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Excerpt
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PHEIDIAS

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OF the works of those sculptors whom antiquity esteemed as its greatest, one masterpiece, the Hermes of Praxiteles, has come down to our times in the undoubted original, while others, such as the Doryphoros of Polykleitos and the Apoxyomenos of Lysippos, are known to us in good and faithful copies, executed probably on the scale of the originals. But Pheidias, most famous of all who wrought the images of the gods, is represented so far neither by any ascertained original nor by any efficient copy. For of only two of his works, the Olympian Zeus and the Athena Parthenos, do we possess reproductions acknowledged to be such: the Zeus is reproduced chiefly on coins, and the Athena in statues and statuettes, so much reduced in size that they are rather abstracts or *résumés* than real transcripts; they differ totally from the faithful copies alluded to above. Though sufficient to give a general notion of the composition,

of the arrangement and fall of the drapery, they are inadequate for all finer distinctions. Above all they give no exact idea of the head, which, as being the seat of intellectual life, is naturally of the highest interest. The various replicas exhibit differences so marked as to convey the impression that not one of them is accurate. And this is very natural, for the head of a colossal statue in ivory and gold must have offered unusual difficulties to the copyist. Those who had access to the original itself could only make drawings or small models, and in so doing each artist would follow his own style. Other and freer imitations of widely varying dimensions were derived from these sketches. It is small wonder, then, that the finer modelling of the head of the Parthenos has been lost to us in spite of its numberless reproductions.

Yet even if we possessed an exact copy of the head of the Parthenos or of the Zeus in the original size, I do not believe that we should thus gain a complete conception of the best that Pheidias could achieve. An artist cannot show the finest and most spiritual qualities of his treatment of form in a colossal head. Besides, the complicated ivory and gold technique must have placed many obstacles in the way of free artistic conception. An artist was much less trammelled in executing the clay model for a bronze statue, and even Pheidias must have found in this technique a purer and more exquisite medium for his genius.

Bronze statues by famous artists were usually, when of normal dimensions, copied in the original size. The copyists probably made use of casts,¹ which was of course

¹ The passage in Lucian (*Jup. Trag.* 33) concerning the Hermes Agoraios in Athens shows that it was quite usual for artists to take casts of famous works of art.

impossible in the case of gold and ivory images. Yet even so copyists allowed themselves a freedom which occasionally amounted to almost complete remodelling of details. Nevertheless, copies exist which can be proved to be perfectly accurate. Such a copy of a bronze work by Pheidias would be the first step towards an exact appreciation of his artistic personality.

I. *Discovery of the Lemnian Athena.*

It is this need—this deficiency in our knowledge—which, I believe, I have been able to fill. The two statues reproduced on Plates I. and II. can be shown to be faithful replicas of a bronze work by Pheidias—a work which ancient connoisseurship preferred to all others by the artist, which roused the enthusiasm of the subtle critic Lucian, and which even the matter-of-fact Pausanias admits to be the best worth seeing of all the creations of Pheidias. *This work is the Lemnian Athena.*

The two statues belong to the Dresden Museum, and have long been known: one of them had a head foreign to it, while the head of the other, though genuine, was disguised by inaccurate restoration. The statue given on Pl. I. is published in Becker's *Augusteum*, i. Pl. 14, and in Clarac's *Musée de Sculpt.* Pl. 464, 868. The head is antique, but has been broken and put on again. The whole upper part of the head, from the fillet, is restored; an ugly modern helmet was formerly placed upon it. In 1894 Becker pronounced that it was impossible to decide with certainty whether the head belonged to the statue or not.¹ On the other hand, L. Schorn (1822),² while acknowledging that the head had been joined on again and the face worked over, added that there was nothing to prove that it might not have belonged to the statue. Hettner, in his catalogue of the Dresden antiques,³ declared that the correspondence of the marble, and the fact that the turn of the head fitted the remaining portion of neck, showed the head to be genuine. More recently it was recognized by Flasch that the head was a replica of the beautiful Bologna head which Conze⁴ had published as that of a young man, while Flasch⁵ had interpreted it as an Amazon. It was accordingly taken for granted that the head did not belong to the statue,⁶ and therefore, when Treu began his admirable and useful task of freeing the Dresden statues from their modern restorations, he removed the head from the statue, set it up separately, and restored it from the Bologna replica—*i.e.* he took away the helmet, and supplied the place of the missing upper part of the head by a cast taken from the Bologna head.

