

THE AKROTERIA OF THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA NIKE

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ABSTRACT

Recent examination of the extant akroteria bases of the Temple of Athena Nike (Acropolis 2635, 2638, 4291, and 15958 α – β) and of the relevant inscriptions (*IG I³ 482*, *IG II² 1425*, et al.) has revealed new evidence from which several conclusions can be made regarding the crowning sculpture of this important building. In addition to suggesting the technique by which the akroteria of the Nike temple were gilded, the new evidence demonstrates the size of the akroteria and allows the dominant interpretation of the central akroterion as a Bellerophon/Chimaira group to be rejected. Based on evidence gained from the akroteria bases, three hypothetical restorations of the central roof sculpture are proposed: a tripod, a trophy flanked by Nikai, and a composition based on the other well-known, gilded akroterion of the late 5th century B.C., the Nike erected by Paionios of Mende over the Spartan shield on the east facade of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

The Temple of Athena Nike (Fig. 1) was completed at some time in the late 420s B.C., an exquisite jewel in the crowning reconstruction of the Athenian Acropolis initiated by Perikles and his circle in the middle of the 5th century.¹ While the dates and phases of construction within the sanctuary of Athena Nike remain controversial, it is almost certain that her cult was fully active by 424/3: a decree confirming the salary of the priestess of Athena Nike (*IG I³ 36*) was passed in this year, and the remaining epigraphical and physical evidence strongly suggests that the final phase of the temple's construction was begun at this time.² In its fin-

1. Early versions of this paper were presented at the American School of Classical Studies, Athens, in February 1999; at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in San Diego in January 2001; and at the Institute of Classical Studies, London, in January 2001. For acknowledgments, see pp. 41–42.

2. Completion in the mid to late 420s: Furtwängler 1895, pp. 443–444; Dinsmoor 1939, pp. 124–125; 1950,

pp. 185–186; Shear 1963, p. 388; Boersma 1970, pp. 75, 84–86; Miles 1980, p. 323; Wesenberg 1981, pp. 47–51; Mark 1993, p. 86; Giraud 1994, p. 48; Wesenberg 1998, p. 239; Hurwit 1999, p. 211. The comprehensive treatment of all epigraphical and archaeological data is Giraud 1994. Some physical evidence, all epigraphical testimony, and most secondary literature is collected and reinterpreted by Mark (1993). For measured

objections to Mark's chronology see Giraud 1994, pp. 43–48; Wesenberg 1998; Hellman 1999, p. 26; and now, most vividly, Shear 1999, pp. 121–125. Hurwit's (1999, p. 211) opinion that the Nike temple is generally Periklean in form is in my opinion correct even if *IG I³ 35* (the Nike Temple Decree) is dated to the mid-420s, as argued by Mattingly (1982; 1996, pp. 461–471, 522).



Figure 1. The Temple of Athena Nike from the northwest. Courtesy ASCSA, Alison Frantz Collection

ished state, the Nike temple's sculptural program occupied one of the most prominent architectural positions on the Acropolis. Because of its location, atop the Mycenaean bastion which overlooked the West Slope's great ramp, the Nike temple's parapet, friezes, pediments, and akroteria were in an ideal position both to capture the attention of all who entered Athena's great sanctuary and to project a definite, readable message toward the population of the surrounding city.³ This article will examine the physical and epigraphical evidence as it pertains to the finished appearance of the crowning elements of this decorative program—the Nike temple's akroteria—with the goal that this examination might lead to a better understanding of the sculptural program as a whole.

THE GILDING OF THE SCULPTURE

Several entries from the treasury lists of the Hekatompedon that record gilding from the Nike temple's akroteria provide a good starting-point for analysis.⁴ A piece of gold plate from the temple's akroteria enters the treasury records as early as 382/1 (*IG II²* 1412, lines 27–28) and is recorded

3. Sculptural program: Simon 1985; Stewart 1985; Ridgway 1999, p. 91; and Rolley 1999, pp. 109–115. Parapet: Jameson 1994; Simon 1997; Hölscher 1997; Brouskari 1999 with bibliography; and Thöne 1999, pp. 64–73. Frieze: Felten 1984, pp. 118–131, and Harrison 1997, both with bibliography. Pediments: Despinis 1974; Brouskari 1989; and Ehrhardt 1989.

4. Gilding of the Nike temple's akroteria: Thompson 1940, pp. 187–194, esp. p. 199; Thompson 1944, p. 181, note 31; Boulter 1969, esp. pp. 133–134; Harris 1995, V. 29, 76–77; and now Hamilton 2000, AA 85 and AB 49. The treasury records which definitely record gold from the Nike temple akroteria are: *IG II²* 1412, lines 27–28; 1415, line 8; 1421, lines 59–61; 1424a, lines 106–107; 1425, lines 101–102; and 1428, lines 125–126.

until 350/49 (*IG II²* 1436, lines 66–67), after which the entry is lost.⁵ The most complete reference is found in *IG II²* 1425, lines 101–102, χρυσίον ἐπίτηκτον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων | τῷ νεῷ τῆς Νίκης, σταθμὸν :: ΓΓΙΙΙ. This precise description leaves little doubt about the provenience of the gold recorded, and the original positioning of this gold on the Nike temple's crowning sculpture has never been subject to question.⁶ Such certainty does not apply in the case of the two other entries from the Hekatompedon treasury lists (*IG II²* 1425, lines 103–104, 105–106) that have consistently been connected with the Nike temple's crowning sculpture. These two entries describe, respectively, χρυσίον ἐπίτηκτον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος | τῆς πρὸς τῷ νεῷ, σταθμὸν ΓΓΓΙΙΙΙ and ἕτερον χρυσίον ἐπίτηκτον ἀπὸ τῶν | ἀκρωτηρίων, σταθμὸν :: ΔΓΓΓ. While the entries do not state specifically that the recorded gold comes from the Nike temple, the consistent position of the listings in the inventories suggests that the gold is from that source. When ἕτερον χρυσίον ἐπίτηκτον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων first enters the inventory (*IG II²* 1415, line 8, 375/4 B.C.) it is recorded on the same line as the gold from the Nike temple's akroteria and follows immediately upon it, raising the possibility that τῷ νεῷ τῆς Νίκης is implied.⁷ Although the proximity of the entries within the records does not necessarily attest the proximity of the named items on the building, it is worth noting that the treasurers of Asklepios and Artemis Brauronia almost always recorded their inventories in a manner that reflected the time at which the objects were dedicated and the place from which they were dedicated, a practice that Richard Hamilton has recently documented in the treasury lists of Delos also.⁸ It is not unreasonable to suggest that these otherwise nondescript pieces of gold would have been placed near each other in the lists and in the treasury, if only to facilitate the precise recording of the

5. It is uncertain whether *IG II²* 1435 and 1436, inscriptions sometimes associated with the Nike temple's akroteria (Thompson 1940, pp. 187–194, esp. p. 199; Thompson 1944, p. 181, note 31; Boulter 1969, esp. pp. 133–134), pertain to the building's roof sculpture. After *IG II²* 1428, lines 125–126 (367/6 B.C.), the order of the lists was changed (see note 7 below). The new total listed for “gold” in *IG II²* 1435 seems to be one talent, one hundred drachmas, far more than the three drachmas and five obols found on *IG II²* 1425. No reference to the Nike temple is preserved on these two inventories.

6. It is remotely possible that *IG II²* 1425, lines 101–102, refers to gold taken from gilded ships' akroteria and possibly stored in the Nike temple's cella, perhaps like those seen by Pausanias (10.11.5) in the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi. However, if they were ships' akroteria, the occasion for their capture might be expected to be mentioned (see Harris 1995, IV. 1, 5, 10; V. 2, 18, 21), and the lack of any

such modifying clause, as well as the consistent wording of the lists, argues against the hypothesis. Athena Nike did have her own treasure (*IG I³* 373, 376, 377, 379), but there is no evidence that ships' akroteria were ever included among it. It is also possible that a gilt attachment might be the subject of lines 101–102, but that only its fabric was mentioned in the inventory. This is unlikely, as gold attachments, when they are included in the treasury lists (wreaths, leaves from wreaths, etc.), are specifically listed as such (see Harris 1995, V. 94–96). Obviously, the use of the genitive plural demonstrates that more than one of the Nike temple's akroteria was gilded, a point confirmed by the physical evidence; see below, pp. 15–18.

7. The next inscription in which a reference to the temple akroteria is found, *IG II²* 1421 (374/3), does not preserve this reference to ἕτερον χρυσίον ἐπίτηκτον, but it appears again in *IG II²* 1423, although separated from the Nike temple reference by four lines

recording χρυσίον ἐπίτηκτον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος τῆς πρὸς τῷ νεῷ. This organization of the lists is preserved up to 367/6 (*IG II²* 1428), after which ἕτερον χρυσίον ἐπίτηκτον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων directly follows the reference to the Nike temple akroteria up to 350/49, after which the reference is lost.

In 367/6, the shield's gold is mentioned before the complete reference to the akroteria. This, in itself, need not exclude the possibility that the shield's gold came from the Nike temple. Indeed, it is possible that the masons preserved or abridged the original wording of previous decrees, slightly shifting the order of the items listed.

8. The treasures of Asklepios: Aleshire 1989, p. 103. The treasures of Artemis Brauronia: Linders 1972, pp. 68–70. Linders showed that the items sacred to Artemis Brauronia that were kept in Athens were recorded on stelai in an order dictated by their physical location. Delian treasures: Hamilton 2000, pp. 183–186.

treasures. If gold from different akroteria than those τὸ νεῶ τῆς Νίκης was referred to in *IG II² 1425*, lines 105–106, it seems likely that an identification of their source would have been stated.⁹

The same can be said for the gilding from the shield (*IG II² 1425*, lines 103–104, cited above). While ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος τῆς πρὸς τῶι νεῶι is hardly a precise statement regarding the shield's location, the entry's consistent position near the entry χρυσίον ἐπίτηκτον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων τὸ νεῶ τῆς Νίκης is suggestive. Moreover, the presence of at least fifty-one pairs of deep cuttings made to hold shields and arranged in three even courses on the three sides of the Nike temple bastion allows the possibility that this otherwise puzzling entry refers to a gilded shield hung "before the temple" and that it was the gold from this shield that was recorded in the Hekatompedon treasury lists.¹⁰

That the akroteria of the Nike temple were gilded seems certain; the process by which they were gilded, however, is another matter. Patricia Boulter, citing Blümmer, argued that the word ἐπίτηκτον referred to a method of gilding involving heat, and concluded that gold leaf was fused to the bronze akroteria by the use mercury gilding.¹¹ This reconstruction is problematic. The term ἐπίτηκτον need not refer to a specific procedure of gilding: the word is used within the treasury records to denote any gold which was used to overlay another object. Diane Harris translates χρυσίον ἐπίτηκτον as both "gold foil" and "gold leaf," and, in the inventories, the distinction between χρυσίον ἐπίτηκτον and any gilded (ἐπίχρυσος) or gold (κατάχρυσος) object is made only when the gilding has become separated from its original position.¹² Blümmer did note that the term ἐπίτηκτον refers to some form of mercury gilding, but he referred specifically to Roman technique and made no such claim for 5th-century B.C. metallurgy.¹³ It is now known that mercury gilding was not invented until the 2nd century A.C.¹⁴ Moreover, it would have been difficult for the 6 drachmas and 3

9. Harris 1995, p. 23.

10. The pairs of cuttings and the suggestion that they held shields was first put forward by Petersen (1908, pp. 14–15). He was followed by Dinsmoor (1926, p. 3, note 2). Since then, the fastenings have received little attention.

Athena has long been recognized as the patron of war spoils (*Il.* 10.460), and sacrifices were made to her in this capacity at Olympia (Paus. 5.14.5). Similar dedications may have formed an important component of the adornment of the so-called Chalkotheke on the Acropolis (Downey 1997). Dedicated booty such as shields would surely have been granted a prominent position near the *temenos* of Athena Nike, the goddess of martial triumph. A set of votive shields that hung from the bastion wall would not only have symbolically reaffirmed the bastion's original role as a defensive tower but also

would have covered the finely worked, but otherwise unremarkable, poros sheathing of the bastion itself. Mark (1993, pp. 69–70) contributed important remarks regarding the sheathing but did not mention the cuttings.

It has been suggested that this series of cuttings was made to hold victory wreaths (Judith Binder, pers. comm.). This is possible, although I doubt that the cuttings were initially carved for this purpose. Their substantial size (on average, ca. 0.07 m in height and ca. 0.015 m in width) and depth (on average, ca. 0.075 m), suggests that they were meant to carry heavy objects. The space between the rows (ca. 0.93 m from the top course to the middle course, ca. 1.03 m from the middle to bottom course), leaves plenty of room for large objects such as shields. 5th-century *hopla* were roughly circular (or sometimes oval) and measured a little less than one meter in diameter. The

Figure 2 (*opposite*). Half-life-size bronze female head (Agora B 30) from the Agora, Athens. Courtesy ASCSA, Agora Excavations

famous Spartan shield taken after Sphakteria like those seen by Pausanias (1.15.5) in the Painted Stoa provides the best contemporary evidence, and measures 0.83 × 0.95 m. A shield of this size could easily have been fastened to the bastion wall by means of two substantial pins. Sphakteria shield: Shear 1937, pp. 347–348, and Snodgrass [1967] 1999, p. 53. See also below, pp. 35–36 and note 123.

11. Boulter (1969, p. 134, note 6), citing Blümmer 1884, p. 291, note 3. See now Vittori 1978; Oddy 1985, 1990, 1991; Anheuser 1996.

12. "Foil" is the form of gold plate strong enough to support its own weight. "Leaf" cannot stand on its own and folds beneath its own weight. See Oddy 1985, p. 65. I thank Diane Harris for discussing these entries with me.

13. Blümmer 1884, p. 291, note 3.

14. Haynes 1992, p. 113.



15. Examples of smaller objects gilded with leaf are common. A gilt copper wreath was found in an early-4th-century tomb at Olynthus (*Olynthus* X, p. 158, no. 505, pl. XXVIII) and two pairs of gilt greaves were found in the antechamber of Tomb II and in the so-called “Prince’s Tomb” at Vergina (Andronikos 1984, pp. 186, 216). Evidence of gold leaf gilding on a modest sculptural scale is demonstrated by an early Classical bronze statuette of Athena (H. 0.37 m) found north of the Erechtheion in 1887 and by another small Athena statuette (H. 0.288 m) with a gilded aegis, found the same year east of the same building. See Stais 1887, with pl. 4; Studniczka 1887, esp. cols. 142–144 and pl. 7.

There are several literary references to early gilded statues, although, again, the method by which they were gilded is uncertain: the three gilded bronzes owned by King Kroisos of Lydia in the mid-6th century B.C. (Moses of Chorene 2.11.103), the gilded statue dedicated at Delphi by Gorgias of Leontini (483–376 B.C.; Paus. 10.18.7), the set of gilded Nikai akroteria made by Paionios for the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (Paus. 5.10.4), and the gilded statue of Phryne made by Praxiteles and dedicated at Delphi (Paus. 10.15.1). See Haynes 1992, p. 112, and Mattusch 1996, p. 28, nos. 43, 44, 46.

Alexander (1979, p. 67) has shown

obols of gold positively associated with the Nike temple in the treasury records to have broken from the akroteria and to have been recovered if this gold had been applied as leaf.¹⁵ Gold applied as leaf, if it had been worn or scratched off the sculpture, would have been recovered in the form of *very* thin flakes, not much thicker than ca. 1/900 mm—small enough to be blown about by the wind and washed away by rain, properties that would have made the recovery of even a modest 6 drachmas and 3 obols improbable at best.¹⁶

A much more likely method of gilding is the mechanical application of gold foil as seen on the famous late 5th-century B.C. female head (Fig. 2) and on the equally well-known late-4th-century B.C. rider’s leg, both from the Athenian Agora.¹⁷ In this procedure, gold foil was folded into deep grooves cut around prominent areas of the sculpture. Gold wire was then hammered into the grooves, locking the gold into position. The gold was then burnished over the surface of the underlying statue, fixing it tightly in place while faithfully reproducing the features of the bronze core. The conclusion that this was the method by which the akroteria of the Nike temple were gilded is attractive because it proposes the use of a late-5th-century procedure and makes more plausible the recording of the recovered gold.¹⁸

that another method of gilding was described in the Papyrus of Leyden but there is no evidence I know of which suggests that this type of “lead-alloy” gilding was practiced on a monumental scale in 5th-century Athens. On the possibility of leaf gilding of monumental statuary see note 32 below.

16. Kluge and Lehmann-Hartleben 1927, pp. 31–34; Oddy, Vlad, and Meeks 1979, p. 182; Oddy 1990, p. 108. Pliny (*HN* 31.19.61) notes in his description of gilding techniques that a single ounce of gold could yield 750 micro-thin gilding leaves each about 10 cm square. Theophilus (*Schedula Diversarum Artium* 1.23) demonstrates the fragility of gold leaf, as opposed to gold plate, in his description of a medieval craftsman hammering the gold leaf between two sheets of parchment so that the thin leaf would not stick to his hammer. I thank James Muhly for his assistance with bibliography concerning these topics.

17. Agora head (Agora B 30): Shear 1933. Agora leg (Agora B 1384): Shear 1973, pp. 165–168. Mattusch (1996, pp. 121–129) gives full discussion of the bronze head and leg, as well as the problems associated with their dates, findspots, and attributions. While the bronze head is consistently dated to the late 5th century (e.g., Ridgway 1981, p. 124; Boardman [1985] 1995, p. 176, fig. 138), Mattusch has raised the possibility that it might belong to the

well-known Antigonid chariot group dedicated after the defeat in 307 B.C. of Cassander’s forces by Demetrios Poliorketes. Given the fragmentary condition of the head and the leg, any certain conclusion as to the original provenience of these pieces must await the discovery of further evidence; see Houser 1979, p. 222; 1987, pp. 255–281; and below, note 127.

18. A small (H. ca. 11.5 cm) 2nd-century B.C. youth from the Pergamene Asklepieion shows an identical gilding technique; see Deubner 1989 and Sharpe 2000. This same method of gilding is described by Pliny (*HN* 34.63), who recalls a story in which Nero ordered a statue of Alexander to be gilded. According to the tale, the addition of the gold so ruined the aesthetic value of the piece that Nero ordered the gilding to be removed. Pliny then notes that in its new condition, the statue was considered more valuable even though it retained scars from the incisions into which the gold had been fastened. While Hill (1969, pp. 71–72) believed that the statue was originally gilt and that the story was invented by Pliny to discredit Nero, there can be no question that the cuttings described by Pliny are the same type as those found on the Agora head and leg. Apparently, this method of gilding survived even after mercury gilding techniques were well known.

THE CENTRAL AKROTERION BASE

In addition to the evidence from the Hekatompedon lists, two joining apex blocks that form a single, central akroterion base (Acropolis 15958 α - β ; Figs. 3–6) comprise the most concrete evidence from which conclusions can be drawn regarding the appearance and composition of the Nike temple's crowning sculpture.¹⁹ The right-hand block preserves most of the eastern and southern plinth faces. The left-hand block preserves a portion of the eastern plinth face and the bottom of the plinth's northeast corner. The two blocks are nearly identical in length, measuring 0.432 m and 0.431 m, respectively, and they join to form a long base measuring 0.863 m (Fig. 3).²⁰ The base was carved in one piece with the sima (Figs. 3–4, 6), and the upper surface was pitched slightly to allow rainwater to drain from the blocks. Although the marble in its current state, eroded 0.005–0.01 m in some places, does not allow for the precise measurement of this angle, the preserved surface does show a slight deviation from the horizontal, a well-known practical refinement seen in other Acropolis architecture.

