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## The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome

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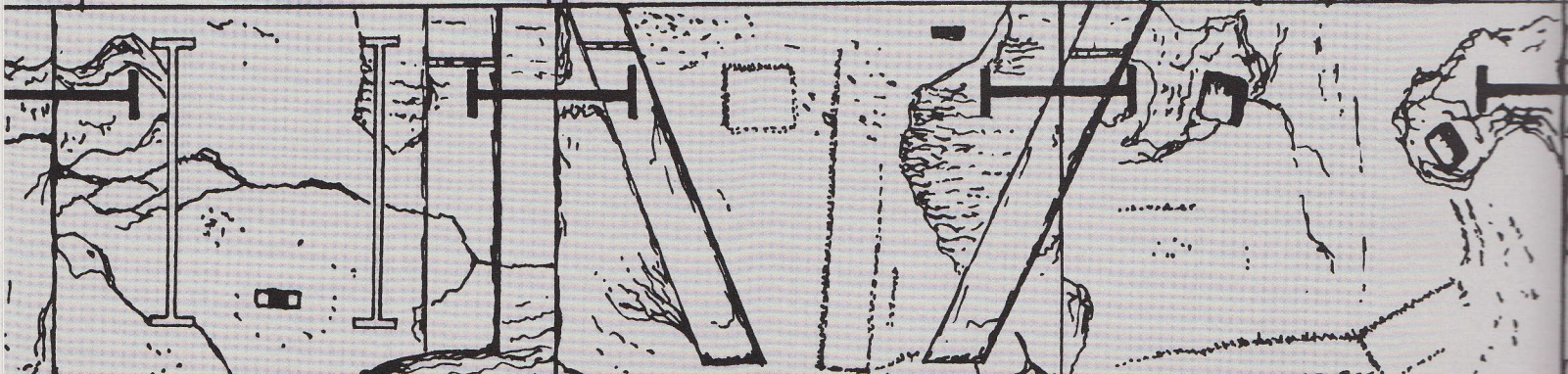
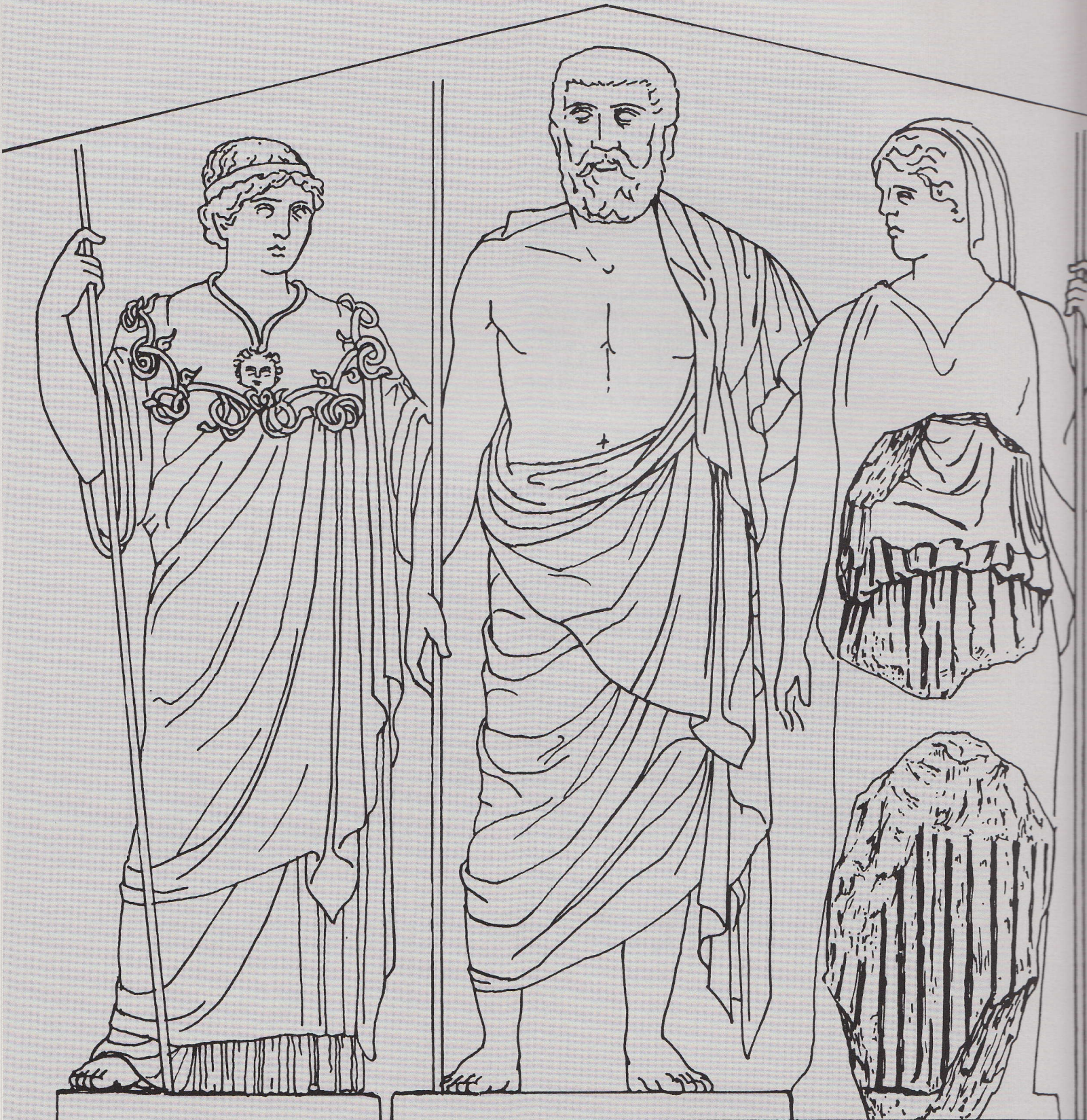
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*Frontispiece:* Temple of Athena Nike from  
the northeast. Photograph: Andreas Moritz







## *First among Equals: Athena in the East Pediment of the Parthenon*

One of the favorite exercises of modern scholarship in Classical archaeology is speculation on the missing statues from the center of the east pediment of the Parthenon.<sup>1</sup> These statues were removed in early Christian times to make way for an apse that was added when the temple was converted into a church. Without Pausanias' statement (*Description of Greece* 1.24.5) that the pediment above the entrance represented the birth of Athena, its subject would have been lost to us. Viewed in relation to the other sculptured scenes on the east façade—the battle of gods and giants on the metopes and the presentation of Athena's peplos on the frieze—the birth seems to be part of a cycle of events related to the Panathenaic festival that celebrated Athena's birthday.<sup>2</sup> Her triumph over the giants was also particularly highlighted on that day. In the metopes and frieze, Athena is one of the twelve Olympians who are led by their father, Zeus, accompanied by his consort, Hera.<sup>3</sup> We do not know to what extent the conception of Athena as first among equals, evident on the frieze and metopes, was also present in the pediment. The key lies in the pedimental composition and especially in the goddess' appearance and position within it. Any speculation about that, however, must begin with the rest of the central group.

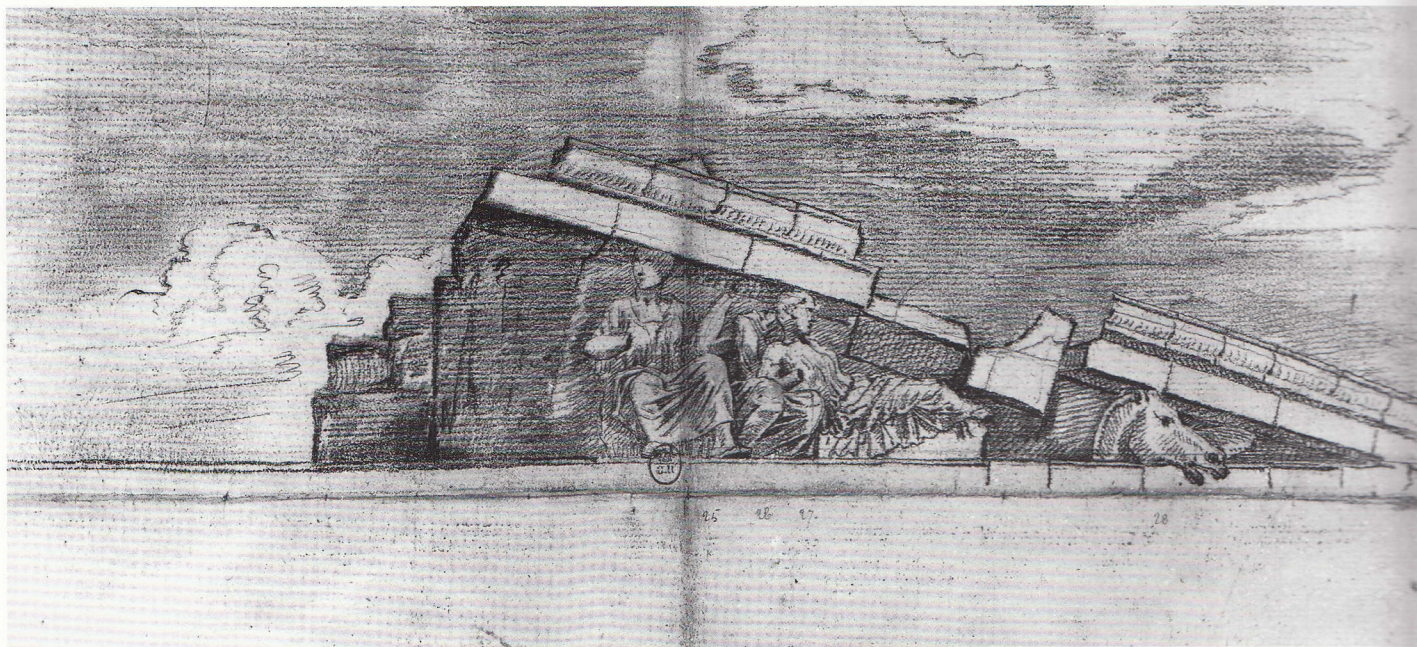
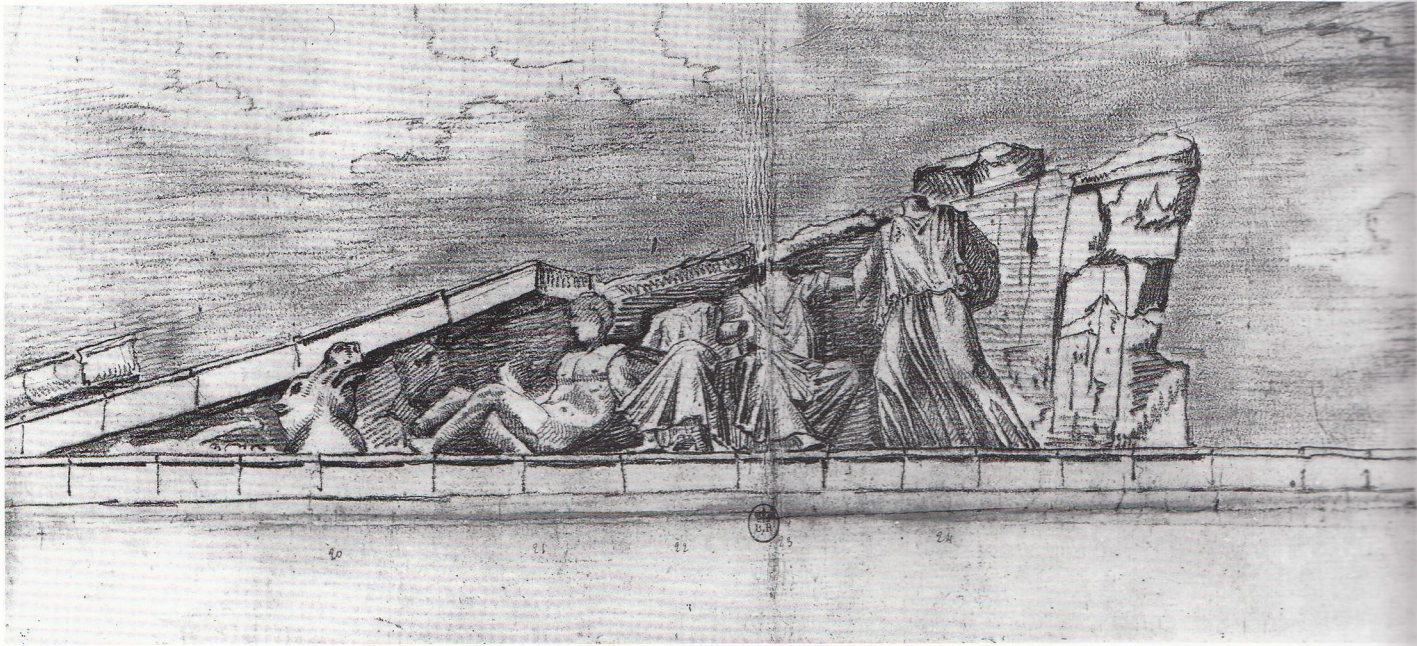
Everyone agrees that Athena and Zeus occupied the axis of the pediment, but there the consensus ends. The solutions proposed in two hundred years of scholarship fall into four main patterns, following fashions that sometimes recur. Tracing these patterns not only makes a fascinating story but also points the way to future discoveries. Parthenon studies often mark progress, thanks to the identification of new fragments (as in the study by Alexander Mantis elsewhere in this volume), but this is not the case here. No certain fragments of either Athena or Zeus have yet come to light.<sup>4</sup> No definitive solution can therefore be presented, and my own ideas are merely a variant of one of the patterns. In addition to relating Athena to the rest of her sculptured representations on the east façade, I shall look for similarities between the pediments of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia and those of the Parthenon. I shall also examine briefly the iconography of the birth of Athena after the Parthenon and conclude with some speculation about Athena's dress.

