

ATHENA MANCUNIENSIS: ANOTHER COPY OF THE ATHENA PARTHENOS

(PLATES XIX–XXIII)

IN the Department of Archaeology of the Manchester Museum is a terracotta figurine that is clearly intended to be a model of the Athena Parthenos of Phidias. Though very worn, and of undistinguished provincial Roman workmanship, a description of the figure, and some comments upon it, are offered here because it perhaps sheds light on all our other replicas of this famous work (PLATES XIX–XX).¹

When the figurine first emerged from the Manchester basements in 1970 comparison with the other published replicas then generally known suggested that it had some unique and interesting features that would make its publication worth while; however, since then Mr B. B. Shefton has most opportunely drawn my attention to a figurine in Exeter that has many points in common (PLATE XXII),² while Mrs Leipen's valuable collection of all the replicas relevant to the reconstruction of the statue made at the Royal Ontario Museum lists another figurine, in Geneva, that must be from the same mould (PLATE XXI).³ This figure was acquired by the Musée d'art et d'histoire in 1916 from a local family with no antiquarian interests and of unimpeachable reputation, in whose possession it had been since at least 1870—ten years earlier than the discovery of the Varvakeion statue, the only other replica-type in the round to have the column; it had evidently been found on their

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The following abbreviations have been used in this paper:

Dinsmoor: W. B. Dinsmoor, 'The repair of the Athena Parthenos: a story of five dowels' in *AJA* xxxviii (1934) 93–106.

Leipen: Neda Leipen, *Athena Parthenos: a Reconstruction* (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1971).

Picard: C. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque: la sculpture*, ii 1.

Num. Comm.: F. Imhoof-Blumer and Percy Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*.

Overbeck: J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen*.

Richter, *SCP*: G. M. A. Richter, 'Was there a vertical support under the Nike of the Athena Parthenos?' in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni* (Milan, 1956) iii 147–153.

Schuchhardt: W.-H. Schuchhardt, 'Athena Parthenos' in *Antike Plastik* ii (1963) 31–53, pls. 20–37.

Svoronos: J. N. Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes* (Munich, 1923–6).

¹ Manchester Museum acc. no. 20,001. The ancient literary references to the statue are collected by Overbeck, nos. 627–32, 634, 639 and 645–90. There are good modern bibliographies in Leipen, pp. vii–x; Schuchhardt, 46, 53; F. Brommer, *Athena Parthenos* (Opus Nobile, no. 2: Bremen, 1957) 18–19; Picard, 375–96, footnotes (to 1939); D. M. Robinson, *AJA* xv (1911) 499–503; of these, Leipen and Picard also have commentaries and illustrations. For the shield, Evelyn B. Harrison, *Hesperia* xxxv (1966) 107 n. 1; V. M. Strocka, *Piräusreliefs und Parthenoschild* (Bochum, 1967) 8.

² Exeter, Royal Albert Museum, inv. no. 5/1946/778; Leipen 11, no. 44, fig. 45. See below, p. 101, and cf. also a forgery in Exeter perhaps copying this figure, inv. no. 5/1946/592 = Leipen 11, no. 45, where the number is wrongly given.

³ Musée d'art et d'histoire, inv. no. MAH 7464: Leipen 11 no. 42, fig. 44; W. Deonna, *REA* xxi (1919) 20–6, pl. i, who gives further references.

land at Bassy, near Seyssel in the department of Ain, about 35 km. south-west of Geneva. Its authenticity has at times been doubted, but among the compelling arguments that Deonna brought forward in its defence were the humble circumstances of its discovery, and the fact that its former owners had made no effort to publicise their find. In support of this one can now adduce the statuette in Manchester, whose provenance is unknown, but which was presented to the museum by Miss Hilda Ransome, the author of *The Sacred Bee* (London, 1937) at some date before 1933, since when it has lain among the museum's reserve collections, apparently forgotten.

The Manchester figurine is of a rather coarse soft orange-brown clay, containing a few fragments of whitish grit; the surface is almost entirely gone, but there appears to have been a slip made of a more refined form of the same clay, that is now slightly greyish in colour. In these respects the figurine is typical of the reddish Gallo-Roman terracottas (as opposed to those made of pipe-clay), and is identical with the Geneva statuette. This is covered with a whitish deposit, which Deonna suggests is the effect of the marly soil in which it was buried; the Manchester version shows a few traces of a similar deposit in some of the drapery folds. It now stands 18.5 cm. high, and is complete except for the top of the helmet-crest, the right wing of the Nike and (probably) her fore-arms too, but these can be restored from the Geneva figure, which is 19.3 cm. high with the helmet-crest. The surface is very worn, so that some of the detail, such as the inscription, can only be restored with the help of the Swiss figure.

The figurine is fully modelled, and was apparently made in a two-part mould, for the join can be seen to run up the column and through the centre of the Nike (some detail has been added on her right leg after moulding), over the top of Athena's helmet, and then down the middle of her left arm to bisect the shield, thus ensuring that detail could be shown on both its sides. The spaces between the main figure and the Nike and column have been trimmed clean with a knife. There is a roughly circular indentation in the flat underside of the base, *c.* 1.8 cm. in diameter and 1.0 cm. deep, which was pierced to a depth of 2.7 cm. as a vent. There is a similar hole in the Geneva figurine 2 cm. wide and 3 cm. deep. The statuette is unusually heavy, which led Deonna to think that the Geneva version was modelled by hand, but the very distinct join-lines on the Manchester figure argue against this, and solid terracottas, though unusual, are by no means unknown in Roman Gaul.

The Manchester Athena certainly displays the Parthenos' 'archaic formality of pose' noted by Robertson as befitting a cult-statue:⁴ she stands fairly rigidly to attention, so that unlike many of the other copies, and the coins, there is no *Spielbein*: the only trace of this that remains is the front of the left foot peeping out from under the hem of the dress.

The helmet seems to be a 'developed Attic' rather than a Roman version of Phidias' creation (PLATE XX a-b). The detail is not distinct enough for one to be able to see clearly how it fits into Loeschke's or Mrs Leipen's classifications of the helmets of the various replicas.⁵ There does however seem to be a fairly clear division between helmet proper and neck-guard, and no sign of the neck-guard having been of the shorter types which ended halfway down the nape (as for example on the fourth-century gold medallions from Koul Oba⁶ and the 'New Series' Athenian tetradrachms⁷): this suggests that it may fall into Loeschke's 'type A', Mrs Leipen's first variant, as on the Aspasios gem⁸ and other copies. Both authors suggest this is closest to Phidias' original, not merely because it is the standard

⁴ C. M. Robertson, 'The Sculptures of the Parthenon' in *Parthenos and Parthenon* (Supplement to *Greece and Rome* x [1963]) 47.

⁵ G. Loeschke, 'Kopf der Athena Parthenos des Pheidias' in *Festschrift . . . des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* (Bonn, 1891) 5-15; Leipen 32.

⁶ Leipen 10 no. 38, fig. 42; Picard 385, fig. 161.

⁷ *Num. Comm.* pl. Y xxiii; Svoronos pls. 33-78.

⁸ Leipen 9 no. 36, fig. 38; Picard 384, fig. 160. The Copenhagen head, not known to Loeschke, fits well into his Type A (see n. 17 for references).

form of late archaic art, but also because it had greater strength to support the crest, and a larger surface to carry the subsidiary decoration.

There is only one single crest, which descends to shoulder level at the back:⁹ the figure supporting it can hardly be identified, but may be assumed to be a sphinx. There is a figure on either side, indistinct because the two parts of the mould join here: according to Pausanias' description,¹⁰ these should be griffins, but most of the copies show winged horses here, while some add griffins, but only as embellishments for the cheek-pieces:¹¹ it is in this way that the helmet is normally reconstructed (Leipen figs. 76-7), and it seems very possible that Pausanias' view of the side-crests may have been hindered by the cheek-pieces, so that he misinterpreted his guide's description. The maker of the Gallo-Roman figures may have been similarly misled, for the creatures on either side of the Manchester Athena's helmet look very like griffins: their tails are long and their feet widely straddled, and their wings are pointed and very large by Pegasus-standards, being turned backwards, in the post-classical manner, rather than forwards and upwards in the earlier fashion as they are on the Varvakeion and Koul Oba copies, which Mrs Leipen suggests would have been more convenient for attaching the side-plumes (Leipen 32-3). On the other hand their bodies, such as remain, may equally be equine, and the long flowing tails a distortion of the side-plumes of the helmet that these figures supported. That such a distortion could arise from the nature of the material used is shown by the similarity on this point of the Corinthian terracotta moulds of the Parthenos.¹²

The cheek-pieces, folded up as usual, have been worn down to little more than protrusions on the side of the helmet. On this scale one would hardly expect any trace of the animal-protomes on the brow-band, but the band itself is none the less very prominent, although like the Acropolis head, the Koul Oba medallions, and the Toronto medallions its lower edge is straight:¹³ this prominence must have been a feature of the original, but most of the other copies show the upper and lower edges of the brow-band curving to a point, and it seems very likely that this reflects a device of Phidias' that became popular in the later fifth century: it is even reflected on the head of Minerva found in the Walbrook in London.¹⁴

At the back of the helmet some of the original surface remains on the Manchester figurine, and was probably stippled: this must be intended for the same effect as the scale-pattern on the Aspasios gem and the Athenian bronze coins of the Imperial age.¹⁵ Loeschke took this to be a feature of the original, and quoted the terracotta mould in Berlin and some of the 'New Series' coins of Athens as other examples:¹⁶ but the evidence of these coins, when taken with such other replicas as the Copenhagen head, suggests that the 'scale-pattern' only ran round the edge on the original helmet, and that the main head-piece was covered

⁹ T. L. Shear, *AJA* xxviii (1924) 118, notes that on a large-scale statue this crest could be a strengthening feature, as long as it was continued down onto the shoulders.

¹⁰ Paus. i 24.5: this is the normal interpretation of the passage, but the verb Pausanias uses is *ἐπιεργασμένοι*, best taken as 'worked in relief', as Frazer translates. This could well refer to the cheek-pieces, in which case Pausanias has simply omitted the side-crests and their supports altogether.

¹¹ E.g. the Aspasios gem and the Koul Oba medallions (nn. 6 and 8) and see Mrs Leipen's list; cf. also the 'New Series' coins of Athens, Svoronos pls. 47.14-16; 50.1; 71.31; 75.16, 19, 21, 22.

¹² D. M. Robinson, *AJA* xv (1911), 493 and figs. 1-3 = Leipen 13 no. 53, fig. 52. There is a similar confusion on some, though not all, of the 'New Series' tetradrachms of Athens (and their

imitations), where Pegasus' body has shrunk to griffin-like proportions and his head has been adapted accordingly: v. Svoronos pls. 35.9-16; 38.11, 16, 17; 40.1, 9-12, etc., and *Num. Comm.* 127; compare also the coins referred to in n. 11.

¹³ Leipen 8 no. 30; 10 no. 38, fig. 42; 13 no. 58, fig. 55.

¹⁴ For further copies and discussions, see especially Furtwängler, *AM* vi (1881) 188, pl. vii.2; Loeschke, *op. cit.* (n. 5) 7-8; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain* (2nd ed., London, 1963) 134-5, no. 24, pl. 28.

