter of the sixth century that monumental architecture is in evidence, perhaps as a consequence of the enlargement of the Panathenaic festival in 566 BC.[9] The remains of eight sets of brightly painted pediments, some large, some small, which style suggests should be dated round the middle of the century, show that activity was intense. Little headway has been made in working out the identity or design of the buildings they decorated, the names by which they were known, or even their location on the rock; the suggestion that some may have embellished the tyrant Peisistratos' house carries little weight. The missing pieces of the assorted jigsaws are too numerous to complete the images. The subjects still contain minatory and heraldic aspects as at Corfu, but many of the smaller fragments feature Herakles as their main subject (fighting the Hydra, wrestling with the Triton, introduced into Olympos) – his presence has been seen by some as a mythical prototype for Peisistratos. Fragments of larger limestone figures dating from that period show that there was at least one large temple on the Acropolis, though again there is confusion over its name and location – it is not clear whether it was built where the Parthenon now stands or preceded the temple that was erected near the end of the sixth century between the site of the later Parthenon and the later Erechtheion (Figure 14). The fragments include lions, bull, lioness, and snake, and a triple corner figure that is nicknamed 'Bluebeard' and grasps water, grain, and a bird, perhaps symbolizing the Attic divisions of coast, plain, and hill. As there was not yet any uniformity of size in pedimental sculpture, the principle of 'Occam's razor' is usually applied to some of the smaller fragments, which may have served as the corner compositions on the large temple.

[7] Hurwit 1999: chs. 5–6 and 2004: ch. 2; Camp 2001: ch. 3. For a critique of the New Acropolis Museum, see Cohen 2010.

[8] Glowacki 1998.

[9] Neils 1992a and 1996; Ridgway 1993: 282–97.

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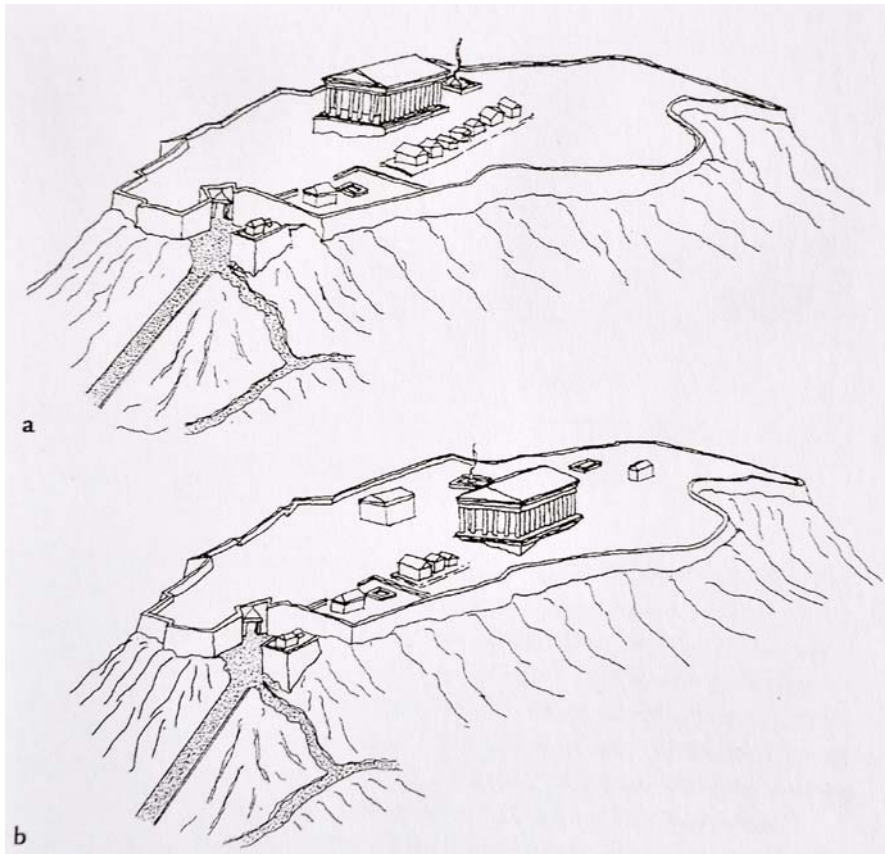

Figure 14 Alternative reconstructions of the Athenian Acropolis in the mid-sixth century BC.

The sons of Peisistratos, Hippias and Hipparchos, have usually been connected with the next major building: the late sixth-century limestone temple, the foundations of which still lie in the centre of the rock ('The Old Athena Temple'), a possible replacement for the 'Bluebeard' temple, if it was built there. However, recent discussion seems to favour a slightly later date, after the fall of the Athenian tyranny in 510 BC, and relates the building to the rise of democracy after Kleisthenes.[10] The pedimental figures are of Parian marble: on the west end a Gigantomachy, with Zeus as the central figure in a

[10] Croissant 1993 and Ridgway 1993: 291–5 favour a Peisistratean date; A. Stewart 1990: 129–30 and Childs 1994 make a case for a date after the start of democracy. See also Hurwit 1999: 121–4.

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front-facing chariot, with maybe Herakles alongside him, and fallen Giants in the corners; and on the principal east end the epiphany of Athena in a chariot with lions and bulls at the sides.[11] The political implication of the Olympians versus the Giants as signifiers of the Athenians driving out the tyrants is perhaps too hard to resist. The later history of the temple is uncertain; some scholars understand it to have been destroyed by the Persians, along with the unfinished predecessor of the Parthenon that was begun after Marathon (490 BC); it seems unlikely that it remained standing to any height between the later Parthenon and Erechtheion.[12]