The statue and the head were thus separated when I saw them in 1891. At first it did not occur to me that they might belong together. It was only in the course of a protracted inquiry into the type of head appropriate to this statue of Athena that, to my own great astonishment, I came to the conclusion that the head which had been removed actually did belong to the statue, and that consequently the Bologna head also represented Athena, and came from another replica of the same statue. The portion of neck still attached to the torso and turned vigorously to the right, as well as the shape of the nude part of the chest, answered down to the minutest details to the corresponding parts of the Bologna bust. Further, head and torso are of the same marble. Probability became certainty when Treu, at my request, placed the

¹ *Augusteum*, i. p. 95.

² In Bötticher's *Amalthea*, ii. 206 *sqq.*

³ *Bildwerke d. Königlichen Antikensammlung*, 4th ed. No. 69.

⁴ *Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Griechischen Plastik*, Taf. I. p. 1. Cf. Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, 519.

⁵ *Bull. d. Inst.* 1872, 66. Brizio declared the head to be modern (*ibid.* p. 65; cf. Heydemann, *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen*, in *Ober- u. Mittelitaliens*, p. 60, 206), but was immediately refuted by Flasch.

⁶ Cf. Puchstein in *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1890, p. 96, note 36.

head upon the torso ; the two fitted together fracture for fracture, of course not in front where the edges are broken off, but in the core of the neck.

Pl. I. shows the statue in its present state. The missing parts in front of the neck, the nose, mouth, and upper part of the head are restored in plaster. The face, as Schorn correctly noticed, has been worked over, and has lost much of its beauty in the process ; but the hair, as far as it is preserved in the marble—*i.e.* the portion under the fillet—is uninjured, and corresponds exactly to the hair of the Bologna head, except for a few variations in the curls, which show that the copyist in this case was rather less careful. Yet the correspondence between these two copies is more exact than is usual in antiquity, and goes to prove that each is a fairly accurate rendering of a common original.

The other statue (Pl. II.) is published by Clarac, Pl. 464, 866.¹ The head was not made in one piece with the body, as in the preceding example, but was worked separately and inserted, with the nude part of the breast, into the draped torso. The head has been restored by using up an antique fragment of a replica of the head of the Farnese Athena in Naples,² which, placed on a hideous thick neck, looked curious enough when set upon the statue. This restoration has now been removed, and a cast of the Bologna bust has been inserted into the empty space cut out in the torso. Pl. II. represents the statue thus restored. The Bologna bust fitted into the hollowed torso, as exactly as if it had been made for it, hardly a *millimetre* of alteration being necessary. This bust is wonderfully well preserved,³ the only injury it has suffered being the loss of the eyes, which were inserted separately. The exact correspondence of the hair with the Dresden head, and indeed the remarkably careful execution of the whole work, show the accuracy of the copy. Rather less care has been bestowed upon the hair above and behind the right ear, the head being so much turned that this part comes at the back.

The right breast and right shoulder of this statue were lost, and have now been restored by a piece cast from the other figure ; the left arm-stump, likewise, has been added, in accordance with the other figure where it is antique. The bodies, except for a few unimportant variations,⁴ are exact replicas. On the whole, however, the statue reproduced in Pl. II. deserves the preference for its fresher and more refined workmanship, though it is evident from the close resemblance of the body to that of Pl. II. and of the head to the Bologna head that the statue on Pl. I. is also a very careful copy.

A third replica in the Museum of Cassel contributes nothing to our knowledge of the original, in spite of its careful workmanship. The head is missing (it is replaced by a replica of the Athena Giustiniani), and the body is not a copy, but a complete transformation of the original of the two Dresden statues.

¹ Hettner, *Bildw.* No. 72. A cast of it is in Berlin, Fried.-Wolters, *Gipsabg.* 478. Published in Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, ii. (1679), 2, ee, as being in the Palace Caesii in Rome.

² Published in Becker's *Augusteum*, i. cap. 15. B. Gräf (*Aus der Anomia*, p. 65) has already noticed that it belongs to a replica of the Athena Farnese.

³ It has been supposed that the face was worked over in modern times (Fried.-Wolters, *Gipsabg.* 519) (cf. Heydemann, *Mitt. aus d. Antikens. Ober- u. Mittelitaliens*, p. 50). After repeated examination of the original I am able to state that this is not the case, though it is true that in certain parts acid has been used in order to remove incrustation (this was noticed by Brizio, *Bull. d. I.* 1872, 65), but without injuring the face in the least.

