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THE LEMNIAN ATHENA:

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THE LEMNIAN ATHENA:

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by

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ABSTRACT

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by

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The Lemnian Athena of Pheidias has been a topic of enduring interest to scholars since Adolf Furtwängler announced in 1893 that he had discovered a copy of the original Pheidian statue. Furtwängler joined a head found in Bologna to a torso found in Dresden and, after careful investigation, was convinced he had found a true copy.

This study examines the background of the original statue, namely, Periclean Athens, the artist Pheidias, and the cleruchs who commissioned the work. It also suggests that Furtwängler's hypothesis, that Athena was holding a helmet in her right hand, may not be true.

Although only a copy, the Bologna head catches the magic of Pheidias and adds to our appreciation and understanding of his complex genius.

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To Dr. Paul Deussen I wish to express special thanks. I am grateful for the opportunity of working with an inspiring teacher whose patience and helpfulness made difficulties disappear. His encouragement and support were unfailing. His warmth and humanity enhanced the whole learning experience.

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INTRODUCTION

From time to time in the history of mankind there comes a brief respite from war, plague and tyranny, when philosophers and artists gather and civilization flourishes. Such a time occurred in Greece in the Fifth century before Christ, a time of such a flowering of human achievement that to this day its fame eclipses that of all other such events. The first city of that civilization was Athens, whose citizens together with an inspired leader and artists of formidable talent fashioned a crown for that city on its highest rocky point, and that crown was called the Acropolis.

To do honor to their patroness and protectress, Athena, these people adorned this hill with temples and statues of marble, bronze, gold and ivory. In this place the ancient gods were honored with festivals, games, contests, processions--two hundred fifty of them each year. Athens became a place without parallel in history. Long after its poets and philosophers had died and its temples had crumbled, pilgrims still came, and continue to come, from all corners of the earth to stand among the ruins and summon up the images of its glorious past.

Amid the wreckage one can walk the path of countless other travelers through the great gateway, the Propylaea, and see, still standing, though gravely wounded, the remains of the Parthenon and Erechtheum. Of the plethora of statues that once stood there, only some broken pedestals remain, and it is necessary to turn to early writers to find descriptions of what was once here.

We know that, besides the statue of Athena, countless other images of divinities once stood on the Acropolis. Famous was the colossal cult statue of Athena made of ivory and gold, called the Parthenos, and another of bronze, the Athena Promachos. The loss of both is much lamented, as they were highly praised in their day. Still another statue of this goddess, an image known as the Lemnian Athena received even more praise than those two. Both Lucian and Pausanias said that this Athena was the most beautiful of all.[1] According to Pliny, "Pheidias made an Athena of bronze of such outstanding beauty that she was called the Beautiful."[2] It is believed that he was referring to the Lemnian Athena (so called for the Athenian settlers on the island of Lemnos who supplied money for her construction). This statue was believed to have been made of bronze and to have stood somewhere between the temple of Athena and the Propylaea.[3] Unlike many statues of Athena, this one, it is thought, was without a helmet, presenting her as a pure and beautiful young goddess.[4] Surely this much praised masterpiece is the one work of Pheidias that

we would most like to reconstruct. To do that, to reconsider its iconography, and to suggest an alternative to the usual concept of the statue's stance is the purpose of this paper.

NOTES

[1]Lucian, Imagines, 4-6 (a dialogue dealing with the ideal characteristics to be embodied in Panthea). Lykinos: Of the works of Pheidias which one do you praise most highly? Polystratos: Which if not the Lemnia, on which he thought it fit to inscribe his name. . . The Lemnia and Pheidias shall furnish the outline of her (Panthea's) whole face, the softness of the sides of her face, and the well proportioned nose.

Pausanias I, 28, 2:. . . the most worth seeing of the works of Pheidias, the image of Athena which is called "The Lemnian," after those who dedicated it.

[2]Pliny, N.H. 34, 54.

[3]Adolf Furtwängler, Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture (Chicago: Agronaut Publishers, 1964), pp. 8-10. Furtwängler bases his positioning of the Lemnia Athena on Pausanias' descriptions.