Elsewhere, sculptures on temples and treasuries of the later Archaic period present a similarly complex picture and sequence, with chronology a major stumbling block when one wishes to set the sculptures in context. Here Delphi plays a large part because, after the fire of 548–547 BC, there was an abundance of rebuilding (for the Siphnian treasury, see Chapter I). The Temple of Apollo has been intensively studied but still causes disagreement. Herodotus' reference (5.62) to the involvement of members of the Athenian Alkmaionid family in the rebuilding would support a date after 514 BC, when they were exiled from Athens, whereas the style of the figures has been thought to belong to a period as early as the 520s.[13] Its pediments display on the east (in Parian marble, as Herodotus [5.62] emphasized) the epiphany of Apollo in a chariot with youths and maidens standing by, and on the west (in limestone) Zeus at the centre of the battle of the Gods and the Giants. They resemble the Temple of Athena design on the Athenian Acropolis and prefigure the contrast between the east and west pediments on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

A building at Delphi that continues to create intense interest is the Athenian Treasury, made of Parian marble and encircled by metopes on all four sides with myths concerning the deeds of Herakles, the national champion, and of Theseus, the Athenian democratic hero, on his first outing in architectural sculpture. The pedimental figures are mostly missing, and there is no agreement on the distribution of the two heroes along the sides of the building, nor is the precise date secure. Pausanias (10.11.4), taking the Marathon inscription

[11] Moore 1995 on the west pediment; Marszal 1998 on the east pediment rejects the west pediment arrangement of the central chariot.

[12] Ferrari 2002a claims that it was not pulled down, but Pakkanen 2006 points out flaws in her reading of the evidence.

[13] École Française d'Athènes 1991b: 181–4; Ridgway 1993: 291–4; Childs 1993; Keesling 2003: 47–8, 56–8; Barringer 2008: 158–9; Scott 2010: 56–9.

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that borders the south side of the building as evidence, dated the Treasury after Marathon (490 BC) and for those who accept his dating the political background concerns the line-up of states in the 480s. Stylistically the figures look earlier, and many researchers, not persuaded of the relevance of the Marathon inscription, turn to the early years of Athenian democracy for the context.[14] Neither camp, however, considers the sculptures devoid of political significance. Theseus is once again the subject of a structure connected with Athens: the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria (Euboea), which was sacked by the Persians in 490 BC during reprisals for joining with Athens in assisting Persia's Greek subjects in Asia Minor to revolt. The west pediment figures in Parian marble, which carried an Amazonomachy with Theseus' abduction of Antiope in the centre and chariots at both sides, were buried afterwards.[15] The date of its construction has been narrowed down to near the end of the sixth century, *c.*510–500 BC, and indeed it may not have been finished by the time of the Persian invasion.

The limestone temple that has preserved the most of its pedimental sculptures of Parian marble is that of Athena Aphaia on the island of Aigina; in fact it has an overabundance of figures, since the undamaged east pediment was replaced by a second set of figures before the temple was roofed.[16] Pediments at both ends of the temple picture heroes from the two Trojan Wars (the earlier war on the east side, the later on the west), but the subject matter of the replacement set at the east end emphasized Aiginetan heroes, perhaps as a consequence of the continuing political struggles between Athens and Aigina. No metopes have been found, but it has been shown that they too were of Parian marble and had been attached to the temple; investigation of the architrave suggests that they were carefully removed in antiquity, probably for loot. The possible spread of dates now given for the temple and its decoration is 510–470 BC. The bright colours on the sculptures, which were clear when they were discovered, and the bronze additions such as swords and spears, have been restudied, and the effect they originally created has been shown to be vivacious in the extreme (see Chapter I and Figure 15). Their adventurous poses exemplify the great advances made over the previous hundred years.

[14] École Française d'Athènes 1991b: 133–6; Ridgway 1993: 343–6; M. C. Miller 1997: 29–41; Amandry 1998; Neer 2004; Barringer 2008: 116–21; von den Hoff 2009.
[15] Touloupa 2002.
[16] Gill 1988; Bankel 1993. For a catalogue of the sculptures in Munich, see Ohly 2001.

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Figure 15 Coloured version of 'Paris' from the west pediment of the Temple of Athena Aphaia, Aigina, early fifth century BC. Height 1.04 metres.

Beyond the Greek mainland one may look east and west. Eastwards, the gigantic Ionic temples of Hera on Samos and of Artemis at Ephesos (Asia Minor) were some of the largest built at this period (550–540 BC).[17] The sculptures on the Artemision were outlandishly placed for a Greek temple: on the bottom drums of the massive twenty-metre-tall columns and on the *sima* (gutter), at two different scales; this latter placing suggests that the central area of the roof was open to the sky. The remains are too fragmentary to identify the subjects. When we move west of the Greek mainland, we see that, on the Doric temples in the Greek colonies of South Italy and Sicily, figured metopes were more appreciated than pedimental compositions. Selinous on Sicily has an abundance of metopes on the three archaic temples there (temple Y 550–530 BC, temple C 530–510 BC [Figure 16], and temple FS 500–490 BC). Marconi and Østby have studied them in detail to try to understand the reasons for the choice of subjects in relation to the local character of the settlement (epiphanies with chariots, Apollo the main god, heroes fighting monsters and demons [Perseus v. Medusa; Herakles v. the Kerkopes]).[18]

[17] Muss 1994; Pedley 2005: ch. 10; Jenkins 2006: 47–70.
[18] Marconi 1994 and 2007; Østby 2009.

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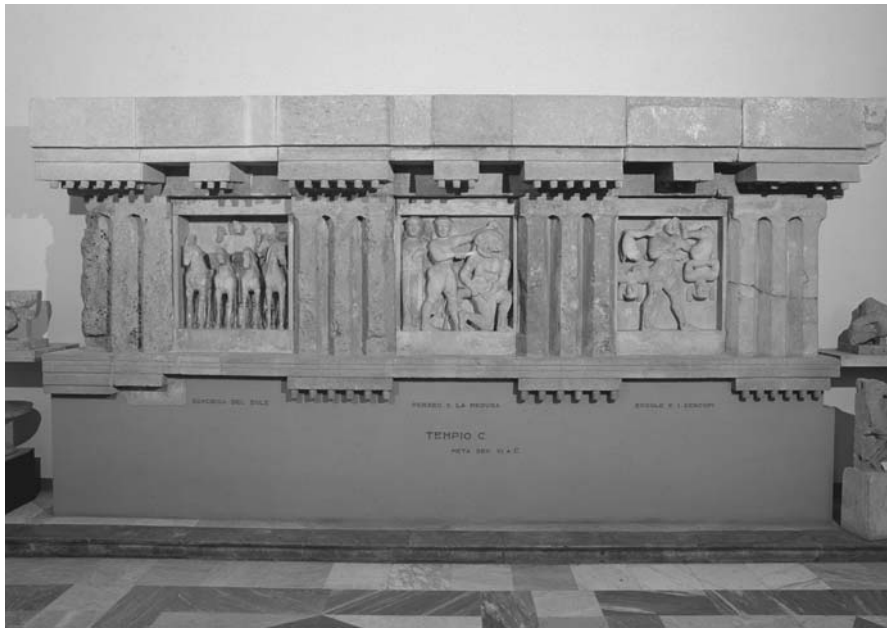