⁴ Slight differences are to be observed in the hair and tongue of the Gorgoneion. The scales of the aegis also differ slightly : in the one statue (Pl. II.) they are lighter, flatter, and all turned downwards, while in the other (Pl. I.) they are harder, more plastic, and do not all follow the same direction. The first rendering (Pl. II.) is the more severe, and certainly the most correct. The ends of the snakes knotted in front also vary somewhat in arrangement in the two statues. [Pl. II.* shows the left side of the statue ; it is taken from the cast exhibited in the Pheidian room of the Dresden Cast Museum ; the body is that of statue Pl. I., on which has been placed a cast of the Bologna head.—E. S.]

The artist's aim evidently was to get rid of the severe simplicity of the folds, and to substitute for them a rich mass of petty details more suited to later taste.¹ This copyist shows himself unable to appreciate the greatness of the older manner; he tried to correct and to improve, and only succeeded in becoming feeble, futile, and artificial.

There is still another copy of the head alone (probably part of a fifth replica), in the Vatican. The head is set on a female statue, to which it does not belong; it was once a good copy, but it is now so broken and restored as to be almost unrecognizable.²

The position of the arms in the original can be made out from the Dresden statue (Pl. I.) The left upper arm is raised horizontally. The goddess must have held with her left hand a lance that rested on the ground. The right upper arm is lowered, but it is plain that the right forearm must have been extended somewhat forwards and sideways, so as to bring the right hand into the direction towards which the goddess is looking.

It would be impossible to say what this hand held, were it not for another copy of the original, which is fortunately preserved on an engraved gem (Fig. 1),³ and which confirms in the most satisfactory manner our reconstruction of the Dresden statues. It is quite evident that both statues and gem are derived from the same original. The gem-cutter has copied, as faithfully as was possible within so small a space, the bare head with the short knotted-up hair, leaving the ear free, the fillet, the neck, the opening of the drapery on the breast, even the folds falling over the left breast, the transverse aegis, and the raised left upper arm. He chose to represent the left side of the statue, so that the breast appears somewhat foreshortened, and the head in profile (cf. Pl. II.) In the field in front of the left shoulder is a helmet. Such objects on gems are never mere 'symbols' as they are on coins, therefore I think it quite certain that the artist, who had not room in the picture for the right arm, wished at least to indicate that the goddess bore a helmet in her right hand. This trait completes our conception of the original statue.



FIG. 1.—Athena on Gem (Cades, i. H, 17).

The composition which we have thus won back had been brought into connexion with Pheidias even before its design was thoroughly clear. L. Schorn⁴ was the first to associate the statue with the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias, of which at that time no copies were known. This was no vague hypothesis, but the result of a careful and penetrating appreciation of the 'grand style'⁵ of the Dresden statue. He describes the simple treatment and rich effect of the drapery; the transverse aegis seems to him to indicate peaceful possession, the tranquil watch over the beloved city. And of the head he says that it has 'the features and solemn expression appropriate to the maiden goddess,' and that the beautiful turn towards the right completes the 'exalted image, which captivates the beholder as much by its godlike majesty as by

¹ Cf. Schreiber, *Athena Parthenos*, p. 583; my article in Roscher's *Lexikon*, i. 699; and Puchstein's remarks in *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1890, 93. Wolters's view (*Gipsabg.* 477, 478) is obviously incorrect.

² Vatican, *Gall. delle Statue*, 400.

³ According to Raspe, No. 1651, a nicolo, 'a beautiful engraving'; the owner is not named; badly reproduced on Plate 25 of the same work. A cast is in the Cades Collection, i. H, 17, from which our illustration is taken. To the left is the inscription HEIOT, badly written and certainly modern, which made me formerly doubt the genuineness of the gem (*Jahrb. d. Inst.* iv. 1889, p. 71). But the inscription has nothing whatever to do with the stone, which is beyond suspicion, and is a beautiful and carefully executed work of about the time of Augustus.

⁴ Bötticher's *Amalthea*, ii. (1822), 206 sqq.