¹⁵ For the gem, see n. 8; for the coins, *Num. Comm.* pl. Y xxiv; Svoronos pl. 82.16, 19-21, 26; cf. also L. Lacroix, *Les Reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques* (Paris, 1949) 273 n. 4, pl. xxxiii 2.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* (n. 5) 6-7; he illustrates the Berlin mould on p. 6.

with scroll patterns typical of the helmets of Amazons and goddesses in the late archaic and classical periods.¹⁷

Our Athena wears her hair long, in the archaic style, with tresses reaching down to her breast.¹⁸ The face appears to have been expressionless and crude, and although the area of the neck is not well preserved, there seems to be no trace of a necklace.¹⁹

The aegis is fairly small, but wide and square, just covering the breasts at the front: at the sides, it does not cover the shoulders properly, but only the collar-bone, and it has two lappets hanging down at the back instead of the more normal plain back, suggesting that the artist thought of the aegis as a kind of bib, to be tied around the neck (PLATES XIXc, XXa). Possibly he had misunderstood the two long side-plumes on the helmet of the original: having left them out for reasons of space on his small figure, he was at a loss how to interpret the two hanging pieces at the back. The front of the aegis has a small gorgoneion on the centre, with snakes emerging from under the chin, one on either side: that on the goddess' left seems to end in a 'button' as large as the gorgoneion itself, placed at the corner of the aegis over the left breast: the snake on the other side ends in a curl, and the 'button', if present, is hidden behind the Nike. This disparity between the two sides of the aegis may be a faint echo of a similar imbalance on the original, suggested by Schuchhardt in his analysis of the Varvakeion statuette (Schuchhardt 38, n. 18); while the 'buttons' recall the pendant-like snake heads and tails of the Patras figure, whose aegis is similarly small: Smith suggests that the snake-pendants provided cover for the pins that held the aegis in place on the original.²⁰ Such 'buttons' are also found on the Princeton statuette,²¹ and on the Oxford figurine described below (n. 57, PLATE XXIIIa). The aegis of the Manchester figure is in one piece, rather than of the two-part type which the other evidence suggests was that worn by the original (see p. 105 and n. 56 below).

The dress that our Athena is wearing seems to be a Roman matron's *stola*,²² not the Greek chiton or peplos: it has short sleeves that are definitely not part of the aegis, and it hangs in dry column-like folds to the feet. The monumental effect of this rather archaistic treatment has been noted on some of the other copies. The sketchily rendered belt does not affect the fall of the garment in any way, nor do anything to flatter the goddess' figure. There is no Greek 'overfall', but no Roman flounce at the bottom either: what appears to be such a flounce is in fact the hem of the cloak (presumably a *palla*) that she is wearing over her left shoulder, where it was held in place by a brooch.²³ Both garments are shown as of heavy wool, and the cloak does not allow the folds of the *stola* to show through. Despite the dryness of the modelling, the selvage is indicated on the hem of the outer fold of the cloak at the back.

As already mentioned, the front of the left foot peeps out from under the hem: this must have been a feature of the original, for it appears on most of the copies; but this is so typical of mid-fifth-century standing female statues that it is hardly surprising to find it repeated. No detail of the footwear is shown: the more elaborate copies wear thick sandals.²⁴

¹⁷ For the coins, Svoronos pls. 33–78, *passim*; for the Copenhagen head, L. Pollak, *ÖJh* iv (1901) 147–50, figs. 171, 174, pl. iv; F. Brommer, *Athena Parthenos* (Opus Nobile, no. 2: Bremen, 1957) cover and pl. 7; E. Buschor, *Medusa Rondanini* (Stuttgart, 1958) pl. 9; further examples are quoted in Leipen 32.

¹⁸ Cf. Leipen 31–2 for a discussion of the hair-style.

¹⁹ Cf. D. M. Robinson, *AJA* xv (1911) 488; Leipen 34; add to their lists of necklace-wearing copies the fourth-century coin from Aphrodisias (Cilicia), *Num. Comm.* pl. Y xxii, C. M. Kraay and M. Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (London, 1966) pl. 193, no. 670.

²⁰ See Cecil Smith, *BSA* iii (1896–7) 127–30, pl. ixa.

²¹ T. L. Shear, *AJA* xxviii (1924) pl. iii.

²² Cf. Lillian M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (Baltimore, 1938) 148–50, 152–64, especially 162–4, figs. 99, 102–3.

²³ Picard 390–1: he comments particularly on the treatment of the 'Minerve au collier'.

²⁴ E.g. the Varvakeion statuette (Schuchhardt pl. 20); cf. Leipen 29–30 for a discussion of the sandal decoration.

The left hand rests gently on the rim of the shield:²⁵ because the two parts of the mould join at this point, both hand and shield are very thick (PLATES XIXa–c, XXc). The shield is held at an angle of 45° to the body, allowing a rather skinny snake to rear up on the tip of its tail inside its shelter. It recalls the ‘striking’ pose of the Varvakeion statuette’s snake, though much less elaborately coiled than that fine creature.²⁶ Immediately behind the snake is the *porpax* through which the left arm was passed: this is shown slightly off-centre, and is indicated by an oblong lump, though presumably intended to represent a vertical loop or strap, as on the Varvakeion statuette (Schuchhardt pl. 32). The inner rim of the shield is marked off from the rest of the interior, which is raised slightly, lending conviction to Stuart Jones’ suggestion that ‘it is *a priori* probable that only the inner edge was decorated’.²⁷ No other detail of the interior is shown. The outside of the shield, which is oval in shape, is almost entirely filled by a large and rather vacuous Gorgon’s head. Little detail remains, but there are rays or ‘flames’ in very shallow relief springing from it in all directions, while the ‘cross-bones’ under the chin must indicate a snake or pair of snakes. The type is typical of gorgoneia on Athenas and similar figures of Gallo-Roman provenance.²⁸ The shield rests directly on the statue-base, and there is no hint of a spear in the goddess’ hand.²⁹

Both arms are thick in at least one plane, and are held stiffly with no sign of life. On Athena’s right hand stands the Nike, turning and leaning slightly inward, as on the Varvakeion statuette. No traces of any head-dress remain on the Nike’s head, and she is wearing a woollen peplos or sleeveless *tunica* that hangs stiffly, without any of the flying motion of the Varvakeion Nike; her fore-arms are lost, but her left arm was presumably held out across her body to hold a taenia or wreath. The horizontal ridge across her waist may indicate a belt, but the Nike of the Varvakeion figure has over her peplos a small cloak, folded and wrapped around her body below the breasts and hanging over the left fore-arm, and the Berlin Nike has a similar small cloak around her waist and over her left arm:³⁰ possibly the ridge on the Manchester and Geneva Nikai reflects this, in its Romanised form. She had large wings, damaged on the Manchester example, but complete on the Geneva one (PLATES XXa–b, XXI).

Modelling and preservation are poor, and it is possible that the Nike was intended to be shown standing on a flat dish of some kind held by the goddess, rather than directly on the palm of her hand. The crudeness of the modelling led Deonna to suggest that the Nike of the Geneva figure is standing directly on the capital itself,³¹ but the Manchester, Geneva and Exeter statuettes do not bear this out, and either hand or dish rest on the capital of an unfluted column of indeterminate order, which is discussed further on, pp. 106–10 below.³²

The base of the statuette is flat, with remains of a low moulding around upper and lower edge, on the front and both sides. The surface is damaged, but comparison with the Geneva figurine shows that although the lower parts of the middle letters are lost, it was inscribed AΘHNA on the front (PLATES XIXa, XXIa).

²⁵ Cf. Ampelius, *Lib. Mem.* 8 ‘ad sinistram clipeus adpositus quem digito tangit’ (Overbeck no. 672).

²⁶ Cf. Schuchhardt 34, pl. 32.

²⁷ H. Stuart Jones, *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture* p. 83, commenting on Pliny’s description of the shield, *NH* xxxvi 18. The Toronto reconstruction fills the whole interior of the shield with the Gigantomachy, and decorates the off-set rim with a guilloché-pattern. While artistically convincing on its own, this version has the drawback that very little of the figured decoration would actually have been seen once the snake was in place (Leipen 46–9 and figs. 86–7).

²⁸ W. Deonna, *REA* xxi (1919) 25.

²⁹ Cf. Paus. i 24.7, and see below p. 112, especially n. 109.

³⁰ Schuchhardt pl. 31; G. Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci* (Milan-Florence, 1951) pl. 72, figs. 222–3. See Leipen 34–6, for a summary discussion of the Nike and the significance of her pose.

³¹ *REA* xxi (1919) 21.

³² The snake that appears to be wriggling up the column on some photographs is no more than a root-mark on the clay.

A detailed comparison of the Manchester and Geneva figures shows that the only differences are slight ones of finish: for example, the knot of the belt on the Manchester Athena is more prominent, but her left hand is much clumsier. The white deposit on the surface of the Geneva statuette makes it easier to photograph and it is more complete, but with the exception of the inscription on the base, it gives us little extra information, though it is interesting to note that the effect given by the presence of both wings on the Nike is distinctly similar to the billowing cloak of Paeonius' alighting figure (PLATE XXIa).³³ These two must come from the same mould: and it seems most probable that the figurine in Exeter referred to on p. 96 comes from a parallel mould in the same series (PLATE XXII), for it corresponds with the other two in all important features, in particular the following: the column, especially the mouldings of capital and base; the Nike, even down to the slight inward tilt of the original; the shield, aegis and helmet; the inscribed base and the technique, mould-marks included. It stands 19.1 cm. high. It differs from them in the following respects:

- (i) The Exeter Athena has no cloak, and the back of her aegis is more conventionally rendered.
- (ii) She has an extra strip of drapery decorated with a herring-bone pattern on her right side, which Mrs Leipen suggests is a misunderstanding of the fold-pattern of the open peplos, the copyist not having seen the original.³⁴ Otherwise the style of the dress is very similar, though clearly a Greek peplos.
- (iii) The Exeter snake has an extra coil.
- (iv) The base has a double moulding top and bottom, similar to that of the Varvakeion statue, whereas the Manchester-Geneva type only has a single one.³⁵
- (v) There is a gap between the right fore-arm and shield on the Exeter figure, and none on the Manchester-Geneva type.
- (vi) The helmet-crest is larger and more flamboyant.

Certain details are more sketchily finished on the Exeter figure than on the other two—e.g. the column-mouldings and the face; but on other points the reverse is true—e.g. the base, the snake, and the gap over the shield. It would be fascinating to know at which stage the cloak was added (or, perhaps, subtracted): there is a round lump at about the level of the right ankle of the Manchester figure which might be a vestige of the extra strip of the Exeter version: if so, one may assume that the cloak was added to the Manchester-Geneva mould, but did not exist on the archetype from which the series derives.

Such points as the general stiffness of the Manchester figure, and the very dry, almost archaistic rendering of the drapery, the thickness and rigidity of the limbs, and the modelling of the features, coupled with the nature of the clay, suggest that these figurines are of Gallo-Roman, perhaps more precisely of Swiss origin; a date around the second century A.D. seems likely. An interesting comparison may be found in a small bronze of Minerva, one of a group of figurines from the temple site at Bruton in Somerset.³⁶ Such a date would coincide with the spate of replicas that seems to follow the renewed interest shown in the statue in and after the Hadrianic period, and cannot be too far away in time from Pausanias' visit. That this interest reached the more remote corners of the Roman Empire is shown

³³ E.g. G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* figs. 455-6.

³⁴ Leipen 11 no. 44, 28; cf. also F. Noack, *JdI* xlv (1930) 198-217, figs. 1-15, for a detailed analysis of the variations in the drapery.

³⁵ See Leipen 27 and Praschniker, *ÖJh* xxxix (1952) 8, fig. 1 for a further discussion of the mouldings of the base.

³⁶ J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain* (2nd ed.