Figure 16 Three of the limestone metopes from temple C at Selinous, Sicily, *c.*550 BC. Height of panels 1.47 metres.

Early Classical

Our evidence for architectural sculpture in the generation after the Persian Wars, between the years 480 and 450 BC, is sparse. Athens was not building or rebuilding then, and attention is concentrated on the limestone Temple of Zeus at Olympia, the largest Doric temple on mainland Greece at the time.[19] The sculptures are relatively well preserved and of high quality, made of Parian marble that must have been very expensive to transport from Paros in the Aegean to the western Peloponnese. The dates are remarkably secure: the building was begun after the end of the war in which Elis defeated Pisa (471/470 BC) and finished in 457 BC (Paus. 5.10.2). Less emphasis is now given to the identity of the sculptors, a subject that bedevilled previous research through Pausanias' reference (5.10.8) to Alkamenes of Athens as the sculptor of the west pediment and Paionios of Mende

[19] Ashmole, Yalouris, and Frantz 1967 is still indispensable. See also Barringer 2005b and 2008: ch. 1; Davison 2009: 319–24; Scott 2010: 184–6.

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(Thrace) of the east, but the arrangement of the pedimental figures and their meaning and identity still invite discussion.

The grouping of the central figures on the east pediment is still not certain. The quartet (F, G, I, K) on either side of the central Zeus (H) has always been shuffled to and fro, like overweight chess pieces; even the identity of the mother and daughter (F and K) is still disputed.[20] Younger and Rehak investigated all the preserved fragments and have now proposed new arrangements for both pediments, emphasizing the unfinished state of much of the carving.[21] Rehak had earlier drawn attention to that state, deducing that work on the metopes and pediments was carried out simultaneously, not sequentially, a conclusion that affects any understanding of the teams of sculptors at work.[22] He suggested that the sculptures had to be in place, even if not completed, in time for the Olympic Games to be held in 456 BC.

The stylistic and iconographical affinities with Athenian work on the west pediment (Centauromachy, Theseus, Tyrant-Slayer's pose, etc.) have long been noted; the reciprocal influences of the Temple of Zeus on the east pediment of the Parthenon are close, especially if the central trio of the Parthenon east pediment are all standing.[23] The invitation to Pheidias to construct the cult statue of Zeus is also emphasized as a further link between Athens and Olympia.

When we turn to consider the subject matter of the sculptures, we are encouraged to view the metopes and pediments together. The traditional interpretation has emphasized the admonitory aspects of *dikē* (justice) imposed by the gods and the positive aspects of *nīkē* (victory) as an encouragement to the athletes. Barringer, emphasizing the athletic importance of Olympia, sees the male figures as 'positive models to inspire and exhort Olympic athletes to deeds of honor and glory', and she suggests that 'As athletes gazed up at the sculptures … they would have seen heroic models for their own mortal *agōn*.'[24] The fly in this particular ointment lies in the rare subject of the east pediment and in the story that Pelops cheated his way to winning the race – was such ingenuity the proper incentive for later athletes? Barringer reminds us that our earliest certain evidence for the

[20] Trianti 2002.
[21] Younger and Rehak 2009.
[22] Rehak 1998.
[23] Hurwit 2005. See Palagia 1993 for the three standing figures in the centre of the east pediment of the Parthenon.
[24] Barringer 2005b: 221, 239. For the myth of Oinomaos and Pelops, see Howie 1991 and Shapiro 1994: 78–83.

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Figure 17 The seer (N) from the west pediment of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, Olympia, *c.*460 BC. Height 1.38 metres.

deception is found slightly later than the sculptures, and that earlier indications show that Pelops was granted favour to ensure his success by his divine lover, Poseidon (Pind. *Ol.* 1 [476 BC]). The presence of the seated figures, which are interpreted as seers (particularly the anxious figure of seer N [Figure 17]), does not necessarily mean that the omens are bad for Pelops but they certainly indicate that, given the stillness and menace of the whole composition, the spectators would know that trouble was brewing. Oinomaos had already been cast in the role of a cruel and violent king who lusted after his own daughter, and thus the transgression of marriage is another possible meaning, paralleled by the fight at the marriage feast on the west pediment. There Pausanias (5.10.8) is the source of the claim that the Centauromachy was the one in which Theseus assisted Peirithoos in Thessaly, and modern scholars have been satisfied with this, given the Athenian echoes. However, it has recently been pointed out that the Centauromachy local to nearby Elis in which Herakles rescued the daughter of the king of Elis on her wedding day, would be much more appropriate.[25] Pausanias made a number of mistakes at Olympia and was at the mercy of the guides, for whom, in the second century AD when Pausanias visited the site, the fight involving Theseus was the much better known contest and likely to be the one the guides

[25] Westervelt 2009: 137–50, who points out the doubling of the proper names in the two battles.

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knew. The choice of Herakles for the metopes emphasizes his great importance at Olympia, and it is proposed that figure K in the west pediment should be identified as Herakles.