I begin with a brief history of the extant figures of the east pediment deities present at the birth of Athena. The most reliable document is a drawing of the statues in situ made by Jacques Carrey in 1674 (figs. 1, 2).<sup>5</sup> Carrey represented the side figures only, more or less complete, and no fragments. From left to right (fig. 1), one observes Helios rising, leading his four-horse chariot through the waves; a reclining symposiast, probably Dionysos;

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In memory of Charles M. Edwards (1953–1992)





1. Jacques Carrey, *East Pediment of the Parthenon*, 1674, drawing  
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

2. Jacques Carrey, *East Pediment of the Parthenon*, 1674, drawing  
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



then Kore and Demeter and a running goddess of uncertain identity whom I take to be Hekate.<sup>6</sup> On the right side (fig. 2), Carrey drew a group of three goddesses, the reclining one certainly Aphrodite, then a horse head after a gap. What Carrey did not see was the torso of Selene, excavated in 1840 and now in the Acropolis Museum.<sup>7</sup> Selene (the moon) was setting, riding her chariot downward. Lord Elgin's crew removed the marbles in 1801–1803. We learn from the letters of his foreman, Giovanni Battista Lusieri, and from Elgin's testimony to the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1816, that they removed only the figures shown in Carrey's drawing, failing to retrieve any fragments by excavation.<sup>8</sup> Lusieri was luckier, however, when he excavated in front of the west façade of the Parthenon, where many fragments from the west pediment came to light.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, any pedimental fragments in the British Museum can come only from the *west* pediment.

Attic vase paintings and Etruscan bronze mirrors provide the only evidence for the iconography of the birth of Athena in the Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>10</sup> Zeus is invariably seated on a stool or a throne, with a

miniature Athena springing from his head or standing on his lap fully armed. He is often attended by one or two Eileithyiai and by Hephaistos, who has just split open Zeus' head with an axe. Zeus is normally shown in profile, as on a black-figure amphora in the Yale University Art Gallery (fig. 3).<sup>11</sup> He is frontal only on two very exceptional Attic vases: a black-figure amphora in Richmond, Virginia,<sup>12</sup> and a red-figure pelike in the British Museum.<sup>13</sup> Etruscan mirrors tend to reproduce Zeus seated diagonally.<sup>14</sup> But we do not expect line drawings and engravings to be representative of monumental art. It is assumed that the pediment did not conform to the iconography of the birth of Athena in Attic vase painting. Not only had the subject disappeared from Attic vases about a quarter-century before the Parthenon,<sup>15</sup> but the pediment is not supposed to have shown the actual moment of birth but rather its aftermath. This is described in the *First Homeric Hymn to Athena*, verses 7–16, where Helios momentarily stops his ascent in order to give the newborn Athena time to divest herself of her armor. Athena on the Parthenon must have been shown standing by Zeus' side. This conclusion is corroborated by the birth scene on a Roman puteal in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, now thought to derive from a fourth-century model (fig. 4).<sup>16</sup> The puteal is not the only post-Parthenon example of the birth of Athena in sculpture, however. The archaistic Four Gods Base in the Acropolis Museum is another example (figs. 5, 6),<sup>17</sup> although it is never cited in iconographic studies of Athena's birth.

Any attempt at restoration of the middle group of the east pediment must deal with both technical and iconographic problems. Technical matters relate, first, to the accommodation of the axial statue, about 3.30 meters high and weighing between 4 and 5 tons, on a shelf 0.90 meters deep without reducing the depth of the freestanding figure.<sup>18</sup> Second, much depends on the interpretation of weather marks and the cuttings for iron bars in central blocks 12 (fig. 24), 13 (figs. 7, 24), and 14 (fig. 24) of the pediment floor. Iron bars were inserted into the central blocks of the pediment floor and into side blocks 10–11 and 16 to support the heavier statues.<sup>19</sup> One should not expect to find more than a single bar per statue except on the

3. *The Birth of Athena*, Attic black-figure amphora, 560–540 B.C. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, 1983.22; photograph: Joseph Szaszfai







4. Sketch of *The Birth of Athena*, from a marble puteal, second century A.D. Museo Arqueológico Nacional 2691, Madrid

5. Zeus, Four Gods Base, fourth century B.C., marble Acropolis Museum, Athens, 610; photograph: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens

6. Athena, Four Gods Base, fourth century B.C., marble Acropolis Museum, Athens, 610; author photograph





7. Parthenon, block 13 of the east pediment floor  
Photograph: Sokratis Mavromatis



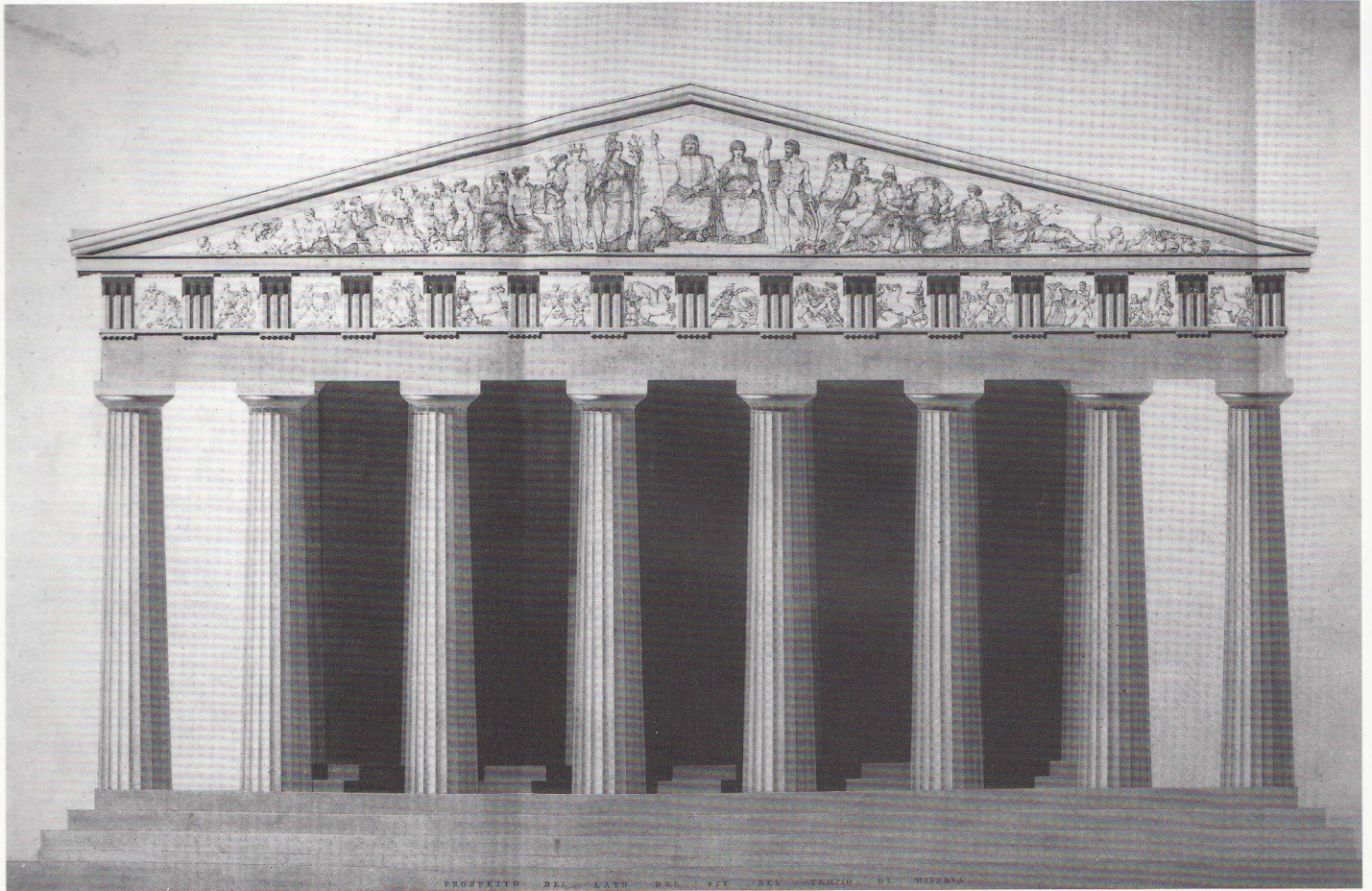
axis of the west pediment, where Poseidon enjoyed the extra support of two parallel bars near the edges of his plinth.<sup>20</sup> The problem in the east pediment is whether its axis was similarly occupied by a single figure. Did the converging bars in block 13 (fig. 7) support one plinth or the outer edges of two? The answer hinges on the interpretation of weather marks left by strips of lead once inserted under the plinths to keep them level.<sup>21</sup> If these were placed only near the edges of plinths, then block 13 held parts of two plinths. Exceptionally heavy statues, however, may require strips of lead under the center of their plinths, in which case block 13 was occupied by a single figure. This solution would conform with west pediment practice, and has indeed been endorsed for various reasons by the majority of scholars.<sup>22</sup>