Although the length of the base is certain, its width is not. The plinth of the left block (α) has a preserved width of ca. 0.26 m; the plinth of the right block (β) is preserved to a width of ca. 0.24 m. Both blocks, their front faces preserved, are broken at the rear along a rough line running through one major socket (C), through two deep channels (B and D), and through two smaller dowel cuttings (A and E) (all cuttings, Figs. 3, 5). If the axis of these cuttings is considered the probable center of the base, the width may be restored to ca. 0.50–0.60 m. This width corresponds to the range dictated by Orlandos's and Giraud's reconstructions of this

19. The base was first drawn by G. P. Stevens (1908, fig. 7), who noted that the cuttings found on its surface indicated the presence of "akroteria of some sort" (p. 404). He was followed by Orlandos (1915, pp. 42–44, pl. 5), who briefly mentioned the blocks and showed them as separate bases, in profile, on a restored view of the temple's east side. Later, Orlandos (1947–1948, pp. 30–33, figs. 20, 25, and 29) published a photograph of the fragments joined as one base and two drawings of the Nike temple's roof with fragments restored to the superstructure. At this time, Orlandos believed that the two fragments belonged to opposite sides of the temple, thinking that the upper surfaces of the fragments did not form a perfect join. The blocks were republished by Boulter (1969) with a plan by W. B. Dinsmoor Jr. (Fig. 3). Boulter was the first to note that the two fragments formed one base. The

join has been independently verified by Giraud (1994, p. 213, nos. 23–24, pls. 222–236; restored plans, pls. 212–213, 216–217). The base is now located in the last basement chamber of the lower east Acropolis storeroom.

20. It is not unusual for the central akroterion base of a building to be carved in two pieces. The central base for the Propylaia and that for the Hephaisteion were carved in this fashion, and there are other examples. A two-piece akroterion base divides the weight of the crowning apex block and thereby facilitates the final arrangement of the sima. See Dinsmoor 1976, p. 236, fig. 11; Danner 1997, p. 15, fig. 1:8. I thank Tasos Tanoulas for discussing with me the akroterion bases of the Propylaia, and Richard Anderson for discussing with me the akroterion bases of the Hephaisteion.

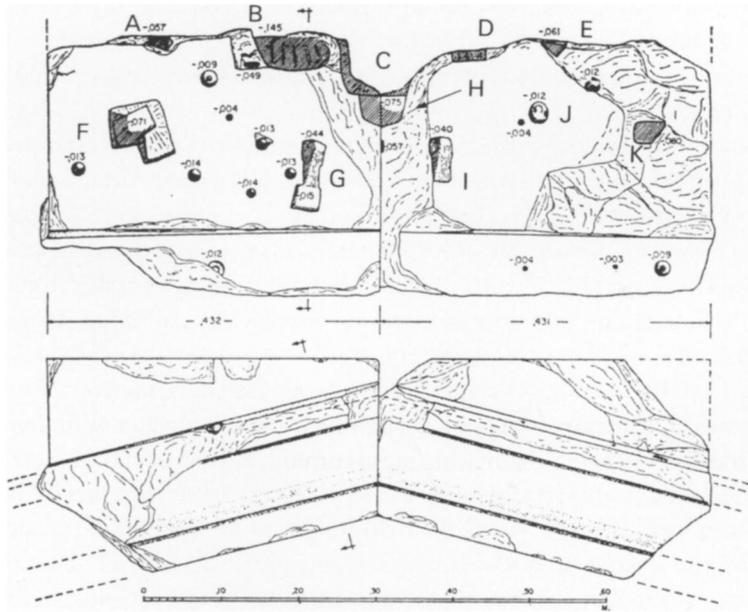


Figure 3. The east central akroterion base of the Temple of Athena Nike (Acropolis 15958 α - β), annotated actual state plan. After Boulter 1969, fig. 1 (drawing by W. B. Dinsmoor Jr., 1969). Courtesy Tessa Dinsmoor.

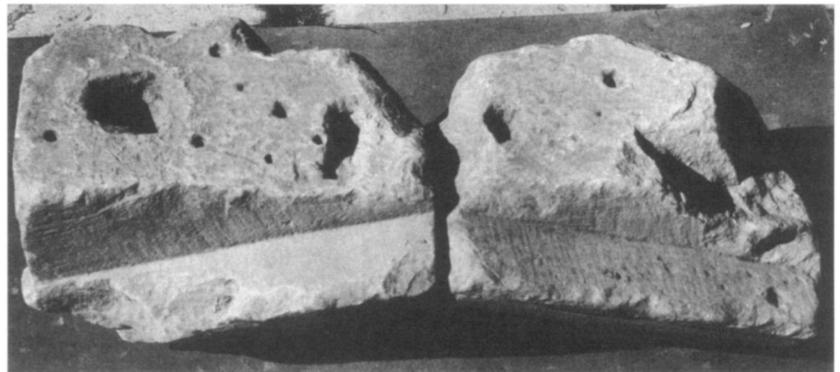


Figure 4. The east central akroterion base of the Temple of Athena Nike (Acropolis 15958 α - β), front view. After Boulter 1969, pl. 36:b

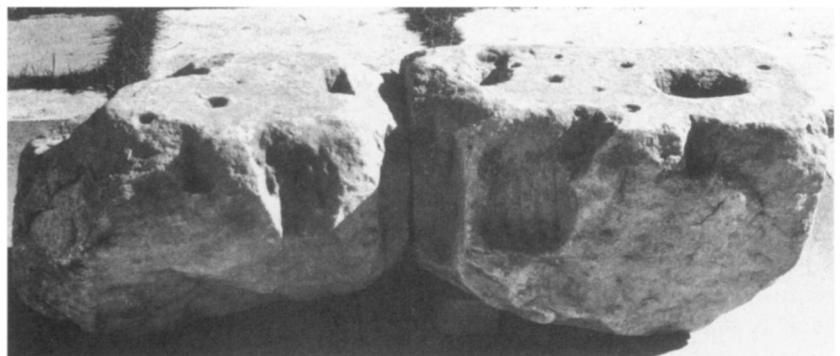


Figure 5. The east central akroterion base of the Temple of Athena Nike (Acropolis 15958 α - β), rear view. After Boulter 1969, p. 37:b

base.²¹ This width would have allowed ample room for sculpture and would have allowed the greater part of the base's weight and the weight of the akroterion to be supported by the tympanum wall in accordance with ancient practice.²²

In addition to suggesting a plausible width for the base, these cuttings comprise the only primary evidence from which any reconstruction of the central akroterion can be derived and, as such, deserve careful scrutiny. Socket **C**, the large central socket, is the most significant point of attachment. The socket is a circular hole, 0.206 m deep with a preserved diameter of ca. 0.085 m. The sides of **C** were gouged out by scavengers in search of lead, and only faint traces remain of what was once a thick dowel setting. The socket fully penetrates the base, and whatever rested in it was fastened into the uppermost block of the tympanum wall at an unknown height (Fig. 5). Two shallow cuttings, **B** and **D**, shared lead with **C**, a fact not readily apparent in Dinsmoor's drawing (Fig. 3) but clearly evident on the base itself (Fig. 5). **B** and **D** are pour-channels for lead, a fact borne out by their very narrow width (0.027 and 0.019 m) as well as by their varying depths (ca. 0.145 and ca. 0.125 m). Their presence indicates that the central post required additional lead fastening near its resting place in the tympanum wall. A similar structural consideration might also explain **H**, a roughly sloped cutting 0.06 m wide that also shared lead with **C** and would have provided further horizontal support for the central element.²³ Together, **B**, **C**, **D**, and **H** form one major fastening point, with **C** as the primary socket.

Deep, circular cuttings like socket **C** are not commonly found on statue bases, but when they do occur there is little question as to the basic shape of the object they held. The Palm Tree of Nikias, dedicated on Delos in 417 B.C., presents a much larger version of this type of socket, in which a round, bronze post penetrated three courses of masonry and was socketed into a fourth.²⁴ A similar type of construction was probably used for the bronze mast dedicated by the Aeginetans after the battle of Salamis and

21. Orlandos (1947–1948, fig. 20) restored the width of the base to ca. 0.60 m, while Giraud (1994, pl. 222) restored the width to 0.48 m. Giraud's restored width, based upon the known width of the bases of the Nike temple's lateral akroteria, is confirmed by his recent observation that socket **C** lies in the *middle* of the central base. The central akroterion base of the Nike temple thus differs from known central akroterion bases that were wider than their accompanying lateral bases. Dinsmoor (1976, esp. figs. 7 and 11), for example, showed that the central base of the Hephaisteion measured 1.644 × 1.312 m while the one extant lateral base of that same temple measured 0.444 × 0.463 m. In the restored axonometric drawings of the central

base published here (Figs. 12, 14, and 18), the 0.12-m discrepancy between the widths restored by Orlandos and Giraud is indicated by a dashed line toward the rear of the block.

22. Central base supported by tympanum: *Aegina*, pls. 34–35; Dinsmoor 1976, p. 239; Giraud 1994, pls. 157–160 and 222–225. The back half of any given central akroterion base acted as a counterweight to the front. The Nike temple's central base is broken along the line of cuttings and along the underlying tympanum support.

23. Giraud made this observation to me while examining the base in January 1999.

24. Picard and Replat 1924, with fig. 3; Amandry 1954, esp. pp. 307–309 and fig. 12; *Délos* XXXVI, fig. 22.

for the bronze palm tree dedicated at Delphi by the Athenians after the land and sea victories of Eurymedon; in both cases a bronze post penetrated multiple masonry courses and came to rest in a socket near the base of the monument.²⁵ Similar round sockets held the central cauldron supports for tripods and also thick stone tenons, such as that which supported the restored trophy on the Theban victory monument erected at Leuktra after 371 B.C. and Sulla's stone trophy set up after the battle of Chaironeia in 86 B.C.²⁶ Many examples on a smaller scale also exist.²⁷ Socket C of the Nike temple's central akroterion base must have supported a similar vertical shaft, the vertical and lateral loads being distributed onto the base, the raking sima, and ultimately the tympanum wall.²⁸

There are two other points of possible attachment near the broken rear edge of the base. These are a pair of smaller, oval dowel holes, A and E, shallower in depth (0.057 and 0.061 m) than socket C, and set 0.27 and 0.22 m away from the socket. While their small size seems to rule out any major structural function, their roughly symmetrical placement relative to socket C suggests that they could have held other minor decorative elements, if these elements had been further supported by another fastening or by the member inserted into socket C itself.

In addition to the central cuttings B, C, D, and H and the two subsidiary dowel holes at the rear of the base, two other significant points of attachment are preserved on the base. The first is a large cutting F on the left-hand block. It is trapezoidal in shape, ca. 0.06 × 0.07 m, and has a depth of 0.071 m. Its center rests 0.11 m from the left side of the block and 0.12 m from the front. F has been thoroughly robbed of its lead, a fact which accounts for its badly damaged interior. Cutting F is mirrored by the remains of a second socket, K, on the right-hand block, its center set 0.09 m from the right side of the block and ca. 0.12 m from the front profile. The depth of K (ca. 0.08 m) and its placement are nearly identical to those of F and the two cuttings appear to have had similar dimensions. The depth of these cuttings in comparison with the other dowel holes on the base, as well as their symmetrical placement relative to the outer edges

25. Aeginetan mast: Hdt. 8.122; Amandry 1954, pp. 303–307; Gauer 1968, pp. 73–74; Brogan 1999, pp. 46, 49. Eurymedon palm: Paus. 10.15.4–5; Amandry 1954, esp. figs. 1–2; Gauer 1968, pp. 105–107; Lacroix 1992, esp. pp. 168–170; Brogan 1999, pp. 49–50; Jacquemin 1999, no. 81.

26. Theban trophy: Daux 1959, pp. 675–679; Polito 1997, pp. 80–81 and note 56, with bibliography. Trophy of Sulla: Camp et al. 1992, pp. 443–445.

27. In their examination of the base blocks for Pheidias' Great Bronze Athena, Stevens and Raubitschek (1946, esp. figs. 4–5) noticed two sets of deep (0.10–0.135 m) circular

cuttings and noted that these sockets must have held some sort of large dowel. They concluded that the sockets held Persian trophies set up around the giant statue. The low statue base set over the south terrace wall of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi also shows deep, round cuttings of this sort. These cuttings have recently been interpreted as sockets for trophies erected on the base in a phase immediately preceding the erection of the well-known ten-figured statue group. See Stähler 1992, p. 8; although note *F&D* II, 8, pp. 61–63, esp. 62, and now Amandry 1998, pp. 83–84, for the debate on the function of these sockets. Even more recently, Stewart (forthcoming) has

suggested that the unusually deep sockets atop the altar at Pergamon (see Hoepfner 1996, pp. 128–129, esp. note 32; figs. 11–12) might have been cut to receive the bottom of trophies. Further comparison for this type of socket is provided by the large lead pour-holes found on the so-called Type A pillar bases noted by Dinsmoor (1923) and illustrated by Willemsen (1963, fig. 3).

28. Demosthenes Giraud and Manolis Korres agreed that these cuttings must have formed a single large fastening that held a major vertical element (pers. comm., January 1999; March 1999).

of the base, suggest that they held significant objects, but nothing more certain can be said on the basis of the physical evidence alone.

Three more cuttings deserve mention. The first two are a pair of symmetrical cuttings, **G** (Fig. 6) and **I**, which, like **F** and **K**, almost mirror each other in terms of their relative locations.²⁹ Both are set 0.09 m distant from the central axis of the base and 0.07 m from the front of their respective blocks. **G** and **I** are of an unusual type, tapering from an identical depth of ca. 0.005 m at the front to nearly identical depths of 0.044 and 0.040 m, respectively, at the rear (Fig. 6). At this deepest point, the cuttings are ca. 0.025 m wide. At first glance the cuttings recall the unusual pour-channels under the Parthenos base, noted by G. P. Stevens in 1955.³⁰ This identification is impossible, however, since cuttings **G** and **I** are not connected to another bedding. The cuttings are, instead, for fastenings of some sort. Their size as well as their unusual graded depths indicate that they are subsidiary, and that they could not have held a vertical element. They might have held a decorative component or a minor structural member which could have provided further support for the major central fastening. The final fastening point, cutting **J**, is a round socket 0.025 m in diameter with a maximum depth of 0.012 m. It is the only other cutting on the upper surface of the base that is large enough to have held any substantial decoration, and it is the only socket departing from the symmetrical arrangement of cuttings.³¹

The dimensions of these central blocks and their group of symmetrical cuttings reveal several facts from which some initial conclusions can be drawn. First, the central akroterion of the Temple of Athena Nike was bronze. This conclusion is supported by the evidence of gold foil in the treasury records, since 5th-century marble architectural sculpture is not normally gilded, and by the depth of the cuttings.³² If the sculpture had

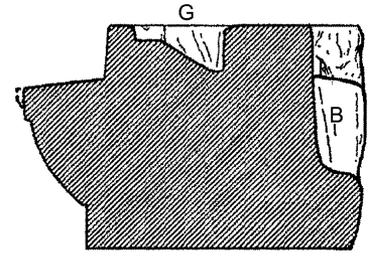


Figure 6. The southeast block of the east central akroterion base of the Temple of Athena Nike (Acropolis 15958α), annotated section of actual state plan. After Boulter 1969, fig. 2 (drawing by W. B. Dinsmoor Jr., 1969). Courtesy Tessa Dinsmoor.

29. The cuttings would be identical if not for a small, very shallow trapezoidal cutting stamp (0.029 × 0.037 m) in front of **G**. This gouging, however, is not an original cutting. Its depth of 0.015 m is far too shallow for any sort of attachment. It is too small to be a bedding of any sort. It is for these reasons that Stevens (1908, fig. 7) omits it from his drawing of the block.

30. Stevens 1955, pp. 273–274, fig. 21.

31. The surface of this base, like the surfaces of the lateral bases, is covered with small ring-shaped holes, most clearly illustrated by Fig. 9. While Giraud (1994, pp. 214–216) had previously explained these holes as fastening points for *obeloi* (spikes to prevent birds from roosting), I originally thought that they might have been indicative of some sort of elaborate prop system for the crowning decoration, perhaps like the support armature that Phyllis Lehmann

(*Samothrace* III, pp. 351–353, note 184) proposed for the elaborate floral akroterion of the Hieron at Samothrace or the prop system that René Valois (*Délos* VII, p. 107) discovered in his investigation of the central floral akroterion of the Stoa of Philip V on Delos. I realized that this was impossible after considering the very shallow depth of the holes on the Nike temple's base (ca. 0.005 m). They could have held nothing more substantial than pins and are not deep enough to give any sort of support to any structural element. For further discussion of the ring-shaped holes, see pp. 15–17 and note 53 below. There are other, smaller holes on the upper surface of the central base (especially to the left of cutting **G**), but they are not of the same type. See Ridgway 1990, p. 588, on *obeloi*.

32. One possible example of leaf gilding of marble on a monumental sculptural scale in the 5th century might

be the pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon. At the beginning of the 19th century, E. D. Clarke was told by members of the team working for Giovanni Battista Lusieri (Elgin's agent) that the artists drawing the sculpture had observed traces of gilding on the statues along with traces of paint (Clarke as cited by Palagia [1993] 1998, p. 12). There are other examples of leaf gilding of exterior marble. One Neoptolemos offered to gild an altar of Apollo in the Athenian Agora (Plut., *Mor.* 834F–844A); *JG I* 343, line 10 (Harris 1995, IV. 20) records a gilt kore in the treasures of the Parthenon; Fongler (1886, pp. 21–33) provides the best discussion of the possible gilding of marble architectural details on both the Propylaea and the Parthenon; and Paton (1927, pp. 230–231) gives a full discussion of the gilding of the Ionic capitals of the Erechtheion.

been marble, a shallow, flat bedding carved to hold a plinth would be expected. Second, the sculpture was probably some sort of symmetrical group or some object which required multiple, symmetrical points of connection to its base. As noted, the major central socket demonstrates the presence of a heavy, vertical element, while the other pairs of symmetrical cuttings suggest the presence of separate figures or structural members somehow connected to the central post.³³

Finally, judging from the restored dimensions of the blocks ($0.863 \times$ ca. 0.60 m) and the depth of the fastenings, it seems that the symmetrical group or object was rather large. A comparison with roughly contemporary central akroterion bases from Attica and elsewhere on the Greek mainland is informative. The central akroterion of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, probably depicting the abduction of Oreithyia by Boreas, rested on a plinth measuring 0.66×0.41 m; the supporting block would not have been much larger, ca. $0.717 \times$ ca. 0.45 m.³⁴ The central akroterion of the west facade of the Athenian temple on Delos, showing the abduction of Kephalos by Eos, rested on a marble post 0.424×0.32 m, set into a base

33. Evelyn Harrison kindly pointed out to me that this broad range of cuttings raises the possibility of multiple phases of use for the base. Several features of the base seem to stand against this. As noted, the base was carved in two pieces, the lower surfaces of which are not only unevenly broken but are also carved along the apex angle of the Nike temple's sima. The inherent instability that would have been created by their broken, uneven bottoms renders the blocks unsuitable for use outside their originally intended architectural context. While this problem could have been solved by clamping the two blocks together, no evidence of such reinforcement exists.