Before moving further through the fifth century, let us return to Selinous and its metopes. Those on the early classical temple E (*c.* 460–450 BC), dedicated to Hera, are carved from limestone with marble additions (heads, toes, faces, etc.) and boast a variety of subjects, as before, with no obvious link to one another (Artemis and Actaion; Herakles and Amazon, Athena versus Giant). The best known is the metope that has always been interpreted as Hera unveiling herself before Zeus. It is now suggested that in Sicily, given the Pythagorean background of reincarnation, it would be more appropriate to interpret the scene as one of Persephone being claimed by Hades.[26]

Classical

The next half century belongs to Athens and Attica, and the Athenian Acropolis in its classical phase takes the lion's share. It is difficult not to overbalance the chapter in trying to give some idea of the massive output on this subject; even a selection is substantial.[27]

Since 1975, work on the rock has been varied and revolutionary: excavation, reconstruction, conservation, restoration, the discovery of new sculptural fragments, the removal of the remaining sculptures from the temples, and the transfer of the contents of the Acropolis Museum to the New Museum to the south of the Acropolis, which has plaster casts of the absent blocks next to the original fragments (Figure 1). New methods of investigation such as digital imaging and isotope analysis are gaining ground. The researches of Korres and others have transformed the appearance and our understanding of the material remains, while the whole rock has been stripped down for the tourist trail. The thousands of visitors and the men working on the reconstruction of the buildings have helped to recreate a visual impression of the crowded, noisy, and hectic sanctuary that the rock became. For much of the second half of the fifth century, the Acropolis was a building site.

[26] Østby 2009.

[27] See Economakis 1994 for a brilliantly illustrated statement of the work of the Committee for the Conservation of the Acropolis Monuments (CCAM). Tournikiotis 1994 has chapters on each of the buildings and takes the subject up to the present day. Korres 1995 is full of lively drawings.

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Central to any study are the sculptures of the Parthenon. The volumes by Brommer still form the springboard for research, and the light styrofoam copies in Basel are a useful means for plotting any rearrangements, adding new fragments and judging whether they are possible, and assessing their effect.[28] The full-scale reconstruction of the temple in Nashville (Tennessee), with the chryselephantine statue inside (see Chapter IV), provides an unparalleled encounter. Researchers dealing with the building adopt various approaches: searching for new finds, unravelling the meaning of the sculptures, distinguishing different sculptors, and so forth. Beard's short survey offers a brisk introduction as it covers the history of the temple up to the present day, posing questions and adopting a lively approach.[29] The volume edited by Tournikiotis similarly covers the story up to the present, with more detailed accounts of the recent research.[30] Neils's edited volume also devotes a few chapters to the post-fifth-century history of the building but is more concerned with the building and its decoration in the period of its construction, and Jenkins deals with the subject mainly on the basis of the material in the British Museum.[31] The question of the return of the 'Elgin marbles' is still unresolved ('rape or rescue' is only part of the discussion). In 1999, a conference on the cleaning of the marbles that was carried out in the British Museum in the 1930s opened to public scrutiny the contemporary correspondence on the matter, shed light on the relationship between the Museum and Lord Duveen (who was then funding the new Parthenon Gallery), and hardened opinions on the question of 'retain or return'.[32]

As the building had no altar connected with it, its entitlement to be called a temple has been questioned.[33] Might we consider it an Athenian treasury on home ground – private offerings, the treasures of Athena, and the *aparchai* (the 'first fruits', one-sixtieth of the tribute paid by member states of the Athenian Empire) – to match the treasuries in the Panhellenic sanctuaries at Olympia and Delphi? The building and its lavish decoration demanded craftsmen of all ages

[28] Brommer 1963 (pediments); 1967 (metopes); 1977 (frieze). See Berger 1986 (metopes); Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996 (frieze) for the styrofoam copies. See also Barringer 2008: ch. 2; Davison 2009: 565–616.

[29] Beard 2002.

[30] Tournikiotis 1994: 136 ff.

[31] Neils 2005a: chs. 9–11; Jenkins 2006: ch. 4, with bibliography.

[32] Jenkins 2001 presents some of the material that was duplicated for the conference and sums up the British Museum position.

[33] For the problems of names and function, see Hurwit 1999: 163–5 and 2004: 110–16. For the treasures in the Parthenon and the Erechtheion, see Harris 1995.

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and from different regions of Greece, who started on the metopes and gradually produced a more coherent style as they worked on the frieze and pediments.

The metopes continue to invite study.[34] Although those on other sides of the building merit and have received attention, the central metopes on the south side that are lost now, but were drawn by Carrey in the seventeenth century, exert the attraction of the obscure.[35] Framed by the metopes of Centaurs and Lapiths, these central metopes show human figures and may be connected with one of the local myths of Attica (such as Erechtheus, Pandion, and Kekrops). As for any unity of meaning over all the four sides, this is hard to prove. The triumph of the Greeks over non-Greeks (Trojans) on the north, monsters (Centaurs – though one Centaur is downing a Greek!) on the south, females (Amazons) acting like males on the west, and Olympian opponents (Giants) on the east may indicate that Athens was claiming that she had no small share in all these victories, or at least in the more recent victories for which these are the archetypes.[36]

Undoubtedly, it is the frieze that claims the most interest.[37] The subject is a parade that assembles along the west side of the building (Figure 18) and culminates at the east end, with horsemen a major element in the arrangement.[38] Number-crunching of the grouping and the outfits of the horsemen on the north and south sides has helped to explain the basis of the design, and Jenkins has tidied up the balance between the two sides.[39] The orthodox interpretation of the frieze sees the subject as a procession for Athena, perhaps at the Panathenaic festival, reaching its climax in the presentation of the robe (*peplos*) to the goddess. This theory is not without its problems – Was a non-mythical theme acceptable? How are we to understand the time and place of the pageant? Why are the cavalry present in such numbers? Is the *peplos* being folded or unfolded? What is the identity of the central male figure at the east end? Is the young figure in the group male or

[34] Schwab 2005, with earlier bibliography. Against the theory that originally there was to have been a Doric metopal frieze round the cella, see Barletta 2009.

[35] Mantis 1997; Gasparro and Moret 2005; Schwab 2005.

[36] Castriota 1992: ch. 4.

