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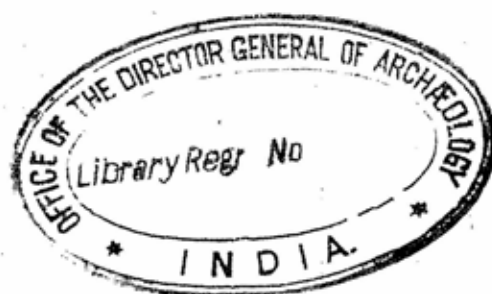
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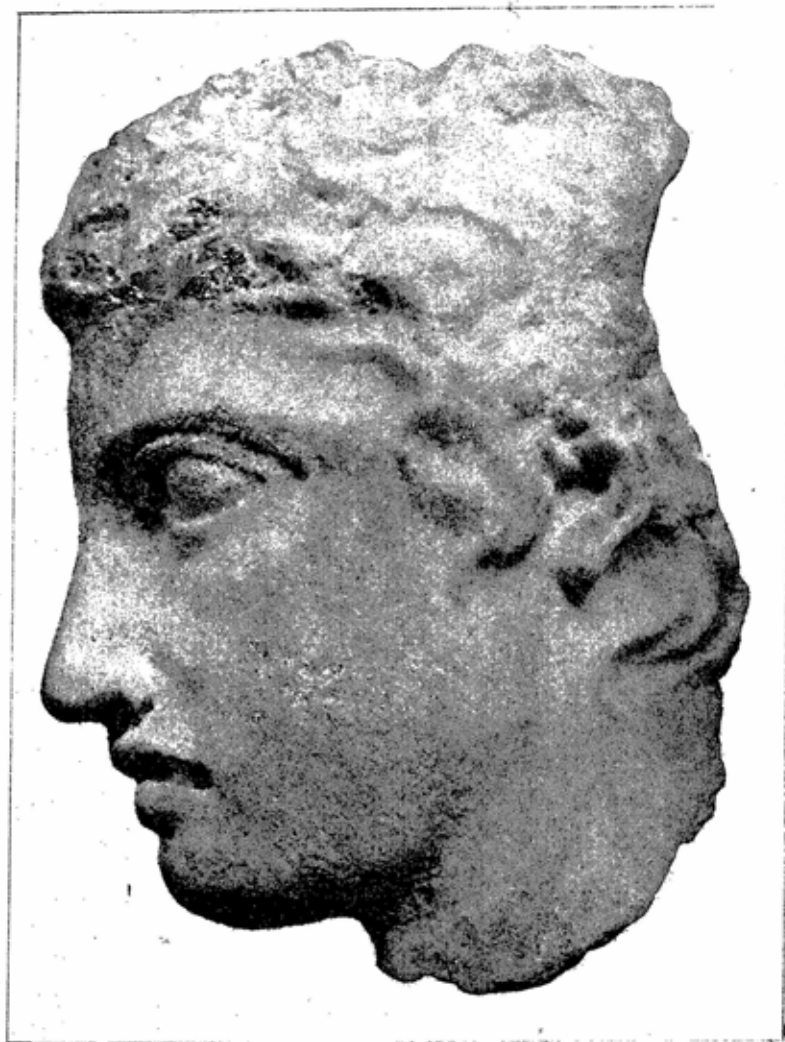
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HEAD OF YOUTH.
NORTH FRIEZE.

THE
SCULPTURES OF THE
PARTHENON

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BY A. S. MURRAY, LL.D., F.S.A.

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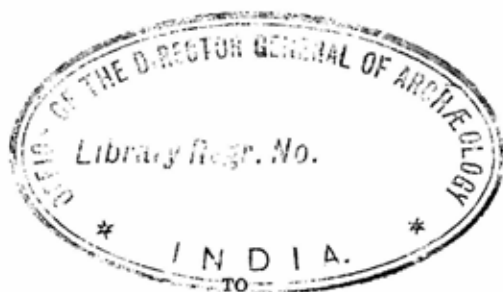
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THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

FROM A DEEP SENSE OF INDEBTEDNESS

AND

IN TOKEN OF MANY FRIENDSHIPS PAST AND PRESENT



PREFACE

IN this book I have taken as a starting point certain lectures on the sculptures of the Parthenon which I had the honour of addressing to the students of the Royal Academy several years ago. It was the experience of these lectures that has since led me to enter upon a much closer examination of the sculptures on artistic more than on archaeological lines.

To assist the reader in following an inquiry of this kind, it was necessary to devise a scheme of illustration which would embrace the whole of the sculptures, so far as they are now known from originals still existing, or from Carrey's drawings of portions since lost. With this purpose in view, it has been found practicable (1) to give the frieze almost entirely, as we now know it, in one long folding sheet. The mere magnitude of the frieze as an artistic conception will thus be apparent at a glance, and I trust that its extraordinary beauty in detail will also be readily recognisable in the process of photogravure which has been employed.

(2) A similarly comprehensive view of the whole of the metopes seemed undesirable for two reasons: first, because a large proportion of those that still exist on the Parthenon are deplorably damaged; and secondly, because the metopes of the east and west fronts, even had they been well preserved, could not rightly have been dissociated from the

pediment sculptures immediately above them. We have, therefore, placed the east and west metopes, such as they now are, in connection with the respective pediments. It has, however, been possible to illustrate on one plate the entire series of the south metopes, partly from originals still well preserved, and partly from Carrey's drawings of the missing central groups. Of the north metopes, the one that has best survived is given by itself.

(3) As regards the two pediments, we reproduce Carrey's drawings of the sculptures as he saw them in the seventeenth century, in each case adding the metopes as they now appear, and completing the architectural framework which he left unfinished. We give separately the principal pediment sculptures as they now exist. We reproduce copies of the gold and ivory statue of Athenè within the Parthenon, and add a certain number of illustrations in half-tone plates.

The interpretation of the two pediments has been, and still is, a subject of much discussion. The name most appropriate for each figure may be argued interminably. But all these discussions revolve round the simple question, Are the figures in the angles of both pediments deities of Olympos, or beings associated with the legendary history of Attica? On that question turns the grandeur of the artistic conception as a whole. We must each decide one way or the other. After that the names of the several figures are of less consequence. Therefore we have dealt briefly with matters of nomenclature all through.

A. S. MURRAY.

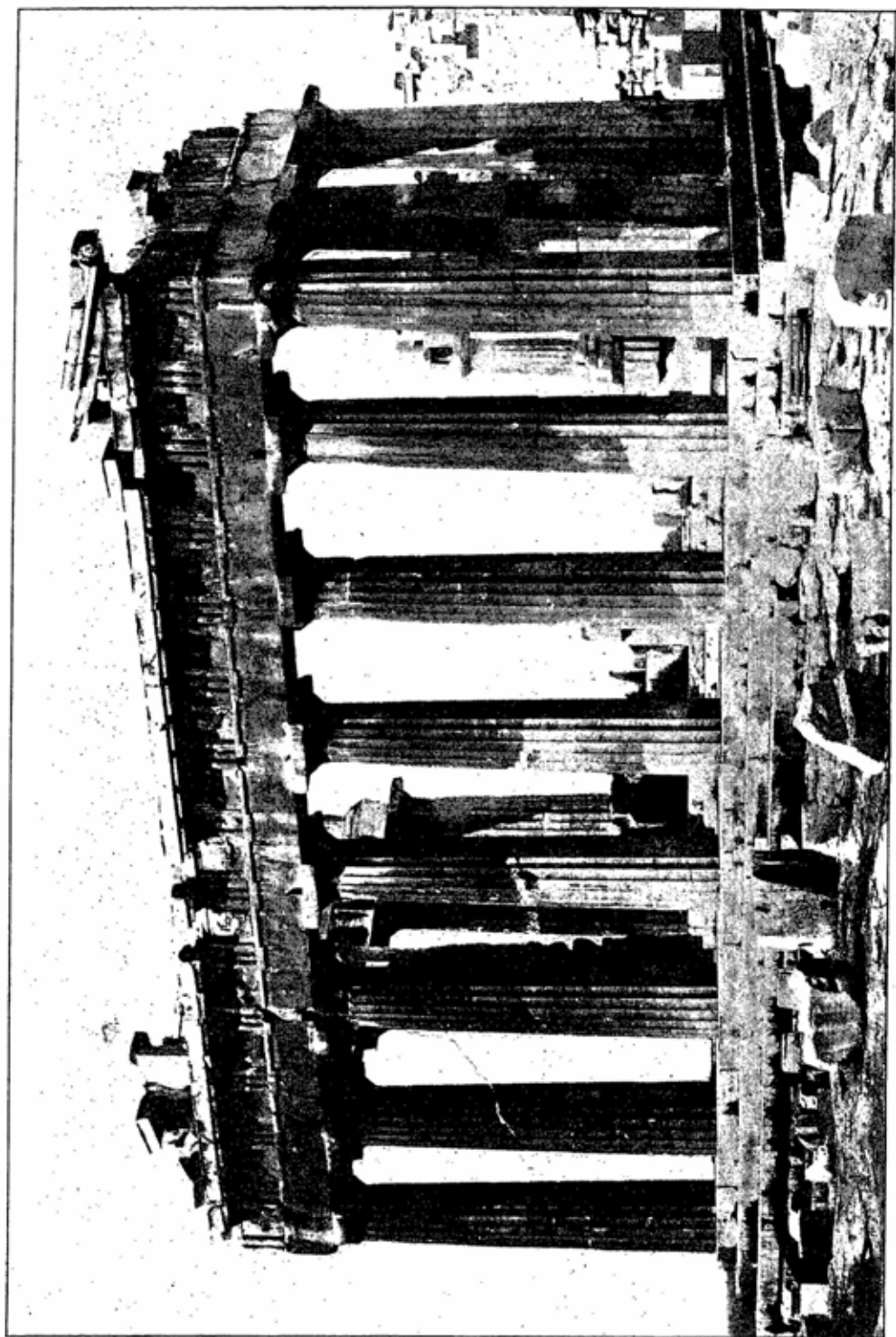
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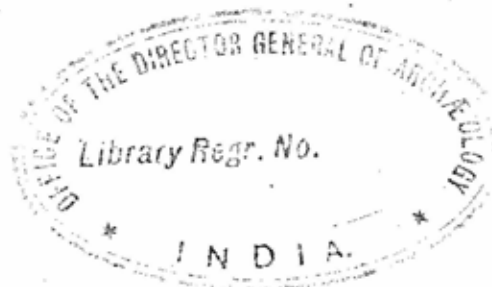
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THE SCULPTURES OF THE PARTHENON

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

[PLATE I.]

WHEN the Parthenon stood forth complete on the Acropolis of Athens in or about the year 438 B.C., there was no other building in the whole of Greece comparable even in the mere extent and variety of its sculptures.¹ Imagine a frieze 522 feet in length sculptured all along with figures nearly half life size, in many parts densely crowded till the marble could carry no more, the whole in very low relief and executed with marvellous detail. Above the columns externally and round all the four sides of the temple were ninety-two metopes, each consisting of a group of two figures two-thirds life size, in the highest possible

¹ Plutarch, *Pericles*, xiii., speaking of the buildings then being erected in Athens under the auspices of Pericles, including, of course, the Parthenon, says, "As the buildings rose, stately in size and unsurpassed in form and grace,

the workmen vied with each other that the quality of their work might be enhanced by its artistic beauty. Most wonderful of all was the rapidity of the construction." (H. Stuart Jones, *Selected Passages*, etc.)

relief, and full of the most beautiful workmanship. Within each of the two pediments or gables was an immense group of statues, the smallest equal to life size, the central figures colossal. Lastly, inside the Parthenon was the stupendous statue of Athenè herself in gold and ivory by Pheidias. It was he who directed the whole of the work.¹

The greater the extent and variety of the sculptures the more urgent was the need of a unifying purpose to bring the whole together into one scheme. The Parthenon was a new temple to the goddess Athenè. To her the sculptor necessarily turned for inspiration. Her birth, her influence on the civilisation of mankind, her special services to Attica, and the consequent gratitude of the Athenians, these were the themes which naturally arose in his mind. Accordingly, in the east pediment, the most conspicuous place externally, he gave the birth of the goddess. In the metopes we have a long series of combats with barbarism, in which we may trace the state of things which she was born to rectify. In the west pediment she herself encounters her rival, Poseidon, and defeats him. All this is shown on the external sculptures. Within the colonnade the whole frieze is occupied with solemnities in honour of the gods, while inside the Parthenon itself the gratitude of the Athenians was seen culminating in the new colossal statue of gold and ivory.

To borrow the language of the drama, the east pediment may be called Act i., representing the surprise of the birth of

¹ Plutarch, *ibid.*, πάντα δὲ διεῖπε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἦν αὐτῷ [Περικλεῖ] Φειδίας, and again, ὁ δὲ Φειδίας εἰργάζετο μὲν τῆς Θεοῦ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἔδος καὶ

τούτου δημιουργὸς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ εἶναι γέγραπται, πάντα δ' ἦν σχεδὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ πᾶσιν, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, ἐπεστάται τοῖς τεχνίταις διὰ φιλίαν Περικλέους.

Athenè. The metopes may be described as a long choral ode, showing how greatly her presence was needed by mankind in its conflicts with barbarism. The west pediment was Act ii., illustrating the encounter between Athenè and Poseidon. Then followed the frieze, equivalent to another long choral ode, describing the solemnity and pomp with which the Athenians accompanied their gift of a new robe to their goddess. The chryselephantine statue may be compared to a concluding burst of joy.¹

The only public access to the Acropolis was on the west, through the Propylaea. It was therefore the west front of the Parthenon which came first into view. But the west was only the secondary front. There was no escape from the rule that the principal front must face the east. Accordingly it was the second act of the drama which the visitor saw first as he approached the Parthenon. There he beheld Athenè contending with Poseidon, and only later, when he had passed round to the east front, recognised her birth. In an artistic sense this was doubtless a disadvantage for the pediment sculptures. But what was in some measure a loss to the pediments, through the inversion of the natural order of events, was a remarkable gain to the frieze. There the task of the sculptor was to

¹ Prof. Butcher, in *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, p. 36, says of the Parthenon, "In the eastern pediment is sculptured the first act of the drama . . . the birth of the goddess. . . . In the western pediment the second act is rehearsed, the rivalry of Athenè and Poseidon. . . . In the sculptured metopes . . . the conflict is more clearly

expressed . . . and if pediment and metope tell of the remote past, the splendour of the present is unfolded in the frieze of the cella." Similarly M. Perrot, speaking of the frieze in the *Mélanges Weil*, p. 382, says: "C'est la mise en scène de l'hommage solennel que la cité rendait . . . à sa chère et puissante patronne."

exhibit in full the Panathenaic procession, with its preparations and start, its progress through the streets of Athens, and its climax on the Acropolis, where the gods were seated to receive the new robe and the sacrifice of cows and sheep. On the west end of the frieze, that is on the part which was first visible to spectators arriving from the Propylaea, were placed the preparation and start of the procession, on the east end its climax. There remained the two long sides of the temple, north and south, for the display of horsemen, chariots, musicians, and sacrificial animals as they passed through the streets. For this purpose the sculptor required only one long side, but having two to deal with, he chose to make the one practically a duplicate of the other, so that a visitor starting from the west end, as he naturally would do, might take his choice of passing round by the north or the south side. In either case he would find himself following the procession and, as it were, gradually overtaking it, seeming to share in its movement. If we could suppose that the procession had parted in two longitudinally at some point in its progress, uniting again at the end, the disposition of the groups on the frieze might be quite in order. But such a view of the question is impossible. Therefore we accept the duplication of the north and south friezes as not only an artistic device, but a source of convenience for ordinary spectators. The most natural thing for a spectator to do after examining the preparation and start on the west frieze was to turn to the left and pass round by the north side, where he would find himself close to many interesting objects on the Acropolis. If he turned

to the right and passed along by the south side there would be little to attract him outside the Parthenon itself. The sculptor had doubtless foreseen this, and possibly that is why he was less exacting in the execution of the south frieze. Later on, we shall have occasion to notice much negligence there.

The frieze being visible only in the colonnade or, at farthest, on the steps of the temple, and therefore in diffused light, was by a true instinct sculptured in very low relief with no pronounced shadows except round the outer contours. In this respect we may notice a marked difference in the frieze of the Theseum, which also was seen only from the colonnade. There the relief is as high as in the metopes of the same building, which were exposed to the direct light of the sun. Yet what was good for the one could not have been good for the other. Or again, in more archaic buildings, as at Assos in the Troad and at Delphi, we find friezes in low relief placed externally under the full light of the sun. Apparently it was the sculptor of the Parthenon who first laid down the rule that reliefs in a diffused light must be kept low, in exposed light as high as possible.

The frieze being placed at a great height, and visible only at an acute angle, the sculptor took the precaution of tilting forward the upper parts of the figures so as to make them appear vertical, seen from below, while at the same time the background of the relief remains perpendicular. That was not altogether a novelty. We see it also in the capital of a column from the archaic temple of Diana at Ephesus. It was a question of optics. But the precise amount of

projection in the relief of the frieze was not otherwise a thing which could be calculated on any system of proportions. The common rule that a figure in relief should be one-third of its natural thickness was not to be thought of, still less Plato's notion that figures in relief on stelae were represented as if bisected vertically.¹ The whole question was how to attain the greatest explicitness in a long composition mostly crowded with figures two or three deep, exhibited under diffused light and at a considerable distance from the eye. In these circumstances one might have expected to find all inner details sacrificed to the main outlines of the procession. Such, however, is not the case. The inner modelling of horse and man is indeed kept so low as to be invisible at a comparatively short distance. But it is there, all the same, in inexpressible beauty.

The metopes presented a complicated problem. For the sake of the light the figures had to be in the highest possible relief. For the sake of the architecture they could not be more than two-thirds life size. Yet certain of them had to be placed immediately under the colossal statues of the pediments, and therefore were seen in the same glance with the pediments. The result might have been an apparent conflict between the two sets of figures, so widely different in proportions; and probably it was to avoid an effect of this kind at Olympia that the metopes of the temple of Zeus were withdrawn within the colonnade, so as not to be visible at the same moment as the pediments. But on the Parthenon

¹ *Sympos.* 19: He calls them *λίπται*, or "slices" of men, and argues that Zeus made men similarly in two halves.

we find that the deeply grooved triglyphs which separate the metopes into isolated groups have the happy effect of imparting a subsidiary, decorative character to the metopes, somewhat analogous to the predella of a picture. Thus, instead of being in collision with the pediments, the metopes act as an enriching border below them. It has long been held that the metopes which have survived from the south side of the Parthenon have every appearance of having been the work of a sculptor who had not been able to shake off certain traditions of an older and harder school. But it is not safe to judge in this way from a comparatively small portion of an extensive design. The other metopes still remaining on the building, though now greatly damaged, seem to differ largely in style from those just mentioned. Besides, a torso in the British Museum, which had constantly been regarded as that of a Lapith from one of the south metopes, was proved some years ago to belong to one of the boys in the west pediment. That was a warning against hasty inferences as to distinctions of style in different parts of the sculptures.

So vast a scheme of sculpture as that of the Parthenon must have surpassed the faculties of any one man to invent, direct, and supervise within a reasonable time. We are told that Pheidias, besides having himself made the colossal gold and ivory statue of Athenè within the temple, was appointed by Pericles to direct all the public works then proceeding in Athens, including the Parthenon. The marvel was with what speed these works were accomplished. It is specified that in architectural matters he had the assistance of Callicrates and Ictinos, and that in other directions also

he had the services of craftsmen whose names are not given. Among these latter may well have been his favourite pupils, Alcámenes and Agoracritos. In time it may be possible to trace the handiwork of these two pupils on the Parthenon sculptures. But at present our information is too vague, first, as regards the distinctive styles of Alcámenes and Agoracritos, and secondly, as regards the limitations of a man of commanding genius as Pheidias undoubtedly was. All we know of Alcámenes points to his excellence in single statues of deities. Pheidias, on the other hand, was renowned for the wealth and splendour of his imagination. The combination of such a master and such a pupil was everything that could be desired, and, indeed, we are not surprised that comparisons have been made between the so-called Fates of the Parthenon and a presumed copy of the "Aphrodite in the Gardens" by Alcámenes, so far as concerns the treatment of the drapery. Yet who knows but Pheidias himself had advanced on the same lines as his pupil, bestowing on individual figures or groups charms of detail which were not really required by their function in a great composition? We are told of a competition between Pheidias and Alcámenes for a statue of Athenè which was to be placed on a height; that Pheidias had made due allowance for the height, but that Alcámenes, not understanding rightly the effect of distance, had finished his statue with elaborate care. According to the tale, the statue by Pheidias was a source of ridicule until it was raised to its proper height. Thereupon the ridicule was turned against Alcámenes. The story may be silly in some respects, but there was probably good authority for it so far as concerned the essential difference between the two sculptors.¹

¹ Tzetzes, *Chil.* viii. 353.

In the erection of public buildings in Greece it appears to have been usual to have an official Board charged to supervise the progress of the works, and to arrange contracts with sculptors, architects, and craftsmen. In several instances the records of the Boards have survived, inscribed on marble stelae. One of the most interesting gives us the contracts for the temple of Asclepios at Epidauros. And that there had been a Board of this kind for the Parthenon appears from a fragment of papyrus in Strassburg.¹ But whether any such Board would have had the power of choosing the subjects to be represented is doubtful. We know that Pheidias had much influence with Pericles, and presumably these two had selected the general scheme of the sculptures.

How long the Parthenon had lasted in its original entirety and splendour we know not. Down to the second century of our era we read of it as still intact, with the one exception that the gold of the colossal Athenè had been made off with during a revolt in Athens. But after the second century there was apparently no thought of preserving the Parthenon against the effects of negligence and weather, to say nothing of possible earthquakes. The early Christians, who made it a church, had no interest in its sculptures, still less the Turks, who subsequently used it as a mosque, and in the end, when bombarded by the Venetians in 1687, had a store of powder in it. A too well aimed shell from the Venetians caused a terrific explosion. The result was a great gap across the middle of the Parthenon, involving the destruction of the centre metopes and much of the frieze. To add to this calamity, the Venetian general, Morosini, attempted to

¹ Bruno Keil, *Anonymus Argentinensis*, p. 75.

lower and carry off the chariot group of Athenè in the west pediment. But his tackle gave way, and the group was broken into fragments.

Some years previous to the Venetian bombardment it happened, fortunately, that a French Ambassador to the Porte, famous in his day—the Marquis de Nointel—had employed an artist to make drawings for him of the Parthenon sculptures. These drawings exist now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris,¹ and are, in fact, the only evidence we possess as to large sections of the sculptures which have disappeared. They are therefore invaluable. In their way they are masterly and truthful—very different from the fanciful sketches of Cyriac of Ancona or San Gallo in the fifteenth century, or such wild compositions as that of D'Ortières in 1687.

In the first years of the nineteenth century Lord Elgin removed those of the sculptures now in the British Museum, while his colleague, the French Ambassador to the Porte, M. Choiseul-Gouffier, appropriated a slab of the frieze and two metopes. The slab of frieze and one of these metopes are now in the Louvre. The other metope was recovered for the British Museum. Nearly the whole of the west frieze, the metopes of the east and west fronts remain on the building, as do also such of the north metopes as were spared by the explosion in 1687. Several figures of the west pediment are still *in situ*, badly damaged, like all the rest of the sculptures

¹ Reproduced by photography in folio form by M. Omont, *Dessins des Sculptures du Parthénon*, 1898. For an ac-

count of the Marquis de Nointel, see M. le Comte Albert Vandal, *L'Odyssée d'un Ambassadeur* (1673-1675).

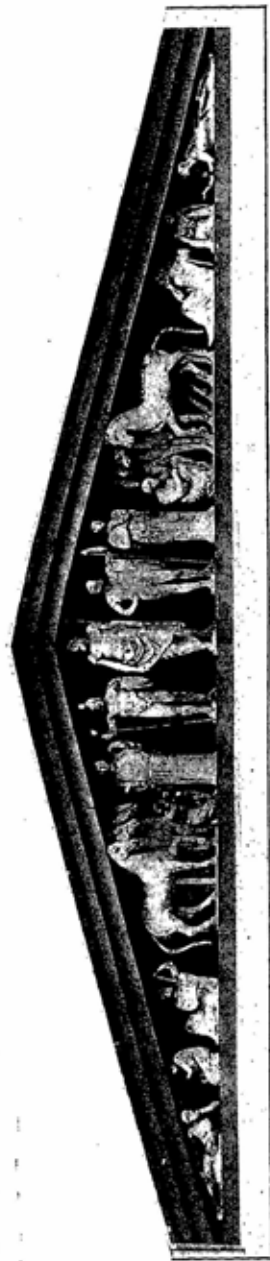
now on the building. In the Elgin Room of the British Museum may be seen two sets of plaster casts from the west frieze, the one set made for Lord Elgin, the other after an interval of about seventy years. How the marbles had suffered during that period is only too obvious. Apparently there is no means of stopping the decay of the marble when it has once got so far; but it is sad to think how short the time may be before the sculptures yet on the Parthenon become quite unrecognisable. It is the Elgin casts that are given in our plate of the frieze.

CHAPTER II

THE WEST PEDIMENT

[PLATES II.-V.]

FROM its very nature, the triangular shape of a pediment had presented difficulties to Greek sculptors in the earliest times, if we may judge from the archaic remains now to be seen on the Acropolis of Athens. Apparently the first successful solution of the problem—how to utilise such a space for a sculptured composition with figures in the round—was the pediments of Aegina, particularly the west pediment, where the incidents of a battlefield are ingeniously adapted to the given triangular space. In the acute angles are wounded men lying with their feet towards the narrowest part, and raising themselves on their elbows so far as space would allow; next come bowmen in their proper attitude of kneeling; then a warrior hurrying to the front half bent; and finally, towards the centre, the protagonists, men of larger mould than the others, like Homeric heroes; and lastly, in the very centre, an invisible goddess interfering to stay the combat. What we see is by no means a realistic battle. Such incidents only are chosen as are best suited to the space; nor is that the sole justification of the sculptor in this instance.



EAST PEDIMENT OF OLYMPIA.



In every multifarious scene of life the artist must exercise selection. Even an epic poet is not exempt.

The next advance was in the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Pl. II., Fig. 1). There we have still the protagonists in the centre, with an invisible deity between them; but the two flanks of the pediment are now occupied by obviously secondary persons in the character of attendants and onlookers. In each of the two acute angles a river god reclines, raising himself to watch the scene. Thus in the presence of onlookers in the flanks we have a new element of artistic composition—a great central group of commanding importance, whose action is being watched by persons who represent the locality and are interested in the result.

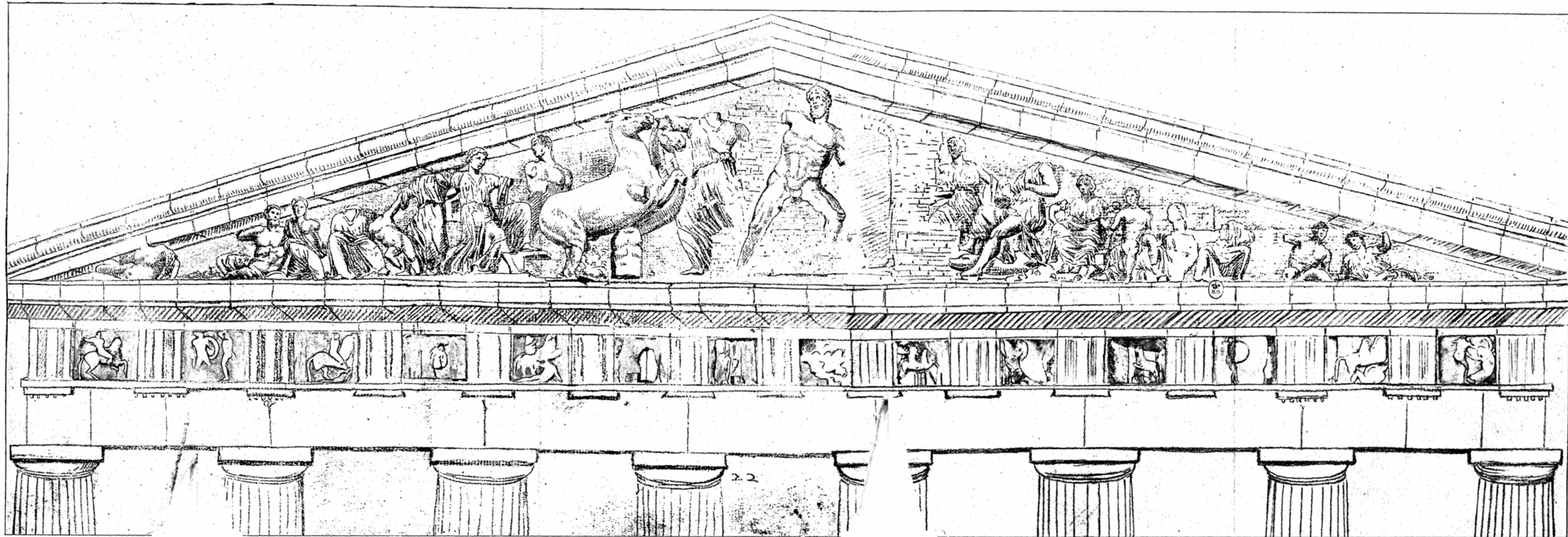
Next, in order of time, came the Parthenon pediments. There also we find the new principle of composition—a great central group flanked on each side by secondary beings. But there is this momentous difference, that, instead of a single deity appearing in the very centre like a ghost to stay the combat, we have in each pediment of the Parthenon a central group of deities acting and reacting on each other. The deities themselves are now the protagonists; that was a vast change on the older order of ideas. No wonder if, previous to the discovery of the Olympia sculptures, there were students who strove hard to convince themselves that in each pediment of the Parthenon the whole scene was filled by deities alone. In those days it was easy to defend an interpretation of this kind; but even then it found few adherents, and now such views can only be maintained in defiance of the east

pediment of Olympia, with its secondary beings in the flanks. So far as we know, no one cherishes these views any longer.

It would have been more appropriate to begin here with the east pediment of the Parthenon, which was the first act of the drama. But amid the accidents of time it has happened that the west pediment, though now a greater wreck, is in reality better known to us, thanks to the drawings of it made by Carrey¹ in the seventeenth century (Pl. III.), previous to its destruction by the Venetians (1687). Besides Carrey's drawings and the few sculptures still left, most of them fragmentary, we have only the simple words of Pausanias that the subject was the strife between Athenè and Poseidon for divine sovereignty over the land of Attica. From these combined sources we see at once that the centre of the pediment had been occupied by Athenè and Poseidon as the two great protagonists. The goddess had arrived in a chariot (biga), and, as we shall see presently, Poseidon must have come on the scene in the same manner, though his chariot was destroyed before Carrey's time. Each chariot had a driver, with an attendant on foot, and thus

¹ It is usual to ascribe the drawings of the Parthenon sculptures now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris to a French artist, Carrey, who had been employed in Athens by a famous French ambassador, the Marquis de Nointel. But in recent years it has been argued that Carrey's services did not begin till after these drawings had been completed by previous draughtsmen who had accompanied de Nointel. It may be an injustice to these artists if we continue to speak of the drawings

as the work of Carrey. But as the matter is not yet altogether beyond dispute, we shall still use Carrey's name for convenience. See Omont, *Dessins des Sculptures du Parthénon*, 1898, p. 4, and Babelon, *Compte-rendu de l'Académie des Inscr.*, 1900, p. 262, both of whom rely on the researches of M. le Comte Albert Vandal among the papers of the Marquis de Nointel in his *L'Odyssée d'un Ambassadeur: Les Voyages du Marquis de Nointel, 1673-1675* (Paris, 1900).



the whole centre of the pediment was occupied by one great group, closed in on each side by the two chariots. Within this group there was a further division, consisting of the two deities themselves, represented at that stage of the contention between them when Athenè had produced her olive tree on the Acropolis and Poseidon had made his spring of water flow. Thus the moment of greatest intensity had just been reached; and this is amply reflected in the action of the two contending deities, to say nothing of the rearing horses of Athenè. That a similar degree of excitement had been shown by the horses of Poseidon is clear from the bearing of his charioteer, which we possess, O, and in a measure also from the heads of his two horses, which have been preserved (Pl. V.).

