

# THE COMPOSITION OF THE AMAZONOMACHY ON THE SHIELD OF ATHENA PARTHENOS<sup>1</sup>

(PLATES 36-41)

ABOUT all the greatest artists some fairy tales are told. Of the Athenian sculptor Pheidias, the friend of Perikles, who made the cult statues for the Parthenon in Athens and the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, the story most often repeated by ancient

<sup>1</sup> The wish to honor Professor Dinsmoor with an article somehow concerning the Parthenon, which was the subject of his most inspiring teaching, has prompted me to publish here my reconstruction of the Amazonomachy on the shield of Athena, though the need for brevity in this context forces me to dispense with some of the apparatus which would make this study ideally convenient for the reader, such as a full bibliography of the question, a full list of testimonia, and a catalogue of the copies. Fortunately a monograph on the Peiraeus reliefs and the Parthenos shield by Volker Michael Strocka is now in press. Dr. Strocka, to whom I have communicated the main lines of my reconstruction, has kindly informed me that we seem to be in full agreement on the relative value of the copies and that differences between us will appear rather in the reconstruction. Since Dr. Strocka has had access to the fragments of Peiraeus reliefs in the storerooms, it is possible that some elements of my reconstruction will be invalidated by new evidence. Nevertheless, some usefulness may remain in this as in all previous studies of the shield, none of which has failed to contribute something genuinely worthwhile to our conception of this half-lost masterpiece.

I give here a brief list (with abbreviations used below) in chronological order of works which have made central contributions to the problem of the composition and are still to be consulted:

Conze: A. Conze, "Der Schild der Athena Parthenos des Phidias," *Arch. Zeit.*, XXIII, 1865, cols. 33-48, pls. 196-197.

Smith: Cecil Smith, "A New Copy of the Athena Parthenos," *B.S.A.*, III, 1896-7, pp. 121-148 (shield pp. 138-142).

Schrader: H. Schrader, "Zu den Kopien nach dem Schildrelief der Athena Parthenos," *Corolla Ludw. Curtius*, Stuttgart, 1937, pp. 81-88.

Ras: Suzanne Ras, "L'Amazonomachie du bouclier de l'Athéna Parthénos," *B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-45, pp. 163-205.

Brommer, *M.W.P.*: F. Brommer, "Zu den Schildreliefs der Athena Parthenos des Phidias," *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm*, 1948, pp. 10-19.

Stavropoulos: Ph. Stavropoulos, *Ἡ Ἀσπίς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Παρθένου τοῦ Φειδίου*, Athens, 1950.

Möbius: H. Möbius, review of Stavropoulos, *Gnomon*, 1951, pp. 266-272.

Brommer, *Athena Parthenos*: F. Brommer, *Athena Parthenos* (Opus Nobile, 2), Bremen, 1957.

Leipen: N. Leipen, *Phoenix*, XVII, 1963, pp. 119-122.

Jeppesen: K. Jeppesen, "Bild und Mythos an dem Parthenon," *Acta Archaeologica*, XXXIV, 1963, pp. 2-23.

Schlörb: Barbara Schlörb, "Beiträge zur Schildamazonomachie der Athena Parthenos," *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXVIII, 1963, pp. 156-172.

The reconstruction offered here was first presented in a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the College Art Association of America in 1961. A few details on the left side of the shield (position of the Amazon Fallen Headfirst, interpretation of the Lenormant helper group) have been changed since then, but the main lines of the argument have remained the same. I have profited very much from discussions with colleagues, especially Dietrich von Bothmer, Erika Simon, Dorothy Burr Thompson, Neda Leipen and Barbara Schlörb.

writers is the one most impossible to believe. It is that when Pheidias made the Athena Parthenos, he put his own portrait in the center of her shield, with a hidden mechanism so devised that if the portrait were removed the whole statue would come apart.<sup>2</sup> This tale is found first and most fully in the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *περὶ κόσμου* which may have been composed in the first century after Christ. The author compares the working of God in the universe to that of the keystones of vaults, which hold the whole structure together. "And indeed they say," he goes on to relate, "that when Pheidias made the Athena on the Acropolis he wrought his own portrait in the middle of her shield, and linked it to the statue by some invisible device so that of necessity if anyone tried to remove it the whole statue would come apart and collapse."<sup>3</sup>

Cicero also mentions, though in two different passages, the fact that there was a portrait of Pheidias on the shield and the idea that the composition of the shield might be dissolved into its separate elements. In the first he says that desire for fame after death caused Pheidias to include a portrait of himself in the shield of the goddess since it was forbidden to sign.<sup>4</sup> In the second, by way of illustration for a discussion of prose style, he comments that if one were to take apart the shield of Pheidias he would destroy the beauty of the composition but not the charm of the several pieces.<sup>5</sup> Either of these references might be construed as meaning that the story of the hidden mechanism was already known to Cicero, though neither says so specifically.

The notion that by removing a key piece one could make the Athena come apart probably arose from the perfectly historical fact that the gold on the statue could be removed.<sup>6</sup> This we know from Thucydides, who expressly states that the great chryselephantine statue was part of the gold reserve of Athens, and that the gold could be taken off in an emergency, provided always that it was put back.<sup>7</sup> Just how the story of the marvellous mechanism had developed out of this by the late Hellenistic period we still do not know. There is no hint in any of the references belonging to the "wonder" tradition that Pheidias' inclusion of his own portrait was an impiety,<sup>8</sup> and

<sup>2</sup> The passages are collected in Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, nos. 669-672. No. 672, Ampelius, *Liber Memorialis*, 8, mentions instead of a portrait of Pheidias a portrait of Daedalus: "in quo clipeo medio Daedali est imago," but in other respects his story is the same.

<sup>3</sup> 399 b. "Ἔοικε δὲ ὄντως, εἰ καὶ μικρότερον παραβαλεῖν, τοῖς ὀμφαλοῖς λεγομένοις τοῖς ἐν ταῖς φαλίαις <λίθοις>, οἱ μέσοι κείμενοι κατὰ τὴν εἰς ἑκάτερον μέρος ἔνδεσιν ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ τηροῦσι καὶ ἐν τάξει τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα τῆς φαλίδος καὶ ἀκίνητον. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀγαματοποιὸν Φειδίαν κατασκευάζοντα τὴν ἐν ἀκροπόλει Ἀθηνᾶν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ταύτης ἄσπιδι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πρόσωπον ἐντυπώσασθαι, καὶ συνδῆσαι τῷ ἀγάλματι διὰ τινος ἀφανοῦς δημιουργίας. ὥστε ἐξ ἀνάγκης, εἴ τις βούλοιο αὐτὸ περιαιρεῖν, τὸ σῆμα ἄγαλμα λυεῖν τε καὶ συγχεῖν."

<sup>4</sup> Cicero, *Tuscul.*, I, 15, 34. "Sed quid poetas? opifices post mortem nobilitari volunt. Quid enim Phidias sui similem speciem inclusit in clipeo Minervae, cum inscribere non liceret?"

<sup>5</sup> *Orator*, 71, 234.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Lippold, *R.E.*, XIX, 2 (1938), col. 1928, *s.v.* Phidias.

<sup>7</sup> Thucydides, II, 13.

<sup>8</sup> J. E. King, Loeb Classical Library, translates Cicero, "Why else did Phidias insert his own likeness on the shield of Minerva in spite of having no right to do so?" but this distorts the natural sense of *inscribere*, which occurs again in the very next line with its more usual meaning. It would appear

there is no mention of a portrait of Perikles. The portrait of Pheidias is pictured as in the "middle" of the shield, which seems to preclude a knowledge of the shield's actual appearance. The whole story seems divorced from history to such an extent that it is hardly startling to find the name of Daedalus substituted by Ampelius for that of Pheidias. The marvellous contrivance is akin to those that Daedalus himself is supposed to have made.

The historical tradition runs along different lines. A contemporary of Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, tells the story of the accusation of Pheidias for embezzlement in connection with the making of the statue. At the same time he mentions the accusation of Anaxagoras for impiety but he does not speak of any such charges against Pheidias, and he makes no mention of a portrait on the shield. He does not specify the material that was supposed to have been involved in the embezzlement, and he does not say what became of Pheidias in the end.<sup>9</sup>

Both the removability of the gold and the portrait on the shield figure in Plutarch's account of the trial and death of Pheidias.<sup>10</sup> He tells us that the enemies of Perikles brought Pheidias to trial on a charge of embezzling but that the charge could not be proven, since the gold could be taken off and weighed, and this is what Perikles ordered the accusers to do. But even though nothing could be proven, the people's jealous hatred of Pheidias was such that he was committed to prison, where he died, either of illness or, as some say, of poison. As causes of this envy Plutarch cites the fame of his works and "especially the fact that when he made the battle of the Amazons on the shield of the goddess, he modelled a figure of himself as a bald old man lifting a stone with both hands, and he put in a very fine portrait of Perikles fighting with an Amazon. And the position of the arm holding up a spear in front of the face of Perikles is cleverly contrived as if to conceal the likeness, which appears to either side." Plutarch seems to mention the portraits as a cause of popular dislike leading to the condemnation of Pheidias on the original charge rather than as a separate accusation, for he goes on to say that Menon, the original informer, was rewarded

that Cicero did not know about the stele (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 13, 9) on which the name of Pheidias was recorded. There is no reason to think that there was any prohibition against a signature on the cult statue (cf. Pausanias, V, 10, 2) but Cicero was doubtless more familiar with the orator's commonplaces about generals not being allowed to have their names inscribed on public monuments (Aeschines, III, Ktesiphon, 183, 186) than with the practice of sculptors' signatures on cult statues. Aeschines says that Miltiades asked to have his name inscribed in the Marathon painting in the Poikile and was refused but was allowed to be portrayed in the front rank. Both this parallel and the series of other instances in which Cicero's mention of Pheidias is imbedded are against the idea that he regarded the portrait as an impiety. The statement that Pheidias was actually accused of impiety by the Athenians is sometimes made by modern writers (e.g. G.M.A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, London, 1965, p. 150), but no ancient text says so.

<sup>9</sup> Diod. Sicul., XII, 39. The account of Diodoros is based on that of Ephoros, and Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, III B, Supplement, p. 487, infers that what is omitted by Diodoros was also omitted by Ephoros.

<sup>10</sup> *Pericles*, 31, 2-5.

by the state on the motion of Glykon. With the large Athenian juries voting by secret ballot, unpopularity might easily outweigh the lack of evidence against a man.

It is Plutarch's contemporary, Dio Chrysostom, who gives us the one other ancient reference to the *two* portraits, together with the implication that the Demos disapproved. Speaking of the owl, he says "and indeed it was honored by the art of Pheidias, who did not count the owl unworthy to be dedicated together with the goddess, the Demos approving; but Perikles and himself he depicted secretly (*λαθῶν ἐποίησεν*), as they say, on the shield."<sup>11</sup>

This owl is one of the more awkward elements in the tradition about the Athena Parthenos. It does not appear in any of the copies or certain reflections of the statue that have come down to us, and attempts to incorporate it in the ensemble have not met with success.<sup>12</sup> The portraits are a different matter, for the two figures which Plutarch mentions can be identified from his description in copies of the shield, but here again there is a divergence of the tradition, and if we want to know just what these figures mean, we shall have to evaluate the archaeological evidence of the copies as critically as others have evaluated the written sources.

There is one part of Plutarch's testimony which both historical criticism and archaeology have declared unbelievable. This is his story that Pheidias died in prison in Athens soon after his trial. The spectacular results of the recent German excavations in and around the workshop of Pheidias at Olympia have shown not only that the Zeus was made after the Athena Parthenos but that the building of the workshop was not begun before the 430's. The actual work on the statue must have extended well down into the 420's.<sup>13</sup> This tends to confirm the conclusion reached by Jacoby from an analysis of the historical tradition that the scholion to Aristophanes, *Peace*, 605, which quotes Philochoros on the dedication of the Athena and the trial of Pheidias preserves a more accurate account than Plutarch.<sup>14</sup> According to this, Philochoros

<sup>11</sup> XII,6e.