London, 1963) 136, no. 26, pls. 23-4: now on loan to the Bristol City Museum but the property of Mrs C.-M. Bennett, to whom I am most grateful for her help and readiness to make the statuette available to me. This figurine is clearly based on Phidias' Athena Promachos, as Miss Toynbee says, but the position of the right hand surely indicates that the spear was held vertically, as one would expect for the Promachos, and not horizontally as she suggests.

by the Antonine coins from Tomi and Anchialus on the Black Sea that use the Parthenos motif, and by the bronze head from Carnuntum and the Walbrook head.³⁷ There is no close parallel to be found among the terracottas listed by Winter,³⁸ and there are several points of interest about the Manchester and Geneva figures that deserve further discussion, and which perhaps justify this very detailed description.

The general close similarity to the Varvakeion statue is striking, but most interesting is the dress, the principal point of difference: the extra cloak is most unusual, being apparently only found on a few other terracottas,³⁹ and the Roman dress is unique: it seems not to have been noticed in any of the earlier discussions of the type. Clearly this is an adaption to suit Roman taste, but it underlines the question that must be asked about all those works on which we base our reconstruction of Phidias' original: how far are they deliberate replicas, and how far eclectic adaptations made to suit the artist's needs or whims, or the inclinations of current interest or fashion? In the case of the Manchester–Geneva figures it is pointed by the presence of the column and the figures on the helmet, though in the erroneously rendered details of the crests and of the aegis there is evidence that our artist had misunderstood how these—admittedly unusual—features worked on the original, or that he was himself working from an unreliable copy (see p. 104–5 below).

If these are copies of the Athena Parthenos, even in the broadest sense of the word, one should try to establish whether they are actually based on Phidias' original, or on a later replacement, for Dinsmoor, Picard and Stevens have produced compelling historical and archaeological arguments for at least one replacement after a fire.⁴⁰ Dinsmoor argued for a Hellenistic date, both from the style of the fragments attributed to the internal colonnade of the building, which he thought Pergamene of the mid-second century B.C., and because this seemed to him a time when copies suddenly came into vogue: since the copies he noted all came from the area dominated by the kings of Pergamon, Syria and Cappadocia, who all made lavish gifts to their old university city of Athens, he suggested that they had also contributed to the restoration of the statue destroyed by a fire which he dated *c.* 165 B.C.⁴¹ Stevens also argues for a major fire such as would have destroyed the statue, from the repairs made to the outer blocks of the pedestal, while the inner ones were left unscathed although even the sill of the east door and the columns of the pronaos were damaged. He suggests on technical grounds that these repairs are of Roman or later date, though his arguments become increasingly tenuous. In his latest article Stevens does note the absence of any written record of a fire in the Parthenon, but this is a point which both he and Dinsmoor tend to gloss over. In fact it is only the classical authors who are silent about a Parthenon fire, for Führer has connected some lines in the *Passio S. Philippi Heraclaeae* with the burning of the Parthenos.⁴² This must then be the final destruction of the statue, which took place between Proclus' visit to Athens in A.D. 429, and Marinus' writing of Proclus' biography in

³⁷ Cf. B. Pick and K. Regling, *Die Antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien* (Berlin, 1898–1910) i, halbband 1, pl. xv, K.24; i, halbband 2, abt. 1, p. 632, nos. 2678–80, 2727 (coins); Leipen 15, no. 68 (Carnuntum head); Toynbee, *op. cit.* 134–5, no. 24, pl. 28 (Walbrook head).

³⁸ F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* iii 2, 176–8.

³⁹ E.g. Winter, *op. cit.* 176.4–5, 10, 12 (and the further references given there): none of these are really 'copies' of the Athena Parthenos and they do not appear in Mrs Leipen's list. Other variations in dress occasionally appear among the copies: e.g. the statuette of the Roman period in the Acropolis Museum, Leipen 5, no. 11, that wears an Ionic chiton with buttoned sleeves.

⁴⁰ Dinsmoor 93 ff., especially 102–6; Picard 381–2; G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia* xxiv (1955) 270–6; xxx (1961) 1–7.

⁴¹ Dinsmoor 104–6, where he gives a list of the relevant replicas, with references. The reference to the activities of Antiochus IV at 106, nn. 4 and 5, should be to Granius Licinianus xxviii, not xxvii. Cf. also Mrs Leipen's comments on the fragments from Priene, Leipen 7, no. 22.

⁴² *RM* vii (1892) 158–65. The passage from chapter 5 of the *Passio* lists several pagan statues that were destroyed by the purging fire of God, and continues 'Arsit et armata Minerva. Nihil illam gorgoneum pectus, nec defendit ille picturatus splendor armorum, melius infelix, si pensa tractasset'.

A.D. 485 or soon after⁴³—possibly following on Theodosius II's decree ordering the destruction of the pagan temples in 435. Should one then perhaps connect the repairs to the pedestal with the alterations that must have followed the fifth-century A.D. fire and the conversion of the Parthenon into a Christian church? Both Goethert and Koch have attacked Dinsmoor's arguments for a fire in the Hellenistic period, and have shown that not only could the architectural evidence support a late Roman or Byzantine date for the fire and repairs, but that in all the later versions of the Parthenos that can be regarded as replicas rather than mere adaptations in accordance with Hellenistic taste, there is a consistency with the style of the fifth century B.C. that does not allow for their being based on different originals. Further, none of the pre-Hellenistic replicas of which we know are of sufficient scale or detail to provide enough information on which a faithful replacement could be based.⁴⁴

However, one must note that the dates suggested by Dinsmoor and Stevens both seem to coincide with periods when copies are common, and Lewis has even suggested a date near 164 B.C. for the first minting of the Athenian 'New Series' tetradrachms, whose obverse regularly carries the head of Athena Parthenos.⁴⁵ While this date may be on the low side, it is clear that there was a revival of interest in the statue around the second quarter of the second century B.C., as well as in the Hadrianic period, so perhaps the crucial question to be answered here is, which statue did Pausanias see, or think he saw? In the context of Athens and the Parthenon, he does not name the architect or the artist of any of the sculptures (i 24.5 ff.). This is odd when one compares his visit to Olympia, where he identifies the architect, the two temple-sculptors, and Phidias as the sculptor of the Zeus, even describing his workshop (v 10.3 ff.; *ibid.* 15.1): on the other hand he gives a much fuller description of the Zeus altogether, suggesting that he found it more important and more impressive. In fact such a silence on the question of authorship is not so unusual for Pausanias: one need only look to the beginning of the section that includes his description of the Parthenos, where he mentions a whole series of statues on the Acropolis, including the Athena and Marsyas attributed to Myron, without naming their sculptors and evidently without feeling that he ought to have done so, for he makes no apology (i 24.1 ff.). However, when he comes to Bassae, he tells us that Iktinos, the architect, also built the Parthenon (viii 41.9): while when describing the chryselephantine statue of Athena at Pellene, he says: *Φειδιαν δὲ εἶναι τὸν εἰργασμένον φασί, πρότερον ἔτι ἢ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τε αὐτὸν τῇ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ποιῆσαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὰ ἀγάλματα* (vii 27.2). The passage might refer to the Promachos, but the context of the chryselephantine statue suggests that Pausanias is here thinking of the Athena Parthenos. This is borne out by his description of Phidias' gilded wood and marble statue of Athena Areia at Platea, where he compares the Promachos—but specifies the bronze statue (ix 4.1).

However, all this is early Pausanias; Frazer has shown not only that Book i of the *Description of Greece* was written and published before the rest, but also that at the start Pausanias was (understandably) somewhat overwhelmed by the magnitude of his undertaking, so his selection of the sites and customs that he will describe is more sketchy, and his treatment of them slighter, than it is in the later books.⁴⁶ Pausanias himself confirms this with regard to the very passage under discussion, for in the middle of his description of the Acropolis he pulls himself up with the words 'but I must proceed, for I have yet to describe

⁴³ Marinus, *Procl.* 30 (quoted by Führer, *op. cit.* 164).

⁴⁴ F. W. Goethert, *JdI* xlix (1934) 157–61; H. Koch, *AA* 1935, 388–94; see also Leipen 18–19 for a summary discussion. Koch draws particular attention to the Piraeus shield-reliefs, but his arguments from the Athenian 'New Series' coinage become less convincing with its new lower dating (see next note).

⁴⁵ D. M. Lewis, *Numismatic Chronicle* ii (7th series: 1962) 275–300. Margaret Thompson holds that the coins were first minted in 196/5 (*The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* [New York, 1961] 32–3, 107–8; *Num. Chron.* ii [1962] 301–33); Mattingly (*Num. Chron.* ix [1969] 327–30) supports Lewis; his most recent discussion of the problem is in *JHS* xci (1971) 85–93.

⁴⁶ *Pausanias* vol. i xvii–xviii, xxiii.

the whole of Greece', and he ends his account of Attica with an almost apologetic summing up, that these are, in his opinion, the sights and traditions most worthy of special mention (i 26.4 [Frazer's translation]; *ibid.* 39.3).

Pausanias' silence over the sculptor of the Parthenos in Book i is no argument for his ignorance, then: in fact, the inexperienced antiquary might be forgiven for having omitted the name just because, consciously or unconsciously, he expected everyone to know it. From the cross-references in his later, more spacious books, where he is clearly trying to make amends for the jejuneness of his earliest effort, it seems obvious that Pausanias thought he was looking at a Phidian original in the Parthenon. He certainly knew of Lachares' removal of the gold from the Athena (i 25.7), and of other statues being replaced by copies before he saw them, and he seems normally to specify such cases: for example, he was well aware of the whereabouts of 'Iphigeneia's' statue of Artemis, a story he expanded in a later book;⁴⁷ and he records that Endoios' statue of Athena Alea at Tegea had been removed to Rome by Augustus and replaced by another (viii 46.1–47.1): on this occasion he even allows himself a digression on the time-honoured custom of carrying off statues. He is not normally silent about repairs to buildings or sculptures either. True, he does not mention the later work done to the West Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, but here we know his guides to have been insufficiently informed, and when it comes to the Zeus itself, he says nothing of repairs in the context of Olympia, but does so in some detail when discussing the other work of the man who did them, Damophon of Messene.⁴⁸ Assuming that in his later books he is trying to make up for his earlier omissions, we can hardly expect Pausanias, ever itching to digress, to have omitted to mention repairs or replacements to the Athena Parthenos had he known of them, and such a passage would have provided him with just the opening he needed.⁴⁹ If, as Dinsmoor argues, the replacement was made through the munificence of the Pergamene kings, it would hardly have been in character for them to have done so without attendant publicity whose echoes might still have been heard three centuries later, at any rate among the guides: apart from the character of the kings to whom he gives the credit (hardly the most self-effacing of monarchs) the coins to which he refers on p. 105 must on his arguments be taken as large-scale publicity for the event; while if the repairs were of Roman date, such that they are reflected in the copies we have, as Stevens suggests, then the event must have been virtually contemporary with Pausanias. Had there really been a major fire on the Acropolis, he must have heard of it. The fact remains that not only do none of the other classical authors make any reference to a repair or replacement of the Athena Parthenos either,⁵⁰ but Phidias goes on being named as the sculptor by those writing in the first and second centuries A.D.—e.g. Pliny, Arrian, Dio Chrysostom, Pollux and Apuleius: and Clement of Alexandria (*fl. c.* A.D. 160–215) thought it *παντί που σαφές* that Phidias was the sculptor of the Zeus and the Athena, while Plutarch, a century earlier, actually saw a signature of Phidias on the base, about whose authenticity he evidently had no doubts.⁵¹

On the literary evidence at least, then, it seems most unlikely that our figurine, if copying the statue in the Parthenon, was based on anything but Phidias' original—in its essentials, that is, for we have ample literary evidence not only for the thefts of gold by Aristocles and Phileas or Philourges quite soon after the statue was made, but also for the wholesale

⁴⁷ i 33.1 and iii 16.7–8 (*cf.* also viii 46.3).

