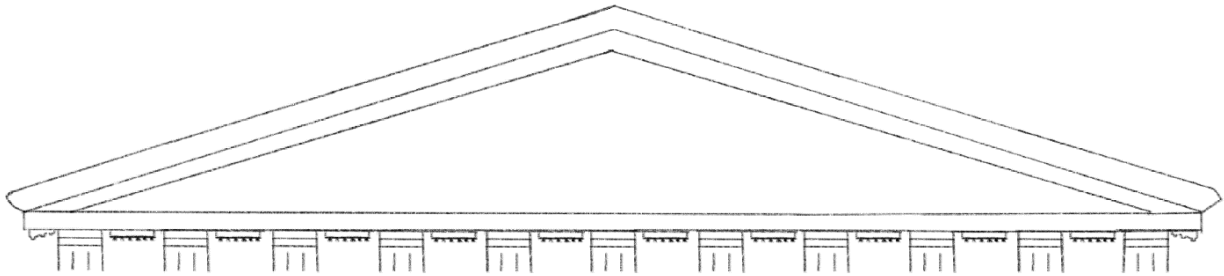




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**CLASSICAL PEDIMENTAL COMPOSITIONS**  
**THE 5<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY POST-PARTHENONIAN PEDIMENTS AND THEIR  
MEANINGS**

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*Πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα ἴδοι τις ἂν ἐν Ἑλλήσιν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκούσαι θαύματος ἄξια*

Pausanias 5.10.1

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## Preface

The idea of this thesis came first with a term paper proposed by Professor Dimitris Plantzos, which was suggested by my interest in linking classical architecture and plastic art. The paper was then re-structured and new propositions were implemented by Professor Stylianos Katakis' suggestions.

Professor Katakis helped me with numerous suggestions, revisions, and discussions throughout my research, and for that I am forever indebted and thankful. I would like to thank the thesis' defence committee, composed by Professors Dr Eurydice Kefalidou, Dr Nikolas Dimakis, and Dr Stylianos Katakis for their helpful insights and observations.

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This thesis would have never been completed without them.

## Introduction:

Traditionally in Art and Archaeology in general, ancient Greek sculptures are assigned to chronological types and styles: a severe-style statue, a Kouros, or a post-Parthenonian drapery, an early fourth-century render, and so on. Can pedimental compositions, those understood as a group of multiple figures with varying scale, positions and poses composing a scene, be typified in a similar manner? Are there significant developments during the 6<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries that indicate a clear change in preferences, tastes, and mentalities?

Pedimental sculptures, apart from the deity's statue itself within the *cella*, were perhaps the most important sculptural decorative element in a Greek temple.<sup>1</sup> The pediment is an architectural element placed on the two short ends of a temple, it lies above the horizontal cornice and under the two raking ones, forming, therefore, an isosceles triangle proper for symmetric and unified compositions, naturally emphasizing the axial groups (fig. 1). The sculptural program of Greek temples set them apart from the monotony of the colonnaded temple, individualising each other between sumptuous to simpler investments. Pedimental decoration centralised on the temple's axis high above the viewer's eyes and its awkward triangular frame conditioned which themes could be depicted and how they could be presented to the public. The whole composition was enhanced with polychromy and gilded metal attachments, therefore, one may understand that embellishing a temple was embellishing the divinity itself (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, this geometrically simple triangular area of the temple was ornamented, in Doric temples, by sculptural compositions depicting sometimes narratively loud epiphanic moments, at its highest, and sometimes strong symbolic icons that intimidatingly stared down their viewers and introduced them to the divinities' cult.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This dissertation owes a great debt to the works of Lapalus (1947) and Delivorrias (1974), both discussed in length and depth pedimental compositions.

<sup>2</sup> Marconi cites Aeschylus (in the *Spectators of the Isthmian Games*; *P Oxy.* 2162 fr. 1 (a) = TrGF F 78a. See Marconi 2004, 211, n. 5), which categorically says: *κόσμος τῷ θεῷ*, or 'the adornment for the god. The temples' sculptures, therefore, must not be approached as single, detached masterpieces made for art's sake, but must be approached as copious dedications made to honour a god or goddess and their deeds.

<sup>3</sup> These strikingly dichotomic definitions are exemplified, respectively, by the East Pediment of the Parthenon and the West Pediment at Corfu, further discussed below. The polychromy had two functions, argued by Lapalus (1947, 322-26), a decorative (to emphasize "*certaines divisions essentielles, pour souligner des oppositions ou des rythmes*") with more basic colours schemes) and a "*miniaturiste*" or complementary one (characterized by the use of more exotic/different colours to individualize and embellish figures "*en rehaussant les détails du costume, les accessoires de l'équipement, ou, à l'occasion, les éléments du paysage*"). Polychromy could have also been used as a protective solution, the so-called γάνωσις, as Palagia (2006, 260) clarifies, was regularly applied to outdoor sculptures, why not architectural ones?

The pediment was called *ἀετός* ('eagle'), as the low triangle resembled the open stretched wings of the bird, and according to Pindar, it was a Corinthian invention: "Who invented the bridle for the harness of horses, or placed the double king of birds on top of the temples of gods?"<sup>4</sup> However, the poet's brief – and very dubious – passage has been, of course, disputed.<sup>5</sup> Reinach argued that the 'twin king of birds' was placed *above* the pediment, serving as central acroteria, and not on the gables themselves.<sup>6</sup> However, regardless of our interpretation of the Poet's remark, Corinth does not seem to never have had a prominent stance in pedimental sculpture in the Archaic period.<sup>7</sup>

Pedimental sculptures could be made with relief, high or low, or all round and free-standing statues,<sup>8</sup> in stone – marbles and limestones – but also terracotta. They are also not restricted to temples. Treasuries, copious funerary monuments, sarcophagi, and other small temple-like buildings, the so-called *oikemata*, also supported this kind of sculpted decoration. Furthermore, they are proper for the Doric temple, but not exclusively. The larger projection of the Ionic cornice did not allow their temples' gables to be filled with heavy sculpture. Ridgway noticed that the Ionic temples on the mainland follow a more "attic" version of the order.<sup>9</sup> The back wall of the pediment could be faced with better quality marble, while a rough structural course wall stood behind it (fig 3). In pedimental reliefs, the tympanon's back wall slabs could be placed divided in the middle or divided into both sides, with the central piece forming a pentagon – both solutions were equally common (fig 4).<sup>10</sup>

Ornamental – in contrast with structural – Greek architectural sculptures are typically divided into a few categories, which are differentiated by technical aspects, size and their location on a building. In the canonical Doric temples, the most common ornaments were

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<sup>4</sup> *Ol.* XIII, 20-21.

<sup>5</sup> Lapalus (1947, 66-67): "*l'imprécision poétique a suscité de nombreux commentaires (...), l'un d'eux estime que si le fronton a été désigné implicitement sous le nom d'ἀετός, c'est que primitivement le champ tympanal avait été décoré par une représentation du roi des oiseaux*", while others, like Ridgway (1993, 276) think Pindar's passage "imply the use of a pitched roof with the corresponding formation of gables, rather than a reference to actual pedimental decoration

<sup>6</sup> After Lapalus 1947, 67.

<sup>7</sup> As we shall briefly see in chapter two below.

<sup>8</sup> Or also, less frequently, with the *ronde-bosse accolée* technique, defined by Bookidis (1967, 69) as "statues carved in one piece with their plinths and with their background orthostates, to which they are still joined by large struts."

<sup>9</sup> Ridgway 1993, 275. Bookidis (1967, 421-26) reveals that the maximum projection of the Doric cornice could reach 0,60m, in the temple of Aphaia at Aegina, while the Ionic temples had an average of 0,80m. The "Attic" variation is noticed in the Ionic temple of Athena Nike at the Athenian Acropolis, or in the earlier Siphnian Treasury.

<sup>10</sup> Bookidis 1967, 405. An example of the vertical central division can be seen in the "Hydra Pediment" from the Athenian Acropolis, and for the pentagon central slab, the Artemision at Corfu, both 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

pedimental sculptures, metopes, friezes and acroteria.<sup>11</sup> While sculpted column drums, coffered ceilings, caryatids and telamons, sculpted parapets, and others are seldom seen, they generally date to later periods.<sup>12</sup> Each one of these features had a more appropriate type of representation: low-relief friezes permitted continuous representations, giving the sense of progression and return; high-relief metopes highlighted specific and discrete episodic narrativity; pediments were a highly hierarchical space. The different supports of architectural sculptures demanded different narrative structures,<sup>13</sup> by their physical nature and by their importance within the temple's decoration program. In the pediment, every figure had to be adapted to the sloping frame. The position of a figure depended on the scale, the figure's status, and its function within the narrative scene. During the Classical period, the scene usually depicts the climax, the closure, and the epiphany in a composition of multiple figures. One could see the pediment as the next step in temple decoration: it starts with the low-reliefs friezes, followed by the high-reliefs metopes, then by the pediment with free-standing framed by the cornices, and finally, proper free-standing sculptures, the acroteria tops the god's house.<sup>14</sup> As if the figures escape the marble more up they go. Hence, pedimental sculpture, considering the Parthenon as its peak, tries to depict epiphanic moments, proposing careful gestures and resounding poses all at once, as one single composition layered with narrativity and detailed nuance, breaking the pedimental frame with projecting parts and limbs outwards the temple (fig. 5).<sup>15</sup>

The Greek temple and *in antis* treasuries were the main supports for this kind of sculpture. Poleis' treasuries that were put in – especially Panhellenic – sanctuaries played a considerable role in the development of sculptural decorations in temples, as they were vehicles of propaganda and endorsement of a city, serving as a “visual metaphor for the richness of the polis”.<sup>16</sup> The political and military disputes between the poleis continued also through battles in the architecture of treasuries, which in turn would also reflect on the architecture of temples:

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<sup>11</sup> Traditionally, the Doric frieze was not decorated with low-relief, but with high-relief alternating triglyphs and metopes. However, the Parthenon, a Doric temple, included Ionic elements, such as a sculpted continuous inside frieze.

<sup>12</sup> Palagia (2018, 153, 168) highlights also the complete absence of bronze architectural decoration sculptures, which are known by their cuttings on floors and walls, but also by ancient *testimonia*, the most famous being, of course, Pausanias.

<sup>13</sup> Osborne 2000, 229-30; 2009, 3-11.

<sup>14</sup> It has been shown by Dinsmoor (1939, 33-35) some “relief” characteristics in pedimental sculptures, which as the early pediments will reveal, originated with. These are evidenced by the summary treatment, or not at all, of the back side of the pedimental sculpture, or even in the inclusion of “half-statues” for wide groups, like the quadrigas in the East pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. However, this complete sequence of low and high relief then framed free-standing sculptures and finally “free” akroteria is only fully seen in the Parthenon.

<sup>15</sup> Brommer (1963 II, pl. 26, fig. 3) shows us the perspective from the Parthenon's east pediment where we can see the projecting legs of Dionysus outward the frame.

<sup>16</sup> Marconi 2004, 218.

these became a spectacle of new adornments and figural representations. Bookidis also noted the significance that the first marble pediments are evidenced in some treasuries in Delphi, where the dedicating poleis could invest in the copious decoration of their small temple-like buildings.<sup>17</sup>

Almost nothing – if anything – of architectural sculpture remains *in situ*, justified either by human or natural agents. The practice of redisplaying Greek art was already common between the Romans, at least from the second century BCE, and had an impact on our perception of Greek art: sculptures were taken down, seized and re-interpreted as single and autonomous masterpieces, as testimonies of the ancient masters, decontextualizing them from their original context. For example, the Elgin Marbles, the looted sculptures from the Parthenon by Lord Elgin in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, were (and indeed still are) displayed scattered around the room, as if they were singular pieces of artwork – the so-called ‘Elgin Room’ at the British Museum (fig. 6).<sup>18</sup> However, the original context of architectural sculptures is perhaps the easiest to reconstruct, since we know precisely where they were. In this sense, in order to study architectural, but especially, pedimental sculpture, the original context associated with the temple’s whole sculptural program and the position and pose within the narrative composition are essential for its understanding. Since redisplay, removal, destruction, and erosion were constant, the reconstruction of the original context is crucial.

New approaches to Greek art tend to value architectural sculpture outside the plain terminology of decoration, surpassing this simple art-historic concept and inserting them into the architectural program of a building.<sup>19</sup> Pedimental sculpture must not be seen as independent, autotelic and out-of-context works of art. In fact, they had an open and clear connection with the temple and local communities. Temples were an assertion of the community, a polis affair.<sup>20</sup> Hölscher argues against our innocent usage of the term *decoration*, with its inherent neutrality of an art historic analysis, arguing for a semiotic approach where the public manifestation and communicative aspect of such works should be emphasised.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Bookidis 1967, 404-405. The first attested marble pediments are from the Knidian, Massiliote and Siphnian treasuries at Delphi. As it is often said (e.g., Osborne 2000, 234; Hurwit 2005, 136) the Parthenon was built to compete and rival with the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

<sup>18</sup> Jenkins 2007, 15-16.

<sup>19</sup> Hölscher (2009, 54-68) argues for a re-immersion of the statues in their original context, giving the examples of the Parthenon and the Elgin Marbles. Similar to Emerson 2018, 25.

<sup>20</sup> Spawforth 2004, 26.

<sup>21</sup> Hölscher (2009, 54-55) highlights a few problems with the political and ideological messages of the Parthenon frieze, for instance: a viewer would probably be able to identify as the Panathenaic procession, but not that there were “10 groups of horsemen differentiated only by minor variations of clothing or attributes and thus conclude that they were representatives of the ten Athenian *phylai*”.



It was often argued for a “canonical” pedimental formula in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the norm being a “quiet” East with an “agitated” West.<sup>22</sup> Some even argued for the east revealing the temple’s deity *per se* while a genealogical or local legend narrative on the West.<sup>23</sup> Neither, however, can be regarded as a rule. Firstly because of the lack of proper and general evidence that would allow such formulation, secondly because many examples do not follow such rules. For instance, both the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina, early 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, and the Temple of Asklepios at Epidaurus, early 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, had in both their pediments scenes that can be described as “agitated”. Ridgway argued that the Parthenon’s East pediment, commonly regarded as “calm”, has an equally agitated scene compared to the West.<sup>24</sup>

Finally, pedimental compositions can be studied from the statues/reliefs themselves but also from the cuttings on the pediment’s floors. Dinsmoor published articles arguing and, ultimately, conjecturing about the pediment composition from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, finding various Niobids in European museums and attributing them to this temple (figs. 7 and 8).<sup>25</sup> But Cooper’s succinct remark ended all conjecture, after his complete survey of the temple architecture: “All the physical evidence proves that there was never provision for the installation of pedimental sculpture at Bassai.”<sup>26</sup> Therefore, it is ultimately essential when dealing with pedimental composition to keep the position and cuttings of the pediment’s floor in mind. They are decisive both to argue for the existence and the original disposition of sculptures at the gables. Where cuttings on the pediment’s floor are available, they are invaluable.

It may be obvious, perhaps, to state that the sculptures’ subjects of a deity temple were deeply connected to their deity’s mythology and deeds. Hölscher proposes that each theme should be the “most normal choice” for the specific cult of the building’s god/goddess.<sup>27</sup> But were they just “stock” representations from each deity iconographical panoply, or, depending on specific circumstances, were they selected and modelled to fit a specific temple? For instance, was a scene from Athena’s birth to be depicted the same way in a temple to Athena

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<sup>22</sup> For instance, Dinsmoor 1939, 45-46.

<sup>23</sup> Defended by Morgan (1952, 301-3; 1963, 91-108), that evaluates the Centauromachy in the West pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia with “questionable appropriateness” since the scene “represents neither local legend nor a myth of general Hellenic significance.”

<sup>24</sup> Ridgway 1981, 42.

<sup>25</sup> Dinsmoor 1933. 224-25; 1939, 27-47; 1942, 19-21. He was followed by many others that also suggested their own reconstructions, for instance, Cook 1964, 30-35, figs. 2, 3.

<sup>26</sup> Cooper 1978, 119-27. He also states that there was never intended by the designers to provide the pediments with sculpture, highlighting that never when a gable was that shallow pedimental sculpture can be seen (Cooper 1996, 249-50). After the study of over two-thirds of the pediment floor, no cutting was found. More in Chapter 4.

<sup>27</sup> Hölscher 2009, 57.

and in a temple to Hephaistos? The repetition of themes in contemporary neighbouring temples must not be understood in the same way, since each temple had its own religious and cultic contexts, as we shall see further below. Moreover, quoting Morgan: “To argue that so important a theme for Athens could have been used only once is to deny that Sophokles and Euripides could have written their *Elektras* since Aischylos had already told the story in his *Choephoroi*”.<sup>28</sup> A Gigantomachy in an Attic temple was perceived, and therefore, depicted in the same way as a Gigantomachy in an Argive temple? Were the temple’s sculptures in cohesion with one another? Was there any correspondence within each façade’s adornments? Were the pedimental adornment simply “stock” depictions of each deity’s iconographical arsenal, what can they tell us?

The first chapter is dedicated to the history of research in pedimental compositions, main tendencies, and problems in the extant bibliography. The second chapter devotes its attention briefly to pre-Parthenonian pediments, from the earliest on the island of Corfu, throughout the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE, and into the early Classical temples, ending with the temples of Aphaia at Aegina and of Zeus at Olympia, in a brief attempt to contextualize the Parthenon and post-Parthenon compositions. The third chapter focuses solely on the Parthenon pediments, its history of reconstructions, its recurrent problems, and its compositional interpretation. The fourth chapter discusses post-Parthenonian 5th-century pediments, in Attica and in the Peloponnese, their problems, interpretations, and limitations. The last chapter is devoted to the analysis of themes and choices of representations. Two tables are provided that compile the temples’ pediments measurements (Table 1) and themes (Table 2) in order to facilitate consults.

Finally, pedimental sculptures were right at the face of the viewers. They resided over the great temples of antiquity and depicted their mythology and histories. Their special placement up above on perhaps the most important building in Greek civilization makes a comparative analysis within the temple’s own sculptures and cultic context necessary.

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<sup>28</sup> Morgan 1963, 94.

## Chapter 1: History of Research

As mentioned before, even though sculptures from Greek pediments have one of the easiest redeemable contexts (that of an architectural, gable figure), almost none of them is found *in situ* or well-preserved. The exceptions are the well-preserved West pediment of the Parthenon and the pediments of the temple of Zeus at Olympia or the Aegina Marbles. Perhaps, even rarer is to comprehensively be able to align specific sculptures with pedimental cuttings – which themselves are a rarity, as we shall see. The monumental nature of pedimental sculpture, which is frequently over-lifesized and often made with a more expensive material than other parts of the temple, and lastly, their very exclusive and one-of-a-kind location in great temples, makes them very scarce examples. Unlike pottery or grave stelae, for example, which are studied by the hundreds, in mainland Greece during the 5<sup>th</sup> century, little over 20 temples were built, and less than half of those had pedimental sculptures.<sup>29</sup> Hence, the often very fragmented state, their inherent monumentality, and the lack of many examples throughout Greece explain the diminutive amount of diachronic and comprehensive works in pedimental sculpture.

Some temples are known to have carried pedimental sculptures, from the physical evidence of cuttings and sculptures *per se* or from literary accounts.<sup>30</sup> The Hephaisteion and the temple of Athena Pallenis/Ares, both in the Agora, had sculpted pediments with fragments still being identified in museums' storage rooms – or with known fragments that are still being re-interpreted. However, the very nature of the visibility of pedimental sculpture – frontally viewed, framed by a low, hierarchical triangle – scars its figures with identifiable characteristics, and because of this, some pediments, or pedimental figures, wait still for a temple.<sup>31</sup>

The information is generally found in site/monument-specific publications, for instance, the *Olympia* series or Michaelis' *Der Parthenon*, with sections dedicated to the pedimental support of sculptures. Sporadic general works include Montuoro's *L'Origine Della Decorazione Frontonale*, or Schuchhardt's *Archaische Giebelkompositionen*, focusing on

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<sup>29</sup> Spawforth (2006, 25) identifies 22 peripteral temples built during the 5<sup>th</sup> century. However, this number is, of course, not to be true, since many temples are lost or unidentified. But still, 22 as a reference number compared to only 8 in the mainland during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century is considerable.

<sup>30</sup> For example, the unknown pediments of the Asklepeion at Titane (Sicyon), mentioned by Paus. 2.11.8; or the gables at the Herakleion at Thebes (Paus. 9.11.6)

<sup>31</sup> For instance the "Little Niobids" group, in the Ny Carlsberg Collection (see Chapter 4, "The Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai"), or the pediment at the Patras Museum, identified by Trianti 1985, 116-18; 1986, 164.

Archaic pediments.<sup>32</sup> A great synthesis of pedimental compositions came with the work of Lapalus, entitled *Le Fronton Sculpté en Grèce: des Origines à la Fin du IVe Siècle*, in dire need of an update.<sup>33</sup> Lapalus' work has been criticized for the lack of synthetic sections, and for the absence of any new reconstruction proposition or analysis of individual statues and fragments.<sup>34</sup> Delivorrias' *Attische Giebelskulpturen und Akrotere des Fünften Jahrhunderts* is also a recent attempt the identification of new fragments for the gables and Acroteria of Attic temples, with a great bibliographical compilation for other temples in Appendix II.<sup>35</sup>

Pedimental sculpture is also approached very generally in sculpture handbooks, for instance, the works, alphabetically, of Boardman, Fuchs, Richter, Ridgway, and Rolley.<sup>36</sup> Taking a more concrete example, the sculptures of the Parthenon have been, and still are, thoroughly studied, and the works of Palagia are an example of erudite methodology and eloquent narrative – her *The Pediments of the Parthenon* is a *magnum opus* for Greek art and, specially, pedimental sculpture. A new, revised, more updated, and better version of Lapalus' book is essential for the continuation of current knowledge regarding the pedimental compositions. Since its publication in 1947, a lot more information was retrieved from archaeological investigation but also new approaches to Greek art have been developed, making a new 21<sup>st</sup>-century version of the *Fronton Sculpté en Grèce* vital.

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<sup>32</sup> Montuoro 1925. Schuchhardt 1940.

<sup>33</sup> Lapalus 1947.

<sup>34</sup> Reviews by Lawrence 1948, 150-51; Johnson 1949, 321-22; Dugas 1950, 259-60; Delvoye 1950, 307-8.

<sup>35</sup> Delivorrias 1974. In general, positively reviewed by Harrison 1976, 209-10.

<sup>36</sup> Richter 1950, 118-25; Ridgway 1970, 12-27; Boardman 1978, 151-61; Ridgway 1981, 40-69; Boardman 1985, 33-51, 96-167; Fuchs 1993, 384-98; Ridgway 1993, 273-332; Rolley 1994, 189-205; Ridgway 1997, 25-77; Rolley 1999, 104-25.

## Chapter 2: Archaic and Early Classical Pediments

Architectural sculptures developed along with the architectural concretisation of the Greek temple form and concept of the orders during the Archaic period. While the first lasting and monumental temples are dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the first monumental pedimental composition dates to the very beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE, on the island of Corfu. As we saw in the Introduction, the canonical Greek temple, with its gabled roof, put forward a large triangular blank right in front of it, which was imperative to fill it with decoration. The proper gabled buildings and the decoration ideas within have been pointed by Ridgway to perhaps be a somewhat direct influence from Phrygian gabled constructions. However, the development and assertion of a recognized decoration form concretised only in mainland Greece.<sup>37</sup> Even though the first kinds of pedimental decoration comes from Selinus and Gela, they were employed with a different solution: mould-made terracotta *Gorgoneia* masks nailed or attached to the blank gable (fig. 9).<sup>38</sup> In a survey of Archaic architectural sculpture, Bookidis identified what seems to be a generalised rise of pedimental sculpture in mainland Greece at the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE – while nothing is seen in Magna Graecia –, and just one Late Archaic example was found in Asia Minor.<sup>39</sup>

The Archaic development landmarks in pedimental composition can be identified by some steps: the apotropaic monstrous figures, the adaptation of human figures to the sloping pediment, the use of marble, the unification of narrative themes within the gable, and lastly, free-standing statues. Within the 6<sup>th</sup> century itself, one can detect great stylistic and compositional transformations in Greek pediments. These developments are not exclusive to one another or linear but were adopted relatively to local tastes and ideas.<sup>40</sup> This chapter will highlight a few examples where these changes can be identified. The chapter concludes with a brief presentation of two relevant Early Classical temples.

The earliest surviving, and comprehensible, pediment decoration comes from the West pediment of the Artemision at Corfu, usually dated 600-580 BCE. Built with the local limestone,

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<sup>37</sup> Ridgway (1993, 273-75) argues for an almost *ex oriente lux* idea, but also admits of an Etruscan or South Italian-Sicilian influence on early pediments.

<sup>38</sup> Montuoro 1925, 282-315. Bookidis 1967, 429-31. Boardman 1978, 152. This solution, however, was essentially a Sicilian practice, the masks averaged between 1 to 1.6m in diameter, while the biggest so-far found comes from Temple C in Selinus measuring 2.74m.

<sup>39</sup> Bookidis (1967, 4-141, 404-36) identified a considerable number of Archaic pediments coming from Athens (12 examples from both large buildings, and temples, but also from small buildings, treasuries or the so-called *oikemata* in the Athenian Akropolis).

<sup>40</sup> For instance, in Olympia, pedimental sculptures made with marble started almost 50 years later than in other centres, with the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

the west pediment shows a central *Gorgon* presented with the *Knielauf* scheme staring the viewer down with its googly eyes and sinister smile (fig. 10). The figure is accompanied by its offspring, with Chrysaor on the right and Pegasus on the left. The central figures are flanked by two huge symmetrical panthers that join Medusa in intimidating the viewer. Two pairs of human figures flank the panthers on each side. On the right, Zeus, identified by his thunderbolt, overshadows a Giant (fig. 11). On the left, a seated figure is being slain by a standing warrior. The sharp difference in scale makes the side groups awkward and almost unimportant compared to the central Medusa.<sup>41</sup> The flanking intimidating ferocious animals are a frequently employed theme for Archaic pediments.

After the Corfu example, from a series of small pediments coming from Athens, this same solution is often used: monsters and creatures were used in the sense that their unknown, terrifying, and imagined physical forms would easily be accommodated to any sloping roof at the artists' will. For instance, the Hekatompedon's west pediment dated around 570 BCE had lions devouring a calf flanked by monstrous figures in a very high relief made in poros limestone (fig. 12).<sup>42</sup> Those earlier representations illustrate beasts that faced the viewer, with confrontational and challenging features, acknowledging apotropaic functions, and revealing a certain "magical utilitarianism".<sup>43</sup>

The next step was a qualitative one: the first buildings to use marble to compose pedimental sculpture were treasuries at Delphi starting in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>44</sup> The Siphnian treasury, dated to c. 525 BCE, shows in its pediments human figures that more

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<sup>41</sup> Montuoro 1925, 315-327; Rondenwalt 1939; Richter 1950, 119-20; Benson 1967; Bookidis 1967, 6-9; Ridgway 1993, 276-81; Rolley 1994, 189-90; Mariantos 2001, 83-88; Marconi 2004. There is no clear unified action and narration in this pediment. It has been noticed by Ridgway (1993, 280) that the early presence of "stage props" on this pediment, is exemplified by the low-engraved leaves and branches behind the small Zeus figure on the right. Wegener (1985, 4) states that the Corfu pediment is the oldest known monumental relief work with a landscape element.

<sup>42</sup> Bookidis 1967, 10-58. Boardman 1978, 153-55. Venit 1989, fig. 1. Ridgway 1993, 282-96, fig. III. 27. Rolley 1994, 192. Hekatompedon: AM inv. no. 3. The many pediments in Athens dated to around 570-550 BCE belong to the so-called *oikemata* and other unknown small temple-like buildings. The Hydra Pediment, at the Acropolis Museum (AM inv. no. 1), followed this last "rule", a spiral Hydra with its many heads could easily fit any space without any aesthetical compromise (fig. 13).

<sup>43</sup> Benson 1967, 48-50. Schuchhart (1939, 18-20) sees the panthers at Corfu quite differently than the lions from the Akropolis, while the first was inserted in the mythological realm, the latter was inserted in the "*monde du réel*". Therefore, being reminiscent of an ancient Cretan-Anatolian connection recounting the animalized form of the primitive deities, as Lapalus (1947, 106-07) puts it that in a world "*plein de puissances maléfiqes qu'il faut dompter, et aussi un univers divin de caractère encore chthonien*", which needed to be tamed.

<sup>44</sup> Bookidis 1967, 59-67, 405. The Knidian, Massiliote, and Siphnian Treasuries used imported Parian marble for their compositions. The adoption of this new material is not, however, ubiquitous. For instance, the late employment of marble in Olympia, another panhellenic sanctuary in which one would also expect an early adoption of the material.

appropriately adapted to the sloping roof, in very high relief (fig. 14).<sup>45</sup> The treasury utilizes a formula that becomes almost a norm in every later pediment: the fallen, crouching/kneeling and standing human figures occupying the successively smaller available space, as opposed to an abrupt change of scale as seen in the flanking groups of Corfu; also the employment of horses instead of monsters next to the central groups, in an attempt to ease even more the rapidly decreasing height. Even though a falling giant is already seen on the left-hand side of the West pediment at Corfu, its head leans outwards the centre of the gable, as Ridgway notices, in an awkward attempt to fill all the blank space.<sup>46</sup>

From the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, a new material was adopted for major sculptural programs, and around a decade later, a new solution, instead of the contorted bodies of mythological creatures, was largely implemented. The Old Athena Temple or the so-called Peisistratid Temple at the Athenian Akropolis, dated around 520-510 BCE, took the next step in the development of pedimental composition: sculpture in the round (fig. 15).<sup>47</sup> The Peisistratid temple showed in its Parian gables a Gigantomachy on the East (fig. 16), and frightening Lions on the West. Even though used free-standing sculptures, the finishing on the back of the statues were very summary and rough.<sup>48</sup> The Alkmaeonid Temple of Apollo at Delphi, around 510 BCE, perhaps shortly after the Peisistratid at Athens, mix both materials and techniques: the west pediment was carved in the *ronde-bosse accolée* and in limestone, while the east was carved completely in the round and with Parian marble.<sup>49</sup>

By the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the practice of marble and the lying-fallen-standing solution dominates the pedimental field, while the all-around sculpture was sporadically employed, for instance, in the Athenian Treasury dated to the transition to the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Basic bibliography Siphnian Treasury. Bookidis 1967, 64-67. Boardman 1978, 158. Doux et al. 1987, 204-7. The pediment is regarded by Ridgway (2004, 15-26) as a forerunner to the later Temple of Zeus at Olympia, despite still showing some raw or undeveloped characteristics (lack of balanced asymmetry, stiff and pronounced movement to the right, monotonous vertical features in the centre, etc.).