[37] For general treatments, see Robertson and Frantz 1975; Castriota 1992: ch. 5; Osborne 1994a; Jenkins 2002; Pollitt 1997; Hurwit 1999: ch. 9, and 2004: 133–46; Neils 2001 and 2005b; Davison 2009: 565–616. Mention should be made here of the brilliant book to enable the blind to appreciate the frieze: Bird, Jenkins, and Levi 1998. Regarding the idea that there was a second, smaller frieze above the eastern porch, see Barletta 2009: 540.

[38] On the cavalry, see Stevenson 2003; Jenkins 2005.

[39] Jenkins 1995.

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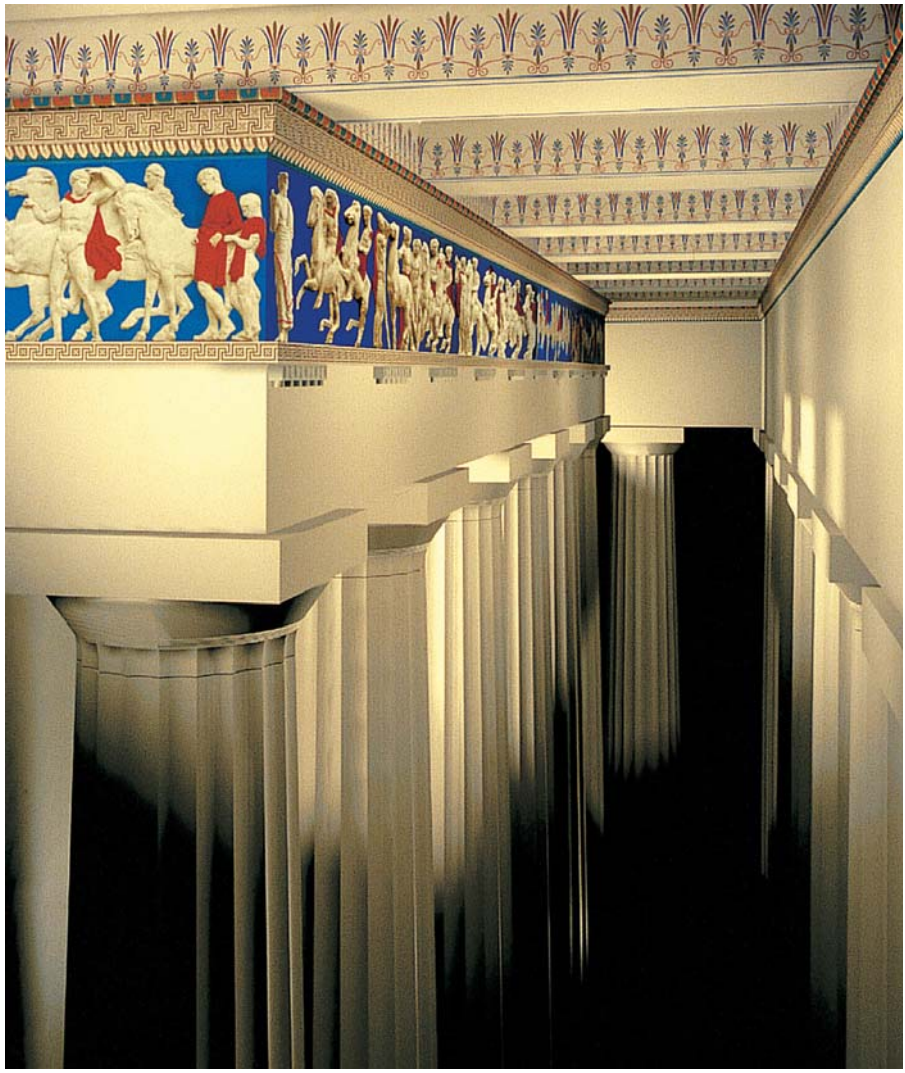

Figure 18 Digital reconstruction of the west frieze of the Parthenon, Athens, 430s BC. Height of frieze 1.06 metres.

female? And so on. In 1977, Boardman published his revolutionary view that the frieze made close reference to the battle of Marathon, a theory he has now withdrawn;[40] twenty years later, Connelly, searching for a traditional mythical theme, published an even more

[40] Boardman 1999b.

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revolutionary proposal, with an attempt to decode the subject at the east end.[41] She rejected the connection with the *peplos* and proposed that the figures in the centre at the east end are concerned with events leading up to the sacrifice of a daughter of Erechtheus, one of the mythical kings of Athens, the cloth not a *peplos* but a winding sheet. The Olympians, with Athena given no special place among the twelve, are averting their eyes from the impending sacrifice. The fact that such a different interpretation can be put forward suggests that the scene in itself is devoid of precise content for us, but scholars have tended to be sceptical about this interpretation, especially as it is not easy to accommodate the other three sides into the reading.

As for the pediments,[42] it is common knowledge that one sentence in Pausanias (1.24.5) is all that we are told of the subject matter: 'As you enter the temple [*nāos*] called the Parthenon, everything on the [east] pediment has to do with the birth of Athena; the far [west] side shows Poseidon quarrelling with Athena over the land.' The story of the birth is found in earlier minor arts, while the quarrel is first mentioned in Herodotus (8.55), who was writing at the time of the erection of the Parthenon; neither story is used again in architectural sculpture. Close copies of the quarrel of the central pair in the west pediment have been recognized on two Athenian red-figure *hydriai* of the early and mid-fourth century.[43] Both show an olive tree between the contestants, but the Pella *hydria* (Figure 19) also introduces a massive thunderbolt that may have been fixed to the back wall of the pediment, to symbolize Zeus's intervention in the fight. The east pediment with the birth of Athena has lost its central section entirely, and scholars are constantly attempting to resurrect the original composition. On the basis of comparable scenes in vase-paintings depicting the birth, the usual way to restore the arrangement has been to show Zeus, thunderbolt in hand, seated between Hera and Athena. However, Palagia, in studying the evidence, takes particular account of the presence of the iron bars to strengthen the floor and the back wall, and suggests that all three figures were standing.[44] This makes for

[41] Connelly 1996.