⁴⁸ iv 31.6; the most probable date for Damophon seems to be early in the second century B.C.: *cf.* Peter Levi, *Pausanias* (Harmondsworth, 1971) vol. ii 175 n. 143, and G. Dickins, *BSA* xii (1905–6) 109–11.

⁴⁹ The account of the *φαιδρόντα* would have provided another opportunity. On Pausanias' habit of digression, see Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. i xviii, xl–xli, etc.

⁵⁰ Themistius *Orat.* xxv 374 (ed. Dindorf) (Overbeck no. 676; *cf.* nos. 645–79).

⁵¹ Clem. Al. *Protrept.* iv p. 41 (ed. Pott.); Plut. *Per.* 13 (Overbeck nos. 650, 652); among the passages quoted by Overbeck, note especially no. 648 (Plin. xxxiv 54): 'Phidias praeter Iovem Olympium . . . fecit ex ebore aequae Minervam quae est in Parthenone stans'.

stripping by Lachares in 296/5 B.C.⁵² The question of when, if ever, Athens was again rich enough to replace the gold has been much discussed, but as Dinsmoor points out, it is hardly likely that all writers of the Roman period were deceived by a core of wood or other material covered with gold leaf, and, if there was a replacement, we are left with the problem of how it was made. Schuchhardt, following a suggestion of Miss Richter's, argues for a tradition of casts and moulds that might have handed down even the details as late as the second century A.D., so that they would be available not just for repairs to the main statue, but for all the copyists and replica-makers who would of course not be able to treat the Parthenon like a museum or studio when they wanted to make a reproduction.⁵³ It is of course very tempting to recall the terracotta drapery moulds found in Phidias' workshop at Olympia, and suggest that those used for the Parthenos were preserved in Athens for later re-use, but all the evidence from Olympia suggests that in the last decade of the fifth century B.C., some years after work on the cult-statue had finished, the workshop was cleaned out, and the drapery moulds were thrown out with all the other rubbish, including glass fragments and moulds, and ivory chips.⁵⁴ It is arguable whether the 'well-finished statue' that Phidias might have used for a model was preserved after the colossal statue had been completed, but since the first replicas and adaptations began to be made almost as soon as Phidias had finished work, there must have been a very large number in existence by the second century A.D. on which the later copyists could base their work.⁵⁵ By the Roman period the original statue will already have been 500 years old: even without a major fire, it must have suffered some damage and repair—as the inventories testify. Even of the early copies many must have been made from memory or from quick sketches; and inevitably the fidelity of each copy must depend in part on the purpose for which it was made; though the intention of most of them can probably be described as religious, souvenir or decorative, or some combination of these, one need only think of the very large proportion of buttons, jewellery and small terracottas among the extant replicas to realise how much we depend on mere resumé of the original (e.g. Leipen 9–15, nos. 36–67).

A detailed analysis of all the extant replicas might yield evidence of a number of different copyists' traditions: for example, the aegis can be large or small, stiff or figure-hugging, in one piece or joined in the middle.⁵⁶ The fact that both the Lenormant and the Ashmolean figures end the right hand in a stiff and inconclusive lump gives cause for speculation (PLATE XXIIIa);⁵⁷ one might also be able to explain the occasional presence of the owl in these terms (see below pp. 110–111).

⁵² Overbeck nos. 680–7; Dinsmoor 96–8 gives a detailed history of the statue in this period.

⁵³ Schuchhardt 38 no. 18; cf. G. M. A. Richter, *AJA* lxxv (1961) 210.

⁵⁴ A. Mallwitz and W. Schiering, 'Die Werkstatt des Pheidias in Olympia' in *Ol. Forsch.* v (1964) 95, 103–7, 141. Cf. C. M. Robertson, in *Parthenos and Parthenon* (Supplement to *Greece and Rome* x [1963]) 46–7; G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia* xxvi (1957) 356–9.

⁵⁵ D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus, iv: the Terracottas* no. 358, pl. 37; cf. *id.*, *AJA* xv (1911) 482, n. 4 (quoting Furtwängler); L. Pollak, *ÖJh* iv (1901) 144–6; Leipen 2: for early copies, e.g. her nos. 17, 30, 55 and 58, and the vase by the Hephaistos Painter discussed on pp. 113–14 below.

⁵⁶ See above, p. 99; cf. also D. M. Robinson, *AJA* xv (1911) 487; Leipen 29. Large aegis: Varvakeion, Lenormant, Princeton, Madrid, Antiochus'; small: Corinth mould, Patras, Argos, Turin bronze, Aspasio gem, Mariemont and perhaps Gortyn, Baltimore and Belgrade, and the marble

copy in the seventeenth-century *Codex Pighius* (Leipen 7); two-piece aegis: Varvakeion, Lenormant, Princeton, Madrid, Belgrade, Patras, Antiochus', Minerve au collier, Pergamon; one-piece aegis: Manchester–Geneva, Exeter, Oxford, Argos (hybrid type); the fact that the majority of the copies (and the Medici type) have the two-part aegis, which is otherwise very rare, argues strongly for this having been the form of the original (cf. A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon* [Leipzig, 1871] 281, no. 17).

⁵⁷ Leipen 3, no. 1, fig. 1 and 12, no. 46, fig. 46 [*sic*]: Mrs Leipen wrongly attributes a patera to the Oxford figurine (Ashmolean Museum acc. no. 1954.95: PLATE XXIIIa). This is of a fine pinkish-brown clay, hollow moulded with detail at the front only, and an oval vent-hole cut into the back. Many of the details are indistinct. On her head she has an Attic (or Chalcidian) helmet, with cheek-pieces raised, and triple crest, whose supports are unidentifiable. She wears a Romanised peplos, high-girt with long overfall. There seems to be a small aegis, with a small

The most convincing solution to the problem of the restoration of the gold seems to be that of Miss Harrison, who points out that we know from the inventories that at least the gorgoneion of the shield was of gilded silver, and who argues that probably the whole shield and helmet, and possibly the back of the snake as well, were of this material, intricate parts being less liable to damage if of this harder metal.⁵⁸ This leaves only the drapery and hair of the main statue and the Nike, the wings of the Nike, and probably the surface of the supports, to be covered with removable plates of gold. This is much the most practical solution, remembering that the original purpose of having the gold removable was so that it could act as a treasury reserve, not as a safeguard against embezzlement;⁵⁹ it makes the restoration after Lachares' depredations rather less of a burden, but nevertheless one which the kings of Asia Minor might have been proud to bear—and to advertise in the way Dinsmoor suggests (n. 41). It also means that even if the copyists saw the statue in a denuded state, they would probably not have missed the detail that was so highly admired, minor thefts and repairs apart.⁶⁰

It does seem possible that the maker of the archetype of the Manchester, Geneva and Exeter figurines had seen Phidias' statue, so one is tempted to ask whether we can learn anything from them about the original.

The most striking, and most controversial, feature is of course the column. Miss Richter, arguing from the copies known to her which had a column or a similar support (which do not include the terracottas), came to the conclusion that even taken together they do not provide conclusive evidence for its existence, in the face of its absence from the literary accounts, and from the vast majority of the copies.⁶¹ However, the Varvakeion statuette, commonly regarded as the most reliable of the copies, has a column, to which those of the Manchester–Geneva and Exeter figures is remarkably similar: they are all placed hard up against the front left corner of the base of the statue; on all the column-base is a malformed version of the Attic–Ionic type (atticarges): the lowest moulding is a large plain torus; above this on the Varvakeion figure is a smaller torus, followed by a double roundel but separated from it by a concave trochilus; on the terracottas are three rather confused convex

gorgoneion at the centre; snakes cannot be made out, but there are two large 'buttons' on the shoulder, presumably to hold both peplos and aegis—unless the gorgoneion is merely thought of as a large brooch on the peplos. The left leg is free, and the drapery swirls lightly as if she were coming to a standstill. The left arm is long and skinny, and grasps the top rim of a small, nearly round shield, which rests on a raised mass. Its outer rim is slightly off-set; in the centre is a gorgon-head in three-quarter view. The right arm is thick and wooden; it is unfinished below the elbow, and ends in a stump, though it is just possible that the end has been broken off: there is slight damage to the helmet-crests, the knees and base. There is no trace of what she was holding, but there was never a column, for the base is small, high and oval, and plain with a single moulding top and bottom. The figurine stands 19.4 cm. high, and was originally acquired in Syria, having probably been made there in the second century A.D.

⁵⁸ Evelyn B. Harrison, *Hesperia* xxxv (1966) 106–12, especially 111–12; see also Schuchhardt 33–4; and Leipen 19–21 and n. 21 for a summary of the inscriptions and discussions relevant to the making of the statue and the metals used: she proposes a similar solution.

⁵⁹ Thuc. ii 13; cf. Plut. *Per.* 31.

⁶⁰ Plin. xxxvi 18. References to occasions when parts of the statue may have been removed, and have been recorded in the temple-inventories, are collected by Dinsmoor 96.

⁶¹ Richter, *SCP* 147–53. In fact the literary silence is not quite complete, for Plutarch (*Per.* 13.9) mentions Phidias' signature *ἐν τῇ στήλῃ* of the statue; but that *στήλη*, though it can also be an inscribed stone of any kind, such as a gravestone or a boundary post, is here used for the carved base of the statue, while the column would have been described by *κίον*, is made quite clear by Andocides' distinction between the two at *Περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων* i 38 (= *Oratt. Attici* 6.15): here Diocles hides from his pursuers *μεταξὺ τοῦ κίονος καὶ τῆς στήλης ἐφ' ἧ ὁ στρατηγός ἐστιν ὁ χαλκοῦς*: however, since one cannot hide between the base of a statue and the statue standing on it, we must assume that—if Andocides is describing a single group, which is not at all certain—it must have been a composition not unlike some of the dedicatory reliefs from the Acropolis cited in nn. 73 and 118, though carved in the round, with a plinth (*στήλη*) that supported the statue only, the column standing separately.

mouldings, perhaps intended to produce the same effect. On both Varvakeion and terracotta statues the topmost member of the base is the roundel from which springs the column-shaft: this is plain on both, but the one on the terracottas is proportionately shorter.⁶² It is only at the capital that they really differ, the terracottas having a crude two-degree one consisting of a round abacus and a torus-moulding, the Varvakeion statue clearly recalling something much more elaborate.⁶³

The Manchester–Geneva and Exeter figures still need not show more than that by the Roman period the Parthenos had acquired a column: but they scotch the argument that the column is a normal Roman copyist's addition, necessary for mere structural reasons in a marble figure the size of the Varvakeion statue.⁶⁴ A number of the more recently discovered marble replicas collected by Mrs Leipen show traces of struts that suggest they may originally have had columns, and she notes that all of the older-established marble copies except the Lenormant statue have lost their original arms and Nikai, so that without studying their bases carefully one could not use them as evidence for or against the presence of a column on the Phidian original.⁶⁵ Lehmann-Hartleben suggested that the Pergamon figure had a column too, which rested on the lower part of a stepped base. While it would be very convenient, this ingenious reconstruction has been rejected on a number of grounds, both archaeological and aesthetic.⁶⁶ To these one can add the point that the ancient copyists clearly did not see any imbalance in allowing the right hand to project over the edge of the base (whatever Phidias himself may have felt), for this is a feature not just of some small-based replicas like the Ashmolean terracotta (PLATE XXIIIa), but of the Lenormant statue as well, whose base, *pace* Stevens, does not allow for a column, and whose balance is thereby destroyed.⁶⁷

Stevens has produced sound technical reasons based on the mechanical calculations of Professor A. A. Trypanis that take into account the size and materials of Phidias' Parthenos, which show that a column would have been necessary from the outset: though a system of props within the armature of the statue might have been technically feasible in the mid-fifth century B.C., it is unlikely that it could have been made sufficiently stable not to sag and snap.⁶⁸ Stevens goes on to discuss aesthetic reasons why, in the setting of the cella of the Parthenon, the column was necessary to maintain the artistic balance of the composition. One of his principal arguments is founded on the very wide base of the statue, artistically meaningless unless the lines of the statue were somehow intended to fill it. This idea can usefully be taken further if one sets the Athena Parthenos in its proper place in Phidias' development as an artist. While his contemporary Polyclitus was working out the implications of 'chiasmus', Phidias was still intrigued by the use of supports—or at any rate of verticals—that while still essential to his composition were nevertheless not physically part of the body he was depicting. This is not the place to attempt reconstructions of his earlier Athena statues, but it seems clear that in many of them (e.g. the Athena at Pellene, the Lemnia, the Promachos) Phidias was using the line provided by the spear in a variety of

⁶² See p. 100 above, and PLATES XIX–XXII; also Schuchhardt 35, pls. 20, 21, 23.