Iconographic questions in the east pediment include the position of Zeus and Athena in relation to the pedimental axis and to one another. Answers to these questions would

tell us more about the Athenians' conception of their city goddess and of her relation to her peers. Did Zeus and Athena have equal status, or was one of them dominant? Was Zeus seated or standing? Did Athena stand quietly or did she run? Did the central figures of the pediment reflect the agitation in the flanks? Was Zeus between Athena and Hephaistos or between Athena and Hera? The presence of Hera at the birth of Athena has been considered odd not only by modern scholars but also by the ancients. In describing a painting of the birth of Athena in the third century A.D., Philostratos felt the need to apologize: "it is not surprising to see Hera here, and in fact she rejoices as if she were the mother."<sup>23</sup> Although Hera's presence in the pediment is usually taken for granted—she is one of the Olympians, after all—it has taken many generations of scholars to grant her a rightful place at Zeus' side. Philostratos' description of the painting includes as key figures not only Zeus and Athena but also Hephaistos with an axe. Some scholars have argued that the painting was inspired by the Parthenon pediment.<sup>24</sup> Philostratos certainly seems to suggest that Zeus was flanked by Athena and Hera.<sup>25</sup>

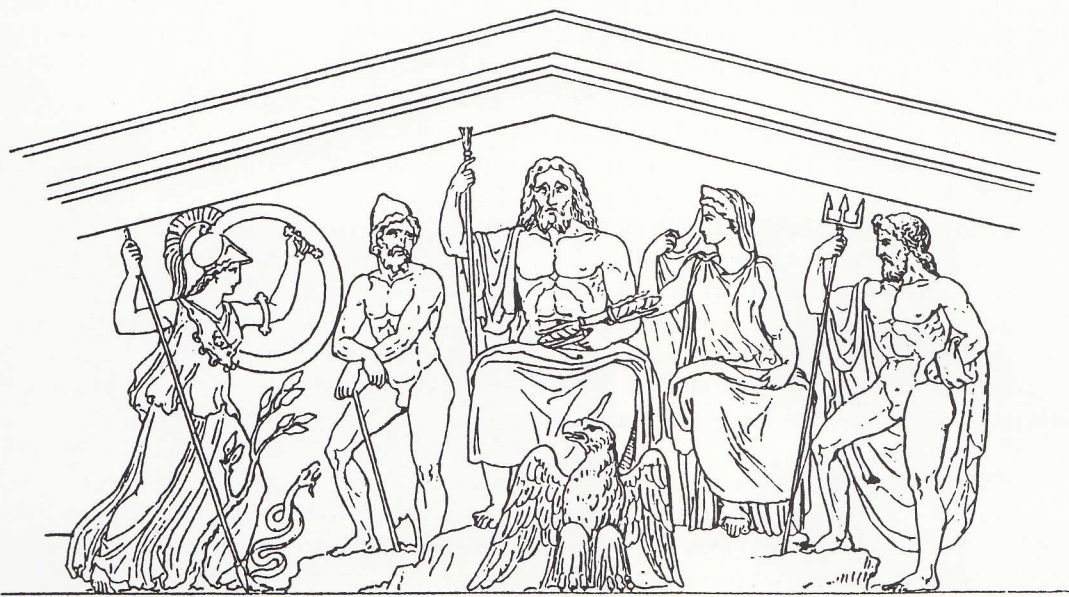
Let us proceed to a brief survey of the patterns of restoration from 1802 to the present. Scholarly interest in restoring the Parthenon pediments was first stimulated by Elgin's expedition for their removal.<sup>26</sup> The earliest restored drawing based on the sculptures in situ in 1802 was made by one of Elgin's draftsmen, Feodor Ivanovitsch (fig. 8).<sup>27</sup> The distribution of the missing figures testifies to his familiarity with the cuttings for iron bars in the pediment floor. The central figures of Zeus and Hera are frontally enthroned on a raised platform, flanked by Athena and Poseidon. Zeus sits exactly on axis, while seated figures are placed on the iron bars of blocks 10–11 and 16. Ironically, this picture represents the contest of Athena and Poseidon, which we know from Pausanias was the subject of the west pediment. Like the rest of Elgin's crew, Ivanovitsch was misled by the confusion of the west front for the entrance by the seventeenth-century travelers Jacob Spon and George Wheler, a confusion that was still current in 1802.<sup>28</sup> Ivanovitsch's mistaken identification helped create a visual model for the east pediment independent of the usual iconography of the birth, in which





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8. Feodor Ivanovitch, *East Pediment of the Parthenon, restored, 1802, drawing*  
British Museum, London



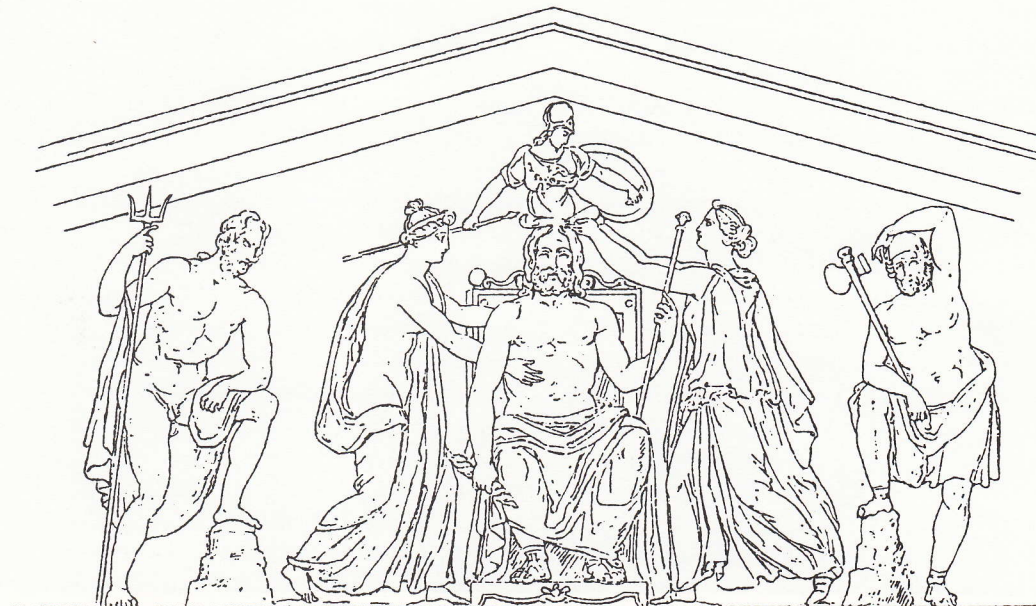
9. Charles Robert Cockerell, *East Pediment of the Parthenon, restored, 1830*  
From Robert Schneider, *Die Geburt der Athena* (Vienna, 1880), pl. 5





10. Alexis Paccard, *East Pediment of the Parthenon, restored*, 1845–1846, watercolor  
Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Paris

11. Quatremère de Quincy, *East Pediment of the Parthenon, restored*, 1825  
From Schneider 1880, pl. 2





he showed Athena standing fully grown by Zeus' side and Hera in a prominent position.

The same concept lies behind the restoration by Charles Robert Cockerell, published in 1830 (fig. 9).<sup>29</sup> Cockerell was well aware that he was representing the birth of Athena, yet he was still bound by Ivanovitsch's model. The main difference between his central group and that of Ivanovitsch is the introduction of Hephaistos between Zeus and Athena. In addition, the quiet Athena of the earlier composition makes way for a striding figure, which became the standard representation of Athena in east pediment restorations. In the same year there appeared a drawing of the birth of Athena by C. Frommel, with Zeus flanked by Athena and Hera.<sup>30</sup>

The year 1845 initiated a series of restorations produced by French architects who traveled to Athens as scholars of the French Académie des Beaux-Arts. Alexis Paccard's watercolor of 1845-1846 (fig. 10) bears witness to his study of the pediment floor.<sup>31</sup> Not only is Zeus placed on axis, but the iron bars on blocks 10-11 and 16 are given heavier figures. Paccard was the true inventor of the idea of placing chariots on those bars. The chariots were reinvented by Werner Fuchs in 1967.<sup>32</sup> Now that Spon and Wheler stood corrected, Paccard's central group of Zeus and Athena was dependent on the iconography of Attic vases. He therefore showed Athena emerging from Zeus' head, the father of the gods attended by a pair of Eileithyiai. Poseidon and Hephaistos remain in close proximity, but Hera is dropped. Use is made of the east pediment statues in the British Museum but not of the torso of Selene that had been recently excavated.<sup>33</sup> Paccard's central group was modeled on the restoration by Quatremère de Quincy (fig. 11).<sup>34</sup> Paccard, however, replaced Quatremère's Hephaistos with one of the so-called south heroes, slab IV.21 of the east frieze of the Parthenon.<sup>35</sup>

Selene first appears in the restoration by Benoit-Edouard Loviot in 1879-1881 (fig. 12).<sup>36</sup> Both his and Paccard's pediments are surprisingly underpopulated. Loviot's center is largely filled by the sweeping gestures of Athena, Zeus, and Hephaistos. His central group was directly inspired by the west pediment of the Academy of Athens (fig. 13) by the Greek sculptor Leonidas Drossis (1834-1882), set into place in 1875.<sup>37</sup> Hephaistos turning his

back on the spectator is a tour de force. The real merit of Drossis' composition, however, lies in its liberation from pictorial prototypes.