[4]Hemerius, Orat. 21.4: Pheidias did not always portray Athena as armed, "but he adorned the maiden by shedding on her cheek a rosy tinge by which, instead of a helmet, he meant to veil the beauty of the goddess."

CHAPTER I

PERICLES AND PHEIDIAS

The epoch which saw the creation of the beautiful Lemnian Athena was a most propitious period in history. It was fortunate that the long and devastating war with Persia was over, and the enemy had been vanquished. Athens was enjoying a period of confidence and burgeoning prosperity. It was fortunate that the leader of Athens, Pericles, was a man of sufficient wisdom, power, and ambition to make Athens the greatest city in Greece. And it was especially fortunate that in Athens at this time there dwelt artists of great intellectual and artistic gifts such as Iktinos and Kallikrates, but the foremost among them was Pheidias. Pericles and Pheidias are the two names that dominate the events of these years between the Persian and the Peloponnesian Wars.

Pericles was the pivotal force in the development of Athens into the great power she became in the fifth century B.C. Without his leadership the great transformation could not have occurred. His influence began as early as 460 B.C. and continued until his death in 429. His single aim was the glorification of Athens as a political power and as a cultural center, and he devoted all his

energies to this end. The Acropolis had been leveled during the Persian invasion, and it was Pericles's intention to rebuild it more brilliantly than before. The completed restoration was to be both a monument to Greece's victory over the Persians and a visible expression of Athens' position as first power in Greece. The Acropolis was rebuilt and became the most famous and beautiful cult shrine in Greece, but Pericles's ideas of glorification went further than rebuilding the Acropolis, to include both the polis and the citizens of Athens as well. Under his leadership the city was transformed politically and spiritually.

Pericles was born into an aristocratic family, a serious intellectual person, interested in science, philosophy and the arts. But he was also a soldier and man of affairs. He had a gift for leadership and a gift for persuasion. He was able to capture the imagination of his audience and without flattery, but with eloquence and clarity, move them to his purposes. Thucydides, who must have heard and seen him when he was a young man, records his impression of Pericles in his history:

> During the whole period of peace time when Pericles was at the head of affairs, the state was wisely led and firmly handled, and it was under him that Athens was at her greatest. . . Pericles, because of his position, his intelligence, and his known integrity, could respect the liberty of the people and at the same time hold them in check. It was he who led them, rather than they who led him, and, since he never sought power from any wrong motive, he was under no necessity of flattering them: in fact he was so highly respected that he

> was able to speak angrily to them and to contradict them. Certainly when he saw that they were going too far in a mood of over-confidence, he would bring them back to a sense of their dangers; and when they were discouraged for no good reason, he would restore their confidence. So in what was nominally a democracy, power was really in the hands of the first citizen.[1]

Thucydides has also preserved for posterity Pericles's famous funeral oration given in honor of the Athenian soldiers killed in the early campaigns of the Peloponnesian War.[2] In that speech he sets forth his aspirations for Athens. He sees a society where justice applies equally to all, and where social restrictions do not keep a man from becoming as great in public life as his talents permit. The community would be governed by law, but law that each citizen has had a part in forming. Power and discipline would be balanced by freedom of intellectual life and a buoyant spirit. These were lofty and optimistic goals, and for a time Athens was able to realize them.

Pericles's office in the government was modest. He held the position of strategos, one of the ten generals of the Athenian military forces. But no other Greek in this age had as much power and influence as Pericles. Perhaps, because democracy was so new, the people were unused to assuming power themselves. Or perhaps it was because Pericles had gained their complete confidence and trust. He enjoyed and sought power but used it to further his goals for Athens. He was committed to nationalistic imperialism in order to make Athens stronger. He

appropriated money from the Delian League,[3] but used it to fulfill his vision of Athens as a cultural center. Bowra sees Pericles's greatest contribution in the transformation of Athens into a democracy and the resulting liberation of her citizens:

> He believed that the Athenian people, freed from old hindrances and charged with new responsibilities, was unique and unequally valuable in the world. . . Because he believed in Athens, he believed in everything that she had and was, and above all in the worth of her private citizens, no matter of what class or origin. His extraordinary achievement was to see that if Athens was to be a great city, it was because all her citizens played their part for her and must be allowed to do so to the full scope of their abilities.[4]

The contribution of Pericles was a more splendid, powerful Athens and a people inspired with a new spirit. With democracy came a new pride in citizenship. Personal honor was extended to encompass honor of city. Every man saw himself as a champion. Personal prowess in battle was much esteemed. It was a time of intellectual ferment, change and achievement. The new spirit attracted intellectual individuals with new bold ideas and artists of surpassing skill. It was an age of enormous energy displayed in all aspects of life. "Democracy was the inspiring force of Athens in the Fifth century and without it she would never have done so much as she did. Even her sculptors and architects would not have shown the full range of their powers, since the great buildings on the Acropolis would never have been begun."[5]

The greatest of the Athenian sculptors was Pheidias, and he too shared the Periclean vision of a renewed Athens. He seems to have been an artist of heroic talent who left his mark on his own age and on the years that followed. Yet there are obstacles that prevent us from seeing him clearly. Unlike most creative genuises, he did not leave us a complete body of work so that we could see with our own eyes and experience with our own sensibilities his greatness. The words of Pericles are in part preserved through the recordings of Thucydides. With Pheidias we only catch a glimpse of him through works that he planned and directed but did not execute himself. We read of his excellence in written accounts. We guess of his masterpieces only through poor copies. We can discern his influence on artists who followed him. But there is no object of which we can say with certainty, "Pheidias did this."

Pheidias was born about 500 and died about 430 B.C. During his infancy the war between the Greeks and Persians was accelerating. The victory of Marathon in 490 B.C., when he was a young boy, must have inspired his imagination and thrilled his heart with images of heroism and valor. He was about twenty years old when the Persians were finally defeated. It was an exhilarating time for a gifted young person to be alive.

Once peace had returned to the city, and homes and commerce had been restored, there remained the great task of rebuilding the Acropolis. Pericles, as we have

seen, made that one of his chief goals and chose his friend Pheidias to be chief sculptor and coordinator of the immense project of restoring the temples. Pheidias seems also to have shared the Periclean vision and was able to transform into marble and bronze the concept of the dignity of man and the transcendence of the gods. It was Pheidias' genius that he was able to deepen and enrich the average Athenian's view of his country and its destiny.

Pheidias profited from dwelling in an age of great artistic activity, and he also profited from the artistic development that had immediately preceded his generation. During the century before his birth, artists had made great progress in technical virtuosity. Pheidias had the opportunity to profit from what had been learned by his predecessors and to advance forward from that place. Although Pheidias had complete mastery over the technical side of his art, he never made a display of his dexterity, but used it to enhance the spiritual side of his work. Charles Waldstein says, "The chief characteristics of works of Pheidias are never the technical skill or the manipulative power, but are those of a moral nature, namely grandeur and breadth, coupled with simplicity."[6]

It seems strange that an artist who has left almost nothing for us to see can be described in the above manner. Statements like Waldstein's are based on some tangible evidence in the form of some extraordinary remains of the metopes, frieze and pediments of the Parthenon. We know that Pheidias planned and directed the carvings on this

building.[7] But we do not know which parts, if any, he actually did himself. From what remains of the temple, it is obvious that an original genius was at work here. The composition of the groups, the rendering of the drapery, the natural grace of the figures that we find in the remains, all are new elements in Athenian sculpture.