Another solution to this problem, that the blocks were held together in a second base, also makes little sense, given that the presence of a large block necessary to hold them together would make the reuse of the damaged base redundant. It is possible, however, that the base had multiple phases of use in situ and that new elements were added while it remained in place on the Nike temple. The rigid symmetry of the cuttings seems to weigh against this possibility. However, if I were determined to reconstruct multiple phases for the base in situ, I might consider cuttings A, E, F, J, and K as later, since they are not as rigidly symmetrical as G and I.

I find it almost impossible to believe that central strut C and its pour-channels could belong to any hypothetical later phase, since the object held in this socket was fastened directly to the tympanum wall. Given that such structural use of the tympanum wall is a regular and expected feature of akroterial compositions (see note 22), we can presume that socket C, at least, is original. Moreover, since the base is so long, it is unlikely that this massive post was the only object originally intended to be placed on top of the Nike temple. While the evidence for multiple sculptural phases in situ is lacking, the base was certainly used for building material during the construction of the Turkish fortifications. It is this reuse that is responsible for the relatively poor condition of the blocks.

34. Rhamnous central akroterion (Athens NM 2348): Gerokostopoulos 1890, p. 151, no. 14; Karusu 1962, esp. p. 179; Despintis 1971, pp. 162–164; Delivorrias 1984; Schauz 1980, p. 105, note 173; Miles 1989, pp. 212–214; Danner 1989, pp. 25–26. Since the provenience of this base has been considered controversial (Mark 1993, p. 78, note 48), it might be appropriate to review the known facts. NM 2348 was originally found in Rhamnous by Gerokostopoulos and recorded in his October catalogue (1890, p. 151, no. 14). Later, Karusu (1962, p. 179) found the base in the Acropolis

Museum with a pencil-written note that stated that the piece had come from Rhamnous. She followed Gerokostopoulos, attributed the base to the Nemesis temple, and identified the figures as Boreas and Oreithyia. Despintis (1971, pp. 162–164) agreed with this attribution, cited Gerokostopoulos, and made some significant remarks regarding the Nemesis temple's angle akroterion. Harrison (*apud* Schauz 1980, p. 105, note 173), however, privately questioned the association of the base with the Nemesis temple, preferring at the time to place it on the Temple of Ares in the Athenian Agora. She identified the feet as belonging to Peleus and Thetis. She was followed by Schauz (1980, p. 105), Miles (1989, pp. 212–214), and Danner (1989, p. 25). As the catalogue of Gerokostopoulos shows, the fragmentary sculpture is from Rhamnous, not from the Agora, although its status as an akroterion, of course, might be questioned. In any case, the present comparison of base sizes is unaffected by the question of the provenience of NM 2348; Peter Gandy (1817, p. 45) measured the central akroterion base of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous and reported it to be 0.717 m in length, and this is the length I have used in the text, above.

restored by Hermary to dimensions of ca. 0.60×0.40 m.³⁵ The central base of the east facade of the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, which held the 0.55×0.45 -m plinth of the Apollo and Koronis akroterion, measured 0.622×0.51 m.³⁶

A significant point becomes apparent from these comparisons. The central akroterion base of the Nike temple is considerably larger than the other central bases noted above. This observation acquires special import when the small stylobate size of the Nike temple (5.39 m) is compared to the much larger stylobate dimensions of the Temple of Nemesis (9.99 m) and of the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (11.76 m). Whatever object was supported by the Nike temple's central akroterion base thus required an area physically larger than the bases of the these larger, roughly contemporary temples.

A comparison of the relationship between the base lengths and akroterion heights of these sculptural groups can provide some general parameters for the possible height of the central element of the Nike temple akroterion.³⁷ On the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, a group ca. 1.7 m tall stood on a base measuring $0.717 \times$ ca. 0.45 m, presenting a ratio of sculpture height to base length of ca. 2.4 : 1.³⁸ On the west side of the Temple of the Athenians on Delos, a complex sculptural group with a restored height of ca. 1.80 m was set on a base ca. 0.65 m in length, providing a ratio of ca. 2.8 : 1.³⁹ The height of the Apollo and Koronis group at the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros was ca. 1.25 m, making the ratio of sculpture height to base length (0.622 m) about 2.01 : 1.⁴⁰ A ratio of about 2 : 1 between sculpture height and base length is found in 5th- and 4th-century freestanding sculpture.⁴¹ If the symmetrical object or group placed on the Nike temple's central akroterion base followed this general paradigm, then it is appropriate to restore the Nike temple's central crowning sculpture, held on a base 0.863 m in length, to a total height of ca. 1.7 m, or about the height of a life-sized figure.⁴²

If the restored height of ca. 1.7 m is provisionally accepted for the akroterion of the Nike temple, then the resulting ratio of akroterion height

35. Athenian temple on Delos, central akroterion (A 4281 and A 4282): Wester 1969; *Delos* XXXIV, p. 24 and pls. 19 and 21; Danner 1989, p. 23; Marcadé 1996, p. 66. I thank Giannis Gramatakis and Panayotis Alexiou of the Archaeological Museum on Delos for their helpful comments during my visits to Delos in May of both 1999 and 2000.

36. Roux 1961, p. 104; Danner 1989, p. 19; Yalouris 1992, pp. 17–19.

37. The importance of base length to the determination of akroterion height was first discussed by Peter Danner (1988). The relationship does not exist in a vacuum, however, and the relationship of any given akroterion to the architecture upon which it rests

must also be considered. Caution should also be taken when comparing bases that held different akroterion types (floral, single-figured, groups, etc.). Here, all comparanda come from late-5th- and early-4th-century akroterion bases that held sculptural groups. A comparison of sculpture height to base length does have the advantage over ratios of akroterion height to tympanum height, since it is grounded in the structural needs of the sculpture as opposed to an arbitrary and—as Danner (1988; 1989, pp. 69–70, 88–89) and Lehmann (*Samothrace* III, pp. 351–353, esp. note 185; p. 386, note 235) have shown—misleading rule of thumb. See below, notes 44 and 46.

38. Above, note 34.

39. Above, note 35. The exact height of the Kephalos and Eos group that adorned the west apex of the Athenian temple on Delos is disputed, but the proportions of its figures are very close to those of the east group, which showed Oreithyia being abducted by Boreas. The actual height of the Oreithyia group, as given by Marcadé (1996, p. 66) is ca. 1.70 m.

40. Roux 1961, p. 104; Yalouris (1992, pp. 17–19) discusses the figures in their preserved state.

41. Palagia 1994, p. 115.

42. Obviously, if the proportions of the akroterion bases noted above are used as comparanda, the size of the Nike temple's crowning sculpture increases dramatically.

TABLE 1. PROPORTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS OF SELECTED AKROTERIA TO ARCHITECTURE, 525–360 B.C.

<i>Building</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>TH</i>	<i>SW</i>	<i>MH</i>	<i>LH</i>	<i>MH : TH</i>	<i>LH : TH</i>	<i>LH : MH</i>	<i>SW : TH</i>	<i>SW : MH</i>
Siphnian Treasury, Delphi*	525	0.73	6.22	-	0.95	-	1.30 : 1	-	8.52 : 1	-
Temple of Artemis, Paros*	490	0.72	5.79	0.72	0.65	1.00 : 1	0.90 : 1	0.90 : 1	8.05 : 1	8.04 : 1
Athenian Treasury, Delphi*	480	0.73	6.87	-	1.25	-	1.71 : 1	-	9.41 : 1	-
Temple of Zeus, Olympia	465	3.44	27.68	ca. 3.75	-	1.09 : 1	-	-	8.05 : 1	7.38 : 1
Temple of Poseidon, Sounion	440	1.45	13.47	ca. 1.35	-	0.93 : 1	-	-	9.29 : 1	9.98 : 1
Parthenon, Athens	440	3.47	30.88	ca. 3.86	-	1.11 : 1	-	-	8.90 : 1	8.00 : 1
Nemesis Temple, Rhamnous	430	1.04	9.99	ca. 1.7	-	1.63 : 1	-	-	9.61 : 1	5.88 : 1
Temple of Athena Nike, Athens*	425	0.52	5.39	ca. 1.22	ca. 0.89	2.35 : 1	1.71 : 1	0.72 : 1	10.37 : 1	4.42 : 1
Athenian Temple of Apollo, Delos	420	0.98	9.69	ca. 1.8	1.3	1.84 : 1	1.38 : 1	0.72 : 1	9.89 : 1	5.38 : 1
Nereid Monument, Xanthos*	400	0.95	6.80	1.45	1.3	1.53 : 1	1.37 : 1	0.90 : 1	7.16 : 1	4.69 : 1
Temple of Asklepios, Epidauros	390	1.15	11.76	ca. 1.25	0.79	1.09 : 1	0.69 : 1	0.63 : 1	10.23 : 1	9.41 : 1
The Heroon of Perikle, Limyra*	360	0.65	6.84	1.58	1.22	2.43 : 1	1.88 : 1	0.77 : 1	10.52 : 1	4.33 : 1

All dates are approximate.

All dimensions are in meters to the closest centimeter.

TH = Tympanum height MH = Middle akroterion height

SW = Stylobate width LH = Lateral akroterion height

* = tetrastyle or distyle *in antis*

43. Praschniker 1919, p. 27; 1929, p. 18; Gropengiesser 1961, p. 51.

44. Against Vitruvius as a reliable source of data for Greek architecture, see Altekamp 1991, p. 310, note 1048. Against Vitruvius as a reliable source of data for some Roman architecture, see Scotton 1999. Ratio of height of akroterion to tympanum of 2.43 : 1 at the Heroon of Perikle in Limyra: Borchhardt 1976, pp. 81–97; Danner 1989, pp. 27–28; and see Table 1.

45. The Parthenon, 1.11 : 1; the Temple of Athena on Kea, 1.25 : 1. The Temple of Aphaia at Aegina is close to 1.125 : 1, at 1.13 : 1. So, too, the Calssical temple at the Argive Heraion, 1.3 : 1, and the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, 1.09 : 1.

46. Danner (1989, p. 70) rightly summarizes: “Die Schwankungen zwischen Akroter- und Tympanonhöhe sind bei tetrastylen Gebäuden so groß, daß sich keine einheitliche Tendenz feststellen läßt. Die Mittelakroterhöhe beträgt seit spätarchaischer Zeit 100 bis 243%, die Seitenakroterhöhe 78 bis 188% der Tympanonhöhe.”

to tympanum height is 3.26 : 1. This rather astonishing relationship is at odds with the “canonical” proportion of ca. 1.125 : 1 codified by Vitruvius (3.5.12) and others.⁴³ As Table 1 shows, however, Vitruvius’ theoretical proportion has limited basis in ancient practice: ratios of akroterion height to tympanum height as high as 2.43 : 1 are securely attested.⁴⁴ Indeed, the theoretical dictum set by Vitruvius seems to apply only to buildings of large size (over 10 m wide).⁴⁵ Technical considerations can account for this application of the ca. 1.125 : 1 ratio to larger buildings. If the Parthenon, for example, was crowned by a central akroterion substantially taller than the tympanum—say, double or triple the tympanum’s height—this akroterion would be seven to ten and one-half meters tall. This height is questionable on aesthetic grounds, and also on practical grounds, since it would entail the restructuring of the entire facade to support the weight of the massive crowning sculpture. The architects of smaller buildings such as the Nike temple, however, need not have been troubled by this concern, as sculpture twice or three times the tympanum’s height would still be of “normal” size: one to one and one-half meters tall. The large central akroteria from smaller buildings, such as the Athenian temple on Delos and the Nemesis temple at Rhamnous, support this hypothesis. The proportions of most tetrastyle or distyle *in antis* architecture (Table 1) also consistently contradict Vitruvius’ axiom regarding the relationship between the height of akroterion and tympanum.⁴⁶ Of course, none of these tetrastyle or distyle *in antis* monuments were so prominently displayed atop a 10-m-high poros

“tower” like the Nike temple, for which the issues of visibility must have played an unprecedented role in the design of the building.⁴⁷

Still, a ratio of 3.26 : 1 for akroterion to tympanum height is unknown, and architectural comparanda cannot be ignored in proposing a reconstruction of the Nike temple’s akroterion. The akroteria of the Athenian temple on Delos, built immediately following the Nike temple and attributed to the same architect, offers a control to the restored height of ca. 1.7 m.⁴⁸ The Athenian temple’s central akroterion on the west facade, ca. 1.8 m in height, was set over a tympanum 0.98 m in height. The ratio is 1.83 : 1. If this ratio is applied to the Nike temple’s tympanum (0.52 m), the result is a central akroterion of ca. 0.95 m. The range (ca. 0.95–ca. 1.7 m) can be further narrowed by a comparison with the akroterion : tympanum ratio of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, a building remarkably similar in scale to the Nike temple although constructed some sixty years before. Danner has conservatively restored the lateral akroteria of the Athenian treasury to a height of 1.25 m.⁴⁹ The tympanum of that little building is 0.735 m. The resulting lateral akroterion : tympanum ratio is 1.7 : 1. When this ratio is applied to the tympanum of the Nike temple (0.52 m) it yields a lateral akroterion height of ca. 0.88 m, a size comparable to that dictated independently by the lateral bases themselves.⁵⁰

The Athenian temple on Delos again offers a control. The ratio between the height of the central akroterion and the lateral akroterion of that temple is 1.38 : 1. If this ratio is then applied to the restored height of the Nike temple’s lateral akroteria (ca. 0.88 m) the result is a central crowning sculpture of ca. 1.22 m. The height of the central akroterion of the Nike temple should thus fall somewhere between ca. 1.22 and 1.7 m. While the exact height of the Nike temple’s central crowning sculpture must remain speculative pending the discovery of further evidence, the massive size of the base, the great depth of the fastenings, and the need for an easily seen composition erected at the top of the towering Nike temple bastion suggest that this figure of ca. 1.22 m should be taken as the minimum possible height of the central element.⁵¹

47. A similar concern regarding the visibility of the crowning sculpture seems to have been in the minds of the designers of the Heroon of Perikle in Limyra (Borchhardt 1976, pp. 81–97; 1990, p. 75, fig. 32; 1993, pp. 48–49, pl. 16), and Ridgway (1997, p. 94) has suggested that the prominent position of the Heroon probably accounts for the large compositions of its akroteria. See also Table 1 and below, p. 39 and note 133. Andrew Stewart noted to me that the height of the Nike temple bastion might have inspired Kallikrates to commission large sculptures for the central akroterion on the assumption that the sculptures’ relationship to the building from the vantage of the Great Ramp would have seemed less radical. Plato’s *Sophist* (235E–236A) proves that just such proportional compensation took place a

generation or so later within the context of monumental sculpture and wall painting. On the problems and significance of visibility within the tradition of Greek architectural sculpture see Ridgway 1999, pp. 74–102.

48. Shear 1963; Giraud 1994, pp. 38–43.

49. Danner 1989, p. 29. Athenian treasury at Delphi: *FdD* II, 8, pp. 43–44; *FdD* II, 9, pp. 182–187; Ridgway 1993, p. 304 and note 58. Delphi Museum 848, the least damaged “Amazon” akroterion from the Athenian treasury, has a preserved height of ca. 0.97 m.

50. See below, pp. 15–18.

51. Korres (pers. comm.) pointed out to me that the length of the base alone proves that it would be impossible for the Nike temple’s central akroterion to have been of “canonical” proportions.

THE LATERAL AKROTERIA BASES

As in the case of the central akroterion, fragments of akroteria bases—six fragments of at least three of the original four angle akroteria bases—represent the only physical evidence for the composition of the Nike temple's lateral sculpture: Acropolis 2635, 2638, 4291; Giraud 158 α , β , and γ .⁵² Two major fragments from the northeast lateral base recently joined by Giraud (Acropolis 4291 and Giraud 158 γ) (Figs. 7–8) provide the clearest picture of the Nike temple's corner decoration. Like the central block, the northeast corner base was carved in one piece with the sima. The base's upper surface is carved at a slight slope to allow rainwater to run from the top of the block. The base is basically square, measuring 0.476 \times 0.485 m. The only significant point of attachment is a large socket (A) carved into the center of the top surface. As preserved, the widest dimension of socket A is 0.25 m, and its maximum depth is ca. 0.185 m, with both measurements including damage sustained during the robbing of lead. Two large dowel holes (B and C) positioned on either side of the central socket and preserved to depths of ca. 0.040 and 0.042 m, respectively, seem to have been carved to stabilize the central element fastened in A. The top surface of the base and sima is further marked by twenty ring-shaped cuttings ranging from 0.020 to 0.025 m in diameter (Figs. 7–9). They are consistently ca. 0.005–0.010 m deep and are arranged around socket A in roughly the shape of an oval. These curious cuttings have been explained by Giraud as fastening points for *obeloi*, an opinion confirmed by the small hole (D) that preserves clear traces of an iron *obelos* embedded in lead.⁵³

Assuming that the four lateral akroteria bases were identical, an assumption supported by the remains of at least two of the bases, the dimensions and cuttings of Acropolis 4291 + Giraud 158 γ reveal several characteristics of the Nike temple lateral akroteria. Like the central akroterion,

52. Acropolis 2635 (Giraud 1994, p. 215, no. 26), lost after the restoration effort in the 1930s, was rediscovered in 1986 near the Pinakothek and was moved to the Nike temple's cella, where it was identified by Giraud. The fragment is now kept to the east of the Nike temple's cella, below the temporary reconstruction workshop.

Acropolis 2638 (Giraud 1994, p. 216, no. 27, pls. 157, 223–224, 226) was originally found in the 1930s on the Nike temple bastion near the Mycenaean wall. It was subsequently published by Orlandos (1947–1948, pp. 30–33, fig. 26). The fragment is now kept to the east of the Nike temple's cella, below the temporary reconstruction workshop.

Acropolis 4291 (Giraud 1994, p. 214, no. 25) was identified by Giraud in 1988 east of the so-called Arrhephorion. It was rejoined with Giraud

158 γ in 1999 and is kept to the east of the Nike temple's cella, below the reconstruction workshop.

Giraud 158 α , β , and γ (Giraud 1994, pls. 157–158) are the designations of three previously unnumbered fragments that were initially reassembled as one base by Orlandos (1947–1948, fig. 20) and were assigned to the northeast corner of the Nike temple. Giraud 158 α , the corner of the base, was first drawn and published by Stevens (1908, fig. 6; here, Fig. 9). Orlandos (1915, fig. 10) published a small drawing of the base in his report on his own reconstruction work. Orlandos (1947–1948, fig. 20) later supplemented this drawing with a plan and an elevation of the temple's east side that included a good drawing of the base, as he had restored it, in situ. Boulter (1969, pl. 35:b) published a photograph of Giraud 158 α , β , and γ ,

but was unable to examine the base herself; she remarked that the fragment earlier drawn by Stevens had been lost, but that fragment was, in fact, Giraud 158 α , as seen in her photograph. Giraud has since rejoined 158 γ with Acropolis 4291 and has restored it to the northeast corner (Fig. 8). Giraud 158 α and β are now assigned to the southwest corner. The fragments are located to the south of the temple, on top of the modern bastion.

53. See note 31 above. According to Giraud, a sharp pin, or *obelos*, was inserted into the center of each ring-shaped cutting. Lead was then poured into each cutting, securing each of the pins in place. When lead hunters later removed the pins, no damage was caused to the marble as the lead was held in shallow depressions and was easily removed using the leverage supplied by the pins themselves.