<sup>46</sup> Ridgway 2004, 15-16.

<sup>47</sup> Bookidis (1967, 49-51, 407) states that pediments with only all-around sculpted figures “do not appear until about the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century”, evidenced by some sporadic use of de-attached figures, for instance in the so-called “Olive Tree Pediment” from the Athenian Akropolis (Acropolis Museum inv. no. Akp. 52, dated to 560-550 BCE in poros limestone).

<sup>48</sup> Bookidis 1967, 407.

<sup>49</sup> Basic bibliography Alkmaeonid Temple. de La Coste-Messelière 1938, 109-16, fig. 1 and 2. This temple also reveals some more *archaic* features with the presence of lions slaying prey on the sides to fill de gable, and also reveals the “*volonté de plier la sculpture à l'architecture*” with the diminishing scale of *korai* and *kouroi* flanking the central quadriga instead of the more up-and-coming solution of employing the flanking figures in different poses fitting the pediment more harmoniously.

<sup>50</sup> Lapalus 1947, 161-64. Bookidis (1967, 126-9, 411, 419-20) noticed that Corinth, regarded by Pindar as perhaps the precursor of pedimental decoration, had terracotta pedimental sculpture late in the 6<sup>th</sup> century from an unknown temple dated to 510-500 BCE depicting an Amazonomachy. Bookidis remarks (1967, 420) that “with the creation of the pedimental space, the desire to place decoration, whether symbolic, didactic or purely ornamental, on the

The Megarian Treasury at Olympia, dated to the very end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE, employed, in a limestone relief, a Gigantomachy (fig. 17).<sup>51</sup> This rendition, despite not being marble and made in relief, revealed a well-unified and harmonious composition with five groups of combatants, instead of episodic confronts marked by breaks in the narrative flow of the composition. This scene is the first highlighted by Richter to compose a proper united scene “knit together by the unity of action”.<sup>52</sup>

Entering the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the pediments at the temple of Aphaia at Aegina compiling all the development in pedimental sculpture from the previous century can be considered, as Richter said, the “chief desiderata”.<sup>53</sup> The temple at Aegina presented itself with Parian marble, all-around sculpture, unified themes, proper diminishing scale, and, for the first time, all-around equal treatment of the figures – seen later only one time, in the Parthenon. Because of the great number of extant statues, the pediments have received a lot of scholarly attention since their discovery in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century CE, but also because three, not two, pedimental compositions are preserved.<sup>54</sup> There is a clear technical discrepancy between the later East and the earlier West, which the “rejected” one seem to make pair with.<sup>55</sup> Dates for the pediments range from 505 to 470 BCE and Ohly even proposes a fourth pediment, a second West.<sup>56</sup> Ridgway sees the second East pediment of Aegina as an experiment, as a first try at the Severe style – it does not appear in but a few discreet details, but “appears as a coherent program, both in composition and in rendering the figures”.<sup>57</sup> Both gables depict battle scenes from the Trojan War, but Athena, the axial figure on both pediments, in the East, appears battling (fig. 2), with her spear drawn and her shield; in the West, she appears declaring her favour towards the Greeks, immobile and hieratic. The *mise en point* of the Classical pediment is yet not definitive, the scenes do not solely focus on the axial goddess or group – as will both Parthenon pediments,

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temple may have led a number of different places to arrive at a similar solution”, but perhaps with different technical and compositional principles.

<sup>51</sup> Treu 1897, 5-15. Bookidis 1967, 98-100. Boardman 1978, 160, figs. 215.1, 215.2 Theme reported by Pausanias 6.19.13: “τοῦ θησαυροῦ δὲ ἐπείργασται τῷ ἀετῷ ὁ γιγάντων καὶ θεῶν πόλεμος”.

<sup>52</sup> Richter 1950, 122.

<sup>53</sup> Richter 1950, 122.

<sup>54</sup> Most notably the works of Furtwängler (1906, 174-365) and Mackenzie (1908, 274-307). For a major compilation of reconstructions see Invernizzi 1965; Delivorrias 1974, 180-81.

<sup>55</sup> Ridgway (1970, 13-14) estimates that the 3<sup>rd</sup> pediment – the second East – was made at least 15 years after the original set, proposing that the replacement was made because of possible damage (atmospheric or human) or because of a possible Acrolithic nature of the first East.

<sup>56</sup> Early date: Ohly 1972, 47, 56-58, figs. 20-21. Later date: Ridgway 1970, 13-14. The fourth pediment suggested by Ohly (1972, 68-69) proposes a scene of Zeus chasing the Nymph Aegina.

<sup>57</sup> Ridgway 1970, 15. For figures after the removal of modern restorations see Ohly 1966, 515-28, figs. 3-6, 9; 1970, 48-54.



with the delicate glances towards the centre –, but spreads throughout the gable with fighting pairs and falling soldiers.<sup>58</sup>

The Doric hexastyle temple of Zeus at Olympia, built in the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, is one of the most studied temples, perhaps behind only the Parthenon, in Classical Archaeology. The earliest credible reconstructions by Hirschfeld, Treu or Waldstein mostly differ in the flanking groups, agreeing on the disposition of Pelops-Zeus-Oenomaus in the centre (fig. 18).<sup>59</sup> Pausanias, in his *Guide*, identifies the scene as the not-yet-begun race between King Oenomaus and the young hero Pelops: the *Périégète* ambiguously describes the scene as “Pelops on the right of Zeus”, but was he saying to Zeus’ right (the viewer’s left) or to the right of the figure of Zeus (therefore, the god’s and the viewer’s right)?<sup>60</sup> The Elean rives of Alpheios and Kladeos are represented in the East pediment, as the corner figures, geographically inserting the scene in the sacred grounds of the sanctuary. The East is marked by a tense instant, where the ancient viewer would be faced with the aetiological myth for the cult of Pelops and Zeus in Olympia (fig. 19).<sup>61</sup>

Pausanias identifies the West pediment as the Centauromachy at the wedding of Peirithous, naming the central figure as the groom himself (fig. 20). But it has been long shown that the central figure was, in fact, the god Apollo pointing to his left, with Herakles and Theseus fighting Centaurs.<sup>62</sup> Unlike the temple of Aphaia and the later Parthenon, the figures’ back on the pediments at Olympia were roughened out, left undressed, and even hollowed out – in an attempt to alleviate some weight (fig. 21).<sup>63</sup>

Osborne noted the feeling of movement, rotation and cycle within both pediments: on the West, the central Apollo leads the viewers to gaze towards the sides with his stretched arm, together with the two heroes that flanked him looking outwards; while on the East, the figures converge to the centre, starting with the two river gods’ converging gazes, the chariots filling

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<sup>58</sup> Lapalus 1947, 157-58, pl. 11-13. Neer 2010, 92-99.

<sup>59</sup> Hirschfeld 1877, 286-324; Treu 1882, 215-247; Waldstein 1884, 301-312. For a very complete table of the previous reconstructions from 1877 to 1970, see Säflund 1970, 50-59. Mentionable is the work of Ashmole and Yalouris 1967.

<sup>60</sup> Paus. 5.10.6-9.

<sup>61</sup> The discreet gestures of a calm and confident, almost arrogant, Oenomaus, and a heroic nude, energetic and courageous Pelops already reveal the outcome of the contest. The result is confirmed by the Homeric affirmative nod of Zeus towards Pelops, as interpreted by Kyrieleis 1997, 13-27.

<sup>62</sup> For instance, Ashmole 1972, 44-47, figs. 48-49.

<sup>63</sup> Säflund 1970, 60-78, figs. 9-10, 15-17. Ashmole 1972, 57-59, fig. 70. The chariot groups from the East also were flattened to fit the shallow depth of the pediment. Palagia (2005, 231) states that the East pediment of Olympia had 10cm more depth than its West pediment with 90cm, perhaps revealing a preliminary plan for a wider composition. The idea that the pedimental sculptures were set in haste before the 81<sup>st</sup> Olympiad (in 476), and therefore lacked the final dressing details on the backs was suggested by Rehak 1998, 193-208.

the middle way through, and finally reaching the tense central moment.<sup>64</sup> The monument investment in Olympia is associated with the prosperous moment of Elis, near the sanctuary. The Eleans invested in the Parian adornment of their great temple, with a “comprehensive program of mythic subjects that were of significance to the region and to a broader, Panhellenic audience”.<sup>65</sup>

During the 6<sup>th</sup> and the beginnings of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, we detect along the examples in mainland Greece, the main developments in pedimental decoration. Influenced by the Archaic tradition, the Early Classical gables are characterized by the unity of narrative within the pediment, by a steady decrease in the stature of the figures towards the corners, and, finally, by figures working for an emphatic epiphany in the axis. Both at Aegina and at Olympia, the main front pediments are occupied by the temple’s main deities, respectively Athena Aphaia and Olympian Zeus. The epiphanic and anxious moment in the East pediment at the temple of Zeus still leaves the viewer filled with expectation for the known outcome, while the fight in the West fills the viewer with civilizational pride, a sense of belonging, and, perhaps, relief.

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<sup>64</sup> Osborne 200, 233.

<sup>65</sup> Westervelt 2009, 133.

### Chapter 3: The Parthenon Pediments

One of the most famous and most studied sculptures from antiquity, the Parthenon pediments still lie without academic consensus on their figures' positions and identifications. The sculptures composed the largest and most expensive pedimental decoration ever made.<sup>66</sup> However, the composition was not as celebrated in antiquity as it is today, ancient literature praised and appreciated the lost Phidian chryselephantine colossal statue of Athena Parthenos more than the ones at the gable.<sup>67</sup> Since the construction of the building, dated to 447-432 BCE, the Parthenon suffered irreparable actions from human and natural agents, most notably the conversion of the temple into a Christian church sometime in the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE and the Venetian bombardment in 1687.<sup>68</sup> The first replaced the central figures of the East façade with an apse, while the latter utterly destroyed, fragmented, and scattered, even more, the ruined temple. However, drawings made by a Flemish artist, often identified as Jacques Carrey, at a request of the Marquis de Nointel some 13 years prior to Morosini's bombardment provide invaluable information regarding lost positions and fragments, making them essential to the study of the sculptures (figs. 22 and 23).<sup>69</sup> The East side gable sculptures, less worn out by the sea wind but more destroyed than those of the West, were taken down and transported to the United Kingdom at the very beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Lord Elgin, and eventually sold to the British Museum. The East pediment and many other fragments from later investigations rest in the Acropolis Museum in Athens. The central acroteria of the Parthenon were of floral representations, while the side ones are problematic due to the lack of many extant and comprehensible fragments.<sup>70</sup>

There are arguably two dates for the pediments' realization, a "long" and a "short" chronology, respectively 447-433/2 and 438/7-433/2 BCE.<sup>71</sup> The subject of both pediments has been identified by Pausanias, who, after a laconic statement, proceeds to the cult statue never

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<sup>66</sup> Evidenced by their massive size in comparison to other pedimental compositions, but also, as noted by Palagia (1993, 7; 2005, 230) by the openings of many new roads and quarries on Mount Pentelikon in order to get the best marble possible. The sculptures from the pediments are identified by letters, in the East from A until P, in the West from A until W, following the method stipulated by Michaelis in 1871.

<sup>67</sup> Palagia 2005, 225, n. 2. Pausanias, for instance, reserves a mere two sentences for both pediments (1.24.5), while for the cult statue, almost three sections (1.24.5-7).

<sup>68</sup> For more detailed accounts see Palagia 1993, 7-17; Korres 1994b; Rolley 1999, 54-56; Jenkins 2007, 10-45.

<sup>69</sup> Carrey's authorship was recently contested by De Rycke (2007, 721-53) that attributes it to Arnould de Vuez.

<sup>70</sup> Delivorrias 1984, 289-92, fig. 1. Palagia 2005, 253-54, fig. 75. Reinhardt 2018, 361-62. For a catalogue of the fragments, see Danner 1989, 13-14, pl. 7.

<sup>71</sup> Ridgway (1981, 42) states that they obviously could not have been made before the start of the project, in 447, but could only have started after the setting of the entablature in 438 BCE. Here I follow Palagia (1993, 7, n. 2 and 3), arguing that the carving went from 438-7-433/2 by the building's epigraphic accounts.

looking back.<sup>72</sup> The birth of Athena, in the East, and the strife for Attica between Poseidon and the goddess, in the West. This composed the largest pedimental composition ever made, even though it was not placed on the largest temple.<sup>73</sup> Palagia noticed a somewhat archaic concept of *horror vacui* on both gables, in which entangled, overlapping, and projecting figures would compose the very crowded divine scenes.<sup>74</sup> This is evidenced by the several extant statues but also by the maze and confusing mess of pedimental floor cuttings. The pediment had 28.8m in length, with a maximum height of 3.5m, and a maximum depth of 0.90m, with some figures projecting until 0.30m outwards. The tympanon, that is, the back wall of the pediment was divided into 10 vertical slabs, with varying lengths (the maximum was 2.8m), that covered the structural horizontal ashlar, with the fifth and sixth slabs meeting in the middle.<sup>75</sup> Both these and the metopes' backgrounds are generally believed to have been painted red.<sup>76</sup> Hurwitt teases us when, regarding the rich but forever-lost polychromy and metal attachments of the Parthenon, he says, about the Helios figure, that the deity's sun rays "possibly appeared in gold paint on the pedimental wall or even on the raking cornice".<sup>77</sup> An ingenious solution to the very heavy and crowded over-lifesized statues on both pediments was the implementation of an iron bar mechanism, that relieved some of the load from the horizontal cornice, which was concealed behind the vertical slabs and underneath the statues.<sup>78</sup>

In many aspects, we can detect influences on the Parthenon's sculptures from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, completed 10 years prior, which was certainly a direct source of inspiration. Not only because of their similar scale and investment in the architectural program but also in some compositional aspects of the scene.<sup>79</sup> For instance, as Hurwit highlights, the idea of a violent and vividly pediment in one front opposed by a calm epiphanic scene on

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<sup>72</sup> Paus. 1.24.5 The Périégète does not expand on the composition nor identify any figure.

<sup>73</sup> There were many larger temples in Asia Minor, but because of architectural order, local taste, and, perhaps, the sheer size of their temples, they went for another solution, that of windows or openings in the gable (Bookidis 1967, 421-26).

<sup>74</sup> Palagia 1993, 7.

<sup>75</sup> Jeppesen 1953, 104-05, figs. 2 and 6. These slabs are much like the aforementioned Archaic Hydra Pediment, however, there the technique employed was low relief, while in the Parthenon, the tympanon blocks provided a stable background to the free-standing sculptures.

<sup>76</sup> Vlassopoulou 2010, 219-20. The red colour probably was ferric oxide ( $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$ ), in contrast with the frieze's blue background, in Egyptian Blue ( $\text{CaCuSi}_4\text{O}_{10}$ ).

<sup>77</sup> Hurwitt 2017, 552.

<sup>78</sup> Jeppesen 1953, 104-10, fig. 5; Korres 1994a, 61, fig. 7.

<sup>79</sup> Using Dinsmoor's (1939, 32) table comparing pediment sizes, the height, depth and length on the Parthenon and on the Temple of Zeus respectively were: 3.437m and 3.180m, 0.86m and 0.84m, 28.837m and 25.09m. The Parthenon is ever so slightly bigger. The temple at Olympia provided an immediate example of how to piece and attach the colossal statues to the tympanum and to the horizontal cornice.

another is seen on both temples.<sup>80</sup> The solution to place localizers on both ends of the East pediment at Olympia is similarly repeated, arguably, on both Parthenon pediments. The two eastern corner figures at Olympia are already identified by Pausanias as the two Elean river-gods personifications.<sup>81</sup> While on the Parthenon East we detect, on the far left, Helios (A) and his quadriga (B-C) rising from the pediment's floor facing the centre, where Helios is depicted torso-up and front-stretched arms guiding his (invisible under the pediment's floor) chariot by the reins (figs. 24 and 25). He has just gotten out of the sea, shown by the low carved sea waves on his back, and the sequence of low waves that ricochet in the god's chest. On the opposite corner, Selene (N) comes down the pediment floor with her exhausted horses (O, PA, and PB) after coursing through the sky dome all night (fig. 26). These two corner groups localize the scene cosmically in the break of the day, according to the myth.<sup>82</sup> While in the West, the corner figures (in the left A and A\*, and in the right V and W) are perhaps Athenian hydrographic personifications.<sup>83</sup> The Olympian influence is sometimes used to reconstruct the central group of the East, with an imposing axial Zeus.

Regarding the Parthenon's reconstructions, Palagia identifies a few main tendencies throughout more than 200 years of scholarship.<sup>84</sup> The first phase of reconstruction was based on the statues *in situ* by Elgin's draughtsman Feodor Ivanovitsch's drawings in 1802.<sup>85</sup> Secondly, a "Neoclassical phase" when French and British artists in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century painted and drew colourful, fantastic, and idealized pictures of the temple, considering their *in loco* observations of fallen parts, cuttings and fragments of the recent Turkish-free

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<sup>80</sup> Hurwit 2005, 139. Palagia's reconstruction of the central figures (1993, 27-30, fig. 18) suggest a quiet and static centre, while Berger's or Harrison's a more agitated birth (below). If we accept Palagia's (figs. 27-29), then a great juxtaposition between both pediments at the Parthenon and Olympia is evidenced.

<sup>81</sup> Paus. 5.10.7. "πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ κατὰκειται τῷ πέρατι Κλάδεος: ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα παρ' Ἡλείων τιμὰς ποταμῶν μάλιστα μετὰ γε Ἀλφειόν."

<sup>82</sup> In the *First Homeric Hymn to Athena* 10-15, the Son of Hyperion, that is, Helios, stopped his celestial course to give the newborn goddess time to strip away her armour. Neer (2019, 15-17) calls the abundance of hidden details a "perversely obscure" trait of the Parthenon sculptures – especially in the running frieze and in the pediments.

<sup>83</sup> Hurwit (2017, 533) notices that both pediments are framed by water: A is commonly identified as the Eridanos river with its lost woman counterpart A\* (water nymph), with a symmetrical variation on the other corner, V identified by Palagia (1993, 52; 2005, 247-48) as the Ilissos and W as a water nymph. Even though during the 5<sup>th</sup> century Selene is often depicted in Attic pottery on horseback or walking next to a horse/donkey and it is Nyx that is shown guiding a chariot (*tethrippon*), Nyx is typically winged, which figure N is not (Kratzmueller 2009, 110-11 after Hurwit 2017, 529-31). For the representations of Helios and Selene in all sculptures of the Parthenon see Hurwit 2017.

<sup>84</sup> Palagia 1997, 33-43. For a list of reconstructions from Michaelis (1871) until 1963, see Brommer (1963, 122-27) and from Brommer (1963) until 1993, see Palagia (1993, 60-1, appendix).

<sup>85</sup> Palagia (1997, 33, fig. 8) notices that "the distribution of the missing figures testifies to his familiarity with the cuttings for iron bars in the pediment floor" and that Ivanovitsch's drawings also report the confront between Athena and Poseidon, confounding the West with the proper entrance, in the East. Meaning that he used the East pediment sculpture to compose the strife.

Acropolis.<sup>86</sup> A third trend was introduced in 1880 by Robert Schneider that presented the so-called “Madrid Puteal”, which showed a miniature Athena springing out of Zeus’ head, in profile enthroned, with Hephaistos present and no Hera – the goddess remained absent in most reconstructions of this trend (fig. 30).<sup>87</sup> She then appears back again in 1959, when Ernst Berger incorporated the Wegner Peplos figure into the East pediment.<sup>88</sup> Another trend was introduced by Immo Beyer in 1974, proposing a standing Zeus flanked by Athena and Hera (fig. 31) – an overall quiet scene similar to the East pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.<sup>89</sup> New discussions seem to turn their attention more to the peripheral figures than to the central groups, for instance, figures P, Q, and Q of the West pediment are often identified as Oreithyia and the Boreads, recently proposed by Mitsios to be, respectively, Boutes, Zeuxippe, and Erechtheus (fig. 32).<sup>90</sup> This new tendency focusing on flanking groups is understandable because the East central group identification cannot be proven so far – the side groups identifications are more promising.<sup>91</sup>

As we saw in the Early Classical temples, it was common to depict the temple’s main deity in the centre of the pediment.<sup>92</sup> The question in the Parthenon is who occupied the central axis, Zeus or Athena? After all, the temple was dedicated to the major goddess of the city. However, Zeus was the almighty god. The iconographical limitations of the myth simply do not allow Athena as the centrepiece.<sup>93</sup> The Athenians had to come to a compromise, and the birth of the goddess was perhaps the most fitting solution to depict in the main entrance of the main temple of the *polis*.<sup>94</sup> First of all, after the Persian sack of the city in 480 BCE and the subsequent destruction of the Hekatompedon, the Athenians had to (or tried to) build a

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<sup>86</sup> The most prominent, perhaps, was Alexis Paccard, see Van Zanten 1994.

<sup>87</sup> Carpenter (1933; 1962) advocates for an enthroned Zeus in profile. Jeppesen (1953, 123-25) argues for a frontally enthroned Zeus, compared to the much smaller and slightly later Hephaisteion’s East pediment.

<sup>88</sup> Advocating for a seated axial figure: Berger 1959. Harrison 1967. Delivorrias 1994. To accept the Wegner Peplos figure is also to accept a very quiet scene on the East, the very vertical and steady drapery of the figure does not allow much movement to Hera.

<sup>89</sup> Advocating for a standing axial figure: Beyer 1974; 1977. Jeppesen 1984 (reconsidered). Palagia 1993, 18-39.

<sup>90</sup> Palagia 1993, 49-50. Mitsios 2019, 280-88.

<sup>91</sup> For instance, the works of Mitsios 2019, 280-88; Neils 2022, 91-108; Jacob 2022, 109-32.

<sup>92</sup> As shown in the archaic temples in the “Old Athena temple” and in Apollo at Delphi, and also in the Early Classical temples of Aphaia at Aegina (Aphaia as a “local Athena”) and in the temple of Zeus at Olympia. The fragmentary pediment of the temple of Apollo Daphephoros at Eretria showed possibly an Amazonomachy with a central Athena (Lapalus 1947, 155-56). We shall see later examples in the following chapters.

<sup>93</sup> Palagia (1997, 42) notes, however, that Athena in the central summit has been explored at the end of the 19th century by William Watkiss Lloyd and Adolf Furtwängler without much success. But would the myth plus the technical aspects allow a shared centre, much like the opposite West?

<sup>94</sup> Even though it is commonly said (e.g., Palagia 1993, 18) that it would virtually be impossible to identify the scene in the East without Pausanias’ statement, what else would be as proper as Athena’s birth?

replacement, the *proper* Parthenon is the third attempt.<sup>95</sup> The sculptural adornments of the temple provided to the Athena Parthenos' cult proof of the goddess's holiness and worthiness of worship. There it showed her alignment with almighty Zeus and the other Olympians. In this representation, she would appropriately fit the unearthly realm of the gods, while also evidencing her pride in the Athenians. This is a two-way street: the Athenians adored the goddess, and, in their eyes, the goddess adored the Athenians.

A renewed – Periclean – Athens, the rising Athenian maritime empire had to find a proper solution that would not displease nor enrage the gods. On the West pediment, Poseidon shares the spotlight with Athena – it is known that she won the contest and the god in rage threatened to flood the whole region.<sup>96</sup> Poseidon could not have been depicted as a sore loser: he is shown in the extant fragments of his over-lifesized torso and in Carrey's drawing actively dominating the centre. However, as Palagia categorically notices, the West pediment shows not only the contest of the gods, but also their reconciliation.<sup>97</sup>

Compositionally, both pediments are tied together by each central epiphany. In the East, the birth of the goddess herself, in the West the unwind of a fateful contest. The whole pediment is filled with figures working for the hierarchical scene, but most importantly, for the larger central deity and deities. The themes construct the cultic field of Athena Parthenos, in the interior of the cella. Not just the pediments, but also the frieze, contextualizing the Athenian people and the most Athenian festival within the godly realm, and the metopes, with the mythological defence of Hellenic civilization against barbarism expressed in the Centaurs (North), Giants (East), Amazons (West), and Trojans (South). As Korres categorically expressed, evidently present in the temple's adornments are the atmosphere and concept of ἀγών, of clashing opposing forces, where the Parthenon can be understood as a “monument of Athenian policy containing a whole host of messages and allusions to the values and the aims of the Athenian state”.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Korres 1994a, 56-58. The first “attempt” was a large poros temple, the second was the so-called “Pre-Parthenon”, both dated immediately after the Persian destruction of the previous temple.

<sup>96</sup> Apollodorus *Bib.* 3.14.1

<sup>97</sup> Palagia 2005, 250

<sup>98</sup> Korres 1994a, 58-59. The concept of ἀγών is also highlighted by Hurwitt (1999, 228-32; 2004, 242) to not just be a military principle, but also an artistical, musical and athletic rivalry or contest, evidenced by the many private monuments in the Acropolis.

## Chapter 4: Fifth Century Post-Parthenonian Pediments

Alongside with the building project of the Parthenon, many other smaller temples sprung out in Attica in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The temple of Hephaestus in the Kolonos Agoraios, the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, the temple of Poseidon at Sounion and the temple of Athena at Pallene (transported in Early Imperial Roman times to the Agora and transformed into the temple of Ares) are called “sister” temples, for their architectural similarities and contemporaneity.<sup>99</sup> They were all Doric and hexastyle, with 13 columns on the longer sides (except at Rhamnous, with 12).<sup>100</sup> The Ionic temple of Athena Nike in the Akropolis also enters the Perikleian project. Beyond Attica, during the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, we also have the Argive Heraion and the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae both with investments in sculptural decoration.<sup>101</sup> But, through all these temples, how did the pedimental compositions behave after the copious Parthenon pediments in mainland Greece?

### In Attica:

#### The Hephaisteion:

The temple dedicated on the Kolonos Agoraios hill overlooking the Classical Agora celebrated both the metalwork god Hephaistos and a *crafty* version of Athena, epitomized as *Ergane* (Ἐργάνη, worker) or *Hephaistia*.<sup>102</sup> The construction of the temple is generally dated to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, from around 460 to late 420s BCE, the sculptures were perhaps made and set later on, until around 420 BCE.<sup>103</sup> The temple’s core architecture is made with Pentelic marble, while the architectural adornments are entirely made of Parian.<sup>104</sup>

The great state of preservation of the temple does not reflect the state of preservation of its pedimental sculptures – currently, some scholars still appear sceptical that the extant

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<sup>99</sup> Boersma (1970, 59-61, 67) shows that the Hephaisteion was not a part of the Perikleian building project, but a crowning work of the 460s during Kimon’s Agora activities.

<sup>100</sup> Spawforth (2006, 136-8, 145-7) gives us the measurements, Hephaisteion: 13.7 for 31.77m; Poseidon at Sounion: 13.4 for 31.15m; Athena Pallenis: 16.76 for 36.25; Rhamnous: 10.1 for 21.3m.

<sup>101</sup> The latter had no sculpted pediment but had a sculpted frieze.

<sup>102</sup> Stewart 2018, 689. For a reconstruction of the double cult statue see Travlos 1971, 272, fig. 348; Harrison 1977a; 1977b; 1977c. For the architecture see Dinsmoor 1941; Plommer 1950, 67-78.

<sup>103</sup> Delivorrias 1997, 93-96. Shear Jr. 2016, 143-49. Stewart (2018, 681-2) states that the metopes’ style fit the 450s, the frieze’s late 430s and that the pediment would have been made immediately after the completion of the frieze but before the completion of the Athena Nike temple frieze, in the 420s. Overall, the construction does not seem to have been continuous since it got frequently protracted. The cult statue seems to have been made by Pheidias’ pupil, Alkamenes, around 420-415 BCE (Palagia 2000, 53).

<sup>104</sup> Stewart 2018, 683.



pieces can provide enough information.<sup>105</sup> The first comprehensive study of the temple's sculptures was made by Bruno Sauer in 1889, who proposed his own reconstruction based solely on the cuttings of the pediments' floors (fig. 33), taking various statues with varying scales, and tried fitting them in the cuttings, suggesting the birth of Erichthonius on the East and a scene of Hephaestus and Thetis in the West.<sup>106</sup> The first reliable fragments from the pediments turned up only in the late 1930s, with a mentionable reconstruction by Homer Thompson that proposed Herakles' Apotheosis on the East (fig. 34 and 35). The author sees the whole east façade as a glorification of Herakles, starting with the ten metopes showing nine of the Labours, and finishing with Zeus' endowment to his son up in the gable.<sup>107</sup> Harrison, upon reinterpreting some more Parian fragments, inserts a Centauromy on the West.<sup>108</sup> Delivorrias, on the other hand, using Harrison's arguments for a Centauromachy proposed the scene on the East instead (fig. 36), and an Iliupersis on the West (fig. 37).<sup>109</sup> Delivorrias argued that the Centauromachy would have been more important or relevant in the gods' iconography and cult and, therefore, should have composed the East. Currently, it has been compellingly shown by Andrew Stewart the birth of Athena in the East (fig. 38) and Hephaistos' Return to Olympus in the West (fig. 39).<sup>110</sup> This solution in the East was first suggested by Morgan, who looked for genealogical and legendary associations with the deities' iconography.<sup>111</sup>

Considering Hölscher's Law, a pertinent narrative scene involving both gods should be sought.<sup>112</sup> Therefore, the birth of Athena in the Hephaisteion would highlight, of course, Athena's cult importance in the temple, but also emphasize the important role of Hephaistos in her birth. How much different would this composition be from the same themed 10-year-old Parthenon composition? First of all, the floor's cuttings on the centre of the East pediment of the Hephaisteion show a large rectangular indentation, which has been interpreted by Stewart

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<sup>105</sup> E.g., Shear Jr 2016, 156, n. 46.