Besides these external decorations, we know that Pheidias was responsible for the great cult statue of Athena placed within the temple. We know a great deal about this statue because there were descriptions written of it.[8] There were also smaller copies made of it, although these are not as helpful as the written descriptions. From the accounts it was a magnificent sight--made of gold and ivory and of colossal size (about 40 feet high). It seems to have made a lasting impression on those who saw it. The statue represented the goddess standing, a figure of victory in her right hand, her left hand resting on her shield. She wore a simple Doric chiton with a girdle around her waist having a snake clasp. On her breast was the head of Medusa in ivory. Every part of the statue was covered with decorations. In the middle of her helmet sat a sphinx with griffins on either side. Each side of her shield bore a relief of an epic battle. On the outer surface of the shield the battle of the Amazons was portrayed. On the inner side was the battle of the gods and the giants. Even her sandals were decorated, with the combat of the Lapiths and Centaurs. From the descriptions she seems to have radiated nobility and grandeur. She stood in the Parthenon

cella facing the east door. Before her was a shallow reflecting pool. The statue is no longer in existence. Only its pedestal remains.

Pheidias did a second chryselephantine statue, and this time it was a representation of Zeus for his temple in Olympia. This was even more celebrated than the Athena. Zeus was seven times life size and was seated on a throne decorated with gold, precious stones, ebony and ivory. The figure of Zeus was also very elaborate. His sandals and robe were of gold embellished with figures and flowers. He was called the embodiment of peace, and it was said that standing before this statue, you would forget all the misfortunes of this life, so splendid and beautiful it was. Quintilian tells us that "its beauty can be said to have added something to traditional religion, so adequate to the divine nature is the majesty of his work."[9] The art of Pheidias seems to have had a special spiritual quality, an "Olympian" feeling as Pollitt describes it. He says, "it is probably fair to say that no cult image after the time of Pheidias was ever without his stamp. The Zeus and Athena became prototypical of standards for the representation of divinity, standards which in the opinion of the later Hellenistic critics, were the products of the spiritual intuition of a great sage."[10]

Pheidias was primarily a maker of gods, and he seems to have been able to capture the spirit of the times he lived in. He created images that gave meaning and comfort to the people. As Pericles inspired and impelled

them to greater achievement with his oratory, Pheidias was able to inspire and enrich them with his art.

NOTES

[1]Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War, translated by Rex Warner (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1954) 2, 65, 5-10.

[2]Thucydides, 2, 34-46.

[3]J.J. Pollitt, Art and Experience in Classical Greece (Cambridge: University Press, 1972). The Delian League was originally a confederacy of Greek cities in the islands during the Persian Wars. In 478/477 B.C. the Athenians took leadership. Members of the confederacy were obliged to furnish men, ships or money to the common treasury. Eventually Athens's allies became her subjects, and the money they paid to Athens was used by Pericles to glorify Athens.

[4]C.M. Bowra, Periclean Athens (New York: The Dial Press, 1971) pp. 87-88.

[5]Bowra, p. 283.

[6]Charles Waldstein, Essays on the Art of Pheidias (Cambridge: University Press, 1885) p. 66.

[7]Pollitt, note 5, p. 71.

[8]Quintilian, Inst. orat. XII, 10. 9. Pausanias, 1, 24, 5-7.

[9]Gisela M.A. Richter, The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972) p. 171.

[10]J.J. Pollitt, p. 99-100.

CHAPTER II

THE LEMNIAN CLERUCHS

The Lemnian Athena was so called because it was a gift of the Athenian settlers, or cleruchs as they were called, residing on the Island of Lemnos. They presented it as a votive offering to the goddess when they left Athens for their new home on a small island in the northern reaches of the Aegean Sea. It is the purpose of this chapter to determine who these donors were and what was their incentive for giving so grand a gift at their leave taking.

Had these men been the leading citizens of the city, wealthy merchants or prominent politicians venturing forth on an important or dangerous mission of state, we could understand their desire to please the goddess and impress the citizens of Athens by this magnificent gift. The cleruchs, however, were neither wealthy nor important. They were persons selected to go out to establish colonies around the Aegean, and they were the poor and unemployed of the city. Their gift entailed greater sacrifice and more faith in the efficacy of votive offerings to appease the gods than would a gift from a more affluent citizen.