At this stage it is important to bear in mind that the east pediment of Olympia presents under a somewhat older type this same principle of a great middle group closed in by two chariots facing the centre, and serving to isolate as well as to magnify the protagonists. At Olympia the figures in the two wings of the pediment are obviously local and secondary beings—in a word, interested spectators. That, as we have already remarked, was a striking advance on the older methods of composition. It introduced a new touch of nature, which must have appealed to the poetic instincts of a great sculptor coming immediately after. But even apart from considerations of a poetic kind, we see at once from Carrey's drawing of the west pediment of the Parthenon that the figures in the two wings are markedly dissociated from the central group, except as interested spectators. It seems inconceivable that these figures so

ostentatiously cut off from the central group can be deities. By their presence they indicate the permanent effects of the momentary dispute of the deities on the district in question—that is, Attica. The produce of the land, especially olive-growing, was to be supreme over sea-faring. It was what would now be called a “Little Athens” policy. We need say no more concerning the general composition of this pediment. Our troubles will begin when we have to decide each for himself how far the figures in the angles are local heroes or local personifications. The one thing to bear in mind is that local heroes may after all be only local personifications crystallised into more popular forms, in which case a river-god, of whom we know only the name, may reasonably appear side by side with Cecrops, who, though equally a personification to begin with, had passed over into the legendary history of Athens.

To take the figures one by one, we begin as of right with the central group. And first it will be of interest to notice a Greek vase in St. Petersburg on which is painted the contest of Athenè and Poseidon (Pl. II., Fig. 2). In the centre between them is an olive tree with the serpent of Athenè twined round its stem and Nikè among the branches. On the left is Athenè in recoil from her final act, and at the same time turning towards her chariot to leave the scene. On the right Poseidon seizes by the bridle a horse, below which are the brackish pool of water and the dolphins. Doubtless this one horse is a sufficient attribute of Poseidon, but comparing the vase, so far as it goes, with the west pediment, we must conclude that the one horse in effect represents the two horses of his chariot. As a result of this com-

parison we must further recognise the olive tree between the deities as equally applicable to the centre of the pediment. Whether there were there also the serpent and the Nikè must be left in suspense.

The chariot of Athenè we know from Carrey's drawings, but by his time the horses of Poseidon had disappeared. The heads of his two horses have, however, been recovered on the Acropolis. We give them as they were probably intended to be seen (Pl. V.), the nearer head sculptured in a large, grand manner; the farther head is only roughed out, and at the same time has been sliced off at the back to fit against the vertical wall of the pediment.¹ Curiously enough, the ear of the farther horse had been pricked forward strongly, and most probably the ears of the nearer horse had been similarly rendered to indicate sudden surprise. The horses of Athenè were lost through Morosini's attempt to lower them, and we cannot now say from Carrey's drawings whether their ears also had been pricked forward. It would almost seem not.

The charioteer of Poseidon, O, exists still in marble in the British Museum as well as in Carrey's drawing, though in both cases fragmentary (Pl. V.). We are inclined to recognise in her attitude and in the violence with which her scarf is twisted up round her shoulders more action than is perceptible in the opposite charioteer of Athenè, G. The broad girdle round her waist and her bare leg, as shown in Carrey, seem to give her an air of distinction, but

¹ Michaelis assigned these heads wrongly to the chariot of Athenè, as Sauer has already pointed out.

whether these features are sufficient to justify the name that has often been given her of Amphitritè, the spouse of Poseidon, we are not prepared to say. Carrey was in time to preserve also in his drawing a female figure, N, hasting to the centre. This figure corresponds to the Hermes on the farther side of the horses of Athenè. We shall see that on the frieze each chariot is accompanied by a man on foot, whose function was to assist the driver in keeping his team in order, and usually he is there also placed at the farther side of the horses. The divine chariots in the pediment may have been in no need of such help. But clearly this was an artistic device of the time, to counteract in a measure the long horizontal masses of the horses by a standing figure at the farther side. We may therefore regard both the Hermes and this female figure as artistic elements rather than as beings absolutely necessary to the myth.

Some have proposed to identify this female figure, N, behind the missing horses of Poseidon with the torso of Victory at present placed in the east pediment in the Elgin Room (Pl. VIII., Fig. 1). In action and costume both are much alike. But there is a marked difference in the left arms. In our torso of Victory the left arm has been raised high, showing the armpit, whereas in Carrey's drawing of the west pediment the left arm falls downwards with a scarf over it, of which there is no trace on the Victory. Carrey was too observant a draughtsman to make an error of that kind. Besides, our Victory had wings, which had been fitted into deep sockets in the back of her shoulders, but are now lost. It is possible, no doubt, that Carrey's figure had wings originally, which

had been lost before his time, but in that case the figure would obviously not have responded as she otherwise does to the Hermes, H, beside Athenè's chariot. Nor can a Victory on the side of Poseidon be reconciled with the situation. He was defeated.

Great as has been the wreck of the central group, we can still in a measure realise the composition from Carrey's drawing, and the style from the torsos and fragments that remain (Pl. V.). The fragmentary body of Poseidon, M, which we possess is not only grand and true, but without it we have no means of judging how the sculptor of the Parthenon had treated the colossal figures in the very centre of his two pediments. The fragment of the breast of Athenè, L, is similarly grand and simple. The torso of the Hermes is much defaced in front, but the back has been fairly well preserved, and is, indeed, one of the best examples of the care bestowed on the invisible backs of the figures. Nature has prescribed that in man the front view shall display most fully the vital organs, and in that respect the sculptor of the Parthenon has taken her lead. He has, perhaps, gone a little further sometimes, though not in the Hermes. We have already noticed the existing torso of Poseidon's charioteer, and need only add that in Carrey's drawing there is a sea-monster under her feet corresponding to the dolphins on the St. Petersburg vase. Creatures of that kind were, doubtless, impossible on the Acropolis, but how otherwise was the sculptor to indicate the pool of brackish water which Poseidon had just struck?

In our view the two contending deities were conceived as invisibly present on the Acropolis beside the actual olive tree

and pool which they had created.¹ Their charioteers were equally invisible and present on the Acropolis. But the figures in the two wings, consisting of interested spectators in the form of local heroes or local personifications, were not necessarily there also. To assume that they were present on the Acropolis seems a far too narrow and literal interpretation of a divine incident which affected the whole land of Attica. It is true that, according to a late version of the myth, Cecrops was present as judge, and gave his decision in favour of Athenè. That, however, does not imply that he was on the Acropolis at the moment. As we have said, there is in the artistic composition of the pediment as a whole a strong demarcation between the great central group and the wings. No doubt this demarcation may only be meant to indicate a separation between the divine beings, by nature invisible, and the local beings. But it may mean also a separation in space.

It is now agreed that the figures B, C, D, E, F, in the left wing are Cecrops and his three daughters with the boy Erichthonios. We recognise Cecrops from the serpent, on whose coils his left hand rests. He was a being of a double nature—a man with the legs of a serpent.² But the sculptor has here been content to indicate this by a serpent at his side. One of his daughters has rushed to him in alarm, casting herself on her knees, and throwing her arm round his

¹ The olive tree was destroyed during the Persian sack of the Acropolis, but on the second day thereafter sent forth a shoot, says Herodotus viii. 55. Pausanias tells that on the same day a shoot two cubits long appeared (I. 26, 6, and I. 27, 2).

² τὸν διφυῆ Κέκροπα. *Anth. Gr.* App. 14 (ed. Jacobs). This group of Cecrops and his daughters (B, C) remains on the Parthenon, except a fragment of the serpent which is in the British Museum.

neck. Her mantle, twisted among her feet, suggests that in her haste it had fallen and helped to throw her forward. The cause of her alarm is obvious. It was the violent contention of the two deities. Her sisters and the boy Erichthonios share her excitement, especially the sister nearest the centre, who in Carrey's drawing corresponds singularly with the so-called Iris, G, of the east pediment, both in the slightness of her figure and in her action of turning away from the centre. When we see on the east frieze a mortal standing with his back deliberately turned towards deities apparently close beside him, we know that he is unconscious of their presence, and similarly we may assume that this daughter of Cecrops was conscious only of some mysterious sound or sight. These daughters of Cecrops recall a passage of Euripides (*Ion*, 1163), where he mentions a curtain at Delphi—the gift of an Athenian—on which was embroidered Cecrops and his daughters, he ending in the coils of a serpent, the whole scene apparently having been much the same as on a vase in the British Museum.¹ It was a subject intimately associated with the rocks of the Acropolis.

Between this family group of Cecrops and the reclining figure in the angle, A, is a gap in the composition, but there is no proof of any figure ever having been there. Besides, there is a corresponding gap in the right wing, equally with no trace of any figure. In our judgment these two gaps are an essential part of the composition. So far as the left wing

¹ E 788, a vase in the form of a sphinx surmounted by a cup, on which the design is painted, Cecrops ending

in a serpent, his three daughters, and the boy Erichthonios (*Hellenic Journal*, viii. p. 1, pl. 73).

is concerned, we accept this gap as meant to separate the legendary family of Cecrops from A, the personification of the river Ilissos (or Cephisos) reclining in the angle; and if we could convince ourselves that the group of women and boys, P—U, in the right wing represent the family of Erechtheus, as Professor Furtwaengler has proposed, we would be content so far. The two remaining figures in the right angle, V—W, would then be, from our point of view, local personifications, possibly the Cephisos (or Ilissos) and the fountain Callirrhoë, as they have so often been called. There would thus be three orders of beings in the pediment—deities in the centre, legendary beings next them, and personifications in the immediate angles. In any case we insist on this artistic division of groups in the pediment.

From the family of Cecrops we now turn more particularly to the supposed family of Erechtheus in the right wing. In Carrey's drawing and partly also in the actual remains we recognise there a group of women and boys, P—U. One would have expected even more excitement among them since they were on the losing side. But it is hardly so. The woman Q next to Poseidon's charioteer is seated high to the front. She herself does not appear to share the same excitement as the corresponding figure F on Athenè's side, but the boy on her right side, P, has rushed impetuously to her, his right hand clasping her knee, and his mantle stretched between him and her. On her left was another boy, R, of whom we have no remains. Next comes an almost nude figure, S, sitting on the knees of a draped woman, T, who appears to be seated low on the ground, and in the act of raising her knees as if in some astonishment. Lastly, a woman, U,



1
FRAGMENT OF T.
WEST FRAGMENT OF PARTHENON.



3
FRAGMENT OF METOPE (16),
SOUTH SIDE, IN BRITISH MUSEUM.



2
BRONZE RELIEF IN BRITISH MUSEUM.
POSEIDON AND SYMPHIS.

seated, moving uneasily, to the front. In Carrey's drawing she appears to be like the corresponding figure D in the left wing, but in both cases that appearance of moving uneasily may be due solely to the point of view at which Carrey made his drawing.

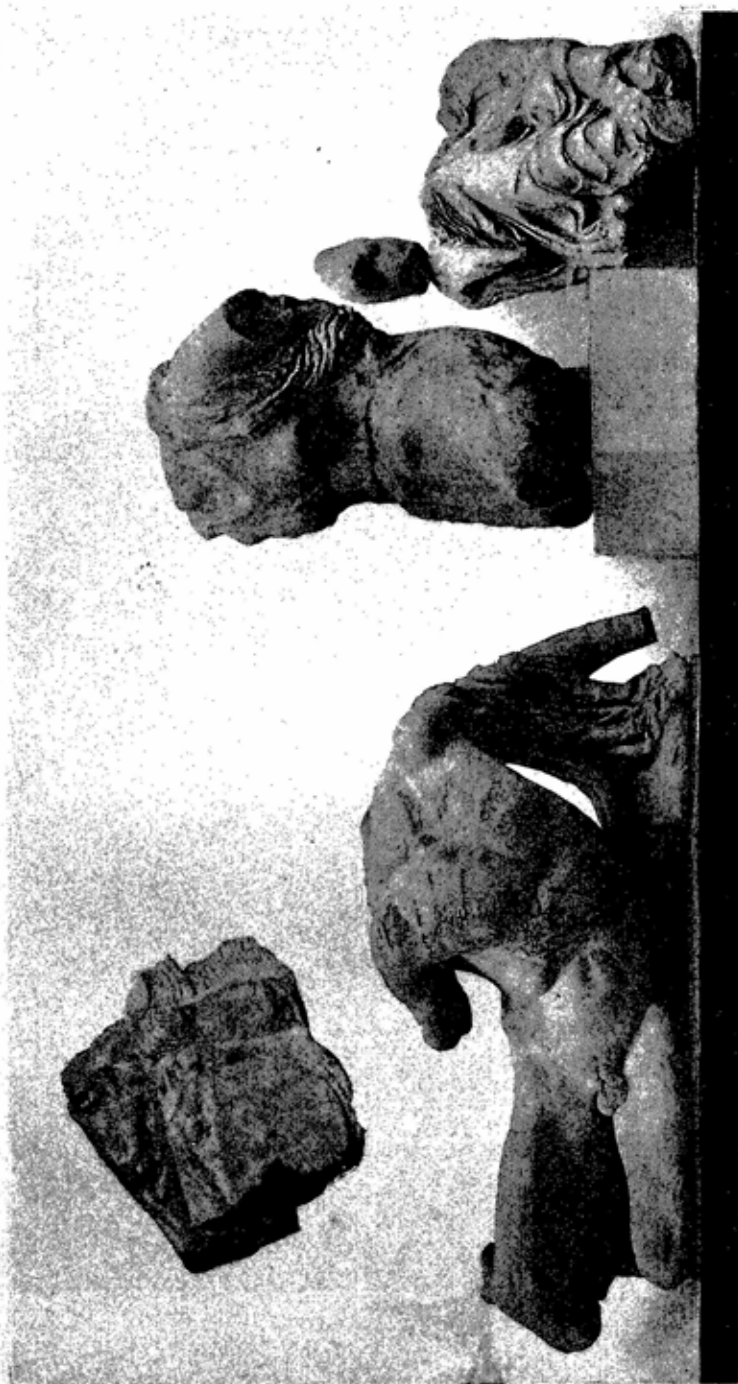
We have thus in the two angles two groups of women and children whom we are tempted to suppose sitting in the sun at the moment of the divine contest in a garden beside the sanctuary of Athenè and Hephaestos, where Plato imagines the ruling families to have dwelt in the legendary age.¹ That would be on the Acropolis; but in his picture the Acropolis of those days extended to Mount Lycabettos on the one hand and to the Pnyx on the other. In any case the beings who are first surprised by the divine contest are women and children. And of these the group on the left are unmistakably the family of Cecrops. Of them we need say no more. But the other group presents difficulties. In one way or another they must be associated with Poseidon. They are on his side, and above all there is the sea-monster under the feet of his charioteer. In Carrey's drawing the tail of that monster seems to have stretched behind the feet of the next seated figure, Q, and in the marble in the British Museum there is a joint behind her feet which shows that something, sculptured separately from her, had passed along there (Pl. V.). If that was the tail of the sea-monster, as it ought to be, we could then easily understand the joint in the marble. Under her feet Carrey has drawn what may fairly be regarded as marine objects of some kind. On her left side he draws another young boy, R, also standing high, possibly

¹ *Critias*, 6.

on the rock on which she is seated. Next we have a figure almost entirely nude, S, seated on the knees of a draped figure, T. To regard this nude figure, S, as a third boy is to ignore Carrey's obvious intention in drawing it as a woman. Woman or not, being on the side of Poseidon she must be explained in some relation to the sea. If a woman, and intended in this connection, we have no difficulty in finding analogies for her among sea-nymphs. For that purpose we give (Pl. IV., Fig. 2) a group of two nymphs on a bronze relief in the British Museum.¹ They are seated on a sea-monster, and are surprised, the head of Poseidon rising out of the sea. It is not strange, therefore, that the nude figure, S, has more often than not been regarded as the sea-born Aphrodite. In our judgment this whole family group in the pediments may reasonably be taken as nymphs or such-like with their children, on the coast of Attica. Their individual names is a matter of indifference from an artistic point of view. We should add here that the body of the boy P was identified and put in its proper place some years ago, having been previously considered to be the body of a Lapith in one of the south metopes; that the drapery of the figure Q is very beautifully sculptured; and that we possess in the Museum a large draped fragment which may be one of the thighs of T, also very finely sculptured (Pl. IV., Fig. 1).

We now return to the two extreme angles of the pediment, having already expressed an opinion that the reclining figure in the left, A, is a river-god, either the Ilissos or Cephisos, and that the reclining woman in the right, W, may be the fountain Callirrhoe, the male figure next her,

¹ *Catalogue of Bronzes*, No. 973; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1884, pl. 2, fig. 2.



C

B

A

D

PARTS OF WEST PEDIMENT.

V, the river-god Cephisos or Ilissos. We do not propose to discuss these names further, but would rather insist on a due consideration of the place of the angle figures in the composition as a whole. To begin with, they are separated, as already said, by a gap from the family group next them. If the figures in the angles belong to a different order of beings, then we can understand these gaps and can feel the artistic significance of them, and at the same time appreciate at their proper worth all attempts to fill in these gaps with legendary heroes, and so extend the family group continuously right into each angle, as Professor Furtwaengler wishes.¹ In his view the reclining figure, A, would be a local hero Buziges, whom we hardly know by name; and Cecrops, instead of being conspicuous at the head of his family, would only be one hero among others. We prefer the familiar name of the Ilissos for the angle figure, A, not only because he would thus be a being of a different order—that is to say, a personification of a river—but also because he would thus represent the locality, as do the river-gods in the angles of the east pediment of Olympia. We lay stress on the parallel instance of Olympia (1) because of the artistic resemblance between the river-gods there and the Ilissos; (2) because of the express statement of Pausanias, which no one would doubt in this case unless he had another axe to grind; and (3) because of what we know concerning the habit of thought of Pheidias in indicating the localities of his great compositions. In late Greek and Roman art the presence of river-gods at the extremities

¹ *Meisterwerke*, p. 241.

of a composition is employed to localise a scene, and nothing is more probable than that Pheidias had been one of the first to introduce this principle. The personifications of sun and moon at each extremity of his sculptured base of the Zeus at Olympia is a proof of this habit of mind on his part, to say nothing of his sun and moon at each end of the east pediment of the Parthenon itself, serving as boundaries of the scene.

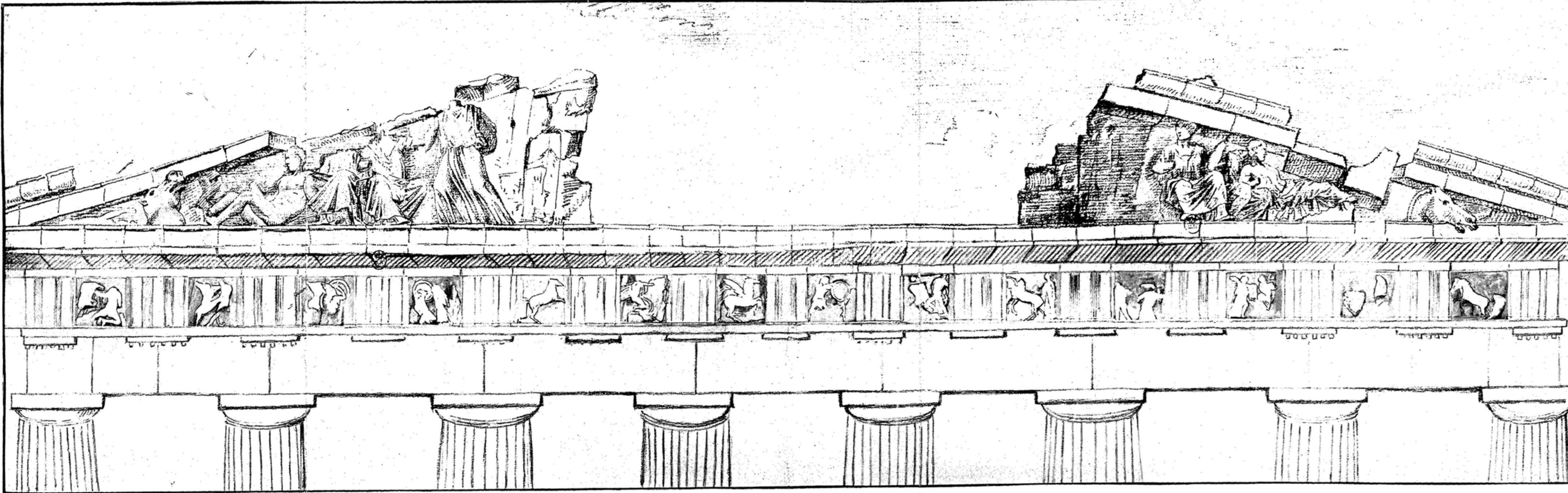
The Ilissos has no corresponding figure in the right angle, as the analogy of the two river-gods at Olympia might lead us to expect. In the interval there had been an artistic advance which had discarded the older feeling of a necessary balance in each angle. And similarly in the east pediment of the Parthenon we shall see that the so-called Theseus in one angle has no figure strictly balancing him in the other. That question we must leave for the moment. But considering that the Ilissos is the only figure of the whole west pediment which has been fairly well preserved, we may now examine him more closely from an artistic point of view (Pl. V.). We do not expect him to have an urn by his side, with water flowing from it, and a branch in one hand, as in late Greek and Roman art; we may fairly be content if his nude form is resplendent with light, as becomes the representative of a river, on which the play of light is always one of its most characteristic features. It is so. There is not certainly so much undulation in his limbs as in the river-gods of Olympia, but there is some. His mantle, which stretches behind him, is characterised by long lines and folds which may be described as wet. It spreads itself on the rock behind his left hand in a thin sheet of

flat folds, which, though only sketched in, or because of that, conveys the idea of water gliding over a smooth rock in the bed of a stream. It may be argued that this treatment of the drapery is mere negligence; if so, it is negligence in the right place for once. He is excited by the contest of the two deities, and raises himself in his channel, pulling back his left foot and raising his right knee; his right hand has caught hold of an end of his mantle, dragging it forward, an action always significant of surprise in Greek art. The somewhat violent raising of himself has necessarily thrown the more mobile parts of the body into a confusion which might easily have been indicated by a sculptor more expressively than here, but never with a finer conception and with just that degree of truth which is consistent with a lofty ideal. The massive bones of the chest and the ribs remain unchangeable, of course, however the body may turn. The task was to reconcile with them the easily changing forms of the abdomen. For ourselves, the way in which this has been done commands unaltered admiration.

At Athens there remain in the right angle of this pediment two torsos, V, W. The former is a male figure in the act of rising suddenly as in alarm. For the moment he still rests on his right knee, but the right foot is entangled in a mantle, in a manner which suggests haste. Probably the left knee had been raised, the foot on the ground. His bodily forms are very simple, but very grand. That he represents the river Cephisos we are content to believe. The other figure, W, is a woman, thickly draped, reclining at full length, and grasping with her right hand the rock

beneath her. Enough remains to show that she had been in the act of turning towards the centre of the pediment in alarm. Her drapery at the back is finely if simply rendered. We are willing to accept her as the local fountain, Callirrhoe.

Thus the great shock of the deities in the centre vibrates through every figure to the remote angles. The unity of the whole pediment must have been singularly impressive in its original state. With patience we can learn this much from Carrey's drawing and the remains. The gods with their chariots were invisible, but the shock of their contention reached by some divine sound or sight the beings in Attica who were at the moment most interested in the result.



CHAPTER III

THE EAST PEDIMENT

[PLATES VI.-IX.]

IN the east pediment we have no drawings of Carrey to show us what the great central group, now missing, had been like. All we possess is the groups from the two angles, much as Carrey saw them (Pl. VI.). But we are told by Pausanias in the briefest possible words that the whole of the sculptures of this pediment were concerned with the birth of Athenè. With this authentic information we see at once that what is now a great void in the centre had been occupied originally by the deities present at and startled by the birth of the goddess from the head of her father Zeus. We read in the Homeric Hymn to Athenè that Olympos, the abode of the gods, trembled at the sight of her, the earth moaned heavily, the sea was agitated, raising its purple waves and tossing its brine; Helios, the sun-god, stayed his horses what time Athenè was doffing her immortal armour to the joy of her father Zeus. Pindar (*Olymp.* vii.) says: "Springing from the head of her father, she shouted an exceeding great cry, and Olympos and mother earth shuddered at her." Later on he says that the sun-god had commanded to watch her advent and to offer her sacrifice.

With the aid of these poets and with the sober statement of Pausanias we can imagine the present great void in the centre filled by deities, all agitated except Zeus himself. On the strength of certain Greek vases and the reliefs on a marble well-mouth (puteal) in Madrid (Pl. IX. Fig. 1), we may even go a step further and imagine Zeus seated in the very centre or near it, facing the right, Hephaestos immediately behind him, rushing off in haste after having cloven the head of Zeus, and Athenè in front of her father, full armed and excited. Beyond these limits we cannot go, except in mere speculation. Yet we know in general terms that the whole central group of deities, now lost, had been stirred into action by a sudden event; and if anything is needed to confirm this view, it is supplied by the existing groups of the two angles, where each figure is seen to be moved by some action in the centre, the sound of which is reaching them one after the other, according to distance. We are on sure ground thus far, and must now meet the next question: Did the figures in the two angles belong to the conclave of deities present at the birth of Athenè? In other words: Did the whole composition of the east pediment represent a united homogeneous body? If so, why are those in the angles so unprepared for what is happening in their midst? As we examine them one by one we shall see how unprepared they are, and how much in this respect they resemble the angle groups of the west pediment. Meantime we have no hesitation in accepting for the east pediment the same principle of composition which we have recognised in the west; that is to say, a great central group of deities who were visible only to the inner eye, and two angle groups of secondary beings, whom

for the moment we may call merely interested spectators. The name of each figure is indifferent compared with the artistic principle which dominates the whole composition, and it is precisely for this reason that we have taken first the west pediment, which we could survey as a whole in Carrey's drawing. In the west pediment we have seen that the great central group of deities and chariots is complete in itself. The action of that group is not shared by the figures in the wings, but only passes over to them in its consequences. We expect the same principle of composition in the east pediment, and as a matter of fact the prevailing opinion of late years has been distinctly in that direction.

The point we desire to press most is this : If the deities in the west pediment were by their nature invisibly present in the atmosphere of the Acropolis when the olive tree and the brackish spring were made to appear, and if the deities on the frieze waiting the rich sacrifices to be offered them are seated invisibly on the Acropolis or inside a temple, there is at least a strong presumption that the same principle had applied to the central deities of the east pediment. Assume, as is usual, that they were in Olympos when Athenè sprang into being ; we then lose the unity of place, and have either to invent means of communicating the news to beings on the earth, or, following the Homeric Hymn to Athenè, assume that the angle groups represent earth and sea violently agitated by the event. But the sea from which Helios rises in the left angle is perfectly calm, with only a ripple on its surface as at a peaceful dawn. There is no agitation in the extreme angles. And what would have been the significance of the birth of the goddess for the Athenians

if it had been an event which concerned the whole world and not them by overwhelming preference? Let us call the invisible sphere where she was born Olympos, but define it as for the moment just over Athens. If the gods went to Ethiopia for a feast they might equally come to Athens, so the Athenians may well have thought, for the birth of their protecting goddess.

The view we here propose is in fact only an expansion of the invisible Zeus in the east and the invisible Apollo in the west pediment of Olympia, to which we may add the invisible Athenè of the Aegina pediments. It is a development of the Homeric idea of shrouding a deity in mist, or otherwise making him or her unperceived by mortals, though near to them. We see the same development in the frieze of the Theseum and in the archaic frieze of the Treasury of Cnidos at Delphi. In mankind everywhere there is an inner vision which no true artist can ignore. When the sculptor sought to meet the demands of this inner eye by a conventional method, as in these instances and on the Parthenon, we may rest assured that he was well understood by his own generation.

The sculptor has set as boundaries of the scene the sun rising from the sea in the left angle and the moon descending behind the hills in the right (Pl. IX.). The sun and the moon are doubtless cosmic powers common to mankind. Yet every little town or village knows them only as they appear to it. An Athenian standing at dawn before the east front of the Parthenon and looking towards the pediment might see the sun rising from the sea on his left and the moon passing on his right away over the hills. He would know no other sun and moon but his own. With equal justice

to the natural phenomena the sculptor could have imagined himself facing in the opposite direction. The sun would then have been on his right hand and the moon on his left, as on a beautiful vase in the British Museum about contemporary with the Parthenon (E 466). He would then have placed his Helios in the right angle of the pediment and his Selenè in the left. The effect, however, would have been incongruous, and bearing these things in mind, we think that the sculptor has distinctly meant to indicate sunrise at Athens. But what has sunrise to do with Olympus? And what interest could the Athenians be expected to take in any sun and moon but their own?

It is true that the Greeks generally and Pheidias in particular regarded the east as on their left hand. On the base of his statue of Zeus at Olympia, representing the birth of Aphroditè, the sun was seen rising on the extreme left, the moon retiring on the right (Pausanias, v. 11, 3), and on the base of his Athenè in the Parthenon itself the same phenomenon occurs, if we may judge from the Lenormant copy of the statue (Pl. XIV., Fig. 3). But granting that this was a mere habit on his part, we must still regard it as a happy coincidence that on the Parthenon the sun rises exactly as in the sky at Athens.

In ancient times the sun stood still at scenes of carnage, as on Mount Gibeon, or of horror, as at the feast of Thyestes. At the birth of Athenè he stayed his horses, we are told. From the sculpture (A on Pl. IX., Fig. 2) we can see that he is pulling them in. His outstretched right arm is full of strength and action, forcing round to the front the two nearer horses' heads B, C. The two farther heads remain

in the pediment,¹ as may be seen in our view of the east front (Pl. I.) He has a quadriga, whereas the two deities in the west pediment have only bigae. But that distinction, we may well imagine, was purely artistic. Two quadrigae in the west pediment would necessarily have presented more complicated masses on each side of the two protagonist deities in the centre, and for that reason would have been less effective in accentuating the prominence of the deities. In the angle of the east pediment, where only the heads of the horses were visible, the presence of four was more a gain than otherwise. The same may be said of the four horses of Selenè in the right angle. We possess only one of them (O on Pl. IX., Fig. 2). The others, more or less disfigured, remain in their original place, the fourth being only sketched in on the back of the pediment. In certain late Roman reliefs² the horses of Selenè appear plunging downward, their heads already lost beneath the horizon, their bodies still visible. It is otherwise on the Parthenon. There it is the heads of the horses and the upper part of Selenè that remain in view, the rest being out of sight. Yet the head of the nearest horse, O, is cut away at the back to let it overhang the cornice, as if already

¹ *Athen. Mittheilungen*, xvi. pl. 3.