<sup>106</sup> Sauer 1899, 17-80. Delivorrias (1974, 16) thinks it would be an absurd such restoration: "*Ein für das Ansehen der Gottheit so nachteiliges Thema provokativ als Schmuck seines eigenen Tempels hervorzuheben, wäre einzigartig gewesen und hätte eine unerklärliche Ausnahme im religiösen Empfinden der griechischen Welt bedeutet, ganz zu schweigen von der seltenen künstlerischen Überlieferung dieses Mythos, von der diese Annahme nicht gestützt wird.*" Dinsmoor (1939, 27) agrees in the absurdity, stating that "it is futile to restore this lost composition in the manner of Bruno Sauer, purely from imagination; most of the statues in his drawings, furthermore, are completely out of scale with the temple".

<sup>107</sup> Thompson 1949, 230-68; 1962, 339-347. Interpretation already refuted by Gottlieb (1957, 161-65), who does not offer an alternative.

<sup>108</sup> Harrison 1956, 178.

<sup>109</sup> Delivorrias 1974, 16-60, foldouts 3 and 4 (East and West reconstructions respectively). Later, Delivorrias (1997, 97-100, fig. 21) retracts his proposition for the Iliupersis.

<sup>110</sup> For a complete list with all major reconstructions from 1899 until 2018 see Stewart 2018, 686-7, tab. 1.

<sup>111</sup> As said in the Introduction (see note 28), we must not view as a problem the repetition of the Parthenon East pediment.

<sup>112</sup> See note 27

as a proper seat or throne for Zeus. Since we saw in the last chapter the current possibility of a standing central Zeus on the Parthenon, would they adapt the scene in the Hephaisteion, perhaps in an attempt to emphasise even further Hephaistos's role in the myth and strengthening the dual cult?

From Stewart's criteria, he identifies only two certain extant pieces that can be placed in the east pediment and six in the west (with seven pedimental fragments unassigned to any pediment).<sup>113</sup> By far, the best-preserved statue is the so-called *ephedrismos* group, which depicts two young women moving to the viewer's left (fig. 40).<sup>114</sup> The group was first interpreted as an akroterion of the temple, identified as the Hesperides or as Clouds.<sup>115</sup> But refuted as an akroterion by Delivorrias, who inserted the group in the West pediment in his, now retracted, Iliupersis reconstruction.<sup>116</sup> Stewart, however, fits the group interpreting it as maenads coming to greet the homecoming Hephaistos, possibly as an ephebe, after his long exile in a parade led by Dionysius.<sup>117</sup>

The East pediment, with its strange square cutting on the central axis, is fit for an enthroned character on the scene, requiring no additional support since the low centre of gravity of a seated figure would suit and fast the figure to the pediment's floor. The pediments of the Hephaisteion seem, compared to the crowded Parthenon ones, quite unpopulated. From the cuttings, Sauer supposed that only 13 figures would compose each gable.<sup>118</sup> Despite sharing the same theme on the East facades, the Parthenon was a "normal" uni-deity cult temple, while the Hephaisteion had two gods to share the spotlight (and of course, both temples had to account for the – iconographically – omnipresent Zeus in the mythical scene of the goddess' birth). The Hephaisteion pediments, however, can be presented as "a tacit critique of its distinguished but woefully overcrowded predecessor", headlining the gable respectively with Athena, Zeus, and Hephaistos (fig. 38).<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Criteria in Stewart 2018, 689-691, catalogue of fragments in 692-716.

<sup>114</sup> Athens, Agora Museum, inv. no. S 429. Thompson 1949 235-6, 241-3, pls. 53, 54, 55 1-2. Delivorrias 1974, 33-40. Scheffer 1996, 169-88. Stewart 2018, 696-99, fig. 15 a-c, with an extensive bibliography.

<sup>115</sup> Hesperides: Thompson 1949, 250-1. Clouds: Bieber 1951 after Stewart 2018, 697. Thompson (1949, 242) dismisses the *ephedrismos* group as part of the pediment because of the heavy weathering on the figures' backs.

<sup>116</sup> Delivorrias 1974, 30-39.

<sup>117</sup> Stewart (2018, 721) does not identify any possible extant fragment of Dionysus.

<sup>118</sup> Sauer 1899 after Stewart 2019, 727. Of course, the great size of the Parthenon would allow more monumental figures to be put up, but there the figures are closer together and overlap in many instances, especially in the West.

<sup>119</sup> Stewart 2018, 722, fig. 40-41. The considerable gaps between the three central cuttings on the East can perhaps indicate an attempt by the designer to isolate in order to highlight the central triad, as Stewart (2018, 722) notices. The "tacit critique" is revealed also in the form of inspiration, for instance, the readjustment of the original plan of the cella, to reflect a somewhat smaller version Parthenon within the internal colonnade.

The other architectural sculptures of the Hephaestion are less problematic – except of the eastern frieze. Sculpted metopes adorn the East front, with four on the East end of the South side and four on the West end of the North side. The ones on the main front of the temple depict nine of the 12 labours of Herakles, with the hero's victory against Geryon stretched into two metopes (fig. 41). The eight-remaining side metopes represent the deeds of Theseus (fig. 42).<sup>120</sup> The Hephaisteion Ionic friezes are in the porches' walls of the cella, extending into the architrave of the colonnade. The West one depicts the Centauromachy (fig. 44), while the East is problematic, but reveals a battle scene, once interpreted as the Trojan War,<sup>121</sup> or as the massacre of the Pallantidai,<sup>122</sup> but more recently accepted to be the defeat of the Pelasgians (fig. 43).<sup>123</sup> Both friezes can be understood as the triumph of barbarism through the knowledge of metalworking, as defended by Stewart, the proper gift of Hephaistos to Hellenic civilization.<sup>124</sup> The central west acroterion, first proposed by Delivorrias to be a dual-figure Nereids, are accepted and expanded by Stewart, that states to be Thetis and Eurynome – the nymphs that rescued Hephaistos from the ocean –, while the side acroteria on both fronts were probably flying Nikai.<sup>125</sup>

#### The Temple of Athena Pallenis (The Temple of Ares):

The Agora Excavations in the 1930s revealed many architectural remains of a temple from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, with Early Imperial Roman mason marks and, amidst its foundations, pottery from this same period.<sup>126</sup> This building, next to Agrippa's Odeon in the Classical Agora, was revealed to be the temple of Athena Pallene, thought to be the temple of Athena and Ares in Acharnai, transported to its final resting place during Augustan times to the Agora.<sup>127</sup> The conclusion that the temple was definitely from Pallene

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<sup>120</sup> For a recent analysis on the metopal sculptures, see Stewart 2019, 134-143.

<sup>121</sup> Delivorrias 1997, 86, fig. 4.

<sup>122</sup> Harrison 2005, 121-23.

<sup>123</sup> McInerney 2014, 41-43 cf. Stewart 2019, 138-39, fig. 5.

<sup>124</sup> As Stewart (2019, 140) points out, the temple “presents Hephaistos and Athena Hephaistia as humankind's great benefactors”. On both friezes, the Greeks, Herakles, and Theseus are the ones possessing metal weapons and defeating rock-throwing and stick-bearing foes. Th

<sup>125</sup> Delivorrias 1974, 46 ;1997, 100, n. 56. Stewart 2018, 704-15, 717, 723-25.

<sup>126</sup> Dinsmoor 1940, 1-52; 1943, 383-84. McAllister 1959, 1-64. Delivorrias 1974, 94-161; Stewart et al. 2021, 533-604. Stewart 2022, 197-216.

<sup>127</sup> Dinsmoor (1943, 383) suggests between 14-10 BCE and Stewart et al. (2021, 534) suggest the date of the re-assembly around 15 BCE. Contextualization and discussion about the “itinerant temples” in Boersma 1970, 77 and Dickenson 2017, 276-83. Acharnai also was “the home of the only known Ares cult in Attica” (Stewart et al. 2019, 726, n. 4).

was after the excavation of the ancient site (modern Stavros) during the 1990s, where Manolis Korres found a perfect fit for its foundations.<sup>128</sup>

The temple, slightly larger than the Hephaisteion, was dedicated both to Athena Pallenis and to Apollo Παιάν (healer) or Ἀλεξίκακος (evil averter). Stewart et al. defended that the goddess dominated both gables while the god dominated the east frieze.<sup>129</sup> The construction of a temple co-dedicated to Apollo the Healer is justified for two reasons: the almost perfect geographical alignment of the temple's main axis with the god's birthplace (Delos), and the construction of the building amidst the plague.<sup>130</sup> In an ongoing study of the temple's sculptures, Stewart et al. dated it to 433-425 BCE, immediately after the Parthenon's pediments but before Athena Nike temple's parapet.<sup>131</sup> The only detectable modifications made from the Perikleian to the Augustan temple are the new figurative acroteria and the replacement of the temple's cult statue (and evidently, cult) from Apollo to Ares.<sup>132</sup>

No considerable fragment from the raking cornice has been found or yet identified, consequently, analyses of the floor cuttings for interpretation are currently unobtainable, and dimensions are still conjecture but approximate.<sup>133</sup> However, Dinsmoor noted an added thickness of 4.3cm on the geison for the increased load the sculptures would provoke, allowing their existence.<sup>134</sup> The sculptures from this temple are problematic. Essentially, Gottlieb, Thompson, and Delivorrias' respective suggestions account for a 5th-century temple dedicated to Ares, instead of the original Athena (figs. 45 and 46).<sup>135</sup> As we saw on the Hephaisteion, there the sculptural decoration was entirely made of Parian marble, while the Temple of Athena Pallene was Pentelic.<sup>136</sup> This is decisive and not considered by Thompson, who includes,

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<sup>128</sup> Platonos-Yota 1997, 92-97; Korres 1998, 83-104.

<sup>129</sup> Stewart et al. 2019, 625-705. Stewart et al. 2021, 533-604. Stewart 2022, 197-216, n. 6. Frieze discussed further below.

<sup>130</sup> The first was first noticed by Stewart 2022, 198-99, n. 6, fig. 3.

<sup>131</sup> Stewart et al 2021, 597.

<sup>132</sup> See Harrison 2005, 120-21. The cult of Ares is more prominent in Roman Greece than during the 5<sup>th</sup> century since the god was an "enabler and patron of the Imperium Augustum" (Stewart et al. 2021, 534, fig. 5). Also, as shown by Spawforth (2006, 98) the popularity of both Apollo and Athena was reflected in the number of temples dedicated to those gods. (However, this stance of "more temple equals more popular" is not entirely true, it just shows that each god was worshipped in different ways, and not necessarily unpopularity). The original eastern side acroteria were substituted by two Nereids. Stewart et al. 2021, 537-590, 599. Table comparing the changing themes in the architectural sculptures in Stewart 2022, 216, table 1. For a recent discussion on the cult statue see Stewart 2016, 577-625.

<sup>133</sup> McAllister (1959, 24-26) calculated 12.633m for the interior pedimental width, estimating an "almost exactly the 'standard' pedimental pitch" with 1:4.

<sup>134</sup> Dinsmoor 1940, 31.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. Stewart 2022, 200.

<sup>136</sup> Hephaisteion see note 104. Stewart et al. 2021, 583.

among others, a Pentelic marble statue of a nude young man in the all-Parian Hephaisteion, which has been inserted in the temple of Athena Pallene.<sup>137</sup>

Stewart et al. identify six statues and fragments coming from the pediments, three in each, for them, with two Athenas crowning each pediment.<sup>138</sup> On the east, Athena presents herself, with a triple-crested helmet, in the most official version of herself,<sup>139</sup> along with the nude young man, interpreted by Stewart et al. as Theseus (fig. 47);<sup>140</sup> and a small fragment of a reclining draped figure.<sup>141</sup> On the west, a headless statue of Athena (fig. 48),<sup>142</sup> a female single-crested helmeted head (perhaps linked with the headless statue),<sup>143</sup> and a bulky male torso (fig. 49),<sup>144</sup> are the only identified extant remains. Most of the statues were damaged during the transport to the Agora, evidenced by the many repairs, while perhaps some of the statues needed to be replaced. Dinsmoor Jr. believed the sima from the ruinous temple of Poseidon at Cape Sounion was transported and fitted to this temple in Augustan Times.<sup>145</sup>

Pausanias visited the Ares sanctuary in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE Agora but his dubious remarks offer little to no clues regarding the pedimental compositions.<sup>146</sup> A sherd from a Calyx Krater revealed a scene with a temple showing pedimental composition in the background that Bulle and Dinsmoor accredited to the Temple of Ares – they interpreted the scene as the siege of Athens by the Amazons, who sieged the city from the Areopagus (fig. 50).<sup>147</sup> Later, Walter showed the scene to belong to a mythical scene of the Iliupersis, with the temple of Athena at

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<sup>137</sup> Agora Excavations S 1313. Thompson 1949, 233. Gottlieb (1957, 163) attributes to either pediment of the Ares Temple. Thompson (1962, 344-45, n. 21) completely rejects Gottlieb's suggestions and states that "Parian was used for the west pediment and for the akroteria, Pentelic for the east pediment" in the Hephaisteion, and identifies the torso as Herakles. Interpreted by Stewart et al. (2021, 242-244, fig. 8 a-e) as Theseus.

<sup>138</sup> Catalogue of pedimental statues in Stewart et al. 2021, 540-555.

<sup>139</sup> Agora Excavations S 789: Delivorrias 1974, 108-9, 152-3, pl. 29b; Stewart et al. 2021, 540-41, fig. 7 a-d.

<sup>140</sup> See note 137.

<sup>141</sup> Agora Excavations S 2252: Stewart et al. 2021, 543-44, fig. 10 a-d.

<sup>142</sup> Agora Excavations S 1232: Stewart et al. 2021, 546-51, figs. 12 a-d, 13 a-c (with further bibliography). Similar to the Ince Athena type, however, to Stewart et al. (2021, 546): "The chiasmus is somewhat more emphatic than that of the Ince statue, again perhaps in order to speak clearly from on high". They also noted that the upper part of the statue is around 1/5 more elongated than the lower part, perhaps to account for the viewing angle of the pediment (a characteristic noted by Plato, *Soph.* 235d-236e: "εἰ γὰρ ἀποδιοῖεν τὴν τῶν καλῶν ἀληθινήν συμμετρίαν, οἷσθ' ὅτι μικρότερα μὲν τοῦ δέοντος"). On this figure's left shoulder and breast, two Δ can be seen. This was first explained by Dinsmoor (1940, 15-18) but improved by McAllister (1959, 47-54) as a method to help the builders reassemble the temple, the letters would indicate on which side of the temple, in which course, and wherein each course the figure or architectural feature would belong.

<sup>143</sup> Agora Excavations S 1098: Stewart et al. 2021, 545-46, fig. 11 a-d.

<sup>144</sup> Agora Excavations S 147: Stewart et al. 2021, 551-52, figs. 3, 17 a-c. This figure reclines on his left rib and would occupy the far left of the composition – similar to figure D, on the East pediment of the Parthenon. Identified here by Stewart et al. (2021, 552) as Herakles.

<sup>145</sup> Dinsmoor Jr 1974, 233. This has been questioned by Goette 2000, 29-30.

<sup>146</sup> Paus. 1.8.4.

<sup>147</sup> BAPD 6369 (Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum: H4728). In the manner of the Pronomos painter, ca. 400 BCE. Bulle 1937, 473-82. Dinsmoor 1940, 48, fig. 18.

Ilion behind.<sup>148</sup> Walter bases his interpretation on the identification of a wooden trap door right in front of the warrior-figure, which would represent the Greek way out of the wooden horse. The vase-painter, perhaps knowledgeable of the new pediments in his time (second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE), imagined the fateful moment framed spatially by the temple behind. The scene depicted on the pediment reveals the knowledge or familiarity by the artist of pedimental principles: a central, larger figure dominating the axis, itself flanked by horsemen, and then by the fallen-falling-standing figures. A dying warrior on the small pediment's left side can be seen in a pose similar to that of Cladeos (fig. 51), the river-god personification on the right corner of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

Following, once again, Hölscher's Law, the most suitable theme for the East pediment perhaps would be a scene from the beginning of Theseus's action against the Pallantidai – not the massacre itself, since the three extant figures do not suggest an agitated composition, but a moment the hero is informed by the herald Leos and ordered by Athena to protect the polis (fig. 52).<sup>149</sup> In the original context, this scene would depict a story involving two countryside demes (Pallene and Hagnous) but also allude to the subsequent unification of Attica.<sup>150</sup> The destruction of the Pallantidai functioned as a catalyst for the region's unification.<sup>151</sup> The West offers even less. But if the head belongs to the headless Athena, as Stewart et al. suggested, her pose would indicate an “audience” scene, with a quiet centre and reclining onlookers (fig. 53).

For the much lacunar information we have as of today, the answer regarding the pedimental composition from this temple is still largely open. The identification of geison blocks and more Pentelic fragments is essential to further investigation. Nevertheless, from what we have, the general tendency of the reclining figures adapting their pose for the sloping roof instead of adapting abruptly their scale is maintained.

The temple also had sculpted metopes on both fronts. The squared metopes were carved isolated from the triglyphs and were slotted in place before the cornice.<sup>152</sup> The front metopes seem to show a conflict, interpreted by Stewart et al. as the proper defeat of the Pallantidai,

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<sup>148</sup> Walter 1962, 193-96. Sparkes 1971, 61-63, fig. 3a. Lefkowitz 2020, 585, fig. 3.

<sup>149</sup> Stewart et al. 2021, 543-44. The most complete account comes from Schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 35 (BNJ 328 F 108), summarily: Pallas was going to attack Athens, going along the Sphethian road with his troops, his sons were reunited at Gargettos. While Pallas parleyed with the Athenians, his son waited in a hideout to ambush the city. But a herald betrayed Pallas and reported the events to Theseus, who, with his comrades, massacred Pallas' sons. Plutarch's accounts are similar (*Thes.* 13.1-3), he names the herald Leos of Hagnous (an Attic deme).

<sup>150</sup> Stewart et al. (2021, 544) state that this choice would be a “no-brainer” and propose a Theseus-Athena-Leos central composition for the East pediment.

<sup>151</sup> Stewart 2022, 201.

<sup>152</sup> For a catalogue of the metopes, see Stewart et al. 2021, 555-67, figs 19-30. They identify nine fragments divided between both sides.

while the rear ones would represent an Amazonomachy.<sup>153</sup> The connection between Athena and the Pallantidai is clear by the myth mentioned above, but an Attic Amazonomachy is less obvious and would perhaps be explained by the “stock” iconographical repertoire of Athena in Attica. The temple also bore a high-relief frieze in the pronaos and in the opisthodomos that extended beyond the cella walls reaching the side architraves, like those of the Hephaisteion and of the temple of Poseidon at Sounion. In an extensive cataloguing article, Stewart et al. interpret the extant fragments of the ionic frieze as the introduction of Apollo to the cult in the East (fig. 54), and a dual sacrifice to Apollo Paian and Athena Pallenis in the West (fig. 55).<sup>154</sup> No bases have survived for the acroteria, but fragments were identified as flying Nikai for the side acroteria and an “alighting woman” (perhaps Hebe) as central acroterion in the East; and for the West, Nereids riding dolphins on the sides and an unknown figure for the centre.<sup>155</sup>

One can detect a somewhat transparent Athenian superiority in the temple’s iconography. As Stewart et al. stated, the “subjects of the friezes (both Ionic and Doric) were local and aetiological, those of the pediments, featuring Athena wearing her ‘official’ Attic helmet, were ‘national’”.<sup>156</sup> The investment at that time, 430-425 BCE, seem to be connected to the plague and the Peloponnesian War. Stewart et al. even suggest that perhaps it was a Delphic oracle that recommended the construction of the temple for Apollo Ἀλεξίκακος and Athena Pallenis.<sup>157</sup>

### The Temple of Poseidon at Sounion:

The temple at the peak of the cliff at Cape Sounion is, unfortunately, in a very ruinous state. The building was already mentioned by Pausanias in the first lines of his *Guide* as he approached the southernmost coast of Attica and entered the Saronic gulf.<sup>158</sup> The temple’s insertion into the landscape and its scenic capabilities showed in its stones the visitors’ appreciation since Roman times, as travellers left their names forever carved in the cella walls. This disregard for the sacred house of a god perhaps reveals that already in Antiquity the temple

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<sup>153</sup> Stewart et al. (2021, 565-67) also state that the massacre of the Pallantidai was “one of the least popular of his [Theseus] exploits in Athenian art”, and proper only, perhaps, to fit in such a temple.

<sup>154</sup> Stewart et al. 2019, 678-679.

<sup>155</sup> Stewart et al. 2021, 567-590. Delivorrias (1974, 125-132) was the first to attribute the Nereid to the temple of Ares, by joining three fragments in the NAM. As for the West central acroterion: as the East one was a sole figure, the West one must come alone and in association with both the Nereids and the subjects of the below pediment and metopes.

<sup>156</sup> Stewart et al. 2019, 691.

<sup>157</sup> Stewart et al. (2019, 691, n.131) say that the Delphic enthusiasm and influence over religious investment would not be unprecedented.

<sup>158</sup> Pausanias (1.1.1), however, states the temple is dedicated to Athena, and not Poseidon, discussed further below.

was abandoned of its cult and left for time to consume it. Delivorrias highlighted two episodes that could have deeply altered the temple fabric: the very-late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE slave revolt in the quarries of Laurium, which “*die Festung des Poseidon-Heiligtums einnahmen*”, and the disassemblage of some roof architectural parts to reutilization in another temple, late in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.<sup>159</sup> These two events plus the ravenous sea winds contributed to the disappearance and degradation of several sculptural and architectural features. Perhaps the harsh weather of the Attic coast justified the reinforced solutions in fastening the sculptures to the tympanon: “*einmal im Rücken durch Verankerung an der Tympanonwand und dann in den mit eisernen Nägeln befestigten Plinthen*”.<sup>160</sup>

The core of the temple was made with the local white Agrileza marble, and the sculptures – pedimental, ionic friezes, and acroteria, although no sculpted metopes – were in Parian. The “classical” temple was built upon the foundations of the “older” unfinished temple of Poseidon dated to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, still visible today underneath the proper temple.<sup>161</sup> The Sounion temple was slightly smaller than the contemporary Hephaisteion: as Orlandos estimated, the pediments had 12.60m in length, 1.44m in height, and a depth of 0.42m. However, almost nothing of its horizontal cornice survives or has been properly identified, presently precluding compositional analyses.<sup>162</sup>

The extant fragments or possible fragments and the lack of enough geison remains, not to say the missing west front, still make some scholars sceptical for reconstructions.<sup>163</sup> Delivorrias, however, identified a few fragments from the Sounion Depositions and some in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens and proposed a reconstruction of the East gable.<sup>164</sup> The largest and better-preserved piece belongs to a frontally seated draped female (fig. 56), which was found right in front of the East front.<sup>165</sup> The figure was interpreted by Stais simply as a nymph in Poseidon’s entourage, and was considered by Herbig not to provide any information regarding the pediment’s theme. Delivorrias inserts this figure on the left side of the central figures. Herbig, despite being pessimistic, finds similarities in the seated figure’s pose with figure Q of the Parthenon West. Delivorrias remarks that she wears the “*lakonische*

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<sup>159</sup> Delivorrias 1974, 62-66. Dinsmoor Jr. (1974, 233) assumes the “missing sima” from the temple at Sounion was reused for the Augustan temple of Ares in the Agora. See note 145.

<sup>160</sup> Delivorrias 1974, 67.

<sup>161</sup> Boersma 1970, 195-6. Delivorrias 1974, 61. Shear Jr. 2016, 232.

<sup>162</sup> Orlandos (1915, 3-5, fig. 3) mentions that the two tympanon blocks met in the centre. Measurements are slightly different in Dinsmoor 1939, 32. For architecture see Plommer 1950, 78-94; 1960, 218-33.

<sup>163</sup> i.e., Shear Jr 2016, 243; or as Goette (2000, 29) remarks: “*Ein Thema des Giebelschmuckes lässt sich wegen des fragmentarischen Zustandes nicht mehr ermitteln*”.

<sup>164</sup> Delivorrias 1974, 61-93, foldout 5.

<sup>165</sup> NAM 3410. Stais 1917, 198-99; Delivorrias 1974, 66-70, pl. 19-20; Kaltsas 2002, 118, n. 211.



*Peplos, der die eine Körperseite offen läßt, und der nur von Gottheiten jüngeren Alters oder von Jungfrauen der heroischen Welt getragen wir*”, providing a clue for the gable’s theme and excluding fighting or battle scenes.<sup>166</sup>

Other seven fragments were identified and inserted by Delivorrias into the pedimental context: an Athena head with many attachment holes (fig. 57),<sup>167</sup> associated with both a left forearm fragment<sup>168</sup> and an upper-body fragment wearing a chiton (however, this has been shown not to belong to the pediment);<sup>169</sup> a foot with plinth;<sup>170</sup> a male’s left thigh;<sup>171</sup> a horse fragment<sup>172</sup> and a horse hind part.<sup>173</sup> No sculptural fragment from the West pediment has been identified, perhaps because they were taken down already in antiquity – Dinsmoor Jr. and Delivorrias assume that the sculptures’ decontextualization happened along with the removal of the sima.<sup>174</sup>

From these fragments on the East, Delivorrias propose that the scene would be composed of an “assembly of the gods or heroes” or “gods or heroes in an audience”, in which a picture from the Strife for Attica was perfectly suited. However, to depict a moment in which the temple’s main deity is infamously known to have lost, and, subsequently, in a childish rant almost flooded the entirety of Attica, would be quite odd, to say the least. Delivorrias, hence, proposed that since the upper body (later discarded), the right forearm fragments and the male’s right thigh indicated not an explosive epiphany like the Parthenon west, they would suggest a calm, quiet, and conciliatory centre, where two standing figures would fit the sides of the axis – itself occupied by a metal olive tree (fig. 58).<sup>175</sup> The repetition of a subject in another Attic contemporary pediment would, once again, not be viewed as a problem.<sup>176</sup> Athena would be engaged in a peaceful conversation, revealing a strong *πάρεδρος* relationship between the two opposing gods. Therefore, “*Im Suniontempel des Poseidon sehen wir also den bewußten*

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<sup>166</sup> Stais 1917, 198-99, fig. 11. Herbig 1941, 116. Delivorrias 1974, 66-70.

<sup>167</sup> NAM 558; Delivorrias 1974, 70-72, pl. 21a-b, 22a-b.

<sup>168</sup> Sounion Deposit, no number. Delivorrias 1974, 72. A channel-shaped depression can be distinguished and the clear tension of the muscle in the fragment indicates that the figure would hold a metal attachment, in this case, a spear.

<sup>169</sup> NAM 22? (cf. Delivorrias 1974, 72-74, pl. 23a) Despina (1999, 173-181, figs. 1-3) showed that the fragment in question “*stammt von einer römischen Kopie der Athena im Typus Giustiniani*” dated to the Augustan period or more generally to 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Also, the piece was made with Pentelic and not Parian marble like the rest of the gable figures. Cf. Goette 2000, 29, n. 150, 151. The fact that this fragment does not belong in the pediment does not, in my opinion, weaken his argument for a calm scene, that the other fragments strengthen.

<sup>170</sup> NAM 3896. Delivorrias 1974, 74-75, pl. 24a-d.

<sup>171</sup> Sounion Deposit, no number. Delivorrias 1974, 75-76, pl. 23b-c.

<sup>172</sup> Sounion Deposit, no number. Delivorrias 1974, 76, pl. 25c-e. The flatness of this horse fragment suggests that at least another one was inserted next to it.

<sup>173</sup> Sounion Deposit, no number. Delivorrias 1974, 76, pl. 25b, n. 326.

<sup>174</sup> cf. Delivorrias 1974, 86-90, n. 374.

<sup>175</sup> Delivorrias 1974, 79-80

<sup>176</sup> See note 28.

*Versuch des Giebel-Meisters, die Unterschiede zwischen Sieger und Besiegtem im Kampf um die Herrschaft über Attika nicht anzudeuten*".<sup>177</sup> Both gods would share the central pedimental space once again in Attic 5<sup>th</sup> century pediments. After the two gods, flanking centripetal chariots would complement the scene. From the pediments of the Parthenon (West) and the temple of Zeus at Olympia (East), one can safely assume the presence of centre-looking charioteers, even though nothing survives/has been identified. If we take the West pediment of the Parthenon as a quasi-contemporary depiction of the same theme, but with a twist differentiated by the prominence of Poseidon instead of Athena in the scene, how could they make it as not to offend the loser of the contest and main deity of the temple, nor Zeus' preferred daughter and symbol of Athens?

For the West missing or inexistent statues, Delivorrias presents the possibility of the "Little Niobids" group in the Ny Carlsberg Collection to have composed the West front; Herbig also states that "*Weder Grosse noch Zurichtung, weder Marmor noch Fundumstände verbieten diese Annahme von vorneherein*".<sup>178</sup> However, both authors do not expand on how the Slaughter of the Niobids myth would be inserted into Poseidon's cult. A 5<sup>th</sup>-century pedimental convention was that the stature of pedimental figures should vary between 85-90% of the pediment's maximum height.<sup>179</sup> The Niobids were calculated by Dinsmoor to have had an approximate 1.6m of stature, being, therefore, way too large to even compose the central figure of the West pediment at Sounion.<sup>180</sup>

It appears, once again, that Athena shared the pedimental spotlight in a temple's main façade, as she probably did in the Hephaisteion and on the temple of Athena Pallenis. This perhaps shows the vast influence of Athens in the sanctuaries and demes in Attica during the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Delivorrias proposes that the temple at Sounion was actually a dual cult to both Poseidon and Athena, which would explain Pausanias' remark and Athena's supposed prominence in the gable. The temple of Poseidon had an internal decorated Ionic frieze that encompassed all the four walls of the pronaos. A Gigantomachy (fig. 59), Theseus' deeds, and the Thessalian Centauromachy have been identified: Leventi inserted these subjects, respectively, in the entrance wall of the pronaos, the Hero's Labours to both sides, and Centaurs

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<sup>177</sup> Delivorrias 1974, 80.