<sup>12</sup> Langlotz, *Phidiasprobleme*, pp. 74-76, has suggested that the owl belonged to the Promachos rather than to the Parthenos.

<sup>13</sup> Mallwitz and Schiering, *Olympische Forschungen*, V, *Die Werkstatt des Pheidias in Olympia*, I, 1964, especially the summaries, pp. 102-103 and 272-277.

<sup>14</sup> Jacoby, III B, Supplement, pp. 484-496, commentary on 328, Philochoros, F 121. This remains the most thorough, readable and persuasive account of the literary tradition in recent years. The review by H. Bloch, *Gnomon*, 1959, pp. 495-499, summarizes Jacoby's main points and defends his conclusions against O. Lendle's attempt (*Hermes*, LXXXIII, 1955, pp. 284-303) to maintain that Philochoros dated the trial in 432/1. Bloch demurs, however, at Jacoby's acceptance of the condemnation in Elis, preferring to take it, as other scholars have done, as a doublet of the Athenian story. The discoveries at Olympia have terminated a phase of modern scholarship on the Pheidian question during which anyone might say, as Jacoby does (*op. cit.*, p. 491), "the true 'question' concerning Pheidias, of course, does not consist in the discussion whether his condemnation in Athens took place in 438/7 B.C. or between 438/7 and 434/3 (or even as late as 432/1); the main point is whether he worked in Elis before or after he worked in Athens (to put it crudely at first)." Now that this first question is removed we can see a considerable importance for the history of art

recorded under the year 438/7 B.C. that the statue was dedicated and that Pheidias was thought to have embezzled in connection with the ivory for the scales of the snake and was condemned. He was said to have escaped to Elis where he made the statue of Zeus in Olympia and when it was finished to have been put to death by the Eleans in 432/1 B.C.

The question of what actually happened in Elis after the statue of Zeus was finished is the hardest to document of all the questions we have about Pheidias and may have been so even in the 4th century. There is no record of any work of his that needs for stylistic or historical reasons to be later than the Zeus, and by the late 420's he would certainly have been old enough to die naturally, but a death under scandalous or ambiguous circumstances also seems perfectly possible for a man whose career had been so controversial. A memory that there had been something of the kind connected with his death might have developed into the account that Plutarch gives us, with the locale transferred to Athens. Jacoby suggests that it grew up in the works of the Hellenistic biographers, just as they invented or embroidered stories about Anaxagoras to fill the gap left by the earlier historical tradition.<sup>15</sup>

Plutarch is already beginning to diverge from the simply believable facts when he says "embezzlement could not be proved, for the gold from the very start had been so fashioned and laid on to the statue by Pheidias on the advice of Perikles that it could all be taken off and weighed." This implies (a) that the main purpose of making the gold removable was to make it possible to check its weight, and (b) that there was no gold or other valuable material in the statue that might have been the object of embezzlement and could not be checked by weighing. Against (a) we know from Thucydides that the purpose of making the gold removable was to enable it to be used as a treasury reserve, not primarily to circumvent theft, and against (b) we know from the inventories that the gorgoneion of the shield was made of gilded silver.<sup>16</sup> When we consider the practical aspects of constructing the statue and the problem of

in a more precise dating of the trial. We should like to *know*, for example, whether Pheidias was still present in Athens while the pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon were being carved. The sculptures themselves seem to suggest that he was, but this is a conjectural argument and so are most of the historical arguments that have been brought into play. A date around 434/3 would be satisfactory from several points of view. The opposition to Perikles was becoming strong by then, the pedimental sculptures were well along, and if the opening lines of the second Kallias decree (Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, p. 47, D 2, lines 2-3) are correctly restored, we have provision for the completion of the pedimental sculptures in a decree which specifies very narrowly the way in which sacred monies may be used. This is the kind of thing one might expect to follow the uproar over Pheidias' handling of the accounts. The dating of the Kallias decrees to 434/3 is the most generally accepted, though Dinsmoor (*A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, pp. 127-138) continues to prefer 438/7 precisely because there is something strange on the face of it in authorizing the construction of the Propylaia and the carving of the Parthenon pedimental sculpture several years after both jobs are known to have begun.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 487.

<sup>16</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1388, lines 52-53 (Koehler, *Ath. Mitt.*, V, 1880, p. 96).

replacing the gold if it were borrowed, it seems altogether likely that the removable plates of gold belonged largely to the drapery and hair of the main statue and the Nike, the wings of the Nike, and the surface of the support. The whole shield as well as its gorgoneion was probably of gilded silver (quite possibly lined with ivory on the inside to serve as a background for the painting), and the elaborate helmet with its crest-holding figures and its frontlet of protomes must have been of the same less malleable material. This may well also have been true of the snake, since we can infer that it had both gold and ivory in its scales (presumably gold on the back and ivory for the plate-like under-scales). If the precious materials in the snake were permanently applied and inlaid, it would be understandably a good target for accusations, since these materials could not be separated for weighing.

Our knowledge of the facts connected with the accusation is far too meager to allow us to assert as Jacoby does that it was *unrelated* to the political opposition to Perikles.<sup>17</sup> The total absence of political motive in any public affair would be altogether a strange occurrence in Greek life. On the other hand, its presence says nothing about the truth or falsity of the accusation. The idea that the charge was false, the great man wronged by his ungrateful countrymen, as Plutarch presents it, has a natural permanent popular appeal, just as has the notion of large sums of gold. The ivory and the proven guilt thus count as the *lectio difficilior*, and so, other things being equal, are more likely to be true.

Along with the taste for biographies of famous men goes the wish to have their portraits. The base for a lost herm portrait of Pheidias, now in the Vatican,<sup>18</sup> was found in Tivoli together with statues of Muses and a great many other herms, including two of Perikles, as well as various other orators, philosophers and poets. Among them are some of the Seven Wise Men. They are not a stylistically uniform group, but none seems to be earlier than the time of Hadrian, and Lippold suggests that they came originally from Hadrian's Villa.<sup>19</sup> Pheidias is the only ancient artist of whom such a portrait is known. That suggests that the herm of Pheidias, like some of the stories told about him, owes its existence to the biographical tradition and specifically to his connections with Perikles. Vagn Poulsen has tentatively identified a head in Copenhagen as a portrait of Pheidias created around 300 B.C.,<sup>20</sup> but the grounds for this are tenuous and the character of the head is against its being an invented portrait of a dramatic personality.<sup>21</sup> His attempt merely serves to illustrate how strongly this same desire to look upon the great man's features still operates in modern times.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 490 and note 22.

<sup>18</sup> Lippold, *Vatikan Katalog*, III, 1, p. 90, pl. 26; Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 150, no. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Lippold, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

<sup>20</sup> Poulsen, *Les Portraits Grecs*, Copenhagen, 1954, pp. 54-55, no. 26, pl. 18; *Fidias og den klassiske Kunst*, Copenhagen, 1960, pp. 128-132; Richter, *op. cit.*, figs. 850-851.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

When we look at the actual copies of the shield that have come down to us, we find that the natural human interest in the friendship of Pheidias and Perikles has operated here too in our own day to give preference to the version which appears to express this relationship. A divergence of the tradition is already apparent on the first two copies of the shield to come to light. In 1859 Lenormant identified an unfinished statuette found in Athens as a copy of the Athena Parthenos.<sup>22</sup> On her shield (Pl. 36, a), small and roughly carved, are figures of Greeks and Amazons in battle. A Gorgon's head occupies the center of the shield and just above it is the figure of a man lifting up a stone with both hands. One cannot see whether or not he is bald, since the work is unfinished. There is no figure here with his arm across his face. On the Strangford copy of the shield (Pl. 37, a),<sup>23</sup> acquired from Athens in the 1830's and now in the British Museum, we recognize Plutarch's Perikles with his arm across his face. Next to him is a bald old man who corresponds in pose, though not in dress, with the stone-thrower of the Lenormant shield.<sup>24</sup> Though the artist has here shown him with an axe instead of a stone, few scholars have hesitated to identify these two unusual figures with Plutarch's pair.<sup>25</sup> Once they are so identified, it appears that the figure to the right of the old man with the stone on the Lenormant shield corresponds well enough with the Strangford "Perikles" to suggest that he is the same figure. We seem to have the two figures paired by the copyists but copied in different places on the shield. Plutarch does not help us to decide which is right. Not only does he not say whether the two figures were at the top or the bottom of the shield; he does not even say that they were together.

They are *not* together on the copy of the shield that belongs to a statue of Athena found in Patras (Pl. 36, b).<sup>26</sup> Here, though the so-called Perikles appears above the

<sup>22</sup> Full recent publication by Schuchhardt, *Antike Plastik*, II, pp. 46-53, pls. 33-37, with the main bibliography.

<sup>23</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture*, I, no. 302. Obtained by Viscount Strangford from Athens. First published by Conze (note 1).

<sup>24</sup> Conze, cols. 41-42, seems to have taken the round blob in the field to the right of the old man on the Lenormant shield for a flying chlamys such as we see on the Strangford but this is not possible. Also the stone-thrower is certainly wearing a chiton. It *looks* as though he had a cuirass as well, though Schuchhardt may be right that the folds do not represent pteryges. There are no folds above the waist, and only a cuirass would fit so tightly above and fall loose below. Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 50 leaves it uncertain whether the figure wore an exomis.

<sup>25</sup> An exception is Jeppesen. He does not see the man with the axe on the Strangford shield as certainly bald (p. 19). To this one can only say that the baldness is visible, whether he sees it or not. Conze's description, col. 37, is perfectly accurate. Also Jeppesen identifies the Greek Archer with Chlamys as "Perikles" and makes the Strangford "Perikles" an Amazon (see below, Nos. 2 and 12).

<sup>26</sup> First fully published by Stavropoulos (note 1), though subsequent treatments have all had better reproduction of the photographs. The small piece had been known since 1895 and published by Cecil Smith (note 1). Though the larger piece was given to the Patras Museum in 1937, the delay in its publication prevented it from having as much influence as it should have had on the two

supine figure at the bottom of the shield, the Pheidias is not with him. Instead, we have a man with a shield and a pilos, who also appears at the bottom of the Lenormant copy.

But on the Patras shield we have for the first time in one of these small-scale copies something that looks like a credible Attic composition of the 5th century B.C. The Lenormant has too few figures really to show the composition, while on the Strangford the uneven overlapping of figures<sup>27</sup> and the confused handling of space seem anything but classical. As Cecil Smith said in 1896, "There is a confused tangle of legs which can hardly have existed in the original."<sup>28</sup> On the Patras shield the figures move freely, without overlapping except in the case of actual groups, such as the young Greek lifting his wounded companion, and the space in which they move is a unified Polygnotan picture-space.<sup>29</sup> Figures with a higher ground-line are thought of as both uphill from and farther back than those which are placed at a lower level.<sup>30</sup> The uphill motion is made clear by the positions of the legs, the recession in space by occasional back views that imply a motion away from the spectator.

This impression of the reliability of the Patras copy is strengthened by the Peiraeus reliefs. The existence of full-scale copies of single and paired figures from the Amazonomachy was first recognized by Schrader,<sup>31</sup> after a group of Neo-Attic

useful studies made in the 1940's. Ras had at her disposal only a small photograph sent to her by Meliades, and Brommer, *M.W.P.*, had neither a photograph nor a copy of Ras' article at his disposal. When he reworked his reconstruction in *Athena Parthenos*, he incorporated the evidence of the Patras shield but gave it less weight than he might have done had he known it from the beginning of his study. Since then its influence has gradually increased. Jeppesen, p. 9, fig. 3 (our Pl. 39, d) is the first published reconstruction to give it full value.

<sup>27</sup> Though the composition is very crowded in places, there are wide blank areas on the left side.