² For example, the sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum representing Prometheus making man. But more to our purpose is a Mithraic relief, on which we see between the rising sun on the left and the waning moon on the right a group of deities in two rows. In the front row Zeus sits in the centre. On his right stand Hera,

Athenè, Aphrodité; on his left stand Apollo, Ares, Heracles. In the back row, and visible only as far as the busts, are, behind Zeus, Victory holding a palm branch; on her right, Artemis, Hades, and Persephonè; on her left, Poseidon. This relief was found in 1861, at Kastell Osterburken, and is published in the *Obergermanisch. Rhaetisch. Limes*, pt. ii. p. 23, pl. 2.



EAST PEDIMENT.

G

F

E

D

partially below the horizon. Surely no horse's head could be more beautiful. Ordinarily the large flat cheek-bones of a horse—irresponsive to any muscular movement—seem ungainly. But in an animal of noble breed the mobile mouth, the fiery nostrils, the prominent eye and the alert ears at once rivet our attention. The dull expanse of cheek-bone then resolves itself into an agreeable contrast, just because of its structural and immobile form. Selenè herself is a mere fragment now in Athens. She had worn a scarf, which passed round the back of the shoulders and had fallen over her upper arms. Both arms had been stretched forward energetically, possibly in the act of pulling back her horses, like Helios, in astonishment.

As we proceed in examining one by one the sculptures of the pediment, we come next to a figure D, which is at once the grandest of them all in an artistic sense and a source of perplexity as to who he is. Long ago he was called Cephalos, and now again that name is in favour. He has been called also Dionysos, but is best known as Theseus. Whatever his name, he is reclining on a rock over which he has thrown both a lion's skin and a mantle. That he had worn a huntsman's boots is inferred from the drill-hole in the marble in front of his left ankle. But how is his attitude to be described? The cramped action of his knees is very peculiar. It seems to indicate awakening from slumber at sunrise. The slight bending forward of the head and body, the partial turning round towards the front, are equally consistent with that action. We can imagine the right hand raised towards the head in a familiar act of awakening. His left hand may have held

two sloping spears, like the Cephalos on our vase (E 466), which represents the sun and moon at dawn in Attica. His whole figure is sunlit, as if the marble Helios were shining full upon it. When, as sometimes happens, the sun strikes full on this figure, the effect is almost magical; but even in diffused light he always appears as if the sun's rays were slanting upwards along his body from the angle. The face is too much damaged to convey any just idea of its original expression. All we can assert is that the forehead is very beautifully modelled and the eyebrows sharply defined, as in metal rather than in marble. The hair has been only roughly blocked out and is now much worn, but at the back there is a suggestion that it had been braided in two plaits twined round the head, as we see in the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo and other slightly archaic statues.

No words of ours could describe the beauty of this figure, with its fearless truth to nature not only in the bodily forms, but also in that sense of energising vitality which Nature herself so strangely communicates to us in her operations. The attitude is such that the nearer side of the figure is strained just enough to bring into play every capacity of the human form, without a touch of exaggeration, but only with the infinite modulation of a living being of the finest type. It was in this aspect that the figure was meant to be seen, and it is there that the sculptor has concentrated his amazing gift of poetic insight and incomparable skill. At the same time, there are other points in this statue which we need not be deterred from examining. For instance, taking the middle line of the body to start from, we observe that the farther half is not only narrower than the nearer half, but is rendered

in a quite general manner—not much more carefully, in fact, than the back of the figure, and in striking contrast with the marvellous beauty of the nearer side. Beautiful as is the structure of the bones of the right knee, which is farther away, it cannot compare with the charms of precise delineation in the bones of the left knee. Or if we measure from the collar-bone to an extreme point on each shoulder, we find a difference considerably greater than is possible in nature. It has been said, "The soul of Greece is her veracity." No one disputes that, but the position in which a statue was intended to be seen must have always qualified the degree of truth which it was advisable to bestow in the interests of the spectator. A figure which can only present one side to the spectator, and must be seen from below, was precisely in that case. Much has been said and written in praise of the backs of these pediment statues—justly enough in one sense, but very unjustly in comparison with the fronts. The back of this figure is certainly a grand conception. The immense strength of his shoulder bones is shown by the great ridge of flesh which has been driven up by the pulling back of his left arm. From this the eye travels downwards to the finer articulation of the small of the back. Everywhere we see the truth of nature applied to a being of heroic mould. Yet the details are not worked out with anything like the finish of the left side of the statue.

Before leaving this figure—the familiar Theseus—we must state our present opinion that he is more likely to be Cephalos, the ideal Attic huntsman, beloved of Eos, awakening from his slumber on Mount Hymettos when it is flushed with

the rosy light of dawn, as we have seen it, and when a murmur of the birth of Athenè had just reached him, still in semi-consciousness.

The figures next him, E, F, G, form a group of three at present. The whole centre of the pediment being lost, we cannot assert positively that these three figures were originally a detached group; but we can surmise thus much from the west pediment, where we had a corresponding triad in the daughters of Cecrops, the more so since one of the daughters of Cecrops, nearest the centre, answers in her movement to the so-called Iris, G, in the group now in question. These two figures serve in each pediment to separate the great central group from the angles. For this reason we may fairly claim the three women, E, F, G, as having been a triad in the original composition.

The two seated women, E, F, have been identified as the goddesses Demeter and Persephonè, on the assumption that the whole scene of the birth of Athenè had been enacted in Olympos, or as the Seasons (Horæ), who in the *Iliad* (v. 749) keep watch at the gates of heaven, roll away the closed doors of cloud, and shut them again. Pausanias (v. 11, 7) was thinking of that when describing the throne of Zeus at Olympia: "On the highest part of the throne above the head of the statue Pheidias placed the Graces on the one hand and the Seasons on the other, three of each." Then he quotes from Homer to the effect that the Horæ or Seasons were like "guardians of a king's hall." This same writer (ix. 35, 1), speaking of the Horæ in Attica, says that one of them, Thallo, was there honoured jointly with Pandrosos, one of the three daughters of

Cecrops. The three Attic Horae were Thallo, Auxo, and Carpo. We propose to identify them with the figures E, F, G. The Horae were present at the birth of Aphrodite also, as she rose from the sea. So we are told in the Homeric Hymn (v. 5), and so we see them sculptured on the Ludovisi throne.¹ But while on this throne there was an artistic necessity for the presence of only two Horae, the only possible reason in the Parthenon pediment for separating the third figure (G) from the two others is the difference of her attitude and action. That, however, is no greater than the difference between the third daughter of Cecrops and her two sisters in the west pediment. We therefore adhere to the triad of Horae. They were peculiarly Attic personifications, and as guardians of the sky were appropriately placed in the left wing near Helios and Cephalos. Here we should add that the backs of these two figures are rendered with unusual care, and are in fact very beautiful.

The third Hora, G, was at one time called Iris because of her rapid motion as of one running in from a distance with news to the two seated figures, E, F; but her action no more implies distance than does that of the third daughter of Cecrops, as we have just said. It is merely the action of sudden alarm, which she, being a little nearer the centre of events, has felt first. The hurried step she is taking may be almost the first, as it obviously is the last.

¹ *Roem. Mittheilungen*, vii. pl. 2, p. 32; Brunn, *Bildwerke des Parthenon*, in the *Berichte of the bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* 1874; and Furtwaengler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 248. That the Horae

were present at births in ordinary life may be seen in an epigram in the *Anth. Gr. App.* II. 637 (Didot),
 ματρὸς ἀπ' ὠδίνων ὡς εἰς φάος ἤγαγον
 ὦραι.

It is true that the girlishness of her form, when looked at full in front and compared with the two seated women, may suggest a doubt as to the sisterly relation of all three. But there was the space of the pediment to be considered, and besides, we must remember that it was the left side of this figure which came most into view when the spectator stood midway beneath the pediment, looking up. In that aspect her left side is strikingly bold in its contrasts of nude form and large, simple masses of drapery. She has sprung to her feet, seizing her mantle with both hands in astonishment; that was a formula among Greek artists of the time. As regards the two seated figures, the extent of their surprise is greater than is usually supposed. The one, E, throws out her right knee with a great strain on her dress, which brings out clearly the form of the leg. Her left arm is not resting idly on the shoulder of F, but has been thrown on it in a hurried as well as affectionate manner. The figure F has swung herself round and raised her arms energetically, as if in terror. We cannot say now how far the action of the heads of these two figures may have accentuated this expression of movement; but we must add this, that the thick drapery of all three figures must have played an important part in the artistic composition of the pediment. The striking contrast it presents to the brilliantly nude Cephalos on the left must have been balanced by another nude figure on the right belonging to the great central group of deities.

In the right wing of the pediment we approach again a group of three draped women. Usually it is assumed that



K L
EAST PEDIMENT.

M

these also were originally a separate triad, though in fact the absence of the central group of the pediment precludes absolute certainty on this point. We can, however, argue from the analogy of the west pediment, and in that light we accept these three figures, K, L, M, as a triad. No triad of women, each of about the same age and all fairly clad, was better known than the Fates, and none more appropriately present at a birth. On the Madrid puteal (Pl. IX., Fig. 1), which represents the birth of Athenè, they are present with their shears and thread in their hands. It is true they are there standing in a group as the exigencies of a band of relief required. But they are there all the same. On these grounds it is not surprising that the three figures in the pediment have become popularly known as the Fates.

On the other hand, we learn from a fragment of Euripides (*Nauck*, 623) that the Fates were divine beings who "sat nearest to the throne of Zeus," and obviously on an occasion like the birth of Athenè they would have been intent on their natural occupation, not surprised and startled as are the three women in the remote angle of the pediment. They would thus have been the "Foolish Fates," as they are called in *Midsummer Night's Dream*. Further, the Fates had no special connection with Attica. But let us examine the group as it stands.

At first sight, and from a superficial point of view of the pediment as a whole, there is not much of artistic balance in the two angle groups. We recognise that the two figures K, L on the right respond fairly well to E, F on the left. But as a response to the nude Cephalos on the left we have a draped woman, M, on the right. Yet

beneath this superficial aspect we cannot deny that the reclining figure, M, represents the same idea as does the Cephalos; that is to say, a person in the act of awakening. We have thus in the same place in each angle a figure awakening from sleep, the superficial difference being that one is a man, the other a woman. In spirit the two angles thus respond perfectly. In both we have a scene of awakening, appropriately caused in the first instance by the dawn, but intensified in the second instance by the coincident birth of Athenè.

The third figure, M, lying with the feet still crossed one over the other, is surely still more asleep than awake. The second, L, has pulled back her feet, as a woman must do in rising suddenly from a low seat, and is doing her best to stir up her sleeping sister. The first, K, has swung round towards the centre, her left arm pressing hard on the shoulder of L.¹ All three have been closely grouped like sisters. They are all three taken by surprise, nearly as much so as the three daughters of Cecrops in the west pediment. It is the surprise of beings who, till that moment, have been asleep under daily conditions, and in their native place. In Olympos nothing of the kind was possible. We must, therefore, regard the so-called Fates as local Attic beings, or, to repeat the phrase we have already used, when speaking of the west pediment, "interested local spectators." Accordingly we recognise in both wings of the east pediment—as in the west—local personages

¹ The marble head belonging to Count Laborde, in Paris, has sometimes been thought to belong to K, but more frequently perhaps it is assigned

to one or other of the figures in the west pediment. The nose and mouth are restored. See the cast in the Elgin Room.

who either had already passed into legend or were still in the state of personifications. We regret that Professor Furtwaengler, having accepted the local Cephalos and two of the local Attic Horae for the left wing, should have fallen back on the Fates for the right wing, instead of following up the principle of local representation, a principle which in the west pediment he has pursued to its extreme.

The east and the west pediments of the Parthenon were respectively the first and the second acts of the drama of Athenè. It was incumbent that certain of the characters should be taken over from the one act to the other; at all events, Athenè herself and Poseidon. Poseidon could not have been absent from among the gods at the scene of her birth in the east pediment. Nor could Hermes have failed there; yet we find him also again in the west pediment accompanying the chariot of Athenè. If the charioteer of Poseidon in the west pediment is Amphitritè, as is mostly supposed, she also may have been present at the birth of Athenè in the east pediment by the same right which entitled her to be present at the birth of Aphrodité alongside of Poseidon on the base of the Zeus at Olympia by Pheidias. For all we know, the goddess also who accompanies the chariot of Poseidon and she who drives the chariot of Athenè may have been taken over from the missing central group of the east pediment. In any case, the two pediments stood in a dramatic relation to each other, with a certain number of the *personae* carried over from the one act to the other.

The facts are there, and need no illustration from other works of Greek sculpture. But we may mention as more or less analogous and nearly contemporary the narrow frieze of

the Nereid monument in the British Museum, where we see first an assault on a walled city, and next the same walled city being surrendered to the captor. On Roman reliefs, as on the columns of Trajan and of Marcus Aurelius, such repetitions are constant. But once we are satisfied that the conception of both pediments involves the idea of "interested spectators," the extent to which the same figures may appear in both pediments would depend on what degree of intimacy the sculptor wished to express between the angle groups of both pediments. In both the locality was the same, in our opinion. Of course, the sculptor was free to choose a different set of local representatives for each angle. But our suggestion is that he may equally have carried over an angle group from the first act of the drama to the second. In a word, we suggest that the so-called Fates are the three peculiarly Attic personifications of morning dew, Aglauros, Hersè, and Pandrosos, as many have believed them to be since Welcker's identification of them in 1845. They would thus be a companion group to the three Horae in the left wing, who had the power of rolling away the clouds and revealing the blue sky. These three sisters were known simply as the Parthenoi, and their position on the Parthenon near the waning moon at dawn would be appropriate. They would be there as strictly local semi-divine beings. When they reappear in the west pediment it is as the daughters of Cecrops, about whom legend had woven a local tale connected with a grotto on the side of the Acropolis, and the birth of the boy Erichthonios. Whether the sculptor had meant us to assume an interval of years between the birth of Athenè and her rivalry with Poseidon, no one can say. We

prefer to think that the one act followed immediately upon the other, but that would not necessarily exclude the reappearance of the Dew Maidens as the legendary daughters of Cecrops. In any case, we do not press our view beyond insisting on the strictly local character of the persons in all the angles, including the sun and moon, who, as we have said, were the sun and moon as known to the Athenians in their daily life.

Whether Fates or Dew Maidens, the three figures K, L, M have exercised a singular fascination from the moment of their becoming widely known. Perhaps we should rather say the two figures L, M. For undoubtedly it is the grouping of these two that excites the most pleasure, so simple and so obvious is the motive, so grand the bodily forms, and so beautiful the drapery. The motive we have already described—one woman putting her heels back and trying to raise hurriedly another who has been sleeping against her. It is one of those universal actions which need no explanation even to the simplest of mankind. The third figure K is a little detached as we see her now. But an examination of the backs of K and L shows that when the group was put up in position it had been found necessary to dig deep holes in the back of L and in the lowermost part of K, in order that the two figures might be brought nearer together and more closely knit. The left arm of K, now missing, had then been firmly planted on the back of the shoulder of L, whose right arm again crosses over on the thigh of K. Thus originally the whole triad had been closely bound together. The figure whose bodily attractions are most obvious is M. Such movement as we see in her body is

hardly voluntary on her part. She is simply an object of study and admiration. No wonder she has been sometimes called Aphroditè, nor that recently she has been compared with the "Aphroditè in the Gardens" at Athens, by Alcamenes, a work renowned for its elegance.¹ She has even been claimed as herself from the hand of that favourite pupil of Pheidias. But whatever her charms, we must not forget that she is only a secondary figure in a great composition.

If we are right in describing the Theseus or Cephalos of the opposite angle as sunlit, we should expect to find the corresponding figure M sculptured as in twilight, and illumined by the waning moon; that is to say, without deep shadows in the folds of the drapery such as the sun casts, but with a predominance of edges of folds as if seen emerging in obscurity. Doubtless the mere attitude of the figure necessarily leads to an effect of this kind. Her body is tilted over to the front in such a manner that the folds of the chiton on her right side hang down and fill up what otherwise would have been a deep mass of shadow. Her dress is drawn tightly round her legs, producing sharp-edged folds, and the drapery covering the rock on which she lies falls in flat masses. It would seem as if the sculptor had chosen this attitude and pose with an instinct for the effect of a figure seen in the dull light of the sinking moon. And in any case we must bear in mind that the fact of all three figures being closely draped, reasonable

¹ Amelung in *Roem. Mittheilungen*, 1901, pl. 1, 2, p. 21, considers that a statue in the Doria Pamphili palace at Rome may be a copy of the Aphroditè

in the Gardens. See also Reisch, in the *Jahresheften d. Oesterr. Inst.*, i. p. 77 fol.



1. BIRTH OF ATHENE—MADRID PUTEAL.



2. SCULPTURES OF THE EAST PEDIMENT.

enough as that would be in all circumstances in the time of Pheidias, may still be claimed as artistically appropriate to the occasion of morning twilight.

There are some questions of artistic execution which we must notice. In the figure K the drapery which falls over her left thigh is of extraordinary complexity and beauty, where the folds were intended to be seen. But the moment we look a little further towards the back of the figure we come upon folds which are merely blocked out in the roughest manner. How far this sudden change from utmost beauty of detail to general negligence was due to haste or to a consideration of what would be seen and what not, we cannot of course say. The fact remains that in most cases the backs of the pediment figures have not been finished to the extent usually supposed. No one would for a moment deny that the backs of the group L, M, are a splendid conception, and worthy of the greatest of artists. But the greatest of sculptors may at times be casual in his execution, and we maintain that the backs of this group are to an extent casual in execution.

Returning to the general scheme of the east pediment, we observe that the Selenè in the right angle has of late been called Night. The argument is that Selenè, in the time of Pheidias, had no chariot, but rode on a horse or a mule. On the base of Zeus at Olympia, Pausanias (v. 11, 3) speaks of her as having only one horse, and on certain contemporary vases she appears riding on a horse or a mule. The daily splendour of the sun (*aliusque et idem*) might well be represented by a quadriga, while the fainter light of the moon would be sufficiently indicated by one horse,

and, in fact, on the Parthenon only one of the horses' heads was practically visible. In later art the moon had her quadriga equal with the sun. For all we know that tradition had gone back to the Parthenon times. But where is there in Greek poetry or art any suggestion that Night ever sets or wanes in a chariot, one of her horses' heads already dipping over the horizon, as on the Parthenon pediment? Euripides (*Ion*, 1149) may speak of black-robed night as a companion group to Helios, and one poet may call the Fates "fair armed daughters of night," while another regards them as "daughters of chaos." In the Parthenon pediment it is a question of sunrise and a waning light which surely can be no other than that of the moon. But apart from the names of the two luminaries, we note that whereas in the west pediment the two chariots of gods are well towards the centre, here in the east the two chariots are little more than visible. Nor is this distinction inappropriate to the different stages of the drama.

We have next to consider the Victory, J, and her proper place in the pediment. First we must reckon with her wings. These, it is true, are now wanting, but we can see from two deep sockets in the back of her shoulders that the wings may have risen above her head, possibly to a very considerable height, in any case as much as to make her present position in the Elgin Room impossible. And there are other reasons why her present position is untenable. First, Victory was intimately associated with Zeus and Athenè; secondly, she was always of small dimensions compared with these two deities; and thirdly, the Madrid puteal shows her between these two. To satisfy

these conditions she must be moved near to the centre of the pediment. At the same time she must still retain her present attitude of moving from right to left. To place her between Zeus and Athenè would involve two things—first, that she would have to be flying in the air, which does not seem consistent with the action of the torso as preserved; and secondly, that she would thus necessarily be approaching Zeus to crown him rather than Athenè, contrary to the evidence of the Madrid puteal and contrary to our expectations. A more appropriate place, these things considered, would be next to Athenè on the right. There she would still be of small dimensions compared with the central deities.

In those days Victory would have offered to Athenè not a wreath, but a taenia or ribbon, as does the Nikè on the hand of the Athenè Parthenos, but she need not, in a similar manner, have held the ribbon one end in each hand. We can imagine her left hand holding high one end of a bronze-gilt ribbon, the other end fastened by the slight iron plug which still remains on her left thigh. Her right arm would then be stretched forward to welcome Athenè's arrival. For the rest we cannot leave this torso without expressing the highest admiration of its beauty. The grandeur and simplicity of her bodily forms she possesses in common with every other figure of the Parthenon. But she is peculiar in wearing a very thin and slight costume suggestive of a swift messenger. In that character her chiton necessarily clings to the body. That purpose it serves and no more. There was no occasion for impressiveness. What was wanted was a robust, swift figure,

clad lightly, but ideally, and in keeping with her large wings, which also in those days would have combined long, powerful pinions with small, finely chased feathers. Compare the drapery on her body with that of the Victory of Olympia, and we see at once where the higher ideal comes in. Indeed, on the left side of the Victory of Olympia the dress is treated in a very indifferent manner, which perhaps may be excused by the fact that Paeonios, the sculptor, was obliged, in the circumstances, to produce an impressive and striking figure alone on a lofty pedestal.

With regard to the great gap in the centre of the pediment, we have already said that several of the missing statues can be imagined with reasonable certainty; in the very centre, Zeus, Athenè, Victory, and Hephaestos (or Prometheus). It is almost beyond doubt that Zeus had been seated facing the right, and that Athenè was before him, while behind him Hephaestos was hurrying away after cleaving the head of Zeus with his axe. There remains room for six more figures, of whom we are told, on the present-day evidence of the bed of the pediment, that two had been seated, one on each side of the centre group, the others having been standing, two on each side. But valuable as this evidence from the actual bed or floor of the pediment may yet become with increased knowledge from other sources, no satisfactory result is to be obtained from discussing it now. That, we think, will be evident from the attempts of Professor Furtwaengler.¹ His scheme may prove to be in some parts right, in others wrong. But we cannot think that his notion of the Athenè in the very centre can be right. Allowing

¹ On page 29 of his *Intermezzi*.

that on her own temple the most conspicuous place of all was her due; yet it was her birth from the brain of her father, Zeus, that was the dominant feature of the composition, not alone her own personality. From Furtwaengler's point of view we can well understand his choosing for the very centre a stately Athenè like the marble statue in the École des Beaux Arts in Paris,¹ and pushing Zeus to the side. But we think his notion radically wrong, and certainly the Paris statue, dignified as she is, is far beneath the Parthenon sculptures.

While declining to discuss here speculative reconstructions of the east pediment, we, on the other hand, readily welcome them when they are carried out on artistic principles, so as to exhibit the dominating effects of the central deities over the secondary groups in the angles. For example, it may now be said that Cockerell's reconstruction is fantastic in some important respects,² yet with the instincts of a true artist he shows this relationship of the several parts of the composition, and that is the first thing we require. He had as his guide the west pediment, which he knew from Carrey's drawings. We have in addition the example of the east pediment of Olympia.

To conclude with a technical matter: at a number of points on the sculptures of both pediments, especially the east, there may be seen patches of a golden colour. These patches are found in places which have been sheltered more

¹ *Intermezzi*, p. 17. This is the marble known as the Torso Medici. Since his theory was announced two more copies of the same original have been recognised in the Court of the

House of Pilate in Seville. They are published with their hideous restorations in the *Jahresheften des Oesterr. Arch. Inst.*, 1899, pls. 2, 3.

² *Museum Marbles*, vi. pl. 21.

or less from the weather, and may therefore be regarded as preserving the original surface of the marble, which elsewhere has been eaten away. One of the most noticeable of these occurs under the left leg of Theseus (or Cephalos). It appears that the sculptures had been covered originally with a thin wash or size of lime, so thin and transparent that in places we can see the finest tool-marks through it. Probably that was what the ancients called *circumlitio*. A surface of this kind would be far more suitable than the marble itself for the addition of colours on the borders of the draperies and other details, and there is no question now that bright colours were freely employed on archaic Greek sculptures, as on the friezes of Delphi and the archaic pediments and statues of the Acropolis of Athens. Remains of bright colouring were found on the pediment sculptures of Olympia, and to take a much later example, on the sculptures of the Mausoleum. We do not, however, suppose that the golden tint now visible on the Parthenon sculptures represents the original colour. More probably the original colour was an ivory white, intended at once to tone down the harsh surface of the marble, and to be a facile medium for details painted in bright hues.

CHAPTER IV

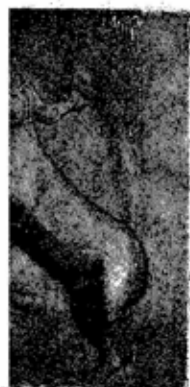
THE SOUTH METOPES

[PLATE X.]

IN a Doric temple there were square spaces immediately above the architrave which were called metopes. These square metopes might or might not be sculptured. On the Theseum at Athens, for instance, only the metopes on the two fronts are sculptured; those along the sides are left blank. But on the Parthenon, such was the splendour of the temple, every one of the ninety-two metopes was sculptured in high-relief. Many of them remain in their place in Athens, but are now, for the most part, so much disfigured by weather as to be barely recognisable even as regards the subjects they were intended to represent. The south was the sunny side of the Parthenon, and there the metopes had suffered comparatively little when Carrey drew them in 1674. Unfortunately he had only time to draw those of the south side. A few years after came the Venetian bombardment (1687), when the Parthenon was blown up, producing a great gap across the middle, and destroying amid much else the centre group of metopes on the south side which Carrey had drawn. So that now the only record existing of those missing metopes of the south

side are the drawings of Carrey (Pl. X.). Of the metopes that remained on the building at either side of the great gap, fifteen were subsequently removed by Lord Elgin about the year 1800, and ultimately placed in the British Museum; his colleague, the French ambassador, sent one to Paris, where it may be seen in the Louvre; two are still in Athens. Thus there exist now only eighteen of the south metopes, which originally were thirty-two in number. As we have said, the remaining fourteen are known only from Carrey's drawings, except for a fragment here and there found on the Acropolis.

With these materials at hand it is possible to understand the general scheme of the south metopes, and in a great measure also to enjoy their beauty. The deplorable condition of the others we must consider later on. Accordingly at each end of the south series we find Lapiths and Centaurs engaged in the struggle that ensued at the marriage feast of Peirithöos. Each of these metopes consists of a group of two figures, a Centaur fighting with a Lapith or carrying off a Lapith woman. Each metope is charged to the utmost with animation, and the general effect is that of nude forms, relieved only here and there by a little drapery or by the dress of a Lapith woman who is being carried away forcibly. But in the middle of the series we have nine metopes (13-21), in which most of the figures are stately, dressed women. We recognise at once the effect of repose, which is obtained by introducing in the middle of the series these imposing figures, so differently characterised from the turbulent groups at the two ends. For this reason alone they must have formed an integral part



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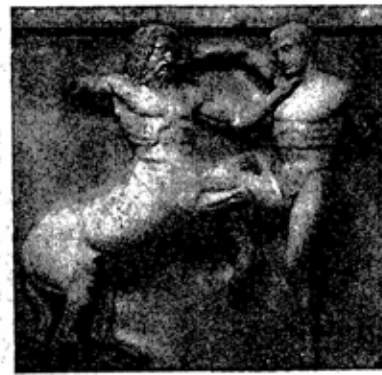
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of the whole composition of the south side; not only that, but the central and most essential part. We therefore take them to represent an isolated scene at the marriage of Peirithöos, more or less indoors, or at all events at the central place of the marriage feast. The prevalence of womanly figures accords with this view, and the concentration of them suggests alarm occasioned by the turbulence of the Centaurs at the extremes of the scene. The combats of Centaurs and Lapiths could not have been separated as they are into so many metopes on the left and so many on the right, yet all expressing the same sentiment, without something in the centre to account for all the fighting, either as cause or as effect, or possibly both cause and effect combined. In one of these metopes, 18, two women, obviously in dread, move hurriedly away. In another, 21, we see two women beside a sacred image, or *xoanon*, instantly recalling a group in the battle of Centaurs and Lapiths on the frieze of Phigaleia, where a Lapith woman clings to a similar *xoanon*. But the metope 15 containing a chariot group is curiously unique amid the others, unless the charioteer may be the goddess Artemis coming to the rescue of the Lapith women, as she does in a chariot of deer on the Phigaleian frieze. The next metope, 16, appears to be even more disconcerting at first sight. It represents one man standing over another who has been struck down mortally. Yet if both men are Lapiths, as they presumably are, the one would assuredly not have struck down the other. Nor indeed does it follow from the sculpture itself that the one has slain the other. On the contrary, the stricken Lapith may be a victim of the Centaurs

left behind, over whom the other Lapith expresses his horror.

For the rest the central metopes adapt themselves reasonably enough to the theory of their being for the most part the women of the wedding feast who so far had escaped the Centaurs.¹ In that portion of the composition we expect a preponderance of women, because most of the men would have already gone out to fight the Centaurs or to rescue the women who are being carried off. In that case we expect indications of a wedding ceremony, such as music and sacrifice; we expect signs of alarm; we may find both. Let us see slowly.

In the first of these central metopes, 13, are a young woman and a young man, turning away from each other, the woman having one arm raised. These two figures are not characterised as other than ordinary persons, but their attitude towards each other is clearly that of alarm. The youth is gathering his dress as if to run. In the next metope, 14, we have again a young man and a young woman. But here the youth is in great alarm. The young woman still holds in her hands objects connected with a feast or a sacrifice. Carrey's drawing is not sufficiently clear to decide what exactly they are. We have already spoken of metopes 15, 16, and now pass on to 17. Here we have again a youth and a maiden—he turning away from her instead of listening, she holding a lyre in her hands, which perhaps she has ceased to play. Carrey's drawing does

¹ M. Perrot thinks that these central metopes were occupied with the birth of Erichthonios and legends of the

foundation of the cult of Athenè (*Mélanges Weil*, p. 378).

not show quite distinctly that it is a lyre she holds, but fortunately there has survived from this metope just the fragment which was required to prove that it is a lyre, with belt round it to enable the player to hold it in its place. It was not necessary in ordinary circumstances for the maiden to clutch the lyre with her right hand as she does; her doing so can only signify astonishment or alarm. Next, 18, we see two women rushing away in excitement, leaving behind a young girl, who in her youthful ignorance stands looking back to see what is the matter. In Carrey's drawing she appears to hold a dish in her left hand, in which case she was doubtless a girl attendant at the wedding. Then follows 19, a group of two women, of whom one is a stately figure wearing a veil like a bride. In her pose, with the left hand raised to her face and her right hand supporting the left elbow, she recalls the bride Hippodameia in the east pediment of Olympia, except that the intensity of her attitude is even stronger. In this respect she may be compared with the striking figure of Medea in the Lateran relief in Rome, than which there is probably no more grandly conceived female figure among existing Greek reliefs. A bride plunged in profound meditation would be the natural description of this metope.

In the sculptures of the west pediment of Olympia the bride was the first person seized on by the Centaurs, and was necessarily placed in the centre of the composition. But in a long series of detached metopes with no gradation of scale possible, the problem was different. There was no other way of suggesting the greater importance of one figure over another than by dignity of pose and demeanour.

Instead of allowing the bride to be carried away, it was open to the sculptor to make her an imposing figure in the central group of metopes, as we think he has done.

Next, 20, we have two women, standing back to back. One of them, as drawn by Carrey, holds a scroll over what seems to be a table. He may have drawn accurately what he saw, and for all we know to the contrary a woman holding out a scroll over a table may be consistent with a marriage ceremony. But he has drawn the other woman turning her back to her companion, and holding in her hand what appears to be a knife, as if she were preparing for an emergency. Finally, 21, we have two women gathered round an image or *xoanon*, towards which, as we have already said, they had gone for protection, as in the Phigaleian frieze.