<sup>178</sup> Herbig 1941, 118-19. Delivorrias 1974, 86-89. The "Little Niobids" are a group of statues that are long thought to have composed a pediment.

<sup>179</sup> Stewart et al. 2021, 540, n. 14.

<sup>180</sup> Dinsmoor 1939, 32-39. At Sounion, the lower limit would be 1.2m of stature. There are exceptions to this "85-90%" convention, for instance, the children on the Parthenon West pediment (figures P, and R), are understandably smaller.

opposite to the Giants.<sup>181</sup> Once again, the myth of Theseus engraved on the temple's frieze would be quite a normal choice.<sup>182</sup>

### The Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous:

The temple of Nemesis at the sanctuary of Nemesis and Themis at Rhamnous, Northeast Attica, is the smallest of the four hexastyle Doric Attic temples and the only one with 12 instead of 13 columns on the longer sides.<sup>183</sup> The temple was dated by Dinsmoor to 436-431 BCE when construction possibly stopped because of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431. Miles, however, dates it to the following decade, between 430-420.<sup>184</sup> The building was never finished, as evidenced by unfluted columns, and undressed cella blocks, which still lie scattered around the site.<sup>185</sup> Despite being unfinished, the temple was used and received a cult statue, whereas it was reported by Pausanias that the icon was made by Pheidias.<sup>186</sup>

The tympanon blocks were divided by five wide slabs, with a pentagonal central one, with the maximum central height being 1.17m.<sup>187</sup> Dinsmoor measures 0.329m for the depth of the pediment in the temple of Nemesis, even shorter than the one from Bassae.<sup>188</sup> Both, however, with sufficient horizontal cornices blocks unearthed and identified, have been revealed not to have supported pedimental statuary.<sup>189</sup> Alas, it was already deemed by Orlandos: "*L'absence de toute trace de trou de goujon, de tout' travail, sur la plinthe dû geison horizontal, prouve qu'il n'existait pas de sculptures au fronton*".<sup>190</sup>

### The Temple of Athena Nike at the Akropolis:

It has been noted above that pedimental sculpture was a characteristic of Doric temples, closely associated with the nature and proprieties of the Doric geison. But in Athens in the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, a small Ionic temple on the west bastion of the Acropolis used

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<sup>181</sup> Leventi 2009.

<sup>182</sup> Recalling Hölscher 2009, 57. Leventi (2009, 126) agrees that "a myth underlining the political heritage of Theseus in Athens would have made a perfect sense here since the Athenian hero was also the son of Poseidon, the god to whom the temple belonged and the patron of the Athenian navy".

<sup>183</sup> For the architecture: Plommer 1950, 94-109; Dinsmoor 1961, 179-204; Miles 1989, 133-249.

<sup>184</sup> Dinsmoor 1939b cf. Boersma 1970, 77-8, 193-4, n. 767, Cat. 61. Miles 1989, 226-27.

<sup>185</sup> Miles 1989, 156. The "rustic" aesthetic instead of unfinishedness has been defended, cf. Shear Jr. 2016, 263, n. 139 by Hodge and Tomlinson 1969, 185-92.

<sup>186</sup> Paus. 1.33.2-3. Shear Jr 2016, 262-63, n. 134.

<sup>187</sup> Miles 1989, 204-7, fig. 25. Resembling the archaic in relief Corfu pediment, instead of divided in the middle conform other Classical temples, like the Parthenon.

<sup>188</sup> Dinsmoor 1939, 32. See further below.

<sup>189</sup> For extant bibliography see Delivorrias 1974, 188-89.

<sup>190</sup> Orlandos 1924, 317.

that solution to adorn its gables. The adaptation of a few characteristics of Ionic order to Doric moulds in Attica would be reflected in the decreased geison projection and the omission of the Ionic dentils – in both, but specially in the first, increasing visibility to the small pediment.<sup>191</sup>

The construction of the tetrastyle in antis Ionic temple, slightly smaller than both Siphnian and Athenian treasuries at Delphi, is dated to between 430-420 BCE.<sup>192</sup> Shear Jr. highlights that the architecture of the temple was perhaps inspired by the Panhellenic treasuries, but at the Nike temple, they strictly adorned their temple with thoroughly Athenian iconography on the friezes and parapet and most likely on its pediments as well.<sup>193</sup> Long thought to have had empty pediments, the definite answer to whether or not the gables were decorated with sculpture came with the report of Stevens, who found a piece of the south-eastern corner cornice with remnants of three holes containing metal remains (fig. 60).<sup>194</sup> Also, during the second anastylosis of the temple in the 1930s, work started by Balanos and concluded by Orlandos confirmed and added to the evidence that the gable supported a sculpted pediment, inserting the cornice block to the north-western corner.<sup>195</sup> The holes found by Stevens were then to be attaching holes, with which the pediment's statuettes would be fastened to the gable's floor.<sup>196</sup> Orlandos' new finds also included more geison blocks belonging to the middle of the pediment that revealed shallow depressions for plinths (fig. 61).<sup>197</sup> Therefore, some figures would be fastened only with metal pins, while others would have plinths fixed in their centre with metal rods, the latter reserved for more central figures. Despinis assumes it was only the standing and draped figures that would have had plinths since they would need extra support for the higher centre of gravity. Schultz also explains that the extra height of a plinth in the corner of the pediment would have made the placement of the corner figures very difficult, and perhaps it would take up valuable space that would be best used for the sculpture itself.<sup>198</sup> It was also Despinis, however, the first to identify fragments belonging to the pedimental adornment of the temple.<sup>199</sup> The reduced scale of the pediment (see Table 1) did

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<sup>191</sup> See note 9.

<sup>192</sup> For the architecture of the diachronic sanctuary see Mark et al. 1993. As Shear Jr (2016, 347) points out that “the Nike temple had to wait preparation of its virtually artificial site on the bastion of the Acropolis. It probably encountered further delays in the controversy that brought an end to the work on the Propylaea”.

<sup>193</sup> Shear Jr 2016, 351.

<sup>194</sup> Stevens 1908, 398-405, fig. 2.

<sup>195</sup> Reported already by Lemerle 1939, 289; Picard 1940, 256-57. Orlandos 1947, 26-30, figs. 18-20. Schultz 2002, 75-78.

<sup>196</sup> Schultz (2002, 77) states that their placement on the cornice indicated a figure with the same attitude as the river-deities of the western pediments of the Parthenon or as the wounded warrior and the south-eastern corner at the temple of Aphaia at Aegina.

<sup>197</sup> Orlandos 1947, 26-28, fig. 18.

<sup>198</sup> Schultz 2002, 78.

<sup>199</sup> Despinis 1974, 8; 1988, 290-91.

not, however, limited Despini's assumption that 20 figures could easily have been fitted in the gable, justified by him as "*se poi accogliamo l'ipotesi che molte di esse fossero disposte obliquamente ed in parte davanti o dietro ad altre, questo numero potrebbe ancora aumentare*"; therefore, he argues for a very crowded gable.<sup>200</sup> Despini also considered the sculptor to be the same as the one from the temple's West frieze, with which the figures shared a "*virtù plastiche*" and a "*forza interiore*".<sup>201</sup>

Despini identified eleven fragments that would correspond to the pedimental space, material, and scale of the Nike temple.<sup>202</sup> Perhaps, the most important extant fragment is a nude male body, today in the Akropolis Museum (fig. 62).<sup>203</sup> With the preserved height of only 26.2cm, the statue is interpreted as a combatant in the act of defending himself from his enemy, which would be on his left – the man himself would be on the left portion of the pediment, leaning away and looking towards his enemy, towards the centre.<sup>204</sup> A very fragmented head was also inserted in the pediment by Despini, who, between an Amazon and Athena, chooses Athena, on the basis that Amazons with such rich head adornments, evidenced by the several metal holes, would be quite improbable since those are quite rare depictions (fig. 63).<sup>205</sup> The proportions of the face allow us to conclude that the figure's head was turned slightly to its right, which Despini argues belongs to one of the central figures.<sup>206</sup> This fragment has been rejected by Schultz because the height reconstruction of this figure is 0.42m, hence it would be too small for the centre of the composition.<sup>207</sup> Ehrhardt ascribes a male torso in Vienna to the central part of the West pediment, but it has been contested by both Schultz and Leventi, based on Bieber's identification of that figure as a 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE work.<sup>208</sup> A horse head was also added to the left side of the temple's East pediment by Brouskari, interpreted as part of Helios' chariot (fig. 64 and 65).<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> Despini (1988, 290) states that the stature of the central figure should therefore be about 48-50cm, slightly decreasing naturally towards the corners.

<sup>201</sup> Despini 1974, 17; 1988, 309. Leventi 2014, 86, n. 273. Despini (1974, 17) inserted the pediment's artist into Agorakritos' workshop.

<sup>202</sup> For a catalogue of all fragments see Despini 1988, 280-310. Leventi (2014, 82) argues that several of the fragments proposed by Despini to be Pentelic were actually Parian marble, and therefore, those should be excluded. Also noted by Schultz 2002, 79, n. 12.

<sup>203</sup> AM 19808 (originally NAM 5367). Despini 1974, 2-6, figs. 1-5; 1988, 280-290, figs. 137-142

<sup>204</sup> This position is supported by the more pronounced erosion on the body of the figure's right side, noted by Despini 1988, 285

<sup>205</sup> AM 4303. Despini 1988, 298-99, figs. 170-173. Palagia 2006, 140. Patay-Horváth 2008, 105, cat. no. 136.

<sup>206</sup> Despini 1988, 299, 311.

<sup>207</sup> Schultz 2002, 83-84, fig. 4.15. Despini (1988, 299), understanding the height to be not enough to fit the centre, proposes a high metal crest to help with this issue, but Leventi (2014, 83) states the hole that would hold the metal crest, would actually be for a raised *paragnathia*.

<sup>208</sup> Kunsthistorisches Museum I 328. Bieber 1915, 29 cf. Leventi 2014, 85-86. Schultz 2002, 90.

<sup>209</sup> AM 3215. Brouskari 1989, 115-118, fig. 1, pl. 20 1-4. The size of this small horse head is, following Brouskari (1989): 22cm in length, 10 cm in depth, and 10.5cm in height. The author explains that the horse would be carved

Despinis interprets a Gigantomachy on the East and an Amazonomachy on the West.<sup>210</sup> The choice of the East's theme would be based on the primary importance of Athena in the battle between the Gods and the Giants, evidenced by the depictions of such theme in the Parthenon's East metopes, in the East pediment of the Old (Peisistratid) temple, and also in the Panathenaic peplos.<sup>211</sup> The extant remains of the male nude body mentioned above should, therefore, be interpreted as a struggling giant, and the horse fragment identified by Brouskari would also fit the narrative of a Gigantomachy. In the main front, Despinis paints a picture with Zeus next to his axial daughter, reconstructing a scene with each god pairing in battle with a struggling giant, basing his interpretation on an Athenian red-figure kylix attributed to Aristophanes, dated to around 410 BCE (fig. 66).<sup>212</sup> However, Despinis builds his theme choice on the assumption that the head AM4303 is Athena, which is not certain. But also, as Leventi highlights, “η απόδοση της γυναικείας κεφαλής σε Αμαζόνα, από το δυτικό αέτωμα του ναού ίσως, δεν μπορεί να αποκλεισθεί”.<sup>213</sup> The attribution of the male torso as a giant is also questionable, since the slender body would not be common for a brute, earthly Giant.<sup>214</sup> The West, therefore, could represent the Amazonomachy proposed by Despinis, but there are no identified fragments that would point to any specific figure – except for the possibility suggested above by Leventi.

The choice to represent, perhaps, a Gigantomachy on the East and an Amazonomachy on the West was highlighted by Despinis to mirror the same-side metopes of the Parthenon just a few meters East of the Nike temple.<sup>215</sup> An Amazonomachy composing the West gable would point directly towards the Areopagus: the temple would look to the hill in which the Amazons had sieged the Athenians in memorable times, broadcasting the Athenian victory as if it was a warning. The temple of the Victorious Athena would be adorned with the goddess's contributions to (Hellenic) civilization – through her help in the Amazonomachy – and to the Olympian sphere – through the defence against the usurping Giants. Athena Nike would be the bearer of victory of both the Athenians and the gods against barbarianism: “*Il mito degli dei è posto così in relazione con la lotta degli eroi, che a sua volta è comparata agli eventi storici*

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along with another horse on a very shallow plinth resting over the geison, and sufficiently fastened by the holes found by Stevens (above). This solution was certainly inspired by the Parthenon East pediment, but here presented more succinctly, since Helios would be totally invisible beneath the cornice, yet to appear to us.

<sup>210</sup> Despinis 1988, 311-15.

<sup>211</sup> Vian 1952, 246-62.

<sup>212</sup> Antikensammlung (Berlin), inv. no. F2531. *ABV*<sup>2</sup> 1318.1; Despinis 1988, 312-13, fig. 188.

<sup>213</sup> Leventi 2014, 84.

<sup>214</sup> Also noted by Leventi 2014, 84.

<sup>215</sup> Despinis 1988, 314.

*della città*".<sup>216</sup> The temple's adornments would reveal a "blatant Athenian triumphalism", made during the first years of the Peloponnesian War, in a time in which the Athenians very much needed to be reminded of their great victories.<sup>217</sup> For the much-discussed acroteria, Schultz proposed to depict gilded-bronze flying Nikai on the side, and in the centre perhaps a group composition with Nike and a trophy, tripod or another flying Nike.<sup>218</sup>

### The Propylaia:

The construction of the monumental entrance to the Athenian Acropolis, contextualized in the same project of beautification of the polis during the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, supported two hexastyle Doric fronts. Designed by Mnesikles, the new Propylaia replaced the old entrance, changing the way the visitor would face the Parthenon as one entered the Acropolis. Construction started right after the architectural completion of the Parthenon in 438 BCE, when just the pediments were yet to be concluded.<sup>219</sup> The architectural characteristics of the gables allow pedimental sculpture, because of the Doric entablature *per se*, the reinforcement on the horizontal cornice, and the receded and vertical tympanon.<sup>220</sup> The outbreak of the Peloponnesian War impeded the conclusion of the project, "which put a stop to all building activity throughout Attika".<sup>221</sup> Because of this interruption, Dinsmoor and Dinsmoor Jr. stated that the plan to erect pedimental sculptures was also never concluded, "as is proved by the absence of cuttings on the tops of the geison blocks forming the pediment floor and on the faces of the tympanon slabs".<sup>222</sup> Since the Propylaia was not a temple, now one can only wonder what were the original intentions of the artist/architect: what could have been depicted on such building?

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<sup>216</sup> Despini 1988, 315.

<sup>217</sup> Shear Jr 2016, 352. As Castriota (1992, 179-80) observes, the temple's decorations would demonstrate "how, in a period when victory no longer came so easily, Athenians looked back fondly to their triumphs against Xerxes and his father", but also fondly towards their mythological victories.

<sup>218</sup> Schultz 2001, 1-47. For the frieze of the temple of Athena Nike, see Pemberton 1972, 303-10; Harrison 1972, 353-78; Stewart 1985, 53-73; Harrison 1997, 108-25.

<sup>219</sup> Boersma 1970, 70-71, 201.

<sup>220</sup> Dinsmoor and Dinsmoor Jr (2004, 266) regarded this as "conclusive evidence that pediment sculptures were originally planned".

<sup>221</sup> Boersma 1970, 70. The lifting bosses still present on the walls of the Propylaia reveal the monumental entrance's unfinished situation.

<sup>222</sup> Dinsmoor and Dinsmoor Jr 2004, 266.

## The Peloponnese:

### The Argive Heraion:

The sanctuary of Hera was located on the edge of the Argolid plain, wherein the goddess was exclusively worshipped with a single epithet of *Argeia*.<sup>223</sup> The hexastyle temple of Hera is one of the lucky few because the themes of its pediments were indicated by Pausanias. The passage itself is, once again, ambiguous since Pausanias names four themes: “The sculptures carved above the pillars refer either to the birth of Zeus and the battle between the gods and the giants, or to the Trojan war and the capture of Ilium”.<sup>224</sup> Stuart Jones thought rather that the *Périégète* was only referring to the metopes, and not the pediments, but since, it has been shown by Waldstein that the passage indeed indicates both the pediments and the metopes.<sup>225</sup> Waldstein also identified the remains of an small scale Amazonomachy, that was not mentioned by Pausanias, placing it on the metopes from longer sides.<sup>226</sup> Eichler sees a “Trojan Amazonomachy” on the west front metopes (fig. 67).<sup>227</sup>

The only consensus among scholars seems to be that a scene of the “Birth of Zeus” must have only belonged in the pediment space. The ambiguity generated confusion with scholars, fitting different themes to different architectural supports.<sup>228</sup> Pausanias was probably enumerating as he saw: East pediment and metopes respectively as Zeus’ birth and Gigantomachy, then West pediment and metopes respectively as Iliupersis and scenes from the Trojan War. Pfaff classifies two different types of “white marble” in the sculptural adornments for the metopes and the pedimental sculptures, the latter using a larger-grained stone, probably Parian.<sup>229</sup> The several extant pieces are in a very fragmented state,<sup>230</sup> but one can detect the “rude” treatment on the back compared to the “exquisite finish on the front” on the fragments from the gable figures.<sup>231</sup> One torso piece also reveals a square dowel hole on its back, a

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<sup>223</sup> Pfaff 2013, 278. Ridgway 1997, 25-30. For architecture see Pfaff 1992; 2003. Nothing of the tympanon survives, but a few blocks of the raking geison do. The estimated size is then calculated by Pfaff (1992, 171-76) to be between 15.76-16.13m in length, while the height ranges from 1.77 to 2.19m, and an approximate depth of 0.87m.

<sup>224</sup> Paus. 2.17.3. (Translated by Jones and Ormerod 1918).

<sup>225</sup> Jones 1895 after Waldstein 1902, 152.

<sup>226</sup> Waldstein 1902, 147, 153)

<sup>227</sup> Eichler 1912 after Delivorrias 1974, 189-91.

<sup>228</sup> For instance, see Waldstein 1902, 148-150

<sup>229</sup> Pfaff 1992, 53; 2003, 119-20. Waldstein (1902, 146) states that all architectural sculptures here were made in Parian marble.

<sup>230</sup> For fragment catalogue see Eichler 1919, 20-46.

<sup>231</sup> Waldstein (1902, 152, fig. 79) uses for example the piece of a “leg on a cushion”.



solution seen elsewhere during the 5<sup>th</sup> century to secure the sculptures in the tympanon.<sup>232</sup> The construction of the building and the carving of the statues are inserted to the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Delivorrias accepts the construction of the temple right after the destruction of the previous building, dating around to the period of the Peace of Nicias, in 423-416, while Lapalus narrows it to 418-415 BCE.<sup>233</sup> Despite almost nothing of the tympanon survives, the few remains follow the idea that in limestone Peloponnesian temples the ashlar masonry was left uncovered, in contrast to the Attic practice of covering them with marble orthostates.<sup>234</sup> Both façades were also adorned with figural acroteria. Both East and West pediments had a central floral acroterion, while the side ones were human figures, most likely Nikai.<sup>235</sup>

Eichler identifies, among many other smaller fragments, two *xoana* that would compose the Iliupersis scene on the West belonging to flanking groups (fig. 68), but “*Die beiden Heraion-Xoana lassen mangels individualisierender Züge an dem Erhaltenen keine bestimmte Deutung zu*”.<sup>236</sup> Moreover, the episodes of Cassandra and Helen are eligible for these fragments despite being undocumented on this scale and support.<sup>237</sup> For the central group, Waldstein proposes (for a Trojan War theme instead of an Iliupersis) an axial Hera, or Zeus and Hera, dominating the composition – the gods “presiding over the first victory of the Hellenic race under their divine sway”.<sup>238</sup> For Eichler, no extant remains appointed to one or two major central figures.<sup>239</sup> An observation made by Eichler regarding a fragment of what seems to be a bag with large proportions (fig- 69), left possibilities out in the open to fit it on both gables: if placed in the East, the “bag” should not be a reference to the prepared deception of Kronos, but part of Zeus’ entourage; if placed in the West, however, he interprets that the bag might suggest a Trojan warrior preparing to flee the scene or a Greek soldier collecting the spoils of the fallen.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> NAM inv. no. 1578 + 4035. Waldstein 1902, 153, fig. 80. Pfaff 1992, 176, pl. 40: b, see note 14. This solution is seen on the temple of Zeus at Olympia and on the Parthenon (above).

<sup>233</sup> Lapalus 1947, 430. Delivorrias 1974, 189-91. Pfaff 1992, 172, 301-318. Ridgway (1997, 25-26) inserts the temple not as a “5th-century” composition, but in the very “threshold of the century, or perhaps even stray past 400”, following, perhaps, 4th-century pedimental tendencies.

<sup>234</sup> Pfaff 2003, 115-16, fig. 67. Other classical period Peloponnesian temples that follow this concept are the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Grunauer 1971, 125, fig. 9) and the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae (Cooper 1996, 249-51). The presence or not of pedimental sculpture would not affect the decision to “masque” the tympanon in the Peloponnese.

<sup>235</sup> Delivorrias 1984, 290. Danner 1989, 12. Pfaff 2003, 141-43, fig. 82.

<sup>236</sup> Eichler (1919, 96) also states that the fragment resembles some archaic depictions of Athena.

<sup>237</sup> Eichler (1919, 98) states that “jedocin ist die Überlieferung zu lückenhaft” to firmly assume otherwise.

<sup>238</sup> Waldstein 1902, 151.

<sup>239</sup> Eichler (1919, 100) also argues that “finden sich mehr und mehr Darstellungen ohne Anwesenheit von Göttern und ohne eine erkennbare Beziehung zu der Tempelgottheit”, but so far in the 5th century, this has not been the case, especially concerning pedimental sculpture.

<sup>240</sup> Eichler 1919, 27, 103, fig. 27, (frag. K b).

The “Birth of Zeus” scene, as told by Callimachus in the Arcadian version, is composed of Rhea and the nymph Neda accompanying the baby Zeus.<sup>241</sup> Even though no significant fragments were certainly identified as any characterizable figure, a few pieces of vividly moving garments have been attributed by Eichler to the escorting Nymphs (fig. 70).<sup>242</sup> Whereas Waldstein places Rhea together with Kronos, “whose rule is about to cease at the moment”, at the centre, perhaps with a rising Zeus completing the core group.<sup>243</sup> Hence, the birth scene would have been composed not by a large, axial and imposing Zeus, but rather Rhea accompanied by her baby son, her entourage of Corybantes, and vivid nymphs.

Therefore, accepting Pausanias’ remarks that the theme he mentions belongs to both the pedimental and metopal decorations of the temple, one could detect certain connections between different supports within the temple, especially on the (Trojan War– Iliupersis) West façade. In Ridgway’s perspective, the Argive composition improves the Parthenonian schema “in a temporal sequence hitherto unprecedented”.<sup>244</sup> The local taste is presented by the choice of depictions of scenes from the Trojan cycle, when an Argive king led all the people of Greece.

#### The Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae:

The temple of Apollo majestically inserts itself in the green hills landscape of Phigaleia,<sup>245</sup> well known for the usage of three different architectural capitals and the first appearance of the Corinthian capital in Greek architecture.<sup>246</sup> The temple at Bassae was dedicated to Apollo Epikourios, as Pausanias reports, and was (re)discovered by European academicism in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century by Bocher, a French adventurer, but only excavated at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Hallerstein and Cockerell.<sup>247</sup> Dinsmoor published a series of articles correcting previous imprecisions, such as contradicting reports and discrepant measurements, and declared that pedimental sculptures were to be expected following the 5th-century norm for a temple of that scale.<sup>248</sup> Following his own measurements, Dinsmoor noticed the abnormal shallowness of the pediment but saw this as a solvable problem, in which the

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<sup>241</sup> Callimachus *Hymns* 1.26-54. Eichler (1919, 100-01) also highlights that the birth of Zeus was depicted on an altar near the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, as told by Pausanias (8.47.3) where Rhea was accompanied by the nymph Oenoe holding the baby Zeus, next to Neda and other characters.

<sup>242</sup> Eichler 1919, 102.

<sup>243</sup> Waldstein 1902, 151. Unfortunately, the author does not provide us with a clear picture nor reconstruction, except for an East front drawing, in Waldstein 1902, 121, fig. 59.

<sup>244</sup> Ridgway 1997, 27.

<sup>245</sup> Kapadokaki and Soumas 2019, 155-56, fig. 6. Dinsmoor 1933, 205, fig. 1.

<sup>246</sup> Other peculiarities are the half-columns in the interior of the cella, the door on the east side of the cella, the inner frieze, and the North-South orientation. Cooper 1968, 103-11.

<sup>247</sup> Paus. 8.41.7-9. Dinsmoor 1933, 204-14.

<sup>248</sup> Dinsmoor 1933, 32; 1939a; 1943.

gable sculptures were to be thinner than usual and would have features projecting outwards the tympanon.<sup>249</sup> Dinsmoor proposed the “Little Niobids” to compose the main entrance pediment (in this case, the North); the scene depicted would be the Slaughter of the Niobids, and the central figure, in his reconstruction, was Niobe herself (fig. 7).<sup>250</sup> Other authors, such as Cook, added more statues to the pediment as he proposed the children of Leto, Apollo and Artemis, as the central figures replacing Niobe (fig. 8).<sup>251</sup>

Cooper, however, in his in-depth research of all architectural features of the Temple at Bassae, identified over two-thirds of the surviving horizontal cornice blocks and found no cuttings, plinth indentations or any other evidence that would support the existence of pedimental sculpture.<sup>252</sup> Even though it has been shown that the temple of Apollo Epikourios did not bear any sculptures on its gables, Dinsmoor’s arguments for a “Slaughter of the Niobids” 5th-century composition can perhaps be applied elsewhere.

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<sup>249</sup> Dinsmoor (1939a, 33) then adds that decreased thickness of the statues would give more “a feeling of relief technique than we find in any other known Greek pedimental groups composed of statues in the round”. Cooper (1978, 125) notes, “nowhere, when sculpture is involved, is the pediment so shallow as Bassai”.

<sup>250</sup> Dinsmoor 1939a, 45-47, figs. 8, 9.

<sup>251</sup> Cook 1964, 30-39, figs. 3, 4, n. 24 for earlier bibliography.

<sup>252</sup> Cooper 1978, 119-127. Madigan 1992, vii-ix. Cooper 1996, 249-50.

## Final Remarks:

To provide a complete account of all pediments in the Classical period is indeed impossible. Many temples were left out because of their vastly fragmentary state and bibliography.<sup>253</sup> From the known and thoroughly studied ones, a strong relation can be seen within the temples' sculptural adornments, which work for the specific cult dedicated in those buildings. Moreover, the boom in temple building in Attica, during the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, provides us with an almost sequential analysis of the pedimental establishment and standards. It is often raised the heavy Olympian influence on the Parthenon pediments, which is indeed clear in compositional ideas.<sup>254</sup> But the Olympian pediments themselves are a product of the long 6<sup>th</sup> century development culminated on the Aphaia temples, which presents a ruder concept of the Classical pediment, itself enhanced in Olympia, and perfected at Athens during the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

Even though, for example, the Hephaesteion building project started before the Parthenon, the pedimental sculptures from the latter were finished and conceptualized before from the former. The overall impact the sculptures of the Parthenon – and also its architecture – can be seen throughout the Attic temples, exemplified by three ubiquitous characteristics: the more present Ionic features (continuous frieze, smaller porches, inner colonnades, and so on), the unity of subject working for a central epiphanic deity, and, finally, the single narrative, within the temples, of patriotic and proud gods towards the polis. The presence of goddess Athena in Attic temples as co-cult deity is not perhaps a complete surprise, but it is quite relevant that the goddess was propagated as the personification of Athenian democracy embedded in their own superiority. The goddess of Athens *par excellence*, Athena reflected the strong influence of Athens over all the Attic deme and sanctuaries. The goddess shares the spotlight with Hephaistos in Athens, with Apollo at Pallene (and later with Ares), and possibly with Poseidon at Sounion.<sup>255</sup> The ubiquitous Athena in Attic pediments from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, along with Athenian-supporting themes on the temple adornments, served as an advertisement for Athenian democracy and Athenian pre-eminence.

In ancient Pallene, for example, the temple of Athena and Apollo adornments had two clear-cut representations: that of the necessity of godly help during the plague (on the inner frieze), and that of Athenian subjugation of the peoples' ancestors (on both side metopes and

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<sup>253</sup> E.g., the 5<sup>th</sup> century Apollo Delphinios temple, south of the temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens.

<sup>254</sup> Hurwit 2005, 139; 2017, 533.

<sup>255</sup> As proposed by Delivorrias 1974, see above.