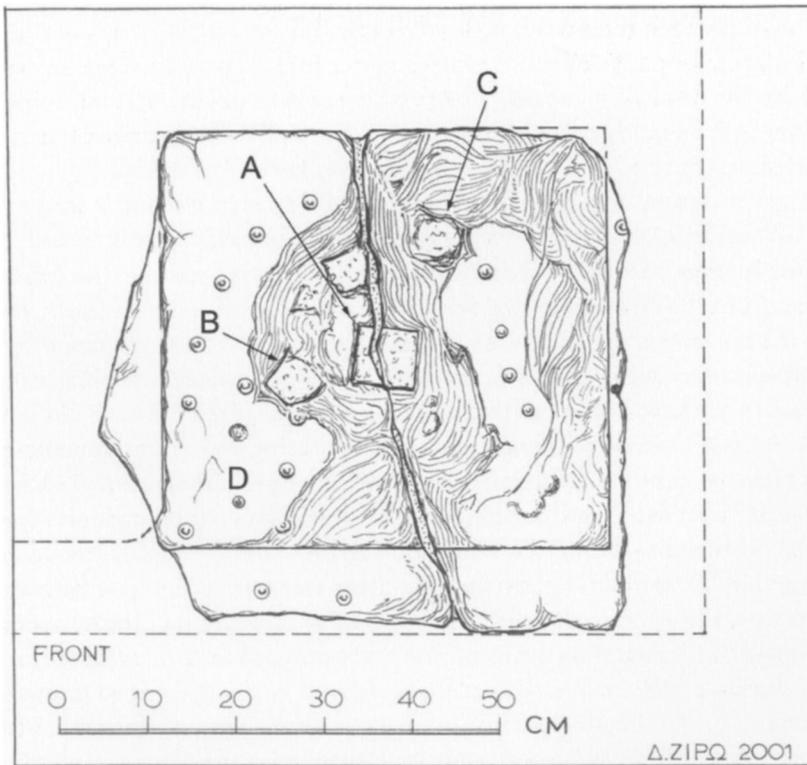


Figure 7. The northeast lateral akroterion base of the Temple of Athena Nike (Acropolis 4291 + Giraud 158γ), actual state plan. Drawing by D. Giraud, 2000



Figure 8. The northeast lateral akroterion base of the Temple of Athena Nike (Acropolis 4291 + Giraud 158γ), oblique view. Photograph by D. Giraud, 2000

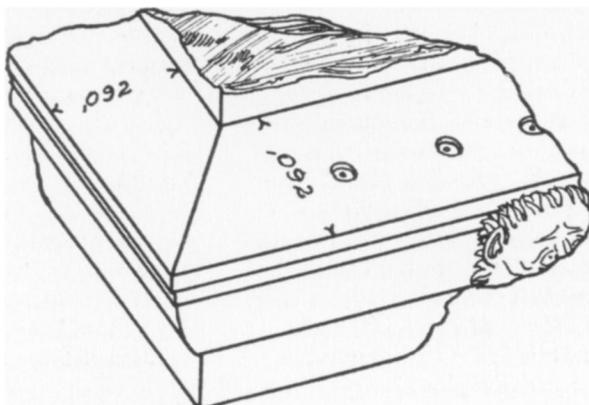


Figure 9. Fragment of the southwest lateral akroterion base of the Temple of Athena Nike (Giraud 158α), oblique view, from the southwest. After Stevens 1908, fig. 6 (drawing by G. P. Stevens, 1908). Courtesy ASCSA, Archives, G. P. Stevens Papers.

the lateral sculptures were made of bronze. This is suggested by the use of the genitive plural in the Hekatompedon lists (*χρυσίον ἐπίτηκτον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων τῷ νεῷ τῆς Νίκης*), by the absence of any trace of a plinth cutting for a marble statue, and by the nature of the base's primary socket, which was intended to hold a heavy bronze dowel.⁵⁴

This lateral base, like the central base, is disproportionately large. At 0.476×0.485 m, the Nike temple lateral akroterion base is only slightly smaller than the lateral akroteria bases from the Stoa of Zeus in Athens (ca. 0.60×0.43 m), the lateral base of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (0.48×0.29 m, as preserved), and the west angle akroterion base of the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (0.522×0.54 m).⁵⁵ The Nike temple's lateral base is slightly *larger* than the lateral bases of the Hephaisteion (0.444×0.463 m).⁵⁶ Given this impressive size and using the same principle by which the central akroterion was restored—a general ratio of 2 : 1 between akroterion height and base length—the Nike temple's angle akroteria should be allotted a minimum height of ca. 0.85–0.95 m. This measurement would make the Nike temple's lateral akroteria roughly comparable to those found on the corners of the Athenian treasury at Delphi, would render the ratio between the height of the angle akroteria and middle akroterion on the Nike temple identical to that on the Athenian temple on Delos (1.38 : 1), and would coincide very closely with the height of the Nikai found on the parapet below (ca. 0.88 m).⁵⁷

In addition to satisfying the need for highly visible sculpture on the towering Nike temple bastion, the restoration of imposing lateral and central akroteria may also account for the otherwise stout proportions of the Nike temple's columns. It has been frequently observed that the Nike temple's Ionic column proportions are unusually stocky for so small a building: 1 : 7.82 bottom diameters as opposed to the more frequent Ionic ratio

54. Figural lateral akroteria supported by single struts: *Delos* XXXIV, pp. 25, 28–29 (for Delos Museum A 4279, A 4283); Delivorrias 1974, pp. 122–123, figs. 39–40 (for Athens NM 1723); Danner 1989, pp. 27–28, 86; Harrison 1990, pp. 177–179, figs. 14:a–b (for Athens NM 1723). See also Thompson 1940, p. 199; Dinsmoor 1950, p. 187; and Boulter 1969, p. 138.

55. Stoa of Zeus: The Nike that may have adorned the Stoa of Zeus (Agora S 312; Fig. 24) was carved with a solid marble plinth that measured 0.503×0.35 m and that would have fit into a base as small as 0.60×0.43 m. As Harrison (1990, p. 178) has shown, however, this plinth was recut, making a clear assessment of the relationship between base and statue height problematic. Harrison assigned the piece to the central akroterion of the Temple of Ares. See also Delivorrias 1974,

pp. 137–142, and Ridgway 1981, pp. 62, 212, 228. Temple of Apollo at Bassai: *Bassitas* I, pp. 279–282; Ak 1. The akroteria of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai were, of course, floral, a fact that explains the unusually narrow preserved dimensions of the lateral base. I am indebted to Christopher Pfaff for discussing this base with me.

56. Dinsmoor 1976, p. 233. Harrison (1990, p. 177, note 35) suggested that the Hephaisteion's lateral akroteria were floral. The oval plinth bedding, however, suggests a freestanding marble figure. The fragmentary Nikai (Athens NM 4839 and 4840) attributed to the Hephaisteion by Delivorrias (1974, pp. 40–44, pls. 12–14) are, to my mind, currently the best candidates. I also like Delivorrias's attribution of the so-called Agora Nereid (Agora S 182) to the central base of the Hephaisteion. Any objection to this placement must be on

grounds *other* than size, since the restored height of the Nereid (ca. 1.60 m) is only 0.07 m taller than the tympanum, and that is within the range of “canonical” ratios between the height of central akroteria and tympana (see Table 1). Dinsmoor (1976, p. 236, fig. 11) showed that the central base of the Hephaisteion measured 1.644×1.312 m. This is a huge base (longer than the height of the building's tympanum) and provides more than enough room for the Nereid from the Agora. Unfortunately, Delivorrias (1997, p. 100) has recently questioned his attribution.

57. Athenian treasury: see above, note 49. Athenian temple on Delos: see above, note 35. Parapet Nikai: Thompson 1940, p. 204; and now Brouskari 1999, pp. 117–224, for full measurements of all fragments.

of over 1 : 9.⁵⁸ W. B. Dinsmoor thought that the Nike temple's heavy columns were carved to bring the Ionic temple into harmony with the high, heavy bastion on which it stood, while A. C. Orlandos hypothesized that the Nike temple's thick Ionic was influenced by the Doric proportions of the Propylaia.⁵⁹ F. Studniczka attributed the heavy columns to a lingering archaic influence, while I. M. Shear pointed out that they were a response to the temple's small size and position.⁶⁰ Another *complementary* possibility is that the architect of the Nike temple designed the columns with the temple's disproportionately heavy entablature and large akroteria in mind, thickening the Ionic order to complement his temple's monumental surroundings and to support and aesthetically harmonize the imposing roof and its sculpture.

THE SUBJECT OF THE NIKE TEMPLE AKROTERIA

Of the subject of the Nike temple's central and lateral akroteria, nothing certain can be said, given the loss of all traces of the original sculpture. Andreas Linfert was the first to attempt a reconstruction of the akroteria by placing three marble sculptures (Athens NM 3043; Acropolis 6463; and the Finlay Group in the Louvre, Ma 859) on the two lateral bases and the central base, respectively.⁶¹ In support of this hypothesis, Linfert pointed to similarities in style between these three pieces and the Nike temple's frieze and parapet. While there is certainly some correspondence in style between Linfert's proposed sculpture and the Nike temple parapet, subsequent scholarship has rejected his hypothesis for various reasons.⁶² The most compelling objection to this reconstruction, however, is that the Nike temple's akroteria bases were meant to hold bronze sculpture, not marble.

A year after Linfert proposed this reconstruction, Boulter ingeniously connected to the Nike temple akroteria a fragmentary Attic inscription that mentioned Bellerophon, Pegasos, and the Chimaira. This inscription, *IGI*³ 482 (Fig. 10), is a small fragment of a stele, found on the Acropolis.⁶³ It was dated by D. M. Lewis to 425–415 and in *IG I*³ is classed among *rationes incertae*.

58. Indeed, the ratio of base to height seems the heaviest of any extant Ionic columns: Ilissos temple, 1 : 8.25; Propylaia, 1 : 9.89; Erechtheion north portico, 1 : 9.35. See Dinsmoor 1950, pp. 186, 340; Shear 1963, p. 379; Mark 1993, p. 73. But see Korres 1996 for the full context.

59. Dinsmoor 1950, p. 128; Orlandos 1947–1948, p. 38.

60. Studniczka 1916, p. 200; Shear 1963, p. 379, esp. note 38. See also Korres 1996.

61. Linfert 1968. Athens NM 3043: Karusu 1968, pp. 61–62. Acropolis 6463: Brouskari 1974, p. 171. Finlay

Group, Ma 859: Hamiaux 1992, p. 139.

62. Athens NM 3043: Delivorrias 1974, p. 192; Danner 1989, p. 92. NM 3043 preserves no trace on its bottom for a metal attachment such as Linfert (1968, p. 430) claimed. Rather, a deep socket has been cut into the backs of the lower legs of the figure as if to secure it to both a vertical and a horizontal surface. The roughly pointed treatment on the back of NM 3043 is not found on any other marble akroterion that I have examined and seems, at least to my eyes, inappropriate for a figure so easily visible from the western approach to the Acropolis. Acropolis 6463: Brouskari

(1974, p. 171) noted that Acropolis 6463 was a relief fragment, not a freestanding piece nor akroterion, and that it dated from the 2nd century A.C. This observation was confirmed by Danner (1989, p. 92). Finlay Group, Louvre Ma 859: Neuman 1964, esp. p. 140, pl. 79; Wester 1969, p. 117; Danner 1989, p. 92; and Hamiaux 1992, p. 139. Both Danner (1989, p. 92) and Hamiaux (1992, p. 139) knew that the Nike temple's akroteria were bronze.

63. EM 6736a. Line 6: The photo shows the first alpha, restored in *IG I*³.



Figure 10. Fragmentary building account (*IG I³ 482*; EM 6736a) from the Athenian Acropolis. Courtesy Epigraphical Museum, Athens

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[.]ΛΙ/ [- - - - -]
 ΔΗΗΙΙ] [. . .⁵. .]σ/[- - - Βελλεροφόντες, Πέ]-
 γασος, Χίμαιρα [- - - - - ἄ]-
 [κ]ροτέριον, Νικε[- - - - - κεφ]-
 5 [ά]λαιον τούτον Τ [- - - - - σύμπαν]
 [κ]εράλαιον ΤΤΤΤ [- - - - -]

vacat

64. For bibliography, see *IG I*, Supplement, p. 178, no. 331f; *IG I² 380+*; *IG I³ 482*.

65. Boulter 1969, p. 135.

66. Boulter 1969, pp. 135–

136. Würzburg fragment: Würzburg H 4696, 4701. *LIMC V*, p. 630, s.v. *Iason 2*; *CVA*, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 4 [Deutschland 71], pl. 52 [3577].

67. My reading of this fragmentary stone is indebted to many conversations with Michael Dixon, John Morgan, T. Leslie Shear Jr., and Ronald Stroud, whom I here thank for their tireless patience in answering quite literally hundreds of questions regarding Attic epigraphy.

Soon after its discovery, this inscription was associated with the Erechtheion as part of that temple's building accounts.⁶⁴ Boulter, however, argued against this assignment. She suggested that the fragment's letter forms found their closest parallels in inscriptions of the mid-420s and she called attention to differences between the format of the Erechtheion accounts and that preserved in *IG I³ 482*.⁶⁵ Instead of associating the decree with the Erechtheion, Boulter argued that *IG I³ 482* was an account for the Nike temple in general and for the central akroterion in particular. To support her hypothesis, Boulter noted that Bellerophon had a strong mythical connection to Athena, that Pegasus was a common apotropaic shield device, that Pegasi were sculpted for the helmet of the Athena Parthenos and, most important, that a Bellerophon akroterion is painted on a well-known mid-4th-century Gnathian red-figured amphora fragment in Würzburg (Fig. 11).⁶⁶ Boulter's conclusion is questionable and can be challenged on epigraphical, iconographic, and, most important, structural grounds.

The size of the stele from which *IG I³ 482* comes cannot be determined without discovery of further evidence.⁶⁷ While the letters are carved stoichedon, there is no evidence of line length, and it is all but impossible to assess the connection between the Χίμαιρα (together with the rightly restored Βελλεροφόντες and [Πέ]γασος), the [ἄκ]ροτέριον, and the frag-

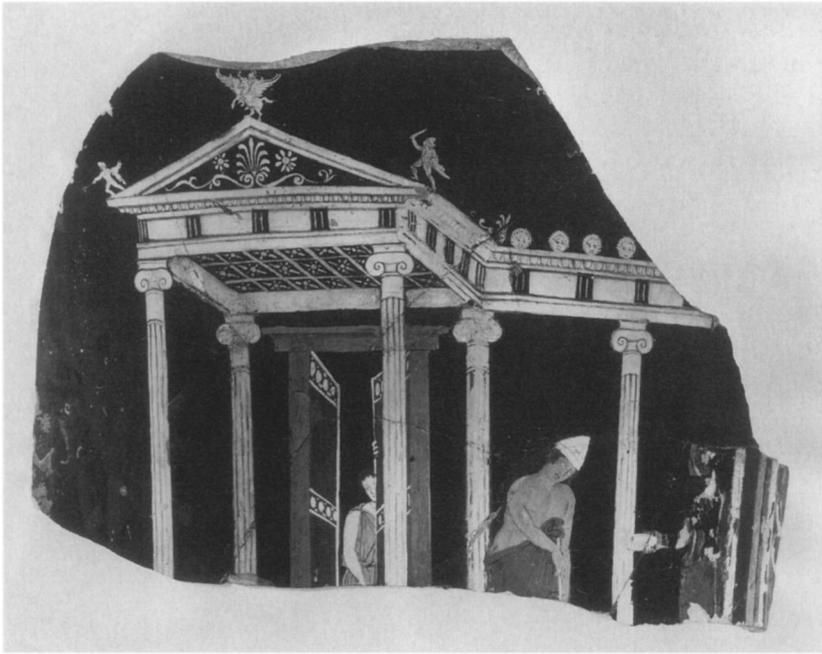


Figure 11. Gnathian red-figured amphora fragment (Würzburg H 4696 + 4701), Bellerophon and Pegasus as central akroterion.

Courtesy Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, University of Würzburg. Photo by K. Öhrlein.

mentary totals preserved.⁶⁸ A date of ca. 425–415, reached on the basis of letter forms, is not enough to rule out a connection of the fragment to the Erechtheion, and the closest parallels to *IG I³ 482* do, in fact, come from the Erechtheion accounts.⁶⁹ Since such significant sections of the fragment are missing, there is no way to be certain of the relationship between the hypothetical Βελλεροφόντες group and the single Νικε[- -] listed, nor is it absolutely certain that a Nike akroterion is referred to at all. The preserved Νικε[- -] could refer to any statue of the personification erected in the late 5th century, of which several are known, in which case the [ἀκ]ροτέριον might refer to the tips of the sculpture's wings.⁷⁰ It is even possible that Νικε[- -] is the start of a craftsman's name such as Νικέας or Νικέτας. In short, there is nothing within the inscription to require that the stele documented expenses for the Nike temple. Still, Boulter's hypothesis cannot be dismissed on simple epigraphical grounds. The impressive fragmentary totals listed on *IG I³ 482* correspond well with the cost of a set of large gilt bronze sculptures and the most natural reading of [ἀκ]ροτέριον Νικε[- -], setting aside the punctuation in *IG*, is that the

68. This is nowhere more clear than in a comparison between Boulter's punctuation of the text and that of Lewis in *IG I³*. As recorded above, Lewis places a comma between [ἀκ]ροτέριον and Νικε[- -]; Boulter does not, and the choice allows for very different conclusions.

69. Paton (1927), pp. 383, 389. If the fragmentary inscription must be used to restore the central akroterion of a major Acropolis building, the Erechtheion seems a much better

candidate. As descendants of Poseidon, Bellerophon and Pegasus have a stronger iconographic connection to the Erechtheion than to any other building on the Acropolis. Indeed, the *Ehoiai* (*Hes. fr. 43a*; Gantz 1992, p. 314) shows that Bellerophon received the winged horse from his father Poseidon as a gift, not that he captured it with the aid of Athena. Unfortunately, there is no positive evidence yet published concerning the Erechtheion's akroteria or their bases. Floral akroteria were attri-

buted to that building by Praschniker (1929, pp. 15–19) and later by Delivorrias (1974, pp. 191–192), who noted that Praschniker's pieces might be Roman copies. A more definite answer to the question of the Erechtheion's akroteria awaits the final publication of the restoration reports of the late Alexandros Papanikolaou.

70. For dedications of Nikai see *IG I³ 468*; *IG II² 403*; Paus. 4.36.6.

inscription refers to some sort of Nike akroterion.⁷¹ These are the problems and ambiguities that motivated Lewis's placement of the fragment within the *rationes incertae*.