<sup>28</sup> P. 139.

<sup>29</sup> Conze, col. 36, recognizes the unity and the Polygnotan character of the space even on the Strangford and the Lenormant shields where it is less consistently present than in the Patras. The more vertical position of the figures and the direction of movement, especially in the Strangford, tends to negate the element of recession in favor of rising. That is, the terrain becomes steeper in the mind's eye until it is in fact impossibly steep; one can no longer imagine it perspectively and the composition approaches that characteristic of Roman reliefs, in which the uppermost elements in the picture seem to be on the same plane as the lowest. When we try to visualize the original we must remember not only its great size and its position above the eye-level of the viewer, but also that the shield leaned inward toward the hand of Athena, so that there was a slight actual recession of all the figures from bottom to top.

<sup>30</sup> There is an ambiguity in the composition which corresponds perfectly to what Martin Robertson notes in early classical vase-painting: "'The recession of steeply rising broken ground'; how much is recession and how much rising? for the vase-picture there is no answer." (*Greek Painting*, Skira, Geneva, 1959, p. 128). The one thing which is not possible is that a figure which is definitely shown by overlapping to be behind another figure should be placed at a lower level in the picture. Schlörb violates this rule in her reconstruction (Pl. 39, c) when she places the Pilo-Wearer of the Patras shield both behind and below the "Pheidias" and "Perikles" of the Strangford.

<sup>31</sup> Note 1.

relief panels which included many such copies was brought up from the bottom of the main harbor of the Peiraeus. The bulk of these reliefs came to light during dredging operations in the winter of 1930-31, though two pieces were found earlier and smuggled out (one is now in Berlin<sup>32</sup> and one in Chicago<sup>33</sup>). By comparison with these it was also possible to identify as similar Neo-Attic copies the so-called "Capaneus" in the Villa Albani<sup>34</sup> and the relief in the Lateran (Pl. 40, a) traditionally called "Orestes and Pylades."<sup>35</sup>

In every case where figures appear both on the Strangford and on the Patras shields as well as in the Neo-Attic reliefs, the figures of the Patras shield are closer to those of the full-scale copies than are those of the Strangford. For example, the Amazon Retreating Uphill, No. 9,<sup>36</sup> is shown in front view on the Strangford shield, but is unmistakably backview on both the Patras shield and the Peiraeus relief (where the left hand suffices to indicate this, though the rest of the figure is corroded). In the case of the Backview Amazon with Spear, No. 11, the correspondance is again closer between the Patras shield and the Peiraeus reliefs than between these reliefs and the Strangford, though here the Strangford copy retains the back view. For the so-called "Todessprung" group, Nos. 4-5,<sup>37</sup> the position of the Amazon's legs on the Patras shield is confirmed not only by the Peiraeus reliefs but also by the fragment of a small terracotta shield from the Agora (Pl. 37, b).<sup>38</sup> The two Peiraeus reliefs themselves disagree as to the position of the attacker's left hand. In one he simply grasps the Amazon's hand, in the other he seizes her long hair and she strives to free herself. The Patras shield shows the former motive; the Agora fragment as well as the Strangford and Lenormant shields have the latter. As the hair-pulling is an authentic classical motive particularly frequent in this period, it seems likely that it is the original one here. The copyist of the Patras shield will have abandoned it in order to spread his figures a little more widely, since he was making them at a slightly larger scale relative to the diameter of the shield than they had in the original.

It is doubtless to this enlarged relative size of the figures that we owe the one

<sup>32</sup> Schrader, pl. 19, 2; Blümel, *Katalog*, V, K 252, pls. 73-74; Stavropoulos, fig. 27; Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci* (hereafter Becatti), figs. 203, 205. See below, No. 22.

<sup>33</sup> This is already pictured in *International Studio*, LXXXIV, June, 1926, p. 33. Published *Bull. Art Inst. Chicago*, XXIII, 1929, pp. 102 ff., Schrader, pl. 20, 2; Fraser, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 449, fig. 2; Stavropoulos, fig. 24; Becatti, fig. 202; Von Bothmer, *Amazons* (hereafter Von Bothmer), pl. LXXXVII, 7; Hafner, *Jahrb.*, LXXI, 1956, p. 7, figs. 4-5 (good details of head).

<sup>34</sup> Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 607, left; Stavropoulos, fig. 29; Becatti, fig. 201; Hafner, *op. cit.*, p. 5, fig. 2.

<sup>35</sup> Helbig<sup>4</sup>, no. 1140.

<sup>36</sup> Stavropoulos, fig. 14; Becatti, fig. 326.

<sup>37</sup> Schrader, p. 82, pl. 17, 1; Langlotz, *Phidiasprobleme*, pp. 41-42, pl. 13; Stavropoulos, figs. 1 and 1a, 2, 2a, 2β; Becatti, figs. 195-196, 309-312, 315; Von Bothmer, pl. 87, 4; Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, 1959, pl. 34 a and b.

<sup>38</sup> Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 106-108, fig. 2, pl. 22, d; Grandjouan, *Athenian Agora*, VI, *Terracottas and Plastic Lamps of the Roman Period*, p. 84, no. 1115, fig. 7, pl. 32.

important discrepancy between the Patras shield and the Peiraeus reliefs. The latter show in two copies (again differing from one another in their representation of the actual contact of the combatants) a youthful archer wearing a chlamys who is shooting at the Backview Amazon with Spear.<sup>39</sup> On the Patras shield this Amazon appears to have no opponent, but a gap filled only by a pelta lying loose in the field intervenes between her and the next figure. The copyist must have found the space too small to insert the figure of the archer here as the Amazon's opponent.

When we reconstruct the right side of the shield with the Greek Archer in Chlamys in his proper place, we have four figures (10-13) in a kind of rhombic round that mediates perfectly between the sweeping attack up the side of the shield and the defensive group at the top.

The old man with the stone surely belongs where the Lenormant shield has placed him, at the center top, where he forms in very fact the keystone of the compositional arch. It is from the top, not the bottom of the hill that one would throw stones in a battle. When we place the figure of the old man next to the so-called "Capaneus," the two pieces fit perfectly, not overlapping as the divergent Perikles and Pheidias figures on the Strangford shield, but with the projections of each contour matching the indentations of the other. The Seated Amazon, No. 17, of the Patras shield and a Peiraeus relief,<sup>40</sup> fits in below his feet. It is not at her that he is throwing the stone, however, but at an Amazon who charges uphill from the left. Schrader recognized the climbing Amazon of the splendid relief in Copenhagen (Pl. 41, a)<sup>41</sup> as a figure who also appears on the Vatican fragment (Pl. 37, d) of a copy of the shield as well as on the Strangford shield.

Her opponent has been restored by Brommer (Pl. 39, a) and Schlörb (Pl. 39, c) as a youthful figure heraldically facing across the top of the Gorgoneion, but Jeppesen is surely right in identifying him with the stone-thrower. In the Copenhagen relief, the strong modelling of the muscular thighs and knees shows that this is a mature man, not a youth, and the tension of these muscles makes it easy to believe that he is lifting a heavy weapon. But it is the chlamys that proves the identification. The cloak does not show between the legs behind the figure as the chlamys normally would if thrown back over the shoulders to free the arms for action. We have that motive well shown in the youth of the Hair-Puller group. Here the position of cloak by the side of the figure shows that like the old man's chlamys on the Strangford shield it hangs in front of the shoulders. Obviously it slipped forward into this position when he leaned over to pick up the stone. In the Gigantomachy on a krater in

<sup>39</sup> Stavropoulos, figs. 5 and 5a; 6 and 6a (other fragments of the youth figs. 6β, 7, 8); Becatti, figs. 314, 316, 318, 331 (other fragments figs. 317, 319, 320, 332); Von Bothmer, pl. 87, 5.

<sup>40</sup> Stavropoulos, fig. 10; Becatti, fig. 313; Von Bothmer, pl. 87, 6.

<sup>41</sup> Schrader, pls. 18, 2, 21; Becatti, fig. 198; Von Bothmer, pl. 87, 9. For a drawing by Ingres of the male figure made while the relief was in Rome, see *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, III, pp. 313-316.

Naples<sup>42</sup> that reflects the painting on the inside of the Parthenos shield, a giant is shown picking up a stone, and the spotted skin that he wears instead of a cloak has slipped forward in just the same way.

We may conclude, therefore, that the Neo-Attic relief, like that which shows the Greek Archer in Chlamys and the Backview Amazon with Spear, has grouped opponents who originally confronted each other at a steeper angle than the oblong frame could accommodate. It is tantalizing that though this group is represented also in a Peiraeus copy which preserves the legs of the male figure, no fragment of the upper part has been identified. One wonders whether the substitution of the axe for the stone which we have on the Strangford shield was first invented by these copyists who had to reduce the difference of level between the opponents.

The Vatican fragment (Pl. 37, d), which is the only surviving copy of the upper left quadrant of the shield,<sup>43</sup> shows figures overlapping in a way that we are now persuaded was foreign to the original, but this seems to result simply from the relative enlargement of the figures. Their grouping appears to be authentic. Above the Amazon Charging Uphill whom we have identified on the Copenhagen relief as the opponent of the old man with the stone, there appears a bent, greaved knee. This should belong to a Greek in hoplite armor. Such a person in armor and with bent knee appears in only one other instance on our preserved documents. It is the kneeling figure in front of the old man on the Strangford shield. This figure has been taken as an Amazon simply because the old man seems to be attacking it. But there is a curious lack of consequence in this attack. Alone of all the victims on the shield, this kneeling person in armor shows no awareness of danger and makes no move to ward it off.<sup>44</sup> Even if we had not already seen reason to believe that the figure of the old man is moved from its original position, where he had another, more active opponent, we would sense something wrong with this Strangford group. Since neither the Patras nor the Agora shield shows any trace of the old man or the kneeling hoplite adjacent to the supine figure at the bottom of the shield, it is reasonable to conclude that the Strangford shield has taken them from elsewhere. The Vatican shield gives the answer: the hoplite is a Greek, not an Amazon, and he kneels beside the old man at the top of the shield, a pendant to the kneeling "Capaneus."

That he was not quite so helpless as he appears on the Strangford shield is also suggested by the Vatican fragment. Below him toward the outside an Amazon descends with a twisting motion. It has been guessed that she is wounded and about to fall.<sup>45</sup> The blow must have been inflicted from above, for she still holds up her shield

<sup>42</sup> *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1338 (related to Pronomos Painter); Von Salis, *Jahrb.*, LV, 1940, p. 99, fig. 8; Becatti, fig. 212.

<sup>43</sup> Helbig<sup>4</sup>, no. 357; Museo Chiaramonti, 300; Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, I, pl. 54; Schrader, pl. 19, 1; Stavropoulos, fig. 22; Becatti, fig. 193.

<sup>44</sup> Schlörb in her restoration (Pl. 39, c) gives the figure a shield.

<sup>45</sup> Ras, p. 176.

as if to defend herself from that quarter. An attack by the Amazons that has nearly reached the top of the hill has just been thrown back. Below her another Amazon falls back in a half-sitting position, her shield arm flung above her head. At the lower edge of the fragment we have the upper part of an Amazon vigorously wielding an axe. Just the top of the head and the round shield of her opponent are preserved above the break. Schrader convincingly identified this shield-carrier as the youthful Greek of the Berlin and Giustiniani reliefs.<sup>46</sup> The Amazon unfortunately has not yet been found in a full-scale copy. The lower part of the same Amazon does appear, however, on the fragment in the Conservatori (Pl. 37, e).<sup>47</sup> This adds two groups, a Greek who attacks a fallen Amazon with an axe and one who is finishing off his opponent with a knife-stab in the back.