Eastern pediment). At Pallene, the contemporary citizens of the four-deme had to be daily reminded of their ancestors' opulence, as the temple rested on their way to the Athenian polis.<sup>256</sup> The messages from the scenes were corroborated by the figural acroteria. Much like in the Hephaisteion (and in the Sounion frieze), in which the friezes, as mentioned by Stewart, propagated the Hellenic, but most importantly, Athenian technological and therefore civilizational dominance over obsolete and overdue barbaric races (the Pelasgians, in the East frieze; the Centaurs in the West frieze).<sup>257</sup>

Pausanias continues to offer us a unique testimony from 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE Antiquity. The author describes architectural sculptures, – and, among those, pedimental ones – several times.<sup>258</sup> For instance, in Athens Pausanias lists the Parthenon pedimental themes but omits/ or ignores the architectural sculptures from the Hephaisteion and the Temple of Ares at the Agora. The somewhat omission or selectiveness of Pausanias descriptions is quite odd, to say the least. Regardless of his motives, Marconi pointed out that in Pausanias, “the pedimental sculptures serve as a sort of anticipation of the epiphany of the goddess inside her temple”.<sup>259</sup> The compositions contextualized the viewer in the divine stories of the deity. Taking the Parthenon as an example, even though Hölscher calculated that the ancient viewer would need several laps around the temple to fully and intensively comprehend its external adornments, the complete cultic experience would only be achieved by the sight of the cult statue, crowned by her birth.<sup>260</sup> As a recent study showed, during the Panathenaic sacrifices, more than 13.000 people could have crowded the area more or less between the Parthenon and the Erechtheion in the Acropolis; therefore, such intense visualization of the sculptures would be quite difficult during important and official festivals.<sup>261</sup> The grandeur of the statues and compositions expressed in monumentality would forever transform the viewer's perception of myths, aetiological stories, and heroic deeds.

Despite not belonging to the same architectural investment as the temple at Pallene and of Athena Nike, the Hephaisteion and the temple of Poseidon did belong to the Perikleian sculptural program, since these temples' adornments were conceptualized after the Parthenon sculptures. They disseminate the very same ideals of Athenian domination and imperialism through the sheer monumentality of iconography.

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<sup>256</sup> As Stewart et al. (2021, 543) clarified, the temple served Pallene, Gargettos, Acharnai, and Paiania.

<sup>257</sup> Cf. Stewart 2019, 138-39, fig. 5.

<sup>258</sup> Pedimental sculpture are mentioned in 1.24.5 (Parthenon Pediments), 2.17.3 (Argive Heraion), 5.10.6-9 (Zeus at Olympia), etc.

<sup>259</sup> Marconi 2014, 183.

<sup>260</sup> Hölscher 2009, 56.

<sup>261</sup> Valavanis et al. 2022, 19-21.

The primary Attic stock themes can be understood as the Gigantomachy and Amazonomachy, glorified on the pediments of the temple of Athena Nike.<sup>262</sup> They proposed the union and blessing of the gods towards the city of Athens as were readily and easily identifiable by any passing on-looker. The Amazonomachy depictions had topographical importance in the West pediment of the temple of Athena Nike and in Western metopes of the Parthenon directly facing the place once occupied by the Amazon enemies. The Gigantomachy was perhaps fought in the Attic countryside, in the Pallene “under its mythical name of Phlegra”.<sup>263</sup> Hence, the heroic and godly defence of Attica was a great reason for the Athenians to be proud of their land. The local endorsement of local/regional stories is also detectable in the Argive Heraion, on both pediments: in the East, the eternal reminder of the thrive of Argive kings and heroes over the Trojans; and in the West, the depiction of the king of the gods’ Peloponnesian ascendancy. The choice of the iconography of the birth of Zeus to compose a pediment is odd, to say the least – unlike the representations from Athena’s birth, in which one figure can be easily selected as the emphatic axis (or Zeus or Athena) to harmoniously compose a pedimental scene. As proposed by Ridgway, this new option and choice might reflect new tendencies in pedimental compositions inserted in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>264</sup> A difference between Attic and Peloponnesian treatment of the pedimental space is also the choice to leave the tympanon uncovered in Peloponnesian temples (at the temple of Zeus at Olympia; Apollo at Bassai, Hera near Argos), while Attic temples (Parthenon, Hephaisteion, Athena Pallenis/Ares) covered the tympanon with marble orthostates.<sup>265</sup>

Finally, from the information compiled from the Attic temples, greatly influenced by Parthenonian principles, pedimental sculptures during the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE propose to introduce the passing viewer to the deity’s cult, attempting to familiarize the passers to specific concepts within the mythological panoply of the god/goddess pertinent to the polis.<sup>266</sup> This attempt was made by picking subject malleable enough to the local concepts but at the same time common enough for the people immediately understand and identify them. Ideally, the subject would allow a larger and centralized figure without compromising the centripetal narrativity of the compositions. The solution to place horses, horsemen or chariots

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<sup>262</sup> See Table 2.

<sup>263</sup> Frazer 1898, 315. Place mentioned by Paus. 1.25.2.

<sup>264</sup> Ridgway 1997, 27. For the pedimental sculpture of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, see the PhD Dissertation of G. Mostratos (2013).

<sup>265</sup> This was also noted by Cooper 1978, 119-127.

<sup>266</sup> The impact of Parthenon compositions is such that influenced narrative tools in figurative pottery from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. For instance, the depiction of “half-bodied” Helios (body invisible but implied) was sometimes employed in red figure vases, directly inspired by the Parthenon East pediment, as noted by Hurwit 2017, 548-49, fig. 19. See *ABV*<sup>2</sup> 1315.1, 1690; 1318 (I thank Professor Eurydice Kefalidou for this reference).

flanking the central groups seem to have consolidated as the best solution to fill the half ways to the corners, as did the reclining or fallen figures to the very corners. The proposed dichotomy of a battling West versus a quiet East does not hold ground. The agitated scene of the Strife for Attica likely fitted the temple of Poseidon's East pediment, as well as the Parthenon's West. Also, two "audience" scenes filled both pediments of the temple of Athena Pallenis/Ares.

Pedimental sculptures were the most important external decoration of the temple: they characterized the building as a great house for the god or goddess inside it. The great investment in the Parthenon as a whole prompted all following Attic temples to invest in their adornments. The establishment of an Attic pedimental composition is clear within the temples above, while the Argive composition, even though extremely fragmented, perhaps, points towards new concepts and compositional principles explored in the 4th-century pediments.

Table 1: Temples Measurements

TEMPLE	LENGTH	HEIGHT	DEPTH	ANGLE	PITCH
Parthenon <sup>267</sup>	28.8	3.5	0.9	13.661°	24.306%
Hephaisteion <sup>268</sup>	12.468	1.527	0.490	13.763°	24.495%
Athena Pallenis/Ares <sup>269</sup>	12.633	1.55	?	13.787°	24.540%
Poseidon at Sounion <sup>270</sup>	12.6	1.44	0.42	12.875°	22.857%
Athena Nike <sup>271</sup>	4.43	0.55	0.26	13.945°	24.83%
Nemesis at Rhamnous <sup>272</sup>	9.128	1.05	0.329	12.956°	23.006%
Argive Heraion <sup>273</sup>	15.945	1.98	0.87	13.947°	24.835%

- Length, height, and depth in metres.

<sup>267</sup> Measurements from Rolley 1999, 69; For Palagia (2005, 231) the Parthenon's maximum height is 3.47m.

<sup>268</sup> Measurements from Stewart 2018, 689.

<sup>269</sup> Measurements from McAllister 1959, 24-26.

<sup>270</sup> Measurements from Delivorrias 1974, 61, n. 265. Orlandos (1915, 3) calculates the length to be 12.160m.

<sup>271</sup> Measurements from Despinis 1988, 290.

<sup>272</sup> Measurements from Dinsmoor 1939, 32.

<sup>273</sup> Measurements from Pfaff 1992, 171-76. The author, however, provides two a range for the length (15.76 – 16.13m) of the pediment and for the height (1.77 – 2.19m). Table 1 uses the average for both.



Table 2: Temples Architectural Sculptures Themes

TEMPLE	DATE	PEDIMENT		METOPES		FRIEZE		ACROTERIA		
Parthenon	447-432 Sculptures :438-432	E	Birth of Athena	E	Gigantomachy	E	Panathenaic Procession	E	Central: Floral Sides: Nikai	
				W	Amazonomachy					W
		W	Strife for Attica	S	Centauromachy			S	W	Central: Floral Sides: Nikai
				N	Trojan Drama			N		
Hephaisteion	470-420 Sculptures : 450-410	E	Birth of Athena	E	Nine Labours of Herakles	E	Battle with the Pelasgians	E	Central: ? Side: Nikai?	
				W	X					W
		W	Hephaistos' Return to Olympos	S	Theseus' Deeds	S	X	W	Central: Thetis and Eurynome Side: Nikai	
				N	(Only the four metopes on the eastern most corners)	N	X			
Athena Pallenis/ Ares	430-425	E	Athena's blessing before the battle of the Pallantidai	E	Pallantidomachy	E	Apollo's Introduction to the Cult	E	Central: Hebe? Side: Nereids (from Augustan phase)	
				W	Amazonomachy					W
		W	Audience scene with Gods and Heroes	S	X	S	X	W	Central: Iris? Side: Nikai	
				N	X	N	X			
Poseidon at Sounion	444-440 Sculptures: 420s?	E	Strife for Attica	E	X	E	Gigantomachy <sup>274</sup>	E	?	
				W	X					W
		W	?	N	X	N	Theseus' Deeds	W	?	
				S	X	S	Theseus' Deeds			

<sup>274</sup> The position here is referred to the sides of the pronaos, not around the cella (cf. Leventi 2009).

Athena Nike	425-420	E	Gigantomachy	E	X	E	Assembly of the Gods	E	Central: Group with Nike?/tripod? Side: Flying Nikai
				W	X	W	Battle		
		W	Amazonomachy	S	X	S	Battle (Plateia? Marathon?)	W	Same?
				N	X	N	Battle		
Argive Heraion	420-400	E	Birth of Zeus	E	Gigantomachy	E	X	E	?
				W	Trojan War/Amazonomachy?	W	X		
		W	Iliupersis	S	X/Amazonomachy?	S	X	W	?
				N	X/?	N	X		

- “X” is for attested non-existent, and “?” is for lost or unidentified.
- All dates are in BCE.

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Figures:

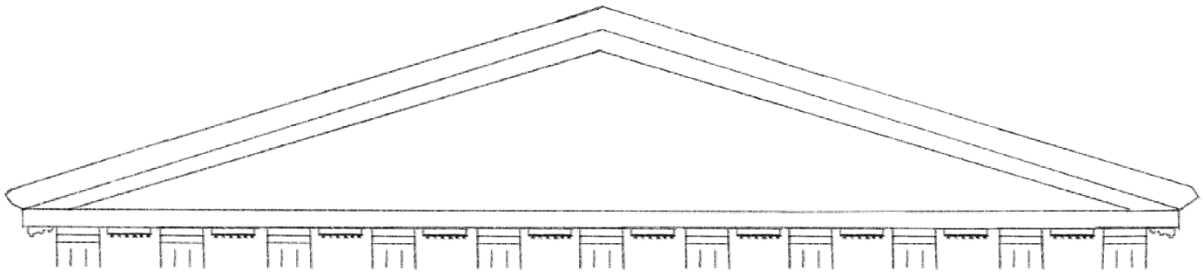


Figure 1: Drawing courtesy of Rafaela F.A. Freire, pediment inspired on the Hephaisteion.

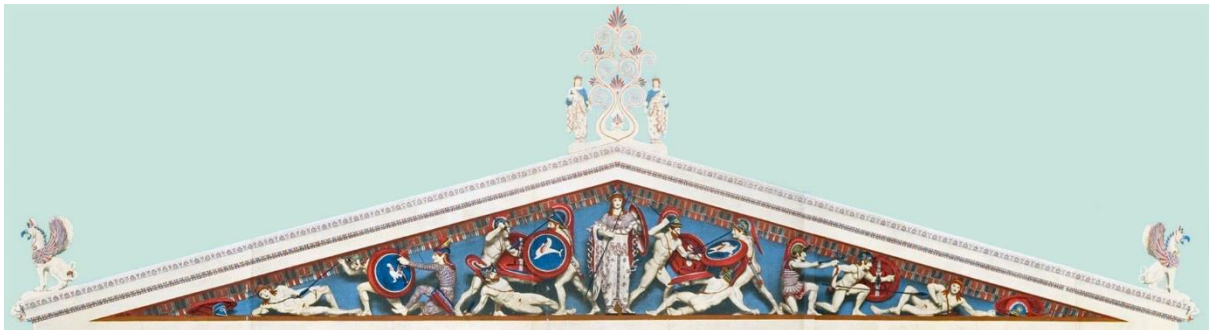


Figure 2: The Polychromy at the Eastern Pediment of the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina (reconstruction by Furtwängler 1906, p. 105).

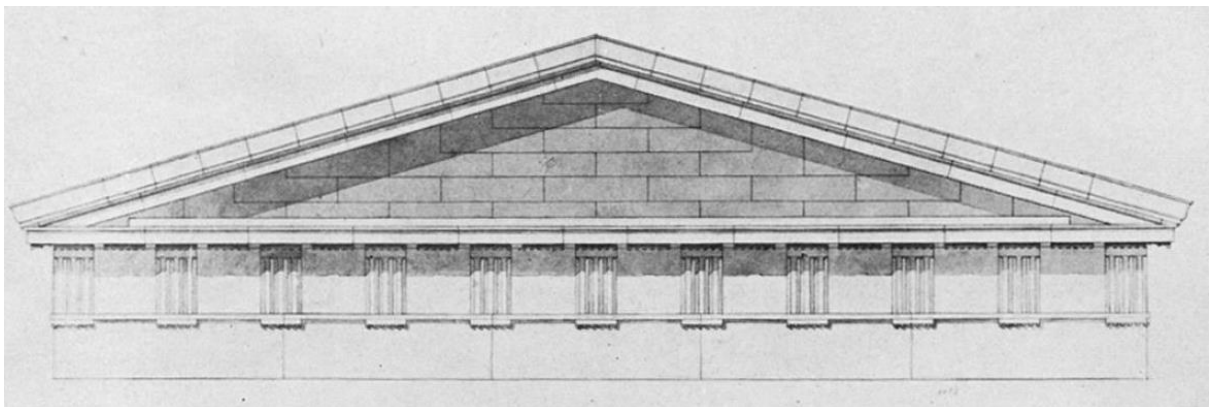


Figure 3: The uncovered ashlar course at Bassae (from Disnmoor 1939, 29, fig. 2).

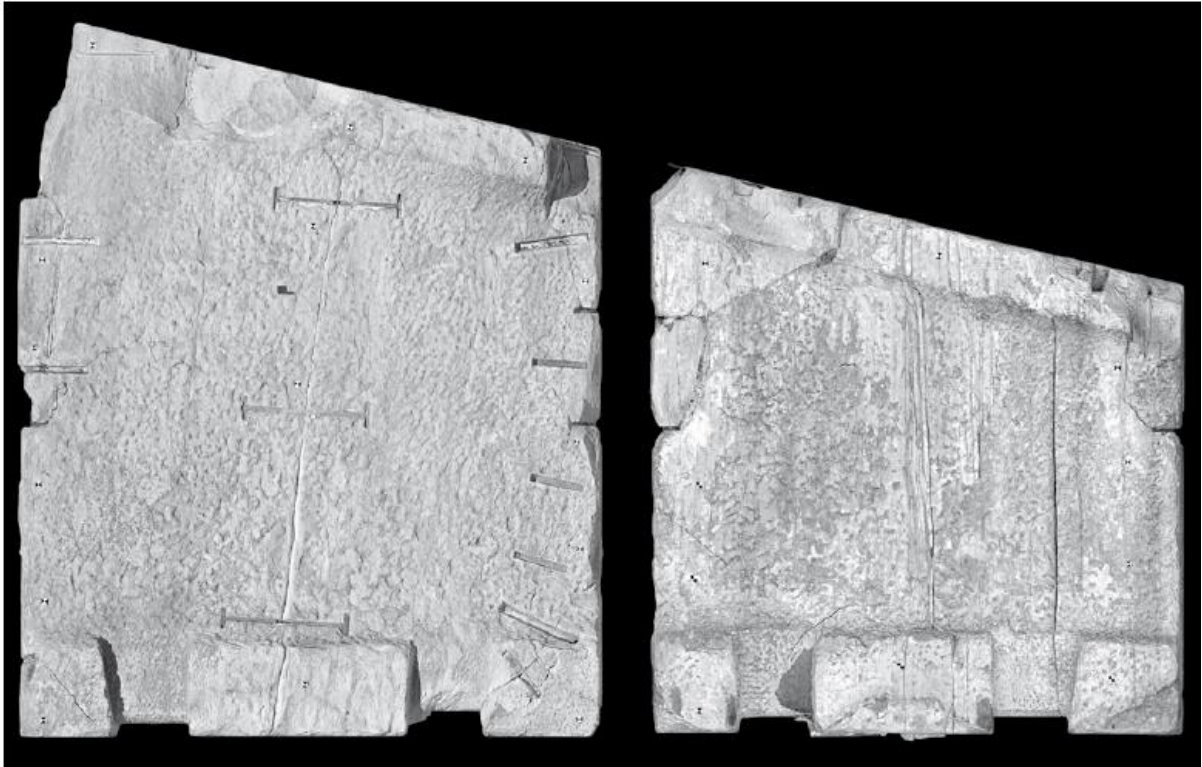


Figure 4: The Orthostates of the Parthenon (from Manidaki and Dourakopoulos 2018, 13, fig. 3)



Figure 5: Figure's D Leg projecting over the cornice in the Eastern Pediment of the Parthenon (adapted from Brommer 1963, II, pl. 26, fig. 3).



Figure 6: *The Temporary Elgin Room*, by Archibald Archer, 1819 (from the British Museum, available at: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/968585001>)



Figure 7: Dinsmoor's proposition of the Bassae pediment, with the "Little Niobids" (from Dinsmoor 1939, 47, fig. 9)



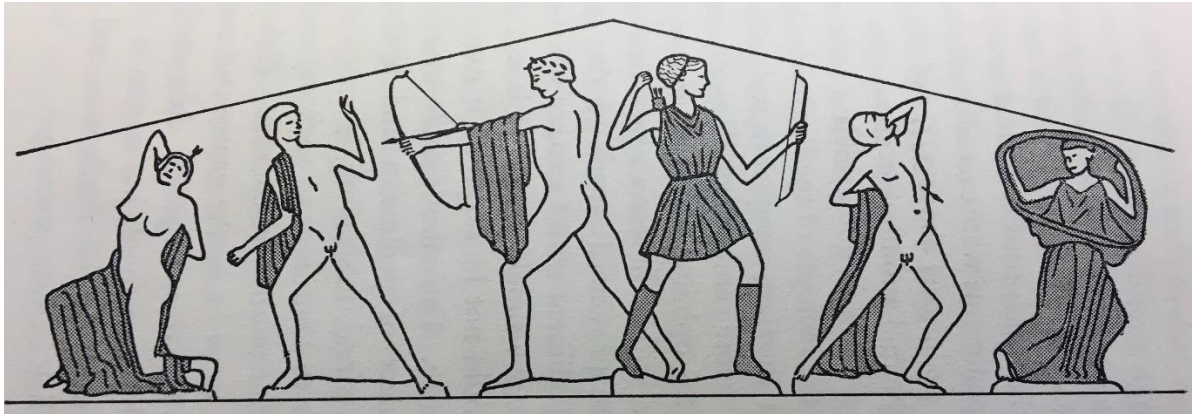


Figure 8: Cook's addition to Dinsmoor's Bassae pediment (from Cook 1964, 35, fig. 3)

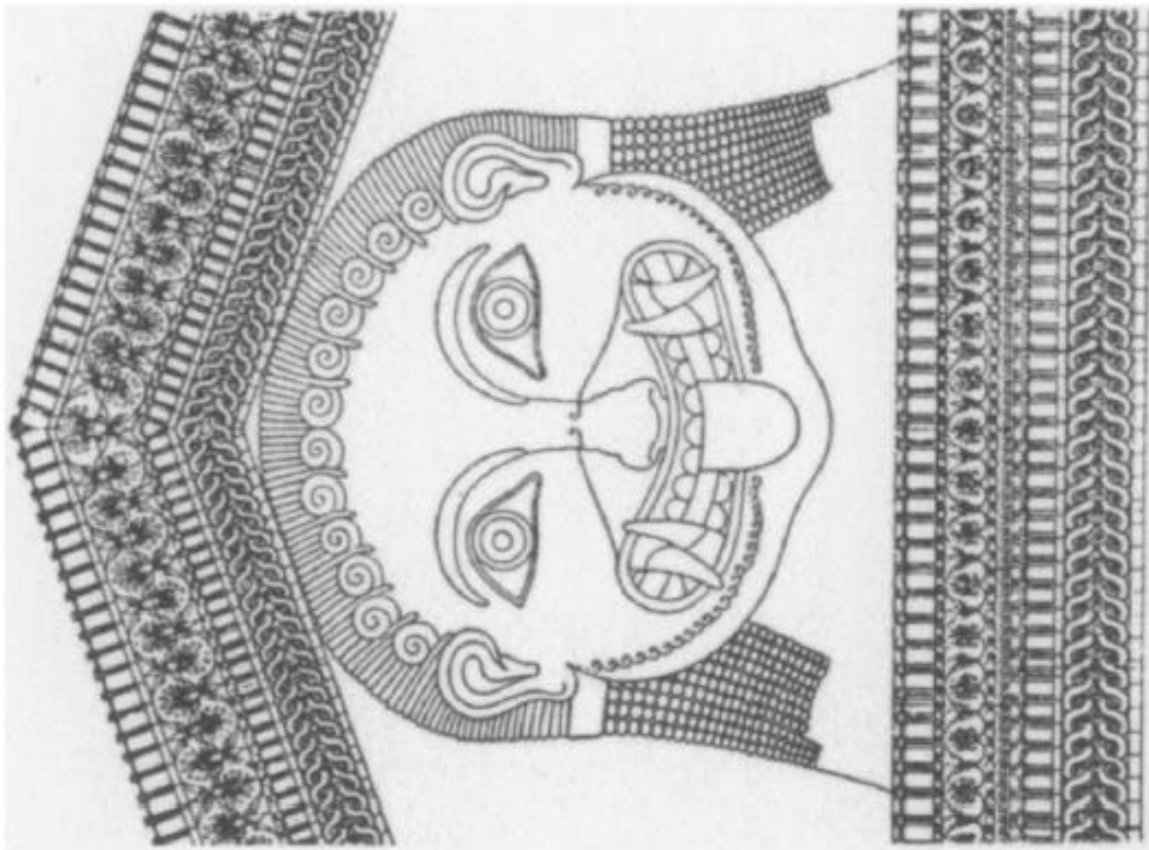


Figure 9: A Gorgoneion Mask from the East pediment of the temple 'C' at Selinus (from Marconi 2007, 221, fig. 7)



Figure 10: The temple of Corfu Pediment (Photo by Unknown author, CC BY-SA 4.0 Available in: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>, via Wikimedia Commons)



Figure 11: The Right Flank group from the temple at Corfu showing Zeus with thunderbolt (photo by Dr.K., CC BY-SA 4.0 Available in: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>, via Wikimedia Commons)



Figure 12: A Lion devouring a calf from the Eastern pediment of the Hekatompedon (Photo from Acropolis Museum, available in: <https://www.theacropolismuseum.gr/en/hekatompodon-east-pediment-lioness-and-calf>)

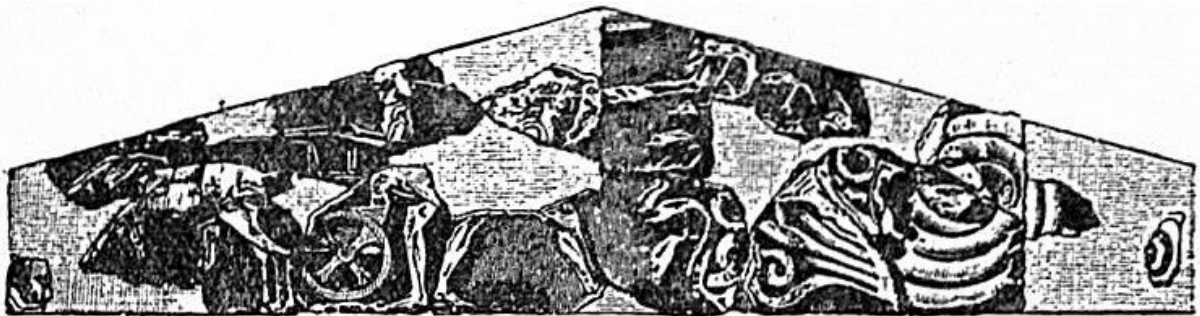


Figure 13: The Hydra Pediment, from Archaic oikemata at the Athenian Acropolis (Public domain, Available at: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:EB1911\\_Greek\\_Art\\_-\\_Athenian\\_Pediment\\_-\\_Heracles\\_and\\_Hydra.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:EB1911_Greek_Art_-_Athenian_Pediment_-_Heracles_and_Hydra.jpg) via Wikimedia Commons)



Figure 14: The pediment of the Siphnian Treasury (Photo by Sharon Mollerus, CC BY 2.0. Available in: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>, via Wikimedia Commons)



Figure 15: The central Athena slaying a Giant from the Eastern pediment of the Peisistratid Temple (Photo from Acropolis Museum (Inv. no. 631 a, A-C). Available in: <https://www.theacropolismuseum.gr/en/old-athena-temple-gigantomachy-pediment>)

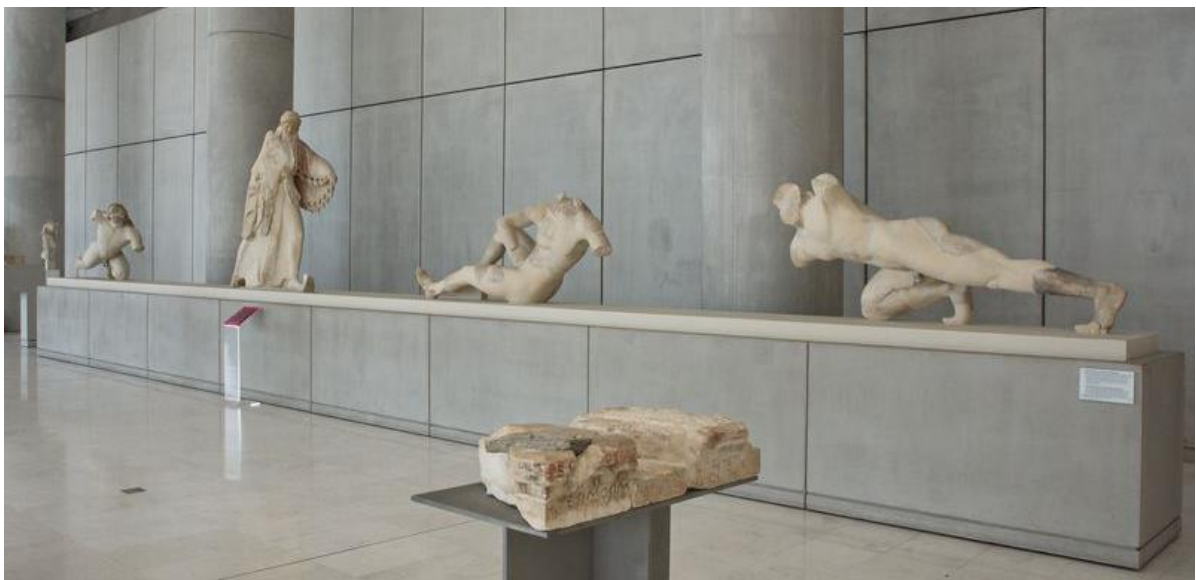


Figure 16: The Eastern pediment of the Peisistratid temple. Photo from Acropolis Museum (Inv. no. 631 a, A-C). Available in: <https://www.theacropolismuseum.gr/en/old-athena-temple-gigantomachy-pediment>.



Figure 17: The pediment of the Megarian Treasury. Photo by Jean Housen, CC BY-SA 4.0. Available in: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>, via Wikimedia Commons.

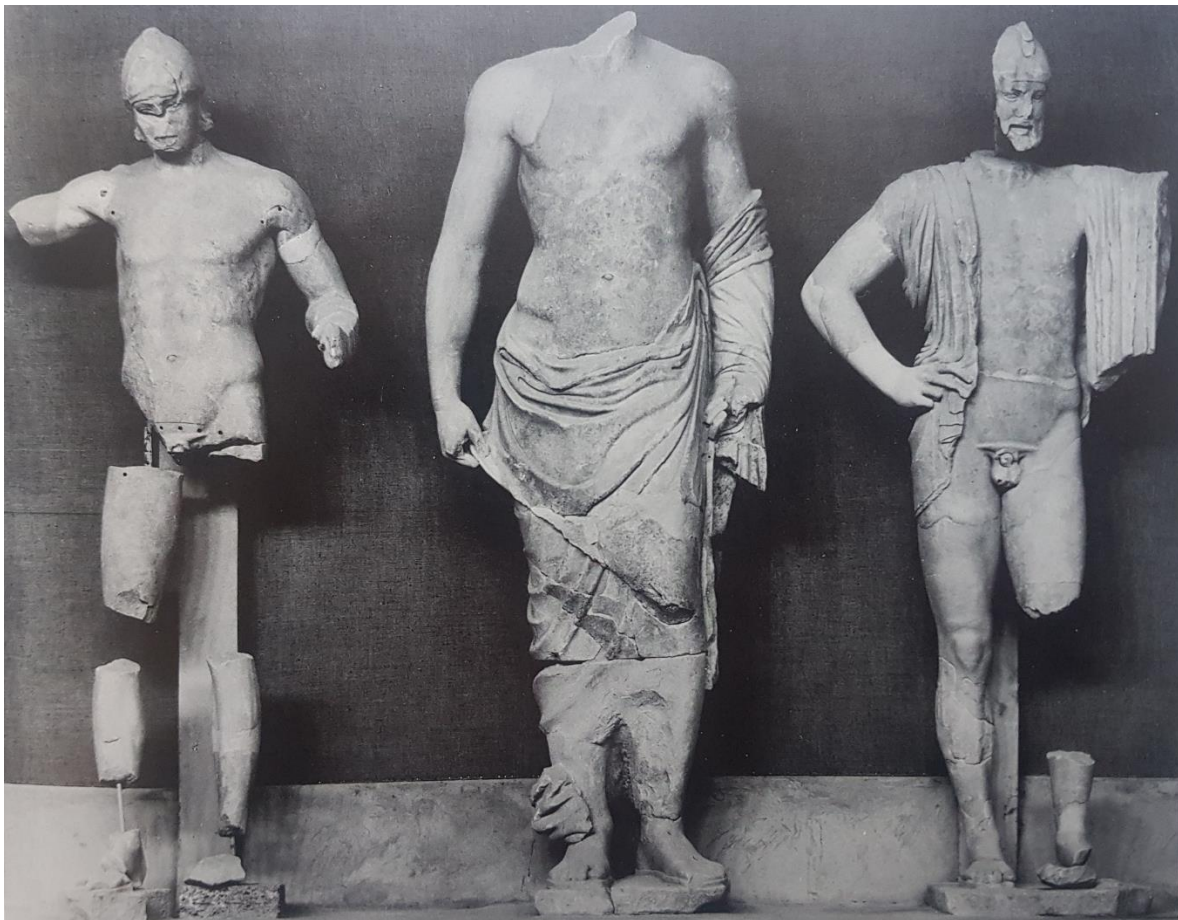


Figure 18: The central triad from the Eastern pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia: Pelops, Zeus, and Oenomaus (from Stewart 1990, II, 264, pl. 264).