Another objection to the restoration of a Bellerophon group atop the Nike temple is that the restoration represents something of an iconographic problem, a fact long acknowledged by scholars examining the Nike temple's sculptural program.⁷² At the very best, Bellerophon has a tenuous iconographic connection to Athens. In one version of his mythic cycle, Pindar (*Ol.* 13.63–92) tells how Bellerophon slept within a sanctuary of Athena and that the goddess woke him and armed him with a divine bridle with which he might capture Pegasus.⁷³ In addition, Bellerophon and Pegasus appear together with Athena on a few south Italian vases.⁷⁴ These connections, however, seem to be countered by the fact that Bellerophon is one of the most unpopular heroes in Attic art: he appears on a grand total of *six* Athenian vases and never in 5th-century Attic sculpture.⁷⁵ Boulter's reference to the Würzburg amphora fragment (Fig. 11) does not counter these statistics since the vase was made almost a century after the Nike temple; was Gnathian, not Athenian; and, more important, represents a purely fictional *Theaterszene* (note the Ionic capitals combined with the Doric frieze), a fact that has been acknowledged by most scholars who have discussed the vase since 1934.⁷⁶

While Bellerophon certainly was a heroic figure and, in his role as Greek monster-slayer, could have reflected 5th-century Athens' well-known obsession for the symbolic representation of its victory over the barbarian Persians, Bellerophon was marked by two fairly significant flaws: *hubris* and his Corinthian lineage.⁷⁷ Pindar (*Isthm.* 7.43–48) describes Bellerophon's pride and his failed attempt to ride Pegasus up to the heights of Olympos, and Homer (*Il.* 6.200–202) notes that this attempt made him hateful to all the gods and that he was cast down and doomed to wander the earth as a shunned cripple. This version of the myth, complete with Bellerophon's fall to earth, was current in Athens at the time of the Nike

71. In the Hellenistic period, a life-size bronze statue cost 3,000 drs. (Diog. Laert. 6.35; Harrison 1977a, pp. 139–146; Stewart 1990, p. 67). If the Nike temple's central akroterion was a sculpture group ca. 1.2–1.7 m tall, a very rough *minimum* cost could be given as 3,000 drs. If the central akroterion on the opposite apex of the building and also the angle akroteria (half-life-size = ca. 1,500 drs.) are considered, a *minimum* total of three talents is reached. This amount reflects the cost of the bronze. If the gilding which covered the statues and the cost of labor are considered, the total amount spent on these akroteria could easily have reached and surpassed the four talents preserved in *IG I³ 482*. If significant attachments were made to these sculptures, as Giraud has suggested to me,

the amount could have been notably more. Boulter argued that the large amount listed in *IG I³ 482* might have pertained to other sculptural adornment of the Nike temple. If I have estimated the height of the akroteria correctly and if *IG I³ 482* happens to treat the Nike temple's roof sculpture, then there is no need to make that claim. The amounts listed in *IG I³ 482* correspond closely to the approximate cost of the gilt bronze sculpture. The problem, of course, is the fragmentary nature of the inscription. There is no positive connection linking the stone to the Nike temple and, even if there was, the totals are fragmentary and can only provide the lowest possible total for the account.

72. Below, note 81.

73. For the other dominant version of the story see note 69 above.

74. *LIMC VII*, s.v. *Pegasus*; Boulter 1969, p. 135.

75. Boulter 1969, p. 136, note 19. See also Brommer 1955.

76. Ridgway (1999, p. 28, note 24), in her discussion of the Würzburg fragment in the context of Euripides' *Ion* (lines 200–205), cites Roux's (1984, p. 7) conservative reading of the text but does not mention that the play's reference to Bellerophon and the Chimaira is made within the context of the Apollo temple's fictional metopes, not its fictional akroterion. Following Zeitlin (1994, p. 297, note 28), Ridgway carefully points out that there is no physical evidence for a Bellerophon group at Delphi. There is no physical evidence for a Bellerophon group in Athens, either.

77. Castriota 1992, pp. 138–183, and note 81 below.

temple's construction, as fragments of Euripides' *Bellerophon* (ca. 425) demonstrate.⁷⁸ The placement of this hero on the preeminent Athenian victory monument—a hero who, in addition to being quite unpopular in Athens, was known primarily for his destruction of the Chimaira and his hubristic charge toward Olympos—seems slightly out of place and even oddly ironic given the contemporary historical circumstances in which the Athenian Empire was immersed.

This general iconographic problem with Bellerophon is aggravated by the hero's Corinthian origin and political affiliations. It is well known that Bellerophon had strong connections to Corinth and that he had enjoyed great popularity there since the 6th century and perhaps earlier.⁷⁹ For late 5th-century Athens, however, there was no city more hated.⁸⁰ Indeed, Kraay has suggested that a unique issue of Poteidaian coins, picturing Bellerophon riding Pegasos, was minted specifically to pay the Corinthian soldiers dispatched in 432 B.C. to aid Corinth in rebellion against Athens, making the use of this emblematic Corinthian hero on the preeminent Athenian war monument all the more unlikely.⁸¹

Bellerophon as the central akroterion for the Nike temple, finally, represents something of a structural problem in light of the central base and its cuttings. There is no evidence for the existence of rearing, gilt bronze horses in the Classical period, and the length : width ratio of the Nike

78. From what can be gleaned from the fragments, Euripides' Bellerophon rides to Olympos so that he might challenge the gods for some wrong done to him or to his wife, Stheneboia. This trek is followed by the traditional results, recounted by Pindar and Homer, of the hero being cast down from Olympos and of Pegasos being made to pull Zeus' chariot as punishment for his own equine pride. Cropp and Fick 1985, p. 77; Gantz 1992, p. 315.

79. *Corinth* VI, pp. 2–3; Gantz 1992, pp. 312–316.

80. Thuc. 1.121–122.

81. Kraay 1976, pp. 84–85; Salmon 1984, p. 294; Calciati 1990, pp. 566–567.

Some good hypotheses have been developed to explain the placement of Bellerophon on the Temple of Athena Nike. Simon (1985, pp. 272–273) noted the Chimaira's traditional point of origin in Lycia and explained the presence of the Bellerophon conflict as an allusion to the Athenian victory over Persia. Noting that the presence of Bellerophon on the Nike temple was difficult to explain,

Boardman ([1985] 1995, pp. 149, 170) agreed with Simon and suggested that the Chimaira might be read as a mythic analog for the multiheaded armies of Darius and Xerxes. The implication of both these hypotheses, that the Athenians chose a Corinthian as their representative hero, is left unexplained. More recently, Hölscher (1997, pp. 145–146) explained the presence of Bellerophon on the Nike temple as a direct allusion to the Peloponnesian War: "In Athen könnte das Motiv des Bellerophon damals sogar eine spezifische Bedeutung gehabt haben: Die Chimaira wurde seit Homer in Lykien lokalisiert, und eben nach Lykien hatte Athen zu Beginn des Peloponnesischen Krieges eine Flotte unter dem Feldherrn Melesandros geschickt." This hypothesis is hard to reconcile with the historical facts. While a representation of the Chimaira might again symbolize Lycia, Hölscher does not mention that Melesander and a part of his men were slaughtered on the very mission that he describes (Thuc. 2.69). There is no reason for the Athenians to commemorate this defeat. Stewart's (1985, p. 58) briefly stated

hypothesis, that the "quintessentially Peloponnesian" Bellerophon was somehow appropriated by the Athenians, is the only explanation that avoids the iconographic pitfalls noted above. This notion of heroic appropriation has historical precedent. In the Archaic period, the Athenians laid claim to Salamis and Aegina by introducing cults of Eurysakes and Aiakos into Athens. See Kearns 1989, pp. 46–47; Stroud 1998, pp. 88–89. The Spartans also introduced the cult of Athena Alea to assert rights in Tegea (Xen., *Hell.* 6.5.27). Palagia (2000, p. 68) has recently suggested that the presence of Helen on the cult statue base of Nemesis at Rhamnous might constitute an attempt to summon away the greatest deity of the enemy during times of war. However, since no cult of Bellerophon was introduced into Athens in the 5th century, it is difficult to bring the argument in line with the mentioned comparanda. The discovery of new evidence, however, might change the picture drastically.

temple's central akroterion base fails to correspond to that of any free-standing equestrian statue base from the 6th to the 4th century.⁸² These problems are compounded by the evidence gained from the cuttings. Boulter argued that the four "shallower cuttings towards the front of the blocks"—she can mean only cuttings F–G–I–K—would have been used to support a Chimaira, while a rearing Pegasos would have been supported by a central strut C beneath the animal's body.⁸³ This is impossible. Even if the clear differences between F, K and G, I are wrongly ignored, any beast set into these cuttings would stand with all four paws in a direct line, an awkward and unstable pose unprecedented on quadruped bases.⁸⁴ This pose also gives the Chimaira a maximum possible width of ca. 0.18 m, the distance between the edge of the base and Boulter's proposed vertical support for Pegasos's body. A hypothetical Chimaira of this size would present an unimpressive foe whose sausagelike proportions not only fail to correspond with the massive size of the base but also fail to meet the need for a large, easily readable composition on the Nike temple bastion.⁸⁵ These problems are further compounded by the undeniable symmetrical arrangement of the cuttings, which demand a symmetrical composition; by the fact that cuttings A, E, and J are left unexplained; and, finally, by the graduated depths of cuttings G and I, which rule out the fastening of feet of any sort,

82. This ratio is almost always at least 2 : 1. An early-5th-century bronze quadruped dedicated by Timarchos and signed by Onatas rested on a column capital-base (*DAA* 236, pp. 272–273; *EM* 6263) measuring 0.345×0.155 m (2.2 : 1), while another early-5th-century bronze equestrian group (*DAA* 88, pp. 95–96; *EM* 6261) was held on a base measuring 0.72×0.32 m (2.25 : 1). A mid-5th-century plinth from the Acropolis (*DAA* 135, pp. 146–152; *Acropolis* 571) that originally supported bronze sculptures of a man standing by a horse measured 1.80×0.87 m (2 : 1), while the colossal, late-5th-century bronze Trojan horse made by Strongylion and seen by Pausanias (1.23.8; *DAA* 176, pp. 208–209) stood on a base ca. 5.05×1.79 m (2.8 : 1). This same length-to-width ratio can be observed in Sicilian and South Italian bases that held equestrian akroteria; see Szeliga 1981; Goldberg 1982, p. 200; Danner 1997, pp. 46–49, 62–68. While the examples above represent only a few instances of an obvious paradigm, they do serve as fair comparison to the Nike temple's central base that was rectangular, but only barely so, measuring $0.863 \times ca. 0.60$ m (1.4 : 1) or, with the width as restored by Giraud,

$0.863 \times ca. 0.48$ m (1.8 : 1). In order to follow precedent, any hypothetical equestrian group that sat upon this base would first have had to be mounted with its broad side to the front of the temple—a departure from all Sicilian and South Italian comparanda—and, second, would have had to be mounted on a base the dimensions of which fail to correspond with any known equestrian models. I thank Catherine Keesling for discussing with me these dedications and their bases.

83. Boulter 1969, p. 140. The marble horses that adorned the corners of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi were supported by columns of this sort (*FdD* II, 8, pp. 43–44; *FdD* II, 9, pp. 182–187; Ridgway 1993, p. 304 and note 58); so, too, the marble horses of the Parthenon's west pediment and the horses of the Dioscuri from the Ionic Temple of Marasà in South Italy (Palagia [1993] 1998, p. 45).

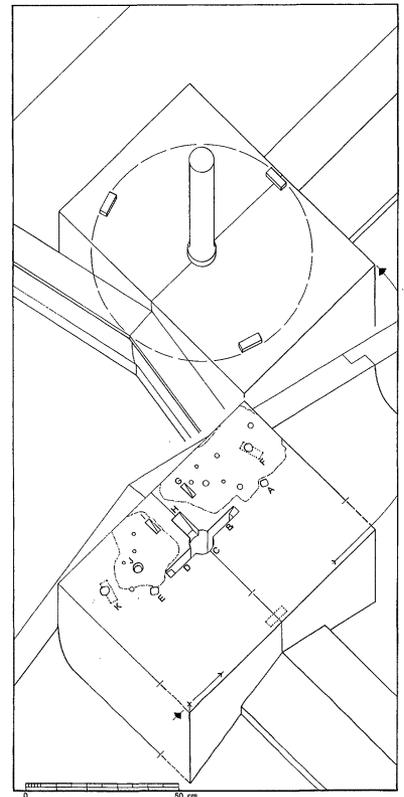
84. Above, note 82, for examples. In these instances, the horse's legs are positioned to either side of an imaginary axis running through its torso.

85. The length of the Chimaira would have been dictated by the length of the base, 0.863 m., certainly exceeding that length.

human or monster. When taken in conjunction with the lack of any solid epigraphical evidence and with the dubious iconographic connection, these technical problems seem firmly to preclude the placement of a Bellerophon group on the Nike temple's apex or, at the very least, on the extant base.⁸⁶

While a Bellerophon and Pegasus group can be ruled out as a probable central akroterion, there remain several plausible alternate restorations, founded on the evidence of the cuttings on the base, which can bring the reconstruction of the Nike temple's crowning sculpture back into line with the known primary evidence and with the rest of the temple's decorative program.

One attractive possibility is that the Nike temple's central akroterion base held a large gilded tripod (Figs. 12–13). Under this hypothesis, the central bronze support for the tripod, undoubtedly sculpted, would coincide with central socket C (Fig. 12). The two front feet of the tripod would be placed in sockets F and K.⁸⁷ The third leg of the tripod could be restored on the missing part of the blocks.⁸⁸ As can be seen from the restored axonometric plan in Figure 12, this solution allows the front of the tripod's cauldron to extend over the sima edge in accordance with contemporary practice and follows quite closely the pattern of dowel holes discussed by Shear in connection with the early-4th-century tripod base on the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes.⁸⁹ While pour-channels B, D, and H might seem large for a simple tripod, these deep grooves might have been necessary if the tripod had an unusually large footbase, not an impossible propo-



86. At the outset of my research, I wanted to keep Boulter's Bellerophon group on the Nike temple's central base since her hypothesis was then considered the last word on the matter. The only possible comparanda for such a composition was Jürgen Borchhardt's (1990, p. 75, fig. 32; 1993, pp. 48–49, pl. 16) plastic model of a hypothetical Bellerophon group restored on the south facade of the Heroon of Perikle in Limyra, a restoration based on two strangely shaped marble fragments identified as horse's hooves (Borchhardt 1976, p. 89, fgts. 5–6, and p. 95). On the basis of this model, I ignored the comparanda from Italy (above, note 82) and positioned my Pegasus perpendicular to the axis of the temple. I placed a strut under the body of Pegasus in C and one pair of Chimaira paws in sockets F and K. I then invented two corresponding paws on the missing side of the base. After making a model (on the kind advice of Mary Sturgeon), I soon realized that this hypothetical statue was impossible to restore on the Nike temple's central akroterion base.

My forced composition was completely irreconcilable with the base's proportions (they are simply too short for an equestrian statue; see above, note 82), did not account for cuttings A, E, G, I, or J, and left no room on the south side of the blocks for Pegasus' hooves (never mind the fact that there were no fastening points for these hooves in the first place!). I also realized the obvious fact that this reconstruction failed to address the undeniable symmetrical arrangement of the dowel holes.

This being said, the possibility, however slight, should be allowed that a Bellerophon group stood on the opposite, no longer extant, central base. While this would have thrown the building's roof out of balance, some might feel that the fragmentary evidence of *IG I³ 482* is strong enough to support the reconstruction. See below, pp. 30 and 35, for another explanation for the puzzling content of this inscription. Another possible option is that the hypothetical Bellerophon/Chimaira group was somehow divided among the lateral and

central bases—but the square lateral bases seem firmly to rule out this suggestion.

87. The central post need not have been a plain column and would probably have consisted of some sort of sculpted figure or group. Pausanias saw such tripods on his visit to the Spartan Sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai, three of which were supported by female deities or personifications. See Paus. 3.18.7; Amandry 1988; Pollitt [1965] 1990, pp. 26, 34–35; Brogan 1999, pp. 47–48. It is also known that Lysander commissioned two tripods to celebrate victories over the Athenians at Ephesos and Aigospotamoi, both of which had female sculptures somehow incorporated into the tripods' structure as supporting elements (Paus. 3.18.7).

88. Giraud's restoration of the base's width to 0.48 m rules out this possibility, since the base would be too narrow to support the tripod's third leg. See above, note 21, however.

89. Shear 1970, pp. 163–165, fig. 8. See also Mattusch 1994.

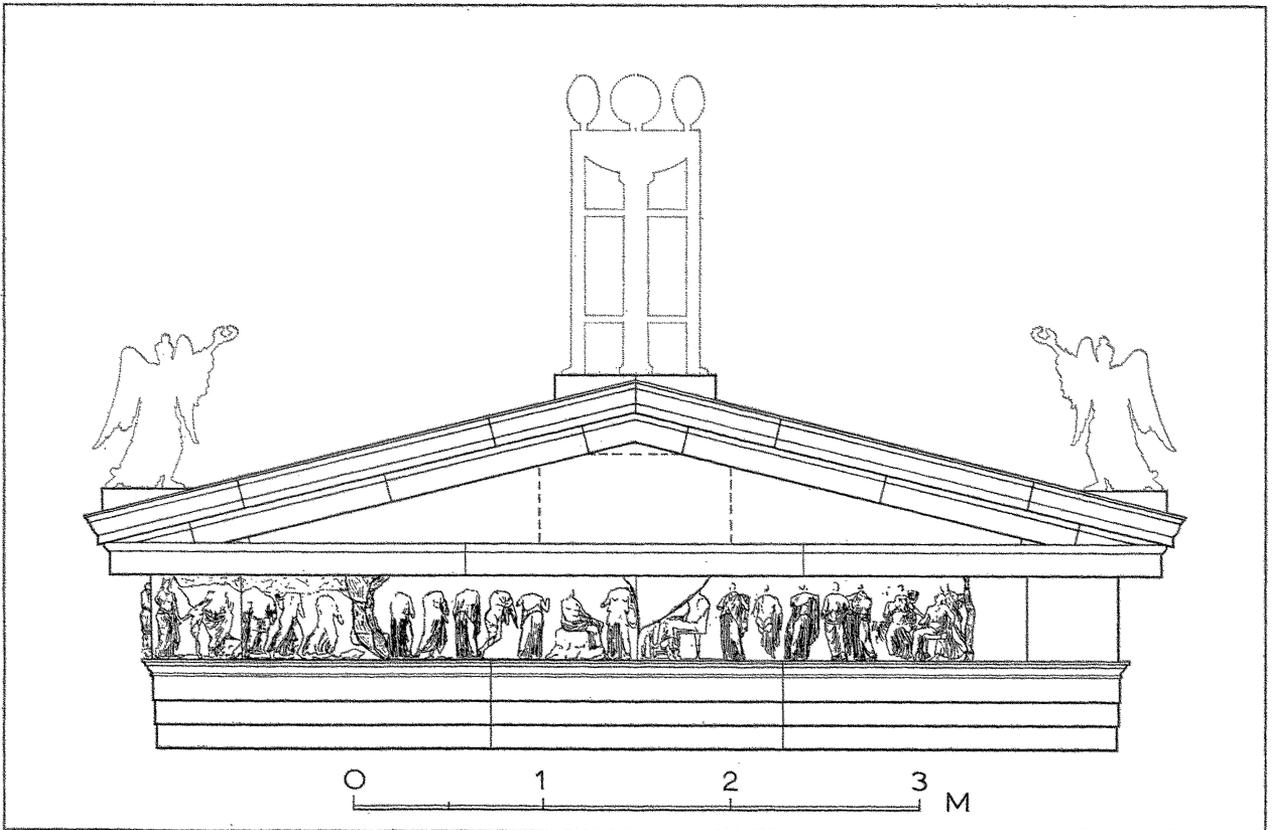


Figure 12 (*opposite*). Central akroterion base of the Temple of Athena Nike, reconstruction. Tripod, from the northwest and northeast. Axonometric drawing by M. Djordjevitch, 2000

Figure 13 (*above*). The Temple of Athena Nike with central akroterion restored as tripod, east elevation. Drawing by M. Djordjevitch and D. Giraud, 2000

sition if the central cauldron support was elaborately sculpted. Holes A, E, G, I, and J are not immediately explained.