The flow of citizens emigrating out in search of new land in the Aegean Islands had been continuing for several centuries. The land of Greece was criss-crossed with mountains and rocky barren areas that could not be cultivated. Greece was never a rich country, and the fertile areas were limited. The topographical features of the land led to the development of many small, self contained groups. The Greek city state emerged from the isolation and confinement that the natural barriers produced. Each small group was bound together by its common destiny. Their smallness determined their character and an intense patriotism grew up in each territory along with a strong individualism.

In time no spot of fertile soil remained uncultivated, no empty spot uninhabited. The confined areas became crowded. Most of the population was peasant and shepherd. Land ran out. The mass of unemployed and poor grew. The problem became acute at different times in different places, but the only solution in each case was to search out new land. The sea which surrounded the Greek mainland was liberally interspersed with islands. And so there was a gradual growth of new settlements stretching farther and farther from the mainland. Trade and colonization grew. The Aegean world became the geographical basis of Greek life, and according to Victor Ehrenberg, "the individual Greek state was in general the more alive and important the more closely it was connected with the Aegean."[1]

The proliferation of colonies gave rise to various types of settlements. Generally the colony formed a separate city-state based on the model of the polis from whence it came. Naturally the colonists took with them the ethnic patterns, the religion, the dialect, the political ideas of their origin. There seems to have been a great variety of relationships between colony and mother city, but usually there was a closer tie to the mother state than existed between Greek states in general. Evidence is sketchy and incomplete as much of the documentation consists of odd statements referring to one instance, and rarely can a relationship between a colony and its mother city be followed over the years. The new colony was usually founded to be a self sufficient polis with enough land to feed its population. That it also might become a trading post or an extension of the original polis was not the primary motivation for its creation.

When the new colony was founded, certain rituals were performed to indicate that the foundation of a city was a sacred act. First the oracle at Delphi was consulted regarding the site of the new settlement. In addition it was the custom for the new settlers to take with them the fire from the sacred hearth (Hestia) of the mother city to kindle the fires in the new city. "The intention," says A.J. Graham, "was to make the new community continuous with the old in the most significant way possible."[2] Thucydides gives us the best description of the way the settler proceeded when problems arose in their colony and the

importance of religious observances.

> When the people in Epidamnus realized there was no help forthcoming from Corcyra, they were at a loss how to deal with the situation. They therefore sent to Delphi to inquire from the gods whether they should hand over their city to the Corinthians, who had founded it, and so get help from that quarter. The reply from Delphi was that they should hand over the city and accept the leadership of Corinth. So in obedience to the oracle, they sent to Corinth, and made over the city to the Corinthians. . . The Corinthians agreed to come to their assistance. They felt they had a good right to do so, since they regarded the colony as belonging just as much to them as to Corcyra; and at the same time they hated the Corcyraeans because they failed to show to Corinth the respect due from a colony to the mother city. Unlike their other colonies, the Corcyraeans did not give to Corinthians the usual rights and honors at public festivals and allow them the correct facilities for making sacrifices.[3]

Early colonies were often supplied with an oikist as their leader.[4] His job was to carry out the general conditions for the colony such as dividing the land equally and performing the correct ritual acts. It is known that he was honored as a hero after his death, which suggests another religious aspect of founding a new colony.

Gradually the role of the oikist appears to change as does the function of the colony also. In the fifth century at both Corinth and Athens, tyrants used colonies for imperial ends as well as population control. Colonies began to be placed in strategic locations for garrisons or other war uses, and treaties were made whereby neighboring cities would come to the aid of a colony if they were attacked. Finally, the oikist no longer played any part at all in the new colony which became increasingly democratic although dependent on the mother city.