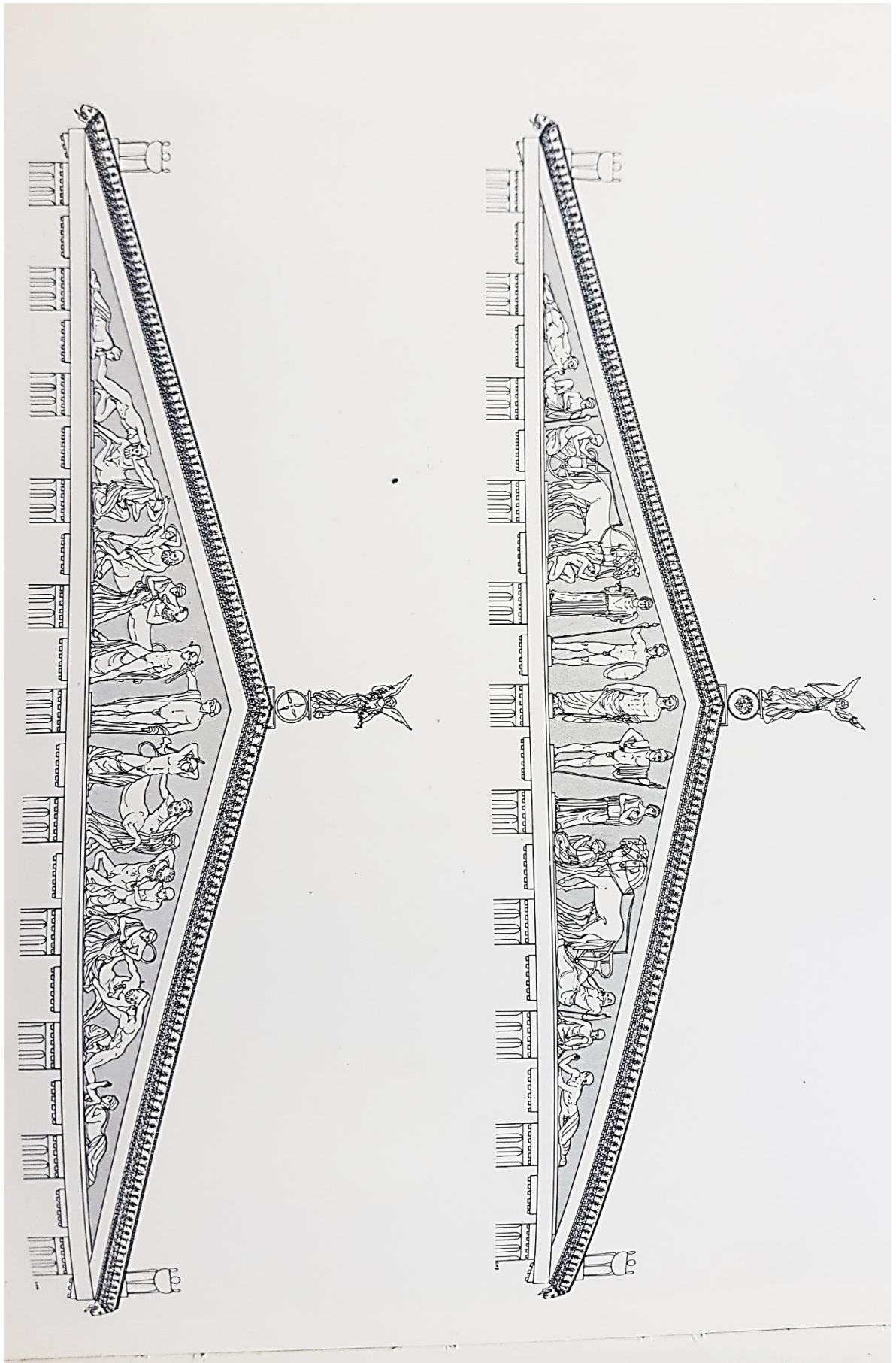


Figure 19: Both pediments at Olympia (Above: East; Below: West). From Stewart 1990 II, pl. 263.



Figure 20: Apollo from the Western Pediment at Olympia. From Stewart 1990, II, 270.



Figure 21: The hollowed back statues from the Western pediment at Olympia. From Ashmole 1972, 58, fig. 70.

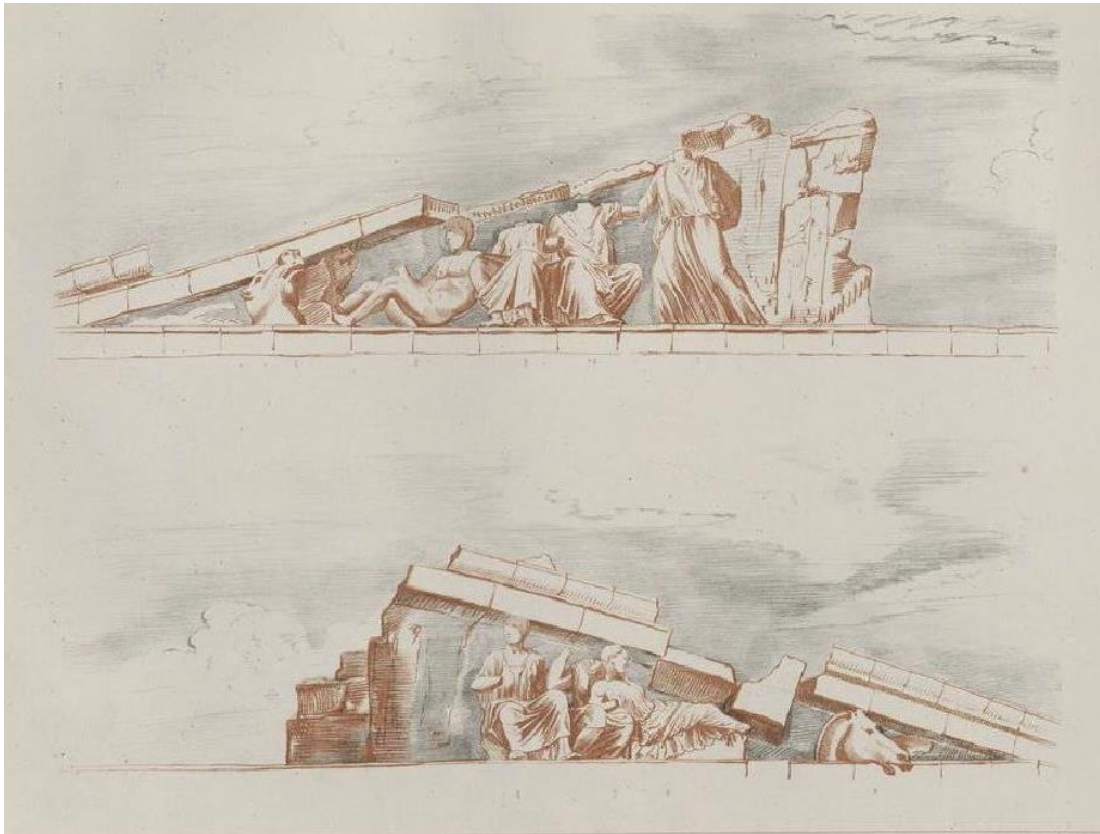
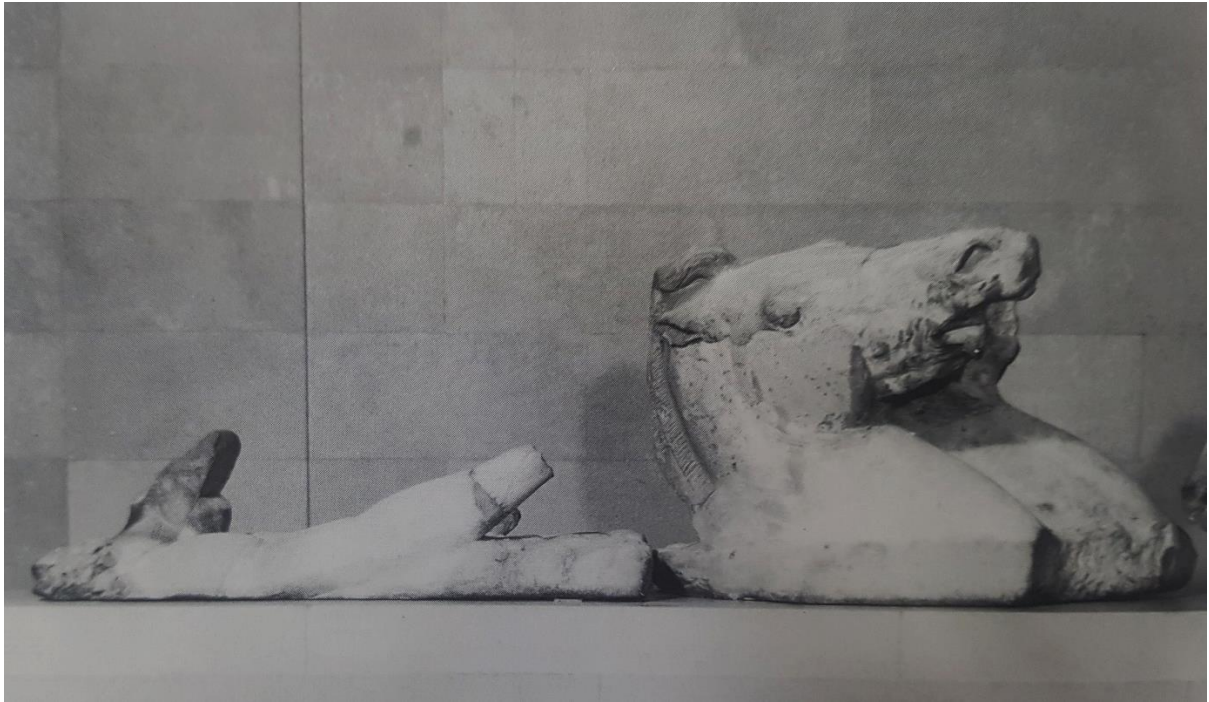


Figure 22: The so-called "Carrey" drawing, East pediment of the Parthenon. Available at: <http://www.theparthenonsculptures.com/p/the-pediments.html>.



Figure 23: The so-called "Carrey" drawing, West pediment of the Parthenon. Available at:





*Figure 24: The Helios figure from the Eastern pediment of the Parthenon. Adapted from Palagia 1993, fig.24.*



*Figure 25: Helios' waves on right shoulder. Adapted from Palagia 1993, fig. 25.*



Figure 26: Selene's horse on right hand side of the Eastern pediment of the Parthenon. Adapted from Palagia 1993, fig.51.

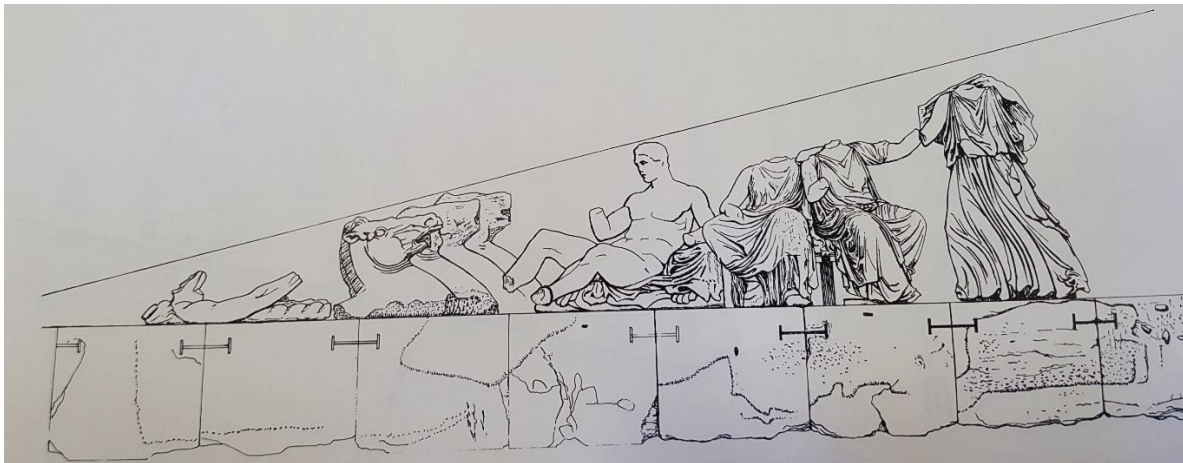


Figure 27: The East pediment's left-side reconstruction by Palagia (Palagia 1993, fig. 19)

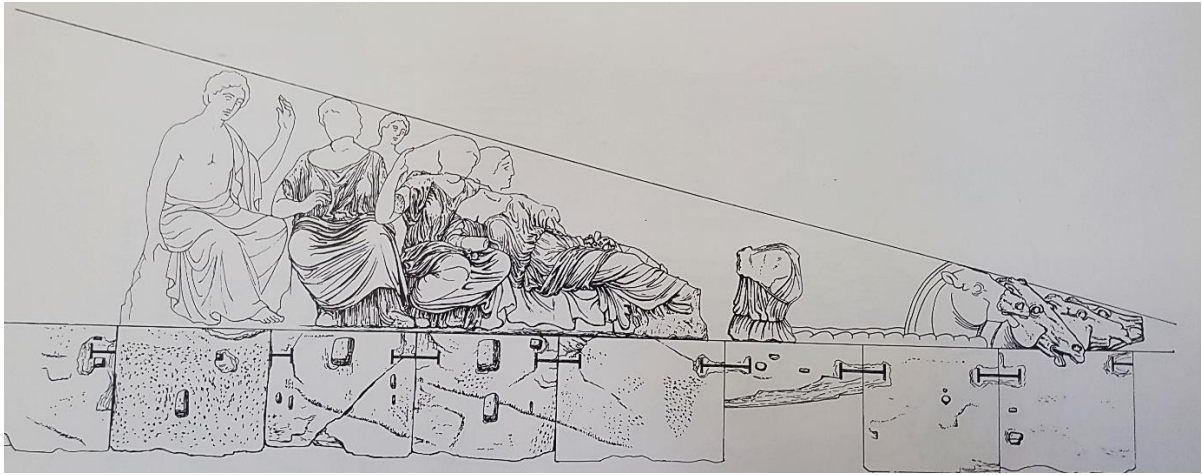


Figure 28: The East pediment's right-side reconstruction by Palagia (Palagia 1993, fig. 21).

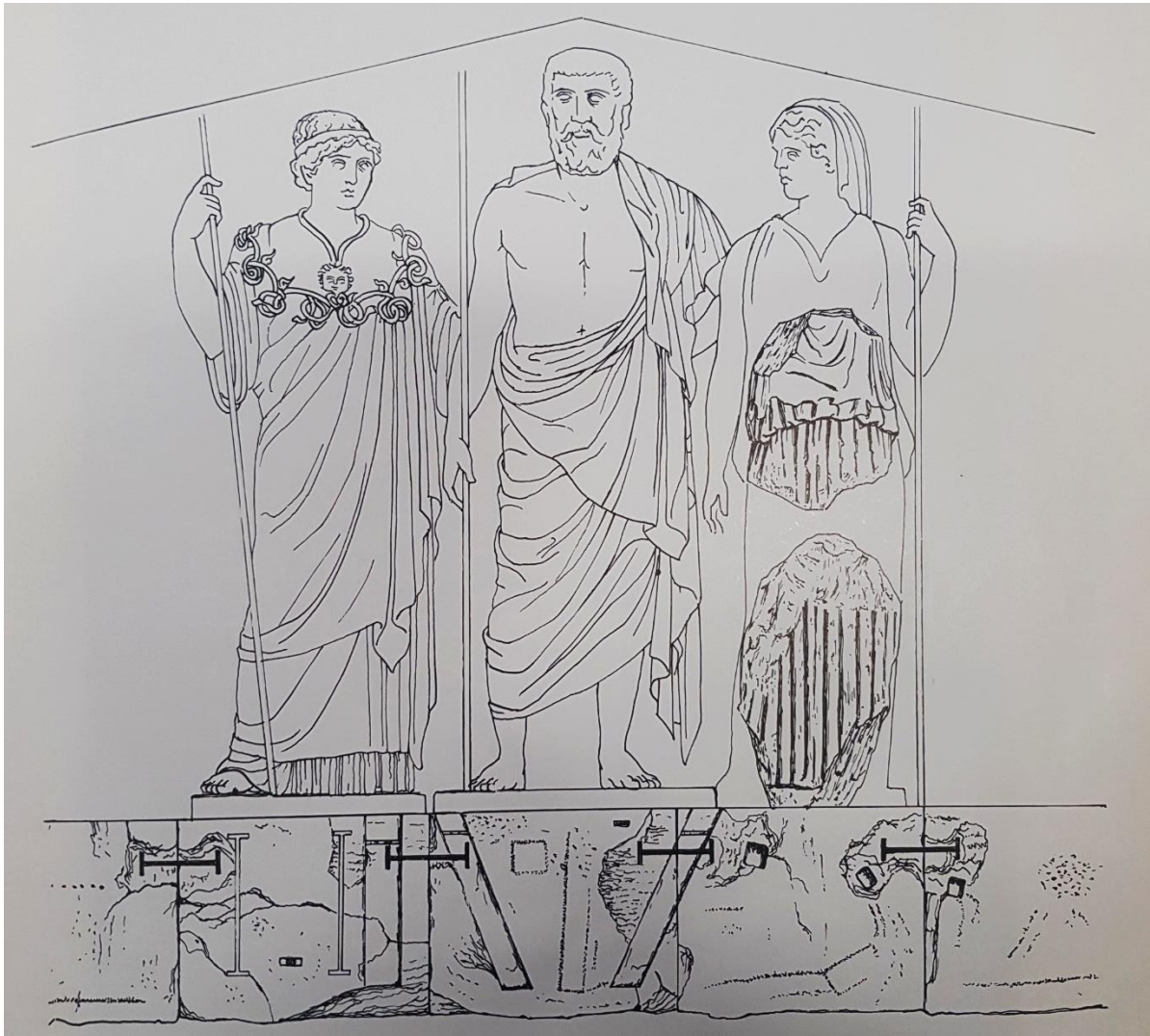


Figure 29: The three central gods from Palagia's reconstruction (Athena, Zeus, and Hera). From Palagia 1993, fig. 20.



Figure 30: The Madrid puteal. Adapted from Palagia 1993, fig. 8.

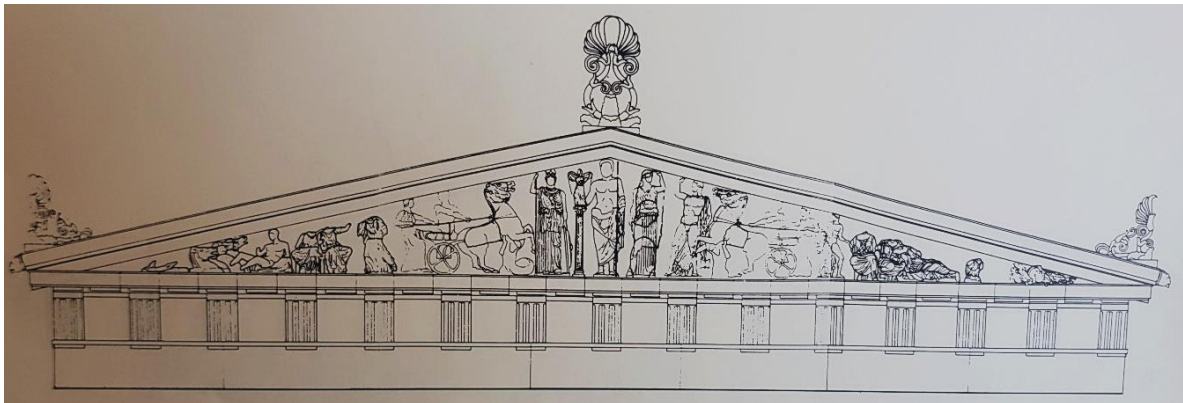


Figure 31: Beyer's reconstruction for the Eastern pediment of the Parthenon. From Palagia 1993, fig. 14.

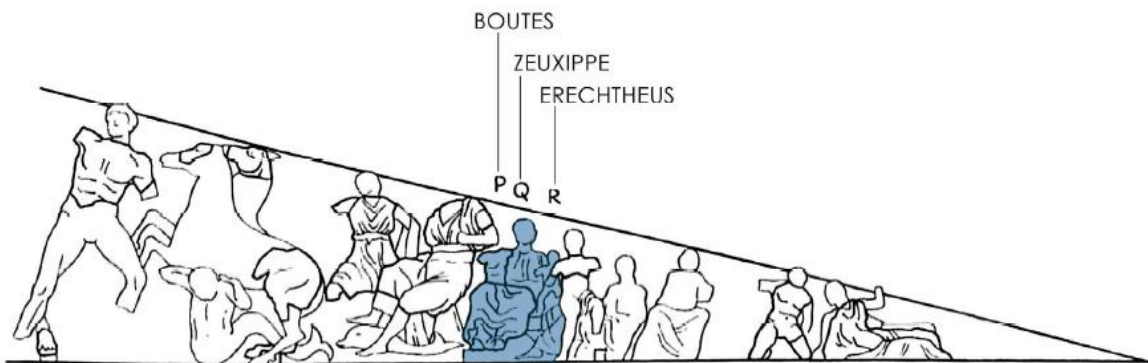


Figure 32: Mitsios's re-interpretation of side groups of the Parthenon Western pediment. From Mitsios 2019, fig. 1.

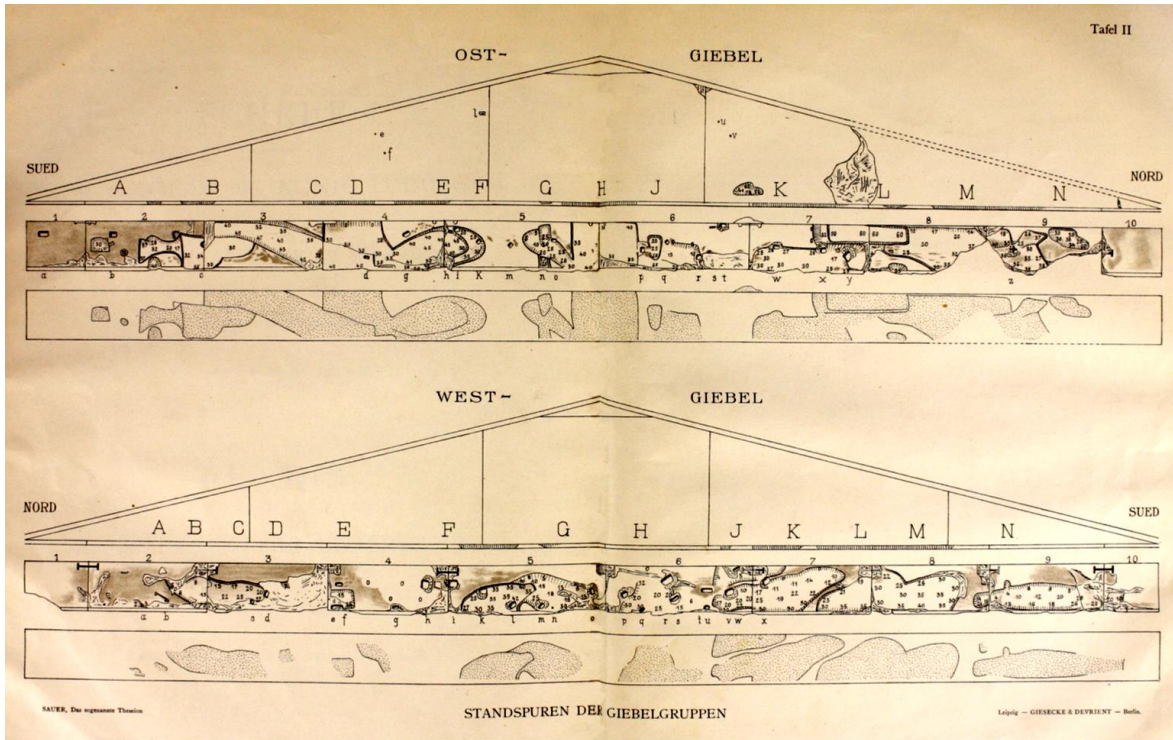


Figure 33: Pedimental Floor Cuttings of the Hephaisteion (adapted from Sauer 1899, pl. 2).

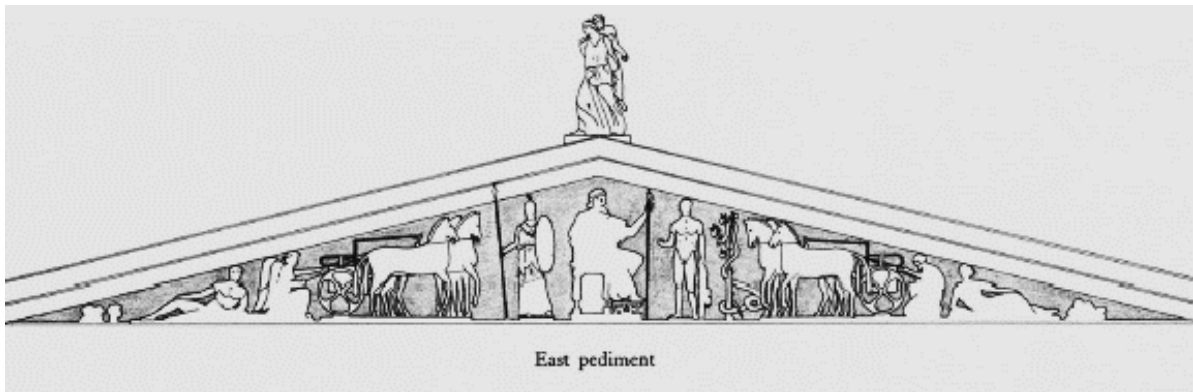


Figure 34: Thompson's East pediment reconstruction of Herakles' Apotheosis (adapted from Thompson 1962, pl. 91).



Figure 35: Thompson's Reconstruction of the Hephaisteion's West Pediment (from Thompson 1962, pl. 92)

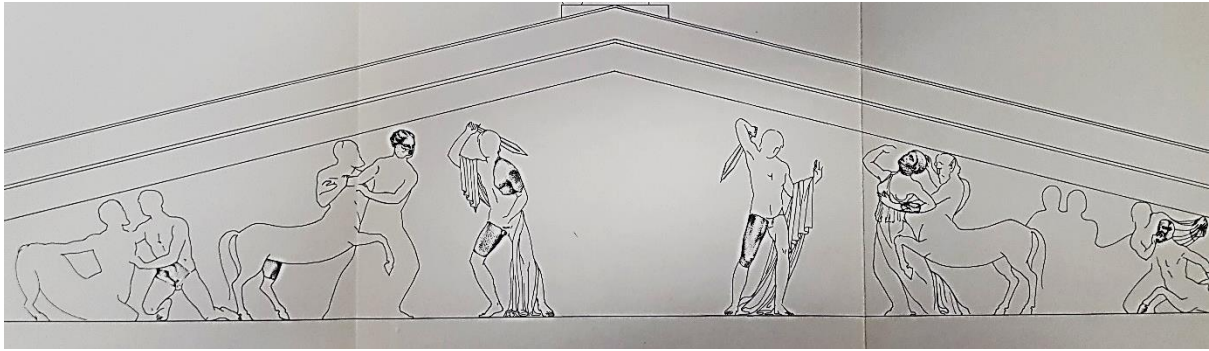


Figure 36: Delivorrias' Centauromachy reconstruction of the East pediment of the Hephaisteion (adapted from Delivorrias 1974, foldout 3).

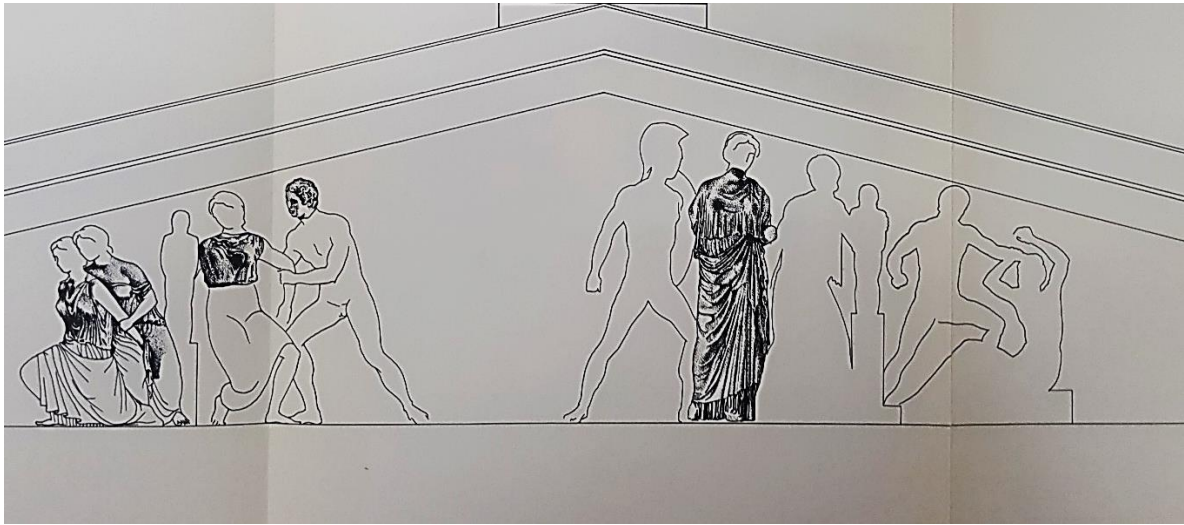


Figure 37: Delivorrias' Iliupersis reconstruction of the West pediment of the Hephaisteion (adapted from Delivorrias 1974, foldout 4).