In his still seminal study of the tripods at the Ptoion in Boeotia, P. Guillon deduced that a tripod's height would never be less than twice the distance between two feet.⁹⁰ By this rule, a restored tripod on the Nike temple's central base should be at least 1.3 m high—twice the distance between cuttings F and K—a height that corresponds closely with the height of ca. 1.22 m hypothesized above.⁹¹ While it cannot account for all the major cuttings on the base, a tripod is an attractive general and traditional symbol of victory, one that would encompass agonistic as well as martial triumph, a sphere over which Athena Nike held power.⁹² Gilded tripods are known among late-5th-century akroteria, among which the bronze tripods made by Paionios for the Temple of Zeus at Olympia provides the one prominent, contemporary example (Paus. 5.10.4). A large

90. Guillon 1943, p. 47; also Amandry 1988, pp. 112–113, 121–124.

91. The difference between the cuttings typically found on tripod bases and those found on the central akroterion base of the Nike temple is the depth of the fastening. The central columns of tripods are typically set in shallow, concave hollows, not in

massive holes like that seen on the Nike temple's central base. The need for a secure fastening of the tripod to its base in such a high position might explain this discrepancy.

92. Shear 1970, pp. 169–170; Mark 1979, pp. 294–296; Morgan 1990, pp. 43–47; Hurwit 1999, pp. 228–232; and Papalexandrou 1999.

golden tripod could pointedly refer to the famous permanent war votives on Marathon and Salamis and, more specifically, to the gilded tripod set up in 478/7 at Delphi in commemoration of the Greek victory at Plataia.⁹³

Another possibility is that the central base held a commemorative trophy shown being set up, or otherwise flanked, by Nikai (Figs. 14–15). Parallels for the iconography are found on the Nike temple parapet (Fig. 16), the Trophy Painter's name vase (ca. 450 B.C.; Fig. 17), several 4th-century relief bases from the Acropolis, and a host of 5th- and 4th-century gems and coins.⁹⁴ The sculptural inspiration for the flanking Nikai could have been the Nike in the hand of the Pheidias Parthenos or the akroteria of the Parthenon proper, if Korres's restoration of Nikai lateral akroteria is followed, although it can fairly be assumed that their hairstyle, drapery, and pose would have followed the style of the female figures of the east frieze and of the Nikai of the parapet.⁹⁵ The precedent for the sculptural representation of weapons and armor in bronze is provided by numerous dedications in Delphi, Olympia, and Athens, and Pausanias (5.27.11) saw a sculpted bronze trophy with a shield in the very center of the Altis, set up by the Eleans to commemorate a late-5th- or mid-4th-century victory over Sparta.⁹⁶ The Nike temple parapet provides the immediate iconographic parallel.⁹⁷

Under this hypothesis, central socket C would have held the main post of a trophy while cuttings F and K would each have held a single foot of two Nikai (Fig. 14). The shape of cuttings F and K corresponds with that of dowel holes where a single lead tenon was used to attach a sculpture's heel to its base.⁹⁸ The cuttings' placement suggests either a pair of striding figures moving away from the central trophy or moving toward it. In either case, cuttings A and E could easily have held the sculptures' non-weight-bearing legs with a simple dowel (Figs. 14 and 18). Unfortunately,

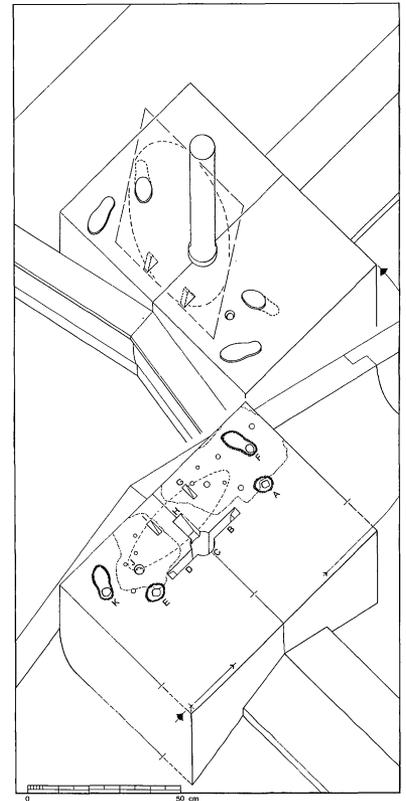


Figure 14. Central akroterion base of the Temple of Athena Nike, reconstruction. Trophy and flanking Nikai, from the northwest and northeast. Axonometric drawing by M. Djordjevitch, 2000

93. Delphic tripod: Hdt. 9.81; Paus. 10.13.9; Vanderpool 1966; West 1967; Gauer 1968, pp. 90–91; West 1969; Ridgway 1977; Laroche 1989; Bommelaer and Laroche 1991, pp. 165–167; Stähler 1992, pp. 13–22; Brogan 1999, pp. 49–52.

94. Parapet, Nike setting up a trophy: see now Brouskari 1999, pp. 171–177, pls. 18, 25, 36–40. Trophy Painter: Boston 20.187, red-figured pelike assigned by Beazley and Caskey (1963, pp. 65–66) to ca. 450–440. See, there assembled, most vases showing trophies, none dated before the middle of the century. Four out of ten Attic examples show a Nike erecting the trophy. Acropolis reliefs: Walter 1923, pp. 190–193; Mark 1979, pp. 206–211. Gems and coins: Kekulé von Stradonitz 1881, p. 1; Woelcke 1911, pls. X:7, XI:2; Boardman 1970, pls. 206, 223,

226, 229, 293, 298. The fundamental article on the Greek trophy is still Woelcke's (1911). The earliest representation of a battlefield trophy with Nikai is found on a late-6th-century black-figured fragment from the sanctuary of the Kabeiroi near Thebes. Immediately to the right of this trophy is a wing that, considering its height, must surely belong to a Nike stepping away from the trophy she has just erected. This opinion was first voiced by Bruns (1940, p. 123, pl. 19:7) and was reaffirmed by Janssen (1957, pp. 61–62). Isler-Kerényi (1970) has collected other examples and Thöne (1999, pp. 63–64, 69; pl. 6:2–3) gives further comparanda and a discussion of the iconographic type.

95. Nike in the hand of the Parthenos: Harrison 1996, pp. 51–52. Parthenon Nike akroterion: Korres

1991, fig. 3; 1994b, pp. 61–64, fig. 8; Korres, Panetsos, and Seki 1996, p. 25.

96. Dedication of arms: Hdt. 1.92; Paus. 10.8.4–8 (golden shield of Kroisos); Paus. 6.19.12 (Megarian shield of ca. 510); Paus. 5.10.4 (Spartan shield at Olympia after Tanagra; see below, pp. 31–32); Paus. 10.19.3 (Athenian shields at Delphi). Brogan (1999, pp. 44–47) gives an extensive list. Olympia trophy: see below, note 107.

97. Thöne 1999.

98. Single tenon, mounted in sculpture's heel: *DAA* 120, pp. 124–125 et al.; Formigli 1984, with figs. 19, 36; Haynes 1992, pp. 102–103, fig. 8; Keesling 1995; Hausmann 1997, pl. 21; Petrakos 1997, pp. 79–80, 127–128, 140–141, figs. 2, 6, 8.

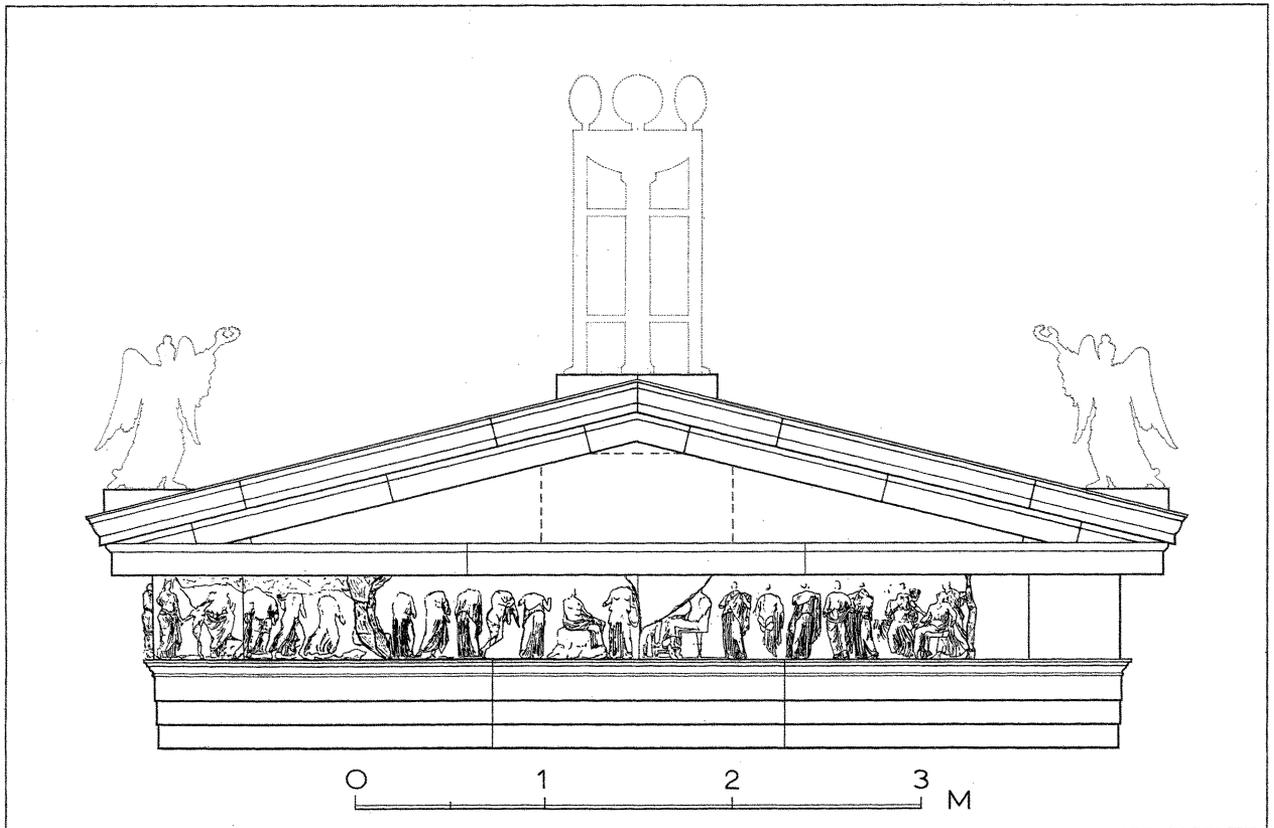


Figure 15. The Temple of Athena Nike with central akroterion restored as trophy and flanking Nikai, east elevation. Drawing by M. Djordjevitch and D. Giraud, 2000

damage to the blocks has eliminated all surface detail, and no weathering traces of the proposed feet remain on the base. Even so, a tentative foot size of ca. 0.15 m, or about half-life-size, can be restored if the hypothetical Nikai's heels are placed in the relative center of cuttings F and K and if the feet are extended diagonally to the edge of the base. A restored height for the flanking Nikai of ca. 85–95 m (or half-life-size) is consistent with this size of foot, the depth of the cuttings, the proposed height of the lateral akroteria, the height of the Nikai on the parapet, and, interestingly, the length of the central base itself (0.863 m). The Nike from the parapet in the act of setting up a trophy, sculpted by Carpenter's Master B (Fig. 16), offers a nearly perfect parallel for these proposed flanking figures in terms of pose and scale, and her basic stance has been used to restore the exact position of the feet in the cuttings A, E, F, and K.⁹⁹

In addition to accounting for the central post and the major flanking cuttings, a restored trophy also explains cuttings G and I and hole J. As noted above, cuttings G (Fig. 6) and I are marked by a distinctive slope to their floors, a feature which makes any sort of traditional tenon impossible to restore. If, however, a half-life-size shield (like that held by Acropolis 998 and 1004 from the parapet) is restored leaning against the central post and supported by two heavy pins fastened to the bottom of the shield's back at a ninety-degree angle (Fig. 14), the mysterious slope of cuttings G and I is explained and the proposed composition is brought in direct line with the iconographic precedent provided by the Trophy Painter's name

99. Acropolis 994; Carpenter 1929, pl. VII. Brouskari (1999, pp. 171–177, pls. 36–40) gives complete details and bibliography. Extrapolation from the Nike's two-dimensional relief gives a foot placement identical to that dictated by the central base's cuttings.

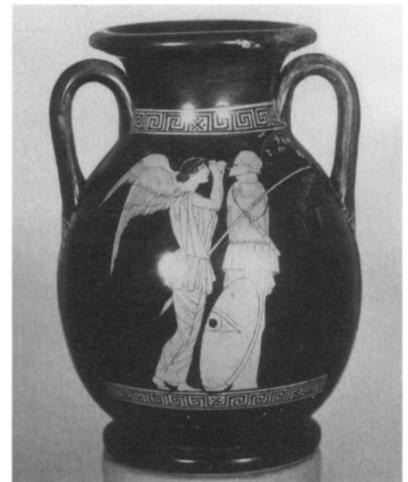
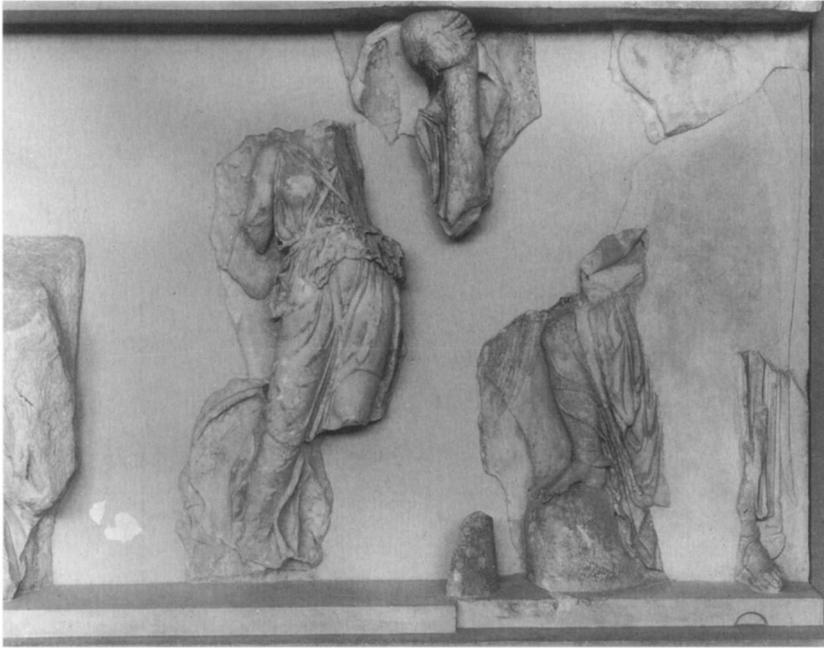


Figure 16 (left). Parapet of the Temple of Athena Nike, Nike setting up a trophy (Acropolis 994). Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. 72/2983)

Figure 17 (right). Red-figured pelike (Boston 20.187), Nike setting up a trophy. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Reproduced with permission. ©2000, all rights reserved.

vase and other sources.¹⁰⁰ If the trophy was depicted in the process of being set up, the shield would have stood at the base of the central post.¹⁰¹ Hole J can then be read as a socket for fastening a spear angled against the trophy proper or held by a Nike.¹⁰²

This reconstruction is attractive for several reasons beyond its ability to account for all of the base's cuttings. The proposed akroterion arrangement follows a traditional heraldic akroterion compositional type—namely, two women flanking a large vertical element—like that seen on the Aphaia temple at Aegina or that proposed by Korres for the H-architecture, and can be viewed as a developed version of this Archaic model.¹⁰³ This reconstruction also allows those who wish to associate *IG I³ 482* with the Nike temple to do so, since it enables Bellerophon and Pegasus to be restored as a device on the shield at the base of the trophy, the shield becoming the shield of a defeated Corinthian.¹⁰⁴ A late-fifth-century incised grave stele of Athanias, now in the Getty Museum, preserves this shield device and offers a comparandum for the proposed shield's relief composition.¹⁰⁵ A

100. The half-life-size shield is based on the size of the flanking Nikai and the size of the shields on the parapet (Acropolis 998, 1004). A half-life-size shield (ca. 0.50 m) is also almost exactly the height of the tympanum (0.52 m).

Cuttings G and I find a nice parallel on the statue bases for *zanes* set up in the Altis by Athens during the 112th Olympiad. See *Olympia II*, p. 151, fig. 92:7. Since Pausanias reports (5.17.1) that the statue of Zeus in the Temple of Hera was armed, it seems appropriate that several of the statues dedicated to

him by dishonest athletes should also have been shown in this guise, with shields at their feet.

101. Note 94 above.

102. Spear holes within the context of architectural sculpture: Carpenter 1933, p. 23; Harrison 1967, p. 36; Shear 1970, p. 176, fig. 8; Palagia [1993] 1998, p. 28.

103. *Aegina*, pls. 50–55; Korres 1997a, p. 234. Courby (*Délos XII*, pls. 14–15) proposed a similar composition—central element with two flanking figures—for the central akroterion of the Athenian temple on Delos.

104. As it has long been believed that Corinthian bronze workshops were responsible for the manufacture of the shield dedicated to the Spartans after Tanagra at Olympia, the presence of the Corinthian device in the subordinate position on the shield is thus appropriately ironic. See Jeffery 1980.

105. Getty Museum 93.AA.47; Gilman 1997, pp. 50–51. A similar Bellerophon/Chimaira composition is preserved in a circular field on a red-figured epinetron in the National Museum, Athens NM 2179; Boulter 1969, fig. 36.a.