⁶³ Cf. e.g. Stevens, *Hesperia* xxx (1961) 2–4, fig. 2, and Leipen 38–40, figs. 79–80 for possible reconstructions.

⁶⁴ Richter, *SCP* 148. In any case, such props are normally only added in marble to compensate for the greater tensile strength of bronze.

⁶⁵ Leipen 53, n. 104; cf. *ibid.* 36; the Argos, Gortyn and one of the Acropolis statues show possible traces of columns (her nos. 12, 15 and 17).

⁶⁶ *JdI* xlvii (1932) 12–46, especially 39–41 and figs. 1–5; cf. Stevens, *Hesperia* xxiv (1955) 249; Leipen 24; Picard 379.

⁶⁷ *Hesperia* xxx (1961) 3.

⁶⁸ *Hesperia* xxiv (1955) 263–7; *ibid.* xxx (1961) 3–4: his suggestions appear to be borne out by the experience of the Royal Ontario Museum reconstruction (Leipen 36–40), while Miss Richter's attempted refutation is based on uninformed theorising, backed by contemporary work in the Metropolitan Museum that is not parallel, involving as it does conservation rather than construction, using modern steels, on a far smaller scale than the Parthenos, and whose longevity cannot yet be said to have been proved, when compared to Phidias' work (*SCP* 150–1).

different ways,⁶⁹ while of the Amazons Lucian thought Phidias' version best identified as 'the one leaning on her spear': the Mattei figure, the one normally attributed to him, is the one where the prop is most essential to the composition and most intricately used.⁷⁰ In the other Athena figures the 'prop' of the spear is still less fundamental to the composition as a whole (though no one has yet complained that the spear of, say, the Athena Lemnia is a late addition); in the Parthenos the 'prop' of the column is used to balance the mass on the goddess' left. None of the copies of the Zeus at Olympia make any suggestion of an extra prop, and evidently it was no longer necessary, for by then Phidias has solved both the artistic and the technical problems. Schrader makes this very clear when he illustrates Winter's reconstructions of the Zeus and the Athena Parthenos side by side:⁷¹ where the Parthenos requires the column as well as the Nike for reasons of aesthetic symmetry to balance the spear, shield and snake, the Zeus needs no support under his right hand because he only holds a sceptre in his left. Technically the Zeus' right arm is supported as far as the elbow by the arm-rest and leg of the throne, and so needs no further prop; when the statue is seen from the front, these also provide all the visual 'support' needed, being themselves of course balanced by the arm-rest and leg on the other side of the throne.

If this aesthetic balance was then so convincing and unobtrusive it is perfectly possible that Pausanias was not sufficiently struck by the column's presence to have remembered it. His account is so sketchy that such an omission becomes less surprising.⁷²

While there is unfortunately no contemporary evidence for the column, it does appear on the early fourth-century record-relief from Athens in Berlin: to argue that because this piece shows the column it is a free adaptation, or that because the column is carved in much lower relief this feature is a later addition, seems a somewhat cavalier approach to the evidence.⁷³ The same must be said for those who dismiss the Roman lead tessera from Pergamon, once in Berlin, as evidence for the Roman period and Roman copyists only. There may be other reasons why this piece is of doubtful value as evidence, but these are founded on the condition of the piece itself, and of the only extant reproduction.⁷⁴

The coins and gems provide curious and instructive evidence. On almost all of them the column itself is lacking. On the fourth-century coin of Aphrodisias in Cilicia it is replaced by an olive-tree,⁷⁵ as it is on some of the bronze coins of Priene dated after A.D. 250.⁷⁶ On a stater of Side of the fourth century B.C. the 'support' has become a pomegranate.⁷⁷ It is true that all these may be attributes of Athena, thought necessary here: but it is the pomegranate that gives the lie to this as the only interpretation, for 'coins of Side always

⁶⁹ Athena at Pellene, described by Pausanias as an early work of Phidias' (vii 27.2): v. Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iv 184, fig. 25; *Num. Comm.* pl. S x; Athena Lemnia: Furtwängler, *Masterpieces* pl. ii; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* figs. 615-17; Athena Promachos (and such types in general): G. Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci* pls. 86-7. Cf. also Furtwängler's comments on Phidias' development, with particular reference to the Parthenos and the Lemnia, *op. cit.* 10 ff.

⁷⁰ Lucian, *Imagines* 4; Becatti, *op. cit.* pls. 89-91; Richter, *op. cit.* figs. 619-20.

⁷¹ H. Schrader, *Phidias* (Frankfurt, 1924) 39, figs. 8a-b. This argument assumes the 'late dating' of the Zeus as proven: cf. e.g. W. Schiering in *Ol. Forsch.* v (1964) 272-7.

⁷² Mrs Leipen reaches a similar conclusion by a different route, *op. cit.* 37: she also notes that the Greeks were quite used to having columns in their statues (cf. the dedicatory korai, Nikai and sphinxes,

as well as other chryselephantine statues), so that Pausanias might well not have thought this one worth mentioning.

⁷³ C. Blümel, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Kat. der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen* iii (1928) K104, pl. 83; Richter, *SCP* 148; Stevens, *Hesperia* xxx (1961) 5, pl. 1g. Cf. A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon* 279 no. 7, pl. xv.

⁷⁴ Richter, *SCP* 149-50; illustrated by A. von Sallet, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* x (1883) 152-3.

⁷⁵ *Num. Comm.* 126, pl. Y xxii; Richter, *SCP* 149, fig. 1.

⁷⁶ Richter, *SCP* 150, fig. 3; *BMC Greek Coins of Ionia* 235, nos. 57-8, pl. xxiv 13. That these coins are unreliable evidence for details of the Parthenos is shown by the position of the snake. Cf. also Leipen 39, for further arguments against these coins as evidence for an olive-tree in the original.

⁷⁷ Richter, *SCP* 149, fig. 2.

bore the punning device of a pomegranate'.⁷⁸ On a Roman lead tessera found in Athens there is no column, but what may be an altar under Athena's right hand,⁷⁹ as there is on two other reliefs illustrated by Michaelis,⁸⁰ this being what the context demands. On other reliefs, and on some of the coins, the snake seems to wander round to Athena's right instead of sheltering under her shield.⁸¹

All these suggest that far from considering it inartistic and disruptive to the composition as a whole, as has often been suggested by modern scholars, the Greek eye actually desired something to complete the symmetry of the composition:⁸² where the context did not require the column this might be omitted, for most of our copies are only adaptations anyway: but when omitted, it was often replaced by some other object more suited to the context, but still filling the space. That unprejudiced modern eyes also required some kind of aesthetic counterpoise under the Nike is revealed by Simart's reconstruction, made in 1855 before any of the copies were known, and therefore based on the literary accounts only: this of course has no column, but puts the snake in its place (Leipen fig. 59). The argument is perhaps even strengthened by the Berlin relief mentioned above: this is an 'adaptation', where Phidias' statue is used to bring home the notion of divine approbation, and the symmetry of the Phidian composition is in fact maintained by the small figure who is being honoured by Nike. However, this sculptor did not want to omit Phidias' own solution to the problem altogether, but rather than obscure his own patron, he has set the column discreetly in the background.

Possibly a further hint of the column in the Athena Parthenos is found in another terracotta of Athena of the second century A.D., also in the Manchester Museum (PLATE XIIIb-c).⁸³ She has little in common with the character of the Phidian Athena: her helmet is of the normal Roman pattern, though the prominent single crest and cheek-pieces perhaps echo the triple-crested type. She has a cloak slung over her right shoulder and left arm, which rests on her hip; her dress otherwise seems to be a high-girt peplos, with overfall, of so transparent a material as to leave few details of her physique in doubt. She stands with her weight on her left leg, in a pose that is decidedly 'come-hitherish', and most unbecoming for Athena, with her right hand resting on a short column. Admittedly, few details of the column or capital can be made out, for the modelling is sketchy, and from the front it is largely hidden by the shield; but that it is a column is clear, for capital and base can be seen above and below its rim, and though the modelling at the back is even rougher, the shaft is plain to see, and appears to be rectangular in section. This Athena has a small shield, with a small central gorgoneion not unlike that of the Ashmolean figurine (PLATE XIIIa), and she stands on a trapezoidal base, crudely pierced at the front with two round vent-holes. In fact she must be in part inspired by the type of 'woman leaning on a column' which appears in many variations, including at least one Athena.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ C. M. Kraay and M. Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (London, 1966) 362, 364, pl. 192, nos. 661-2 (*σιδη* = pomegranate); contrast Richter, *SCP* 149; for the pomegranate as an attribute of Athena, see L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1896-1909) i 313, 327, 339.

⁷⁹ *BCH* lxxxI (1957) 498, pl. xi 36; Stevens, *Hesperia* xxx (1961) 5-6, pl. 1e. See also p. 110 below.

⁸⁰ A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon* 280-1, nos. 14, 17, pl. xv; cf. O. Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* (Vienna, 1923) nos. 39, 42, 48; cf. *ibid.* nos. 51-2 for similar types.

⁸¹ Michaelis, *op. cit.* 279-80 nos. 6, 13, pl. xv (reliefs); Svoronos pls. 82.29-41; 83.1-14, 22-3, 38, 40; cf. pl. 87.13, and see n. 76 above (coins).

⁸² E.g. Richter, *SCP* 151-3. Miss Richter's

discussion of the Greek love for asymmetry, based on the Athena Lemnia, will not do: for the Lemnia is in fact symmetrical, with the spear in the left hand balancing the helmet in the outstretched right, stressed by the goddess' gaze in that direction. In the Parthenos, outstretched hand and column balance shield, snake (and spear).

⁸³ Acc. no. 10453: once, Gayer-Anderson collection, and probably from Egypt; it is hollow, made in a two-part mould of fine reddish clay, with the edges crudely trimmed off; height 14.9 cm.

⁸⁴ See F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* iii 2, 80-103, 177.8 especially 91.4 = 177.8. For the shield, Buschor, *Medusa Rondanini* pls. 19, 28-9.