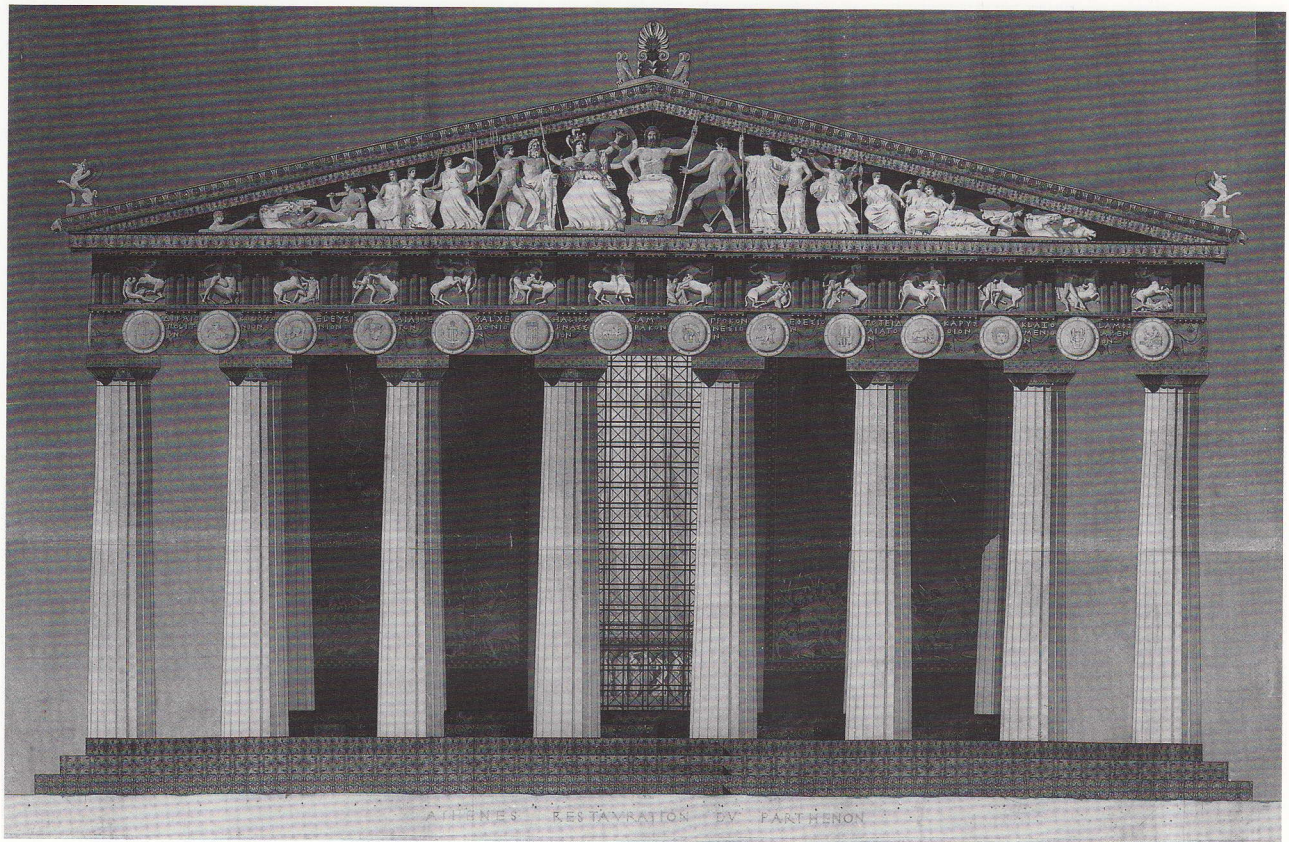
The model of the Parthenon in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 14), made in 1881, concludes this early series of restorations.<sup>38</sup> The central group comprises Zeus, the Eileithyiai, Athena, and Hephaistos arranged in a pyramidal fashion. Athena is archaic. Paccard's (fig. 10) and Quatremère's (fig. 11) aberrations apart, early restorations are dominated by a frontal Zeus enthroned on axis and invariably elevated on a platform or rock to reduce his size. Athena usually stands at Zeus' right hand, and Hera is often at his other side. This pattern of restoration may properly be called neoclassical, since it was conceived in the same environment that witnessed the creation of Ingres' *Apotheosis of Homer*, painted for the Louvre in 1827.<sup>39</sup> It is also noteworthy that the first restorations were produced by artists and architects rather than archaeologists and that the overall compositions are visually unified and artistically more pleasing than later examples.

A revival of the neoclassical scheme took place a century after its demise, in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Ernst Berger<sup>40</sup> and Georgios Despinis<sup>41</sup> reintroduced the frontally seated Zeus but moved the quietly standing Athena to his proper left. It is remarkable that neither was aware of his neoclassical predecessors. In his full-scale, three-dimensional reconstruction of the pediment in the Skulpturhalle in Basel (fig. 15), Berger retained Zeus' rocky support as a device for size reduction but allowed the rock to dominate, thus adding a late Classical, pictorial dimension to the composition. He cited the geography of Mount Olympos as his reason for preferring the rocky seat, also attested by the rocky seats of the Eleusinian goddesses and Dionysos in the left half of the pediment and Aphrodite in the right.<sup>42</sup> In Greek art of the Classical period, however, the rock usually accommodates chthonic father figures like Poseidon and Asklepios. Zeus rarely sits on anything but a throne. He is exceptionally seated on a rock to give birth to Dionysos from his thigh on an Attic red-figure pelike in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, but the seat is determined by the chthonic character of his son.<sup>43</sup> In addition, the reduced scale of Berger's Zeus is due to the attribution of the draped right

12. Benoit-Edouard Loviot, *East Pediment of the Parthenon, restored*, 1879-1881, watercolor  
Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Paris

13. Leonidas Drossis, *The Birth of Athena*, 1875, marble, west pediment of the Academy of Athens  
Author photograph









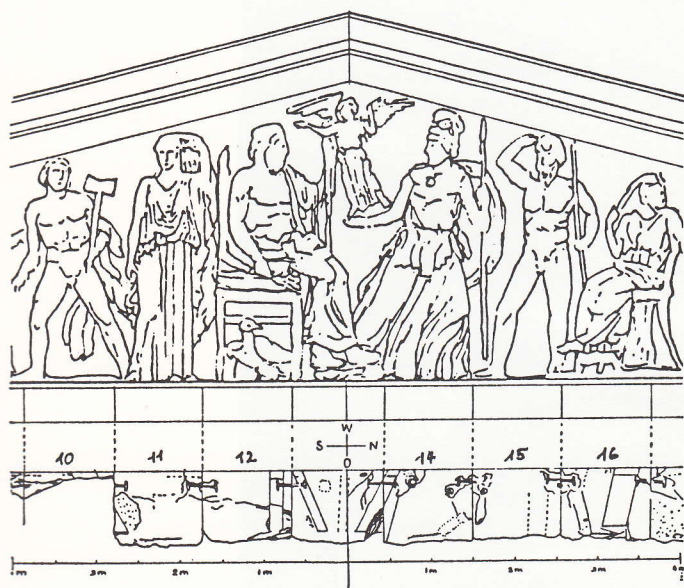
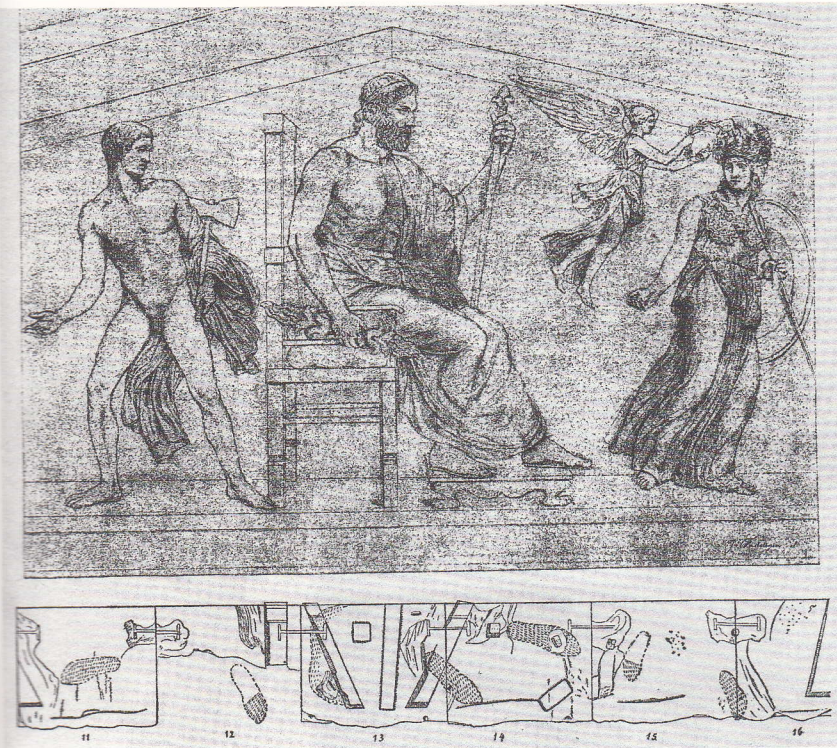
14. *East Pediment of the Parthenon, restored, model of the Parthenon, 1881*  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Willard Collection

15. Ernst Berger, *East Pediment of the Parthenon, restored, c. 1977–1979*, plaster and styrofoam  
Skulpturhalle, Basel; photograph: Dieter Widmer

16. J. Six, *East Pediment of the Parthenon, restored, 1894*  
From J. Six, "Die Mittelgruppe des östlichen Parthenon-Giebels," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 9 (1894), 84

17. Ernst Berger, *East Pediment of the Parthenon, restored, 1959*  
From Ernst Berger, *Die Geburt der Athena im Ostgiebel des Parthenon* (Basel, 1974), fig. 11c



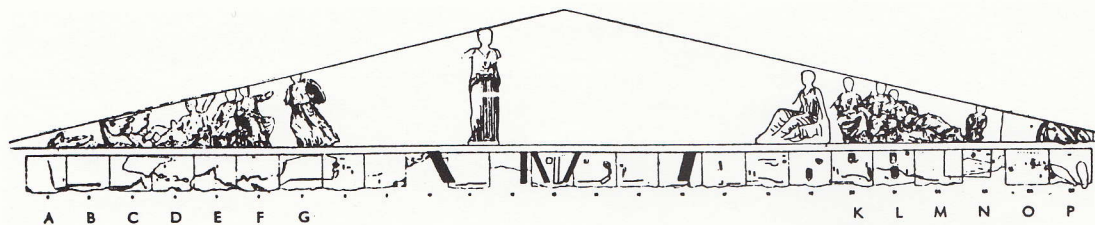


leg in the British Museum (Smith 12), which Elgin's men must have picked up in the west pediment, as they carried away no fragments from the east.<sup>44</sup> Despina's solution of a frontally enthroned Zeus, running along the full height of the tympanum, reduces the figure's depth by turning it into high relief; this clashes with the regular Parthenon practice of finishing pedimental statues in the round.