Long ago it was proposed to interpret these central metopes as representing the marriage scene of Peirithöos, interrupted by the inroad of the Centaurs. Since then this view has been generally rejected, but without, as we think, due consideration. The only alternative which has been suggested is that the central metopes represent a congeries of legends having no direct connection with the Lapiths and Centaurs; but this seems absurd, since we must as a consequence assume that Pheidias, great artist as he was—greatest of all, perhaps, in his masterly gift of composition on a grand scale—had abandoned this gift in the south metopes.

On the analogy of the frieze of the Parthenon, as we shall see afterwards, the metopes of the north side of the temple should correspond in subject to those of the south, of which we have been speaking so far. That is to say, the north

metopes should also represent the struggles of Centaurs and Lapiths at the marriage of Peirithöos and Deidameia. In their present state the north metopes, so far as they exist at all, are, with one exception, too much disfigured to settle the question definitely by themselves. But to judge from certain drawings that were made in the seventeenth century from some of the central metopes of that series—now entirely lost—it appears that they at least had represented Centaurs (Pl. XII., Figs. *a*, *b*, *d*). It is equally clear from the metopes still in their place on the building towards each end of the north side that they consist largely of female figures. Thus it would seem that the sculptor, while repeating the same subject of Centaurs and Lapiths as on the south side, had reversed his composition in this way, that on the north side the combats of Centaurs and Lapiths occupied the central metopes, while the women and others associated with the marriage, but not yet attacked, were placed on the two sides. That may be regarded as fairly certain. The purpose of the sculptor is obvious. A visitor to the Acropolis of Athens approached the Parthenon from the west, and would see the metopes of the west front first, with its Gigantomachia still identifiable as such. He would then have to choose whether he would pass along by the north or by the south side of the Parthenon, following the metopes as he went on. Whichever side he chose he would find the same subject—the Centauromachia in connection with the marriage of Peirithöos—the same subject on each side, but with the order of the composition inverted. So that, in fact, it was not necessary for the visitor to examine both sides so far as the subject was concerned.

Only one of the north metopes, 32, has been preserved fairly well. There is a cast of it in the Elgin Room (Pl. XI.). It represents two Lapith women, one sitting on a rock, the other approaching her. This metope deserves careful inspection, because, apart from it, we have almost no means of controlling Carrey's drawings of the Lapith women in the south metopes, and of translating, so to speak, his drawings into actual sculpture. If we could do so effectively, we should then be in the same position with regard to them as we are in with regard to his drawings of the Centaurs and Lapiths from the flanks of the south side, brought home by Lord Elgin. Carrey's drawings of these Centaurs and Lapiths indicate the general pose and action of the figures. To a great extent they reflect also the style of the sculpture. But they are hasty sketches, and necessarily do not convey to us the sense of reality and force which strikes us in the actual marbles.

Let us examine this northern metope from the point of view just indicated. The woman on the right is seated on a rock with one foot raised. The nearer foot is broken off, but clearly it has been drawn back as if in excitement. The lowering of the knee and what remains of the leg show this much. The right hand has been raised a little, while the left arm, which is now gone, is known to have been stretched upward in alarm; it is so in a drawing by one of Lord Elgin's artists made when the metope was in better condition. She wears an under chiton of a thin material, which shows on her breast and arms and towards the feet. Over this she has a thick himation wrapped round the legs and falling over the left shoulder. The figure standing before her, obviously



METOPÉ.
32, NORTH SIDE.

a girl, expresses some alarm in the customary Greek manner by seizing one end of her himation, or mantle, with the left hand, while with the right she clutches the other end of it, and drags it round her back to her right side. She wears a thick chiton, open a little on the right side and girt round the waist. Her right foot is thrown back with the ungainly but true result that the heavy material of the chiton falls straight down from the knee instead of following the bend of the leg. The same effect appears in the seated figure. We are calling attention to these details of drapery because their very heaviness, not to say ungainliness in parts, must, as we think, have been intended as artistic repose and contrast to the display of flesh, human and equine, in the other metopes. Observe also that the relief is very high. The figures are almost in the round, quite as much so as the Centaurs and Lapiths. Carrey's drawings of the missing women of the south metopes do not in the least convey this impression. We must translate them, so to speak, into high relief of this kind, with its deeply cut, strongly rendered, and heavy masses of folds.

Assuming that the central metopes of the south side had been sculptured for the most part in this massive manner, displaying a prevalence of heavy vertical lines, we can appreciate the purpose of the sculptor in seeking to produce by these means a general effect of repose in the centre in contrast to the varied and often violent action on the two flanks. And this element of contrast is the more obvious when we remark that while the groups on the flanks are all in profile, those of the centre, or most of them, are turned to the front, either fully, as in 19 and 21, or nearly so, as in 20,

two women turning away from each other; 17, a woman turning her back to a man who stands to front; 13, a woman standing to front and a youth turning away a little; 14, a woman to the front and a youth rushing away in fear, not of her, obviously, but of something which is happening outside. In short, we have in these central metopes a peaceful scene which is beginning to be broken into by a disturbance from without.

The disturbance has, in fact, begun very seriously. Already five of the Lapith maidens have been seized by Centaurs and carried outside, two on the left of the central group, 10 and 12, and three on the right, 22, 25, and 29. The danger is close at hand. In one instance, 22, the Lapith maiden is being seized hold of at the very side of her two sisters, who approach the sacred image for protection, 21. Of these two, possibly the one on the right with her breast bare has just escaped. The earliest victim was doubtless the one farthest from the centre on the right, 29, which metope we possess in the Museum. The Centaur has had time to throw her up in his arms and make off. In the instances nearer the centre the action is less complete, and in the metope nearest the centre the scene is almost sentimental. Thus a certain gradation of effect seems to have been intended.

In preparing a series of detached groups of sculpture such as the metopes of a Doric temple, it was a difficult task for a sculptor to find some common bond of union for them all. In the temple of Zeus at Olympia there were only twelve metopes. In that case, the twelve labours of Heracles supplied a satisfactory bond of union, and were

appropriate to a national temple. On the Theseum, as it is called, at Athens, the labours of Theseus suggested themselves naturally for the metopes, but as these labours could not be multiplied so as to extend round the whole building, the side metopes were left blank. The archaic metopes which have survived from the Doric temples of Selinus in Sicily appear to have little connection with each other. But there is a wide difference between archaic times, when legends of doughty deeds were so much in favour as to need little coherency one with the other, and the comparatively later times of the Parthenon, when the Greek mind had become more critical, demanding at every turn cause, origin, or association of ideas. On the short ends of the Parthenon, each with only fourteen metopes, we see how one subject could be divided up into the required number of detached groups with no *artistic* bond uniting them. On the west end was the Amazonomachia, and on the east the Gigantomachia. In these instances the continuity of the subject must have been easily recognisable from the well-known types and attributes of the deities as compared with the giants. The Amazons wearing their peculiar dress and mounted on horseback could be equally well distinguished from the Greeks fighting on foot. But when it came to the long sides of the Parthenon, each with its thirty-two metopes, the problem assumed proportions which it had never reached before. For the first time in art a magnificent effort was made to introduce an artistic centre to the whole series, which should serve obviously as at once cause and effect. The archaic idea of any number of separate legendary groups collected together without any

association except as legends was brought to an end by Pheidias when he applied to it the rationalising spirit of his day on the Parthenon, giving to the whole series of south metopes an artistic unity which was dependent on the central group. No wonder that thereafter we see little of metopes on Greek temples.

We may now examine in detail the Centaur metopes which have survived from the south side of the Parthenon. One would almost have expected that the Centaurs on the left would have rushed uniformly to the left, those on the right to the right. But the sculptor's conception of the scene appears rather to have been that of a general scrimmage. Accordingly, when we look at the series as a whole, they seem to throw themselves into pairs set back to back (1, 2), or face to face (2, 3), while again two groups may be regarded as following one after the other (3, 4). Nos. 4, 5 again present the scheme of back to back. The result is a sense of balance and harmony in the composition, which is greatly aided by the several groups being kept in profile as far as possible, while at the same time the general idea of a scrimmage is kept in view by the irregularity with which the confronting and opposing groups follow each other.

In the Centaur groups in the British Museum the figures are sculptured in very high relief. In some parts they are entirely severed from the background. There are certain marked differences. For instance, most of the metopes keep the forms of the Centaur and Lapith, though they are in close conflict, as separate as possible, the contours of each figure showing against deep shadow. In some

instances the effect seems spotty and unpleasant in the diffused light of the Elgin Room. In the open air, for which the metopes were intended, there would doubtless have been no such effect. But the light which was probably good for these particular metopes could not have been equally so for others on the same wall, where only the outer contours of the group show against deep shadow, as in 2. Here the mass of the group is as high in relief as in the other metopes, yet within the general outline of the group there is a marked avoidance of strongly rounded forms. The Lapith is pressed close to the Centaur in such a manner that the two together convey the impression of a low relief, detachable from the background and brought forward in a mass, as if the intention of the sculptor had been to get rid of those strong inner shadows which characterise the other metopes we have referred to. The comparative flatness of this group is the more noticeable because the body of the Centaur is actually kept flatter than the others to allow the legs of the Lapith to come in front of it; while again the head of the Centaur, instead of being set against deep shadow, is set against the mantle of the Lapith, the folds of which occupy to a large extent the place of the shadow. But as a whole it is like a Greek bronze relief, in which the figures have been embossed in a separate piece and then soldered on to a flat background. In such bronze reliefs it was necessary to keep the figures as close and compact as possible; in the marble it was not so. In any case, we must allow that a sculptor who had to produce no less than twenty-three metopes—each with exactly the same subject of

a combat of a Lapith and a Centaur, no more and no less, and all visible at once—must have had a hard task to invent variety in his groups. Each metope was of exactly the same size, and separated from the others by exactly the same space. Since Carrey's time this metope has lost the two nearer legs of the Centaur.

Among other instances of this same spirit of avoiding strong shadows within the general contour we may notice 8, 9, and 29, in the British Museum, 10 in Paris, and 12 in Athens. In 8 the Lapith is being forced down to the ground on one knee. In Carrey's drawing the Lapith still has his head, and the Centaur his human body and head. But observe how the space between the chest of the Centaur and the body of the Lapith, where ordinarily there would be a deep mass of shadow, is filled in by soft drapery, with folds just enough marked to indicate a contrast between the human forms of both Lapith and Centaur. In this metope there is much to admire in the rendering of the torso of the Lapith and his bent right leg. In 9 we have almost the same effect, the space between the Centaur and the Lapith being occupied by drapery, which is here rather more strongly marked in its folds, and is employed also, as we see behind the Lapith, to cover partially the upturned vase on which he has fallen. In Carrey both heads are complete, as well as the left arm of the Centaur, with his hand seizing the left leg of the Lapith to tip him over. It is curious to see the Lapith falling on an upturned vase before the attack of the Centaur. It is not a very natural position, but it gave the sculptor an opportunity of creating a new

and somewhat picturesque motive. No. 10 is the metope now in the Louvre, representing a Centaur rushing off with a Lapith maiden. The equine body of the Centaur and the body of the maiden present the appearance of low relief detached as a mass from the background to the same extent as the equine body of the Centaur. The arm of the maiden crossing the chest of the Centaur is, in fact, rendered in low relief, like the drapery on her body and between her and the Centaur. Even more striking in this respect is 12, now in Athens, in which the Centaur seizes a maiden, grasping her with his right foreleg as well as with his arms. Excepting the equine body of the Centaur, the rest of this metope may be described as low relief brought forward to the necessary degree of projection. It seems beautiful in the contrasts of nude form, as in the breast, leg, and foot of the maiden, against her disordered yet clearly indicated dress, with its strongly marked folds. The body of the Centaur is modelled on the surface with great care and minuteness, and therefore has not the full and rounded appearance of most of the other Centaurs. In Carrey's drawing the Centaur is not yet headless. In the metope, as it exists now, we see that the victim's dress is thin and clings in fine folds to her person, following the movements of the limbs. Her thick himation has almost gone to the winds. We see traces of it on her left arm, where she is trying to dislodge the Centaur's hand, and again floating at the back of the Centaur. But her body is closely pressed against the Centaur, so as to leave no room whatever for deep shadows within the general contours and to produce the effect of a broad surface of low relief.

In 1, which is in Athens, we have a similar effect, with the difference that it is here a combat of a Lapith and Centaur at very close quarters indeed. Here again drapery is used to conceal the close impact of the two bodies and to introduce contrasts between the entwined legs of the two combatants.

Lastly there is 29, in which the Centaur has carried off the Lapith maiden to a distance; we may call her the first victim. The Centaur has raised her in his arms; she has no foothold on the ground like her sisters.

These are the most striking instances of the mixture of both high and low relief in the Centaur metopes; but among them there are several others where something of the same kind is noticeable. For instance, there is the grandly composed 7, in which the sudden impact of Lapith and Centaur produces a nearly pyramidal group, as happens when two opposing forces crash into each other at full speed. Here again we see the space between the Lapith and Centaur occupied with drapery; but the folds are sharply indicated, and the effect of the drapery in stopping out the dense shadow which might have been there is less marked than in the metopes just noticed. In Carrey's drawing the Centaur's right arm is complete, his hand clutching the right arm of the maiden.

How differently drapery may be treated is seen in 27, which is generally accepted as the grandest of all the metopes of the Parthenon. In execution it far surpasses the others. The whole figure of the Lapith stands free from the background, except in two small places where his left leg crosses the crupper of the Centaur and where his shoulder is not

altogether severed from the background. In the other metopes there are numerous places where limbs are partially detached from the background, but there is no instance which can at all compare with this *tour de force*. Both heads existed in Carrey's time. Here the mantle of the Lapith is made to stretch behind him like a curtain, to show off his fine bodily form. The folds are kept in low relief close to the background, and in no perceptible degree lessen the amount of shadow there, but only break it up by their sharp undulating edges.

The ends of this great mantle hang over each arm of the Lapith. At the next moment the whole will have fallen to the ground in a bundle, and the spell will have been broken. The sculptor has chosen an instantaneous point of the action at which this immense mantle would be seen at its best as an element of display, and doubtless also the attitude of the Lapith has been conceived for the sake of display and an imposing effect, rather than to indicate a special group in the legend. The left hand of the Lapith has got a hold of the Centaur's head—we can see parts of his fingers—and is dragging it towards him to deal it an effective blow from his right hand. To prevent this, the Centaur exerts all the might of his left hand, which is thrown up to dislodge the Lapith's grasp, while the right hand goes round his back for the same purpose, almost suggesting that the Centaur's hands were bound behind him, which, of course, was not the case. This is one of the metopes where the Centaur is plainly getting the worst of it. Why the instances of that sort are so few we do not know. But it is a fact that the Centaurs of these metopes are favourably represented. No

one of them is to be seen stretched dead on the ground, like the Lapith in the next metope, 28, with his opponent passing over him triumphantly. At the worst the Centaur is in the grip of the Lapith, who is about to deal a heavy blow, but in no case is the blow already dealt. There is no indication of any weapon in the hands of the Lapiths, though perhaps in the broken condition of the marbles it would be too much to say that there had not been any, especially as two of the Lapiths carry shields on their arms. The one 4, and the other 11, are now known only from Carrey. Equally the Centaurs do not appear to have carried branches of trees, such as they employed for weapons ordinarily. One of them is driven to seize on a wine jar to strike his opponent with. It was a sudden fray which had arisen at a peaceful wedding, where neither side ought to have been armed, and this was apparently the view taken of it by the sculptor of the Parthenon.

In these respects the metopes of the Parthenon differ very greatly from the frieze of Phigaleia, which represents the same subject by a contemporary artist—by an artist, in fact, who had taken part as an architect in the building of the Parthenon. One slab will serve as an illustration. There is no delay there in striking. There is indeed a brutality in both Centaur and Lapith which is far removed from the spirit of the Parthenon metopes. We see also there how a dead Centaur could be represented, with due regard to his equine and human forms. He could not have been thrown on his back like the dead Lapith without looking ridiculous. He had to fall prone to the ground, with his arms and legs powerless, and the panther's skin which had been wrapped

round his shoulders almost grinning at what has happened—altogether a pathetic figure.

In the metope of the dead Lapith, 28, the Centaur also wears a panther's skin; it hangs stretched over the left arm almost defiantly like a banner. That display of it may be mere accident, for the panther's skin was a recognised article of dress among the Centaurs to wrap round their human shoulders. In one of the frescoes by Polygnotos at Delphi a panther's skin was hung up over the door of the house of Antenor in Troy to indicate to the Greeks when they entered the city that they were to spare that house because of the friendliness of its owner to the Greeks on a former occasion, so that possibly there may be some symbolism in the manner in which the Centaur holds forward the panther's skin. In the Parthenon metopes the panther's skin only occurs here and in three more instances; that is to say, in 3, where it is just visible, twisted over his left arm, and in 5, where it has been tied round the neck of the Centaur, and has floated back behind him, as we see from traces on the marble. In this metope the Lapith, originally in combat with the Centaur, has entirely disappeared, but in Carrey's time he was there all but the head. In 30 there is just a bit of panther's skin sketched in slightly on the background, but no apparent connection with the Centaur.

In 26 it is curious to observe a slight piece of drapery sketched in on the background behind the legs of the Lapith, but having at present no visible connection with the figure. Possibly the right hand of the Lapith had originally held the end of this diminutive mantle. There seems to be a support for that hand still projecting on the

marble. But apart from this, the metope is finely composed in our judgment. We must admire the action of the Lapith, with his left foot raised and planted against the Centaur, his left arm stretched to its utmost to push back the Centaur, who has raised both arms to strike down the Lapith with the greatest force he could command. It is an even contest. No one can say which of the two is to be victor ultimately. The group is finely spaced, with just enough contact and just enough separation to produce a well-balanced effect in an artistic sense, no less than a well-balanced fight.

In 6 the Lapith has a mantle sketched in on the background behind his legs, and falling from his left shoulder. Obviously his legs have been sculptured quite free from the background. There are no traces of them on the folds of the mantle. Otherwise there is not much to be said of this metope except that it represents in an almost friendly manner the first stage of an encounter which was bound to end in excessive violence. In every conflict there must be similar initial stages. It depends on the sculptor to take advantage of them or not, and we have already seen that the sculptor of the Parthenon was inclined to avoid as far as possible the brutalities which his contemporary Ictinos indulged in on the frieze of Phigaleia.

The last three metopes of the series, 30, 31, 32, are remarkable, as we have said, for the accumulation of nude forms. Only in one of them is there a bit of drapery to break the monotony. For some reason the sculptor had chosen to place groups of that nature at the very outer extreme of his composition. What that reason was it is hard to guess. But let us note each group in passing. In

30 there is drapery behind the Lapith, one end of it still clinging on his right shoulder, while behind the Centaur a panther's skin is faintly sketched in on the background. The Lapith has fallen on one knee, and clutches a stone with his left hand; but there is otherwise not much indication of violence. The Centaur merely touches the Lapith's head, and the Lapith merely touches the ribs of the Centaur. The suggestion of the artist may be that the powers of the combatants are about exhausted. In any case, the group seems finely composed. In 31 the Centaur is trying to choke the Lapith, who in return seizes him by the ear apparently. That again does not seem a deadly encounter; the action is mild comparatively. The Centaur has caught up one leg of the Lapith between his two fore legs, and between the two combatants there is an intertwining of legs and crossing of arms which occupies the intervening space with a more curious than forcible effect. In 32 the combatants are closer together. The legs of the Centaur and his left arm pass behind the Lapith and make no display. Doubtless the struggle can only end in the death of one or other, but there is no intensity in the action. Possibly, therefore, the artist's intention in these last three metopes was to suggest an enfeebled stage of the fight.

Towards the other end of the series we should notice 3, as hard in execution and ungainly in the composition. The Centaur's head has been lost since Carrey's time. No. 4 is a marked contrast, with its Lapith falling backward and raising his shield to defend himself against the wine vase which the Centaur is about to hurl down. That is one of the finely composed groups, touching in its sentiment, because

after all the Centaur may yet withhold the crushing blow. We may here state that the heads of these two figures are now in Copenhagen, whither they had been carried off by a Danish officer in the service of the Venetians, when they bombarded the Parthenon in the seventeenth century. The head of the Centaur is of the mild, purely human type which we find in several other metopes. The other type, which seems to have been equally common, exhibits a human head with the ears of a horse, with long, loose hair and beard and staring eyes. No. 31 is the most marked example.

As regards the Lapiths, the heads that have been preserved, as in 30, 31, indicate a youth with short-cropped hair, which the sculptor has left merely blocked out in the marble. But in 4 the head, equally youthful, has the hair more carefully rendered, and even wears a diadem. In size the Lapiths vary considerably, as, for instance, in 26, 27, where the latter is much bigger than the former. The former is, indeed, exceptionally slight in build, as is also the Lapith in 8. As a rule, the torso is short, with carefully marked bodily forms, and the legs long. In some instances there is, perhaps, excess in the indication of the finer forms of the body. But the excess, if any, is in the number of these minuter forms, not at all in their being more pronounced than they should be. They are rendered in the lowest possible relief, and we suppose could hardly have been visible at the height at which the metopes were placed. Seen closer at hand, as in the Elgin Room, this painstaking exhibition of bodily structure is not without formality and conventionalism, such as prevailed in the age immediately before Pheidias. Hence it has been suggested

that some, at least, of the sculptors of the metopes had been older men working under Pheidias, who had not been able to shake off the traditions of minute accuracy in which they had been trained. But Pheidias himself had been brought up in those traditions, and we may well suppose that part of his scheme in these south metopes was to have his central groups of heavily draped figures contrasted on the flanks with Centaur groups strongly and sharply defined in their contours. That was the first consideration; minute accuracy of detail was secondary. Desirable in some of the metopes, it could be exchanged in others with a more generalised rendering of bodily forms, as in fact is the case. Compare, for instance, the Lapith torso, of 31, 32, the former laboriously rendered, with the result that it looks hard and formal; the other generalised, with the result that it looks full of life. The metopes of the other sides, unfortunately in their mostly deplorable condition, appeal less to our artistic sense than to our desire to ascertain the subject of them and the general scheme of the sculptor. To these considerations we now proceed.

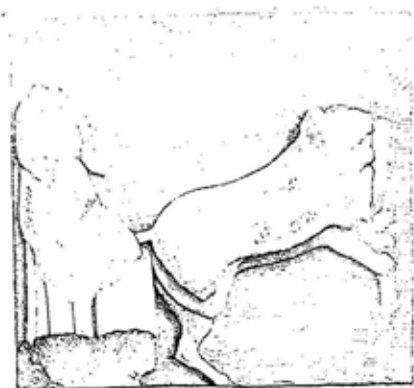
CHAPTER V

THE METOPES OF THE NORTH, EAST, AND WEST SIDES

OF the thirty-two metopes originally on the north side of the Parthenon, only eleven are now recognisable—nine remain on the building at the two extreme ends, seven on the right and two on the left. With so enormous a gap in the middle it may seem hazardous to offer an opinion as to what had been the subject represented in the whole series. We have no drawings by Carrey from the missing metopes to help us. On the other hand, this poor array of existing metopes is supplemented by certain drawings made in 1686 for D'Ortières by a French artist. These include three metopes of Centaurs careering along, two from the left and one from the right (Pl. XII., Figs. *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*). If these drawings and the statement appended to them are correct,¹ there can be no question but that there had been a Centauromachia on the north side as well as the south. It does not, of course, follow that the whole series of northern metopes had been included in this subject, and that, therefore, the north were

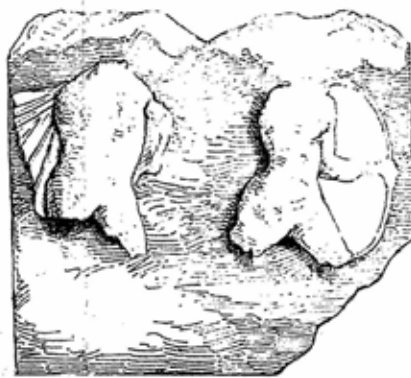
¹ Laborde, *Athènes*, ii. p. 63, note 43, speaking of the drawings made for D'Ortières in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, says: "Le dessin fixé

au verso du feuillet 126 comprend dix metopes de la face septentrionale du Parthénon."



1

Parthenon.



24



25



29



a

b

c

d

METOPES OF THE NORTH SIDE.

1, 24, 25, and 29, as drawn by Carrey; a, b, c, d, as drawn for D'Ortères.

in substance a duplicate of the south series. But we may assume thus much to begin with on the analogy of the two corresponding long sides of the frieze which, as we shall see, were practically duplicates. From the evidence of the existing metopes and from the Centaurs in D'Ortières' drawings, we argue further that the place of the Centaurs had been inverted in the north series, they occupying the centre, while the marriage party occupied the two ends. On the north side the stormy element would be in the middle, and the placid element at the two ends.

Let us now see how far this view is corroborated by the existing metopes of the north side—that is to say, how far they represent groups of Lapith women such as Carrey drew in the middle of the south series.¹ No. 1 on the extreme left represents a biga with female charioteer (Pl. XII.), precisely as metope 15 towards the middle of the south side. As we have before said, the presence of a chariot in the Centauromachia is attested by the Phigaleian frieze. On the north side 25 (Pl. XII.), with two women beside an archaic image or *xoanon*, corresponds to 21 on the south with two women beside a *xoanon*. The grouping is not the same in both instances. Yet in each case one of the women places her hand on the head of the image. There is a similar archaic *xoanon* in the Centauromachia of the Phigaleian frieze, with one woman clasping it and another turning away. Apparently this had been an essential feature of the legend. Again, in the north metopes we

¹ Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 138, says :
"Probably in the middle were a number
of Centaur scenes which had inter-

rupted the order of the other representations, similarly as on the south side
do the metopes 13-20 in the centre."

have three separate instances of a man and a woman, he expressing alarm and bent on protecting her, 3, 27, 28. Answering to this, we have in the south metopes a group of a young man similarly alarmed beside a young woman 14, and something nearly approaching the same subject in 13 and 17.

We cannot, of course, claim that the whole of the nine central metopes as drawn by Carrey on the south side re-appear at the ends of the north side, as we might expect. But in at least two of the cases of identity which we have pointed out it will be allowed that the subjects represented are remarkably characteristic of a Centauromachia. We are not obliged to assume that the same stage of the Centauromachia was presented on the two sides. On the contrary, we can well imagine an earlier stage of the incident on the north side than on the south. That would involve a certain number of differences in the action and in the grouping. It might explain why there are more groups consisting of a young man and young woman in the north than in the south metopes. Above all, it gives a reason why the three Centaurs drawn for D'Ortières have no Lapith opponents. These Centaurs would be rushing into the fray. In a word, our argument is that the coincidences between the north and south metopes are sufficient to justify the opinion that the same subject of a Centauromachia had covered both, but that the scheme of arrangement was in the one case an inversion of the other. In these matters no one has shown greater discrimination than Professor Petersen, who says¹:—"If, therefore, on both long sides (north

¹ *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 230.

and south) practically the same subjects were represented, only with this alteration, that greater elaboration was bestowed now on the one side, now on the other, the intention could only have been to convey to the spectator of either side the idea of the whole, and thus spare him the necessity of going round to the other side. The same intention is as clear as possible in the arrangement of the frieze."

We are bound to notice here a difficulty presented by 29 (Pl. XII.) of the north side, with a horse stumbling forward apparently the rider turned right round on his back, like one of the Amazons on the Mausoleum frieze. We confess our inability to reconcile that subject with the battle of Centaurs and Lapiths. So also in 25 (Pl. XII.), otherwise perfectly consistent with a Centauromachia, as we have pointed out, we cannot explain the presence of a diminutive winged figure above the shoulder of the woman on the left.¹ So minute a figure can hardly be Eros, as Michaelis² confidently supposed. It is more like a Shade or *eidolon*, such as we see on Athenian funeral lekythi, suggestive of death. Possibly that is its meaning here also.

The last of the series of north metopes 32 is the only one which has been well preserved. But we have already described it in some detail (Pl. XI. p. 60), and will now

¹ This small figure had been overlooked till Laborde had a cast made of it and drew it in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1845, pp. 16, 17.

² *Parthenon*, p. 139. He claims that metopes 24 and 25 represent a consecutive scene from the Iliupersis, the *xoanon* being the image of Athenè,

the two women beside it Helena and Aphroditè, accompanied by Eros, the warrior in the preceding metope 24 Menelaos. The Greek vase which he reproduces seems to him to confirm his view. But there are too many women about in these north metopes for us to admit scenes from the Trojan war.

merely add that the position of the woman seated high on a rock would be quite consistent with an early stage of the marriage scene, just when the Centaurs had begun their violence. The younger woman has just run up to her with the news.

EAST METOPES

[PLATE VI.]

It is agreed that the fourteen metopes on the east or principal front of the Parthenon represent the Gigantomachia, and even now, in the present desperate condition of these sculptures, we can see, or fancy we see, a fulness and wealth of imagination in the designing of the several groups appropriate to their primary position on the temple. The metopes on the west end are empty in comparison. We would gladly linger over certain of the east metopes, where even in ruin the artistic conception may still be recognised as beautiful; for example, in the chariot of winged horses 7, or the vigorous action in 6 and 9, but the present state of the sculptures hardly justifies more than a passing notice. Still less are we entitled to enter on the vexed question of identifying the several deities in their combats with the giants. There is not sufficient material to judge by. It will be enough to give the names that seem most likely. One question, however, we must stop to consider, because it involves a principle of an artistic nature. In four of the metopes we find a chariot group of two horses and a charioteer, but in each case there is no combatant as we expect. He must be somewhere near. On all analogy he should be in front. We

therefore look for him in the next metope in front. In effect we find him so in each case. Accordingly we have four instances in which two contiguous metopes form one group as regards subject, *i.e.* 5 and 6, 7* and 8, 9 and 10, 13 and 14. Two of the bigae move from left to right, and two in the opposite direction, so that there is a certain amount of balance or response in the action of the whole series, though not anything approaching the formality of older Greek art. The horses are always beautifully conceived, and form a most attractive contrast to the semi-equine Centaurs on the long sides.

We give here the names of the deities which seem the most likely to be correct:¹ 1 Hermes and giant, 2 Dionysos and giant, 3 Ares and giant, 4 Hera and giant, 5 chariot of Zeus, 6 Zeus slaying giant, 7 chariot of Athenè, 8 Athenè slaying giant, 9 Heracles attacking giant, 10 chariot of Heracles, 11 Apollo and giant, 12 Artemis and giant, 13 Poseidon attacking giant, 14 chariot of Poseidon.

WEST METOPES

[PLATE III.]

We may accept without question that the fourteen metopes on the west or secondary front of the Parthenon represent the Amazonomachia. It was a subject always dear to Greek sculptors. As a subject, it had no beginning nor end, and no definite number of figures. The series of combatants could be multiplied or curtailed at pleasure. The battle of Greeks and Amazons was therefore peculiarly suitable for

¹ Prof. C. Robert, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1884, p. 47.

a frieze or for a series of metopes. It had a special attraction for the Athenians, because of the part their hero Theseus had taken in that singular enterprise against war-like women. The sculptor was free to introduce as many Amazons on horseback as he chose, and in the Parthenon metopes he has made ample use of that freedom. There were at least six mounted Amazons, possibly more. A favourite artistic motive was an Amazon riding over a fallen Greek, and in the act of striking down at him. The body of the Greek admirably fills the space under the horse, and at the same time the action of the group becomes pathetic, for the Greek is still able to raise himself somewhat for defence. Thus art and nature go hand in hand. Whether or not that particular motive had been the creation of Pheidias, he certainly makes the most of it in these metopes. It recurs at least five times. We find this motive once in the Phigaleian frieze, which is contemporary with the Parthenon, and once in the Mausoleum frieze, which is later. In metope 1 there is no Greek combatant, but only a mounted Amazon, who looks as if she had been the last to arrive on the scene. So far as we can judge, the metopes of the west front alternate between combats on foot and combats on horseback in regular order, the effect of the whole being decidedly more formal than we expect on the Parthenon. Among the combatants on foot we may notice 14, where a Greek assails an Amazon who has fallen on her knees before him, much in the manner of a group at the left end of the Phigaleian frieze.