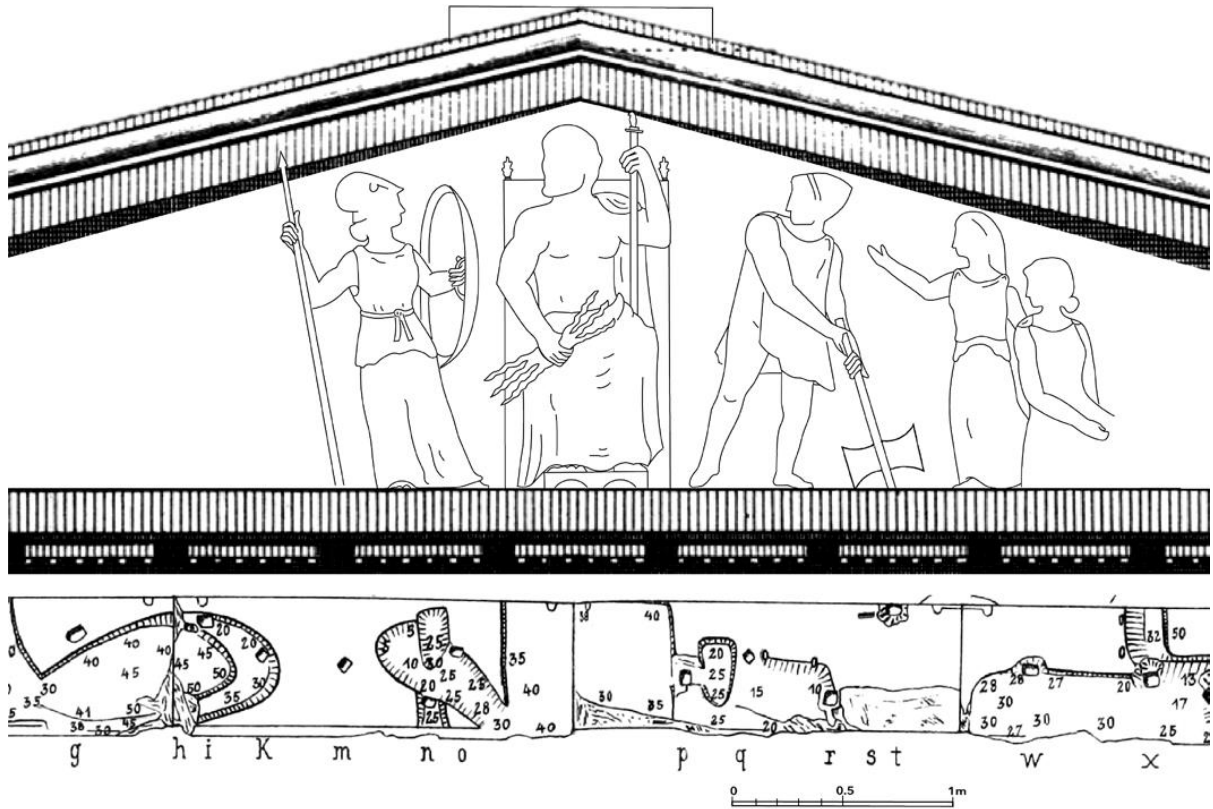


Figure 38: Stewart's birth of Athena reconstruction of the Hephaisteion's East Pediment (from Stewart 2018, fig. 40).

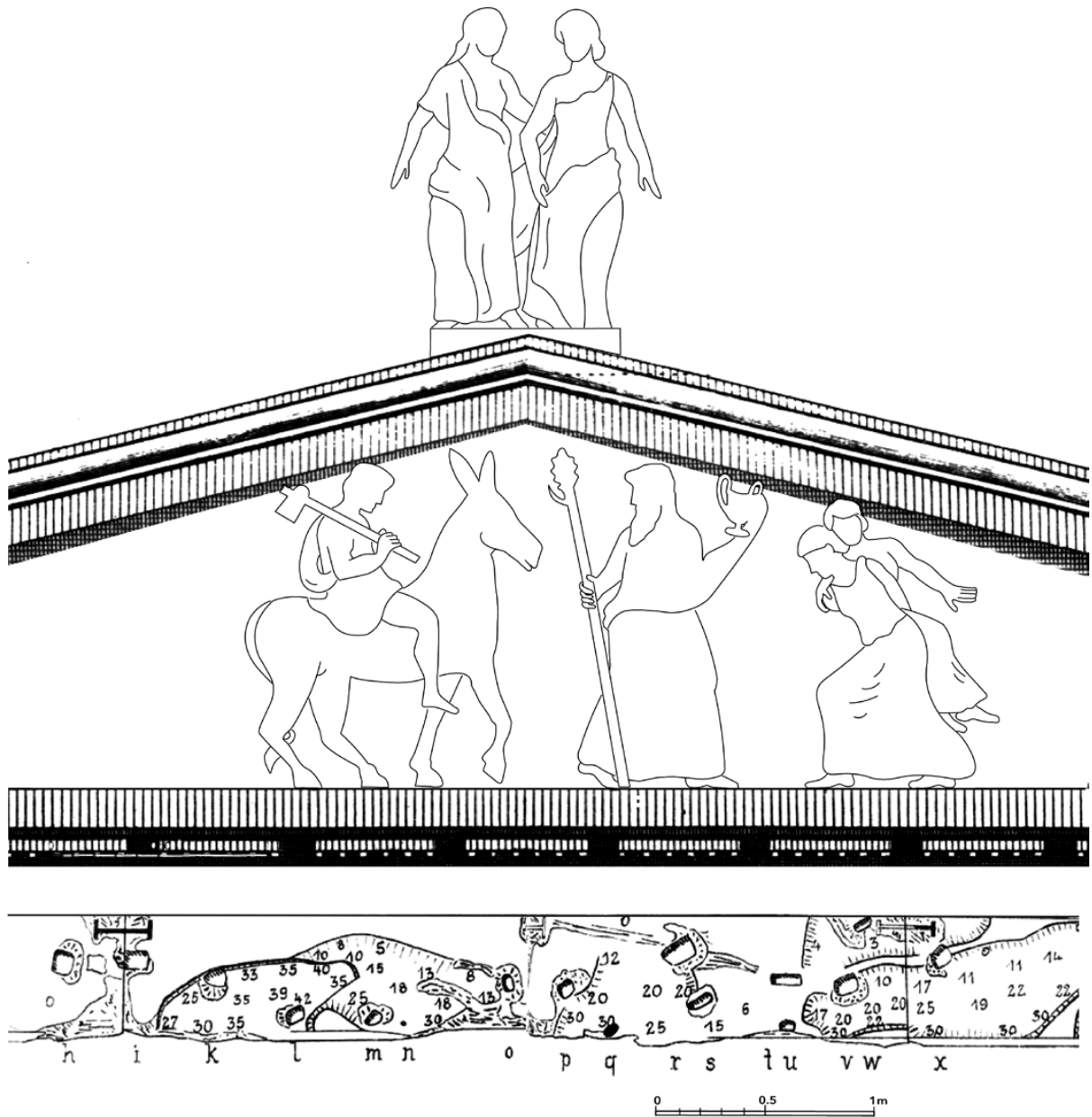


Figure 39: Stewart's Reconstruction of the Hephaisteion's West Pediment (from Stewart 2018, fig. 41).





Figure 40: The so-called "ephedrismos group", photos from Stewart 2018, fig. 15 a-b.

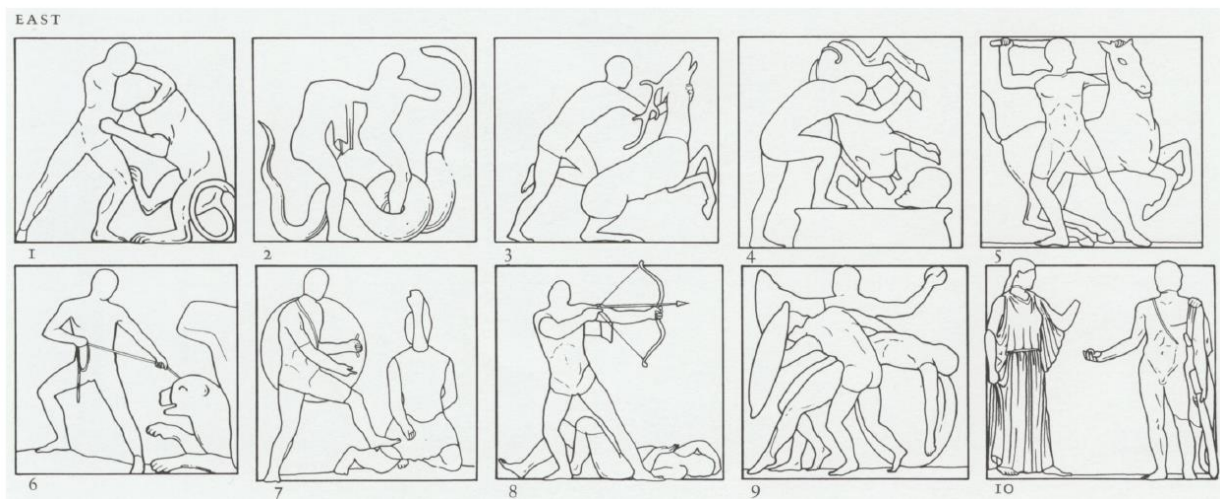


Figure 41: The 10 metopes from the Eastern front of the Hephaisteion depicting Herakles Labours (from Delivorrias 1997, 85, fig. 2).

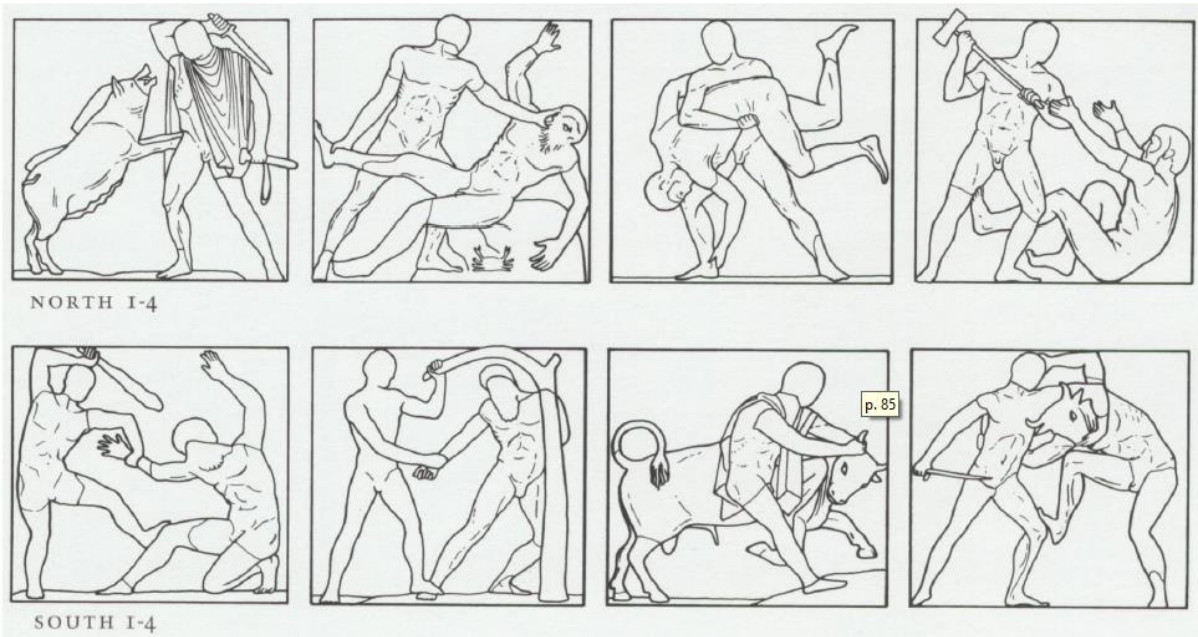


Figure 42: The 8 longer sides metopes of the Hephaisteion showing Theseus' Deeds (from Delivorrias 1997, 85, figs. 3).

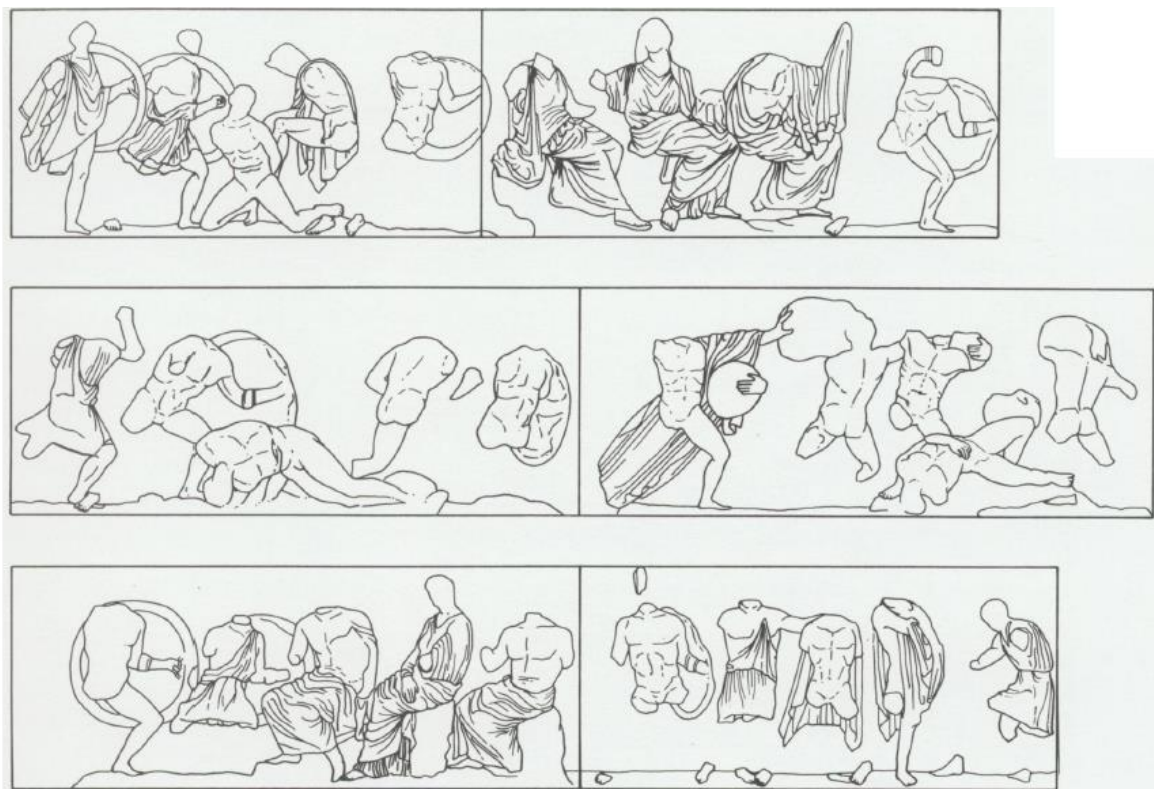


Figure 43: The Hephaisteion's Eastern frieze (from Delivorrias 1997, 86, fig. 4).

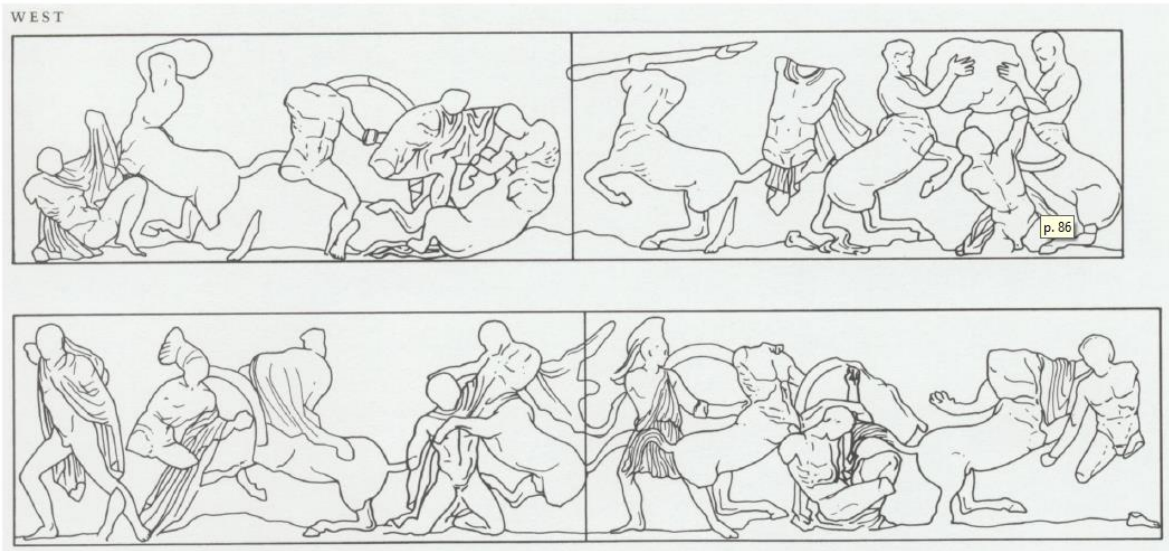


Figure 44: The Hephaisteion's Western frieze (from Delivorrias 1997, 86, fig. 5)

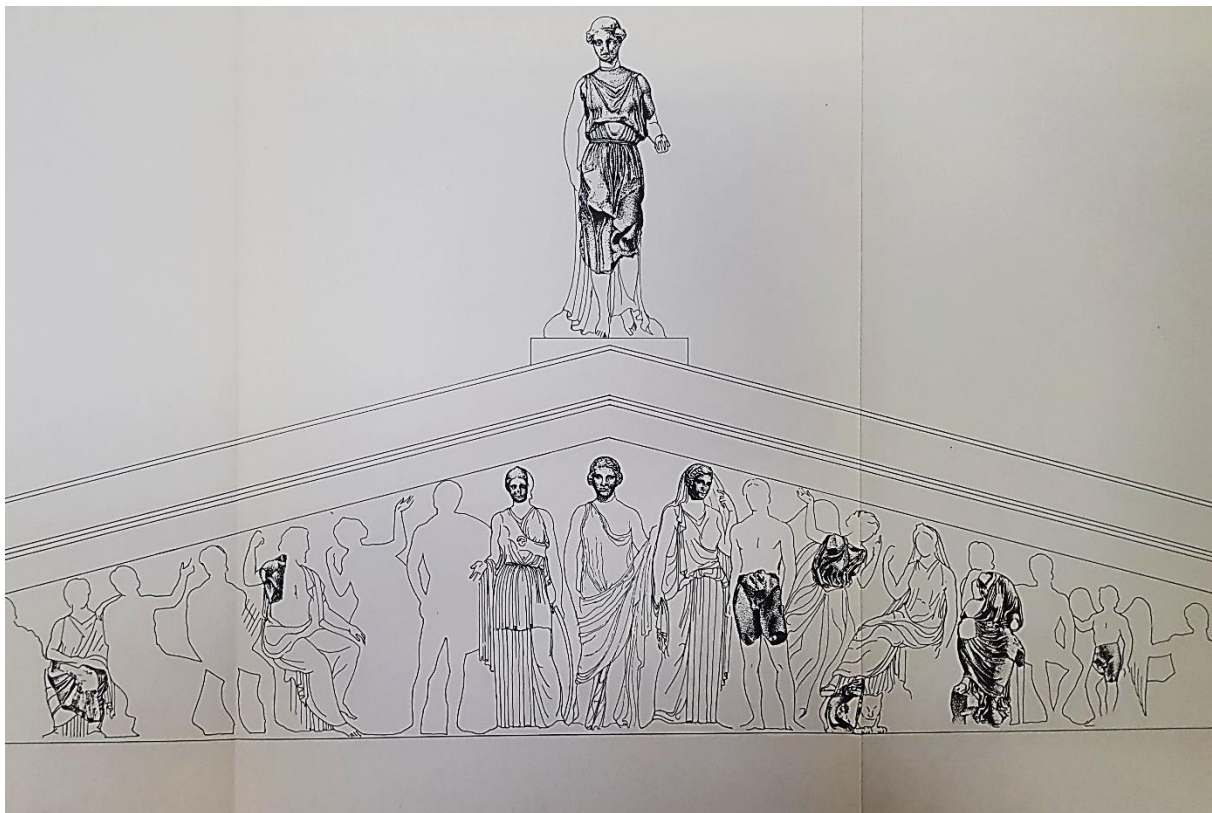


Figure 45: Delivorrias' reconstruction for the East pediment of the Temple of Ares, representing the Judgment of Paris (from Delivorrias 1974, foldout 1).

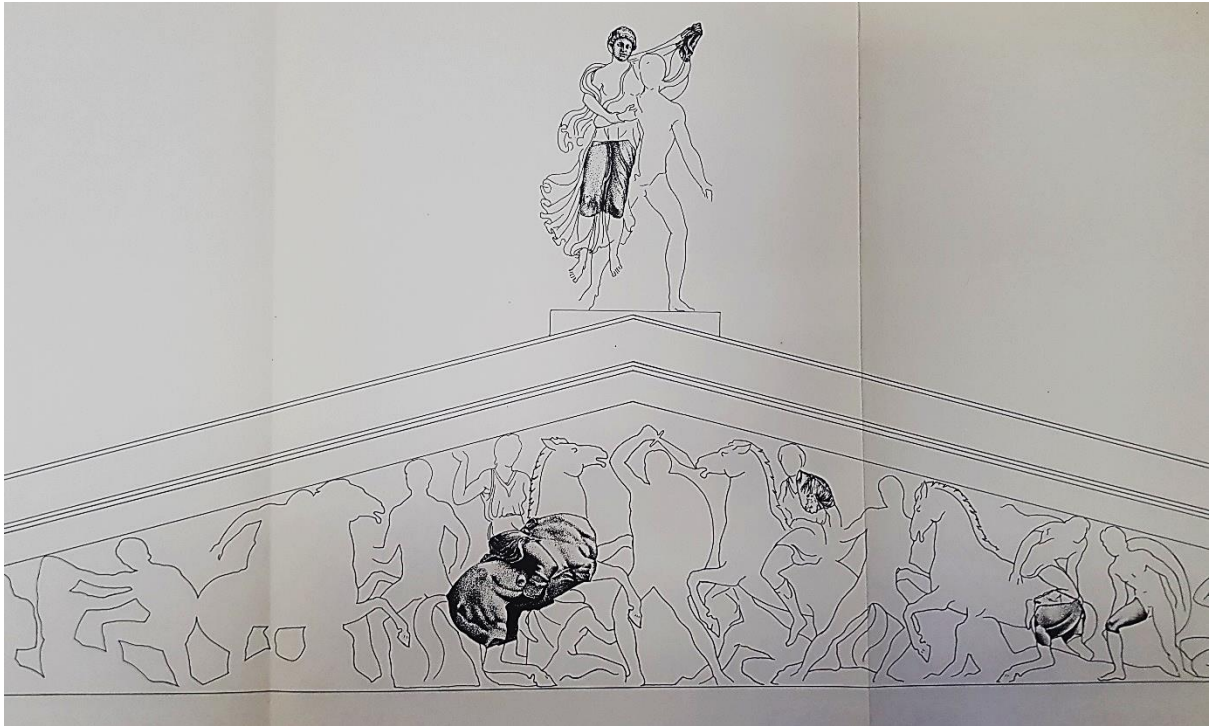


Figure 46: Delivorrias' reconstruction for the West pediment of the Temple of Ares, representing an Amazonomachy (from Delivorrias 1974, foldout 2).

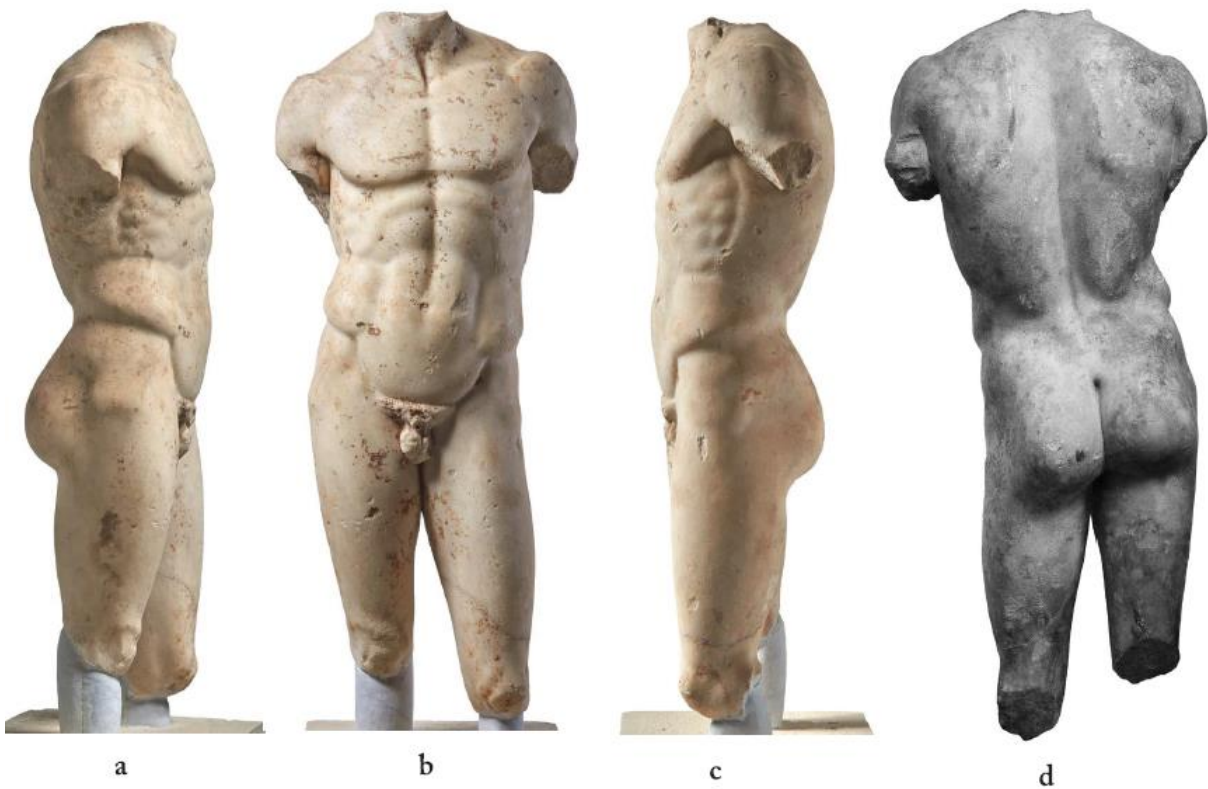


Figure 47: The "Theseus" (S 1313; from Stewart et al. 2021, fig.8 a-d).



Figure 48: The Headless Athena from the West pediment of the temple of Athena Pallenis (S 1232, from Stewart et al. 2021, fig. 13 a); red arrows indicate the Roman  $\Delta$  for the re-assembly at the Agora).



Figure 49: The Bulky Torso from the West pediment of the Temple of Athena Pallenis (S 147; Stewart et al. 2021, fig. 3)



Figure 50: The sherd, now interpreted as a scene from the Iliupersis (photo taken from LIMC Web, no. 251; photo rights: © Martin-von-Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg).

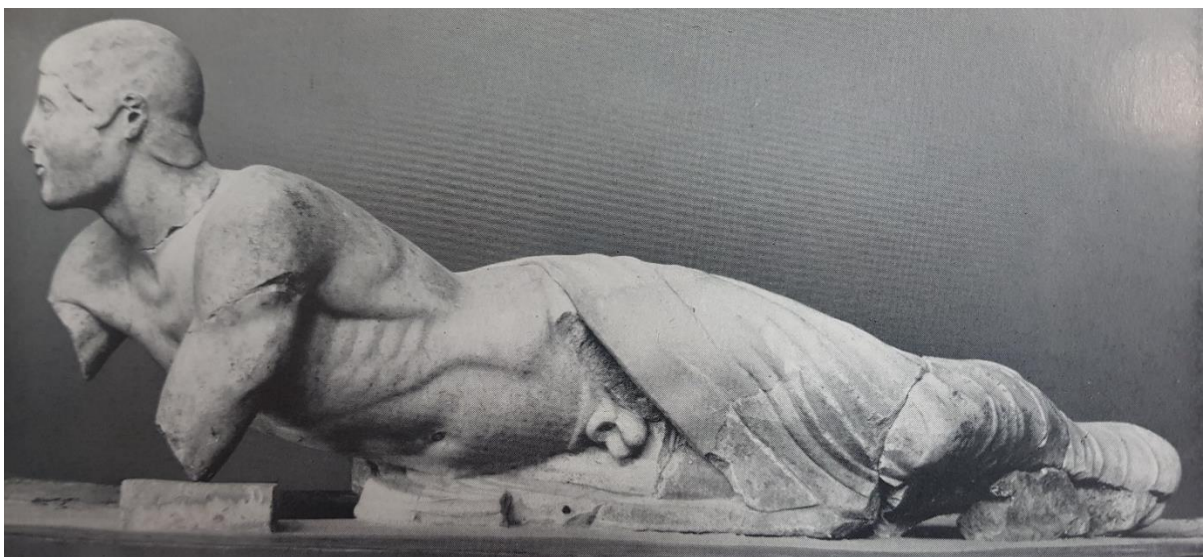


Figure 51: The Cladeos figure from Olympia (taken from Ashmole 1972, 33, fig. 33).