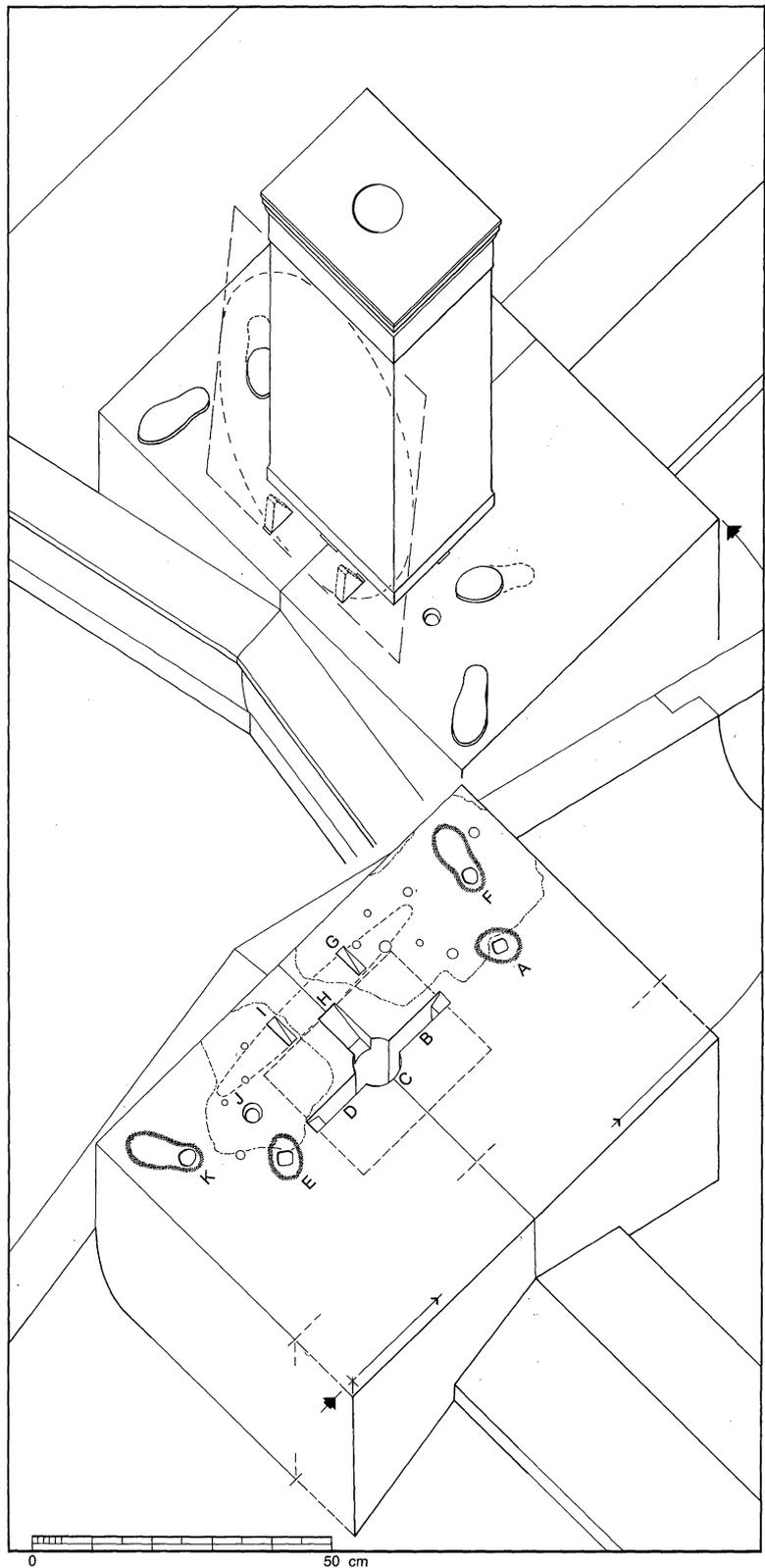


Figure 18. Central akroterion base of the Temple of Athena Nike, reconstruction. "Paionios type" Nike over shield, with flanking Nikai, from the northwest and northeast. Axonometric drawing by M. Djordjevitch, 2000

restored shield at the trophy's base can also explain the puzzling reference to χρυσίον ἐπίτηκτον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος τῆς πρὸς τῶι νεῶι in the Hekatompedon treasury list *IG II²* 1425, lines 103–104, and this entry's connection to the preceding entry χρυσίον ἐπίτηκτον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων τῶ νεῶ τῆς Νίκης (lines 101–102): the gold might have come from the akroterion's shield, not a shield from the bastion wall or elsewhere, a nice explanation as to why “the gold from the shield on the temple” is so consistently associated with the gold from the Nike temple's akroteria.¹⁰⁶ The reconstructed trophy would have been acceptable as a symbol for Athena in her guise as Nike, as it has long been known that a trophy was not always placed on the spot where the battle's course turned toward victory but was sometimes a general thank offering made to the god who granted victory; witness the Elean dedication of a sculpted bronze trophy with an inscribed shield in the Altis sometime after 421.¹⁰⁷ A trophy being set up by Nikai might have provided the basis for Aristophanes' famous reference to this same act in *Lysistrata* (lines 317–318) produced in 411 B.C., and the sculptural composition would have been more than appropriate when juxtaposed against the famous and permanent Athenian war monuments at Marathon, Salamis, and the trophies set up around the base of the Great Bronze Athena. Such an arrangement might even have served as the conceptual model for the Nikai erecting trophies on the parapet.¹⁰⁸

The restoration of either a tripod or a trophy as the Nike temple's central akroterion solves the problem of central socket C, but neither may be satisfactory to some. While there is evidence of gilded tripods serving as temple akroteria in the late 5th century (a practice to be made famous within the context of later choregic monuments) and while there are undeniable iconographic comparanda for Nikai erecting trophies within the context of the Nike temple's own decorative program, it is not known that either hypothesis was ever the subject of a central akroterion composition of a temple. While the lack of absolute iconographic parallel should not rule out the preceding hypotheses (indeed, none of the Nike temple's sculptural decoration was canonical), it does require that other possibilities be explored.

A third possible solution to the problem is offered by the other famous gilded Nike akroterion known from the 420s: the Nike cast by Paionios which crowned the apex of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Pausanias (5.10.4) notes:

There is a gilded cauldron at Olympia at either edge of the temple roof and a Nike, also gilded, standing over the center of the pediment.

106. Of course, πρὸς with the dative can mean “before” or “on” as translated by Hamilton (2000, AB 50). See above, pp. 3–4.

107. Elean trophy: Paus. 5.27.11. Pausanias saw other permanent trophies outside battlefield contexts, one in the Agora of Argos to commemorate a victory over the Corinthians (2.20.1) and another in the Altis to commemorate a victory over the

Arkadians (6.21.2). See Rouse 1902, p. 99, and Pritchett 1972, pp. 248, 253, 258–259.

108. Robert 1929, pp. 15–16; Vanderpool 1966; West 1969; Wallace 1969; Petrakos 1995, pp. 27–30; Korres 1997b, p. 104; Brogan 1999, pp. 51–52. Trophies on the base of the Bronze Athena: Stevens and Raubitschek 1946; Hurwit 1999, p. 25.

A dedicated gold shield with the Gorgon cast on it stood at the feet of the Nike.¹⁰⁹

It is generally accepted that the gilded shield on top of the Zeus temple's pediment was dedicated by the Spartans after their defeat of the Athenians at Tanagra in 457 and that the gilded Nike akroterion, made by Paionios, was added later, possibly raised above the shield after 421 to celebrate various victories of the Quadruple Alliance (Mantineia, Argos, Elis, and Athens).¹¹⁰ Based on the blocks used during the 4th-century reconstruction of the Temple of Zeus, Peter Grunauer provided a convincing technical reconstruction of that temple's central akroterion composition.¹¹¹ In his analysis of the temple's east facade, Grunauer discovered that a fragment of the pedimental apex block (Zeustempel fgt. 2142) also served as the central akroterion base (Fig. 19:a). The fragment was marked by two unusual features. The first was the trace of a wide flat bedding, in the right half of the block, which measured ca. 0.30 m from the center of the base. Grunauer restored this bedding to a width of ca. 0.60 m. on the grounds that the bedding would have been placed symmetrically on the base.¹¹² The second was a deep (ca. 0.35 m) central socket, ca. 0.10 m in diameter, which Grunauer noted must have held a heavy post of some sort, possibly a stone or bronze tenon which secured a block on top of the apex block.¹¹³ Working with this physical evidence, and with Pausanias' description as a guide, Grunauer restored the Spartan shield fastened to this central block. He then restored the gilded Nike akroterion of Paionios on top of the block on which it would have been placed at the completion of the 4th-century reconstruction of the temple's east facade.¹¹⁴

A similar method might have been used to attach a gilded statue onto the central post set in cutting C of the Nike temple's central akroterion

109. Olympia akroterion: *Olympia* V, no. 253; Pomtow 1922; Hofkes-Brukker 1967, pp. 10–12; Hölscher 1974; Ridgway 1981, pp. 108–111; Clairmont 1982; ML, pp. 79, 223–224; *SEG XXXII* 413; Jeffery, *LSAG*², p. 129; Pollitt [1965] 1990, pp. 71, 186, note 31; Stewart 1990, pp. 89–92; Rolley 1994, pp. 363–364; 1999, pp. 123–124.

110. The date for the contest for the akroterion of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia is based on the common view that the Nike of Paionios was made sometime after 425 (almost certainly ca. 421, following the Peace of Nikias) and that its famous base refers to an event that had already taken place, namely the battle of Sphakteria. See Paus. 5.26.1; *Olympia* III, pp. 182–194; *Olympia* V, no. 253; ML, pp. 79, 223–224; Hölscher 1974, p. 82; Ridgway 1981, pp. 108–111; Board-

man [1985] 1995, p. 36; *SEG XXXII* 413; Jeffery, *LSAG*², p. 129; Pollitt [1965] 1990, pp. 71, 186, note 31; Stewart 1990, pp. 89–92; Ridgway 1999, p. 29, note 28. However, if line 4 of the base's inscription was carved later, as suggested by Pomtow (1922, p. 57), then the contest for the akroteria was obviously conducted after the erection of the marble Nike and its pillar. While Meiggs and Lewis (ML, pp. 79, 223–224) have concluded that line 4 is, in fact, original, their reading has not been universally accepted, most notably by Jeffery (1980, p. 1234, note 4).

111. Grunauer 1981, pp. 270–272. Since it is known that other architectural sculpture from the Temple of Zeus was repaired and restored to the facade after the 4th-century earthquake, it seems safe to assume that the akroterial sculpture was restored as well. See Grunauer 1981, pp. 279–280;

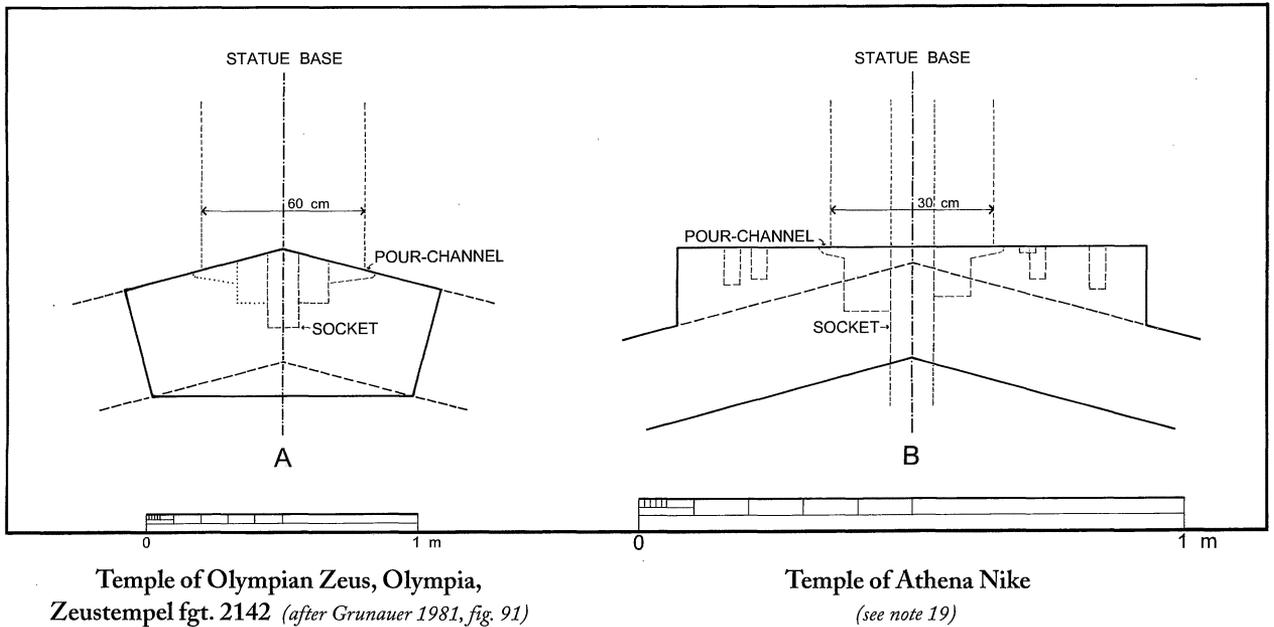
Kyrieleis 1997, p. 14. I thank Ben Millis for photographing the 4th-century base in the spring of 1999 and Ahmad Sadri and Lou Lombardi for many helpful comments made while I examined the base in situ during May of 1999 and 2000, respectively.

112. Grunauer 1981, p. 271, pl. 26.

113. The apex block is very badly damaged and has been subject to heavy weathering since the original excavation of the temple in the 19th century.

The stepped cuttings behind Grunauer's central post are not analogous to pour-channels B and D of the Nike temple's central akroterion base. These two stepped cuttings may have held another dowel for the crowning marble member, but they are not pour-channels.

114. Grunauer 1981, pl. 29.



base (Figs. 18–20). Since the central akroterion was a half-life-size bronze, no bedding for a second marble member would have been necessary. The post could have been given a modest decorative capital and the bronze Nike could have been attached directly to it. As noted, the post was rooted 0.206 m into the base and was fastened further, to an unknown depth, into the tympanum wall. This deep cutting would have provided more than enough support for a half-life-size Nike. If this seems implausible, it might be argued that the presence of wide pour-channels B and D suggest that there *was* some sort of secondary marble member atop the central akroterion base, even if no shallow bedding is preserved on the badly damaged blocks. The lengths of B and D, which extend 0.15 m from the central post, indicate that lead was not funnelled directly into the socket but rather was introduced into the socket from a distance. The presence of a crowning block atop the central base might explain this otherwise puzzling procedure.¹¹⁵ As can be seen from Dinsmoor's state plan of the Nike temple's central akroterion base (Fig. 6) and the axonometric drawing (Fig. 18), the size of cuttings B, D, G, and I suggest restored horizontal dimensions of ca. 0.30–ca. 0.23 m for the hypothetical crowning block. If Giraud's restored base width is used (0.48 m; see above, note 21), that crowning block is exactly 0.10 m from both the front and the back of the base when centered over C.

This "Paionios type" restoration solves the problem of the cuttings (Fig. 18). C, of course, would have held the central post or a massive dowel secured into the marble base, while the unusual sloping cuttings G and I would have held the bottom of the shield below the flying Nike. Cuttings A, E, F, and K can then be read as attachment points for the feet of symmetrical Nikai flanking the central post, similar to those proposed for the

Figure 19. Restored sections, apex block and central akroterion base. Drawing by M. Djordjevitch, 2000

Figure 20 (opposite). The Temple of Athena Nike with central akroterion restored as Nike over shield, with flanking Nikai, east elevation. Drawing by M. Djordjevitch and D. Giraud, 2000

115. Lead was poured directly around the deep dowel fastening noted by Stevens and Raubitschek (1946, esp. figs. 4–5) on the base blocks for Pheidias' Great Bronze Athena. This same procedure seems to have been used to erect the posts held in the row of deep sockets in the low base set over the south terrace wall of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi: *FdD* II, 8, pp. 61–63, esp. 62; Stähler 1992, p. 8; Aman-dry 1998, pp. 83–84. The deep sockets on top of the Great Altar at Pergamon, discussed by Stewart (forthcoming), might also have received lead directly into their sockets. The pour-channels seen in the drawings in Hoepfner 1996, pp. 128–129, fig. 12, esp. PA 7 and PA 14, might belong to a second phase.

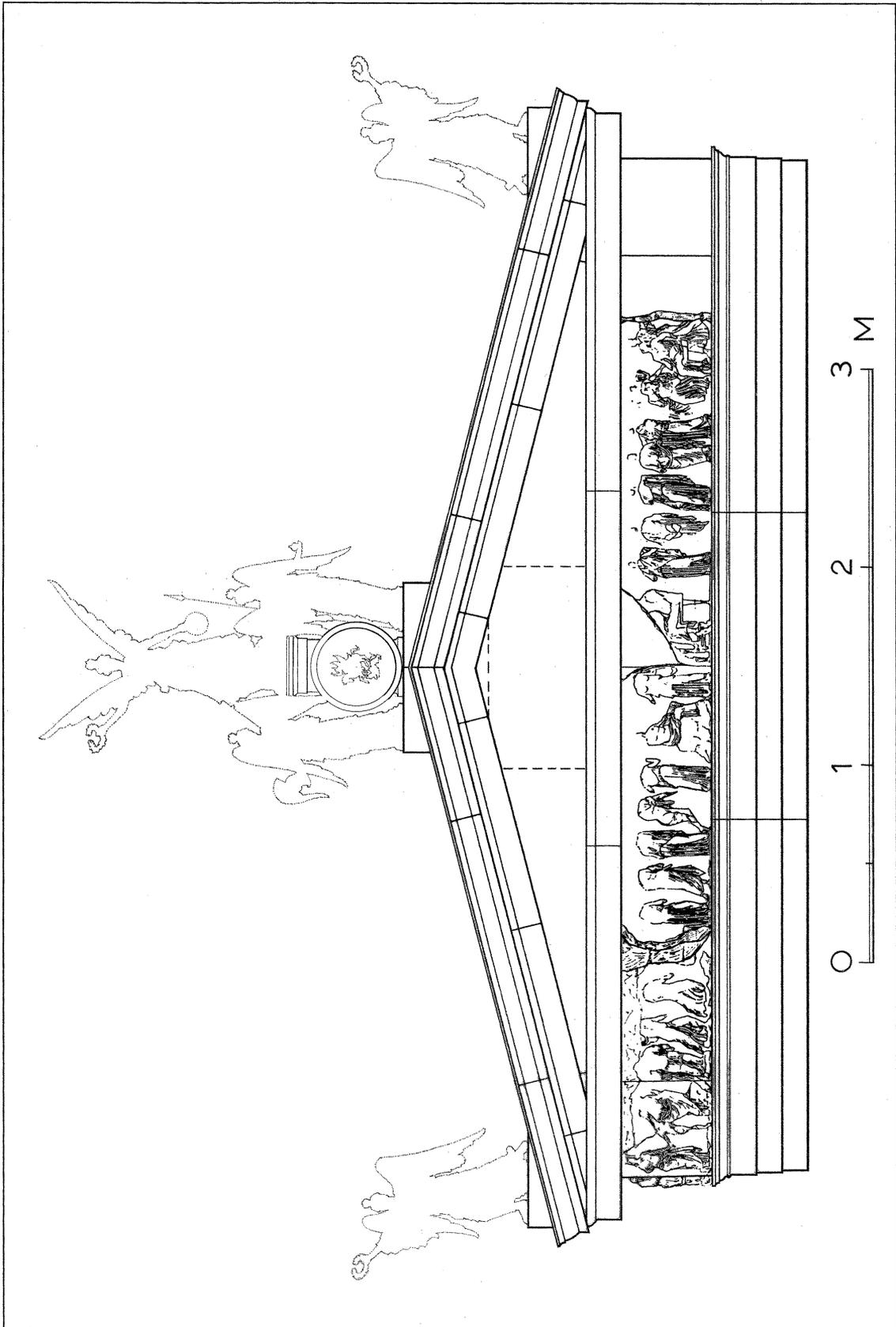




Figure 21. Parapet of the Temple of Athena Nike, Nike standing before a bull (Acropolis 7098). Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. 72/2979)

trophy except stepping away from the central figure toward the Athenian skies.¹¹⁶ The feet of the Nike standing before a bull on the Nike parapet sculpted by Master F (Fig. 21; Acropolis 7098) match cuttings A, E, F, and K when extrapolated into three dimensions, and her pose has been used, above, for restoring those of the flanking Nikai.¹¹⁷ The sculptural inspiration for the Nike flying over the shield could have been the Nike in the hand of the Pheidias Parthenos, the akroteria of the Parthenon proper, or the akroterion of Paionios at Olympia, probably closely related to his famous marble Nike (Fig. 22).¹¹⁸ The asymmetrical cutting J can be explained as the fastening point for a spear-end and, on this evidence, it can

116. Placing a total of three Nikai on each apex may seem extravagant. This did not seem to concern the designers of the parapet or of earlier akroterion compositions, some of which had as many as three Nikai on the same facade. See Danner 1989, pp. 42–46, and now Vokotopoulou and Tsigarida (1993), who discuss an imposing new group of Late Archaic Nike akroteria now in the Polygiros Museum, Chalkidiki. I thank Antonis Kapetanaki for his helpful comments made while I examined this group in summer 2000. In any case, as noted, the building was aesthetically and structurally prepared to support such an imposing composition (see above, pp. 17–18).

Naturally, if this arrangement holds, then the six Nikai on the Nike temple's

apices might be matched with the four on the corners. Ten gilded Nikai would have obviously recalled the ten Athenian tribes established by Kleisthenes, a number and reference that seems to have been of particular interest to Pheidias, as witnessed in his design of the Parthenon frieze. See Harrison 1984, pp. 230–234; Beschi 1984, p. 187; Pollitt 1997, p. 55; and Hurwit 1999, p. 223.