The aesthetic need felt for some kind of prop under the right hand of the Athena Parthenos has been further stressed by Herbig in his publication of a headless marble copy of the statue, at that time in the Roman market.⁸⁵ Herbig's chief aim is to find a place for the owl that sits on the ground by the right foot of this Athena, and he concludes that one can in fact deduce nothing from it. The solution must lie in the fact that this copyist thought the column inappropriate to his setting, but nevertheless wanted something to maintain the balance of the composition: hence Athena's owl. Some of the engravers of the bronze Athenian coins of the Imperial epoch clearly felt the same, for they used the owl as a 'substitute' for the column, as in the Roman statue, or moved it up to replace the Nike in Athena's hand.⁸⁶ It has been suggested that the owl is an intrusion from the Athena Promachos:⁸⁷ just how tenuous the connection with the Parthenos was in the die-engraver's mind can be seen from the 'New Series' tetradrachms, where the cheek-piece of the helmet is sometimes decorated with the authentic griffin, but where this can be replaced by a number of objects, including in one case a snake—not because of the Erichthonios-snake, but because the reverse shows Asclepius.⁸⁸

The bewildering variety of reproductions of the Athena Parthenos on coins becomes obvious even from the single hoard found in the Athenian Agora in 1957.⁸⁹ The value of all coins as reproductions of the Athena Parthenos is in any case very doubtful, as becomes clear from the Imperial coins of Athens, mentioned above, that depict the Parthenos.⁹⁰ The column never appears, but its place can be taken by a bucranium,⁹¹ or by the snake in a variety of poses,⁹² though he is by no means a constant feature.⁹³ Occasionally, as we have seen, the owl comes to replace him in front of the goddess,⁹⁴ though sometimes the bird takes the place of Nike,⁹⁵ only to be itself replaced by a patera.⁹⁶ Sometimes Athena with the patera has an altar rather than a snake before her.⁹⁷ Though the angle at which she holds it may vary, the spear is a fairly constant feature, as on all these 'illustrations' of classical Athena types. It is sometimes very difficult to say precisely which statue the die-engraver had in mind: the last two coins mentioned seem to owe more to the Promachos than to the Parthenos,⁹⁸ while there are others that Pick feels could refer equally to the Parthenos or the Velletri Athena, for although she has most of the attributes of the former, on them the goddess has her left hand held *up* to grasp the spear.⁹⁹ With the disappearance of the city-state at this time 'Panhellenic' statues begin to appear more and more, and an

⁸⁵ R. Herbig, 'Wo die Eule sass, ist ungewiss' in *RM* lxxvi (1959) 141, n. 16, pl. 34: Leipen 5, no. 13.

⁸⁶ Svoronos pls. 82.42; 83.38, 40. On the Koul Oba and Toronto medallions it perches on one of the cheek-pieces (Leipen figs. 42, 55); and some have seen an owl among the figures on the helmet-visor on some of the coins (see *Num. Comm.* 127-8). That it is an intruder is clearly shown by Mrs Leipen, who points out that the Ontario (and Louvre) medallions also insert a tiny Nike on either side of the head below the ear, presumably to break up the flat shiny surface of the gold (*op. cit.* 40-1). Cf. also Overbeck nos. 677-9, and E. B. Harrison, *Hesperia* xxxv (1966) 110.

⁸⁷ Langlotz, *Phidiasprobleme* 74-6.

⁸⁸ Svoronos pl. 49.1, with *ibid.* 'Table des matières' p. v (Pick).

⁸⁹ H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* xxvii (1958) 155-6, pl. 44b-d: a hoard of 133 coins, probably dropped in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. Of the reverses, 76 show Athena; 27 of these are of the Athena Parthenos, two are variants of the type, and three show the variant with the owl.

⁹⁰ Svoronos pls. 82.1-83.19: the coins of this period that have on their reverse a view of the Acropolis only further this feeling of unreliability, since they depict the statue outside the Parthenon impartially as Promachos or Parthenos, *ibid.* pl. 98.19-43.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* pl. 82.1-4.

⁹² *Ibid.* pls. 82.29-41; 83.1-14, 22-3.

⁹³ *Ibid.* pl. 82.1-4, in the canonical position behind the shield; on the other coins illustrated by Svoronos he does not appear at all.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* pl. 82.42.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* pl. 83.38, 40.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* pl. 87.13; cf. P. Fehl, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* xxiv (1961) 33-4, for a discussion of the idea of the Nike as a votive offering.

⁹⁷ Svoronos pl. 87.14.

⁹⁸ Similar problems arise over the terracotta medallion found in the Athenian Agora in 1957 (Leipen 12, no. 52, fig. 51; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* xxvii [1958] 159-60, pl. 46d).

⁹⁹ In Svoronos, 'Table des matières', p. vi, with pl. 83.20-3; for the Velletri Athena see Furtwängler, *Masterpieces* fig. 58.

Athena with Nike, closely based on the Parthenos, can be found on the coins of a great many of the Peloponnesian cities, as well as on several ring-stones.¹⁰⁰ The variations are those we have come to expect—owls, altars and so on—and they provide little evidence for the original. The mint of Rome was at this time producing types for Antoninus Pius where a standing Athena varied with a seated Roma, both types having the attributes of the Athena Parthenos.¹⁰¹

Finally, the shield wanders on the coins too: normally it rests in the orthodox position at the goddess' left side, but on some examples it has moved to the other side, or come round to the front.¹⁰² Interestingly, on these the device is a huge gorgoneion, just as on the Manchester figurine. It is tempting to infer that the 'large gorgoneion' shield is a late repair, but that these coins, and the other terracottas that show a large gorgoneion on the shield are only an abbreviation of the original is clear from the fact that some of the copies with fully decorated shields, and in particular some of the ancient literary accounts of the Amazonomachy, are later than any possible date for the repair.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, among the copies with only a gorgon-mask on the shield one can perhaps distinguish two traditions, the 'whole-hoggers' mentioned above who fill the whole shield with a gorgoneion and abandon any attempt to show the battle; and those who imply that there was something more by leaving the 'decorated area' blank. The latter are the larger copies, and the gorgon of the Varvakeion statue is surely unique in her undeniably negroid features, which must be the Roman copyist's fancy, even if Schuchhardt is correct in seeing in the wide flat face and heavy hair a throwback to the original type.¹⁰⁴

When we consider that the original statue stood forty feet high, it becomes obvious that none of the copies that we have can be completely reliable, for the reduction in size forces them to be eclectic. Hence the fact that small copies leave out features of the original which do not seem vital to their own intrinsic design is not a compelling argument for their absence from Phidias' statue. One may fairly assume that the copyist will not as a rule insert, though he may omit. One should not require the presence of the column where it is not essential to the design or structure, nor should one expect all the intricate details of shield or helmet to be shown on the small-scale copies, especially when there seems to have been a tradition on the coins of an Athena perhaps independent of Phidias', with a triple-crested helmet with *plain* supports for the plumes.¹⁰⁵ It is not surprising that, of the extant copies, the spear is shown only on the coins and vase-paintings, for it would have been relatively more difficult to insert it in clay or stone: in fact it has been suggested that the slightly raised left shoulder and poorly finished left side of the Pergamon statue, coupled with the hole in its base near the left foot, show that this copy was originally furnished with a spear, while the less obviously raised shoulder of Antiochus' Athena and the 'Minerve au collier' hint at a spear for them too.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ Coins: e.g. Patras (*Num. Comm.* pl. Q xiv), Phigalea (*ibid.* pl. V xix), Corinth (*ibid.* pl. E xcii, xciii), Methana (*ibid.* pl. M iii, 4th row), Argos (*ibid.* pl. GG Suppl. II ii), Methone, Pylos and Kyparissia (*ibid.* pl. P xi, xii, xv, xviii). Gems: E. Tornaritou-Mathiopoulou, *AE* 1953-4 iii (1961) 205, figs. 3-4.

¹⁰¹ E.g. *BMC Coins of the Roman Empire* iv nos. 553-61, 587-91.

¹⁰² Svoronos pl. 83.15-21; on pl. 84.24-6 she holds it on her left arm; cf. *Num. Comm.* pl. Y xix.

¹⁰³ Cf. Ashmolean Museum no. 1954.95 (n. 57 and PLATE XXIIIa), and F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* iii 2, 176.5c-d; also *ibid.* 176.12. The most recent account of the shield-decoration is Leipen 41-50, especially 47 and fig. 83; on page 16 n. 13 she lists the surviving replicas, on page 54

n. 129 all the earlier discussions, of which Miss Harrison's (*Hesperia* xxxv [1966] 107-33, especially 119-32, pls. 38-9) is perhaps the most convincing. For the ancient accounts, see Overbeck, nos. 667-76; on the repair, see above, pp. 102-6.

¹⁰⁴ Schuchhardt 33-4, pl. 30b; Buschor, *Medusa Rondanini* 15-16, pl. 16.3; Harrison, *op. cit.* 114.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. S. Ras, *BCH* lxxviii-lxix (1944-5) 179; for the coins, L. Lacroix, *Les Reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques* (Paris, 1949) 268-71, pl. xxiii 5-9.

¹⁰⁶ E. Tornaritou-Mathiopoulou, *AE* 1953-4 iii (1961) 202 with n. 3, and K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *JdI* xlvii (1932) 21-7; illustrated e.g. Picard figs. 159 (Pergamon), 163 (Minerve au collier); T. Schreiber, *Die Athena des Parthenos* (Leipzig, 1883) pl. iib, and Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* fig. 774

For these reasons the variety of angles at which the shield is shown on the coins does nothing to help us to determine how Phidias intended it to be held. On most of the larger copies the shield is held virtually parallel with the side of the body, giving the snake ample shelter. Like the coins, some of the figurines have the front of the shield turned at least part-way towards the spectator:¹⁰⁷ although it shows off the shield-device nicely, this cannot reflect the original, for it obscures the snake, and would have hidden the painting on the inside of the shield altogether. Becatti argues for a south-west to north-east orientation of the shield within the Parthenon, on the grounds that the setting of the Amazonomachy on the front according to his reconstruction will then coincide with the topography of the Acropolis hill.¹⁰⁸ This puts the shield at an angle of 45° to the body, just as on the Manchester figure. But although this makes the snake and the internal painting of the shield readily visible, the Amazonomachy would be most difficult to see, because it would face to the back of the temple. Even though Pausanias mentions no barriers here, as he does at Olympia, it seems unlikely for Phidias to have turned the shield back in this way, thereby probably destroying the symmetrical balance that has been one of the chief arguments for the column. Further, there is no real evidence that such topographical references were employed in fifth-century art, the interpretations of the Olympia and Parthenon pediments in these terms being based on the Hellenistic approach: even if one were to employ it here, the east-west orientation suggested aesthetically and by the majority of the copies (that have no motive for distorting this feature of the original) would fit the topography of the hill better.