CHAPTER VI

THE FRIEZE

[PLATE XIII.]

FROM the metopes of the Parthenon, which, as we have seen, were sculptured in the highest possible relief, we must be prepared for an abrupt but interesting change to the frieze, which, being placed within the outer colonnade of the temple, and therefore illumined only by diffused, indirect light, was necessarily sculptured in the lowest possible relief. The subject also changes from fierce conflict and alarm in the metopes to peaceful and grave demeanour in the frieze. In the matter of artistic composition we pass from the isolated groups of the metopes to the uninterrupted procession of the frieze. A poetic narrative which carries us along by its charms of style and by the skilful distribution of its parts, is what the frieze may be compared to.

The metopes on any one side of the Parthenon could be seen from a distance and all at once. The connection between the separate groups could be recognised like the recurring measures in a lyric poem of Pindar's. The sculptures of the two pediments were dramatic in their intensity and centralisation. But the frieze could only be seen slowly from the colonnade itself. The subject which it represented

could only be recognised gradually as the visitor passed along, looking up, at a very sharp angle. In these circumstances it would no doubt have been more convenient for the visitor as he passed if the subject could have been broken up into isolated groups, presenting much the same effect as we find on the nearly contemporary temple of Zeus at Olympia, where metopes take the place of frieze within the colonnade at each end. But on the frieze of the Parthenon that was impossible, because of the nature of the subject—a public procession of ordinary mortals on their way from one quarter of Athens to the Acropolis, where there was to be a magnificent sacrifice to the gods, with much ceremony, such as the bestowing of prizes on the athletes who had been successful in the Panathenaic games just finished. That was the subject in general terms. The continuity of the procession could not be broken up to oblige visitors.

As we have already indicated, a visitor reaching the Parthenon from the Propylaea in the ordinary way saw first the west frieze, representing that section of the procession which was the most rapid in its movement and was therefore the last to start, viz. the last of the young men on horseback. It is altogether a scene of preparation and starting. These young men on their fiery horses, or preparing to mount, will soon overtake those who had started before them on foot, carrying vessels for sacrifice, leading cows and sheep, playing music, or in chariots, like heroes at the war of Troy. As we have previously explained, the difficulty for the sculptor was how to get this continuous subject on to a four-sided building. What he did was this: He placed on the west side, which was the part first visible

to spectators, the start of the last section of the procession. On the east side, which was the actual front of the temple, he placed the culminating point, where the gods are present to witness the sacrifices. But on the two long sides he represented the middle part of the procession in duplicate, so that a visitor beginning at the west end could choose whichever of the two long sides he preferred to pass round by, and in either case be able to follow the sculptured procession from start to finish. We saw much the same principle of duplication employed in the metopes of the long sides. We do not mean that the north and the south friezes are strictly duplicates one of the other, but the various groups or sections correspond much like a procession sketched from two sides. If we imagine the procession at some particular stage of the journey dividing into two halves, the one turning to the right, the other to the left, each half arriving from an opposite point at the meeting-place, we shall be able to realise in a measure what Pheidias was compelled to do to get his procession with its three points of start, middle and head, on to a four-sided building. Imagine the two long sides of the frieze set back to back, and you have the middle of the procession in a solid body, seen from both sides of the road. The long sides of the frieze are full of movement, and in most places crowded with figures, while on the short ends there is less action, on the east almost none at all; instead of crowding, there is an abundance of space round all the figures.

The total length of the frieze was over 522 feet 10 inches. Of this something less than the half, 240 feet 6 inches, was brought home by Lord Elgin. From the

west frieze he removed only one slab and a figure close to the angle; the rest of it remains in its place on the building, exposed to the weather, which is often severe in Athens during the winter. That the west frieze has suffered greatly on this account is plain from a comparison of the plaster casts which Lord Elgin had made from it with the new casts made some years ago (1872). The two sets of casts are placed side by side in the Elgin Room, so that it is easy to see the extent of the damage done within a period of about seventy years. Every year seems to add fresh injury. The French ambassador, who was Lord Elgin's colleague in Constantinople, carried off a fine slab from the east frieze—the one now in the Louvre—representing a group of the girls who walked close to the head of the procession (49-56). At the same time he sent to Paris a cast of the slab immediately preceding this one. Very fortunately so, because that slab was subsequently much destroyed. One figure of an old man, 46, was chipped off entirely; other parts were broken off and split in pieces. A large piece was sent home by Lord Elgin; a small fragment has been found on the Acropolis of Athens, and another in the Museum of Palermo in Sicily. Possibly some day the rest may be recovered. Meantime we are able to put these fragments into their right places and to reconstruct the slab by means of the cast in Paris.

These things happened about the year 1800. Since then several slabs of the frieze, more or less perfect, have been found buried on the Acropolis. They had fallen from their place before any great injury had been done to them. The best preserved is a slab from the east frieze containing a

group of seated deities (vi.). Equally well preserved is part of a chariot group from the north frieze (xvii.). Casts of these and of many smaller pieces which have been recovered in comparatively recent years from all sorts of odd places will be found let into their true positions among the original marbles in the Museum, as shown in our plate. So that what with originals and casts, we can put together now 415 feet out of the entire 522 feet, leaving about 107 feet to be accounted for. Of this fully 60 feet is known from drawings by Carrey and Stuart, while 47 feet has totally disappeared. It will be noticed in many of the slabs that angle pieces have been broken off. The cause of this was the excessively fine joints of the slabs, which allowed of no play when the building was subjected to any strain as during the gunpowder explosion or under a slight subsidence of the foundations.

The frieze, as we see it in the Elgin Room, has two disadvantages. First, it is there illumined by light from the top instead of from below. The consequence is that on the west side of the room, where there is a long cavalcade of young horsemen, it is the legs of the horses which are most conspicuous. The heads of the horses and the riders are deprived of their due amount of shadow, and at some hours of the day the effect is disagreeable. Another disadvantage arises from the fact that the frieze being placed nearly on the level of the eye can be seen broadside on, so to speak, instead of at an acute angle high above the level of the eye. On the other hand, there is an immense gain in being able to study every detail closely, as can now be done; and this gain does far more than counterbalance the disadvantages just referred to.

But these remarks on the present condition of the frieze do not affect the main question we have to consider, which is, how the sculptor conceived and represented a procession through the streets of Athens which took place in his own lifetime every four years. The people of Athens knew very well what the actual procession was like. They knew that the head of it consisted of a ship on wheels, bearing, as a sail, a new robe intended for the rude wooden image of Athenè on the Acropolis. The new robe¹ had just been embroidered by a number of girls chosen from the well-to-do families of Athens. While engaged on their task they had to live within the precincts of the Erechtheum on the Acropolis, under the charge of the priestess of Athenè. When the robe was carried through the streets, spread like a sail, these girls walked in procession behind it, and are so represented on the east frieze, conventionally separated into two groups, as if approaching the meeting-place of the gods from both sides. Pheidias has omitted the ship on wheels, and has chosen rather the culminating act in which the robe, having been taken down from the ship and duly folded, is being handed up to the priest by a boy. This final incident he has placed in the most central spot of the whole frieze, directly above the great doorway of the Parthenon. The ship was drawn by a crowd of men pulling at a rope or hawser, we are told, and we can see what it may have looked like from a painted vase in the Museum of the sixth century B.C. with a ship on wheels. But the

¹ The robe is figured on the Pan-athenaic vases as richly embroidered. On one of these vases in the British

Museum it has a border of figures, which do not appear to represent a Gigantomachia, as would be expected.

idea is even much older than that. It occurs as a seal on a Babylonian tablet as old as the seventh century B.C.

EAST FRIEZE

The Athenians of those days knew that the cows and sheep which were being led along in the procession were to be sacrificed in honour of the gods. They supposed that the gods were not indifferent in such matters, but it may be doubted whether many of the Athenians then actually believed that the deities were invisibly present at this great sacrifice. Yet that is the view which the sculptor has taken. He has introduced into the frieze two groups of deities (24-30 and 36-42) whom he means us to understand as invisibly present on the Acropolis at the moment when the priest is receiving the new robe. They would remain so till the sweet-smelling sacrifice which they loved was offered to them. We are familiar in older Greek bas-reliefs, as in those at Delphi, with this artistic convention of invisible deities. It is conspicuous also on the frieze of the Theseum, which is only a very little older than the Parthenon. There we may see a warrior rushing into a group of seated deities, as unconscious of their presence as was one of Homer's heroes when a deity approached him wrapped in mist or disguised.

To every Athenian, whatever his faith, these two groups of seated figures in the central part of the east frieze were manifestly deities. First of all, they are the only seated figures in the whole frieze, yet, though seated, their heads reach as high in the frieze as the mortals who are standing beside them. They are therefore exceptional in size and

dignity. There are but two figures among them which are not seated, and they are remarkable in another respect also, for they both have wings (28 and 42). That is a final and conclusive proof that these two figures at least are not mortals. The great deities did not have wings, and did not need them; but their messengers—like Victory, Iris, or Eros—were winged. The presence of two such figures implies that the seated groups are gods. The one, 28, is a winged girl who stands close beside the goddess Hera, and is obviously a divine messenger, such as Iris or Nikè. The other, 42, on the extreme right, is a winged boy, even more obviously the god of love, Eros, leaning idly against the knees of his mother Aphrodite and carrying her parasol open over his head. It seems odd that he should be holding up a parasol, and this may appear contradictory to the theory of invisibility. But we must remember that certain accessories were necessary for the identification of certain deities, and that in the case of Aphrodite the parasol was one such accessory. That she allows her son to hold it, and at the same time directs him with her hand towards the approaching procession, is a very just observation of mother and child. Let us add that the figure of Eros is plainly that of a young boy. We may bear this in mind when we read that it was only in later Greek art that he took this very youthful form. As regards the assembly of the gods generally, we must remember the passage in Homer (*Iliad*, i. 423), where the gods are said to have gone in a body to a feast among the "blameless Ethiopians." Pheidias may very well have had that passage in his mind.

In the second place, these seated figures are recognisable as deities by their bearing and their attributes. Zeus, 30, the chief of them, is distinguished by the chair or throne on which he is seated. He alone has this mark of dignity. His form and attitude are those of an exalted being; they separate him from the others. Every Athenian would know him at a glance. On his right sits his consort Hera, 29. The veil over the back of her head shows that she is a wife. Her action in pulling it aside means, no doubt, that she is taking a lively interest in what is transpiring. In Greek art a matron usually has a girl servant beside her to attend to her personal wants; that is the function of the winged girl Iris close beside Hera. What the action of the left hand of Iris is precisely, we do not know. But she clearly shares the sudden interest which has made her mistress pull aside her veil. The action of Iris must mean something of that kind. But now we must notice a singular thing. The great triad of deities was Zeus, Hera, and Athenè. We see Zeus and Hera side by side, but Athenè, 36, is separated from them by a group of mortals—a priest and priestess with two girl attendants, receiving the new robe or peplos from a boy. But the explanation is simple. The sculptor had to show that the gods were invisibly present in the atmosphere which surrounded the mortals on the Acropolis, and he could hardly have shown that better than by interjecting a group of mortals among the deities, appearing to separate a triad which was believed to be inseparable in assemblies of the deities. Observe that Athenè does not wear her helmet. Even her aegis is not on her breast, but lies

crumpled on her lap, as it would seem. Still, she has held a spear in her right hand—we can see that from the holes in the marble for its attachment—if the action of the hand were not alone sufficient. The spear had been of metal, probably gilt bronze.

Just as Athenè appears without her helmet, so Hermes, 24, instead of wearing his characteristic cap or petasos, holds it on his knee; in fact, all the gods are uncovered, and probably that is meant to illustrate their custom at a feast. Hephaestos, 37, would have been more easily recognisable if he had worn his pointed cap, but his attitude of leaning on a staff, the indication of his club-foot, and the fact of his sitting beside Athenè would have made him easily identifiable to an Athenian. If the figure clasping his hands round his knee is Ares, 27, the god of war, as he is thought to be, we are not surprised that he is not characterised by helmet, cuirass, and shield. The gods were here not only invisible, but they were present at a festival held in their honour. The sculptor had therefore a doubly difficult task. He had to respect the invisibility of the deities, and at the same time he had to dispense as far as possible with the accessories or symbols characteristic of each. One of the consequences is that with regard to several of these figures there is much uncertainty as to who they are. We recognise Zeus, Hera, and Iris, Demeter, Persephonè, or Artemis, with her torch, 26, and Hermes in the left group—Athenè, Hephaestos, Poseidon, 38, Aphroditè, 41, and Eros in the right group; we are not sure about the rest. But that they are the twelve gods, six in each group, is absolutely plain.

The men standing apparently in two groups at each extreme of the gods, 18-23 and 43-52, represent several classes of officials who were bound to be present on the Acropolis to receive the procession, to superintend the sacrifice and the giving of the prizes which had been won in the games just concluded. They do not present an even number in each group. At first sight there seem to be six on each side, but looking closer we find an additional two on the right, mixed up more or less with the approaching group of girls. There are no two men similarly disposed in the group on the left; but a knot of men standing promiscuously, and waiting perhaps eagerly the approach of the procession, would not naturally break up into symmetrical groups. In theory they are only one group, and we think that this very irregularity confirms the theory. It is different with the girls; they walked in the regular order becoming to a solemn procession. The group at one end ought to balance the other, marching close together with quiet demeanour and carrying vessels for the sacrifice. Such is, in fact, their general aspect, but with infinite differences of detail. The group on the right consisted of thirteen figures, of which the two at the end are lost and known only from drawings (Pl. XVII., Fig. 5); that on the left of fifteen. If we follow these figures one by one, we shall find under an apparent uniformity an extraordinary fertility of invention in the variety of details, and that is one of the striking characteristics of Greek art in the best age. With all their gifts of imagination, the Greek artists kept continually returning to favourite types or conceptions of their own day, as if trying to exhaust every possibility of them. But let us add, as regards the two groups of maidens,

that their position at each extreme of the east frieze, with their masses of vertical lines, and the girlishness of their proportions as compared with the men and the gods, produces a singularly happy effect in closing in the whole scene; and if this, as a mere matter of composition, appeals to the artistic sense, was it not also a beautiful idea of the sculptor's to admit these young girls into the presence of the gods, so to speak, reserving the rest of the procession for the other sides of the frieze, with its commotion and its more pronounced suggestions of ordinary daily life?

Having thus made a rapid review of the east frieze as the climax of the procession, we shall now do best to pass round to the west, where the last section—the end of the cavalcade—is starting, or preparing to start. In this manner we shall be able to follow the procession not only as was most natural for a visitor to the Acropolis, but also as the sculptor wished us to follow it. With few exceptions the movement of the west frieze is towards the north angle. As we have already said, that was the natural direction for visitors to take. Ordinarily they would turn round the north angle of the colonnade and pass along under the north frieze. We must imagine ourselves taking that course. But even if we prefer turning round the south angle and passing along under the south frieze, we shall equally find that the sculptor in many instances has been at pains to represent his horses and riders, especially the horses, with their chests turned round partially to the front, as if to meet the eye of a visitor who is following up the procession from behind, observing first the flanks of the horses and afterwards their chests and heads. Their heads are mostly in profile, with a sharp, deep incision,

which, as has been well pointed out,¹ looks ungainly if we approach the frieze from the opposite direction. It will be observed also that the chests of the horses often reach the highest relief possible in the circumstances, and present to anyone following them the appearance of a billowy movement which helps to carry us on gently but surely.

The first group of horsemen we see on turning the north angle is still in a state of preparation, but beyond that the cavalcade breaks into speed, and so goes on till it reaches the chariots, of which there appear to have been nine, and forming a conspicuous feature midway along the frieze. It was just there that the greatest damage was done by the gunpowder explosion which blew out the centre of the cella walls. From the fragmentary chariot slabs that remain, aided by Carrey's drawings of those that have been destroyed, we can in a measure see how this striking series of chariots in the very centre of each long side must have provided the most attractive feature of all. The large and simple forms of the horses, together with the greater space around them, would supply an element of repose to the eye of the spectator, while yet the fiery action of the horses and the energy of the apobatae would carry on the general movement of the procession.

The first chariot we come to on the north side is standing still (xxiii.). After that the chariots also dash forward, till the foremost (xi.) of them is violently pulled up beside the group of bearded representatives of a fine manhood (*εὐανδρία*). We next overtake in order youths playing on lyres and on flutes, others carrying jars (hydriae) and trays, then boys leading

¹ W. Watkiss Lloyd, *Trans. R. Soc. Lit.*, xvi. (1893).

sheep and cows for the great sacrifice. At this point we reach the north or south angle, as we choose, and find on the east side a quite new element of the procession—a string of young girls, the Ergastinae as they were called, who had been chosen to weave and embroider the new peplos for the image of Athenè, and who now were allowed to walk in the procession¹ behind the peplos, carrying some of them vessels for the sacrifice, others an object which has been a source of perplexity, and to present a silver cup to the goddess.

It may be asked, Why was this bringing of the new peplos associated with so apparently different a scene as the bestowing of prizes after the Panathenaic games? We can only suppose that the games, the culminating procession, and the great sacrifice to the gods had been founded in connection with the new peplos. The fact that the peplos was conveyed through the streets spread like a sail on a ship must have had its own significance, though we cannot pretend to fathom it. We can imagine the scene as a *theoxenia* or entertainment of the gods on a grand scale, and may even suppose that the peplos had been hung spread out on the Acropolis before being placed on the image of Athené, like the curtain displayed in the visit of Dionysos to Icaros, as seen in the bas-relief in the British Museum.

We may now consider certain matters of detail. In

¹ Hesychius gives, ἐργαστίνας αἱ τὸν πέπλον ὑφαίνουσαι. See also the restoration of several fragments of inscriptions referring to them in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xiii. p. 170: οἱ πατ[έρες] τῶν παρθένων [τῶν ἡργ] ασμένων τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τὰ ἔρια τὰ

[εἰς τὸ]ν πέπλον ἐμφανίζουσι . . . πεπομπευ[κέναι κα]τὰ τὰ προστε-
ταγμένα ὥς ὅτι κ[άλλισ]τα καὶ ἐνσχ-
μονέ[στα]τα κ[α]τεσκευακέναι δὲ αὐτὰς
ἐκ[τῶν ἰ]δίῳ καὶ φιάλῃ[ν ἀργυρᾷ]ν ἀπὸ
δρ[α]χμῶν ἑκατὸν ἦν καὶ [βούλε]σθαι
ἀναθεῖ[ναι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ὑπὸ] μνημα κτλ.

the first place, there are no women in the whole procession except on the east frieze, and these, as we have seen, are mere girls. In the second place, there is throughout the frieze a large proportion of young men and boys. There are old and bearded men among the officials standing waiting on the Acropolis. Here and there we see a bearded man on horseback, and there was of course a special section of the procession which consisted of bearded men (N. 28-43 and S. 84-105) chosen as representatives of manhood (*εὐανδρία*). But otherwise the frieze of the Parthenon may be called a glorification of youth. The boy who brings the folded peplos, 35, and holds it up to the priest reminds one of the legendary boy Ion, when a ministrant at the temple of Delphi, where Euripides¹ describes him as bringing forth embroidered curtains from the Treasury. It is sometimes a question whether this boy is in the act of giving or receiving the peplos. But observe that one corner of the robe is tightly pressed between his left elbow and his side. Such a movement seems to be not only natural in giving up the peplos, but distinctly and intentionally expressive of that action. It would not be in the least natural if the boy were receiving the peplos from the priest.

We may here compare the figure of a boy at one of the angles of the north frieze, 134. He is standing behind his young master, whose girdle he appears to be fastening. The young man is pulling down with both hands the skirt of his chiton, as he would naturally do just after the girdle had

¹ *Ion*, 1141. These curtains formed a tent, on the roof of which was woven or embroidered a picture of the starry heavens, while the walls were formed

of barbarian tapestries, representing ships at war with Greeks, fantastic creatures composed of men and animals, wild horses, lions, deer, and goats.

been tightened. The boy is eagerly bent in doing something. Both his hands, so far as they can be seen, are partially clasped together, the fingers of the right hand being visible under the left. That is hardly so explicit an indication of the act of fastening the girdle as could be wished, but it is intelligible if the fastening had just been completed. An alternative which has been proposed lately is that the boy is holding the reins of his master's horse. He is too eager and earnest for that, and, besides, the reins would surely be very long for a riding horse. On the marble there are holes on the horse's head to show that it had once had a metal bridle, and a drill-hole on the neck where metal reins had been attached. Apparently the reins had been left to hang loose on the neck of the horse. We should mention here that throughout the frieze there are many similar proofs of metal bridles and reins, occasionally also of metal wreaths on the heads of riders and others. Most probably it was bronze gilt that was employed.

But to return to the boys. The one fastening the girdle wears only a slight mantle doubled over his shoulders, which has been cut sharply down at the back, so as not to interfere with the angle line of the frieze behind him; the one holding up the peplos has a more ample mantle. Yet both boys stand in the same attitude, with the right foot thrown back a little, presenting the same outline down the back. We may say that they represent the same type, each performing an act of personal service. On the west frieze there are other two boys, 6 and 24, and they also may be described as personal attendants. One of them, 24, so far as the figure has been preserved, bears a considerable likeness to the boy

fastening the girdle, with his serious pose of head, and the hand pointing to something. But the other boy, 6, is quite different. He is entirely nude, and, so far, is unique in the whole frieze, if we except the youthful god Eros. His attitude also is unusual, standing with one leg crossed over the other, and holding his hands in a singular manner. It has been suggested that he is meant to be holding the reins of his master's horse, and that does not seem altogether improbable, except that the reins would be too long for a riding horse, as we said before. But his easy attitude is the more curious because of the energetic stride which the marshal, 5, is making, with his right hand advanced as if to seize the bridle reins. He looks almost as if he were chiding the boy. The action of his legs is ungainly, if one may say so. The boy is youthful enough in appearance, yet his proportions have been greatly exaggerated by the sculptor. Later on we shall see other examples of a similar exaggeration, and consider the reason of them.

It is difficult to explain the figure standing at the head of this horse, 4. He has often been supposed to be putting the bit into the horse's mouth. But that is impossible, because both his hands are sufficiently preserved to show that they were turned away from the horse's head, and had nothing whatever to do with the horse. At the same time it looks very awkward to see two hands raised close to the mouth of a horse, which obviously is in need of being checked in some way, while yet these hands are in no manner occupied with him. It has been suggested that the man is clasping with both hands and resting on an upright rod, which had once existed in metal, at the same time

turning his head to another part of the procession.¹ That seems to be a reasonable view, much more so than a recent suggestion to the effect that he is tying a diadem round his head.

Another class of boys on the frieze are those who are leading cows and sheep to the sacrifice, or bringing vessels with water, or playing on flutes and lyres (N. 1-28 and S. 106-131). A musical accompaniment has at all times been necessary in processions, as we know by experience. Part of the education of boys was to learn to play on the lyre and flute. It was therefore right and proper that the music in this instance should be provided by them. As regards the hydrophori, or boys carrying water-vessels, we are accustomed to think of girls doing that rather than boys. It is women and girls who draw and carry water on the old Greek painted vases, as it is in Greece and Egypt at the present day. We do not know why boys were chosen in the Panathenaic procession.

The slab of water-bearers (N. 16-19) has been well preserved fortunately in Athens, and we are thus enabled to admire almost to the full the charm which the sculptor has infused into the action and drapery. It is an action which involves every limb of the body, and was therefore calculated to produce a fine scheme of folds, were the boys provided with ample mantles as they are. The effect seems beautiful. Singularly beautiful also, to our mind, is the boy stooping eagerly and in haste to raise his hydria. Docile creatures like cows and sheep may easily be led or driven by boys,

¹ See the figure of a Thracian listening to Orpheus on a vase from Gela, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. *Orpheus*, p. 1179.

and in the group of boys and sheep (iv.) the association of the two is quite natural. It is, in fact, a true and at the same time a poetic observation of nature to place the boy's hand gently on the back of the sheep as if no more guidance were needed.

The boys leading cows (i.-iii.) are a little taller and possibly a year or two older, but even then their figures are young and slight compared with the massive build of the cows. We know very well that a young boy may easily lead a cow. Even when she throws up her head as if exerting great force, a boy putting his strength to the rope will hold her in. Such things may be verified any day. It is a true and just observation of daily life. More than that, it is one of those revelations of Nature where she delights in making a huge or even a ferocious animal obey a child. These thoughts arise when we look on these animals being thus led to sacrifice, and we feel sure the sculptor meant to awaken thoughts of that kind, whatever the actual facts of the procession may have been.

We have yet another set of boys to consider—those who were employed to drive the chariots in the procession. In a public race it was no easy task to drive a chariot of four fiery horses, and even in the procession through the streets of Athens it must have been difficult, but we find on the frieze that certain precautions were taken. That is to say, each chariot is accompanied by a man on foot, whose duty was to keep the horses in check when necessary. In a splendid fragment in Athens we see him at the heads of the horses, straining every effort to arrest their pace (N. 44). Nothing could be finer than the impact of human against equine

strength, nor, merely as a piece of harmonious composition of line and form, could anything more beautiful be desired. Let us take as an example of boy drivers slab xii. of the north frieze, where he is almost falling backwards. He is dressed as a girl. Such was the custom among the Greeks, strange as it may appear to us.

We have still to notice the two girls in the very centre of the east frieze, 31-32, each carrying on her head a four-legged seat, and bringing it to the priestess of Athenè, Polias, who is in the act of receiving the seat carried by the elder and taller of the two. Thus, while the priest, 34, is receiving the new robe, the priestess close beside him is receiving two seats. Both acts ought to be of co-ordinate importance or nearly so, seeing that they are placed in close juxtaposition in the most central part of the frieze. These two girls are obviously the well-known attendants of the priestess, who bore respectively the titles of Cosmo and Trapezo. They have small cushions on their heads to ease the weight of the seat. But for whom were these seats intended? That is a question which has given some trouble. At first sight one would suppose for the priest and priestess. It may have been so. It has often been thought so. But a reasonable objection has been raised that the priest and priestess when seated would have appeared co-ordinate with the deities on either side. To meet this difficulty it has been suggested that the two seats were being brought forth from the temple to be taken possession of by invisible deities. That would be quite consistent with what we know of religious rites among the Greeks. When the visit of a god was expected or desired, an empty couch was prepared

for him. It is supposed that the two girls had previously brought forward the twelve seats on which the gods are sitting, and that they are here represented in some concluding act of the same kind. It is there assumed that the deities are inside the temple seated on seats which had been placed there for them. That is by no means a new idea. But deities seated inside a temple could hardly be expected to exhibit so much animation and interest in the approaching procession as they do on the frieze. Aphroditè, 41, points energetically to it. The goddess behind her pulls up her right hand. Dionysos (?) raises his left hand, 39. Poseidon also raises his left, 38. Hephaestos, 37, turns eagerly to Athenè, who remains placid, as does Zeus, 30. But Hera, 29, beside him is excited, pulling aside her veil with both hands. There is not, perhaps, so much animation in the deities beyond her, but there is some. And the presence of deities among mortals to whom they are invisible needs no proof now.

From these remarks, so far as they have dealt with the mere boys and girls who appear in the procession, to say nothing of the multitude of youthful horsemen, we return to our opinion that the whole frieze is a glorification of youth. But why so? So far as the festival was in honour of Athenè we can understand this preponderance of youth. She herself was always youthful. But the sacrifice at least was offered to the whole of the twelve great deities as we see, and they as a body had no special interest in youth more than old in age. Possibly they had assembled as a united, invisible body to share with Athenè a sacrifice intended for her in the first instance. Though armed with helmet, shield, and spear from her birth and always ready for war, she was

at the same time the goddess who inspired the education of youth. It was she who taught young men how to bridle their horses, and young girls how to spin and embroider. As she sees the Ergastinae advancing she may well be pleased. She could drive her own chariot on occasion. It may be, therefore, that the preponderance of youth in the actual procession through the streets of Athens and on the frieze of her greatest temple was intended as a special honour for her. Among the gods in the east frieze she holds a position equal to that of Zeus himself — she is at the head of one group as he is at the head of the other. Beside her and in conversation with her is seated Hephaestos, the god of handicraft and artistic skill. In Athenian belief she was closely associated with him. It was he who made the statue of Pandora. It was she who breathed into it the breath of life. He was the practical workman, she the inspiring genius. We recognise Hephaestos easily when we remember that he was lame. He is the only one of the deities who needs to use a staff for support under his right arm. That is explicit enough.

At this point it may be well to remember that the east frieze of the Parthenon is not the only instance in which Pheidias sculptured the great deities of Olympus in bas-relief and in two separate groups. He did so on the base of his great statue of Athenè within the Parthenon itself, where the subject was the birth of Pandora, the deities looking on. On the base of his even more famous chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia he sculptured in gold the birth of the goddess Aphrodite in the presence of the great deities, and fortunately we know from Pausanias exactly how the scene was disposed. The whole scene was bounded on the left by

the rising sun (Helios), and on the right by the waning moon (Selenè). In the centre was Aphrodite rising from the sea, and being received by her son Eros, while Peitho, the goddess of persuasion, crowns her. In the left group were Zeus, Hera, and Charis, one of the Graces, then Hermes and Hestia. In the group on the right, beginning again from the outer extreme, we see first the great deity Poseidon with his consort Amphitritè, next Athenè with Heracles, and lastly Apollo with Artemis, all strictly in pairs. The scheme of arrangement was thus not unlike what we have on the Parthenon frieze, except that the greatest deities were nearest the outer extremes, whereas on the Parthenon they are nearest the centre. Observe also that in both compositions the Zeus and Hera are accompanied by a secondary person, whom Pausanias names Charis, or Grace, on the base of Olympia, and we call Iris on the Parthenon. In each case she answers, as we have clearly said, to the maid who is so often figured beside Athenian matrons on the sepulchral stelae.

We may not unreasonably assume that the seated posture of the gods on the Parthenon frieze was intended to suggest their invisibility. That does not strike us as so very singular when we see gods placed among legendary heroes and not recognised by them. But when we come to the presence of deities among mortals, we find ourselves confronted by spiritual manifestations with which the Greeks were less familiar and were indeed sceptical of. Yet if they believed, as they did, that at the battle of Marathon their hero Theseus and others appeared in spiritual form, Pheidias might well rely on them to accept the spiritual presence

of the gods at the Panathenaic festival. At all events, that was the task he had to accomplish; and surely it was a stupendous task to sustain throughout the vast length of the Parthenon frieze a continuous illustration of ordinary life modified by just enough of solemnity to foreshadow the climax when the procession should arrive where the gods were expected to be present, and with all this to attain unity of effect.

Thus far we have tried to explain the general scheme of the frieze. We now propose to discuss its execution.