In the eighth and seventh century when there was a great colonizing movement in Greece, Athens was still able to absorb her growing population. By the fifth century, however, Athens joined the colonizing movement. This time period is better documented, and we know, that many emigrants from Athens were cleruchs. These settlers were Athenian citizens living abroad. Their political institutions were the same as those in Athens, and they were an extension, insofar as possible, of life back home. An important aspect of the cleruch was the fact that he retained his Athenian citizenship.[5]

There was a strong sense of patriotism in these Greeks and pride and loyalty in their place of birth. Why did they leave home? The inducements to emigrate were tempting. Land was scarce or nonexistent in Attica. "By migrating, the Greek colonist in general not only secured land of which he may previously have possessed none, or too little for a livelihood at home; he also enjoyed citizen rights in a new state, and often more rights than belonged to him in the metropolis, if the franchise were dependent on property."[6]

Lemnos, the colony of our present interest, had been colonized by Athenians before the Persian War at which time the non-Greek living there were expelled. It is probable that their connection with Athens had been destroyed by the Persian conquest. With the formation of the Delian League, they became members in their own right and began eventually paying tribute. According to the Athenian

Tribute List of 452/1 the Lemnians paid nine talents.[7] This payment of tribute suggests that this settlement was considered an ally and not a cleruchy. Usually allies paid tribute and a cleruchy did not. In the tribute list of 444/3 the island's tribute is recorded as four and a half talents--a reduction of fifty percent.[8] It is believed that the reduction was due to the arrival of a large contingent of cleruchs sent out by Pericles during this period.

From our deductions based on the A.T.L., this Lemnian cleruchy was probably established around 449. We do not know the size of the group, but the number of settlers in a single place was not more than five hundred.[9] We can image that these men left their homeland and took off on this great adventure with mixed feeling of anticipation and apprehension. They were leaving a life of poverty and limited expectations. Life for the average Athenian was precarious at best. If he had land, as these men did not, he farmed with difficulty, helpless against crop disease, drought and disaster. His own existence was precarious, threatened by hardship and disease. Added to this was the man-made disaster of war which reoccurred with disheartening regularity in the Greek world. These men were not escaping the hardships of their lives, but were adding new uncertainties. They could not be sure of their situation when they arrived in Lemnos. There was often great resentment towards the new landowner from those who had been displaced.[10] Athenians settled overseas felt no inclination to deny

their birthright, and it is understandable that they might wish for all the help they could get from divine assistance at the start of this great new venture.

In commissioning a statue of Athena to be placed on the Acropolis, the settlers were following an ancient tradition of giving a handsome gift, a votive statue, to please the goddess Athena, their special patroness. It attests to their zeal to make this a splendid gift that they chose for its creator the foremost sculptor of the city. The services of Pheidias must have required considerable remuneration. Since these people came from poverty, we wonder how Pheidias secured his wages. The arrangements are not known. Perhaps he relied on a promise of future recompense once they were settled in their promised land. The fact that these poor men commissioned such a rich gift indicates their faith in the efficacy of gifts to the deity.

John Gould in his essay "On Making Sense of Greek Religion"[11] helps to clarify the ancient Greek's view of his religion. Gould explains two important aspects of Greek religious thought. On the one hand they believed that divine powers could be understood in much the same way we understand other human beings. On the other hand, there was an "other" and inexplicable side of the gods that was mysterious and incomprehensible to men.

The aspect of the goddess that our Lemnos colonists were appealing to was that which might be called her rational and human side. In giving gifts they hoped to

establish a bond with Athena that would secure her favor and help in future trials and dangers. According to Gould, a central assumption in ancient Greek culture, is that an act of kindness or a favor to one requires a corresponding favor back. "The assumption is that any action will be met by a matching and balancing reaction (good for good, evil for evil, and, therefore, the implication that divinity will respond in kind and reciprocate human action, for good or ill, is one that locates the divine power squarely within the conceptual framework by means of which ancient Greeks understood the ordering of their world."[12]

Writers on Greek religion seem to agree that for the Greek the emphasis was on action more than commitment in their dealing with the gods. While the Christian emphasizes faith as the key to a meaningful relationship with God, the Greek emphasis was more on merely acknowledging the gods, praying to them, sacrificing and building temples to them. Although the Greek religion lacks some of the aspects that the modern mind sees as basic, religion permeated their everyday world much more completely than it permeates our twentieth century world. "The Greek household had its shrine to Hestia or to Zeus Ktesios, either of whom could give special protection to hearth and home, and the head of the house normally took his duties at the shrine seriously. At a meal the libation or drink-offering to the gods was an automatic custom, and it would