There is one figure that does not appear either on the Vatican or on the Conservatori fragment and yet must have belonged to the shield. This is an Amazon who has fallen head-down. On the Strangford and Lenormant shields she gives the impression of plummeting through space, but this would be contrary to the perspective of the rest of the shield, and even on the Strangford copy her legs are bent back under her.<sup>48</sup> A fragment in the Peiraeus with a wonderful wealth of hanging hair<sup>49</sup> could not have belonged to a vertically falling figure, for it would not have fitted into the oblong slab. A male figure on a red-figured krater in Taranto<sup>50</sup> presents a striking parallel, even to the hair. He is not falling but fallen, head-down on the rocks. In this position the Amazon fits best next to the aegis in the lower half of the shield. Her relationship to the warrior in the pilos is then more or less the same as on the Lenormant shield.

Since these figures when drawn at the scale of the Peiraeus reliefs exactly fill the shield at the size that has been calculated for it from the statuettes and the overall height of the original statue,<sup>51</sup> it appears that no figure which was on the original shield is wholly missing from our copies. Neither has any figure been wholly invented

<sup>46</sup> Schrader, p. 85.

<sup>47</sup> Mustilli, *Museo Mussolini*, pl. 71, nos. 278-279. Stavropoulos, fig. 25; Becatti, fig. 194.

<sup>48</sup> This pose for a fallen figure has a long history. Cf. the fragment of a Ramessid battle-relief in New York, Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II, p. 340, fig. 214, and contrast the plummeting figure of the siege fresco from Mycenae, Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, pl. 31.

<sup>49</sup> Stavropoulos, fig. 17; Becatti, fig. 323; Von Bothmer, pl. 87, 3.

<sup>50</sup> *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, pl. 8; *C.V.A.*, IV D r, pl. 26. The resemblance was pointed out by Ras, p. 198, though she speaks of the figure as male and prefers the vertical fall for its instantaneity to the more stable fallen figure. This, like her preference for vertically climbing to diagonally climbing figures, is simply due to a taste which accords better with Roman composition than with classical. On the Taranto figure, see also Von Bothmer, p. 214.

<sup>51</sup> Jeppesen also takes a diameter of 4.50 m. (p. 18). There are many small uncertainties, including the exact size of the cubit referred to by Pliny in his figure of 26 cubits for the height of the statue and whether this was an exact or an approximate figure. For a recent calculation of the overall height, see Stevens, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 249-255. For recent measurements of the Varvakeion and Lenormant statuettes, on which calculations of the relative size of shield and whole statue are based, see Schuchhardt, *Antike Plastik*, II, pp. 31, 46, 49.

by the copyists, though we find variations and contaminations. The group next to the head-down Amazon on the Lenormant shield has to be interpreted either as the Helper Group transferred from the other side of the shield or the Knifing Group misunderstood. The former is more likely.

There are twenty-seven figures in all, fourteen Greeks and thirteen Amazons. The following chart gives numbers and nicknames to these figures and indicates the number of copies in which each appears. I have not tried to keep the numbers assigned by Jeppesen, since no series of numbers will fit two different reconstructions. The nicknames are easier to keep track of.

The catalogue which follows the chart gives the evidence for placing the figures and interpreting their actions, noting the main differences that exist between the previous reconstructions and ours.

P Patras Shield  
S Strangford Shield  
L Lenormant Shield

V Vatican Fragment  
C Conservatori Fragment  
A Agora Terracotta Fragment  
B Boston Fragment

N Neo-Attic Reliefs  
R Roman Reliefs,  
Kerameikos and Agora

| NICKNAME                       | PLACE KEPT | PLACE CHANGED | PAIRING KNOWN | PAIRING UNKNOWN |
|--------------------------------|------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. Pilos-Wearer                | PL         |               |               | N1              |
| 2. "Perikles"                  | PSA        | L?            | R1            |                 |
| 3. Supine Amazon               | PSLA       |               | R1            |                 |
| 4-5. Hair-Pulling Group        | PSLA       |               | N3            |                 |
| 6-7. Helper Group              | P          | L?            | N3, R1        |                 |
| 8. Greek in Corinthian Helmet  | PS         |               | N1*           |                 |
| 9. Amazon Retreating Uphill    | PS         |               | N1            |                 |
| 10. Greek Attacking Downhill   | PS         |               |               |                 |
| 11. Backview Amazon with Spear | PS         |               | N3            | R1              |
| 12. Greek Archer in Chlamys    |            | P?S?          |               |                 |
| 13. Amazon Drawing Sword       | PS         |               |               | N1**            |
| 14. "Capaneus"                 | PSB        |               | N3            |                 |
| 15. "Pheidias"                 | L          | S             | N2            |                 |
| 16. Amazon Charging Uphill     | V          | S             | N4            |                 |
| 17. Seated Amazon              | PS         |               |               | N1              |
| 18. Kneeling Hoplite           | V          | S             |               |                 |
| 19. Amazon Fleeing Downhill    | VL         |               |               |                 |
| 20. Amazon Falling Backward    | V          |               |               | R2              |
| 21. Amazon with Axe            | VC         |               |               |                 |
| 22. Greek Charging Right       | V          |               |               | N2              |
| 23. Amazon Fallen Headfirst    | L          | S             |               | N1              |
| 24. Greek with Axe             | C          |               |               |                 |
| 25. Amazon Falling Prone       | C          |               |               |                 |
| 26-27. Knifing Group           | C          |               |               |                 |

\* Only part of shield and hand preserved.

\*\* In all probability paired with 14, though no join exists.

## CATALOGUE OF FIGURES

The following catalogue does not attempt to include all the opinions that have been expressed about these various figures but only to mention those recent opinions that have a bearing on our reconstruction.

1. Pilos-Wearer. This figure occurs only twice on shield-copies and both times at the bottom of the shield. The one Peiraeus copy does not show with whom he is paired, but does show that he is a bearded, older man. This led Hafner<sup>52</sup> to suggest that this was a portrait. Because it was with the so-called Perikles he named it Xanthippos, believing that there were more portraits on the shield than Plutarch knew of. Brommer omitted this figure from his reconstruction, saying that one could not tell whether he was identical with one of the figures on the Strangford or a new figure.<sup>53</sup> Neda Leipen in the Toronto reconstruction (Pl. 39, b) and Barbara Schlörb (Pl. 39, c) follow the Lenormant in placing him on the axis at the bottom of the shield. Jeppesen (Pl. 39, d) accepts the placement of the Patras shield as I do.

2. "Perikles." This figure occurs in the same relative position at the bottom of the shield just to the right of center on the Patras, Strangford and Agora shields. Only the Lenormant shows it at the top and only Leipen has placed it there in a reconstruction. Jeppesen's placement is the same as ours but he makes the startling change of seeing this figure as female, pursued by the man in the pilos.<sup>54</sup> The figure certainly wears a cuirass (without pteryges) in the Patras shield as well as in the Strangford. Proof, if it were needed, that this warrior is male is now provided by the copy (Pl. 40, e) from the high-relief frieze found in the Kerameikos and discussed by Schlörb.<sup>55</sup> Here it is certainly a Greek, for an unmistakable Amazon (with long trousers) lies at his feet. Schlörb also affirms that the cuirass-wearer must have been fighting with a spear, for his sword remains in its scabbard. The Patras shield does not show the weapon, and the arm, though upraised, does not cover the face. The motive of the face covered by the spear-arm is found, however, in the Amazonomachy on the New York krater by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs.<sup>56</sup> This, together with Plutarch's testimony, should be enough to persuade us that the Strangford shield is accurate in this respect. The fact that here only one hand wields the spear suggests that it is being pulled out, not driven in. See below,

3. Supine Amazon. This figure occurs at the bottom of the shield in the Patras, Strangford, Lenormant and Agora copies. The only reconstruction which does not place it at center bottom is that of Schlörb, who restores two fallen figures, one male and one female, taking the one shown on the Patras shield to be a different figure from the one on the Strangford and the Kerameikos relief. The difficulty stems from the fact that the figure on the Patras shield wears no chiton. A cloak, presumably a chlamys, lies beneath the body, and if this was the only garment the figure must have been male. The Agora shield resembles the Patras in showing no chiton skirt,<sup>57</sup> while the Lenormant appears to have one. The reasonable solution seems to be that the figure on the original shield was wearing the tight-fitting Amazonian costume that Von Bothmer calls a "sleeved and trousered combination" without a chiton over it. The Strangford and Lenormant shields as well as the Kerameikos relief (Pl. 40, e) added the chiton to make clear that the figure was female, but the Kerameikos relief kept the trousers. It is not clear whether the copyist of the Patras shield actually thought the figure was male, since the surface is too poorly preserved to be sure about breasts and the groin is broken away. One can only say that the actions of the other figures make more sense

<sup>52</sup> *Jahrb.*, LXXI, 1956, pp. 1-28.

<sup>53</sup> *M.W.P.*, p. 11.

<sup>54</sup> P. 4, "Typus 2" and pp. 19-20.

<sup>55</sup> P. 156, nos. 1-2, p. 165.

<sup>56</sup> Von Bothmer, pl. 75, b.

<sup>57</sup> Piet de Jong's drawing, *Agora*, VI, p. 84, fig. 7, needs to be corrected in this respect; see Plate 39, e.

if we take this as a fallen Amazon. Schlörb's way out of the difficulty gives us two fallen figures too much alike in pose to belong to a successful composition, and Jeppesen's forces us to change the sex of "Perikles," which creates more problems than it solves.

4-5. Hair-Pulling Group. It is a little hazardous to give the group this name, since the Patras shield and one of the Peiraeus reliefs do not show the hair of the Amazon being pulled, but the Agora shield, which otherwise agrees entirely with the Patras copy, does show it, and the hair-pulling has the overwhelming majority of the testimony of the copies, besides being a popular motive in this period. All the modern reconstructions have adopted it. About the placement on the shield there is no disagreement between the copies. It is the most solidly fixed element in the whole composition. The position of the falling Amazon is fitted to the curve of the shield rim. Von Bothmer rightly refutes the interpretation of the group as a suicidal leap in which the Amazon tries to drag her attacker with her.<sup>58</sup>

6-7. Helper Group. The Patras copy seems clearly to give the correct position of this group on the shield, and the Agora terracotta copy helps to confirm it. The Lenormant shield shows a somewhat similar group on the opposite side of the shield which may be a contamination of this group with one of the Amazon Helper groups of the wider Amazonomachy repertory. The Lenormant helper seems to wear a chiton which is unfastened on the left shoulder. The reconstructions of Brommer and Jeppesen follow the Lateran relief (Pl. 40, a) in showing the right leg of the helper behind the left. This seems, however, to be a modification caused by the altered angle of the group in the Neo-Attic slab. The Agora relief (Pl. 40, b) has a position of the legs of the helper which corresponds better to the angle at which the group appears on the Patras shield. The left foot is back and the right foot is understood to be hidden behind the wounded man. The forward slant of the hanging drapery on the Lateran relief shows that the change of angle has been considerable, quite enough to force the helper to put his right foot back to brace himself. Langlotz' idea that the wounded man is being lowered, not lifted,<sup>59</sup> also depends on the false backward lean imposed by the Neo-Attic relief.

8. Greek in Corinthian Helmet. The version of this figure in the Patras shield is so much more persuasive than that of the Strangford shield, the only other copy in which he is preserved, that all reconstructions have adopted it. Brommer evidently did not have good photographs of the Patras shield available when he made his drawing (Pl. 39, a) so that he shows a chlamys fastened around the neck instead of a slipping himation. Von Bothmer suggested identifying this figure as Theseus.<sup>60</sup> He tells me that one of his reasons was the slipping himation motive, which belongs to heroes in vase-painting. Since Shefton has persuasively traced the origin of the motive to the Centauromachy at the Feast,<sup>61</sup> we see that it is equally appropriate for Peirithoos. Only a part of the shield and arm of this figure appear on one of the Peiraeus reliefs, not enough to tell us any more about the figure than we know from the Patras shield. There are tantalizing rumors of a better preserved copy, but they remain rumors.<sup>62</sup>

9. Amazon Retreating Uphill. This figure is represented in the same place on the Patras and Strangford shields and one Peiraeus relief confirms her relation to the preceding figure. The Strangford shield differs from the other copies in showing her in front view and arming her with shield and axe. Actually, on both the Patras and Peiraeus copies she is in back view and no weapons are shown. Becatti<sup>63</sup> publishes a drawing of the Patras shield that presents the figure correctly, but the reconstructions of Brommer, Leipen and Schlörb retain the front view of the Strangford.