CHAPTER VII

THE FRIEZE—*continued*

IN Greek bas-relief the figures sometimes appear as if they could be sliced off from the background and completed as figures in the round, like the *λίσπαι*, or vertical slices of men, represented on Greek stelae, as Plato says.¹ But were we to try to complete the figures of the Parthenon frieze, making them as thick at the back as the front, they would be merely flattened representations of men and horses. We must, in fact, take it that low relief is in all cases intended to indicate distance, when the background loses its importance and indicates mere space, with which the eye does not concern itself appreciably.² But on the Parthenon frieze there was this in addition. The frieze could only be seen by looking up at an acute angle, in which case the background was merely such space as the sculptor required to keep his outlines clear and to give to the eye of the spectator the repose it dearly loves. The sculptor had no exact rules he could follow. He could not give the depth or projection to his figures which would be true

¹ *Symposium*, 19: κατὰ γραφὴν ἐκ-
τετυπωμένοι διαπεπρισμένοι κατὰ τὰς
ρίνας γεγονότες ὥσπερ λίσπαι.

² Hildebrand, *Das Problem der Form*,
third ed., p. 80: Die Reliefvorstellung
fusst auf dem Eindruck eines Fernbildes.

to nature were the figures seen fairly close at hand. In the diffused light of the colonnade only the lowest possible relief was permissible. He knew that a horseman at a comparatively short distance presents the appearance of a silhouette with sharp contours, and that aspect of things suited him; but equally from his own study and knowledge of men and animals he was familiar with innumerable points of detail in their life and action, as seen close at hand, all which he set himself to incorporate with the sharp contours peculiar to a more or less distant view.¹ He was therefore obliged to improvise a series of receding planes in his relief, which by their exceeding subtlety give an appearance of distance, and yet are best seen close at hand. The lower the modelling and the less the convexity of the inner forms the more effective become the contours, just as the outlines of a mountain impress us more when seen through a slight mist, which partially obscures the multitude of nearer details, than when seen in the broad sun. As an example of the latitude the sculptor allowed himself in the treatment of receding planes, let us take two contiguous slabs of the south frieze, where we see youths leading cows to the sacrifice. In the one (xl.) a youth is pulling back a cow with all his might by an imaginary rope fastened to the horns. Doubtless the rope had originally been painted on the marble. The shoulders of the cow are modelled with infinite care and

¹ Hildebrand, *Das Problem der Form*, third ed., p. 20: Das ruhig schauende Auge empfängt ein Bild welches das Dreidimensionale nur in merkmalen auf einer Fläche ausdrückt in der das Nebeneinander gleichzeitig erfasst wird. Dagegen ermöglicht die

Bewegungsfähigkeit des Auges, das Dreidimensionale vom nahen Standpunkt aus direkt abzutasten und die Erkenntnis der Form durch ein Zeitliches Nacheinander von Wahrnehmung zu gewinnen.

in considerable relief, so as to show the bones and muscles of the animal in action. Every point is brought out in clear and ample relief. Vigorous action is thus accompanied by vigorous and bold sculpture, as it should be. The other slab (xli.) is wholly different. It is perfectly peaceful. The cow is moving forward in the most quiet and orderly manner. The youth by her side has nothing to do but to keep pace with her. Had the sculptor chosen to model the head and shoulders of this cow in as full relief as the other, nothing would have been said against him. Instead of that he has preferred the very lowest possible relief. In some places the relief is indeed so low and faint that one can barely recognise it, even standing close. The youth by her side in the nearer plane is little more than sketched in, and that somewhat roughly, as is his right arm. In ordinary circumstances this lowering of the planes of the relief would mean greater distance. But this is hardly to be thought of here where the one cow obviously follows in the track of the other. We prefer to think that in each case the degree of the relief has been calculated as the most suitable to the action of each group, and in that case we have here an instructive example of what is fairly common on the Parthenon frieze, viz. the absence of relative truth. That is to say, each of these two groups may be absolutely true by itself as an artistic representation, while relatively to each other they are not true. It is often charged against the Greeks that in their best days they never succeeded in rendering landscape, where the relative value of every object is of the first importance. It was only in the latest stage of their art that they introduced a

semblance of landscape in their painting and bas-reliefs. Even then the bits of landscape, often charming enough, lack the sense of relative truth. Very possibly the passion for pure outline drawing, such as we see on a vast array of vases of the best period, had contributed largely to this indifference towards relative truth. When in a chariot group of the frieze (N. xxiii.) the nearer hind leg of the second horse is seen to be closer to the front than the farther leg of the first horse, it lessens our surprise to remember that on the contemporary vases, with their excellent outline drawings of chariot groups, it is barely possible to recognise any degree of distance.

In later art, such as that of the Mausoleum frieze, we may observe instances of a warrior whose nearer leg is sculptured in almost its full roundness, while the farther leg is little more than a thin slice. The principle there followed is that the nearest plane should be the most pronounced. Yet, however natural that may appear, we cannot accept the thin farther leg as a reasonable rendering of distance. There is nothing so glaring on the Parthenon frieze, where the opposite principle is mainly pursued of making the nearest plane the thinnest, the effect being that each figure or group rises from the background in a solid, compact mass. It is in fact one of the great charms of that frieze to watch the extraordinary skill with which the sculptor effects his transitions from one plane to another, but nowhere perhaps is this more noticeable than in the east frieze. No doubt there are instances of very little care, as when the right arm of one of the officials in the left group, 18, has been simply carved out of his body, and that is not the only example.

Still the fact remains that it is the thinness of the nearest plane which has given the sculptor his opportunity of displaying unrivalled refinement in the modelling of his surfaces.

In the seated deities of the east frieze the sculptor, true to his idea of dignity and repose, has allowed himself much space, and has avoided as far as possible superimposed planes. "Let us begin with Zeus," 30. His left arm is thinned down to a minimum against his body, while his right thins away into the background of the relief. The same is true of the right arm of Poseidon, 38, and the left of Hermes, 24. In the *Athenè*, 36, on the contrary, her right arm is drawn back in full relief, while her left—farther from the spectator—is merely indicated so far as it comes into view at all. That we may allow is something in the manner of the Mausoleum frieze, and therefore not quite what we expect. In passing we may note that the drapery of two of the gods on the left, 25 and 27, appears at first sight as if it had been rubbed down till it has become flat on the surface. But that is not so. What has happened is this: the sculptor has not rightly reckoned the thickness of relief he was giving to these figures, and has found that when he came to the most projecting parts of the drapery he had reached the surface of his marble too soon. In the circumstances he was obliged to leave the most prominent folds of the drapery flat on the surface.

The next question we propose to consider is the different number of planes which the sculptor has employed. The greatest excess he has reached is in slab xli. of the north frieze. Here we count no less than five superimposed planes, and yet there is not the slightest confusion. Every-

thing is as clear as a crystal pool. First, we have a horse's head relieved against drapery; next, drapery against the bare arm of the horseman; then the same bare arm against dress; then dress against a horse's head; and, finally, the horse's head against the background. On the next following slab (xlii.), where the crowding is far less, we see how possible it was to get into difficulties. There are two horsemen on it, one mounted, the other on foot. Of the former only his right hand is visible. His body may be supposed to be hidden behind the neck of the next horse, but his legs ought to have been visible across the belly of his horse. Clearly the sculptor wanted about here two spaces of background to give rest to the eye of the spectator, and at the same time to throw into prominence the splendid group of legs which come between.

In the impetuous movements of the horses on the long sides we expect, first, a large measure of uniformity in the action of horse and rider so as to carry the eye swiftly along; and, secondly, enough variety of detail to arrest the eye at numerous points under a more leisurely inspection. It is, in fact, this same combination of a strong undercurrent of variety of detail, with a more or less marked uniformity in the general design, which constitutes the charm of the contemporary Greek vases. The one element is based on a close observation of nature; the other on a distant view, in which the imagination comes into play. To our eyes there is no movement in nature so allusive in appearance as the legs of a horse in action. Even when he is merely walking we are tantalized at every moment if we try to follow and comprehend the system on which his steps are regulated.

Still more is this the case when he advances rapidly, except, of course, when he is at a gallop, when the action is more or less simple. Try as we may to assure ourselves that the nearer fore leg and the farther hind leg move consentaneously—or the farther fore leg and the nearer hind leg—yet in fact the combined action entirely eludes our faculties of apprehension. There is a magic in the movement which surpasses our visual sense. We find that same magic in the horses of the north frieze, particularly in slabs xxxii., xxxv., xxxvii., and xxxviii.

In the cavalcade of the north frieze we observe two leading types of action in the horses. In the one the horse is made to display himself to the fullest possible extent (slabs xxviii., xxxii., xxxiii., xxxvii., and others). His chest is turned round towards the spectator in nearly threequarters view. His farther fore leg is raised so as to be clear of the nearer one, and thus entirely visible. Similarly, his farther hind leg is moved forward so as to be clear of the nearer hind leg. In the other type his chest is strictly in profile (slabs xxxi., xxxviii., and others). His nearer fore leg is raised, partially concealing the farther one, while the nearer hind leg is advanced, concealing in part the farther one. Both these actions would be wrong if it is true, as has often been said, that a horse at a canter moves simultaneously his nearer fore leg and his farther hind leg. But instantaneous photographs have shown that in reality there is nothing wrong in these Parthenon horses. In any case, it is apparent that the sculptor has chosen these two types of equitation from a desire to combine beauty of action with a measure of formality. He prefers the type in which the horse displays

himself most. Slab xxviii. is an example which is more than usually interesting because of the exceeding lowness of the relief in the nearest plane, the modelling of the horse being surpassingly delicate and refined. At the same time there are occasional exceptions where both types of action are combined, as in slab ii. of the west frieze. This habit of making the nearest plane of the relief very thin and the modelling of the surface necessarily refined to the last degree, recalls to our mind a pellucid stream, where the water is shallow, showing every feature of the shelving rock beneath. The surface is apparently a smooth expanse, yet it is infinitely modulated, as we soon perceive. The surface of a relief is like that of a stream. It may be smooth or turbulent. If smooth, we see into the depths; if turbulent, we cannot see below. As a rule the sense of what was monumental in sculpture impelled the Greeks to broaden the nearest plane, and thus to approach as nearly as possible the idea of stability and permanency.

The ears of the horses may or may not be too small, but in any case the sculptor has been quick to perceive how the finely marked bone above the eye of a horse may be made to combine with the ear close above it, so as almost to suggest a decorative pattern, and yet be true to nature.

The manes are usually hogged, now carefully, now carelessly rendered. The one striking exception is the mare on the west frieze rubbing her nose against her fore leg (slab xii.). There the mane is uncut, is parted along the ridge of the neck, and falls on each side more formally than naturally. But on the west frieze, which was a scene of preparation and start, we expect greater finish in such details

than on the long sides with their more excited movement. Negligence in this, as in other respects, is most apparent on the south side, which, as we have said, was the least likely to be inspected by visitors. On slab xiii. of that side the mane of the horse is good and his action spirited, but his head is too big for his body, and altogether he is a diminutive creature.

We are accustomed to think that a long, flowing tail is a beauty in a horse. But on the whole Parthenon frieze we find at most two or three instances of this. The best is on the west frieze (viii.), where we have the incomparable group of a rearing horse and a man vigorously holding it in, his mantle flapping in the wind. The upper part of the tail is modelled in relief, but the lower part is cut into the background, so as to reproduce an aspect of unsubstantiality. But as for most of the horses, it is both curious and instructive to observe with what anxiety the sculptor has studied to hide their tails behind the oncoming horse. He must have seen that with the multitude of legs he was bent on introducing he could not afford to let the tails of the horses sweep downwards without encroaching on the background of the relief, and leaving too little of it for a clear appreciation of the numerous legs of the horses. Hence his efforts to get rid of the tails somehow. That his artistic instinct was perfectly right in the matter may be gathered from the fact that no one notices the discrepancy of tails. When, however, we have once noticed it, this discrepancy becomes not altogether agreeable. It is unnecessary to specify the various instances, but we may remark that on one slab in particular of the south frieze (xxii.) there is a tail which could not be surpassed

for rudeness of execution, and even then it is only a stump, and the same may be said of another (xix.). Be it remembered, however, that gross carelessness of this kind is only to be seen on the south frieze, which, as we have said repeatedly, was the least likely to be visited. That would account for negligence of supervision in many places, almost side by side with some of the finest slabs of the whole frieze.

In several instances the young horsemen of the north frieze are nude except for a slight mantle. Observe him on slab xxxvi., who is turning in his seat, with his left arm thrown back easily, the right hand holding the reins. There is here a singular charm in the combination of nude form and slight mantle, the folds of which are made to show just where they are wanted, on the neck and the right fore arm. They are especially fine between the body and the left arm, where they seem to thicken in the wind, and lose all formality. We do not suppose that there had been in the actual procession through the streets of Athens any riders so comparatively nude, but we do assume that the sculptor required these bright nude spots at intervals, as so many restful points for the eye of the spectator. In those days everyone was familiar with nude, or nearly nude, figures in works of art.

We may, indeed must, suppose that in the actual procession there had been a far greater display of ceremonial costume than we now see on the frieze, so far at least as concerned the cavalcade. Here and there we see a cuirass, plain or highly decorated, a helmet, a leather cap, a petasos, a wreath, a bare head, high boots, or bare feet. In all these matters there may have been in the procession through the streets

some settled order of groups of horsemen similarly costumed keeping together, as in fact seems the case in a group of the south frieze, where they all wear the cuirass. But were that so, the sculptor has allowed himself considerable freedom. The uniformity of costume is most marked in the horsemen of the north frieze. It is mainly the ordinary dress of Athenian youth of the well-to-do class, and it suits admirably the rapid movement of the horses. We can understand the greater diversity on the west frieze, which, being more stationary, would better display incidental varieties of costume.

We pass on to the chariot groups, observing first of all that those of the north frieze have a striking advantage over those on the south in one respect, important from an artistic point of view. Whether on north or south, each chariot has a driver and an apobates or armed youth, who leaps up and down in the manner of a Homeric hero as the chariot advances. Now the position of the apobates was necessarily on the left hand of the driver, from which fact it follows that on the north frieze, where the movement is from right to left, the apobates appears in the nearest plane of the relief, and is thus fully displayed to the spectator, whereas on the south frieze, which moves from left to right, he is necessarily on the farther side of the driver, and would thus in ordinary circumstances be largely hidden from view, notwithstanding that he was the principal person in the chariot. Something could be done by bringing the apobates farther forward than the charioteer, and thus showing the upper part of his figure as we see from the eight chariots of the south frieze still existing in Carrey's time. At the

present day comparatively little exists of that section. But we possess one particularly splendid group (xxx.), in which to intensify the apobates on the farther side the sculptor has carved him deep into the background of the relief. Possibly this was a solitary exception, for in the group immediately preceding (xxxi.) the apobates is not similarly cut into the background, though he is in the same position in the chariot. Still it is not unreasonable to suppose that the deep cutting of the apobates in the other slab may have been a protest against the difficulties presented by the south as compared with the north frieze. And if this apobates is striking by the forceful manner in which he is sculptured, the horses in front of him are even more fascinating by the beauty of their heads and necks, in which the fiery action of the creatures is concentrated, as it should be, within the smallest possible space, and with the most lovely transitions from one plane to another.

Mr. Ruskin says¹: "The projection of the heads of the four horses one behind the other is certainly not more altogether than three-quarters of an inch from the flat ground, and the one in front does not in reality project more than the one behind it, yet by mere drawing you see the sculptor has got them to appear to recede in due order, and by the soft rounding of the flesh surfaces and modulation of the veins he has taken away all look of flatness from the necks. He has drawn the eyes and nostrils with dark incision, careful as the finest touches of a painter's pencil; and then at last when he comes to the manes, he has let fly hand and chisel with their full force, and where a base workman (above all if he had

¹ *Aratra Pentelici*, p. 174.

modelled the thing in clay first) would have lost himself in the laborious imitation of hair, the Greek has struck the tresses out with angular incisions deep driven, every one in appointed place and deliberate curve, yet flowing so free under his noble hand that you cannot alter without harm the bending of any single ridge, nor contract nor extend a point of them."

As a contrast we may take the chariot group xvii. of the north frieze which is now in Athens and finely preserved. The young apobates is here in the act of leaping down, and thus clears the figure of the driver fairly well. With his shield thrown backward, showing off his youthful form, each arm extended quite naturally, yet not so as to cross his body in any way, or complicate the planes of the relief, a handsome helmet and a very simple chiton, he seems the very ideal of a young Greek playing in a public ceremony the part of one of the heroes of old. His body throbs with life.

On either frieze the section of chariots begins with one which has not yet started. On the north, a groom or guide, such as accompanies each chariot, is standing at the head of the horses (xxiii.). In this group there is no element of distinction. But in the corresponding chariot on the south frieze we find exceptional beauty (xxv.). The guide at the farther side of the quiet horses is giving directions for the start with a firmly outstretched right arm, modelled with the greatest care. The apobates stands placidly on the nearer side of the chariot full in view. A moment later he will have to take his place at the farther side of the driver, and be half hidden. Meanwhile the sculptor has seized his opportunity to make

this figure radiantly beautiful. The bare right arm hanging idly over a chiton of fine folds is thus seen to perfection; the bare legs in an easy position, the way in which the shield partially frames in the figure, the contrasts of draped and nude form, these are points which we can all observe and admire. To define what constitutes the loveliness of the whole seems beyond the powers of even those who are most moved by it.

In Carrey's time there were still to be seen six chariots on the north and eight on the south frieze. Since then the damage done to the chariot groups has been so great that we can now hardly form a just conception of the original aspect of the whole. Apparently there had been nine chariots on each side, and from the remains of them we can at best form an opinion only of isolated groups. We can see that on both north and south friezes there had been much variety in the action of the horses, in the costume of the apobatae, and in the attitudes of the guides accompanying each chariot. Specially splendid is the fragment in Athens of the foremost chariot on the north side, to which we have already referred, with the guide in front of the horses, violently checking them at the point where they overtake the pedestrians of the procession (xi.).

We have already mentioned the several sections of pedestrians who preceded the chariots, culminating in the two groups of girls, who, after having woven and embroidered the new peplos on the Acropolis, walked at the head of the procession, carrying wine vessels, oenochoae of notably small size from which to pour, and phialae from which to drink. These girls appear at either end of the east frieze.

True to ordinary habit, they carry the oenochoe in the right hand, the phialè in the left, the consequence being that in the left group the oenochoae are conspicuous, in the right only partially visible, while similarly in the one set the phialae show the interior, in the other the exterior. Therefore even in these apparently trivial matters we find truth at the expense of strict artistic balance between the two groups of girls.

Several of them carry a stand with a bell-shaped foot, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 56, 57. In one instance there is fixed on the top of this stand an object resembling a distaff, which would be peculiarly appropriate. In two instances in the left group of girls, 12-13, and 14-15, this top piece is seen to have been separate from the stand, and apparently to have been made of metal, fitted into a deep socket in the marble in one of these instances, 12, 13. Tempting, however, as is the idea of a distaff, we must revert to the accepted definition of this object as a *thymiaterion*, or incense-burner. At the head of the girls on the right are two groups of two each, who carry nothing in their hands. At the head of those on the left there is only one such group, with hands falling idly by the sides. Both groups have throughout the air of school-girls.

In point of execution we may note that there is a marked difference between the slab of Ergastinae, now in Paris, from the right end of the east frieze, 50-56, and the slab next following in the Elgin Room, 59-61. In the Paris slab, of which a cast is inserted in its proper place, we observe that the draperies are rendered with the utmost refinement, the folds being kept flat and arranged with scrupulous attention.

On the next following slab they are comparatively rough and rude.

We have already considered one instance of what we called relative truth on the frieze. Others are awaiting us. On the west frieze we see a young horseman riding away, 11. Behind him stands another youth, stooping to fasten his boot, 12. In passing, one hardly observes any difference of age or otherwise between these two youths. But on closer inspection we perceive that the sculptor has enlarged the bodily forms of the stooping youth to the extent of producing a vast disproportion between him and the youth on horseback. Yet both figures are perfectly correct in an absolute sense. It is only relatively to each other that the disproportion becomes apparent. The same stooping figure recurs again further on in the west frieze, 29, and it is interesting to compare the two, if for no other purpose than to see the infinite pains of the sculptor to attain variety of detail as subsidiary to repetition of what was practically the same motive. In a scene of preparation and starting the repetition of so striking a motive was both natural and artistically effective.

On the question of proportions in the human figure we may take also a boy on the west frieze, 6. His bodily forms are greatly exaggerated, though his head is obviously that of a boy. The effect of his exaggerated proportions is that his head is nearly on a level with that of his master. The reason was this: all through the frieze the heads of the figures are, as far as possible, made to reach about the same level, whether they are standing or seated, on horseback or in chariots. This is described as the

isocephalism of the Parthenon frieze. Apparently this was an artistic law which the sculptor had to obey as best he could. Accordingly wherever chariots, horsemen, pedestrians, and seated figures were collected together, there was no possibility of preserving the strict relative truth of the one to the other, as we see it in actual life. We are here pressing this point of relative as against absolute truth because on the frieze there are exceptionally several instances in which the sculptor has given with almost touching effect the true relative proportions of boy to man. There is the boy standing behind his master and fastening his girdle (N. 134), the boy handing up the peplos (E. 35), and the boyish figure of Eros leaning against the knees of Aphrodité (E. 42). We can readily understand how on a long, narrow frieze isocephalism was indispensable for the continuity of the movement and the unity of the whole procession. But much the same spirit pervades the contemporary Greek vases. We may add that on the vases also, as on the frieze, the figures have at first sight an aspect of unreality, arising apparently from the prominence of the contours and the careful toning down of the inner markings, which are, in fact, full of details when looked into close at hand.

Most of the faces are in profile; only a few are to the front. Among the latter we may notice a rider on the west frieze, 2. He has thrown his body round somewhat violently; his hair, longer than usual, streams out at each side; he has had a metal wreath, as the drill-holes in the marble testify. Altogether he is one of those striking figures which were needed at intervals in the cavalcade to

interrupt the uniformity of the movement by the boldness of his action and his brilliant nude form. Almost equally bold and equally noticeable is one of the first youths we meet on turning the angle to the north frieze (xlii.), standing full to the front, and by his attitude requiring the greatest artistic skill to avoid ungainliness and errors of perspective.

The youthful faces in profile present in general an air of solemnity, often with the corners of the mouth turned down. Occasionally there is an eager expression, as in the youth stooping to raise his hydria, as if he were a little belated. On the south frieze some of the faces look like prematurely aged youths. The eyes are mostly in side face, which probably is due to a lingering on of archaic tradition. The ear is very carefully and finely rendered; the hair avoids equally the conventionalism of archaic and the naturalism of later art.

In the heads of the deities we readily recognise certain known types, such as Zeus and Hera, Athenè and Hephaestos, much damaged as they all are, except on one slab at Athens, which has been singularly well preserved (vi.). So also the head of Iris (E. 28) has fortunately been preserved nearly intact. But it is not easy, as we have already said, to explain the action of her left hand, which is raised to her hair, further than that it must be meant to assist in expressing her surprise at the approach of the procession, as does her mistress Hera. While pulling aside her veil with both hands, Hera reveals on the left side of her head a wreath, the leaves of which have a fine serrated edge, like those of the willow,

which was appropriate to her, seeing that the oldest tree in Greece in the time of Pausanias was the willow growing in the court of the temple of Hera in Samos.¹ She was, indeed, reported to have been born under that willow. Apparently, also, the willow was associated with the marriage of Zeus and Hera.

In Chapter IX. we describe each slab of the frieze in consecutive order.

¹ For the willow wreath worn at the festival of Hera in Samos see Pliny, xxiv. 9. In the Thesmophoria the women had to sleep on willow branches:

Schol. Nicand. Theriac., 71. The lygos appears also to have been a symbol of chastity.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ATHENÈ PARTHENOS BY PHEIDIAS

[PLATE XIV.]

THERE remains to be considered the colossal statue of Athenè. Compared with it the external sculptures of the Parthenon, extraordinary as they were in extent, in grandeur and in beauty, were of secondary importance. These external sculptures were not intended to be other than embellishments of a building destined to contain the new statue, resplendent in gold and ivory, as was becoming the wealth and prosperity of the time. They have survived in some considerable measure, but no fragment even of the great statue exists. What it was like we can only imagine from certain descriptions of it in classical writers, and from certain ancient copies on a small scale. From these sources combined we may gather some dim notion of the splendour of that famous work of Pheidias.¹ At present we have nothing else to rely upon. We read that the statue was of gold and ivory, of colossal size, about 40 feet in height, standing upright. Gold was employed for the dress, which fell in heavy folds to the ground; ivory for the face, neck,

¹ Plutarch, *Pericles*, 31: Φειδίας ὁ γενόμενος καὶ μέγιστον παρ' αὐτῇ δυνή-
πλάστης ἐργολάβος ἦν τοῦ ἀγάλματος, θείας.
ὥσπερ εἴρηται· φίλος δὲ τῷ Περικλεῖ

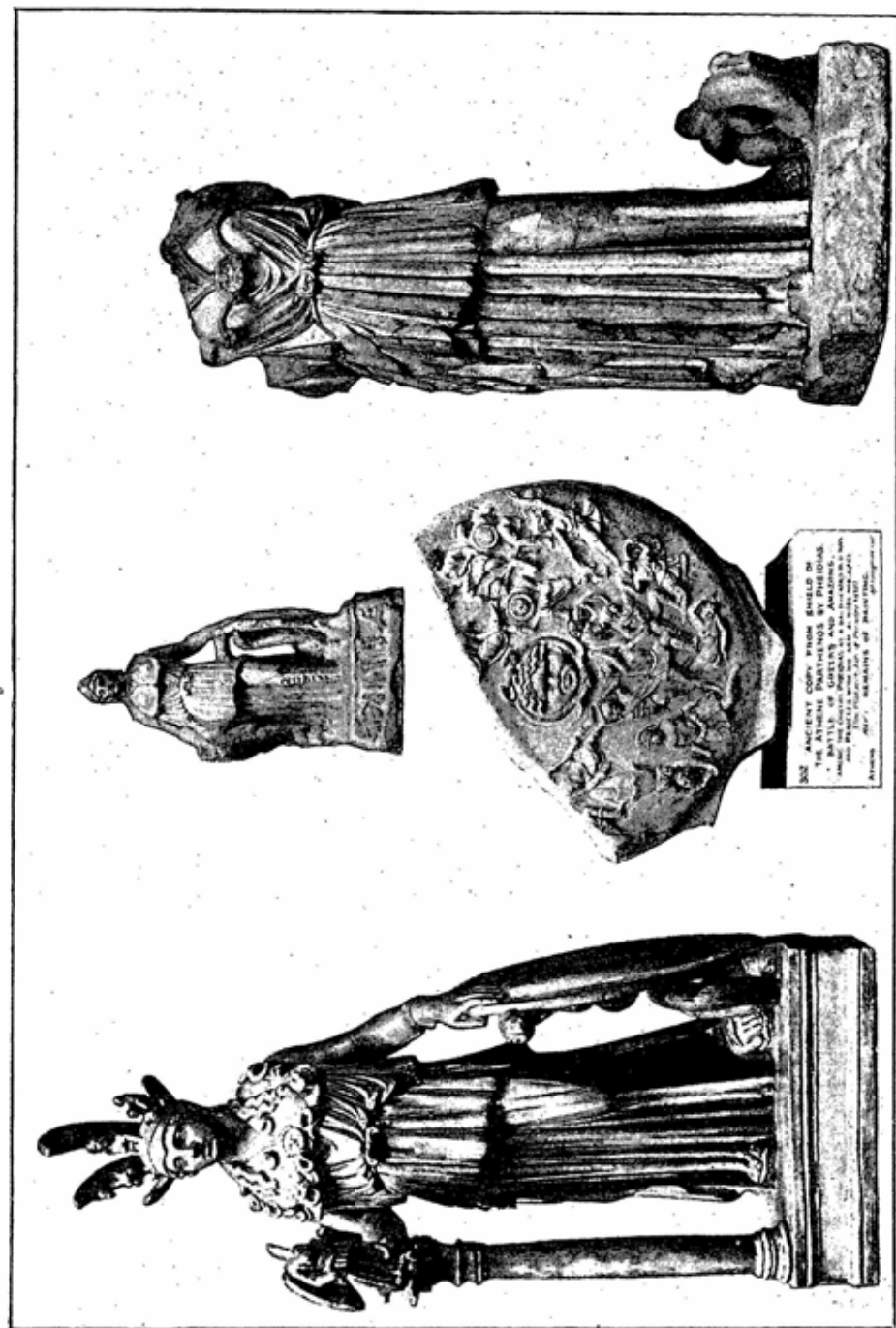


PLATE XIV.

ATHENÈ PARTHENOS.

1. Marble Figure in Athens (Varvakeion).
2. Marble Figure in Patras.
3. Marble Figure in Athens (Lentormant).
4. Marble Shield of Athena in the British Museum.



arms, and feet, as also for the Gorgon's mask on her breast. The goddess held out on the palm of her right hand a figure of Victory, about 6 feet high. At her left side stood a shield, on the outside of which was sculptured in relief a battle of Greeks and Amazons. On the inside was figured the war of gods and giants. Her left hand rested on the edge of the shield, and also held a spear. Between the shield and her left foot was her serpent. On her head she wore a helmet with triple crest. On her sandals was sculptured a battle of Centaurs and Lapiths, and on the base of the statue the birth of Pandora in the presence of a number of deities.

Such is the general description of the statue as we gather it from ancient writers. When we come to examine the existing copies, we shall see how far they agree with this description, and how far they diverge from it. In the meantime there are some practical questions which we may consider. For instance, we are told that on another colossal statue of gold and ivory by Pheidias—the Zeus at Olympia—his golden robe was inlaid with patterns of flowers. There is no mention of anything of that kind on the chiton of the Athenè in the writers, and no trace of it in the copies. But there was this difference in the Zeus at Olympia: he was seated, and wore only a large mantle, wrapped round his legs in folds, which must have presented in many places large and hard masses very suitable for inlaid or enamelled patterns. Any such enrichment would have been lost on the robe of Athenè, with its deeply cut, close-lying parallel folds. Doubtless the scales of the aegis on her breast were brilliantly enamelled, but we may fairly

assume that the great mass of the drapery was left in plain gold. We have, in fact, some evidence on the point. As everyone knows, Pheidias was falsely charged with appropriating part of the gold given him for the statue. His answer was to remove the gold and have it weighed, which of course could not have been done satisfactorily if the gold had already been richly enamelled. Either the charge was made before the inlay was put in place, or there was no inlay at all.

It used to be a question whether enamelling in our modern sense of a vitreous substance fused on to metal was known to, or practised by, the Greeks, but we think there is proof now that they employed it on jewellery in small quantities earlier than the time of Pheidias. The alternative process, when patterns were to be executed on a large scale, was to sink them into the gold or bronze in pretty deep channels, and then to inlay in these channels pieces of vitreous paste made in imitation of precious stones. In most of the examples which have survived the vitreous inlays have no doubt lost their original brilliancy, yet, making allowance for this loss, we do not suppose that the robe of the Zeus at Olympia had ever shone with anything of the lustre we see in comparatively modern enamels.