Revivals apart, the neoclassical spate of restorations came to an end in 1880 with Robert Schneider's introduction of the Madrid puteal (fig. 4) as a copy of the east pediment.<sup>45</sup> This inaugurated what may be called the neo-Attic phase, for the puteal is now generally believed to be a neo-Attic copy of a fourth-century prototype.<sup>46</sup> Zeus enthroned forms a pivot to the composition. His profile placement solved the problem of depth but created new difficulties by splitting the composition into two halves. The puteal continued the tradition of the striding Athena but was responsible for moving her to Zeus' proper left (fig. 16). Athena was soon associated with the prototype of a statuette excavated in Epidauros in 1886.<sup>47</sup> In the puteal, Hephaistos strides behind Zeus holding his axe.

One of the main effects of the Madrid puteal was the expulsion of Hera from the main action, until Ernst Berger combined the puteal with the *Peplos Figure* Wegner, introducing her behind Zeus in 1959 (fig. 17).<sup>48</sup> Berger was also the first scholar to attribute the head fragment, Acropolis Museum 2381, to the *Peplos Figure*.<sup>49</sup> His solution for the three central figures—Hera, Zeus, and Athena—was adopted by Hans Walter as late as 1971.<sup>50</sup> Considering that the remains of the *Peplos Figure* were first attributed to the central figures of the east pediment by Max Wegner in 1932,<sup>51</sup> it took a rather long time for her to be accommodated in the composition of the puteal and even longer to have any effect on the appearance of the rest of the central group. The *Peplos Figure* has no pedigree and no record of having been excavated anywhere near the Parthenon. Yet her scale, style, and material (Pentelic marble), as well as her similarity to the Classical period type of the so-called *Cherchel Demeter*,<sup>52</sup> have encouraged her association with the Parthenon. In 1953 Kristian Jeppesen had already attempted to introduce her into the pediment, but as he did not accept the puteal





18. Kristian Jeppesen, *East Pediment of the Parthenon, restored, 1953*  
 From Kristian Jeppesen, "The Pedimental Compositions of the Parthenon," *Acta Archaeologica* 24 (1953), fig. 12

as a model for the central group, he left the center blank (fig. 18).<sup>53</sup> Jeppesen's Hera appeared shorter than those of subsequent restorations, straddling gison blocks 11 and 12, and was not associated with the head, Acropolis Museum 2381. Ten years later Frank Brommer followed Jeppesen by placing the Peplos Figure Wegner on gison block 12 without attempting to restore the rest of the central group, but he accepted Berger's association of the Acropolis Museum's head fragment (2381) with the Peplos Figure.<sup>54</sup> The association of head and body is now generally accepted.<sup>55</sup> The remarkable press folds of the Peplos Figure, which anticipate fourth-century and Hellenistic fashions, may have been prompted by a desire to enliven the figure's stiff drapery (fig. 19). Although these folds are marked by ridges reminiscent of Hellenistic renderings, they are so few and far between that they must belong to an early stage of experimentation. A more simplified form of press folds rendered by incision only is found in the Athena of the west pediment<sup>56</sup> and in certain korai in the east frieze.<sup>57</sup> We should perhaps look for press folds in Athena and Zeus of the east pediment, assuming that they ever come to light.

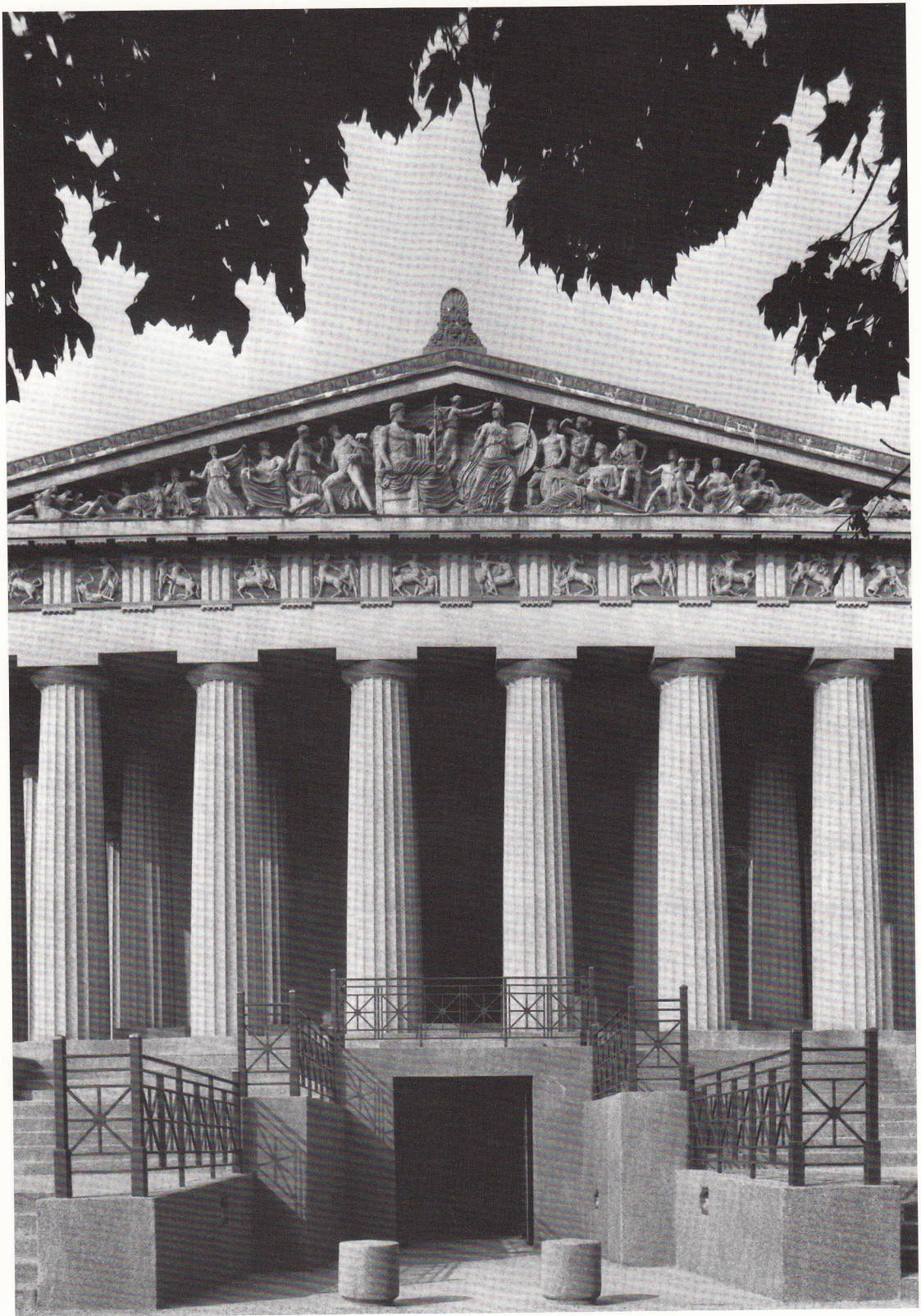
Zeus' agitated satellites on the Madrid puteal (fig. 4) were considered appropriate reflections of the movement of the side figures. The puteal proved a remarkably versatile model, as it was possible to stretch the evidence and place either Zeus alone on axis (fig. 16) or Zeus and Athena on either side of it (fig. 17).<sup>58</sup> Considering the serious difficulties in relating the puteal figures to the cuttings in the pediment floor, the model proved surprisingly enduring. Even after all other figures were eventually discarded, Zeus and Athena were repeated with variations until 1971.<sup>59</sup> The reconstruction of the Parthenon in Nashville, Tennessee, reproduces a variant



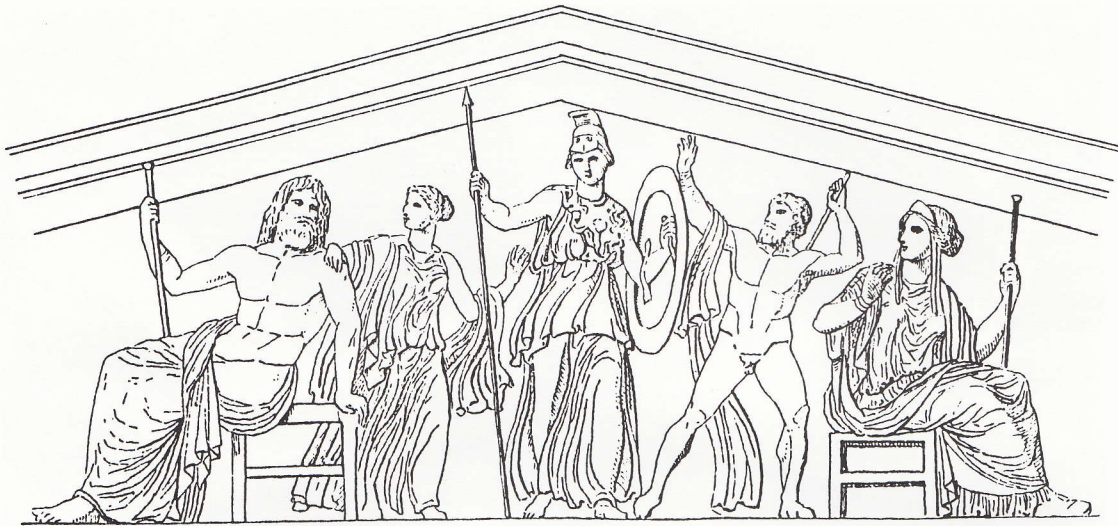
19. *Peplos Figure Wegner, 438-432 B.C., marble*  
 Acropolis Museum, Athens, 6712;  
 photograph: Deutsches  
 Archäologisches Institut, Athens



20. Belle Kinney and  
Leopold Scholz, *The Birth  
of Athena*, c. 1921–1925  
From a reconstruction of the  
Parthenon, Nashville, Tennessee







of this scheme for its east pediment, created by Belle Kinney and Leopold Scholz in the 1920s (fig. 20).<sup>60</sup> The sculptors supplemented the missing figures with types borrowed from Greek sculpture of various periods. Their striding Athena is modeled on a Nike of the Nike temple parapet,<sup>61</sup> while Aphrodite is copied from the Venus de Milo. New life was injected into this pattern by Evelyn B. Harrison's introduction in 1967 of a diagonally enthroned Zeus, inspired by fourth-century mirror covers and Attic vases.<sup>62</sup> Her central group was repeated by Erika Simon in 1969, with Athena moved back to Zeus' proper right.<sup>63</sup> The fourth-century inspiration lingers in Simon's second restoration, proposed in 1986, drawing partly on the Attic red-figure krater from Baksy, dating from c. 400 B.C.<sup>64</sup> Her Athena is inspired by a Kerch pelike in Saint Petersburg,<sup>65</sup> and her diagonally seated Zeus is flanked by Athena at his proper right and Hera at his left, according to Beyer's and Jeppesen's latest views (see below).