<sup>58</sup> P. 218.

<sup>59</sup> *Phidiasprobleme*, p. 43.

<sup>60</sup> P. 214.

<sup>61</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 356-360.

<sup>62</sup> Von Bothmer, p. 214.

<sup>63</sup> Fig. 335.

Jeppesen's drawing is ambiguous and so is his text. He calls the Amazon "hinabstürzend" but says "von Typus 6 verfolgt?" Since Type 6 (our 8) is climbing, his quarry must be climbing too if she is still fleeing. The absence of a shield and the general pose suggest that she is a slinger. Compare the Amazon on a white-ground lekythos in New York.<sup>64</sup> She may well have influenced the backview figure, no. 10 in the east frieze of the Hephaisteion.<sup>65</sup>

10. Greek Attacking Downhill. This figure appears in back view on both the Patras and Strangford shields but on the Strangford he appears to be attacking the Amazon above him while on the Patras he turns to threaten the figure below him, the Backview Amazon with Spear (No. 11). This is surely the correct action, as it explains her whirling pose, which is attested by the Peiraeus relief as well as the Patras shield. Of the reconstructions, Brommer omits him (apparently assuming that the Strangford gives two versions of a single figure), while Leipen takes the Strangford and Patras versions to be separate figures. Schlörb's and Jeppesen's interpretations agree with ours.

11. Backview Amazon with Spear. Her appearance and placement are fairly consistent on Strangford and Patras shields and Peiraeus reliefs but her opponent is preserved only on the latter. Though these make his pairing with this Amazon perfectly clear, only Jeppesen has consented to restore him where he belongs. Schlörb moves him to the other side of the shield, Brommer and Leipen place him on the outside track. Brommer also moves the backview Amazon to the outside. Leipen leaves her without an opponent in the center. Actually, she is involved with two opponents. The right foot turns back as if her uphill career had been interrupted by an impulse to the side, and the folds of her dress also imply a turn of some sort. It appears that she has just become aware of the young archer and whirls to face him while she interposes her shield (I fear I have drawn the shield too big and let her hold it too high, so that she could not actually have seen over the top of it; the artist of the Patras shield has been more careful). Her engagement with two opponents, both at a considerably higher level, made it difficult for the designers of the Peiraeus panels to create a sensible duel. Both the extant versions have been criticized as improbable.<sup>66</sup>

12. Greek Archer in Chlamys. He occurs only in the Peiraeus reliefs. The reasons for placing him where we do have been given above under No. 11. The proof that he belongs here is given by the beautiful way he fits into the space left by the other figures. It is uncertain whether the foot preserved below the right knee of "Capaneus" on the Patras shield belongs to this figure, pushed up because there was no room for him below. The fact that it is shod makes this likely. Schlörb identifies the left leg and part of the chlamys of the archer on the left side of the Strangford shield. This is possible, since the Strangford shows several drastic transpositions.<sup>67</sup> It does not outweigh the evidence of the Peiraeus reliefs.

13. Amazon Drawing Sword. Patras and Strangford shields agree as to her placement, and the reconstructions have all more or less accepted this except for Leipen, who pushes her into the intermediate track created by her duplication of figure 10. The Peiraeus relief supports the Patras shield in having her face forward instead of turning her head back as on the Strangford. Stavropoulos believed that she was paired in the Peiraeus reliefs with the "Capaneus," and this may well be so, though so far as I know it has not been proven by joining fragments. This need not mean, however, that it was against him that she started to draw her sword. She may have been preparing for any enemy who might lie in wait for her at the top of the hill, which she has nearly reached. Stavropoulos does seem to be right, however, in saying that she is startled by what she sees above her, so that she does not complete the action of drawing the sword.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Von Bothmer, pl. 84, 1.

<sup>65</sup> Koch, *Studien zum Theseustempel in Athen*, pl. 31; *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pl. 78, a.

<sup>66</sup> Möbius, p. 269; Schlörb, p. 168. Möbius is certainly too hard on Stavropoulos here. The group of spearman (with thrusting spear) attacking an archer who is actually shooting occurs prominently on the squat lekythos by Aison in Naples (Ras, p. 194, fig. 1; *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1174, 6).

<sup>67</sup> P. 168.

<sup>68</sup> P. 72.

14. "Capaneus." First known from the Villa Albani relief, this figure was identified as belonging to the shield by its occurrence in the Peiraeus reliefs, and the Patras copy fixed its position on the shield. A fragment in Boston (Pl. 37, c) also comes from a shield copy, and enough of the edge of the convex part of the shield is preserved to show that the figure had approximately the same position there.<sup>68a</sup> All the reconstructions we have been considering accept this placement, though Eckstein, who sees in this figure a portrait of Anakreon, prefers a place on the left side of the shield, where the curve of the torso would echo the curve of the rim.<sup>69</sup>

15. "Pheidias." We have identified the figure at the top of the Lenormant shield with the bald old man at the bottom of the Strangford. The male figure on the Copenhagen relief resembles the Strangford figure in pose and dress, and a position near the top of the shield is confirmed for him by his pairing with the Amazon Charging Uphill (16) in the Copenhagen and Peiraeus reliefs.<sup>70</sup> The silhouette fits in easily next to the "Capaneus," which further confirms the placement at center top derived from the Lenormant shield and the inherent logic of the stone-throwing motive. Reconstructions, however, have varied widely. Brommer places him at the bottom, though he changes the weapon from axe to stone, and places the Copenhagen Greek as a separate figure above the Gorgoneion. Leipen places the stone-thrower at the top to the left of center, with the Copenhagen Greek as a separate figure to his left. Schlörb leaves him at the bottom as on the Strangford, but with the Pilos-Wearer between him and "Perikles." Jeppesen places him as we do, and though he does not spell out his reasoning, it must have been similar to ours.

16. Amazon Charging Uphill. The identification of this figure in the Copenhagen relief with the climbing Amazon of the Vatican fragment and a figure in a similar pose lower down on the Strangford shield was correctly made by Schrader<sup>71</sup> and apparently accepted by Brommer. Leipen accepts the identification of the figures, apparently, but not the Vatican shield's placement of the figure in the inside circle. Schlörb places her as we do but follows Brommer in the interpretation of her opponent. Jeppesen's discussion leaves the identification of the Vatican and Copenhagen figures in doubt,<sup>72</sup> and in his drawing he makes them two distinct Amazons. This requires him to invent an opponent for the Vatican figure, a Greek warrior (his no. 18) for whom there is no shred of evidence.

17. Seated Amazon. This figure is preserved above the Gorgoneion on both the Strangford and Patras shields, and the Peiraeus relief which preserves the head shows that it was turned back, an appropriate pose for an axial figure. The seated pose allows her to be fitted in beneath the feet of the apex figure, so that the double circle of figures can be maintained all around. Brommer, in pushing her to one side, has made her seem to float aimlessly in the field. Leipen, Schlörb and Jeppesen accept the axial position. We do not have enough of the Peiraeus relief to know with whom it paired her.

18. Kneeling Hoplite. This is the least well-documented figure on the shield, appearing only as a bent greaved knee above the climbing Amazon on the Vatican shield and as a strangely helpless figure in the Strangford copy. It appears that he was transferred along with "Pheidias" from the upper part of the shield. The cuirass appears otherwise only on the "Perikles," a fact that, as Eckstein has remarked, singles this figure out as possibly of special importance.<sup>73</sup> Eckstein makes

<sup>68a</sup> Vermeule, *A.J.A.*, LXVIII, 1964, p. 326, pl. 97, fig. 5.

<sup>69</sup> *Festschrift* Matz, p. 67, note 11.

<sup>70</sup> Some slight additional support for this may exist in a Campanian amphora by the Ixion Painter in Los Angeles depicting a battle of Greeks and Trojans. An elderly Trojan with an axe who is like a mirror image of our figure attacks a seated Greek who seems borrowed from the seated Amazon of the shield. There are other strong reminiscences of the shield on this vase (Clement, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1955, pl. 11, no. 28 a).

<sup>71</sup> P. 84.

<sup>72</sup> P. 14.

<sup>73</sup> *Festschrift* Matz, p. 67, note 12.

the natural assumption when he takes the figure as male. Only the position in front of the axe-wielding old man suggests that it might be an Amazon, and this seems to be a result of the Strangford copyist's transposition. What *he* thought the figure was we have no way of knowing, but he generally takes care to emphasize the femininity of his Amazons, uncovering their breasts even when the original did not, so it may be that he intended the old man to be aiming beyond the kneeling figure. Schlörb calls the Strangford figure "missverständlich als männlich gekennzeichnet."<sup>74</sup> Of the reconstructions, Brommer has followed the Strangford shield closely, as has Jeppesen. Leipen and Schlörb have taken this figure to be a corruption of the victim of the axe-swinger on the Conservatori fragment, and Schlörb suggests identifying it with the Kerameikos fragment (Pl. 40, d).<sup>75</sup> If we move him to the top of the shield, it is possible that he had a more active pose, since the Amazon Fleeing Downhill gives the impression of fleeing from him.<sup>76</sup>

19. Amazon Fleeing Downhill. This figure is rather well preserved on the Vatican shield and apparently also is shown on the Lenormant, in each case to the left of center near the top. No other copies have been identified. Suzanne Ras has analyzed her movement persuasively as that of a wounded figure about to fall. She seems to be holding up her shield as if still fearing an attack from above. Her twisting motion offers an analogy to that of the Greek Attacking Downhill on the other side and also a contrast between his sure-footed descent and her faltering one. All the reconstructions show her in more or less the position she occupies on the Vatican copy, but Leipen has pushed her down to a place beside rather than above the Amazon Falling Backward.

20. Amazon Falling Backward. This figure, fully shown on the Vatican copy in what seems to be her proper place, is so like one appearing lower down on the Strangford shield that all reconstructions have identified the two. The Strangford version shows her without shield, the left arm lying limp against the thigh. The fragment of a Roman relief from the Agora (Pl. 40, c) shows a figure exactly like that on the Strangford shield except that it is male. I would take it to be inspired by the same variant of the original figure that the Strangford copyist used. The fragment of the Kerameikos frieze with a dying Amazon (Pl. 40, d) seems to me to show this same figure, still with the left arm against the thigh but with the crinkly chiton more like that shown in the Vatican shield. Schlörb, on the other hand, takes the Kerameikos Amazon to be a variant of the figure attacked by "Pheidias."<sup>77</sup>

21. Amazon with Axe. This is a wonderfully uncontroversial figure, considering how little of her is preserved. We have the upper part on the Vatican shield and the lower part on the Conservatori fragment and they really seem to fit. All the reconstructions have accepted Schrader's identification of her as the opponent of the youth in the Berlin relief, the Greek Charging Right.

22. Greek Charging Right. Only the upper edge of his shield is preserved on the Vatican copy, but the Giustiniani and Berlin reliefs between them give the whole figure except for the right hand and the feet. A fragment in the Peiraeus<sup>78</sup> is not counted separately, since it appears to join the Berlin relief. He is apparently attacking with a spear. His upward glance shows that he was on a somewhat lower level than his opponent, and this corresponds to their placing on the shield.

23. Amazon Fallen Headfirst. Both Strangford and Lenormant shields show this figure on the left side of the shield. On the Lenormant she is inside and falls past the middle of the shield; on the Strangford she is toward the outside in the lower part. Neither can count as very reliable evidence for her position, and the Vatican and Conservatori shields are no help, for neither shows any part of her. A place fairly low down seems best for such a fallen figure, and since she has

<sup>74</sup> P. 165.