On the argument that the copyists did not insert, there ought to be some kind of a support under the shield, since this appears on some of the copies (e.g. Ashmolean, Belgrade, Lenormant, Patras, Varvakeion) and was probably structurally necessary. Fehl argues that the support must have been a rock, signifying the Acropolis, but this is not convincing: apart from the doubtfulness of such topographical references which has already been noted, none of the copies that show the support make this detail clear, and his evidence for 'natural background' in ancient sculptures is drawn from just those elements that are most typical of the copyist in Roman versions.¹⁰⁹

Thus far we have only considered the Parthenos itself and its derivatives, but it seems possible that the work of other artists may tell us something of the inspiration for Phidias' design of the statue, and of the shield and sandals in particular. The volute-krater by the Niobid Painter in Palermo has for its main decoration one of the painter's favourite subjects, an Amazonomachy that runs right round the vase; the neck has on one side the battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths, on the other Herakles visiting Pholos.¹¹⁰ We know there were Amazonomachies and Centauromachies by Micon or Polygnotus in the Stoa Poikile and the Sanctuary of Theseus in Athens,¹¹¹ while it is clear that the Niobid Painter was influenced by the great early classical free painters, one obviously cannot be sure of the exact relationship of his vases to the wall-paintings; but it is most interesting to note that the dying

(Antiochus' Athena). Contrast the reconstruction suggested by the Royal Ontario Museum (Leipen 29 and fig. 71); Pausanias says that the original was actually holding a spear in its hand (i 24.7).

¹⁰⁷ Notably the Ashmolean terracotta (n. 57 and PLATE XXIIIa); also F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* iii 2, 176.4-5.

¹⁰⁸ G. Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci* 116-17. Miss Harrison's slightly more convincing reconstruction follows the same basic setting (*Hesperia* xxxv [1966] 119-31, pl. 38). On the angle of the shield, see also C. Smith, *BSA* iii (1896-7) 135; Picard 378-9, following the Belgrade replica (his fig. 158), suggests

that the shield was also held at a slight angle to the vertical. Cf. also Leipen 50, who notes that the snake not only played a compositional and mythological role, but also acted as a prop for the shield.

¹⁰⁹ P. Fehl, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* xxiv (1961) 29-33; Leipen 50; C. Smith, *BSA* iii (1896-7) 142-4.

¹¹⁰ Palermo, Mus. Naz. G1283, from Gela: *ARV*² 599.2; P. Arias, M. Hirmer and B. B. Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase-Painting* pls. 176-81.

¹¹¹ Paus. i 15.2; Harpocration, s.v. 'Πολύγνωντος' (Overbeck no. 1042); Suidas, s.v. 'Πολύγνωντος'. See above pp. 20-45 and PLATE Va-b (Palgmo krater).

Amazon (Antiope?) on the Palermo krater has a gorgoneion on her breastplate, and that her most unusual beret-helmet has for its crest a sphinx which supports a long flowing plume.¹¹² Is it too fanciful to see in this armorial connection between the warrior-queen and the warrior-goddess, in such a suggestive context, a hint of the source of inspiration for the Athena Parthenos? We know that both Amazonomachy and Centauromachy were subjects that Phidias liked, and used elsewhere—witness the Parthenon metopes, the shield of the Promachos and the stool of the Zeus at Olympia (Paus. i 28.2; v 11.7); and they were also woven into the robe carried in the Panathenaea. One wonders whether the relation between Phidias and the Niobid Painter (and the free painters) cannot be welded a little closer when noticing that of the three recorded representations of the Birth of Pandora in Greek vase-painting, all dated shortly before the middle of the fifth century, one is on a calyx-krater by this painter, which, along with the other two, by the Tarquinia Painter and the Sotades Painter, has a similar composition to that normally suggested for the base of the Parthenos.¹¹³

The position that the Parthenos holds within Phidias' own development has already been noted (pp. 107–8). Such an important work can hardly have failed to have had its influence on the iconographic tradition of Athena figures among Phidias' contemporaries, particularly when one bears in mind the fact that in later Greek art it seems to have had a much stronger influence than did the Zeus, although the latter was clearly the more impressive statue of the two.¹¹⁴ An example can be found in the column-krater by the Late Mannerist Hephaistos Painter, from Gela and now in Berlin, dated *c.* 440–430 B.C.¹¹⁵ The picture on the front shows Achilles and Ajax playing dice before a figure of Athena; a youth in travelling clothes approaches from the left, raising his hands in surprise. Athena has her left hand raised and resting on her spear, like the Promachos and other earlier Athenas of Phidias, but down her outstretched right arm runs a small Nike, who is apparently about to place a wreath on the helmet of Achilles, the left-hand of the two players. She has none of the other attributes peculiar to the Parthenos, and her aegis is in one piece, but with a small gorgoneion (*cf.* p. 99).

Clearly we have here not to think of a real Achilles and Ajax playing at the foot of the Parthenos statue: then they would have been heroes indeed, for they squat on their heels to throw their dice *down* onto the base of the colossal statue! The most attractive interpretation is Schefold's, that here is a youth up in Athens from the country, who suddenly comes on a sculpted group of the incident; but instead of showing the more conventional Athena who sometimes appears in the story, the painter has used an adaptation of the most famous statue in Athens, then just completed.¹¹⁶ This is certainly convincing, for the two heroes are shown on a kind of platform, which must be the base of the statues. That such a group existed in the archaic period we know from fragments found on the Acropolis.¹¹⁷ The Hephaistos Painter may be recalling this group (though the original must have been destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C.), or be showing a post-Persian War replacement; but more likely is the explanation that by using Phidias' Parthenos as a model the painter (or the sculptor) is adapting the story, and rather than showing Athena reminding Achilles and Ajax of their duty in battle, he is thinking of her as bringing Nike to reward the victor in the game of dice. This interpretation is supported by the Berlin relief, where the Nike is in the

¹¹² See Arias, Hirmer and Shefton, *op. cit.* pl. 179 and also pp. 354–7 for a discussion of the influences on the Niobid Painter, with further references.

¹¹³ *ARV*² 601.23 (calyx-krater by the Niobid Painter); *ARV*² 869.55 (white-ground cup by the Tarquinia Painter); *ARV*² 764.9 (rhyton by the Sotades Painter): all are in the British Museum (nos. E467, D4, E789). The figure on the Tarquinia Painter's cup is named Anesidora, but it looks as if

the Pandora story was intended. *Cf.* also Mrs Leipen's comments, *op. cit.* 24–5.

¹¹⁴ *Cf.* Quint. xii 10.9 (Overbeck no. 721); E. Tornaritou-Mathiopoulou, *AE* 1953–4 iii (1961) 201.

¹¹⁵ Berlin 3199; *ARV*² 1114.9.

¹¹⁶ *JdI* lii (1937) 32–3, fig. 1; *cf.* A. Furtwängler, *AA* 1892, 102–3.

¹¹⁷ H. Schrader, *Archaische Marmor-Skulpturen* (Vienna, 1909) 67–71.

same running pose, and performing the same task of crowning, although this time the object of her attentions is probably a priestess.¹¹⁸

The reliefs collected by Michaelis provide plenty of evidence that the statue was adapted in this way, and his lists and illustrations show how difficult it is to draw the line between copy and adaptation, even with the sculptures and relief-carvings.¹¹⁹ Becatti has discussed this point, and has traced the Centaureomachy of the Parthenos' sandals onto grave-loutrophoroi and other stone vases.¹²⁰ Clearly the influence of a work that became so famous all over the classical world was very widespread indeed, and it is very difficult to say where the 'copies' end and the adaptations begin, as has already been noted in the discussion of the reproductions on coins (pp. 110-11). Any copyist who moves into a different medium from the original must make concessions and adaptations to his material and his purpose. What makes the Manchester figure interesting is that unlike the reliefs, the gems and the coins, it need have served no other purpose than that of ornamenting a cultured provincial household in the Roman Empire. Taken together with the Geneva and Exeter figurines it gives an intriguing glimpse into the tastes—and perhaps travels—of the Gauls who lived immediately across the Alps. In some details the figures evidently yield to Romanised taste: in particular of course in the *stola* and *palla*, while the Greek inscription that replaces the reliefs on the base must come into this category too¹²¹—if this is not actually an appeal to the intellectual snobbery of the craftsman's potential customers! But these features apart, the fundamental design, like that of the Varvakeion statue, must be that of Phidias.

A. J. N. W. PRAG

The Manchester Museum

¹¹⁸ See n. 73. Many of the dedicatory reliefs that feature Athena are clearly adaptations of the Parthenos-motif: see p. 108, and O. Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* (Vienna, 1923) 27-48, nos. 38-78; cf. also the Athena relief from the Lanckoronki collection, where a herm is used as a support in a similar composition (Langlotz, *Phidiasprobleme* 75-6 and pl. 22d).

¹¹⁹ A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon* 276-84, especially 279 and 281.

¹²⁰ *Problemi Fidiaci* 122-3, pl. 69. The shield-decoration, inside and out, had relatively little influence on later iconography: see Leipen 42-50.

¹²¹ See Deonna, *REA* xxi (1919) 25-6.



(a)–(c) Manchester Museum, acc. no. 20,001

ATHENA MANCUNIENSIS



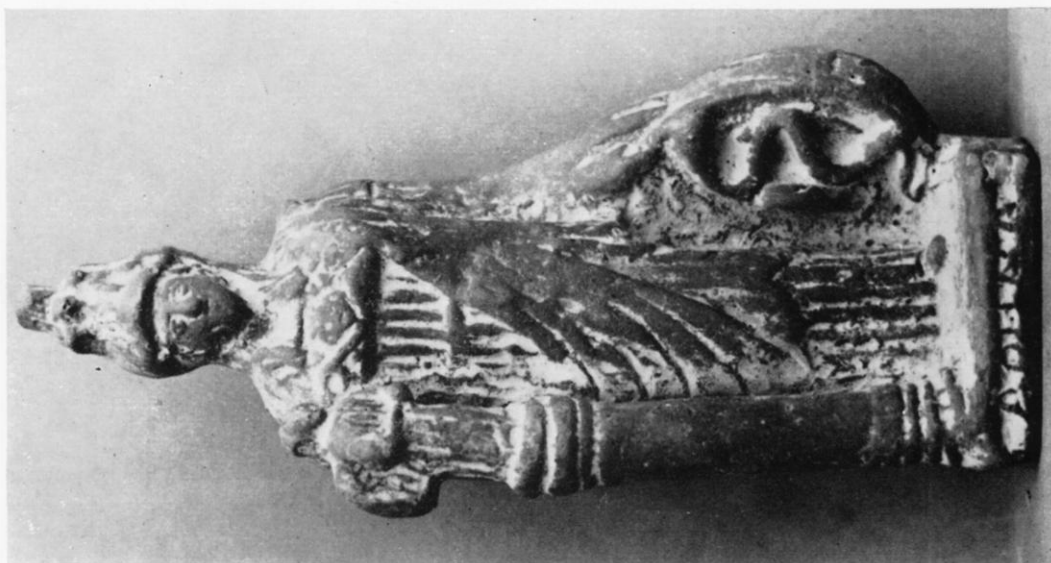
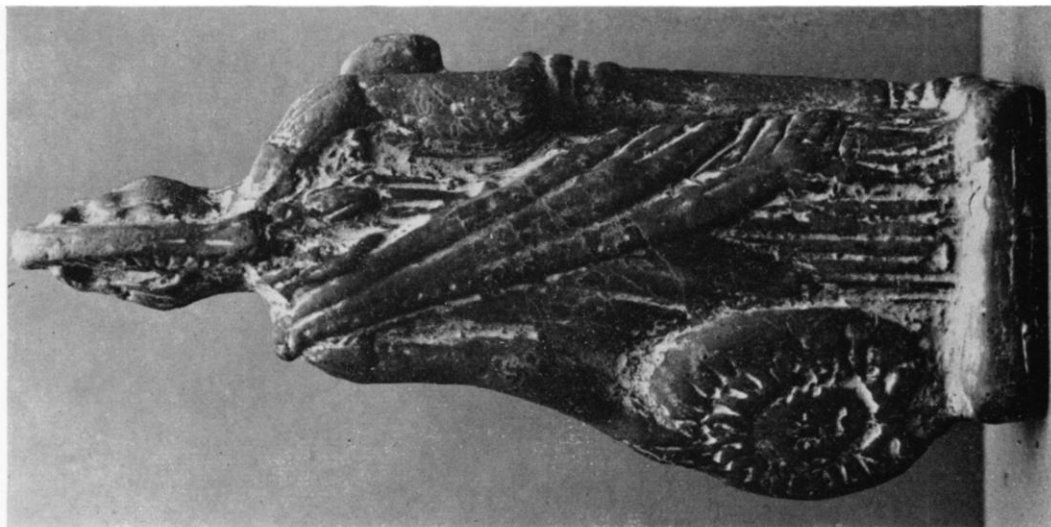
(c) Detail of shield