have been very odd to eat and drink without offering the gods a small share of what was being consumed. The great landmarks of human life--birth, coming of age, marriage and death--were all marked by rituals with religious significance. Above the level of the individual family, each deme, phratry, and tribe had its own cult and each city-state its divine guardian. The maintenance of these city-cults was essential for success and no great enterprise was undertaken without proper prayers and offerings."[13] Thus we see the whole way of life for the Greek was permeated by an enormous variety of religious rituals and beliefs, and while they recognized that the gods could be capricious and envious, vindictive and unpredictable, the effort to please and appease them was thought to be worth the effort. The Lemnos emigrants concurred with the popular wisdom that no great enterprise should be undertaken without first soliciting the favor and goodwill of the goddess.

Athena, their cult goddess and protectress, was a goddess of war who fought for righteous causes. She was both a wise and skillful warrior. She did not fight for the love of warfare, but rather to restore peace. In her temple on the Parthenon, she stood with helmet, lance and shield, a majestic symbol of a powerful force in the transcendent world. But Athena had another side, equally significant. She was the restorer of order. She upheld the law and promoted the arts, was patroness of agriculture, of healing and music.[14] It was this goddess, I believe, that the Lemnian cleruchs appealed to in their final gesture

at departing from their homeland. If they were to find success in their island home, they must have peace, not war. It was from the constant warfare in their land that many of the peasants were displaced from their original land. Now they hoped to establish safe homes and harvest successful crops in their new territory. For this reason the image of the goddess that they commissioned from Pheidias was a goddess without helmet, lance or shield of war, but rather the bareheaded, serene and beautiful goddess of peace, wisdom and prosperity. It was the yearning of these displaced wanderers, searching for their utopia, that prompted Pheidias to create the beautiful image known as the Lemnian Athena.

NOTES

[1]Victor Ehrenberg, "Early Athenian Colonies," Aspects of the Ancient World, Essays and Reviews (New York: William Salloch, 1946) pp. 116-142.

[2]A.J. Graham, Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1964) p. 25.

[3]Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War, translated by Rex Warner, (Baltimore, Md: Penguin Books, 1954) I, 2, 24.

[4]A.J. Graham, Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1964) pp. 29-39.

[5]Graham, pp. 166-196.

[6]P.A. Brunt, "Athenian Settlements Abroad in the Fifth Century B.C." Ancient Society and Institutions, Studies presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th birthday (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966) p. 74.

[7]ATL II, list 3, I. 2.

[8]ATL II, list 11, V. 30, 31.

[9]C.M. Bowra, Periclean Athens (New York: The Dial Press, 1971) p. 65.

[10]Bowra, p. 64.

[11]John Gould, "On Making Sense of Greek Religion," Greek Religion and Society, edited by P.E. Easterling and J.V. Muir (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) p. 15.

[12]Ibid., p. 7.

[13]J.V. Nuir, "Religion and the New Education," Greek Religion and Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) pp. 194-5.

[14]Walter F. Otto, The Homeric Gods, translated by Moses Hadas (New York: Pantheon Books, 1954) pp. 56-57.

CHAPTER III

THE FURTWÄNGLER CONTROVERSY

"The most worth seeing of the works of Pheidias, the image of Athena which is called "the Lemnian", after those who dedicated it," so wrote Pausanius in the second century A.D. after a visit to Athens.[1] These words and others attesting to the loveliness of this statue stir the imagination and fire the desire to know more about this work. The statue was made of bronze and stood on a high point on the Acropolis not far from the temple of Athena. Unlike many statues of Athena, this one, it is thought, was without a helmet, presenting her as a pure and beautiful young goddess.

For centuries the belief was that this work, along with the other works of Pheidias, was irretrievably lost. Then in 1893 Adolf Furtwängler in his book, Meisterwerke der Griechischen Plastik posited the theory that we do have a fine copy of the Lemnian Athena in Dresden, and that a marble head in Bologna fits it (Fig. 1), and together they are a good copy of the original statue (Fig. 3). Since that time art historians have been divided on their acceptance of his conclusions, but many seem to find them plausible.