<sup>75</sup> Pp. 165-166.

<sup>76</sup> Compare for this Amazon the Amazon climbing downhill on the Aison lekythos, above, note 66. She is being attacked from above and holds up her shield in the same way.

<sup>77</sup> See above, note 44.

<sup>78</sup> Stavropoulos, p. 10, fig. 4.

rightly been compared to the diagonally placed fallen figure on a red-figured krater in Taranto,<sup>79</sup> a place beside the incurve of the aegis below the center would fit well. All the reconstructions have placed her somewhere on the left side, and all but Schlörb have set her too vertically.

24. Greek with Axe. He appears only on the Conservatori copy, unless those are right who see in him a corruption of the Strangford "Pheidias" or *vice versa*. The demands of sense and symmetry are better served if we follow the Conservatori fragment here for the relative placing of the groups. Dietrich von Bothmer has suggested to me that this figure may have had a sword on the original shield, since the axe is not the Greek's proper weapon, and we see a scabbard at his side. For the purposes of our drawing, however, it seems best to leave him as he appears in the only preserved copy. Leipen has reversed the position of this group and the Knifing Group, while Brommer has simply omitted this figure as a corruption of the "Pheidias," though retaining the fallen Amazon whom he attacks on the Conservatori shield. Schlörb and Jeppesen have omitted both.

25. Amazon Falling Prone. She is preserved only on the Conservatori shield, but a tantalizing resemblance has been noted by Von Salis between her and the curiously posed female warrior in the Suessula Painter's Gigantomachy on the amphora from Melos in the Louvre.<sup>80</sup> This figure, on tiptoe and with her right arm (here holding a spear) bent back over her head as in our prone Amazon, lets fall a pelta from her limp left arm. I have borrowed this motive here, since the shield would balance the shield of the Hair-Pulling Group on the opposite side. It might also have suggested to the makers of the Patras and Agora shields the use of fallen peltas as space-fillers. The position given this figure on the various reconstructions depends on the interpretation of No. 24.

26-27. Knifing Group. This group is preserved only on the Conservatori shield, unless, which seems unlikely, the group on the left side of the Lenormant shield is a corruption of it. The closely linked group forms a good pendant to the Hair-Pulling Group, and as the most brutal action in the mopping-up phase of the battle, it is in place at the end of the cycle. The details of the male figure are somewhat uncertain, but the turn of his head is suggested by the broken traces and would conform to the general rule for balancing figures.

From the reconstruction as it has emerged, we see that the composition is carefully balanced throughout, each figure with his counterpart on the opposite side of the shield. Yet this balancing is always effected in the classical manner that avoids strict heraldic symmetry. Balancing figures that move in opposite directions turn their heads in the same direction and *vice versa*. The combatants in the lower part of the shield fan out like a calyx of leaves out of which the rising movement springs on either side, curving upward to meet in the powerful figure of the old man with the stone.

But though the formal structure has this bilateral symmetry, the *story* of the battle reads round the circle, from bottom to top and down again. The beginning seems to be the Pilos-Wearer, who is not yet engaged with an adversary but strides forward as if just entering the fight. We may compare him with the warrior at the beginning of the east frieze of the Hephaisteion.<sup>81</sup> His companion next, the so-called "Perikles," has just killed an Amazon with a thrust of his spear and is pulling the weapon out in order to move on. He has won a victory already, but the great struggle is just beginning.

<sup>79</sup> See above, note 50.

<sup>80</sup> Von Salis, *Jahrb.*, LV, 1940, pp. 133-135, figs. 25-26.

<sup>81</sup> Koch, *Studien zum Theseustempel in Athen*, pl. 29; *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pl. 77.

The battle raging up the right side of the shield is a fast-moving fight, with the advantage now on one side, now on the other. Here an Amazon is falling (4-5); there a Greek has been wounded (6-7); but higher up the slope they are all active, all potentially dangerous to each other. At the very top of the shield, the top of the hill that is being stormed, the tide of battle reaches its crest. Here is a group of three defenders; two are on their knees, one certainly wounded, but the old man in the center stands fast. An Amazon, thrown back, sits at his feet as though stunned (17), and he lifts his stone as if to hurl it at the most fiercely attacking of the invaders (16). Beyond this point the tide has turned. A bold party of Amazons that had almost reached the top is now seen tottering and falling backward. Though one Amazon (21) still desperately defends herself, the issue is no longer in doubt. The rest of the battle is a mopping-up. In the axe or sword-wielder who bears down on his helpless enemy with a butcher's stroke and in the final ruthless knifing in the back we see the same recognition of the brutality of victory and the humanity of the defeated that strikes us again and again in Greek poetry from Homer to Euripides.

The method of representing the successive stages of a battle in one composition was not invented by Pheidias but borrowed from the great wall-paintings of the early classical period. Pausanias' description of the battle of Marathon in the Painted Stoa in the Athenian Agora is worth quoting here:

The last part of the painting consists of those who fought at Marathon. The Boeotians of Plataea and the Attic contingent are coming to grips with the barbarians; at this point the action is evenly balanced between both sides. In the inner (i.e. central) part of the fight are the barbarians fleeing and pushing one another into the marsh; at the extreme end of the painting are the Phoenician ships and the Greeks killing the barbarians who are tumbling into them. In this picture are also shown Marathon, the hero after whom the plain is named, Theseus, represented as coming up from the earth, Athena and Herakles—the Marathonians, according to their own account, were the first to recognize Herakles as a god. Of the combatants the most conspicuous in the picture are Kallimachos, who was chosen by the Athenians to be polemarch, and of the generals Miltiades, and a hero called Echetlos, whom I shall mention later.

Pausanias I, 15, 3. Trans. Wycherley

In this painting, as on the shield, we have a progression: first the combatants coming to grips, the battle evenly matched, then the enemy in headlong flight, and finally the slaughter of those who try to escape. When we remember that Panainos, the brother of Pheidias, was one of the painters of the Marathon battle, the parallelism is not surprising.

It is not so easy for us to name the heroes of our battle as it was for Pausanias to name the heroes of the Marathon painting. Some questions, however, we have to ask. The first, most natural question is: which is Theseus, the king of Athens, the leader against the Amazons? It has generally been assumed that he is the so-called "Perikles," the man who holds his arm across his face. That this is correct is suggested by another parallel from the great wall paintings. When Pausanias describes the cen-

tauromachy painted in the Theseion, the sanctuary in which Kimon deposited the bones of Theseus in 475 B.C., he says, "Theseus has already killed a centaur, but the others are still fighting on equal terms."<sup>82</sup> Though the Foundry Painter's cup in Munich (Pl. 41, d)<sup>83</sup> may be earlier than the great painting, it gives a fair idea of how a 5th century artist treated such a group. The resemblance to our "Perikles" is noticeable. The dead victim lies below. The hero has pulled out his spear.

We can think of more than one reason why Theseus should have been represented in these mythical battles as the one who has made the first kill. One is that the Theseion, his sanctuary beside the Agora, was the mustering-place for Athenian citizens when they had to take up arms for their city.<sup>84</sup> Another, I think, may have been that Theseus was originally a Marathonian hero and had actually helped the Athenians in the battle of Marathon. As all these representations of battles between centaurs and Lapiths and Greeks and Amazons were understood by 5th century Athenians as symbolic of the Persian Wars, it was natural that the first victorious encounter at Marathon should be symbolized by Theseus, the Marathonian hero and king of Athens, drawing first blood from the enemy.

The Greek with the cloak falling over his knee can, as we have said,<sup>85</sup> probably be identified with Theseus' friend Peirithoos. Shefton has shown how this oddly impractical battle-dress is derived from the Centauromachy at the Feast. As the heroes leaped up from their banquet-couches to defend their women-folk against the drunken centaurs, the cloaks that had been wrapped about them fell down around their knees. Both Theseus and Peirithoos show this motive in the many vase-paintings that reflect the early classical centauromachy as well as in the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Later, as Shefton shows, the motive strays from the centauromachy into the Amazon battle and finally into other mythological scenes.<sup>86</sup> We find further support for identifying this figure in the west frieze of the Hephaisteion. Homer Thompson has given good reason for seeing Theseus in the swordsman with a petasos hanging down his back who is the central figure in the frieze. The warrior next to him would logically be Peirithoos, and he is so like the figure on the shield, even to the slipping himation and the Corinthian helmet, that direct influence from shield to frieze is a distinct possibility.<sup>87</sup>

It seems likely that all the Greeks on our shield had names, at least in the mind

<sup>82</sup> I, 17, 2.

<sup>83</sup> *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 402, 22.

<sup>84</sup> Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, pp. 113-119 assembles the ancient passages about the Theseion. On its location, see Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 40-48, and Harrison, *Athenian Agora*, XI, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, pp. 119-120.

<sup>85</sup> Above, p. 121, no. 8.

<sup>86</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 356-360.

<sup>87</sup> *A.J.A.*, LXVI, 1962, pp. 345-346. For a photograph of this section of the frieze, see Koch, *Theseustempel*, pl. 38; *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pl. 81, a.

of Pheidias when he created the design, though we may doubt that the names were actually engraved on the shield. In recent times, since the Patras shield has shown that there was a bearded warrior in a pointed helmet directly behind Theseus, there has been much speculation as to his identity. His head, which is preserved in one Peiraeus relief, has been taken by Hafner to be a portrait of Xanthippos, the father of Perikles.<sup>88</sup> This not very believable idea comes from the age of the man, who is clearly set apart as older than the majority of the fighters, just as the "Pheidias" was set apart by his baldness.

If we consider the companions of Theseus in his Amazon battles as we meet them in literature and in vase-paintings, one seems far more likely than the others. This is Phorbas, an Attic hero who was considered by many to have been the athletic trainer of Theseus and to have taught him wrestling. Since Phorbas himself learned this art from Athena he counted as the inventor of wrestling. He was also said to have been the charioteer of Theseus and to have helped him get away when he carried off the Amazon Antiope.<sup>89</sup> Vase-paintings show him sometimes youthful but more often bearded. In the scene on a cup by the Codrus Painter in Bologna, where the young Theseus is leaving home, Phorbas appears as an older man, very like our figure with his shield and marching stride.<sup>90</sup> The heroon of Phorbas, the Phorbanteion, like that of Theseus, was not on the Acropolis but below it to the north, next to the Agora.<sup>91</sup>

This brings us to the question of the locale of the battle. It has often been suggested and seems almost certainly true that Pheidias pictured the Amazons' assault much as Aeschylus had described it a few years earlier in the *Eumenides*: the Amazons encamped on the Areopagus, and from there assaulted the Acropolis.<sup>92</sup> This version of the Amazon story, in turn, probably reflects the historical attack in 480 B.C. when the Persians, as Herodotos tells us, camped on the Areopagus and from there attacked the Acropolis. He tells how the defenders rolled great stones down on the barbarians when they assaulted the gates, and how an entrance was finally made up a steep cliff on the north side, near the shrine of Kekrops' daughter Aglauros.<sup>93</sup>

The clear indications of very steep ground in the poses of our climbing Amazons and still more in those who are falling suggest that this north approach is the ground our artist had in mind. (The steep terrain must also be the reason why no horses appear in this Amazonomachy.) Suzanne Ras suggested that perhaps the stones rolled down on the Persians by the defenders of the Acropolis were the inspiration

<sup>88</sup> *Jahrb.*, LXXI, 1956, pp. 18 ff.

<sup>89</sup> Pherekydes and Polemon in Schol. Pindar, *Nem.*, V, 89. See Jacoby, *F. Gr. H.*, I, 98, 152 and commentary p. 426; III B, Supplement, 334 (Istros), F 31, pp. 645-646. For Phorbas in vase-paintings of Amazon battles, see Von Bothmer, nos. VIII.7, X.30, X.58, X.100.

<sup>90</sup> *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1268, 1; *C.V.A.*, Bologna, I, pls. 19-22.