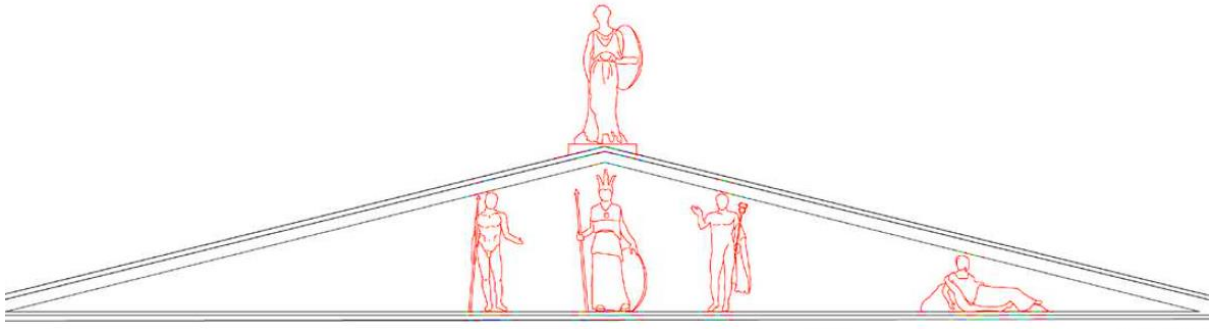


Figure 52: Stewart et al.'s Reconstruction of the East Pediment of the Temple of Athena Pallenis (adapted from Stewart et al 2021, fig. 45 a)

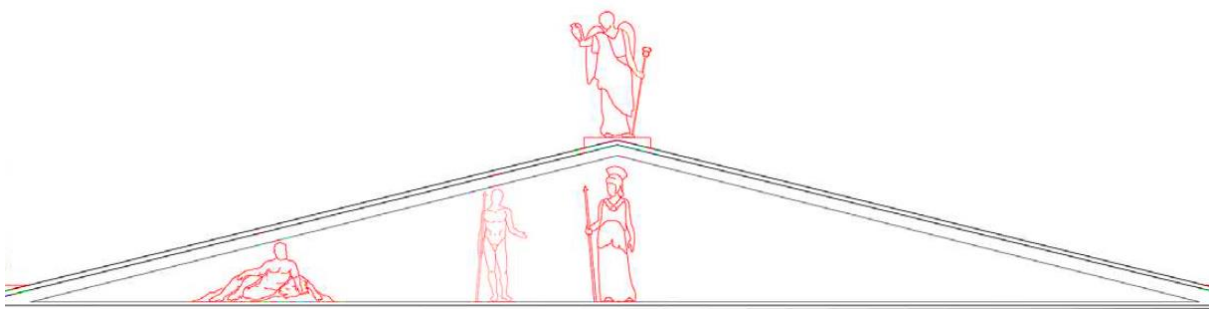


Figure 53: Stewart et al.'s Reconstruction of the West Pediment of the Temple of Athena Pallenis (adapted from Stewart et al 2021, fig. 45 b)

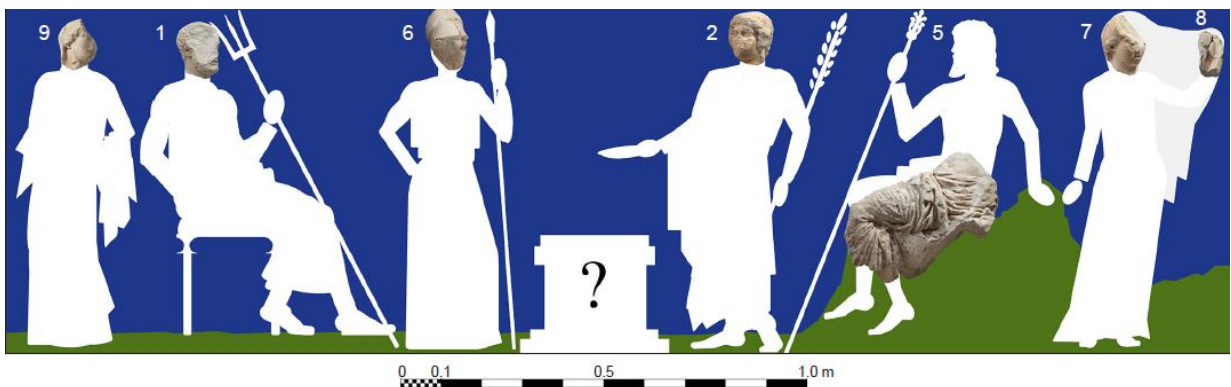


Figure 54: The central part of the Eastern frieze of the temple of Athena Pallenis, presenting Apollo's introduction to the cult at Pallene (from Stewart et al. 2019, 678, fig. 68).



Figure 55: The central part of the Western frieze of the temple of Athena Pallenis, showing the sacrifices to Apollo and Athena (from Stewart et al. 2019, 680, fig. 69).



Figure 56: The draped seated figure from the East pediment of the temple of Poseidon at Sounion (NAM 3410; photo from Kaltsas 2002, 118, no. 211).



Figure 57: The head of Athena from the Eastern pediment of the Sounion temple (AM 558; photo from Delivorrias 1974, pl. 21-22)



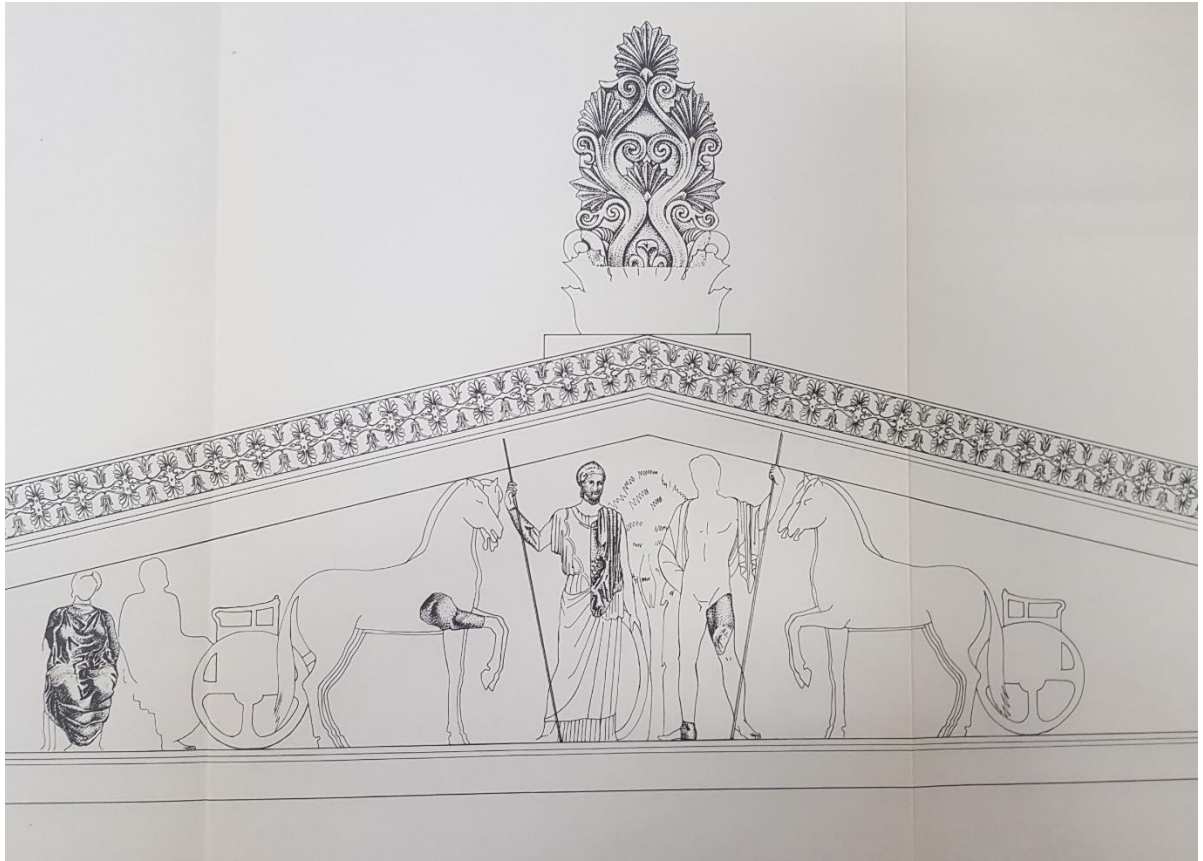


Figure 58: Delivorrias' reconstruction of the central group from the East pediment of the temple of Poseidon at Sounion, representing a conciliatory Strife for Attica (photo from Delivorrias 1974, foldout 5).

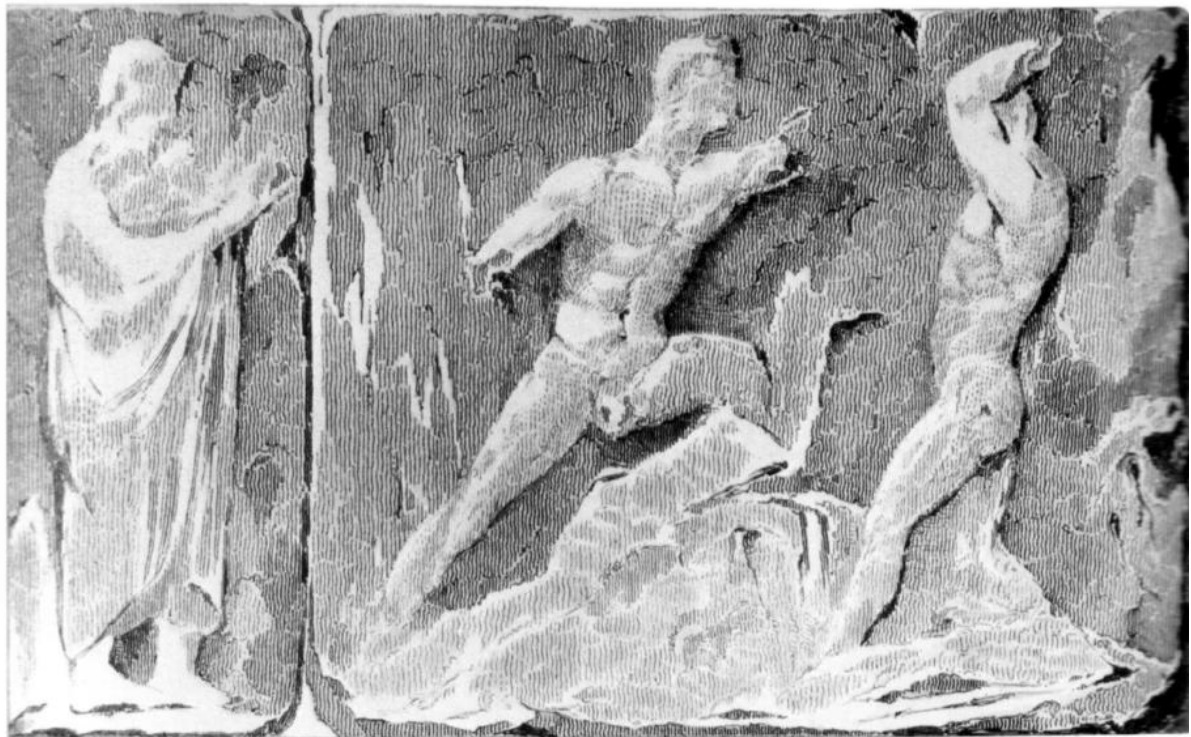


Figure 59: The Gigantomachy on the Sounion frieze, Aigeus on the left; Poseidon striking down a Giant (from Leventi 2009, 125, fig. 11.8).

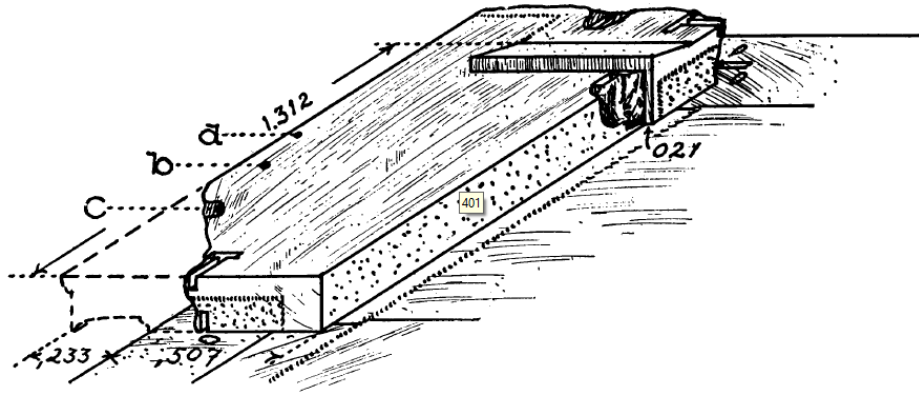


Figure 60: Three holes on the cornice block found by Stevens (photo from Stevens 1908, 401, fig. 2).

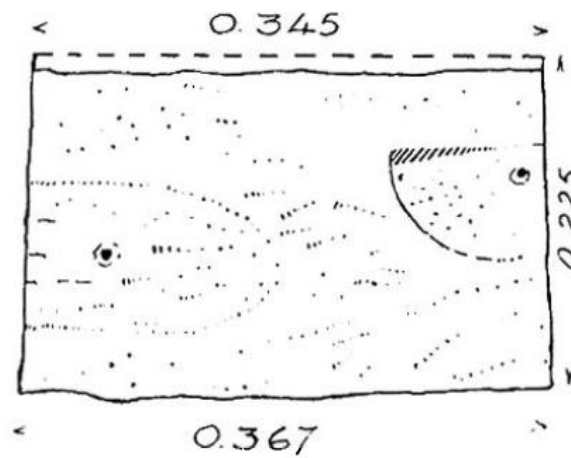


Figure 61: Fragment from the horizontal cornice of the Temple of Athena Nike with the depressions for plinths and holes for pins (from Orlandos 1947, 27, fig. 19).

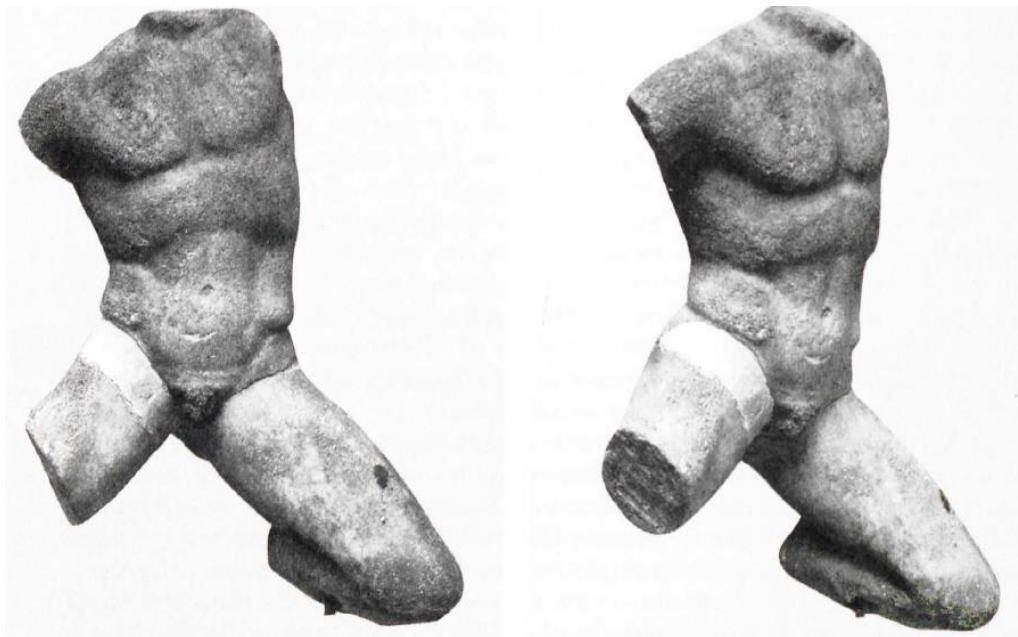


Figure 62: The male body of possibly a struggling Giant (AM 19808; photo from Despinis 1988, 282, figs. 147-48).



Figure 63: Athena or Amazon head (AM 4303; photo from Despini 1988, 302, 170-73).

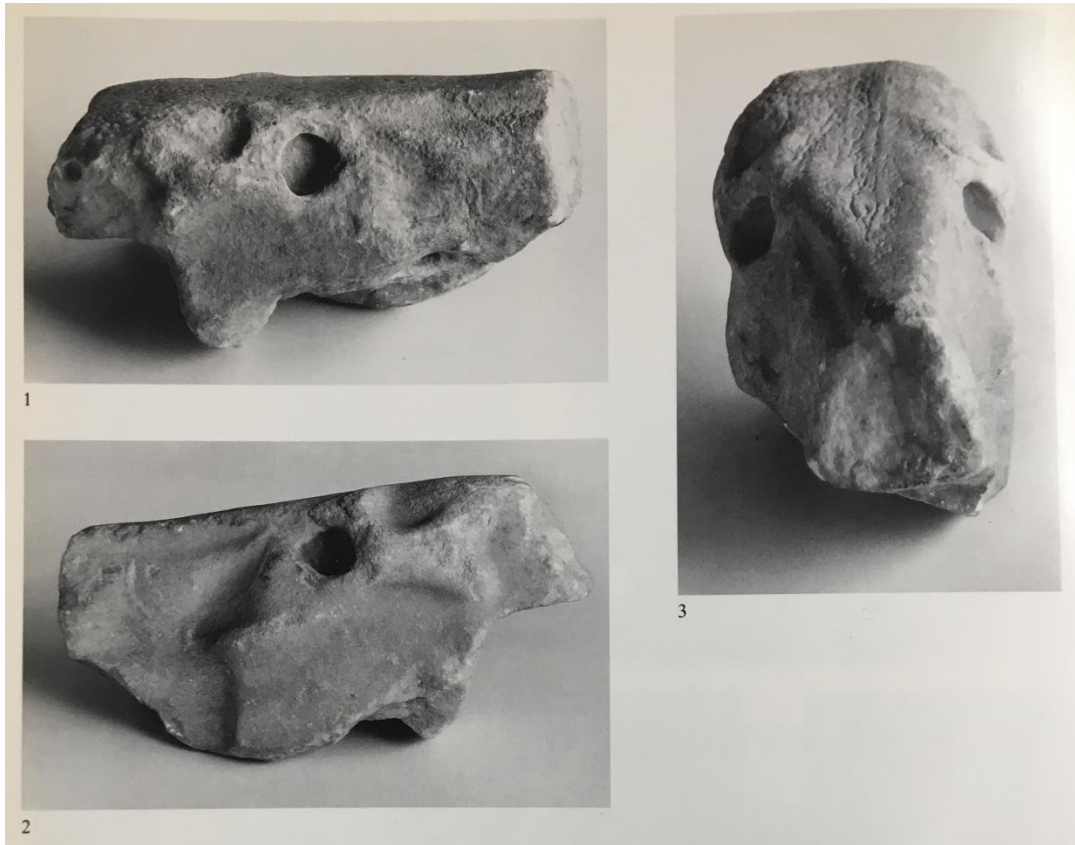


Figure 64: Horse head fragment introduced by Brouskari (AM 3215; from Brouskari 1989, pl. 20).

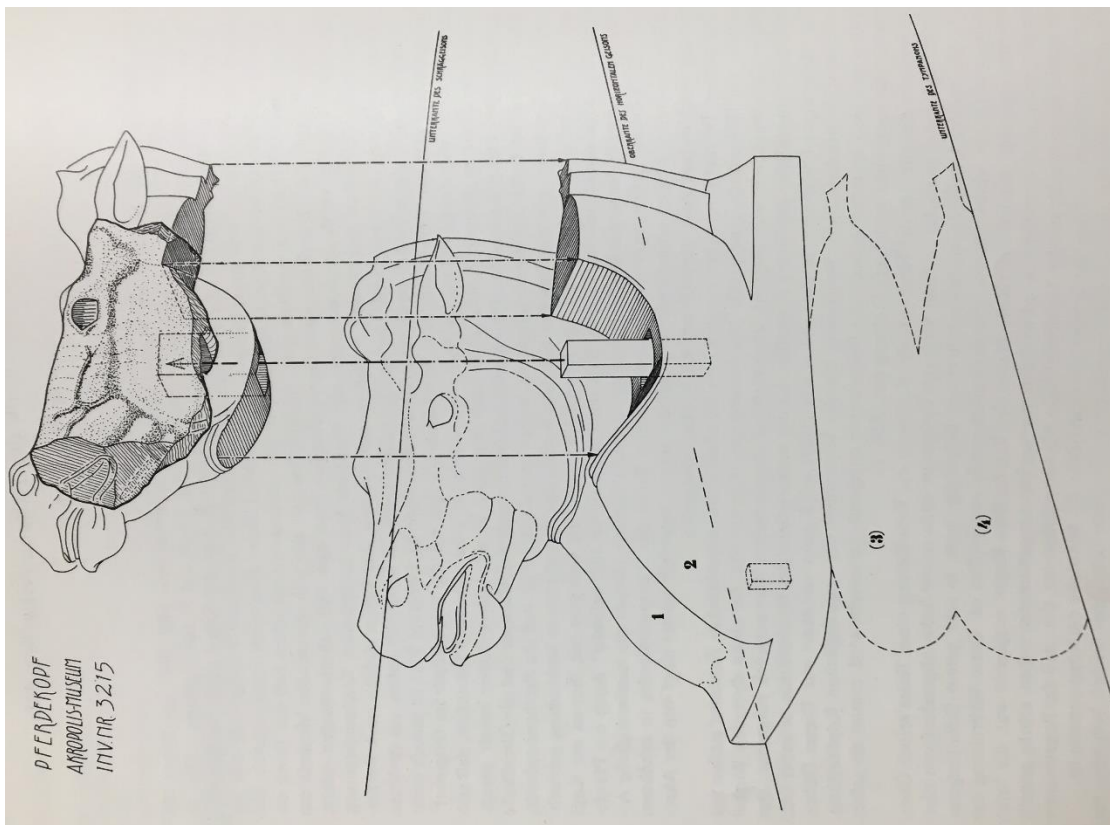
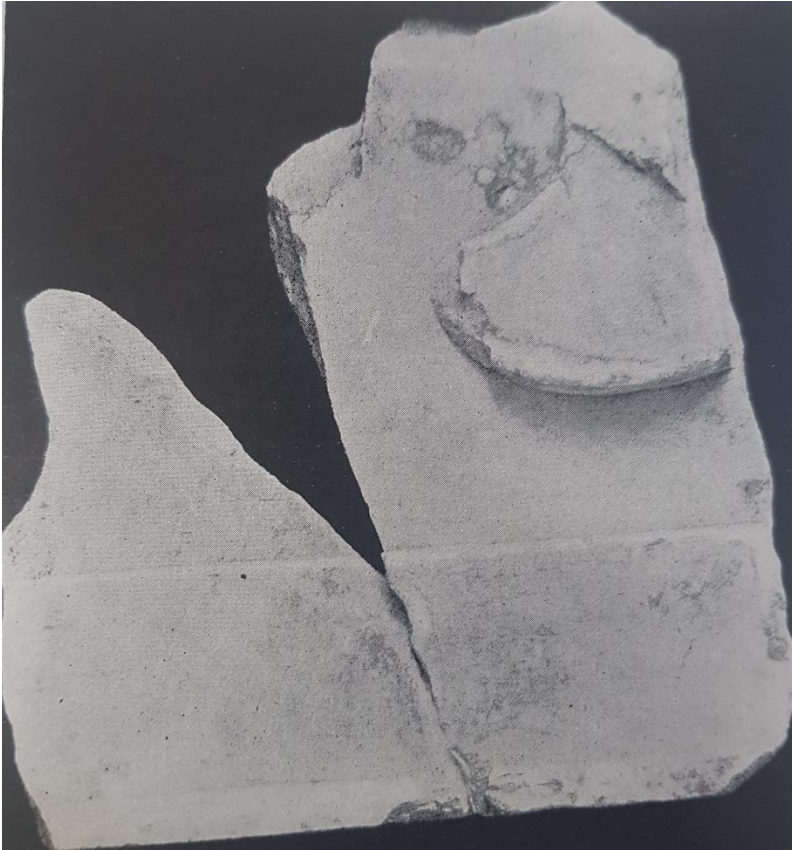


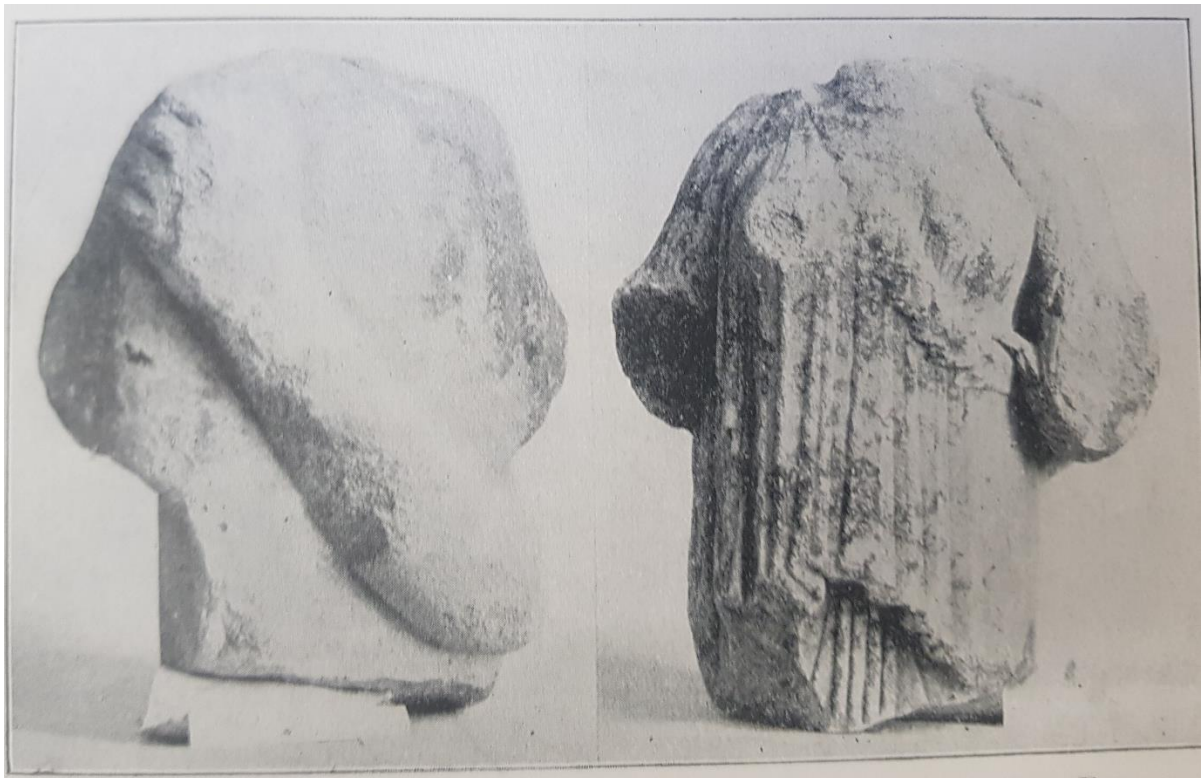
Figure 65: Reconstruction of support for the horse head (photo from Brouskari 1989, 116).



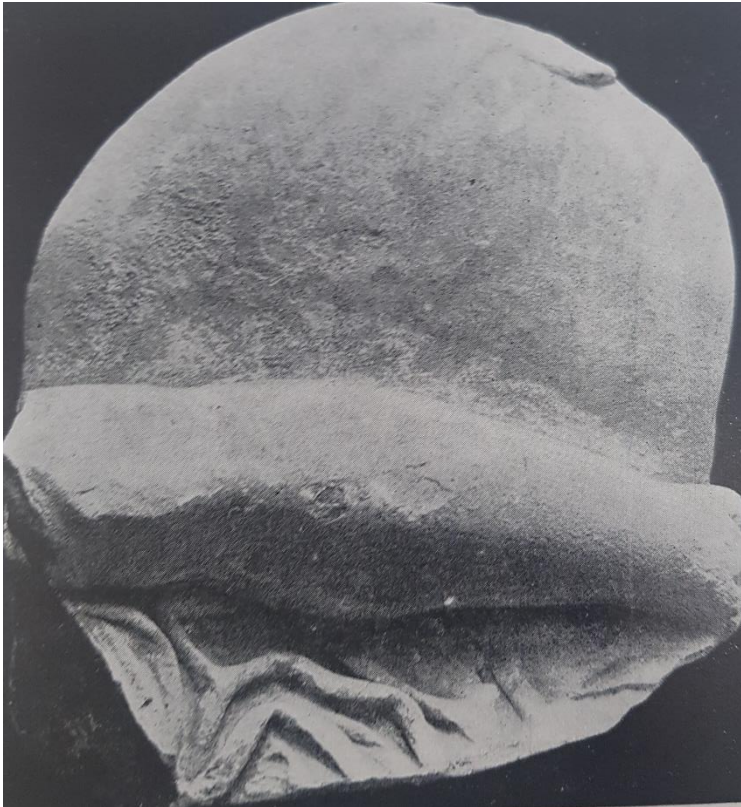
Figure 66: The Calyx depiction of the Gigantomachy (ABV<sup>2</sup> 1318.1; photo from Despina 1988, 312-13, fig. 188).



*Figure 67: Fragment of metope with Amazon pelta from the Argive Heraion (from Waldstein 1902 ,150, fig. 77).*



*Figure 68: The Xoana from the pediment of the Argive Heraion (photo from Waldstein 1902, 149, fig.76)*



*Figure 69: The "bag" or "cushion" belonging to one of the pediments of the Argive Heraion (photo from Waldstein 1902, 152, fig. 79).*



*Figure 70: The many fragments of agitated drapery, belong, perhaps, to Nymphs from the East pediment of the Argive Heraion (photo from Waldstein 1902, 151, fig. 78)*