[42] Palagia 1993 and 2005a.

[43] Pella 80.514: Palagia 1993: fig. 11; Rolley 1999: fig. 66; Drougou 2000; Boardman 2001b: fig. 139; Tiverios 2005; and 2. St. Petersburg KAB 6a (with relief figures): Palagia 1993: fig. 10; Boardman 2001b: fig. 140. See Pollitt 2000 for an interpretation of the west pediment.

[44] Palagia 1993, with earlier arrangements in figs. 13–17. The Attic red-figure bell-krater from Baksy (Shefton 1982 and 1992) is a complex design that mixes various elements of the east pediment with details of the throne of the chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia (see Chapter IV).

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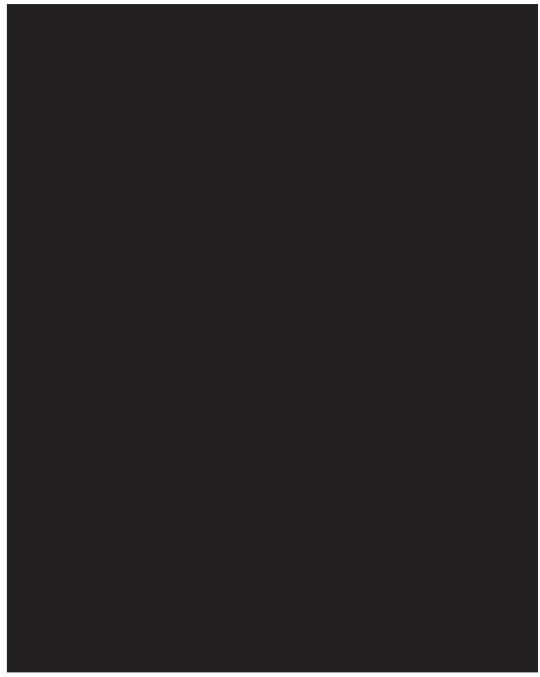

Figure 19 The struggle of Athena against Poseidon on an Attic red-figure *hydria* found at Pella, Macedonia, early fourth century BC. Preserved height 47 cm.
[This image has been removed due to copyright restrictions.]

a static central scene, and, as commented earlier, it may deliberately reflect the central section of the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Objectors to such a reconstruction have remarked that there is a lack of tension here, which is present in the Olympia scene – unless the very presence of Hera so close to the birth of Athena added the necessary marital frisson. Whatever the arrangement, the east end presents the climax of the sculptural ensemble with the energetic battle of the Gods versus the Giants in the metopes, the quiet culmination of the united procession in the frieze, and the stately birth of Athena in the pediment – with a view of the chryselephantine statue through the doorway (on this statue, see Chapter IV). Athena and Athens are awarded their due, with sculptures of complex imagery and multiple meanings that promoted the self-aggrandisement and glorification of the state at a moment when her citizens were so sure of themselves. Reshaping myths to suit the political climate was more to the fore than ever.

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Other temples that were built in the second half of the fifth century, on the Acropolis, in the lower town, and in outlying parts of Attica, have received their share of scholarly attention. It is no longer agreed that the four Doric temples were all designed by one architect: the Hephaisteion on the hill west of the Agora (mid-fifth century), with the emphasis at the east end facing the Agora; the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion (440s); the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous (430s); and the Temple of Athena (430s), originally built at Pallene but relocated to the Agora in the Roman period and rededicated to Ares.[45] They all show evidence of common practices and some include a frieze in imitation of the Parthenon, though on a lesser scale. Further work has also been devoted to the Ionic temples of this period. Only ten per cent of the sculptures of the Temple of Artemis Agrotera by the river Ilissos now survives (the temple itself is long gone), so interpretation of the subject and meaning of the friezes is difficult.[46] There are battles, women and girls being attacked, and seated travellers. McNeill suggests the Sack of Troy and its aftermath, with a forward reference to the Persian Wars; Palagia sees 'Troy Taken' but prefers Odysseus' visit to the Underworld for the other subject. However, she asks why, as wall paintings in Athens already made direct reference to the battle of Marathon (e.g. on the Painted Stoa), a historical subject is not possible here. The date of the temple is estimated to be in the 420s.

A return to the Acropolis brings us to the Temple of Athena Nike on the bastion to the south of the entrance and to the Erechtheion along the north side of the rock, both Ionic in contrast to the Parthenon and Propylaea. Mark produced a major study of the Nike sanctuary and more recently Schultz has shown that the balustrade that surrounded the bastion on three sides (usually dated a decade or so later because of the seemingly more advanced style of the sculpture) was an integral part of the construction of the sanctuary and so is contemporary with the temple, dated to the 420s. It is notable that these expensive temples were being built in the first ten years of the Peloponnesian War, despite the great distress that Athens was experiencing. The subject matter of the friezes which cover all four sides of the Nike temple is still problematic. The east has an assembly of gods, which Palagia interprets as the birth of Athena, paying tribute to the east

[45] Hephaisteion: Camp 2001: 102–4; Barringer 2008: 109–43; Sounion: Camp 2001: 108–12; Leventi 2008; Rhamnous: Miles 1989; Camp 2001: 112–4; Pallene: Camp 2001: 116–7; E. B. Harrison 2005.

[46] McNeill 2005 and Palagia 2005b: 177–84.

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pediment of the Parthenon; the south has Greeks versus warriors in oriental costume (Persians at Marathon?); the north and west both present undifferentiated soldiers and a trophy, and may again refer to historic battles.[47] This lack of specificity raises the question of the interpretation that any observer might place on the images. Was the choice intentionally ambiguous or would the viewers have routinely taken the scenes to be heroic? The balustrade is notable for its draped Victories. In 1998, Brouskari published all the material that pertains to the parapet and discussed all aspects of its construction, history, meaning, and style. Her distribution of names to the sculptors follows a well-established tradition but serves little purpose. A fourth figure of Athena has since been recognized as belonging to the known three, and so further investigation is now needed.[48]

The Erechtheion (mainly built 409–406 BC but probably, as the others, started in the 420s) still retains its modern name, though there are those who doubt that the building matches the name in the textual evidence.[49] If the present building is indeed the Erechtheion, it held the venerated 'ancient statue' of Athena. The frieze had separately carved figures pinned to a background of dark Eleusinian limestone – a different way of presenting a coloured effect – and there is evidence of coloured beads inserted in one capital (Figure 21). The individual fragments of the frieze that remain include quiet women in a peaceful setting, but the inscriptional evidence mentions figures of men, so it may represent a festival procession.