<sup>91</sup> On the possible location, see *Agora*, XI, pp. 117-120.

<sup>92</sup> *Eum.*, 685-690.

<sup>93</sup> Herodotos, VIII, 52-53.

for the stone in the hands of the old man on the shield.<sup>94</sup> This is appealing, and no doubt there is some truth in it, but from this point on we have to begin to distinguish more sharply between the literal events of 480 B.C. and their symbolic translation in our Amazonomachy.

In 480 the Athenians did not make their real stand on the Acropolis. They left their city to Athena and the other gods to defend while they themselves manned their ships and went to Salamis. The men who rolled the stones down on the Persians were a few die-hards who had not believed that ships were the wooden walls by which the oracle told them to defend themselves. But though the Persians took the Acropolis, the gods gave proof that they had not abandoned the city. The sacred olive tree of Athena that grew in the sanctuary of Erechtheus was burnt by the Persians but it put out a new shoot a cubit long overnight.<sup>95</sup> With the help of the gods, the Greeks won their battle at Salamis.

When we reflect that Theseus and Phorbas seem properly placed at the beginning of the fight and at the bottom of the shield, we ask all the more urgently who these three heroes can be at the top of the shield, who, hard pressed as they seem to be, have yet turned the tide of battle. The longer one thinks about it, the more certain seems the answer. They can be no others than the heroes of the Acropolis itself, the three generations of Attic kings who had their shrines inside the walls of the citadel: Kekrops, Erechtheus and Pandion.<sup>96</sup> They take part in this battle as Theseus took part in the battle of Marathon, rising from their graves to defend their native soil.

Twice at Delphi in ancient times the ghosts of local heroes appeared to frighten away barbarian invaders. Herodotos tells how when the Persians in 480 came to the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia thunderbolts fell on them and two crags broke off from Parnassos and rolled down on them. They heard a cry from the temple of Athena and two warriors of superhuman size pursued and slaughtered them as they fled. These were said to be Phylakos and Autonoös, heroes whose shrines were above the sanctuary of Athena.<sup>97</sup> Pausanias tells a very similar story of the attack by the Gauls on Delphi in 279, but this time heroes of the sanctuary of Apollo also took part.<sup>98</sup> The more we read of ancient history, the more it seems that no local hero worth his salt could lie inactive underground when the ground in which he lay was seriously threatened.

Stavropoullou suggested before that Kekrops and Erechtheus were on the shield,<sup>99</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Ras, p. 192, note 2.

<sup>95</sup> Herodotos, VIII, 55.

<sup>96</sup> Jacoby, *F. Gr. H.*, I, p. 449, referring to Herodotos I, 173 and VIII, 44, says "Herodot kennt nur Kekrops—Erechtheus—Pandion—Aigeus." I should like to see these four in the "north heroes" of the east frieze of the Parthenon. The genealogy of the west pediment is also easier if we take this simple succession.

<sup>97</sup> Herodotos, VIII, 37-39.

<sup>98</sup> Pausanias, X, 23, 2-4. Ghosts (*φαντάσματα*) of the heroes appear and, later, crags fall down on the Gauls from Parnassos.

<sup>99</sup> P. 72.

but Möbius' review<sup>100</sup> was so devastating that no one has taken him seriously. It was the figure of the so-called "Capaneus" that gave rise to the idea. Even when one knows that he cannot be Capaneus, the boastful king who was struck down by the thunderbolt of Zeus, the feeling persists that he has been struck down from above. A giant struck by the thunderbolt of Zeus on a red-figured krater from Spina is like a back view of our figure from the shield.<sup>101</sup> Stavropoulos pointed out that Erechtheus also had been struck down by a god. Poseidon felled him with his trident and buried him in a chasm in the rock. Stavropoulos did not feel that he had to explain the discrepancy in historical generations; he pictured the event as transferred by Pheidias to the time of the Amazon battle. He believed that the Amazon whose hand stays on her sword hilt was shown this way with her sword not yet drawn because she is frozen with astonishment at seeing the hero struck down from above. This seems, however, to inject an irrelevant note into the Amazonomachy; it rather gives the impression that the gods are fighting on the wrong side. Yet if one tries to explain the wound by human agency, one creates new difficulties. Since the figure is at the top of the shield and facing us, it is impossible that he has been wounded in the back by any figure on the shield, for no one can be behind him. Following the suggestion that he must have been struck by an arrow from a distant enemy, Schlörb has restored an Amazon archer on the left side of the shield. There is no evidence in the copies for such a figure and no room for her in a restoration which makes full use of the testimony of the copies.<sup>102</sup>

All the difficulties, both spatial and temporal, are resolved when once we realize that this is the *ghost* of the hero risen from his grave in the rock, appearing in the guise in which he died long ago. The astonishment of the Amazon is explained and yet the wound of the hero does not diminish his power.<sup>103</sup> Such astonishment the Persians may have felt when they saw the burnt olive tree in the sanctuary of Erechtheus put forth its miraculous shoot.

<sup>100</sup> *Gnomon*, 1951, pp. 266-272.

<sup>101</sup> Alfieri-Arias, *Spina*, pl. 67; *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1041, 6, Manner of the Peleus Painter.

<sup>102</sup> It was in fact the search to discover whether such a figure could have existed that started me on the problem of the reconstruction, since a suggestion had been made that a fragment of relief in the Agora showing a female archer might be from a copy of it. The fragment (S 106) seems to belong rather to the type of Artemis shooting the Niobids (cf. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pl. 50, a), and I have become convinced that there was no possible place for an Amazon archer on the shield.

<sup>103</sup> It is not unusual in classical literature for ghosts to carry with them the wounds by which they died. In the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus the ghost of Clytaemnestra calls attention to her wounds: *ὄρατε πλῆγὰς τάσδε* (*Eum.* 103). In Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*, XIV, 343 Hermes complains to Charon that they no longer get heroic dead coming down covered with blood and wounds as in the old days, but only men poisoned by their wives or something equally inglorious. In *Menippus* 10 Charon's boat is said to be full of wounded men "from some war." I owe these references to W. M. Calder III.

About the kneeling hoplite, who should be Pandion, we cannot say much. On the Strangford shield, he looks singularly helpless, but the original figure, as we have seen, may have shown more action. That he is beardless and in armor fits the little that we know of Pandion, who was a warlike king and who is always shown as a young man in vase-painting.<sup>104</sup>

The central figure can only be Kekrops. He is the oldest of the Attic kings, the real ancestor of the Athenian people. He, if anyone, should be at the apex of this assemblage of ancestral heroes. His most usual attribute, the snake, seems to be missing here, as it is also missing on the east frieze of the Parthenon, where Kekrops must appear as one of the ten Eponymous Heroes. Since there is no good place for a snake in the Amazonomachy and since the sacred snake of the Acropolis was supposed to have left before the Persians came,<sup>105</sup> it is understandable that Pheidias preferred to leave it out. He will have wanted to show that Kekrops was the oldest of the three kings, however. You can distinguish between two generations by showing one beardless and the other bearded, but when you come to three generations you need another sign. White hair will do in painting, but not in gold relief. That may be the original reason why Kekrops is shown with a bald head. By the same token, we can probably recognize Kekrops in the oldest-looking of the "north heroes" on the east frieze (Pl. 41, c). His short beard is like that of the Strangford "Pheidias," and though the top of his head was not preserved even when the Fauvel cast was made, the outline of the back hair suggests that he was partly bald. This hair is very like the back hair of the Copenhagen portrait that Poulsen proposed to identify as a portrait of Pheidias.<sup>106</sup> The head of the Kekrops in the west pediment was evidently that of a less aged man, for he was shown there at the height of his reign.

If the Kekrops of the shield had an attribute and was not simply recognized by the part he played and his relation to the other two heroes, it may be that it was the stone itself. There is a story, told first in Philochoros, that the word *λαῶς* or *λαός*, "people," was derived from *λᾶς*, "stone," because Kekrops when he was king of Athens had enumerated the population of Attica by having each man bring a stone.<sup>107</sup> Jacoby suggests that this story is a rationalized version of the tale of Deucalion, who actually *created* a population by throwing stones which turned into human beings. If this

<sup>104</sup> He appears on three red-figured vases, always as a young man: on a bell-krater in Syracuse by the Dinos Painter (*A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1153, 17) he is a young warrior leaving home; on the Naples lekanis by the Meidias Painter (*A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1314, 17) Antiochos and Pandion (both eponymous heroes of tribes) appear as youths among girls with offerings; on an oinochoe in Palermo by the Eretria Painter (*A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1249, 21) a youth arriving is inscribed Pandion. On all these see Beazley, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, pp. 487-488.

<sup>105</sup> Herodotos, VIII, 41.

<sup>106</sup> See above, note 20.

<sup>107</sup> *F. Gr. H.*, 328. Philochoros, fr. 95, p. 127 (Schol. Pindar *Ol.* 9, 70 bc). Jacoby notes, III b, Suppl. 1, p. 399: "As the people in Attica is called *δῆμος*, *λαῶς* and *λαοί* being restricted to poetry, the account in this fragment is evidently a transposition of the well-known motif of the creation of men by Deukalion, which at the same time rationalizes the story."

story of Kekrops was already current in the 5th century, the stone in the hands of our old man can be an attribute of Kekrops as the father of the Athenian people, called in poetry the Ἰατρικὸς Λεῶς, in prose the Δῆμος Ἀθηναίων. On a more literal level, in the context of our battle scene, the stone is a simple weapon, the only one available to a primeval peaceful king in whose reign no wars took place.

I think we have some evidence that the Athenians in the 5th century liked to believe that even peaceful heroes took part in their struggles against the barbarians. Pausanias when he comes to Marathon tells the story of the hero Echetlos that he promised when he saw his picture in the Painted Stoa.

It happened, they say, that there was present in the battle a man of rustic looks and dress. He slaughtered many of the barbarians with a plow and after the battle he disappeared. When the Athenians consulted the oracle, the god merely ordered them to honor Echetlaos as a hero.

Pausanias I, 32, 5

This rustic Echetlos fighting with his plowshare must have been in his origins no more warlike than our Kekrops.

The picture of the Amazonomachy that we have found is thus fully in accord with the west pediment in its emphasis on the autochthony of the Athenians and the succession of generations by which the greatness of Athens grew.<sup>108</sup> Those who still wish to see intended portraits of Pheidias and Perikles must rethink the question, no longer in terms of a pair of friends fighting side by side but within this tremendously widened panorama of human history. The wider this becomes the more incongruous is the personal note. We begin to recognize it for what it must be, an invention of comedy. Plutarch's story, if it has a fifth-century origin, belongs not to the history of portraiture but to the history of political satire. The goddess whose enormous ivory finger made bread-sops for the Demos might well have had such portraits on her shield.<sup>109</sup>

#### APPENDIX

##### FRAGMENTS OF RELIEFS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA COPYING FIGURES FROM THE SHIELD

1. Copy of the Helper Group (6-7). Pl. 40, b. S 1357. Found in 1949 in clearing the Stoa of Attalos (P-R, 7-13). Probably originally from the Late Roman Fortification. Mended from three fragments. Preserves back of slab. Otherwise broken all around. All surfaces weathered from modern exposure. Pentelic marble.

P. H. 0.65, P. W. 0.33 m. (dimensions depend on angle, which is not certain). P. Th.

0.275 m., Th. of background slab 0.085 m.-0.09 m.

The relief is so high that the torso of the wounded man does not directly intersect the background but remains attached to it by a mass of marble deliberately left for this purpose. The body of the helper intersects the background on its far side. All except the front face of the relief is only roughly sketched out, suggesting that the original was in lower relief than the

<sup>108</sup> For the stone becoming human as a figure of the Autochthon, see Jeppesen's recent identification of the "Pillar Torso" as the support beneath the horses of Athena (pp. 61 f.).