The evidence of the pediment floor, compounded by the problem created by the depth of a colossal figure seated on axis, led a number of scholars to suggest a standing figure instead. Athena was proposed initially, with Zeus and Hera (or Poseidon) enthroned on the iron bars of blocks 10–11 and 16. Athena's prominence was explained by her ownership of the cult, but it is not supported by the extant iconography of her birth.

Athena standing on axis was first suggested by William Watkiss Lloyd in 1861 (fig. 21),<sup>66</sup> taken up by Adolf Furtwängler in 1896 (fig. 22),<sup>67</sup> and revived by Jeppesen in 1963 (fig. 23).<sup>68</sup> Furtwängler, followed by Jeppesen, adopted the Medici Athena as the centerpiece on account of her Pheidias overtones.<sup>69</sup> But Athena's role in the metopes and the frieze of the east façade does not justify a central position in the pediment. She is merely one of the twelve Olympians, certainly subordinated to Zeus on the metopes or at best his equal on the frieze.

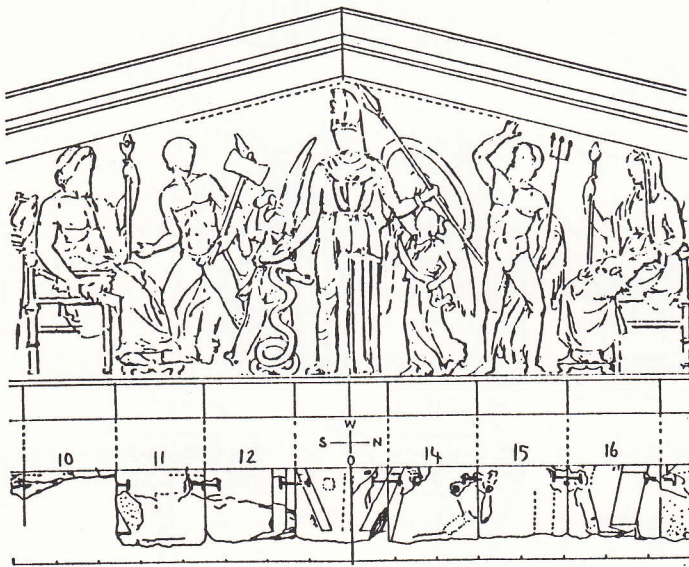
Though there is no evidence that Classical period pediments carried seated figures in the center,<sup>70</sup> most scholars have been conditioned by the iconography of a seated Zeus giving birth. Once Athena stands by his side, however, we are dealing with the aftermath of the birth, and Zeus no longer needs to sit. The scene becomes a divine epiphany combined with a presentation of Athena to Olympos. According to this view, Zeus can be shown standing in the middle of the pediment. The birth motif is suggested by the prominent position of Hephaistos holding an axe, who should be restored next to Athena. This is the latest restoration pattern, with Athena on Zeus' proper right and Hera on his other side. It was introduced by Immo Beyer in 1974.<sup>71</sup> His Athena was based on a statuette in the Acropolis Museum wearing a long diagonal aegis adapted from Pheidias' Athena Lemnia.<sup>72</sup> Beyer's solution is free of



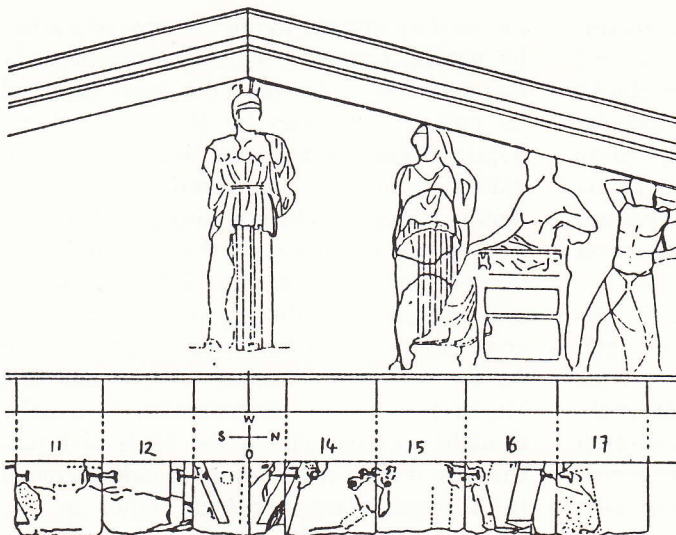
iconographic prejudices and rests almost entirely on technical arguments. Technical reasons favor the placement of the Peplos Figure Wegner as Hera at Zeus' proper left side, for example. Incidentally, this pattern accords Athena her proper place to the spectator's left of center, which is the regular position of honor in Archaic and Classical period pedimental compositions. The quietly standing central group echoes the upright pose of the Peplos Figure Wegner, now accorded a seminal role in the triad.

Beyer's scheme was repeated with variations by Jeppesen in 1984<sup>73</sup> and by the present author in 1993 (fig. 24).<sup>74</sup> It is still viewed with suspicion, not least because of its affinity to the central group of the east pediment of Zeus at Olympia, which has long been avoided as a comparandum for the Parthenon.<sup>75</sup> This is surprising in view of the similar scale of Zeus' temple, completed barely ten years before the inception of the Parthenon. The Olympia temple is the immediate precursor of the Parthenon and must

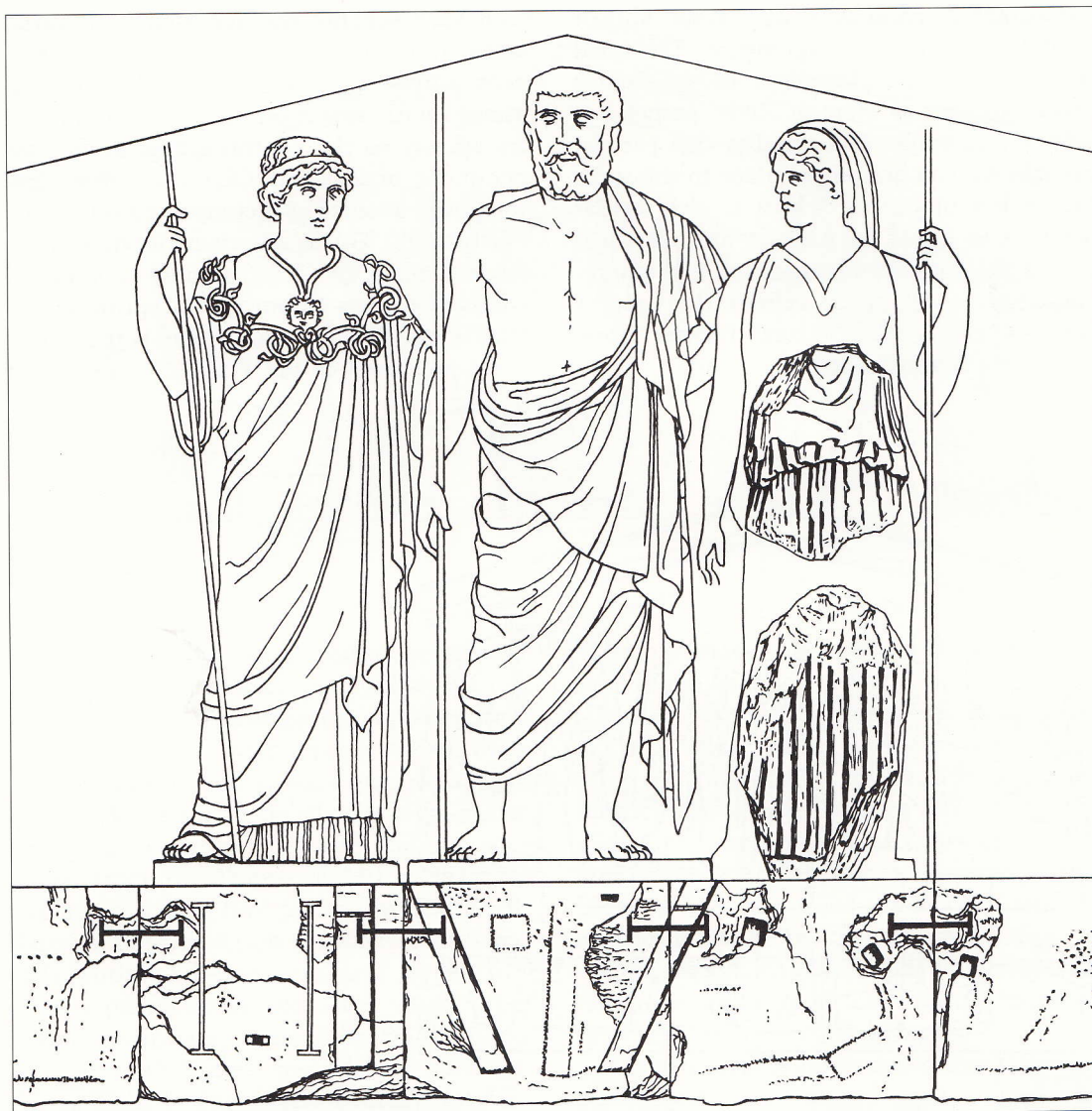
22. Adolf Furtwängler, *East Pediment of the Parthenon, restored, 1896*  
From Berger 1974, fig. 11 a



23. Kristian Jeppesen, *East Pediment of the Parthenon, restored, 1963*  
From Berger 1974, fig. 7







24. Olga Palagia, *East Pediment of the Parthenon*, restored, 1993, drawing by Kostis Iliakis  
From Palagia 1993, fig. 20

have been a source of inspiration. The reclining onlookers (probably local personifications) in the angles and the chariots in the flanks of the west pediment of the Parthenon, for example, must have been directly inspired by the east pediment of Olympia.<sup>76</sup> The Olympia manner of attaching figures to tympanum and pediment floor is also echoed in part on the Parthenon.<sup>77</sup>

The problem of the restoration of the figures in the center of the east pediment is primarily iconographic. If one dispenses with the seated Zeus, what becomes of the traditional motif of birth in Greek art? It is often argued that Pausanias would not have recognized the scene in the east pediment as a birth if the progenitor were standing and sur-

rounded by upright figures. Scenes of a similar nature, however, which can be more or less described as birth scenes, were depicted on cult statue bases by Pheidias and his pupils. Beginning with the base of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos, the central figure of Pandora is surrounded by standing gods.<sup>78</sup> Pausanias' (5.11.8) description of the birth of Aphrodite on the base of Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia also suggests a gathering of the Olympian gods rather than a birth scene. The base of Alkamenes' cult statues of Athena and Hephaistos in the Hephaisteion is usually thought to have shown the birth of Erichthonios. If the central group is indeed copied in a fragmentary neo-Attic relief in the Louvre, then both Erichthonios' parents,



Athena and Hephaistos, are standing, while Ge delivers the infant to Athena.<sup>79</sup> Finally, the base of the Nemesis by Agorakritos at Rhamnous, showing Leda introducing Helen to Nemesis, her true mother, amounts to a virtual birth scene.<sup>80</sup> The most likely interpretation of the central group is Helen flanked by her two mothers. All are standing.