Another technical question is the manner in which these colossal chryselephantine statues were made. Speaking of a statue of Zeus at Megara by a pupil of Pheidias, named Theocosmos, Pausanias says: "The face was of gold and ivory, the rest of the figure of clay and gypsum . . . behind the temple lay half-finished pieces of wood. These Theocosmos intended to adorn with gold and ivory, and so

complete the statue." It would thus appear that the process of executing a colossal statue of this kind was, first, to model and set up the figure in clay or gypsum, then to replace the clay and gypsum bit by bit in wood, on which a surface of gold and ivory was attached, the wood being carved so as to express with more or less accuracy the folds of the drapery and the general form of the statue, and thus reduce the thickness of the overlying gold and ivory. We read also in Lucian (*Somn. sive Gall.*, 24) that however beautiful one of the colossal statues by Pheidias and others might appear in external aspect, all gold and ivory, yet if you look inside them you will find bars, bolts, nails, logs of wood, wedges, pitch, clay, and all sorts of shapeless things. It is said that the amount of gold employed on the Athenè by Pheidias was equal in value to £10,000 or £12,000, and possibly on a statue 40 feet high, with a robe reaching from the neck to the ground, this quantity of gold would have served for a tolerably thick covering. We know from excellent sources that this mass of gold was removable, and we gather from the expression used by an ancient writer that the removing of the gold was like the stripping of the skin from an animal. It would not necessarily leave the statue in a shapeless condition. As a matter of fact, the gold was effectually removed, if we may employ so mild a term, by Lachares, an insurrectionary leader in Athens in the year 297 B.C., after a siege and a long period of distress. The saying was that he had left Athenè nude; but this was no doubt more rhetorical than accurate. We must rather assume that the folds of the drapery, carved on the wooden core as they had been, would still have been

effective in general appearance after the gold had been looted. We hear nothing of the golden robe having been restored subsequently. For all we know positively, the statue may have remained in its stripped condition to the end. On the other hand, the marble copies made long after the spoliation of Lachares show no signs of that spoliation; and, similarly, the writer Pausanias, who records the robbery of Lachares, has shortly before described the statue as of gold and ivory, with no hint as to whether the gold had ever been replaced or not.

Pausanias lived just after the time of the Emperor Hadrian; and the marble copies of the Athenè now known are usually ascribed to that same date. It is possible that Hadrian had caused the golden drapery to be restored. For we know that he erected at Athens a chryselephantine statue of Zeus, surpassing in size all other statues, says Pausanias, except the "colossi of Rhodes and of the Romans" (i. 8. 6), "the workmanship being good," he adds, "considering its size." It is hardly conceivable that an emperor who loved Athens as did Hadrian, and spent so much on its adornment, would have left the famous Athenè of Pheidias without her golden robe, supposing she had remained in that condition from the date of the spoliation in 297 B.C. to his time.

The process of constructing these colossal gold and ivory statues was a subject that interested Pausanias. When speaking of the statue of Zeus at Olympia, the greatest of the works of Pheidias, he says, "On the floor in front of the statue is a circular basin of black marble, with a rim of white Parian, to contain olive oil, for that oil was necessary to protect the ivory against the damp of the Altis" (which

was the local name of the spot at Olympia where the temple containing the statue was erected). He proceeds: "On the Acropolis of Athens the statue known as the Parthenos requires not olive oil but water, because of the dryness of the Acropolis, arising from its elevation. There the ivory needs water, and dew from the water. In Epidauros, when I asked why they used neither olive oil nor water for the statue of Asclepios, the authorities of the temple told me that the statue of the god, and the throne on which he sat, were placed over a well" (vii. 11, 10). Elsewhere (vii. 27, 1), speaking of a statue of Athenè at Pellenè, in Achaea, he says: "There is a temple of Athenè with a statue of the goddess of ivory and gold. They say it was the work of Pheidias ere yet he had made his statues of Athenè on the Acropolis at Athens and at Plataea. The people of Pellenè say that there is a crypt of Athenè which goes deep into the earth, that this crypt is under the base of the statue, and that the air of the crypt is humid, on which account it is good for the ivory." And again, speaking of the sculptor Damophon (iv. 31, 6), he praises him for the skill he showed in repairing the ivory of the Zeus at Olympia, the joints of which had begun to gape before the statue had been more than a century or so old. So that, if the theory of Pausanias was right, there had been more damp in the atmosphere at Olympia than the large basin of olive oil in front of the statue was capable of counteracting. How the moisture was provided for the Athenè in Athens we have no particle of evidence to show. There is no trace on the floor of the Parthenon of any basin as at Olympia. Were we certain that the Parthenon had been a hypaethral temple, with part

of the roof open to the sky, we could understand Pausanias when he speaks of the water and the dew from the water. But that is still a vexed question. We may further assume that the ivory in these colossal statues had been stained, first, because we know that the staining of ivory was a practice of the Greeks as far back as the time of Homer; and secondly, because the innumerable fine joints of the ivory could hardly have been concealed otherwise.

We may never be able to realise the majesty and splendour of the Athenè; but we can see in a measure what she was like in her pose and attributes from the ancient copies in marble to which we have referred (Pl. XIV.). They are rude, unskilful, and on a small scale, not much above statuettes. As we have said, they are the work of Roman times. Such copies were probably made by the dozen in Athenian workshops.¹ The most complete is the one known as the Varvakeion Athenè, now in Athens (No. 1 in Plate XIV.). Plainly enough the three crests on the helmet are out of all proportion to the rest of the figure. Yet the face retains something of the grand type of Pheidias. The copyist knew that the triple crest of the helmet was a notable feature, and in trying to get in as much detail as possible he was driven to exaggerate the size of the crests. We assume that he is correct in his details. But here comes in a difficulty. Pausanias says,

¹ At present we have the following copies: (1) found near the Varvakeion at Athens; (2) found at Patras; (3) found in Athens; (4) now in Madrid Museum. The base of the latter has been re-worked, but in some respects this copy is good. Like Nos. 1, 2, it is about

3 feet high, whereas No. 3—the Lenormant copy—is much smaller.

Among the marble copies of the head alone, are one in Berlin preserving some of its ancient colours (*Ant. Denkmäler*, i. pl. 3), and another in the Louvre (*Mon. Piot*, vii. (1901), pl. 15).



GOLD MEDALLION.



INTAGLIO OF ATHENA.

"The crest was supported by a sphinx," the significance of which he promises to explain afterwards. The statuette confirms that. Then Pausanias goes on: "On each side of the helmet was a gryphon," whereupon he runs off into the old tale of how the gryphons were animals having the body of a lion, but the wings and beak of an eagle, which guarded heaps of gold in a far-away country against a race of men called Arimasps, who had each only one eye. Apparently he had thought that the gryphons had been introduced on the helmet with reference to the amount of gold employed on the statue. Anyhow the statuette shows us winged horses or Pegasi, not gryphons, on the sides of the helmet. There must be some explanation. It does not seem at all possible that Pausanias could have mistaken a horse for a gryphon, or that the copyist of the statuette would have ventured to put winged horses in the place of gryphons. Besides, the presence of horses supporting the side crests is confirmed by a cameo in the British Museum and by other evidence, especially two large gold medallions in St. Petersburg, which were found in a Greek tomb in the Crimea (Pl. XV.). Both the cameo and the medallions show on the cheek-piece of the helmet a gryphon, and probably the explanation is that Pausanias had overlooked the horses in his haste to tell the story of the fabulous gryphons. The winged horses would represent Pegasus, whom Athenè caught and bridled, when he had sprung into existence from the decapitated body of the Gorgon. The copyist of the statuette has omitted the gryphons on his cheek-pieces, and we must here mention another omission on the part both of the copyist and of

Pausanias. Neither of them takes notice of the decoration along the brow of the helmet, which we find in our cameo and on the St. Petersburg medallions, consisting of a row of horses or of alternate deer and gryphons springing forward, but visible only in the foreparts. The joint evidence of the cameo and the medallions is sufficient to prove the existence of that rich element of decoration above the brow of the Athenè. How splendid the effect must have been of all this sculptured ornament on the helmet executed on so colossal a scale is now more than we can realise.

On the breast of the Athenè was her aegis of gold covered with scales, and having a fringe of serpents. The scales both of the aegis and the serpent had been enamelled, doubtless. In the middle of the aegis was inserted in ivory the mask of the Gorgon Medusa. How Athenè came to have the head of the Gorgon on her breast was a question which sometimes perplexed the Greeks. They knew that Athenè had helped Perseus to cut off the Gorgon's head, and to escape with it hid in his wallet. They knew also that she was sometimes called "Gorgophonè," or Gorgon-slayer, but that title might have been earned by the assistance she gave to Perseus. Herodotus (iv. 189), who was a contemporary of Pheidias, had an idea that the aegis on the statues of Athenè had been borrowed from the people of Libya, on the north coast of Africa, where the women wore goat-skins wrapped about their shoulders. Aegis means ordinarily a goat's skin, and of course Libya was the habitat of the Gorgon. Apparently Herodotus had put these two facts together, and made his own inference from them.

But we have in the Museum an engraved gem which throws new light on the relations of Athenè with the Gorgon, illustrating, as it does, a part of the myth which seems to have been lost with so much else in Greek literature. Athenè, after slaying the Gorgon, has flayed the creature. Like Heracles, who, when he had slain the lion, flayed it and wrapped the skin round his shoulders, so Athenè stripped the Gorgon of her skin and feathers and wrapped them round her body. Behind her neck is to be seen the face of the Gorgon; lower down its snakes and wings; behind her feet three drops of blood fall to the ground. There should only be two drops—the one to destroy, the other to cure—the bane and antidote, as they were called by the Greeks. But the gem engraver was probably thinking less of that than of illustrating the freshness of the slaughter by means of the dripping blood. The gem is archaic, possibly a century older than the Parthenos, and is therefore interesting as representing an older and more realistic rendering of the myth, which in time had been superseded by the conventional aegis and gorgoneion on the breast of the goddess.

According to Pausanias, the left hand of Athenè held a spear. In the marble statuettes there is no spear. It would have been inconvenient to insert one, and we are the less surprised by the absence of the spear when we see that her left hand is occupied in holding upright on its edge the shield at her side. It has therefore been customary to suppose that the spear had been placed leaning against the left arm, and not held by the left hand, as Pausanias says. But he is proved to have been right by an engraved gem in the British Museum, where the

left hand holds both the edge of the shield and the spear (Pl. XV.). It is a small matter, but not unimportant. Far more interesting is another question which this new gem raises. It shows on the right side of Athenè a cippus or low pillar surmounted by the owl of Athenè. One would have thought that an owl was indispensable, yet Pausanias makes no mention of one in his description of the statue. Equally the marble statuettes take no notice of the owl. But the evidence of our gem is confirmed by the gold medallions of St. Petersburg, which show an owl in the field (Pl. XV.). To judge by the workmanship, these medallions had been executed within half a century at most after the Athenè was finished, and so far we have seen them to be accurate as copies of the helmet. If the Athenè had held a sceptre like the Zeus at Olympia, we could imagine an owl on the top of it corresponding to the eagle on the top of the sceptre of the Zeus, but the end of her spear could not have been so decorated. Besides, the shaft of the spear, shown on the medallions at the side of the neck of Athenè, does not slope as if it had any connection with the owl. The shaft could easily have been made to slope towards the owl had that been the meaning. Obviously the owl had been inserted in the field of the medallions to represent a feature of the statue lower down. Now we know that the owl was associated with Athenè in one of her statues by Pheidias in Athens. It does not follow necessarily that the Athenè Parthenos was meant.¹ On that point opinions were divided till the

¹ Studniczka, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1884, p. 162, notes the absence of an owl on or connected with the Varvakeion copy, and thinks that the owl on the St. Peters-

burg medallions may be intended to be on the cheek-piece of the helmet, but we are not persuaded.

finding of the Varvakeion copy. There being no owl beside it, the question was allowed to drop. But in the light of the new gem we must reconsider the matter. In the Varvakeion statuette the right hand, which supports the Victory, rests on a cippus or pillar. That pillar has been a stumbling-block. Even the Berlin relief, on which Athenè, holding out a Nikè, appears to support her hand on a pillar,¹ has not reconciled those who think the pillar incongruous with the art of Pheidias. We must remember that almost as inseparable from Athenè in Athens as her owl was the olive tree. The presence of an olive would therefore have been highly appropriate, the more so since it would afford a natural support to her hand holding out the Victory, much as we see on Greek coins.²

A copyist would readily simplify an olive tree into a pillar. An alternative is, however, suggested by the new gem. Omit the owl, increase the height of the cippus till it becomes a support for the hand, and we have the Varvakeion statuette. At the same time, it is clear from the gem that the owl and cippus together had not served as an actual support for the hand of the goddess, and if that is so, we must conclude that no support was necessary, notwithstanding that a figure of Victory six feet high must have been of very considerable weight, even if it had been hollow and the gold as thin as was consistent with the figure holding together. Still, the arm and hand of Athenè being of ivory plated on a core of wood, it is conceivable that the inner core may have contained an iron support having its bearings in the body of the statue and sufficient

¹ Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, pl. 7.

² Murray, *Gr. Sculpt.*, ii. pl. 11.

to carry the weight. That has often been supposed, and in view of the ingenuity of Greek workmen we cannot call it unreasonable. We must apparently discard the owl and cippus as a possible support for the hand; but equally we must retain them as part of the original design of Pheidias, and as probably being the source of the pillar which the copyist has introduced into the Varvakeion statuette.

Let us pass on to the shield. On the outside, we are told, was sculptured in relief a battle of Greeks and Amazons. We know that the outside was so sculptured from various pieces of evidence, best of all from a marble copy of the shield in the British Museum which came from Athens (Pl. XIV.). In the centre is the Gorgon's mask, and round it are the combatants, rudely enough executed in Roman times. One of the Greeks is figured as a nude, bald-headed old man wielding a battle-axe. Another beside him has his arm raised to strike, concealing his face. Now Plutarch tells us that Pheidias, after the completion of the statue, was accused of having placed on the shield portraits of himself as a bald-headed old man, and of Pericles, with his arm raised so as to conceal his face. For that act of sacrilege, as it was held to be, Pheidias was condemned to prison. There are many references to this incident in ancient writers, and some of them go so far as to say that Pheidias had attached these two portraits so cunningly to the shield that they could not be removed without bringing the whole statue to pieces. Therefore they were left, though he was punished.

We must accept it as a fact that Pheidias had been

charged publicly with having placed these two portraits on the shield. The literary evidence is too strong to be ignored. It does not, however, follow that there was any truth in the charge. If the Athenians could find in the supposed Pericles with his arm concealing his face a portrait of the statesman whom so many of them detested, their imagination was equal to a good deal. As regards the supposed Pheidias, we do not remember any bald-headed Greek in the existing representations of the battle of Greeks and Amazons. But there are bearded Greeks in abundance in such scenes, and there is no reason why Pheidias if he chose might not have introduced a bald-headed Greek much like the old man in one of the pediments of Olympia. That would be quite enough for the malignant gossips of Athens. They would say, "Here is old Pheidias himself." By that time the sculptor was getting old, and may, for all we know to the contrary, have been bald. Accordingly he was charged with the crime of placing these portraits on the shield, and cast into prison. It is said that he died in prison, but that is a point on which there is uncertainty.

Centuries afterwards the story of Pheidias and the portraits was well known, as we see from grave writers like Cicero, and we can easily imagine a late copyist improving the occasion by making the supposed Pheidias look as like a portrait as possible. That seems to be what has happened on our marble shield. The proportions of the Pheidias have been enlarged so as to make him conspicuous, and possibly also to give an opportunity of indicating his features and the shape of his head. But why does he wield a battle-axe, when Plutarch says expressly that both hands were employed

raising a rock? Possibly Plutarch was wrong, and yet on the shield of another of these ancient marble copies of the Parthenos—the one known as the Lenormant statue (Pl. XIV.)—we have a figure raising a large stone aloft with both hands, as if about to hurl it. This discrepancy is the more curious because our shield is not the only one which shows Pheidias wielding the battle-axe. The same occurs also on a fragmentary copy in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. Apparently the ancient copyists of the statue alternated between these two types of Pheidias, hurling a huge stone or wielding a battle-axe. Which of the two was the more authentic we cannot say. We read in the *Iliad* occasionally of a combatant seizing a piece of rock to hurl at an enemy. But usually when we see in Greek art a man raising a large stone we assume that he belongs to the war of gods and giants, where we are accustomed to see rocks hurled in this manner. Now the war of gods and giants was, we are told, figured on the inside of the shield, and perhaps it is not too rash to conjecture that the copyists of these statuettes had occasionally transposed a figure from the interior to the exterior of the shield.

On the inside of the shield, as we have said, was represented the war of gods and giants. It has been supposed that this subject on the inner side had not been sculptured, but painted, or rather enamelled, and to some extent that view has been lately confirmed by the finding of a rudely painted figure on the inner side of our shield. It is a figure of an old man stooping and raising a rock with both hands, as Pheidias was occupied in doing according to Plutarch. So that in fact our shield gives us a Pheidias on the inside

as well as the outside, the one wielding a battle-axe, the other raising a huge stone. The original shield was of gold, and if we assume the inner side richly enamelled with gods fighting against giants, we must assume also that the serpent had been enamelled in colours representing the natural hues of its scales. The same would be true of the owl on her right side. On her sandals, we suppose along the edge of the soles, was a battle of Centaurs and Lapiths. On the contemporary frieze of Phigaleia in the Museum we see how Greek sculptors when they chose treated this legendary subject as so much discursive fighting without any central point or climax. In the metopes of the Parthenon itself the subject is broken up into many isolated groups. It is therefore not in the least surprising that Pheidias had distributed his battle of Lapiths and Centaurs equally on both the sandals of the goddess.

We now come down to the base of the statue, on which was represented the birth of Pandora in the presence of a number of deities, as we are told. Pandora had been fashioned as a statue by Hephaestos, but Athenè breathed into it the breath of life, and it became a living woman. We may assume that this act of Athenè's was represented as the central group of the base, much as on a fine vase in the Museum. In Berlin there is a fragmentary copy of the base of an Athenè from Pergamon, on which we see a group of deities, but cannot make much of them. On the Lenormant statuette there is a rude sketch of the base, which is so far useful that we can discern on it at the left angle a group of Helios and his chariot, which at once recalls to memory first the base of the statue of Zeus at Olympia, where Pheidias

sculptured the birth of Aphroditè, and secondly the east pediment of the Parthenon, where he represented the birth of Athenè herself. Thus in all three instances of birth we find in the left angle the sun god Helios coming upon the scene in his chariot, while in the right angle the moon rides or drives away, indicating the dawn of day as the moment of these events.

The various copies of the Athenè agree in giving her a long, low base, from which we may take it as certain that this was a feature in the original statue. The Lenormant copy shows further that this low base was sculptured only along the front. The whole scene would, therefore, be recognisable at once, the making of Pandora in the centre with a number of deities at each side looking on, the sun rising on the left and the moon setting on the right.

There remains to be noticed the Victory held out in the right hand of Athenè. On the new gem the Victory is reaching a wreath towards the Athenè. But on the Varvakeion statuette she seems rather to have held out a taenia or ribbon, which was the badge of Victory. Nor is she turned towards the Athenè, as on the gem. She seems rather as if she were being sent forth on a mission by the Athenè, with the victor's ribbon ready on whomsoever it might at any time be fittingly bestowed.

Except on the colossal gold and ivory Zeus at Olympia, there has never been in the whole history of art, we believe, a statue enriched with accessory sculptures to a tenth of the degree of the Athenè Parthenos. There was a time when it was hard to understand how so much sculptured decoration could be added to a statue without in some manner detract-

ing from the simplicity and grandeur of the whole effect. But the finding of the marble statuettes—rude as they are—has removed every doubt on that score, because they have shown, the one supplementing the other, how completely the vast wealth of sculptured ornament had been treated as so much accessory, serving, in fact, to intensify the simplicity and grandeur of the colossal figure. We see now how the enormously rich decoration of the golden helmet was necessary as a set-off to the large, simple forms of the ivory face, neck, and arms; how the heavy, massive folds of the drapery, especially those on the right side, found a counterpoise in the richly sculptured shield on the left, with the enamelled serpent beside it; how the ivory of her feet must have gleamed above the golden sandals; how the long strip of sculptured base in low relief, with heavy mouldings above and below, would appear to reduce the sense of weight in the statue, and so help to etherealise the whole effect. And what must have been the splendour of such a statue, 40 feet high, standing in the gloom of a great interior, reaching almost from floor to ceiling, and representing the goddess to whom the Athenians ascribed their triumphs in peace as in war, the work of the greatest sculptor in the greatest age of Greece!

CHAPTER IX.

DETAILS OF THE FRIEZE IN CONSECUTIVE ORDER

North Side

Slab I.—From Carrey. With this corner slab begins the series of victims for the sacrifice—cows and sheep. The averted attitude of 1 seems to mark off this section of the procession as stopped here for the moment. In an artistic sense also this figure suggests just the idea of finish and completeness which was needed at the abrupt angle of the frieze. Much the same occurs at the other angles. This slab, having on its left return the two girls who were the last of the group of Ergastinae on the extreme right of the east frieze E 62, 63 (Pl. XVII., Fig. 5), has disappeared. This and the two following slabs are all that we now know of the group of cows being led to sacrifice on this side of the frieze, but probably the whole group had originally been as extensive as the corresponding group of the south frieze, with its nine cows forming an impressive sight, broken as they are.

Slab II.—From a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens. In this section each cow is led by two boys, one on each side of her. By this means the cows would be most easily restrained and led on in due

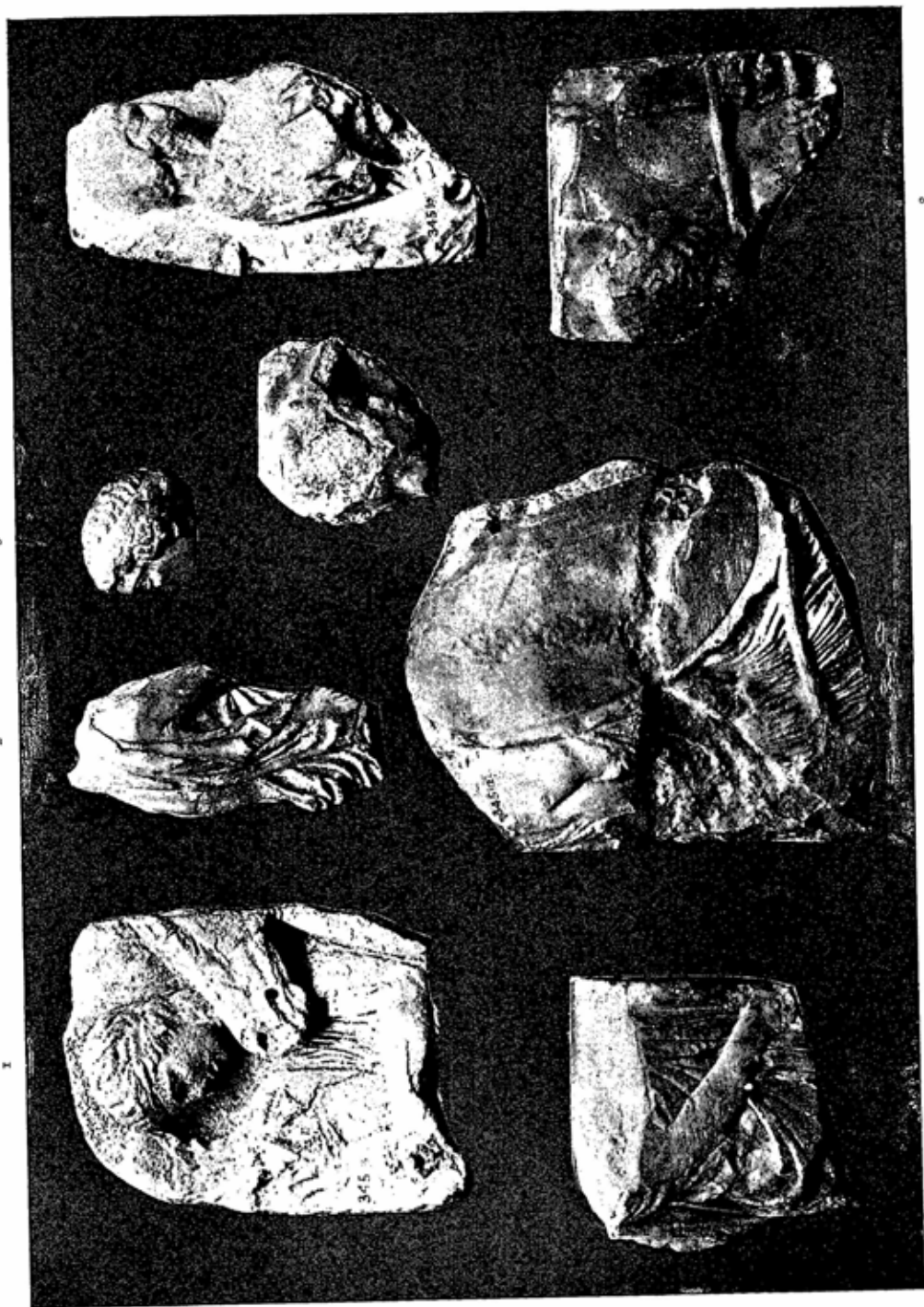


PLATE XVI.

FRAGMENTS OF THE FRIEZE.



processional order. 4 has his mantle pulled up over his chin and his head bent, as if with a sense of the solemnity of the occasion. The cow following him has got frightened, and has to be held in firmly by both the boys, as may be seen from the vigorous stride of 5 and from the attitude of 6, though the latter is now much injured, and known mainly from Carrey's drawing. There is no indication on the marble of the ropes with which the cows were led. There are no drill-holes, as frequently on the horses of the chariots and cavalcade, where they indicate harness of metal. Probably, therefore, the ropes of the cows had been merely painted on the marble.

Slab III.—Only fragments remain; in Athens. The whole slab is, however, drawn by Carrey. On the extreme right he adds the head and shoulders of the foremost of the boys in the next group leading sheep, whose mantle is seen at the front of the next slab.

Slab IV.—From a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens. Three boys leading three sheep. These docile creatures need no cords. It is enough that the boys have their hands on them. Apart from the fine touch of nature in this group, we must admire also the manner in which the dress of the boys is detached from the fleece of the sheep. In the preceding groups the broad, smooth sides of the cows presented a marked and easily rendered contrast to the dress of the boys beside them. Here we have an agreeable change in the artistic problem. The folds of the drapery in 10, 11 had to be intensified, more sharply defined, and crisper, so that the eye might easily detach them from the fleece of the sheep. On the left leg

of 11 is a fine contrast of nude form and drapery. At the end of this slab we have a figure 12, who is no doubt one of the marshals of the procession turning round towards the next group on Slab V.

Slab V.—The foremost figure, 13, is in the British Museum; the remaining two, 14, 15, are from Carrey. Here we have again three boys. In this instance they are carrying on their shoulders trays of fruit or cakes for the sacrifice. Their action is necessarily monotonous; yet there is in the management of their draperies that unfailing charm of diversity which characterises Greek art at its best, not only in sculpture, but almost more so on the painted vases.

Slab VI.—From a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens. Again a group of boys, this time carrying jars (hydriae) full of water on their shoulders. On the right is a fourth boy, partly visible, stooping eagerly to raise his jar from the ground. The attitude would be ungainly were the whole of his figure visible. The least attractive part of him is, however, hidden by the oncoming flute player. The hydriae are made to imitate metal, as we see from the handles, and probably were gilt or painted.

Slab VII.—From Carrey. Only the hands, flutes, and part of drapery of the foremost flute player, 20, are preserved on the slab of the water-carriers. Four boys playing on flutes, followed by two other boys playing on lyres. All are heavily draped, but the flute players wear male costume, whereas the two citharists have the dress of girls. In public competitions for some reason we frequently see boys dressed as girls, *e.g.* driving chariots or in musical

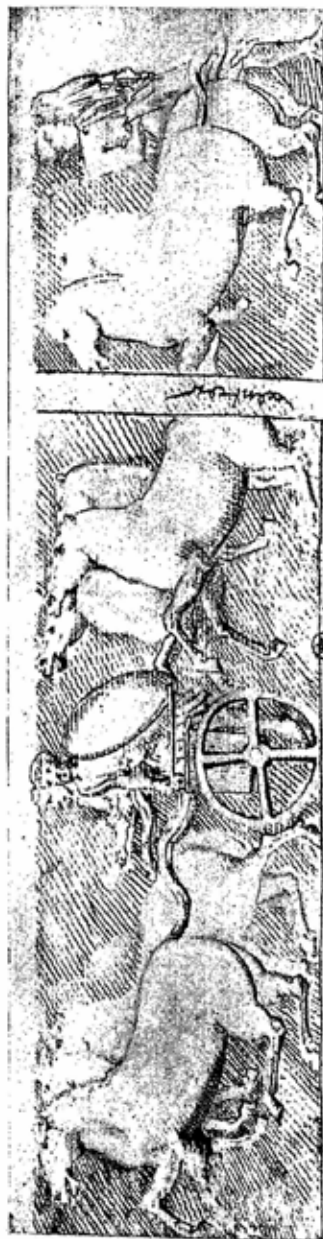
contests, and in a public procession the same rule would apply. But why a distinction should here be made between the flute players and the citharists we know not. The head of a third citharist is given on Pl. XVI., Fig. 8.

Slab VIII.—From casts in the British Museum; the originals in Athens. We have here two more citharists, making up the number of four, as in the group of flute players. 26, turning round to the right, introduces an element of variety in the attitudes, which is welcome after the monotony of the flute players. On the extreme right, 28, is the foremost of a large group of men which extends over the next two slabs.

Slabs IX., X.—29-33 from Carrey (see IXa. on plate); the rest from casts in the British Museum, the originals of which are in Athens. The best-preserved part of this group is the fragment of 34-37. The figures that follow, 38-43, are excessively flat in the relief and sketchy in execution in parts. This effect is intensified by the abrasion of the faces and other parts. Yet this large group, altogether, representing the manhood (*εὐανδρία*) of Athens, and supposed to be carrying branches (*thallophori*), presents a singular felicity in the composition. 35 is very happy in the action of the two hands and the contrast between the nude bosom and rich folds of drapery. To see how finely the slight alternations of attitude and costume operate in giving life and unity to the whole group, we have only to compare similarly large groups of processional figures in Roman bas-reliefs, e.g. on the Ara Pacis of Augustus (Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Pl. 6). It is true that the children who appear in these particular Roman reliefs intro-

duce a new artistic element, which lends a touch of nature to the processional figures (Petersen, p. 165), but that hardly saves the figures of the grown-up persons from dull monotony.

Slabs XI., XII.—The former from a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens. Carrey's drawing gives the whole of this chariot group, extending over these two slabs. We have already called attention to the wonderful charm and beauty of Slab XI., so far as it exists now (p. 119). The chariot has come on too fast. A young man acting as marshal, 44, has rushed to the heads of the horses to stop them before they dash in among the men in front, the last of whom turn round in some alarm. His right hand catches an end of his mantle, folds show between right arm and side, rich drapery separates his shoulder from the horse's head. The legs of the horses are more deeply relieved than in any other part of the frieze, yet the surface of the relief is kept flat, and this helps to give it the appearance of a clear, smooth stream. The charioteer, chariot, and apobates are wanting. The chariots of the north frieze, except in Slab XIV., have the pin of the yoke and the gear for gathering the reins sculptured on the marble, in contrast to those of the south frieze, which had these adjuncts in metal if at all. Slab XII.—Mainly in the British Museum; the upper part of 47 from a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens. Here the young man, 47, has leapt from his chariot and turned as if in the act of defending himself like a hero in battle. Consistently with his title of an apobates, he might leap up and down in the course of the procession. He is not to be supposed as defending



North.

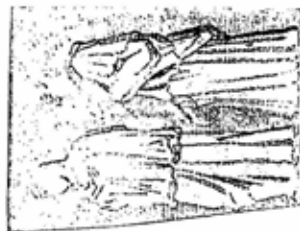
54 55

62

I.

East. 62 63

5.



North.

77

2.



East

40

41

42

3.



East.

1

2

3

4

4.

PLATE XVII.