(a)-(b) Detail of helmet, aegis and Nike

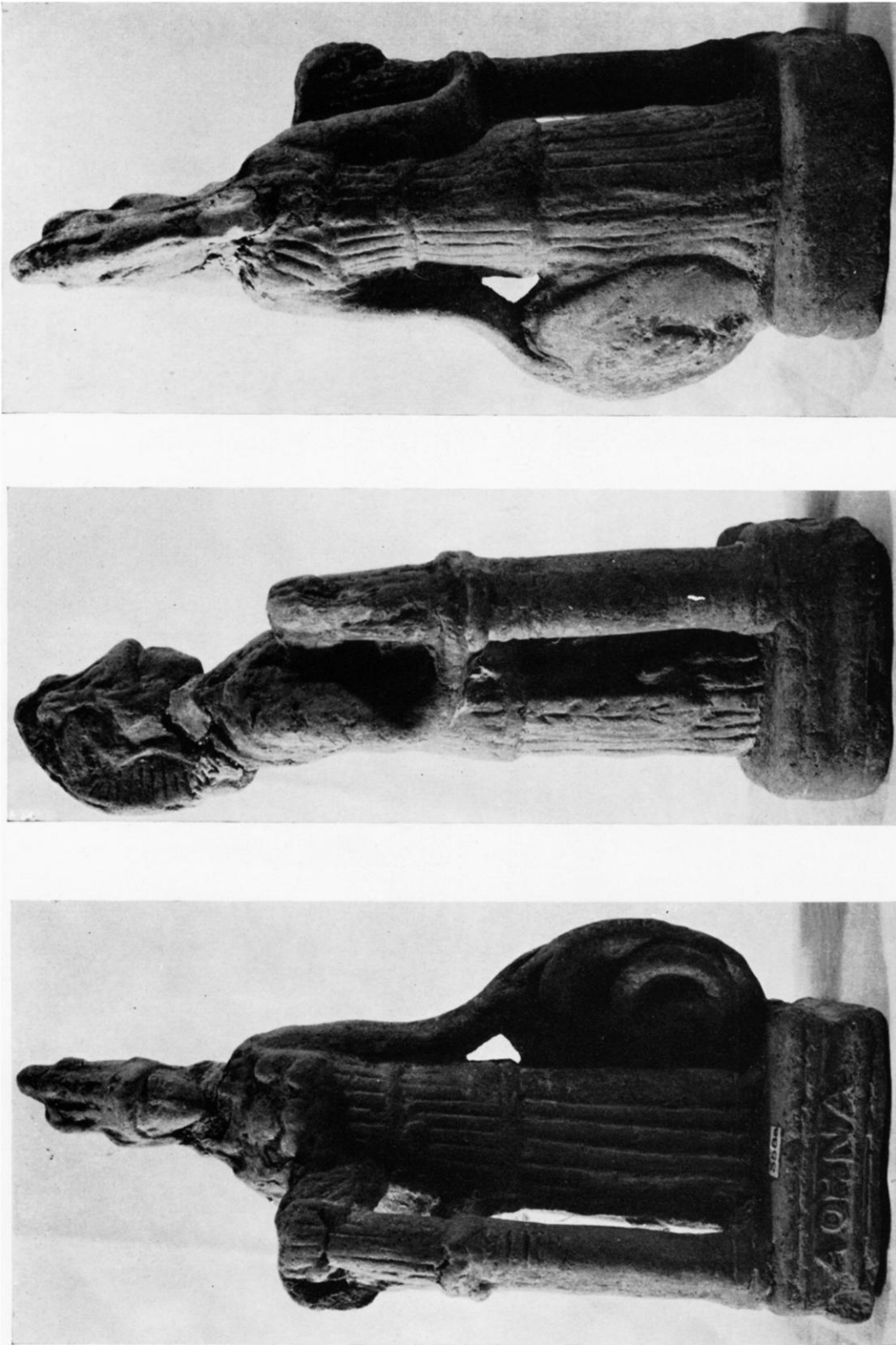
Manchester Museum, acc. no. 20,001

ATHENA MANCUNIENSIS



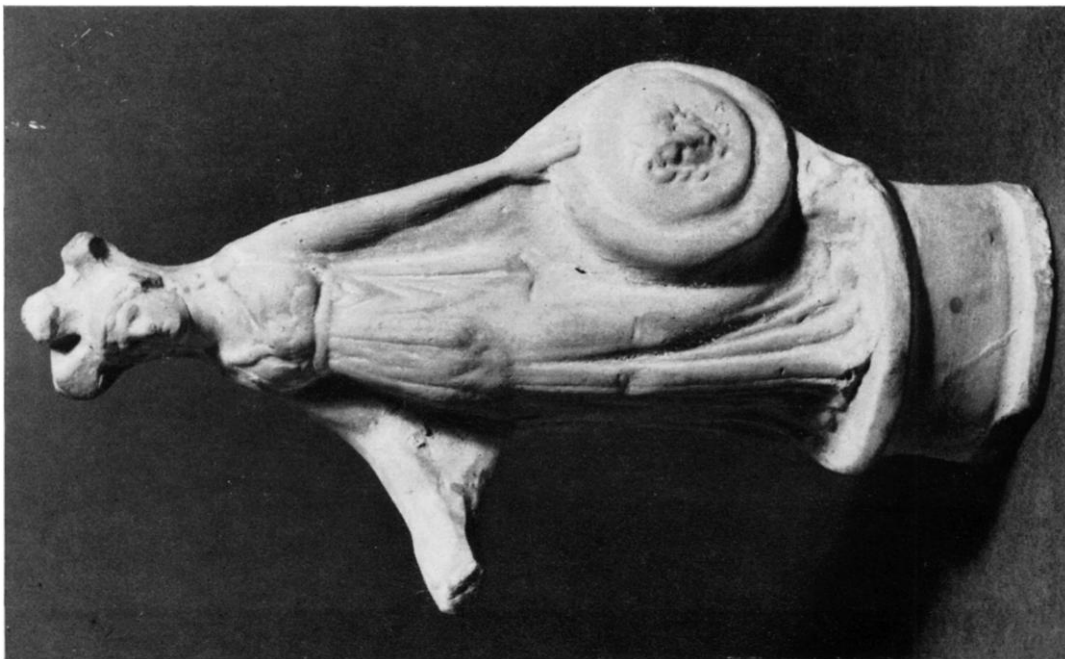
(a)-(c) Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire, inv. no. MAH 7464

ATHENA MANCUNIENSIS

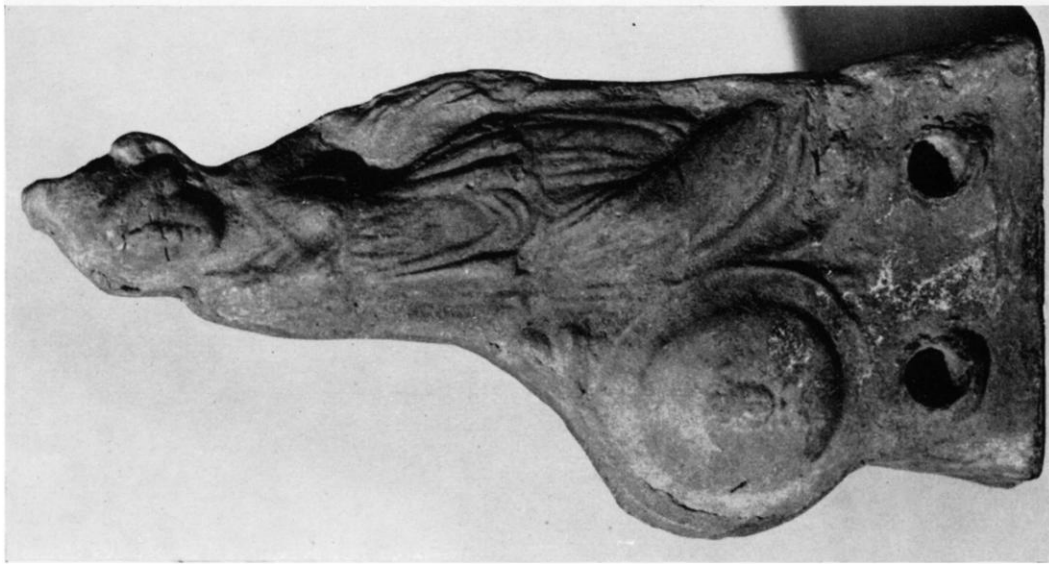


(a)-(c) Exeter, Royal Albert Memorial Museum, inv. no. 5/1946/778

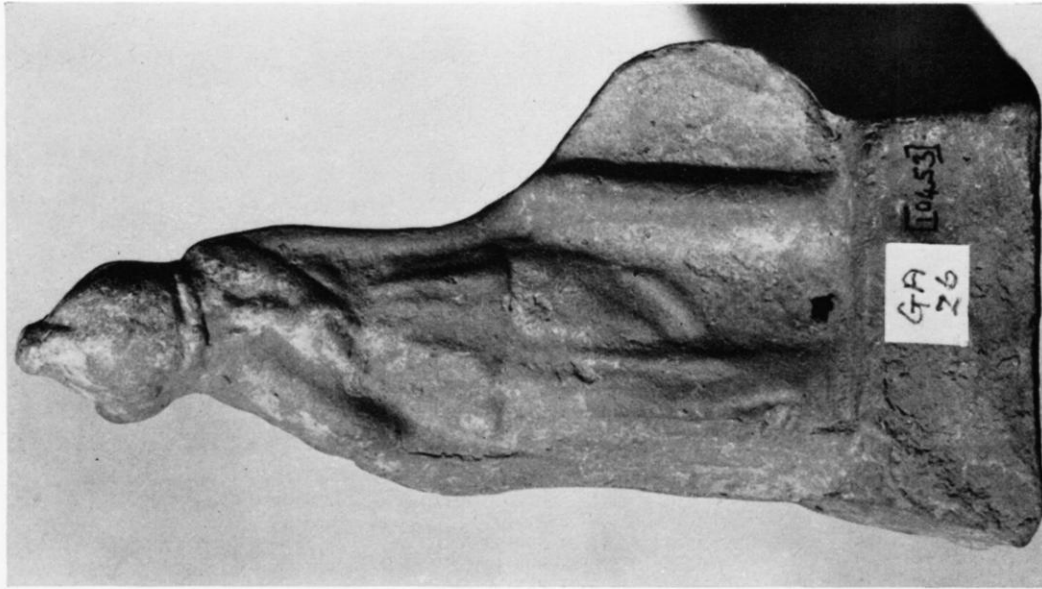
ATHENA MANCUNIENSIS



(a) Ashmolean Museum, no. 1954-95



(b)-(c) Manchester Museum, acc. no. 10453



ATHENA MANCUNIENSIS