As noted above, the Madrid puteal is not the only sculptured representation of Athena's birth after the Parthenon. The Four Gods Base in the Acropolis Museum (figs. 5, 6) has not been considered before in relation to the Parthenon, no doubt because of its archaistic style. The scene is readily interpreted as the birth of Athena.<sup>81</sup> It is a remarkable document proving that the Greeks were not beyond thinking in terms of a standing Zeus right after the birth of Athena. Although frequently cited for its style, the base has never been properly studied, and it has proved notoriously difficult to date. Lucy Shoe dated the profile of its moldings to the first quarter of the fourth century,<sup>82</sup> the similarity of its Lesbian *cyma* to the temple of Athena Alea also points to a fourth-century date.<sup>83</sup> Others prefer to date it to the first century B.C.<sup>84</sup> Hermes, Zeus (fig. 5), and Athena (fig. 6) walk in tandem, while Hephaistos faces Athena, providing a focus for the scene between them. The fact that Athena holds her helmet in her hand may echo the description of the

birth's aftermath in the *Homeric Hymn*, where Athena finally removes her weapons.

On the Four Gods Base, Athena wears a chiton under a long mantle with overfall, fastened on one shoulder, which may properly be called a *diplax*. In the proposed restorations of the east pediment, she is nearly always shown in a peplos, except by Furtwängler who modeled his Athena on the Medici type (fig. 22). My attempt at restoration shows Athena bareheaded, in chiton and *diplax*, reminiscent of the Albani/Hope types (fig. 24). I did not choose this particular formula because I believe either of these types to be an accurate reflection of the Parthenon Athena. I merely wish to raise questions about her proper appearance as Polias in the main pediment of her temple. A *diplax* over a chiton is a ceremonial dress proper to the Polias,<sup>85</sup> the removal of her helmet a gesture of peace in accordance with Homer's description. The type of Athena in *diplax* is repeated in a life-size fragment in the Acropolis Museum that is contemporary with the Parthenon.<sup>86</sup> Although I would not go so far as to suggest that the east pediment Athena held her helmet in her hand like a latter-day Athena Lemnia, I would like to point to Athena's unwarlike and informal attitude in the east frieze as a possible parallel for the appearance of the goddess in the east pediment.



## NOTES

I am grateful to Petros Kalligas, Charalambos Bouras, and Alexander Mantis for permission to reproduce figure 7 from the archives of the Committee for the Preservation of the Acropolis Monuments. I am equally indebted to Elizabeth Milleker for the photograph reproduced in figure 14, to Ernst Berger for the photograph shown in figure 15, and to Wesley Paine for the photograph in figure 20. Thanks are also due to Alan Shapiro for suggestions and to Ernst Berger and Georgios Despini for constructive criticism. This paper is dedicated to the memory of a friend whom death prevented from participating in this symposium on architectural sculpture in Greece and Rome, held at the National Gallery of Art.

1. For detailed information on the east pediment and earlier references, see Olga Palagia, *The Pediments of the Parthenon* (Leiden, 1993), 18–39.
2. Jenifer Neils, "The Panathenaia: An Introduction," in *Goddess and Polis*, ed. Jenifer Neils (Princeton, 1992), 14.
3. Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway ("Images of Athena on the Akropolis," in Neils 1992, 134) attempts to explain away Athena's position as first among equals in the iconography of the Parthenon by interpreting the Panathenaia as a celebration of the gigantomachy: "Had the festival celebrated Athena's birth, her relatively inconspicuous position as well as the full attendance of the other gods would have seemed surprising; in celebration of the gigantomachy, the rendering is comprehensible and obvious, since all took part in the battle."
4. Tentative identifications of fragments of Zeus: (a) hand with thunderbolt, Acropolis Museum (Georgios Despini, *Παρθ νών ια* [Athens, 1982], 15–21, pls. 17–21, no. 1, pl. 23; and Despini, "Neue Fragmente von Parthenonskulpturen und Bemerkungen zur Rekonstruktion des Parthenon-Ostgiebels," in *Parthenon-Kongress, Basel*, ed. Ernst Berger [Mainz, 1984], 295–296, pl. 42; questioned by Immo Beyer in Mainz 1984, 444; Palagia 1993, 26); (b) toe of right foot, Acropolis Museum 7112 (attributed by Alexander Mantis; see Palagia 1993, 29). For a fragment recently attributed to Athena by Mantis, see Palagia 1993, 39 note 202.
5. Theodore Bowie and Diether Thimme, *The Carrey Drawings of the Parthenon Sculptures* (Bloomington and London, 1971), 5–16, pls. 3–4.
6. Palagia 1993, 21.
7. Acropolis Museum 881. See Palagia 1993, 22–23, figs. 47–48.
8. Palagia 1993, 12.
9. Palagia 1993, 11.
10. Frank Brommer, "Die Geburt der Athena," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz* 8 (1961), 66–83. See also Palagia 1993, 18, 31 note 3.
11. Yale University Art Gallery 1983.22, dated about 540 B.C. See John D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1956) [hereafter *ABV*], 135, 46; Thomas H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford, 1989) [hereafter *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>], 36; Susan B. Matheson, "Two New Greek Vases for Yale," *Yale Bulletin* 39 (1984), 10–11, fig. 4.
12. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 60.23, dated about 540 B.C. See Beazley, *ABV* 136, 48<sup>ter</sup>; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 36; *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum* (Richmond, 1973), 73, no. 88; Karim W. Arafat, *Classical Zeus* (Oxford, 1990), 35.
13. British Museum E 410, dated about 470–460 B.C. See John D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1963) [hereafter *ARV*<sup>2</sup>], 494, 1; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 250; Arafat 1990, 35–36, pl. 8b.
14. Brommer 1961, 79–83; Evelyn B. Harrison, "Athena and Athens in the East Pediment of the Parthenon," *American Journal of Archaeology* 71 (1967), 31, pl. 16, figs. 11–12.
15. Arafat 1990, 37, 39.
16. Museo Arqueológico Nacional 2691, Madrid. See *Coloquio sobre el puteal de la Moncloa* (Madrid, 1986), 35–63, pls. 1–9; Palagia 1993, 27–30, fig. 8. The fourth-century date was established beyond doubt in Despini 1982, 106–108.
17. Acropolis Museum 610. See below, note 81.
18. Palagia 1993, 27–28.
19. Palagia 1993, 27.
20. Palagia 1993, 47.
21. Harrison 1967, 29 note 16; 31 note 33; Despini 1982, 72–73; Palagia 1993, 27.
22. Among the early proponents of the Madrid puteal, an axial position for Zeus was proposed by J. Six, "Die Mittelgruppe des östlichen Parthenon-Giebels," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 9 (1894), fig. on page 84 (see fig. 16). Later examples are listed in Palagia 1993, 38 note 171.
23. *Imagines* 2.27: Οἱ μὲν ἐκπληττόμενοι θεοὶ καὶ θεαὶ . . . φρίττουσι δὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄρτι τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς ἐν ὄπλοις ἐκραγεῖσαν Ἡφαιστου μηχαναῖς, ὡς φησι ὁ πέλεκυς . . . ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἀσθμαίνει σὺν ἡδονῇ καθάπερ οἱ μέγαν ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ καρπῷ διαπονήσαντες ἄθλον, καὶ τὴν παῖδα ἐξιστορεῖ φρονῶν τῷ τόκῳ, καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς Ἥρας τι δεινὸν ἐνταῦθα, γέγηθε δέ, ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ αὐτῆς ἐγένετο.
24. Robert Schneider, *Die Geburt der Athena* (Vienna, 1880), 22; Adolf Furtwängler, "Der Torso Medici und der Parthenon," *Intermezzi* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1896), 26.
25. That Zeus was placed between Athena and Hera in the pediment was put forward by Eugen Petersen, *Die Kunst des Pheidias* (Berlin, 1873), 151–156.