PARTS OF THE FRIEZE AS DRAWN BY CARREY (1, 3, 4, 5), AND STUART (2).

himself against the oncoming chariot, though he appears in that act in Carrey's drawing, which shows him with the shield raised. On the breast of his cuirass is a deep socket for the attachment of some ornament, such as a Gorgon's mask in metal. The charioteer, 46, dressed as a girl, is hanging far back in the chariot; only his hold on the reins can save him. Apparently this extreme, not to say perilous, attitude is due in part to the intervention of the guide, 45, at the further side of the chariot.

Slab XIII.—From a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens. The rest of this slab, given in our plate as XIIIa., is from Carrey. Two fragments of the marshal, 48, and of the apobates, 50, have been placed conjecturally here since our photograph was made.

Slab XIV.—In the British Museum; the fore parts of the horses given in XIIIa. from Carrey. The drapery of the guide, 51, and the mane of the horse are roughly sculptured. The apobates is in the act of stepping down; the left leg is extremely beautiful. Curiously enough, there is a stone on the ground just where the foot touches. No indication of the yoke pin.

Slabs XV., XVI.—Only a fragment remains, showing part of the charioteer and apobates, with the legs of the oncoming horses. This fragment is in Athens, but a cast of it is in the British Museum. We give these two slabs in full, as drawn by Carrey (Pl. XVII.). The apobates carries shield on arm, but is dressed as a woman, with chiton girt both at waist and under the breasts.

Slab XVII.—From a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens. We have already spoken (p. 119) in the

highest praise of the figure of the apobates, 57, in the act of letting himself down from the chariot. Behind him the marshal, 58, makes a somewhat unusual display of himself and his mantle. His bodily forms are large, broad and almost heavy, presenting an even balance to the ample himation. The action of both arms also are in fine contrast. With more room this figure would, perhaps, be more effective; he is close pressed on the right by the head of one horse and the fore legs of two.

Slab XVIII.—In the British Museum. The guide, as usual at the farther side of the horses, is here in a placid attitude turning to the charioteer, and in close converse with him, his left hand on his arm. The right hand of the guide, resting on the crupper of a horse, has the fingers bent, expressive of some eagerness. Here also the composition of the group is very compact as compared with the open order of some of the preceding chariots (Slabs XIII.—XVI.). Both the charioteer and apobates are much destroyed.

Slab XIX.—From a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens. The guide, 62, is more energetic than in the preceding slab, but the composition of the group is almost as compact. A large fragment of an apobates, of which a cast is in the British Museum from the original in Athens, has been assigned to the right side of the slab by Mr. Arthur Smith (*Sculptures of the Parthenon*, 2nd ed. p. 94). See our Pl. XVI., Fig. 7. The nearest horse has his nearer legs advanced, contrary to the general rule in the chariot groups.

Slabs XX., XXI.—For the sake of convenience we accept with Michaelis a horse's head in Athens as part of

XX.; a cast of it is in the British Museum. The original of XXI. is in the British Museum, containing part of the horses belonging to the chariot of the next slab. Their tails are very primitive in execution.

Slab XXII.—In the British Museum, with the addition of casts from fragments in Athens, *i.e.* body of chariot, lower part of apobates and groom up to waist, and fore legs of the horses. The apobates, 65, is a fine figure in the act of stepping up into the chariot as it starts. The action of the left leg seems to indicate stepping up; so also the position of the shield. He appears to be pulling himself together rather than letting himself go; and in this manner his whole figure separates itself definitely from the guide or groom behind him, 66. This guide stands quietly at the heads of his horses, holding the reins of the foremost. His chariot has not yet started. He wears only a chlamys, not the ample himation of the previous guides.

Slab XXIII.—In the British Museum. Chariot not yet in motion. The left arm of the apobates, with shield, is on next slab. A cast from a fragment of his head has been added.

Slab XXIV.—In the British Museum. Part of the foremost group of horsemen. To the front of this slab is fitted the fragment of shield and left arm assigned by Michaelis to Slab XXVIII. of the south frieze.

Slab XXV.—Fragment in the British Museum from the cavalcade. In Carrey's drawing this fragment is followed by the single horseman, 77, given in Pl. XVII., Fig. 2.

Slab XXVI.—In the British Museum. Horsemen.

Slab XXVII.—We follow Michaelis in assigning to this

slab the fine fragment of which a cast is in the British Museum (Pl. XV., Fig. 1), and the marble head of a youth in the British Museum (frontispiece), formerly in Karlsruhe.

Slab XXVIII.—In the British Museum. We have already called attention to this slab as one of the finest examples on the frieze of the treatment of excessively low bas-relief in the fore legs of the horses. The composition is equally beautiful, but the slab is considerably damaged.

Slab XXIX.—From a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens. Here the crowding of the previous slab is compensated for by the free space which is given the horseman, 88, who turns round easily, with his left arm falling negligently on the flank of his horse, to notice the commotion immediately behind, where a marshal, 89, energetically represses the next horsemen. This action of the marshal, following upon the easy bearing of the preceding rider, provides an artistic break in the composition, which the spectator accepts with the greatest pleasure and admiration. The body of the horseman, 88, is heavy in the cast, but this is really due to the swelling of the plaster, and is no fault of the original.

Slabs XXX., XXXI.—From casts in the British Museum; the originals in Athens. Here the advance of the horsemen is more or less leisurely. The horse of 95 shows only the two hind legs, and one of these is almost completely covered by a leg of the nearer horse. It is not usual in the frieze for one leg to cover the other quite so fully as here. The manes are roughly rendered, so also is the drapery of 94, 95. On the whole this slab does not rank high. 96 repeats the favourite attitude of turning round, with the

left arm falling negligently on the flank of the horse. 97 is probably setting right his wreath with his right hand. Between these two slabs is a gap.

Slab XXXII.—In the British Museum. From this point onward the slabs of the north frieze form a continuous series, and are all in the British Museum. The absence of horses' tails, frequently noticeable in the cavalcade, may be observed here in the horse of 98. The intention, as we have already pointed out, was to secure what we may call breathing spaces between the crowded groups of horse's legs by omitting the tails, or hiding them as far as possible.

Slab XXXIII.—In the British Museum, is densely crowded, with again the attitude of a rider, 103, turning in his seat to look back. But this time he is almost wholly nude, even more so than 88. His mantle shows only on his right arm a little and at the left side; his left hand catches the end of the mantle on the flank of the horse, but the fine outlines of the arm are lost behind the chest of the next horse. 101 has his back turned to the spectator a little. It need not be supposed that the riders in the attitude of turning round to the front are in any sense leaders of squads. They are rather artistic necessities to provide breaks in the general uniformity of a long line of horsemen, where the spectator can rest and be thankful.

Slab XXXIV.—In the British Museum. The horse of 106 has one forefoot on the ground. That is unusual. In most cases both fore legs are raised. But compare the horses of 122 and 125, apparently also 127; and, of course, the horse of 133 is standing still, with both forefeet on the ground. A fragment of this slab, showing the hind legs of

the horse of 106, has recently been identified at the Museum by Mr. Arthur Smith.

Slab XXXV.—In the British Museum; is a richly composed group, not unlike XXVIII. in composition and in the extreme delicacy and lowness of the relief. There is some crowding, yet not only is every point clearly defined and the whole action of man and horse consentaneous, but there is also throughout this slab a constant crossing of lines and forms which stirs an inexpressible sense of beauty. 108 wears a leather cap.

Slab XXXVI.—In the British Museum. Here we have again the almost nude rider turning round in his seat, with left arm thrown back, 111. We have already discussed (p. 116) the extraordinary beauty of this left arm and the moving folds of the mantle beside it. He is allowed more space to himself than in the previous instances, except, perhaps, 88. But in each case there is the unfailing element of diversity in some particular. The tail of his horse is merely sketched in against the foreleg of the next horse. A wide space is thus left on each side of the hind legs of his horse. The effect is to give prominence and repose as well to the figure. An attractive feature in 112 is his head just showing over the nearer horse. The upper left-hand corner of this slab has recently been identified at Colne Park, Essex.

Slab XXXVII.—In the British Museum, may be described as somewhat stately and more or less normal, but still full of charm.

Slab XXXVIII.—In the British Museum. Introduces some new elements of variety. 116 wears a helmet and cuirass; 117 a leather cap; 118 turns his back partly to the

spectator in a perfectly natural, but quite exceptional, manner. He is distinctly a new conception. Very fine also is the crowding together of the heads of the two foremost horses and the action of their fore legs, which, though apparently identical, yet differ in this, that it is the near fore leg of the second horse which is raised.

Slabs XXXIX., XL.—In the British Museum. The former is fine in composition, the latter much injured.

Slab XLI.—In the British Museum, is the most complex slab in the whole frieze, as we have already pointed out in detail (p. 111). We need not here enlarge further on the number of different planes in the sculpture and the incomparable clearness and beauty of the work, to say nothing of the charms of the composition.

Slab XLII.—In the British Museum, is the last slab on the north side. We have here a scene of preparation which may be described as a continuation of the west frieze. One of the horsemen is already mounted, 132. The other two are in separate stages of preparation. 131, turned round full to the front, appears colossal in size compared with the mounted youths in front and compared also with the youth standing in profile near by, 133. The action of this latter figure and of the boy behind him has already been discussed (p. 97). The element of repose in this slab forms an admirable beginning for this side of the frieze. Of 130 nothing but his right hand is visible.

West Frieze.

Slab I.—In the British Museum. This solitary marshal is sculptured on the right return of N. XLII. The placid

lines and forms of this figure as he beckons slightly to the oncoming horsemen provide an appropriate pause at the angle of the building. The corresponding marshal on the extreme right, 30, is more actively engaged, yet he no less effectively provides an artistic pause at the angle.

Slab II.—In the British Museum, is one of the most attractive slabs of the west frieze. We have noticed in the north frieze a number of instances of an almost nude rider turning round in his seat, but here in 2 we have, perhaps, the finest example of all. The raised left arm, the flowing hair, and the flying mantle give him a peculiar distinction. The mobile part of the body contrasts with the firm ribs and bones over which the skin seems tightly drawn. On his head there are drill-holes in the marble, which show that he had worn a wreath. Apparently his left hand is raised to steady the wreath. The tail of his horse is kept out of sight to aid in giving more space to this figure than the others of his type are allowed. The hogged mane of his horse is finely worked, as indeed is every detail of this figure. 3 wears a plain metal cuirass, under chiton, and high boots. The mane of his horse is dashed about in locks. The action of the fore legs is the same as in the preceding horse, but the hind legs are differently moved.

Slab III.—From a cast in the British Museum. From this point onward the whole of the west frieze remains in its original place on the Parthenon, with the exception of the head and chest of 27. As a rule each slab contains a separate group. The instances of overlapping are, few and slight. The scene of preparation and start was an open space, doubtless with plenty of room. Here and there

the groups would be falling into processional order ; elsewhere they would be separate. And this, in fact, is the impression which the west frieze conveys as a whole. The casts here reproduced are those which were made for Lord Elgin. In the British Museum is exhibited also a later set of casts from the west frieze, made in 1872, showing the condition of the marbles at that date. We have already noticed the most interesting points in Slab III., *e.g.* the action of 4, 5 (p. 123), and the exaggerated proportions of the boy, 6 (p. 99).

Slabs IV., V.—From casts in the British Museum, do not call for any particular notice. 7 wears a cuirass, and 8 is a bearded man ; 9, standing to the front, is unattractive.

Slab VI.—From a cast in the British Museum, is interesting because of the helmet, on which is in relief an eagle alighting, and the richly decorated cuirass of 11, with Gorgon's mask on front, and because of the striking attitude of 12, with his left foot raised on a rock to fasten his sandal or shoe. The same action recurs in 29, but we have already compared these two figures (p. 122), pointing out the resemblances and the differences.

Slab VII.—From a cast in the British Museum, is normal.

Slab VIII.—From a cast in the British Museum, is one of the boldest and most striking groups in the frieze. The isolation of this group alone arrests the spectator, and when he comes to examine it more closely he finds that the sculptor has let go his whole force in characterising the action of the man as against the horse. The mantle of the man flaps in the wind before our eyes. The whole

combination of horse, nude form, and drapery is a never-failing source of stirring emotion. Here the tail of the horse is given in its true form and beauty. The head of this figure has been broken off since Lord Elgin's casts were made.

Slab IX.—From a cast in the British Museum, is finely composed, and noticeable also for the petasos worn by the second of the riders, which lends a touch of diversity to this group. The tail of the former of the horses is here given in a natural manner.

Slabs X., XI.—From casts in the British Museum, call for no special remarks, except that the action of 19 is unusual and bold, grasping at the head of his horse, his mantle flying back in a great mass. 18 wears cuirass and turns his back a little to the front. The plainness of this figure is in striking contrast to the richness of 19.

Slab XII.—From a cast in the British Museum. We have already discussed the beauty and action of this handsome mare. 22, 23 are exaggerated in their proportions as compared with the riders on the frieze. 22 stands with his hands crossed, as if holding the reins. 23 carries in left hand a rod or baton, originally perhaps a herald's staff. 24 is a boy attendant or groom.

Slab XIII.—From a cast in the British Museum. This slab has now suffered much since the Elgin casts were made. 25 is in the act of making the horse extend himself preparatory to mounting.

Slab XIV.—From a cast in the British Museum. Much damaged. The original of the head and chest of 27 in the British Museum. The fiery horse rearing between the two

men, both straining against him, has been an exceptionally grand composition.

Slab XV.—From a cast in the British Museum. A young horseman putting on the bridle of his horse. On the right, 29, is the second of the two stooping figures which we have already compared (p. 122).

Slab XVI.—From a cast in the British Museum. A marshal in the act of putting on his chlamys. An incident which by itself would be trifling enough is here quite in order, and not the least undignified, because the whole scene is one of preparation. This is the end of the west frieze.

East Frieze.

Slab I.—In the British Museum. A marshal appropriately placed at the angle.

Slab II.—4-6 and part of 3 are from a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens. 2, 3 we give from Carrey (Pl. XVII., Fig. 4). These girls form part of the group of Ergastinae continued on the next slab. Each carries in her right hand a phialè for the sacrifice.

Slab III.—In the British Museum. Continuation of the group of Ergastinae. 7, 9, 10, 11 carry each an oenochoè in the right hand. Probably 8 did the same, but the right hand is now wanting. 12, 13, also 14, 15, carry between them the stand of an incense-burner, as is supposed. We have already discussed that point (p. 121). 16, 17 carry nothing; their hands hang by their sides as they approach the two officials, 18, 19, who are in converse, the one turning to the other. We may here again call attention to this long, serried line of girls, forming a dense mass of mainly vertical lines, yet with

many agreeable variations, produced by the gentle movement of a foot or in the costume itself. This close uniform mass of figures prepares us to expect as we go on at least a strong contrast of figures in open order. We see from the bearing of these young girls that something very solemn is near at hand. The official 19 is in the attitude of leaning on his staff, but the upper part of the staff is omitted in the marble; the lower part appears in front of his legs, which here are cast from a fragment in Athens.

Slab IV.—In the British Museum. The first four figures, 20-23, are officials like the two preceding, 18, 19. We have thus altogether six officials, broken up into three groups of two, each group turning in converse, and each consisting of a bearded man and a young man. From the silent march of the girls we here pass on to a scene of conversation. We leave the slight forms of the girls and arrive at robust manhood. From a general uniformity of movement and costume in the *Ergastinae* we get a rich variety of both in the men. Yet in these men there is no studied diversity of attitude or dress. The whole group is perfectly natural. The men are waiting for their duties to begin. Observe that the last figure of the group, 23, has his back turned to the deities beyond, unconscious of their presence.

The remainder of this slab consists of four seated deities, turned mainly in the direction of the advancing procession. The first, 24, is *Hermes*, identifiable by the cap or *petasos* on his left thigh, by his boots, though they are not winged as would be expected, and by his *chlamys* with its brooch. The next, 25, may be *Apollo*, leaning affectionately on the

shoulder of Hermes. 26 may be Artemis, the twin sister of Apollo, holding her torch in her left hand. Certainly these two figures, 25, 26, are closely interlaced, and this is hardly explicable except as indicating the twinship of Apollo and Artemis. 27 is generally accepted as Ares. The Ludovisi statue of Ares is in this same attitude, whatever the attitude may betoken. Crossing his left ankle is a band of some kind, but what it indicates is not clear. We have already accounted for the flat surface of the folds of the drapery in this slab (p. 111). The rich dress of Artemis forms a fine contrast to the nearly nude gods on each side of her.

Slab V.—In the British Museum. This immense slab contains not only the chief deities, but also, in the very centre, the head of the procession, 31–35. On the left we have Hera and Zeus, the former attended by her winged maid Iris, 28. The head of Iris is from a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens. Zeus holds his sceptre in his right, but leans his left arm back on his throne, while his consort Hera is surprised, pulling her veil aside. Iris shares in the surprise of her mistress, raising her left hand to her hair. Apparently we have here a slight conjugal scene. Possibly it is the new robe of Athenè which has awakened the jealousy of Hera. At the other extreme of the slab are Athenè, 36, and Hephaestos, 37. We have already discussed these figures in detail (pp. 89 and 103). In the centre, as we have said, is the head of the procession, consisting of a priest on the right receiving the peplos from a boy, on the left a priestess, 33, receiving stools brought to her by two girls (Diphrophori), the former of whom carries also in her left hand what appears to be a footstool.

Drill-holes in the marble show how the legs of the stools had been attached. The priest, 34, is a most dignified figure. The boy wears an ample himation, befitting a grand ceremony. The central group as a whole seems completely overpowered by the size and number of the deities on each side. Had the priest with his stately figure been placed in the centre of the group, this effect of isolation would have been less marked; but doubtless he was intentionally placed on one side to help out this sense of separation.

Slab VI.—38–40 from a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens. 38 is probably Poseidon, and 39 may or may not be Dionysos. Poseidon would have held a trident in his left hand; Dionysos a thyrsus in his left hand. 40 is a goddess associated with Aphroditè, behind whom she sits. Her head is preserved almost completely, and is a splendid example of the Athenian type of beauty in those days. In Carrey's drawing Aphroditè leans on the knee of this goddess. Aphroditè and Eros, 41, 42, are from a cast in the British Museum, obtained from a cast in the Louvre which had been made from this slab before it was broken up, previous to the time of Lord Elgin. The right foot of 40 is in the Museum of Palermo; a fragment of the knee of Eros is in Athens. From the same Paris cast come the head and legs of 43; the head and shoulders, the legs and right forearm of 44; the head, chest, and lower legs of 45; the whole of 46; the head, chest, right arm, and feet of 47; top of head, right forearm, and legs of 48. The remainder of this slab was brought home by Lord Elgin.

In Carrey's drawing (Pl. XVII., Fig. 3) Aphroditè is veiled, and thus corresponds to the Hera towards the other end.

She also has a winged attendant beside her, who holds her parasol. She leans her right arm on his shoulder and points out to him the advancing group of girls. The body of Eros is unsurpassed in the purity and simplicity of its forms. Had the parasol with its circular, concave surface, and the wings with their elliptical, concave surfaces, been complete, that would have been an additional charm.

43-46 form a close conversation group: in the centre an old man leaning on the shoulder of a young man; at each side an old man turning towards the central group. The old man, 43, with his back turned to Eros and the deities is unconscious of the presence of these immortals. On the right of this group is a young man who, with raised right arm, seems to be calling those before him to order. This is a noble figure. The next two, 48, 49, are turned away to meet the girls. Apparently they are both young men. 49 holds in both hands what appears to be a phialè. 52, the foremost of the officials, is already advanced among the Ergastinae. 49 and 52 are practically repeats, as also are the girls 50, 51 and 53, 54. Thus the group of officials on the right of the deities is widely different in detail from the corresponding group on the left.

Slab VII.—49-56 from a cast in the British Museum; the original in the Louvre. 49-54 have been described in connection with the last slab. We may add that the four Ergastinae who come first carry nothing; their hands fall by their sides. 55 carries a phialè, as may also have done 56, but her right hand is mostly broken off. She is turning round, and with her left hand has helped the next figure to carry the incense-burner.

Slab VIII.—In the British Museum. 57 carries before her an incense-burner on stand. 58, 59 carry oenochoae, 60, 61 phialae. The heads of 57, 59, 60 are restored by casts from fragments in Athens. On this side the Ergastinae are in very open order compared with those on the left extreme. 58 and 59 repeat each other, as do also 57 and 60.

Slab IX. (Pl. XVII., Fig. 5).—From Carrey. These two figures, 62, 63, appear also to have carried phialae. They are the last of the group of Ergastinae. At the angle behind them there is no marshal as at the opposite end of this frieze. The fragmentary head of a girl in our Pl. XVII., Fig. 3, must belong to one of these Ergastinae.

South Frieze.

Slab I.—1-3 from a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens, much damaged. The ends of the mantle of 3 flap behind the horse's mane of 2 with a curious but beautiful effect of contrast between the broad flat folds and formal lines of the mane. 4, in the British Museum, well preserved.

Slab II.—From a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens, much damaged.

Slab III.—In the British Museum. Behind 8 is the mouth of a horse. Stuart gives the rest of his head, his neck, and chest. In front of the right knee of 9 are drill-holes, such as are left in pointing sculpture. The inference is that this leg had originally been planned to fall in the ordinary manner, but for some reason, perhaps for variety, it had been bent in its present somewhat

ungainly manner. We have already noticed the deep cutting behind 8. The manes of the horses are fine, with pointed locks. On the right is the long, wavy tail of the horse on Slab IV.

Slab IV.—From a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens, except a fragment on extreme right, which is in the British Museum. This slab is given by Stuart as following upon Slab III., though the tail on that slab hardly suits the horse of this slab. On the left hand upper corner of Slab IV. is something which does not look like the forelock of the horse on III.

Slabs V.-VIII.—In the British Museum. Stuart adds a fragment of the head and chest of 12. All much damaged, except head of 13, turned round with animation, and 16, with his long neck and grave face, his chiton roughly rendered. The horses of 14 and 16 are decidedly small.

Slabs IX.-XIII.—In the British Museum. As we have already said, this cavalcade on the south frieze possesses comparatively few of the charms we have found in the cavalcade of the north frieze. IX., the upper part fairly well preserved, especially head of 25, which again is poor in type. The manes of the horses are merely blocked out, as in VIII. The dress of 24, 25 is extremely rough, most of all the chiton of 25. X. is on the level of the north frieze in point of style and execution, the heads of 26 and 28 quite so. XI., the head of 29 is turned round to the front, and this, with his cuirass and high boots, gives him an air of distinction. Mane of horse of 28 rough and straggling. XII., badly preserved, except head of 33, which is fine. XIII., both riders wear the cuirass and high boots. Head of 35

drilled for wreath, his horse very small and fiery, the head and chest modelled with exceptional fulness of detail.

Slab XIV.—From a cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens, much destroyed.

Slab XV.—In the British Museum, much injured.

Slabs XVI.-XVIII.—From casts in the British Museum; the originals in Athens. Ordinary work; note amount of space, which seems unnecessary, between 43 and 44.

Slab XIX.—In the British Museum, with fragment of cast from Athens in upper left-hand corner. The head of 48 in Athens is given by Michaelis. See also our Pl. XVI., Fig. 4. The tail of the horse is merely blocked out; and again we have an apparently unnecessary space in the middle of the slab.

Slab XX.—Lower part from cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens. The whole was drawn by Carrey. See XXa. on our Plate.

Slab XXI.—In the British Museum. Head of 52 and head of horse of 51 from cast of fragment in Athens.

Slab XXII.—In the British Museum. The tail of the horse is excessively rude, and the drapery of this slab is very poor. In the upper right-hand corner are casts of two fragments of horses' heads in Athens which Michaelis had assigned to XXIV.

Slab XXIII.—From Carrey, now lost.

Slab XXIV.—In the British Museum. The wheel of the chariot and the legs of the apobates are given along with Carrey's drawing of the preceding slab. Michaelis assigns to this slab a fragment in Athens (Pl. XVI., Fig. 2), but only on conjecture. At the lower right-hand corner is a cast

from a fragment in Athens which gives the legs of the horses of this slab and part of the wheel of the chariot on next slab (XXV.). This slab does not seem particularly fine, so far as it now exists. No drill-holes for reins nor any sign of the yoke pin.

Slab XXV.—In the British Museum, is one of the best of the chariot groups, and is characterised by extreme refinement in the execution as well as by poetic conception. The apobates stands quietly, but ready to mount the chariot, the guide stretches forth his arm vigorously to the charioteer, the horses not yet started, the dress of the guide filling up the space between their legs. These are all highly attractive features in this slab. The pins for the reins and yoke have been in metal, but are now lost.

Slabs XXVI., XXVII.—From Carrey, now lost. Two chariot groups. The fragment given in our Pl. XVI., Fig. 5, may be the upper left-hand corner of XXVI. This fragment is assigned to XXVII. by Michaelis. Mr. Arthur Smith suggests XXIV. of this frieze.

Slab XXVIII.—As given by Michaelis consists only of a fragment of an arm of an apobates with shield, which has been fitted to left-hand side of Slab XXIV. of the north frieze.

Slab XXIX.—In the British Museum. Not very good work. Cast of fragment in Athens at lower left-hand corner of slab. No drill-holes for reins nor any sign of the yoke pin.

Slab XXX.—In the British Museum. The most splendid of all the chariot groups. We have already (p. 118) discussed the deep cutting around the apobates and the play of light and shade around him, and the charioteer and the chariot.

Note also the fiery manes of the horses and extremely fine modelling of their heads, bodies, and legs. Drill-holes on the marble show where metal reins had been attached to the pin of the chariot.

Slab XXXI.—In the British Museum. Manes unfinished, much damaged. There are drill-holes for reins and pin of yoke.

Slabs XXXII.-XXXIV.—From Carrey, now lost. Two chariots overtaking group of men, of whom four are given in Slab XXXIV.

The fragment given in our Pl. XVI., Fig. 6, may belong to one of these four men. The original fragment is in Athens; a cast in the British Museum.

Slab XXXV.—In the British Museum. Part of the group of men (Thallophori) as in north frieze, continued from preceding slab and on next following.

Slab XXXVI.—From cast in the British Museum; the original in Athens. Part of group of men.

Slab XXXVII.—From Carrey. Group of citharists, as in north frieze. Presumably these citharists also had been preceded by flute players, water carriers, and tray bearers, none of which have been here preserved, except a fragment of a tray bearer inserted on Slab XLI., upper left-hand corner.

Slab XLI.—In the British Museum. From this point through the next five slabs the order of Michaelis has been changed, but we have found it advisable to retain his numbers. We have already discussed the different artistic qualities of XLI. and XL. (p. 108). Attached to the upper right-hand corner of this slab is a fragment which Michaelis had assigned to XLIII.

Slab XXXIX.—In the British Museum. A youth pulling at a cow with great energy, his left foot planted on a rock, which turns up in a handy manner, as not unfrequently on the Parthenon frieze. His right knee is very sharply bent. There is a fine combination of drapery and nude form in this figure, to say nothing of the vigour of his action.

Slab XL.—In the British Museum. This slab is notable among the others for its somewhat higher relief, its far greater finish, and the display of energy in the composition without any approach to loss of dignity.

Slabs XLII. and XXXVIII.—In the British Museum. The cows and their leaders move placidly along, so much so that the marshal, 121, has time to turn round to the front and put up both hands, to steady his wreath apparently. On the right of XLII. Michaelis gives head of 125 from fragment in Athens.

Slab XLIII.—In the British Museum. Consists only of two heads of boys and part of a cow. The head and shoulders of 126, which Michaelis assigns to this slab, has been fitted to XLI., as already noted. He gives also conjecturally a foot which may belong to this slab.

Slab XLIV.—In the British Museum. The last of the cows and the end of the south frieze. The group of nine cows in this part of the procession is solemn and impressive, notwithstanding its fragmentary state. The last figure of all is a marshal, as is also the first figure round the angle.



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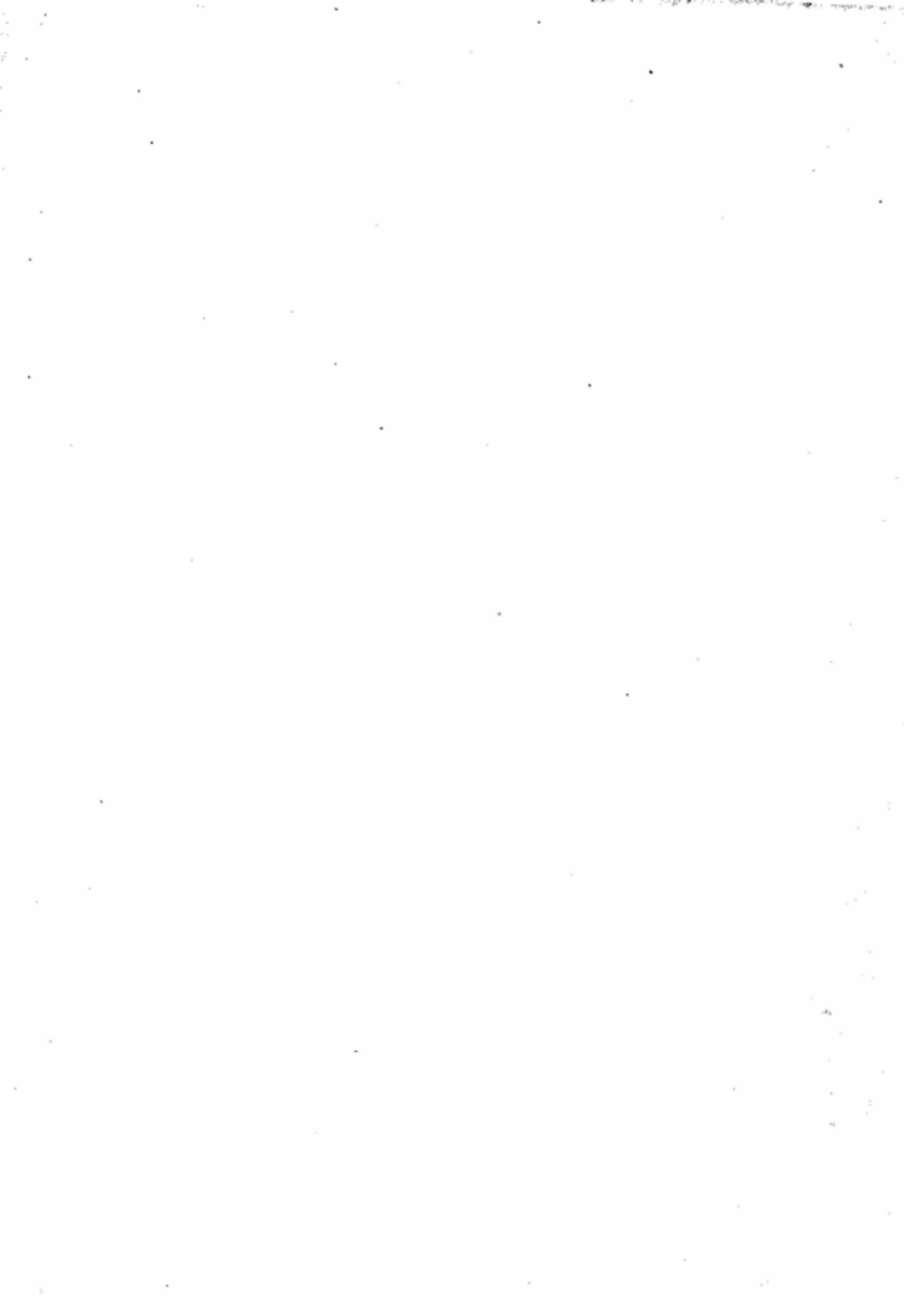
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