Late Classical

The heading 'Late Classical' stretches from *c.* 400 BC down to the period of Alexander and moves us away from Athens to the Peloponnese and Asia Minor.[50] The division is an arbitrary one (see Chapter II), based on the cessation of public building work in Athens and the absence of significant architectural sculpture there in the early fourth century; indeed, experiments in sculpture that had begun in the late fifth

[47] Mark 1993; Hurwit 1999: 160–1, 209–15 and 2004: 181–91; Schultz 2002; Palagia 2005b. Schultz 2009 on the north frieze.

[48] Brouskari 1998 – this supersedes earlier studies.

[49] Pakkanen 2006. For questions on the name, see Jeppesen 1987. See also Ridgway 1992: 125–7 (the statue of Athena); N. Robertson 1996.

[50] For articles on Peloponnesian sculpture, see Palagia and Coulson 1993; Sheedy 1994. On Asia Minor, see Jenkins and Waywell 1997; Higgs 2006.

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century were an influence in the next decades. The fourth century was a period when temples at various sanctuaries, destroyed through natural causes and fires, were rebuilt, and, given that we are concerned with original sculpture and have some fixed dates, there is a clearer picture of development and change here than with the freestanding statues of the same period. Fashions that were popular in Athens and Attica were exported to other areas. Texts mention a number of sculptors and architects of this period, and there were architectural commissions that took the craftsmen to different locations on the mainland and in the east. The names of individual sculptors – such as Timotheos, Leochares, Bryaxis, Skopas – occur in reference to the major projects of the time, especially joint work on the Mausoleum. Despite disagreements over the importance of attribution, scholars are reluctant to forego the mental gymnastics needed when wrestling with the different varieties of evidence.[51]

The limestone Doric Temple of Apollo at Bassai ('The Glens') near Phigaleia, high in the mountains of Arcadia in the central Peloponnese, stands on the bridge between the fifth and fourth centuries; some would place its construction in the later fifth century, with work starting soon after the Parthenon was finished, with an interruption *c.*420 BC and a resumption *c.*415 BC; others consider it later. Cooper's extended investigation of the architecture of the temple, Kelly's work on its three predecessors, and Madigan's study of the sculpture have clarified the history, though not solved the arrangement of the sculptures on the frieze.[52] For the title of the deity worshipped there, Apollo 'Epikourios' (Paus. 8.41.8), there is a choice between 'Epikourios' meaning 'Saviour' (from the plague, as Pausanias believed) and 'Protector' (of mercenaries, as is now more generally accepted).[53] The marble frieze, with the figures limited to separately carved blocks, carries time-honoured themes: the battles of Greeks versus Centaurs and of Greeks versus Amazons, in two unequal lengths. What was abnormal was the placing of the frieze above engaged Ionic columns, with one or more Corinthian columns inside the cella. In the 1950s, both Dinsmoor and Corbett separately attempted to arrange the blocks in the correct order, and on the basis of the investigations of the latter the frieze was

[51] Names: Pollitt 1990: 90–8 and 195–8. For discussion of the Mausoleum sculptors, see Hornblower 1982: 240–4; Waywell 1997; B. F. Cook 2005: introduction, part 3; Jenkins 2006.
[52] Cooper 1996; Kelly 1995; Madigan 1992.
[53] Fields 1994.

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arranged anew in the British Museum.[54] In the 1990s, Jenkins and Williams, who queried the solutions proposed earlier, made another attempt to work out the original plan. Though they were not convinced of the complete accuracy of Corbett's arrangement, they agreed that the frieze should stay in its present arrangement.[55] A few metopes from the temple survive. Pausanias (8.41.9) named the architect as Iktinos, whom he also names, along with Kallikrates, as the architect of the Parthenon – the subtleties and originality of the Bassae temple have underscored the possibility of this same architect, though the dumpy, struggling figures with their deep-set eyes speak of different executants for the frieze.

Also in the Peloponnese, the fragments of the sculptures of the Doric Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (*c.*375–370 BC) have been published by Yalouris, who, by careful consideration of the find-spots, technique, and style, calculated the composition of the pediments and the positioning of the akroteria.[56] The subject matter involved heroic myths (on the west Amazons again and on the east the sack of Troy), with clinging drapery, complex poses, and contorted expressions, once more with deep-set eyes. The accounts that survive in inscriptions for the Temple of Asklepios are still the most useful evidence for temple construction and finance, and supply some names of the architect and sculptors involved, such as Hektoridas and Timotheos. Pausanias (8.45.4–7) names Skopas, better known as a sculptor, as the architect of the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea of a generation later (*c.*345–335 BC) and counts the temple spectacular for size and construction, with a rich interior.[57] With Doric columns outside it repeated the use of engaged columns inside (as seen at Bassae) but set Ionic columns above Corinthian. The subjects in the pediments had local connections – on the east the Calydonian Boar Hunt, on the west Achilles' raid on Telephos – and from the evidence of inscriptions on the architrave the metopes also treated the Telephos story. It has been noted that neither the Temple of Asklepios nor that of Athena Alea carried divine figures, perhaps a reaction to the upheavals of the late fifth century.

[54] Dinsmoor 1956 – his second attempt; Corbett's results were never published.
[55] Jenkins and Williams 1993.
[56] Yalouris 1992; Ridgway 1997: 35–4; Rolley 1999: 203–8.
[57] Skopas is now usually studied as the sculptor: see A. Stewart 1990: 182–5, 284–6; Østby 1994; Jenkins 2006: 225–6.