26. Palagia 1993, 11.
27. Palagia 1993, 12, fig. 7b.
28. Palagia 1993, 10.
29. Charles R. Cockerell, *Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, vol. 6 (London, 1830), pl. 21. See also C. A. Hutton, "A Collection of Sketches by C. R. Cockerell, R.A.," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 29 (1909), 55; Frank Brommer, *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel* (Mainz, 1963), 118.
30. Brommer 1963, 122, pl. 6.3.
31. *Paris-Rome-Athènes* [exh. cat., Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts] (Paris, 1982), 162, 165.
32. Werner Fuchs, review of Brommer 1963, in *Gnomon* 39 (1967), 156-172. The chariots still haunt the east pediment. For their history since 1967, see Palagia 1993, 28.
33. Acropolis Museum 881. See above, note 7.
34. Quatremère de Quincy, *Restitution des deux frontons du temple de Minerve à Athènes* (Paris, 1825); reproduced in Schneider 1880, 23-24, pl. 2.
35. Frank Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries* (Mainz, 1977), pl. 171; Olga Palagia, "Transformations of a Parthenon Motif," in Mainz 1984, 245-246, pl. 18.1.
36. Paris 1982, 230, 236.
37. Georgios S. Laios, *Σίμων Σίνας* (Athens, 1972), 224, pl. 63.
38. William Hyde Appleton, "How England Acquired the Elgin Marbles," *Art and Archaeology* 4 (1916), pl. on page 20.
39. Michael Greenhalgh, *The Classical Tradition in Art* (New York, 1978), 230.
40. Ernst Berger, "Parthenon-Studien: Erster Zwischenbericht," *Antike Kunst* 19 (1976), 129-132, 140-141; Ernst Berger, "Parthenon-Studien: Zweiter Zwischenbericht," *Antike Kunst* 20 (1977), 135-140, foldout pl. 2; Ernst Berger, "Das Basler Parthenonmodell," *Antike Kunst* 23 (1980), pl. 18.3 (see fig. 15); Ernst Berger, "Parthenon-Kongress," *Antike Kunst* 26 (1983), pl. 26.3.
41. Despinis 1982, 76-79, figs. 4-6; Georgios Despinis in Mainz 1984, 295-296, 299-301, fig. 3.
42. Ernst Berger, *Die Geburt der Athena im Ostgiebel des Parthenon* (Basel, 1974), 31; Berger 1976, 130.
43. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 95.39. See Beazley, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 533, 58; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 255; Arafat 1990, 46, pl. 10a. Second quarter of the fifth century B.C.
44. British Museum, Smith 12. See Palagia 1993, 29, 50, fig. 113.
45. Schneider 1880.
46. See above, note 16.
47. Athens National Museum 274. See Eugen Petersen, "Athenastatuen von Epidauros," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* (hereafter *AM*) 11 (1886), 311-316; Hans Schrader, "Agorakritos," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* (hereafter *ÖJh*) 32 (1940), 195-197, figs. 93-98; Ernst Langlotz, *Phidiasprobleme* (Frankfurt, 1947), 10; Ernst Berger, *Parthenon-Ostgiebel* (Bonn, 1959), 15, pl. 1 (copy in Berlin).
48. Acropolis Museum 6711 and 6712. See Berger 1959, 60-70, pl. 2B.
49. Acropolis Museum 2381. See Berger 1959, 60-70. For the history of this head, see Alexander Mantis, "Akropolis 2381," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 110 (1986), 231-235; and Palagia 1993, 23-24, figs. 56-58.
50. Hans Walter, *Griechische Götter* (Munich, 1971), 62-63, fig. 48.
51. Max Wegner, "Peplosstatue aus dem Ostgiebel des Parthenon," *AM* 57 (1932), 92-101, pls. 1-2, Beilagen pls. 17-18.
52. Palagia 1993, 24, fig. 60.
53. Kristian Jeppesen, "The Pedimental Compositions of the Parthenon," *Acta Archaeologica* 24 (Copenhagen, 1953), fig. 12.
54. Brommer 1963, pl. 151.
55. My restored drawing (fig. 24) does not include the left profile of the head in the Acropolis Museum (no. 2381) for copyright reasons: a new fragment completing the left profile was identified by Alexander Mantis in 1990. See Palagia 1993, 23.
56. Palagia 1993, fig. 93.
57. Slab III. See Brommer 1977, pl. 169.
58. The arrangement of the two main figures on either side of the pediment axis originated with Bruno Sauer's interpretation of the weather marks on the pediment floor in "Untersuchungen über die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon," *AM* 16 (1891), 68-71, pl. 3.2. That the axis was occupied by a single figure was first argued on technical grounds in Furtwängler 1896, 22-23. For illustrations of these early restorations, see Brommer 1963, 122-125, figs. 13-14; Angelos Delivorrias, "Zum Problem des Zeus im Ostgiebel des Parthenon," in *Praestant Interna: Festschrift für Ulrich Hausmann*, ed. Bettina von Freytag, Dietrich Mannsperger, and Friedhelm Prayon (Tübingen, 1982), figs. 4-15.
59. See above, note 50.
60. Wilbur F. Creighton Jr. and Leland R. Johnson, *The Parthenon in Nashville*, rev. ed. (Nashville, 1991), 32, 34, figs. on pages 25 and 49.
61. Acropolis Museum 2680. See Rhys Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), 23, pl. 7.
62. Harrison 1967, 30-31, pl. 16, fig. 10; pl. 22, fig. 30.
63. Erika Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (Munich, 1969), 211, fig. 199.
64. Erika Simon, "El nacimiento de Atenea en el frontón oriental del Partenón," in Madrid 1986, 65-85, fig. 22 (see above, note 16). For the krater see Brian B.



Shefton, "The Bakys Krater Once More and Some Observations on the East Pediment of the Parthenon," in *Kotinos: Festschrift für Erika Simon*, ed. Heide Froning, Tonio Hölscher, and Harald Mielsch (Mainz, 1992), 241–251, pls. 53–56.

65. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, 1792, dated about 340 B.C. See Simon in Madrid 1986, fig. 19; Beazley, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1476, 1; *Addenda<sup>2</sup>* 381.

66. Schneider 1880, 29, pl. 7.

67. Furtwängler 1896, 17–32. He followed a suggestion in Karl Bötticher, *Der Zophorus am Parthenon* (Berlin, 1875), 111. Furtwängler recanted in *Aegina* (Munich, 1906), 330–331, still rejecting the Madrid puteal as a model.

68. Kristian Jeppesen, "Bild und Mythos an dem Parthenon," *Acta Archaeologica* 34 (Copenhagen, 1963), fig. 22c–d.

69. For an opposing view see Despinis 1982, 78.

70. The seated Apollo placed in the center of the east pediment of the fourth-century Temple of Apollo at Delphi is purely conjectural: Francis Croissant in *Guide de Delphes: Le Musée* (Paris, 1991), 79, fig. 38. See the comments in Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, vol. 1, *The Styles of c. 331–200 B.C.* (Madison, Wisc. and Bristol, 1990), 19–20, pl. 2a–b.

71. Immo Beyer, "Die Position der Peplosfigur Wegner im Parthenon-Ostgiebel," *AM* 89 (1974), 123–149, Beilage pl. 4.

72. Acropolis Museum 1337. See Beyer 1974, 138–139, pl. 55. See also Olga Palagia, "Ἐρύθημα ἀντὶ κράνου: In Defense of Furtwängler's Athena Lemnia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 91 (1987), 84, figs. 3, 4.

73. Kristian Jeppesen, "Evidence for the Restoration of the East Pediment Reconsidered in the Light of Recent Achievements," in Mainz 1984, 271–274, fig. 5.

74. Palagia 1993, 30, fig. 20. Athena and Zeus are based on the well-known statuary types of the Hope/Albani Athena and the Dresden Zeus only because these are convenient contemporary types, not because I believe that they were represented on the Parthenon. The central triad forms a closely knit group in accordance with the principles of *horror vacui* evident in the compositions of both pediments.

75. The position against using the east pediment at Olympia as a prototype is summarized in Harrison 1967, 39.

76. For the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, see Hans-Volkmar Herrmann, *Olympia* (Munich, 1972), 136–142, fig. 95.

77. Palagia 1993, 15 note 17.

78. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.24.7; Pliny, *Natural History* 36.18. Neda Leipen, *Athena Parthenos* (Toronto, 1971), 23–27. For the reduced copy of the base from Pergamum in the Pergamon-Museum in Berlin, see Leipen 1971, no. 21, fig. 64.

79. Evelyn B. Harrison, "Alkamenes' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion: Part II, the Base," *American Journal of Archaeology* 81 (1977), 265–287, fig. 3 and ill. 1.

80. So interpreted also in Arafat 1990, 30. For the Rhamnous base see Vasilis Petrakos, "Προβλήματα της βάσης του αγάλματος της Νεμέσεως," in *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik*, ed. Helmut Kyrieleis, 2 vols. (Mainz, 1986), 2:89–107, pls. 111–116; Kenneth Dean Shapiro Lapatin, "A Family Gathering at Rhamnous?" *Hesperia* 61 (1992), 107–119, pls. 27–28; Paulina Karanastassis, "Wer ist die Frau hinter Nemesis?" *AM* 109 (1994), 121–131. Described in Pausanias 1.38.7.

81. Acropolis Museum 610; Pentelic marble; extant height, 1.22 m; height of figures, 0.91 m; width of sides, from 0.52 to 0.56 m. Tall sculptured bases with single figures on each of their three sides usually carried tripods: for example, a base in the Athens National Museum (no. 1463) of the fourth century B.C. (Friedrich Hauser, *Die Neu-attischen Reliefs* [Stuttgart, 1889], 68–70, no. 98; and Ernst Berger, "Dreiseitiges Relief mit Dionysos und Niken," *Antike Kunst* 26 [1983], 114 note 1) and one from the Agora (no. S 370) of the second century B.C. (Marie-Anne Zagdoun, *La sculpture archaïsante dans l'art hellénistique et dans l'art romain du haut-empire* [Paris, 1989], 185–186, 227, no. 41, pl. 58). Apart from other differences, the Acropolis base has four sides. Only a fraction of the original surface at the top survives. Near the center there is the bottom of a Greek lewis hole, recut to accommodate a dowel. This is flanked by two dowel holes of unequal size. These cuttings may have served for the attachment of a capital carrying the dedication (tripod or statue). The remains of a palmette and lotus frieze can be made out above Hermes. The fig-



ures step on a Lesbian *cyma* of high quality. A fraction of a guilloche pattern is visible below the Lesbian *cyma* under Hermes. The scene on the Acropolis base has been generally interpreted as the birth of Athena: see Hauser 1889, 34; Eduard Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* (Munich, 1922), 22 note 14; Werner Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs* (Berlin, 1959), 46 note 4, pl. 8; Evelyn B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. XI, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* (Princeton, 1965), 80–81, pl. 64a–d.

82. Lucy Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 89; 182, pl. 38.5.

83. Ada von Netoliczka, "Ein doppelseitiges Relief von der Akropolis," *ÖJh* 17 (1914), 127–132. A fourth-century date also accepted in Schmidt 1922, 28–30; Chrestos Karouzos, "Ἀρχαϊστικά," *Archaïologikon deltion* 10 (1926), 102–103, fig. 6; Dietrich Willers, *Zu den Anfängen der archaistischen Plastik in Griechenland*, *AM*, supplement 4 (1975), 26–31, pls. 8.1–2 and 9.1–2; Zagdoun 1989, 161–162, pl. 18; Tatjana Brahms, *Archaismus* (Frankfurt, 1994), 88–96, cat. no. 13, figs. 9–12.

84. Christine Mitchell Havelock, "Archaistic Reliefs of the Hellenistic Period," *American Journal of Archaeology* 68 (1964), 47–48, pl. 19, figs. 9–12; Fuchs 1959, 45–51, pl. 8; Harrison 1965, 82–84 (Augustan); Evelyn B. Harrison, review of Dietrich Willers, *Zu den Anfängen der archaistischen Plastik in Griechenland* (Berlin, 1975), in *Gnomon* 53 (1981), 496–497. One of the main arguments used against a fourth-century date was the lack of copies of Hephaistos. A copy now exists (as Zeus Chthonios) on an archaistic pillar in Corinth (no. S 74–27): Charles K. Williams II, "Zeus and Other Deities: Notes on Two Archaistic Piers," *Hesperia*, supplement 20 (1982), 175–181, pl. 30b; Charles M. Edwards, "Tyche at Corinth," *Hesperia* 59 (1990), 539–541, pl. 88a.

85. Elsie Mathiopoulos, *Zur Typologie der Göttin Athena im fünften Jahrh. v. Chr.* (Ph.D. diss., University of Bonn, 1968), 108–110, 116–120.

86. Acropolis Museum 13641. See Olga Palagia, "A Classical Variant of the Corinth/Mocenigo Goddess: Demeter/Kore or Athena?" *Annual of the British School at Athens* 84 (1989), 323–331, pl. 45; Angelos Delivorrias, "Doppeldeutigkeiten und Missdeutungen," in *Kotinos* 1992, 186–187, pl. 38.2.