<sup>109</sup> Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1168-1170.

copy. The chlamys of the helper, which is broken away on the Patras shield and modified (or recut?) on the Lateran relief, is fully preserved on the Agora fragment. Its strong forms are completely in accord with those of the chlamys beneath the wounded man and with the period of the shield reliefs. It is likely, therefore, that we have here for the first time an accurate copy of this detail.

Since the Agora fragment is broken all around, we cannot be sure whether its original angle was that of the shield or steeper. The exceptionally high relief, which was not present in the original, suggests that the piece was made for an architectural use. From the resemblance in workmanship, scale (the scale of the original shield reliefs) and depth of relief, it would seem possible that the Agora fragment belongs to the same monument as the pieces from the Kerameikos published by Barbara Schlörb. The workmanship suggests the Antonine period. Though the modelling of the outer surface is excellent, very coarse rasping appears on the parts near the background, and the drapery is harshly outlined with the running drill.

2. Copy of the Amazon Charging Uphill (16).  
Pl. 41, b.

S 2113. Found in 1959 in the marble pile left by the earlier excavators behind the Stoa of Attalos (R7, now beside north entrance of Agora area). Some of the original back preserved, with a flat finish (claw-chisel?) now too much weathered to show tool marks. The fragment seems to have been chopped out from its surroundings, coarse point-work appearing on all edges except the top, which is broken. Sculptured surface heavily weathered from the marble pile, except in hollows of folds near the belt which were protected by mortar. This has now been removed, showing that there was little or no ancient weathering. Pentelic marble.

P. H. 0.305 m., P. W. ca. 0.27 m., Th. 0.10 m., Max. Proj. of relief 0.04 m.

This is from a good, strong though coarse copy of the Amazon of the Copenhagen relief.

The patterns of the folds are the same as in the Peiraeus and Copenhagen copies except that the under-chiton with finely folded edge that appears in the other two has been omitted and the over-chiton made longer. The bottom part of the skirt therefore looks rather dull in our piece, in contrast to the upper part with its rich Pheidonian pattern of folds.

Our copy seems to be of the same scale and projection as the Peiraeus reliefs but the workmanship is coarser. Rasp-marks appear on the surface of the drapery wherever it is not weathered away. A broad running-drill channel separates the figure from its background to the right, at the only point where any of the background survives. Though no edge is preserved, the straightness of the back line of the skirt suggests a steeper climb than we have on the Copenhagen and Peiraeus reliefs.

The low relief and thin background make it unlikely that this was a part of the Kerameikos frieze, though the workmanship could be of the same period. Its finding-place and the mortar on it suggest that it was built into the Late Roman Fortification.

3. Fragment Reflecting the Amazon Falling Backward (20). Pl. 40, c.

S 2015. From demolition of a modern chapel on the south side of the Agora. A battered fragment, broken all around. Pentelic marble.

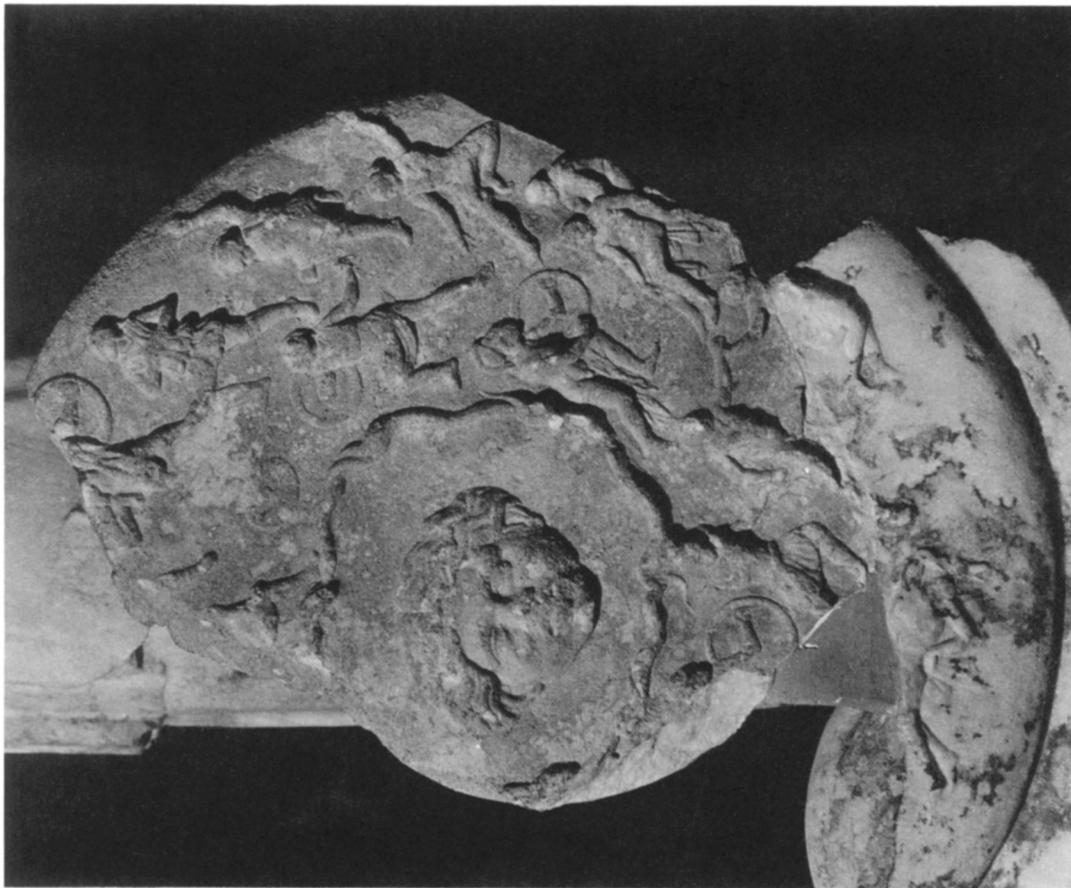
P. H. 0.38 m., P. W. 0.25 m., Th. 0.12 m.

Being a male figure, this cannot count as a copy of the Amazon, and the carving of the folds with heavy drill channels is much coarser than in the Amazon from the Kerameikos frieze (Pl. 40, d) whose pose resembles that of this figure. The use of figures from the shield in compositions such as the Kerameikos frieze may have led to a wider use of adaptations from them in various contexts, analogous to the development in Italian red-figure vase-painting in the 4th century. The workmanship of our fragment belongs to the 2nd century after Christ, most likely again to the Antonine period.

EVELYN B. HARRISON



a. Shield of Lenormant Statuette, Athens, National Museum.



b. Shield of Copy of Athena Parthenos, Patras Museum.

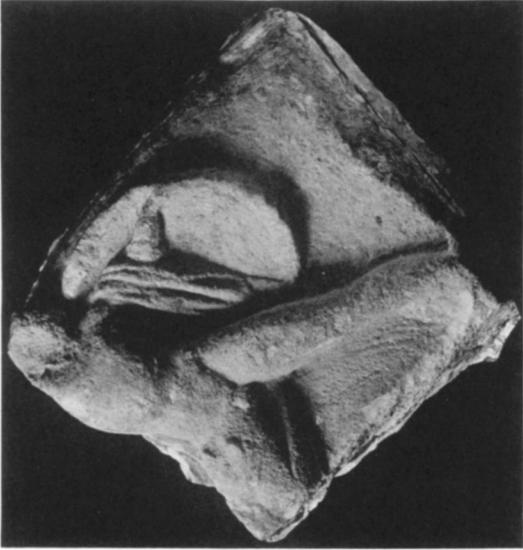
EVELYN B. HARRISON: THE COMPOSITION OF THE AMAZONOMACHY ON THE SHIELD OF ATHENA PARTHENOS



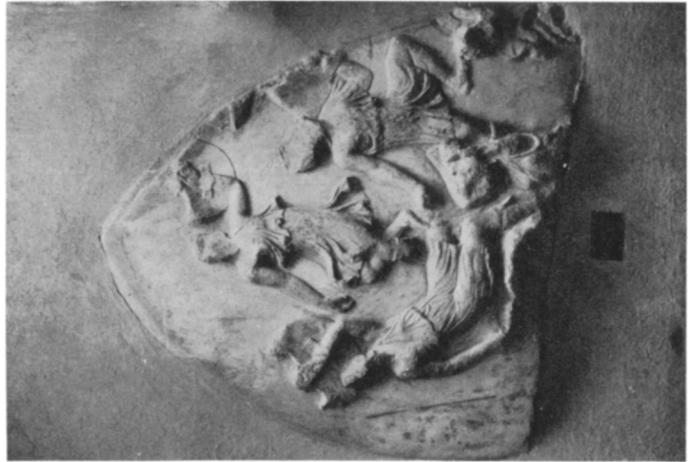
a. Strangford Shield, London, British Museum.



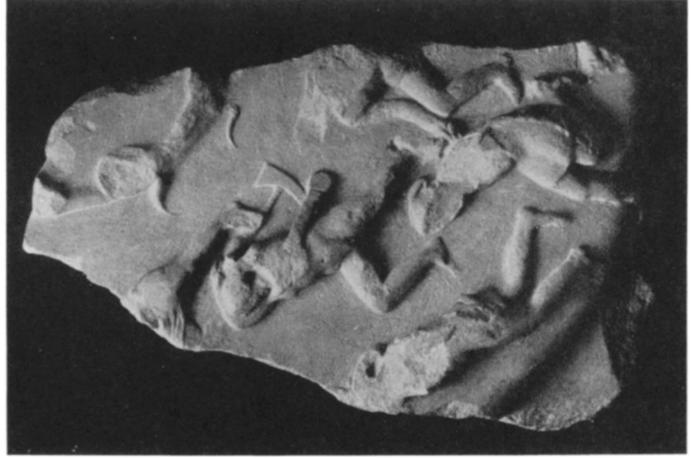
b. Fragment of Terracotta Shield, Agora T 3577.



c. Fragment of Shield, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.



d. Fragment of Shield, Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti.



e. Fragment of Shield, Rome, Conservatori.

EVELYN B. HARRISON: THE COMPOSITION OF THE AMAZONOMACHY ON THE SHIELD OF ATHENA PARTHENOS



Shield of Athena Parthenos, Reconstruction.

EVELYN B. HARRISON: THE COMPOSITION OF THE  
AMAZONOMACHY ON THE SHIELD OF ATHENA PARTHENOS



a. Frank Brommer.



b. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, Neda Leipen.

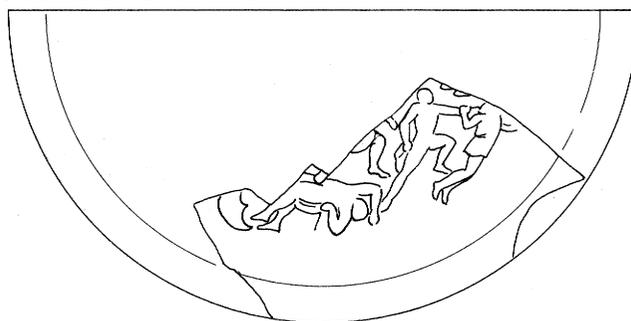


c. Barbara Schlörb.



d. Kristian Jeppesen.

a-d. Reconstructions of Shield of Athena Parthenos.



e. Fragment of Terracotta Shield, Agora T 3577, Sketch Modified from Drawing by Piet de Jong.



a. Group Copied from Shield, Rome, Lateran.



b. Fragment of Group Copied from Shield, Agora S 1357.



c. Fragment of Relief Adapted from Shield, Agora S 2015.



d. Fragment of Frieze from Kerameikos, Dying Amazon.



e. Fragment of Frieze from Kerameikos, "Perikles" and Amazon.



a. Group Copied from Shield, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



b. Skirt of Amazon Copied from Shield, Agora S 2113.



c. Eponymous Hero, Kekrops (?), from North Frieze of Parthenon.



d. Centauromachy, Kylix by Foundry Painter, Munich.