⁵ W. G. Becker (*Augusteum*, i. p. 93 sqq.) has likewise well appreciated this style.

the freedom and naturalness of the pose.' What judgment would he not have passed could he have seen the head freed from the ugly modern helmet and the statue completed by the finer head from Bologna! Recently the extraordinary likeness of the torso to the Parthenos caused Puchstein¹ to reckon it as distinctly Pheidian. The head belonging to it was unknown to him; but since an Athena from Pergamon (see p. 27) which he showed to be dependent on the Dresden type was bareheaded, he concluded that the Dresden statues also had worn no helmet, and pronounced it not impossible that we have in them good copies of the Lemnian Athena by Pheidias.²

The discovery of the head gives to this hypothesis a certainty which is only less than absolute in a case where there is neither the evidence of provenance nor of inscription to shut out the last doubts. The premises which lead to the conclusion that our statues are copies of the Lemnia consist in the following observations. The original must have been a famous work of classical antiquity, witness the marble replicas which have been enumerated and the small accurate copy on the engraved gem. Again, the body of the statue comes nearest in style, of any known work, to the Parthenos of Pheidias, and possesses all its most characteristic and personal qualities: this has already been pointed out by Puchstein, and we shall presently prove it more in detail. If any work is to be taken as Pheidian, surely this must be. Now the famous Lemnian Athena of Pheidias also wore no helmet, and was moreover the only famous bareheaded Athena known to literary tradition. And what is said of this work³ corresponds in the most striking manner to our marbles, in fact has been made clear by them. The Lemnia was noted for exceptional charm; Lucian describes her as undoubtedly the masterpiece of Pheidias, and borrows for his ideal beauty the outline of her face, the delicacy of her cheeks, and the fine proportions of her nose (*Imagines*, 6). Applied to the Bologna head these words are no empty phrases (indeed, so far as we can verify, Lucian is never a mere phrase-maker): on the contrary, they emphasize peculiar merits which must strike any one who looks at this head and which distinguish it from other works of antiquity. The *eximia pulchritudo* of the Lemnia of Pheidias is possessed in a very high degree by the head which belongs to the statue acknowledged as Pheidian.

Finally, the Lemnia was a work in bronze, and, as nothing is said to the contrary, it was probably life-size. Now it is from a life-size figure that our statues derive, for, since they accurately reproduce their original in other respects, they presumably also reproduce its scale. It seems likely from the great distance at which the arms are held out from the body, and from the treatment of the hair, that this original was in bronze, while the extraordinary wealth of motive in the separate locks and the subtlety of the execution point emphatically to the same conclusion.⁴ True, artists before Pheidias employed for marble the same technique that we consider characteristic of bronze—as for instance in the Aegina marbles and in the boy's head from the Akropolis⁵—*i.e.* they imitated bronze technique in an inferior material; but within the circle of Pheidias we can no longer suppose that this was the case, although the complete separation between marble and bronze technique, which manifested itself especially in

¹ *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1890, p. 93 *sqq.*, 96, note 36.

² Michaelis, *Athen. Mitt.* 1876, p. 287, had previously tried to refer this type to the Athene Hygieia of Pyrrhos; his theory was however refuted by the discovery of the footmarks of the statue on the actual basis. Cf. *Ath. Mitt.* 1891, 163, Taf. 6.

³ For the most recent discussion of the passages see Studniczka, *Vermutungen z. Kunstgeschichte*, p. 1 *sqq.*, and Weizsäcker, *Neue Jahrb. f. Philologie*, Bd. 133 (1886), p. 14 *seq.*

⁴ Cf. Flasch in *Bull. d. Inst.* 1872, 66.

⁵ Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολ. 1888, Taf. 3.

the hair, was not effected till the fourth century. As regards the treatment of hair, we may compare the head of the Lemnia with the fragment of the head of Nemesis from Rhamnus,¹ by Agorakritos, the closest pupil of Pheidias. The enormous contrast between them is certainly due to differences not only of date but of material; the pupil working in marble having contented himself with the broadest and most general reproduction of the principal outlines. Bronze technique involves a previous modelling in clay and chisel work after the casting; all this brings out the form in a sharp and detailed manner, and accounts for the totally different treatment of our Athena head. Lastly, the hollow eyes afford another proof, as they occur principally in copies from bronze works.

We are now justified, I think, in claiming to possess exact copies after a bronze work by Pheidias, and to have thereby gained for the first time a full conception of this artist's achievements in the round. All through the fifth century, apparently, bronze casting was the method most in esteem; artists found in it a vehicle for the finest execution of which their mastery was capable, whereas ivory and gold technique imposed on them an over rigid restraint, and the secrets of marble work, as Praxiteles understood them, were as yet undiscovered.