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The phrase 'Ionian Renaissance' is used with reference to the resurgence of architectural work in Asia Minor (see Chapter II) after the King's Peace of 387/386 BC, when the Eastern Aegean was back under Persian control; Priene, Ephesos, Assos, and Labraunda all had temples built or rebuilt in this period.[58] The fourth-century versions retain some of the ideas from the earlier constructions, but the employment of peripatetic sculptors means that the new buildings – some for Greek, others for non-Greek patrons – share some of the initiatives that were current in mainland Greece, resulting in a cosmopolitan appearance. The monumental Ionic temple of Artemis, which had been erected in the sixth century at Ephesos, burned down (deliberately?) in 356 BC (the very day, it was said, of Alexander's birth), and the restoration followed some of the original design. Little of its sculpture remains, but the arrangement of the sculptured column drums (*columnae caelatae*) that Pliny (*HN* 36.95–7) mentions have always intrigued students of the temple. Recent research has confirmed that these drums sat above square plinths, with the fluted columns above.[59] Once again, later texts name famous sculptors of the day as involved with the decoration, Skopas' name being linked with the column bases.

The work that Greek architects and sculptors carried out for non-Greek patrons in Asia Minor presents a fascinating mixture of Greek and local traditions from the point of view both of the architecture and of the subject matter of the sculptural decoration. Of the major funerary monuments for which there is still evidence, the tombs at the non-Greek city of Xanthos in Lycia to the south of Asia Minor bulk large,[60] and of these the 'Nereid Monument', built in the 390s–380s (around the time of the King's Peace), is the most lavishly decorated, prefiguring the Mausoleum (Figure 20).[61] Friezes and pediments were adopted as the chosen forms, but in design the building shows the non-Greek influences at work, such as the Persian-like high podium. No fewer than four friezes ring the actual building, and two sit on the podium, one on top of the other, each of a different height. As for their

[58] Ridgway 1997 looks at the work for Greeks in ch. 4 and for non-Greeks in ch. 3. See also Waywell 1994 and Jenkins and Waywell 1997 for a variety of monuments, particularly the Mausoleum.

[59] Jenkins 2006: 60–70.

[60] For Lycia and Xanthos, see Childs 1978; Jenkins 2006: ch. 7 for the background and earlier remains.

[61] Childs and Demargne 1989; Robinson 1995 and 1999; Higgs 2006: 165–78; Barringer 2008: 193–5.

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Figure 20 The Nereid Monument from Xanthos, Lycia, *c.*390–380 BC. Height 15 metres.

subjects, myths are exceptional, while non-specific and real-life battles, and scenes of hunting, siege, banqueting, and sacrifice, honour the success of the dynast whose tomb they embellish. The dynast himself,

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Erbinna, appears in certain scenes, feasting and receiving obeisance from his defeated enemies, and in the east relief pediment he is shown with his wife and family. Greek sculptors were instructed to pay tribute to the local ruler in a manner that was usual further east, and the wind-blown Greek 'Nereids' (or local Lycian sea-nymphs) that are placed between the columns of the colonnade are escorts for the dead man on his final journey. In contrast to the 'Nereid Monument', the tomb monument built at Trysa east of Xanthos, *c.*380–370 BC, is encased in Greek myths (Perseus, Theseus, Odysseus, etc.); there are no inscriptions to help with the identity of the occupant(s).[62] Both monuments illustrate the different emphasis in the elements that the mixture of Greek style and content with local ideas created.

Research has continued on the most striking building in fourth-century Asia Minor: the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos (modern Bodrum).[63] Together with the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos it was counted one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, and was the vast funerary monument of Mausolus of Caria, a satrap (local governor) for the Persians from 377 BC; he died in 353 BC. He had megalomaniac ambitions – his underground burial chamber was topped by a magnificent monument above, theatrically placed in the centre of the city he had created. Information on the whole project is varied and complex: the remains of the hybrid structure revealed by excavation; the sculptural fragments and slabs preserved in the British Museum, in the Castle at Bodrum, and more recently unearthed on the site; the accounts by Vitruvius (7. praef. 12–13) and Pliny (*HN* 36.30–1) that help (and also confuse) on the precise shape of the Mausoleum; the names of the Greek craftsmen employed on its construction; and the sculptures to which they refer. These different varieties of evidence combine to make it a textbook example of the complex approaches that architectural sculpture demands.

Recent excavation and further study of the remains have brought a solution closer, though the matching of the textual evidence and the material remains is still a thorny problem. This is not surprising, as the amount and variety of the sculpture is immense.[64] The free-standing figures are at three sizes (colossal, 'heroic', and life-size)

[62] See Jenkins 2006: 158–9; Barringer 2008: ch. 5.

[63] Linders and Hellström 1989; Waywell 1994; Isager 1994; Jeppesen 1997; Ridgway 1997: 111–35. For Mausolus himself, see Hornblower 1982.

[64] Waywell 1978 (free-standing statues); B. F. Cook 2005 (relief friezes); Higgs 2006: 179–202.

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and may have been distributed on three different levels, with a chariot group at the apex. The colossal pair of 'Mausolus' and his wife, 'Artemisia', more likely ancestors of the family than the satrap and his wife, show 'Mausolus' as a foreigner with moustache, shaggy hair, and a Carian tunic under his Greek cloak, and 'Artemisia' in the traditional appearance of a Greek woman. The relief friezes, of varying quality and marbles (Proconnesian, island, Pentelic), include some of the traditional subjects of Greek architectural sculpture, such as the Greeks battling against Amazons and Centaurs; others such as a hunt, a sacrifice, and a chariot race may reflect local or Persian motifs. The combination of these varied strands of sculpture with the mixed architectural elements (local: podium; Greek: colonnade; Egyptian: pyramidal roof) points forward to the Hellenistic age and beyond. The fame that it attracted may have helped to account for the embarrassment of sculptors' names that for many generations drew scholars to attempt to assign names and hands to the various carvings, a pursuit that Cook has now pronounced 'unproductive'.[65]

[65] Cook 2005: 28.

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