117. Acropolis 7098: Brouskari (1999, pp. 210–213, pl. 61) gives complete details and bibliography.

118. Pheidias Nike: Harrison 1996, pp. 51–52. Parthenos akroteria: Korres, Panetsos, and Seki 1996, p. 25. Date of Olympia akroterion: see above, note 110.

Figure 22. The Nike of Paionios, Olympia. Olympia Museum. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. Hege 663)



119. The lefthand flanking Nike of Fig. 20 is restored carrying a helmet. The righthand flanking Nike holds a pomegranate. This reconstruction is based on the known attributes held in the hands of the *xoanon* in the cella below (*FGrHist* 373 F2; Mark 1993, pp. 123–125) and on the presence of similar attributes depicted in vase painting (e.g., *LIMC* VI, p. 105; *ARV*², p. 822). The lefthand Nike is restored touching the shield in a manner comparable to that displayed by the Parthenos (Harrison 1996, figs. 5–9) and a similar stance is seen in the vases (e.g., *LIMC* VI, p. 311; *ARV*², p. 615). The righthand Nike rests her spear like LeQuire's Parthenos (Harrison 1996, fig. 9). A wreath has been restored in the crowning Nike's right hand after the Nike in the hand of the Parthenos (Harris 1995, V. 94–96; *IG* I³ 342, lines 2–4) and after examples in contemporary red-figure vase painting (e.g., *LIMC* VI, p. 310; *ARV*², p. 613). The phiale in her left hand is also based on contemporary Attic vases (e.g., *LIMC* VI).

120. See note 10 above.

be supposed that the flanking Nikai may have been carrying weapons to dedicate to the goddess, just as they do on the parapet.¹¹⁹

This solution is appealing because it accounts for all the cuttings on the Nike temple's central akroterion base, follows the evidence of the only architectural comparanda (Fig. 19:a–b), and is iconographically appropriate to the building. The "Paionios type" reconstruction allows those who wish to associate *IG* I³ 482 with the Nike temple to do so by placing the Corinthian hero on the shield at the foot of the post, here again the shield being the shield of a defeated Corinthian. The restored shield beneath the flying Nike again nicely explains the Hekatompedon inventory references to "the gold from the shield on the temple" and this entry's consistent connection to "the gold from the akroteria of the Temple of Nike."¹²⁰ The

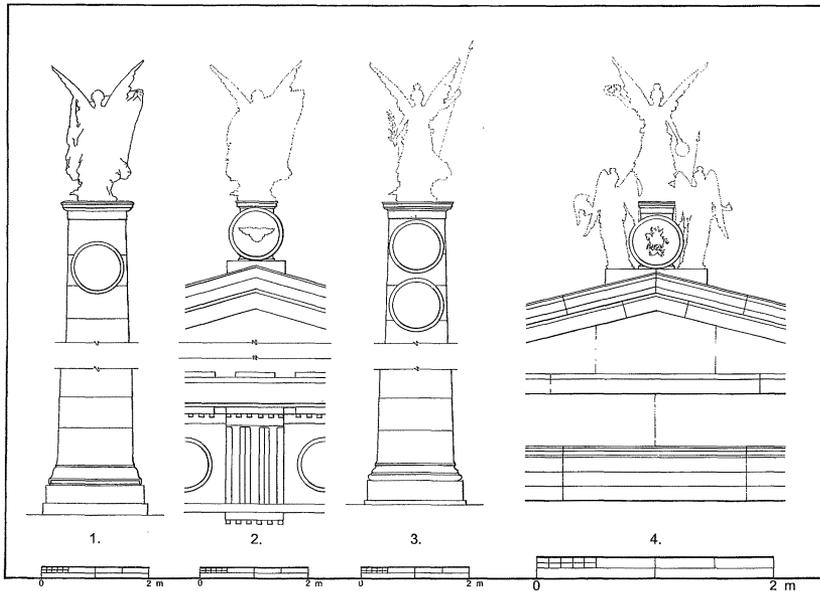


Figure 23. “Paionios Type” Nike monuments of the late 5th century B.C.

1. The Monument of the Messenians and Naupaktians, Olympia (after Herrmann 1972)
2. The gilded Nike akroterion of Paionios, the Temple of Zeus, Olympia (after Grunauer 1981)
3. The Monument of the Messenians and Naupaktians, Delphi (after Pomtow 1922 and Jacquemin and Laroche 1982)
4. The Temple of Athena Nike, Athens

Note change in scale.

Drawing by M. Djordjevitch, 2000

association of a composition type invented by Paionios in the mid-420s, a soaring Nike over a shield, is more than appropriate for the Nike temple and lends further strength to the hypothesis, since most scholars identify Paionios with Carpenter’s Master B of the Nike temple parapet.¹²¹ Moreover, it is an undisputed fact—established by the well-known inscription on the base of the marble Nike at Olympia—that Paionios was the acknowledged master when it came to the design of gilded Nikai akroteria.¹²² Indeed, if the above proposition is tentatively accepted, the Nike temple’s central akroterion becomes one of several “Paionios type” victory dedications designed and erected by Paionios for Athens or her allies after 425, a set that plausibly includes Paionios’ triangular pillar monument at Delphi, his marble Nike at Olympia, and his gilded bronze central akroterion from the Temple of Zeus (Fig. 23).¹²³

121. Master B as Paionios: Carpenter 1929, pp. 23–35; Hofkes-Brukker 1967, pp. 41, 57–58; Ridgway 1981, p. 110; Stewart 1985, p. 68; Rolley 1999, p. 124. Against the attribution see now Brouskari 1999, pp. 59–60.

122. See note 110 above.

123. Messenian and Naupaktian pillar monuments at Delphi: Pomtow 1922; Jacquemin and Laroche 1982; Jacquemin 1999, no. 342; and Rolley 1999, p. 124. The Nike temple’s Nikai were exactly one-half the scale of these other, more famous, “Paionios type” Nikai. Jacquemin and Laroche (1982, pp. 201–204, figs. 5–6) argued, on the basis of the very puzzling cuttings on the surface of the Messenian monument at Delphi, that this monument supported a tripod. While there are some problems in placing a tripod into these strange cuttings, the Jacquemin/Laroche hypo-

thesis works nicely with my first reconstruction and does nothing to disassociate Paionios from the project: Paionios made the gilded bronze tripods that crowned the corners of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, and so it is entirely reasonable to suppose that he carried out a similar program for the Temple of Athena Nike at Athens. See above, pp. 25–26.

Locally, the Nike temple’s central akroterion might have been read as the sculptural analog for the entire bastion, since the Nike temple itself was positioned directly over a single dedication of ninety-nine shields attached to the tower’s poros sheathing. That the bastion’s shields were hung as a single dedication is suggested by the precision with which the horizontal rows were cut. Two options seem particularly tempting with regard to the original context of the

dedication. The first is that the shields belonged to the famous dedication of Persian arms made by Alexander after Granicus in 334 (Arr., *Anab.* 1.17). The second is that these shields came from the majority of the 120 Spartans captured at Sphakteria and returned to Athens by Kleon in 425 (Thuc. 4.38.5). Kagan (1974 [1991], pp. 247–252) gives a vivid account of the reaction in Athens at the time. Pausanias (1.15.5) saw some of these shields hung in the Painted Stoa but he doesn’t say how many. Certainly, there could be no better place in all of Athens to show off the spoils from what Thucydides (4.40) thought was the most spectacular conflict of the war. I will discuss the iconographic and historical ramifications of this restoration in a future study.



Figure 24 (*left*). Nike akroterion (Agora S 312) from the Agora, Athens. Courtesy ASCSA, Agora Excavations



Figure 25 (*right*). Parapet of the Temple of Athena Nike, Nike leading a bull (Acropolis 972). Courtesy ASCSA, Alison Frantz Collection

As for the subject matter of the angle akroteria, little can be said with certainty. Most scholars agree that the lateral bases held Nikai, and this is probably correct.¹²⁴ The hypothesis is appropriate for the little building, corresponds nicely with the physical evidence, and is in line with what has been argued above. These Nikai could have mirrored the Nikai lateral akroteria of the Parthenon proposed by Korres.¹²⁵ Like the proposed trophy and Nikai of the central base, the Nikai on the Nike temple's roof might have served as the inspiration for the Nikai of the parapet that, soon after, was installed atop the bastion. These Nikai should probably be restored holding wreaths or spoils of war to be dedicated to Athena.¹²⁶ As to the appearance of these bronze Nikai angle akroteria, the well-known marble Nike akroterion from the Agora (Fig. 24) or a freestanding version of Master

124. Thompson (1940, p. 199); Dinsmoor (1950, p. 187); Boulter (1969, p. 138); Boersma (1970, p. 179); Danner (1989, p. 86); Boardman, ([1985] 1995, p. 149); and, more recently, Hölscher (1997, p. 145); Hurwit (1999, p. 230); Ridgway (1999, p. 102, note 39); and Thöne (1999, p. 62) have all believed that the angle akroteria were golden Nikai.

125. Korres 1991, fig. 3; 1994b, pp. 61–64, fig. 8; Korres, Panetsos, and

Seki 1996, p. 25; Hurwit 1999, pp. 169, 187, 212, 230.

126. Isler-Kerényi (1969, pp. 101–103) argued that Nike's status as a *single* personification would have made her inappropriate as angle akroteria since there would be four. A glance at the parapet shows that this position, at least in regard to the late 5th century, is untenable. See Danner (1989, pp. 42–46) for other examples of multiple Nikai as angle akroteria.

B's Nike leading a bull (Fig. 25) supported by a single bronze strut might provide the basic arrangement of the body while the well-known head from the Agora discussed above (Fig. 2) provides a nice general model for their gilded heads.¹²⁷

THE NIKE TEMPLE AND ATHENIAN NIKE IN THE LATE 5TH CENTURY

In addition to the seven battlefield trophies noted by Thucydides as having been erected by Athens in the years immediately preceding the completion of the Nike temple and the famous golden tripod at Delphi, the Athenians were enormously proud of the permanent, marble victory monuments

127. Agora B 30: above, p. 5 and note 17. Lateral akroteria supported by single struts: Delos Museum A 4279, 4283 (*Délos* XXXIV, pp. 25, 28–29); Athens NM 1723 (Delivorrias 1974, pp. 122–123, figs. 39–40; Harrison 1990, pp. 177–179, fig. 14:a–b). Several freestanding females from the Nereid Monument are supported in a similar manner: BM 909–911, 915, and 918 (*Xanthos* VIII, pls. 78–80, 86–101).

The manner of gilding applied to the Agora head matches the proposed process by which the Nike temple akroteria were gilded and the size of the piece, about half-life-size, corresponds nicely with what has been extrapolated from the akroterion bases. The Agora head is almost always dated to the late 5th century (although see note 17 above) and is often thought of as belonging to an akroterion, its lack of small details and its pronounced features suggesting that it was meant to be seen from a distance (Houser 1979, p. 222; Ridgway 1981, p. 124; Mattusch 1996, pp. 121–129; Brogan 1999, p. 325). Of course, these interesting coincidences all suggest the possibility that the Agora head might originally have belonged to one of the Nike temple's akroteria. The fact that fragments of the Nike temple parapet (Harrison 1960, pp. 376–377 and pl. 83) and of the Nike temple frieze (Harrison 1972b) have been found over the course of the excavations in the Agora make this an intriguing possibility, but nothing certain can be

said unless further evidence is discovered.

Thompson (1940, p. 199) considered and rejected this possibility, based on 1) the notion that the details on the back of the Agora head would not have been visible to the viewer, 2) his opinion that the gold leaf found on the Agora head was too thick to be applied to architectural sculpture, and 3) "the fact that [the head having] been stripped of its gold would scarcely have justified the complete discarding of the statue as an akroterion." The first point has no basis in the ancient evidence, since the backs of most figural akroteria of the late 5th century were finished, sometimes quite beautifully. The second point is contradicted by the evidence discussed above, esp. pp. 4–5. The final point incorrectly assumes that the head was thrown away by someone who cared about its original purpose. Thompson himself demonstrated that the piece had been robbed for its precious metals. I doubt that the thieves were concerned with their stolen piece's potential for reuse. (Interestingly, Thompson [1940, p. 204] thought that the Agora head was stripped of its gold by the Athenian tyrant Lachares [ca. 300–295]. He was followed by Harrison [1977b, p. 424] and Habicht [1997 (1999), p. 86]. A very specific reference in Demosthenes' *Against Timocrates* [24.121] to the plundering of τὰ ἀκρωτήρια τῆς Νίκης before the summer of 353 is consistently ignored in the literature.)

that they had established at Marathon, Salamis, and Psyttaleia.¹²⁸ These three columnar offerings may have replicated the Kallimachos column or another important pillar dedication set up on the Acropolis immediately after Marathon, and they have been plausibly restored as being topped by Nikai or trophies of some sort.¹²⁹ These permanent markers attested to the everlasting *arete* of the Athenian citizen and importantly, as Wallace has shown, were always placed within prominent geographical settings to maximize their dramatic impact.¹³⁰ Indeed, the monuments on Salamis and Psyttaleia were established in their respective positions not only to mark the general site of the Persian naval defeats but also to be highly visible from Athens in general and from the Acropolis in particular.¹³¹ From their prominent positions in the Attic countryside, these trophy monuments captured the imagination of the Athenian population. The sophist Kritias refers to Athens merely as “that city which set up the white trophy at Marathon,” while in at least three passages, in the *Knights*, the *Wasps*, and the *Lysistrata*, Aristophanes attributes great virtue to those who strive to be worthy of the blazing Marathon monument.¹³² The 4th-century orators took up this motif and used the Marathon and Salamis trophies as superlative physical embodiments of metaphysical virtue to which all might aspire.¹³³ It is no wonder that Demosthenes (*Rhod.* 35) chooses this closing to his plea for Rhodian freedom: “Consider, then, that your ancestors set the trophies up not that you might gaze at them in awe but that you might imitate the valor of those who erected them.”¹³⁴ Implicit in this testimony is the prominent placement and powerful psychological impact of these Athenian victory dedications; even well into the 4th century, the Athenian trophy monuments were highly visible, well-known objects of wonder.

128. Peloponnesian War battlefield trophies set up by the Athenians: Thuc. 1.105.6, set up near Megara in ca. 460 to mark the defeat of the Corinthians; Thuc. 1.63.1, set up near the Isthmus of Poteidaia in 433 to mark the defeat of the Poteidaia; Thuc. 2.84.4, set up near the Gulf of Patras at Molykreion in 429 to mark the defeat of the Peloponnesian fleet; Thuc. 2.92.4–5, set up at Antirrhion to mark the “defeat” of the Peloponnesian fleet at Naupaktos in 429; Thuc. 3.91.5, set up near Tanagra to mark the defeat of the Tanagrans in 426; Thuc. 3.109.2, set up near Olpai to mark the defeat of the Peloponnesians in 426; Thuc. 4.12.8 and 4.14.5, two trophies set up at Sphakteria after the defeat of the Spartans in 425.

129. For the marble trophies see

West 1969; Korres 1997b, p. 107; and now Brogan 1999, pp. 51–52. Marathon dedication, restored by Vanderpool with a Nike setting up a trophy: Paus. 1.32; Vanderpool 1966; and now Petrakos 1995, pp. 27–30. Salamis and Psyttaleia dedications: Paus. 1.36; Pl., *Menex.* 245a; Plut., *Arist.* 9; Wallace 1969. There was a trophy dedication at Plataia, but its date of establishment and location are uncertain; it is not mentioned in Herodotus’ detailed description (9.85) of the battlefield and was not placed where the Persians were routed. See Paus. 9.2.4–5; Robert 1929, pp. 15–16. Kallimachos monument: ML, pp. 33–34, no. 18; Korres 1994a, p. 178.

130. Wallace 1969.

131. The Acropolis’ aesthetic

command of the sea and of the Salamis/Acropolis axis was important already in the mid-5th century. As Hurwit (1999, p. 230), following Djordjevitch (1994), has most recently pointed out, the Great Bronze Athena was aligned so that it might greet the Panathenaic procession and gaze out on the site of the great naval victory.

132. Kritias: Vanderpool 1966, p. 102, note 19; the translation is that of B. Rogers, cited by Vanderpool (1966, p. 102, note 18). Trophy at Marathon: *Knights* 1334; *Wasps* 711, fgt. 413 K (cited in West [1969]); *Lys.* 285.

133. West 1969.

134. See also Plut., *Them.* 3.4; Plut., *Mor.* 84C, 185A, 800B; Phld., *Rhet.* 2.205.32.

Whichever of the three proposed restorations for the Nike temple's central akroterion is preferred, it is appropriate to understand the architecture of the Nike temple, and its crowning sculpture, within the context of this type of permanent, prominent, Athenian war votive. The Nike temple's central roof sculpture—whether a large tripod, a trophy, or a “Paionios type” Nike—standing high above the city of Athens uses the same allegorical vocabulary evidenced at Marathon, Salamis, and the other prominent sites on which the Athenians erected monuments to their military triumphs. The bright gilding of the akroteria and, more important, their impressive size allowed them to be distinguished amid the surrounding monumental topography of the west slope of the Acropolis. Indeed, because of their location—both joined to and apart from Athena's great *temenos*—the meaning of these crowning sculptures, whatever their original form, was defined by their relationship to other prominent Athenian victory dedications both on and off the great rock. If a tripod is restored on the Nike temple central akroterion base, then the Athenian tripod at Delphi and the tripods of the *Eponymoi* become the dominant referents. Likewise, a restored trophy would recall the Athenian monuments at Marathon and Salamis and the parapet wall immediately below. A “Paionios type” Nike directly alludes to (and inspired?) Paionios' *Nikai* at Olympia and maybe even his monument at Delphi (Fig. 23), all monuments to the later battles of the Archidamian War. Large flanking *Nikai* on the lateral bases would have served as successive exclamation points to an already powerful statement. These external referents are matched and amplified by the obvious elaboration and repetition of victory themes found internally on the Acropolis itself: the Nike in the hand of the Parthenos, the Nike that may have been held in the hand of Pheidias' Great Bronze Athena, the Nike seen on east metope 4 of the Parthenon, the Nike who drives Athena's chariot in the west pediment, the golden *Nikai* dedicated in 426/5, the large bronze Nike dedicated after Sphakteria in 425 and, of course, the veritable crowd of *Nikai* decorating the Nike temple's own parapet which directly imitated the akroteria in size and may have followed them in pose and form if not in style.¹³⁵ In every case, the meaning of the Nike temple's crowning sculpture forms and is informed by Athenian war monuments in both periphery and polis. This constant reference to martial achievement was reinforced repeatedly within the Nike temple's own sculptural decoration not only by the allusion in the pediments to possibly mythical combats and, on the frieze, to historical Athenian victories, but also by the carving of at least five and probably as many as twelve trophies being gloriously erected by *Nikai* on the parapet wall.¹³⁶

135. *Nikai*: Hurwit 1999, p. 230, with references. Parapet: above, note 3.

136. Harrison 1972a and 1997. Pemberton (1972, p. 304) rightly identified the tree hung with a helmet on block I of the west frieze as a trophy. I thank Ian Jenkins, Assistant Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, for his kind permis-

sion to inspect and measure this block. Some scholars (Kardara [1961, p. 85]; Simon [1985, p. 276]) have also identified the sculpted relief on the south side of Nike east frieze block B as a trophy. It is not. This fragmentary relief was identified as a leg by Ross (Ross, Schaubert, and Hansen 1839, p. 12), an opinion recently confirmed

by Harrison (1997, pp. 112–113). On both the original block and cast, a lower leg and lower left knee, as well as traces of a right heel, can be clearly seen. I thank Evelyn Harrison for discussing with me these aspects of the frieze.

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