II. *Site of the Lemnia on the Akropolis.—Date and Dedication.*

The Lemnian Athena of Pheidias was named ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναθέντων. As votive gifts of foreign states do not occur on the Akropolis of Athens, at least in the fifth century, the dedicators were not the Lemnians, but, as is universally agreed, the Attic kleruchs on Lemnos. As to the occasion of the dedication, Lösckke has made the plausible suggestion² that it was set up by the kleruchs on their departure in order to secure for themselves, even when far away, the potent protection of the city goddess. Lösckke cites two votive gifts on the Akropolis with inscriptions which prove that they were set up by departing kleruchs;³ since they belong approximately to the same period as the statue by Pheidias, they afford a good analogy. The objection that such a votive gift would not be offered before some success had been attained is without weight, for according to the ideas of the time 'the permanent holy offering was intended to remind the god constantly of the pious intentions of the giver, and of the consequent obligation to grant him protection and help in return for his gift.'⁴ Just as at the departure of the kleruchs a great sacrifice, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποικίας, was offered (as we know from the inscription concerning the kleruchs of Brea),⁵ so it appears to have been the custom for the colonists to leave behind some more lasting symbol of sacrifice in the form of a votive gift. Lösckke's suggestion is, I think, confirmed by the fact that the two inscriptions were found in the very part of the Citadel where, according to the *periegesis* of Pausanias, the Lemnia must have stood. The inscriptions were found near the Propylaia; I remember seeing one of them at the eastern end of the northern half of the principal structure. The Lemnia stood on the same part of the Akropolis. If these three monuments, then, have a local connexion, we have the more reason for concluding that they

¹ Cf. Rossbach in *Athen. Mitt.* 1890, p. 64.

² *Tod des Phidias* in *Histor. Unters.* dedicated to A. Schäfer (Bonn, 1882), p. 43.

³ *C. I. A.* i. 339, τῆς ἀποικίας τῆς ἐς Ἐρ[έτριαν]; 340, Ἐποίκων ἐς Ποτεΐδιαν.

⁴ Emil Reisch, *Griechische Weihgeschenke*, p. 5.

⁵ *C. I. A.* i. 31; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 12.



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II.

Statue of Athena, with Cast of Bologna Head.

DRESDEN.

were presented on similar occasions. Plainly the statues dedicated by departing kleruchs, of which the Lemnia was one, all stood together.

This place needs however to be more exactly defined. Pausanias, whose evidence we take first, so arranged his *periegesis* of the Akropolis that after coming through the Propylaia he went to the right to view the south side of the Citadel and then by way of the Erechtheion along the north side back to the gates. He begins his account by describing the Propylaia and all that was to be seen in connexion with them, and does not mention them again at the end. We only find out that he has left the Akropolis by his reference to the Pelargikon below the Akropolis and to the grotto of Apollo. Of the four monuments which close his description of the Citadel, one, the so-called Promachos of Pheidias, is fixed, if not actually by remains of the basis,¹ yet at least by well-known coins,² as having stood between the Erechtheion and the Propylaia, just where we should have placed it in reliance on the account of Pausanias. Here too must have stood in the time of Pausanias the four-horsed chariot which he mentions together with the Promachos; and close by, nearer the gates, the Perikles and the Lemnia; Pausanias passed them on his way from the Promachos to the gate.³ They cannot have been within the Propylaia or in front of them, for the gates are not mentioned again, and a complete description of them, including their north and south wings, had been given at the beginning. The statues more probably stood to the north of the principal road which led from the Propylaia along the top of the Citadel, and would therefore correspond to the other statues, south of the same road, which are named at the beginning of the actual *periegesis* of the Citadel. These other statues are not, it is true, clearly marked off from the description of the Propylaia, on account of the eloquent transition which Pausanias devised from the wisdom of Sokrates to the wisdom of Peisistratos and Hippias, and so on to the mistress of the murderer of Hippias. But the exact place of the Athena Hygieia, one of a group of works expressly mentioned as standing near together,⁴ is definitely known through the basis found *in situ* on the Akropolis outside the Propylaia on the east. Hence we may conclude that the other works associated with it—*i.e.* the Lioness, the Aphrodite of Kalamis, the Diitrephes, and the 'Hygieia'—were also outside. From the circumstance that Pausanias mentions the Athena Hygieia last among them, we may presume that this statue, standing in front of the last pillar to the right, would not be noticed until the others had been passed. To suppose that these statues were in the porch itself, and to reason from this that the other statues—or at least the Perikles and the Lemnia—stood opposite them in the northern part of the porch,⁵ is entirely mistaken. Neither the one series of statues nor the other was within the porch. No traces whatever of any such monuments have been found on the floor of the Propylaia. The two bases belonging to the statues were found not within, but

¹ Cf. Löschcke, *loc. cit.* p. 45, note. Lolling in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch d. Alterthumswissenschaft*, vol. iii. p. 352.

² Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Pausanias*, Pl. Z, iii.—vii.

³ The assumption that Pausanias is here, contrary to his usual custom, enumerating works of art without reference to their locality (Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 300) is entirely without foundation. Cf. Michaelis, *Athen. Mitt.* ii. 95.

⁴ After the express mention of the Hermes Propylaios and the Charites as *κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον αὐτὴν ἤδη τὴν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν*, follows the mention of the lioness (the transition is effected by means of the *wisdom*), no definite place being given; *παρὰ αὐτὴν* stands the Aphrodite; *πλησίον* the Diitrephes, and again *πλησίον* to this the Hygieia and the Athena Hygieia.

⁵ Cf. especially P. Weizsaecker, *Neue Jahrbücher f. Philologie* (Fleckeisen), vol. 133 (1886), p. 1 *sqq.*

immediately without the Propylaia,¹ in the locality where they once stood, though they were no longer *in situ*. Besides, all the statues, the northern as well as the southern,² with the single exception of the Athena Hygieia,³ and possibly also of the hitherto unidentified 'Hygieia,' are older than the Propylaia, and therefore, supposing they were within the Propylaia, they must have been moved there from some other position. No possible reason for such a transfer can be discovered, for not only were all the statues in bronze and made for the open air, but the corridor of the Propylaia was the most unsuitable place that could be conceived for the reception of votive gifts. The narrow space was doubtless kept as free as possible and not crowded up with monuments.⁴

The Lemnia of Pheidias, then, stood on the way from the Promachos and the *quadriga* to the Propylaia; close to it were placed other monuments set up by the departing kleruchies, and here also stood the portrait of Perikles. It is quite evident how appropriately all these works were placed together, for the kleruchies, so often a godsend to the poorer citizens, were the work of this statesman.

The position which we have shown the Lemnia to have occupied explains the motive of the statue very simply. It stood on the left of the road, and would naturally face it. But as the gates were so near, it was natural that the figure should look towards them. With a kindly glance which promised peace and prosperity, the goddess followed the departing kleruchy, while the colonist returning to his native land and coming up to worship would be met and welcomed by the same protecting gaze.⁵ Plate II. gives the view of the statue as I imagine it to have appeared to any one entering the Citadel.

According to Kirchhoff⁶ the kleruchy to Lemnos must be dated between Ol. 82, 1 and Ol. 83, 2, *i.e.* between 451 and 448—7. It was at this time therefore—in the middle of the fifth century, roughly—that Pheidias made the statue. On the basis was inscribed not only the dedication, but, as tradition expressly states, the artist's signature.⁷ Thus it is an absolutely authentic work by Pheidias, and not merely one that was ascribed to him, which survives in the beautiful Dresden copies.

III. *Comparison between Lemnia and Parthenos.*

The chronology which shows the Lemnia to have been a little older than the gold-ivory Parthenos executed in B.C. 447—438 receives important confirmation from a comparison of the style of the two figures. One external detail, the snake-border of the aegis, is specially important in this connexion. The Lemnia follows an old fashion taken over from the archaic period; the rolled edge of the aegis is worked in round scollops, each point terminating in the upper part of a snake. In the Parthenos the system is quite different: here whole snakes form the trimming, the scollops of

¹ The Kallias basis, *C. I. A.* i. 392, which supported the Aphrodite of Kalamis, and the Hermolykos basis, *C. I. A.* i. 402, on which the Diitrephes probably stood (see *infra*, p. 122).

² For Perikles and the Diitrephes cf. the section on Kresilas.

³ Wolters (*Athen. Mitt.* 1891, p. 153 *sqq.*) has pointed out that this statue is more recent than the Propylaia.

⁴ The much-disputed passage of Herodotos about the four-horsed chariot need cause no confusion. Herodotos had the old Propylaia before his eyes, and it was only at the building of the new Propylaia that the four-horsed chariot was set up where Pausanias saw it. Cf. Miller, *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 1893, 504 *seq.*

⁵ The Athena Hygieia too, to judge by the footmarks, turned slightly towards those entering from the gates; she did not stand exactly in front of the pillar.

⁶ *Abhandl. d. Berliner Akademie*, 1875, 33.

⁷ Lucian, *Imag.* 4: τὴν Δημνίαν ἢ καὶ ἐπιγράφαι τοῦνομα Φειδίας ἤξιωσε.