It was in 1891 that Furtwängler first discovered two statues in the Dresden Museum which, after considerable study he became convinced, were faithful copies of a bronze work by Pheidias. One had an erroneous head attached to it, while the other had a poorly restored head. After much work he realized that one of the heads, the poorly restored one, was actually the correct one, and that there was an even finer copy of that same head in the Bologna Museum. He observed several features of the two parts that convinced him of the correctness of his judgment. Comparing the Bologna head and the poorly restored one in Dresden, he found the necks and shape of the chests to be exactly alike. Secondly, the Bologna head and torsos in Dresden were of the same marble. Finally, when the head was placed upon the torso, the two fitted together perfectly in the core of the neck, although not in front where the edges were broken off.[2]

The arms are missing in these two copies, but their position in the original can be construed from what is left of the shoulder. The upper left arm must have been raised horizontally, probably grasping a lance whose end rested on the ground. The right arm probably extended down and forward.[3] It is Furtwängler's idea that this hand held Athena's helmet, and he bases his supposition on an engraved gem of that period which shows a bareheaded Athena with short hair, encircled by a fillet, wearing a transverse aegis as on the life-size Dreseen statues. The gem only shows the head and shoulders of Athena and no arms, but on

the left edge of the gem a helmet appears suspended (Fig. 8). Furtwängler believed that the gem cutter was using the Lemnian Athena as his model and was indicating that the goddess held a helmet in her right hand.

He is confident of his identification of this statue as a copy of the Lemnian Athena for several reasons. First, he compared the Lemnia and the Parthenos using the Varvakion statuette as one of the best copies we have of the Parthenos (Figs. 2 & 3). The Lemnia, as the slightly older work, follows somewhat the fashion of the archaic period. The snake-border of the aegis is scalloped, ending in the upper part of the snake. In the Parthenos the motif is further developed, and whole snakes form the scallops.

He believed the position of the leg showed another progression from an earlier to a later date. In the Lemnia, although the weight is on the right leg, the left leg is still in the old severe position with the left foot flat on the ground. In the Parthenos the free leg is much more emphasized, and the drapery clings, showing the shape of the leg. In the Lemnia the garment is heavier revealing less of the body, a survival of an older manner. The Parthenos shows a transition towards a lighter, clingier kind of drapery.

The differences between the two statues, Furtwängler decided, was due to a slight difference in date and the different character of the two statues. In most respects he found the two works corresponded closely.[4]

It is believed that Athena in the original statue wore no helmet. This belief is based on a statement of Himerius (OR.xxi.5) that Pheidias did not always portray Athena as armed, "but he adorned the maiden by shedding on her cheek a rosy tinge by which, instead of a helmet, he meant to veil the beauty of the goddess." The Lemnia was also noted for her great charm. When Furtwängler found this helmetless head of unusual beauty, he became more convinced that it could be the Lemnian Athena. The fact that the copies were made of marble reassured him that the original had been an important work of classical antiquity. The Lemnia was believed to be bronze and life size, and that is the scale of these copies. To judge by the detailed treatment of hair and the position of the arms, bronze is the most likely material of the original.

Furtwängler presents his case convincingly and with a personal conviction that is persuasive. Many art historians accept his theory as probably the correct one. Ernest Gardner of Yale wrote "Where the external evidence is so scanty, the ultimate appeal must be to the evidence of style. There can be no doubt that the Bologna head is derived from a bronze original, and the Lemnian Athena was probably of bronze."[5] He went on to say that the head does not resemble those we find in the Parthenon sculptures. It shows a more personal and individual presentation of the goddess, but "when we consider the marvelous advance that Pheidias made beyond his predecessors in other respects, we certainly cannot assert with any confidence that he may

not, in this statue, have also anticipated something of what was best and most interesting in the rendering of the gods by those who follow him."[6]

Gisela Richter is more cautious in her acceptance of the idea that this is a copy of the original Lemnian Athena. She says,

> There are indeed few heads preserved to us from antiquity of such pure and noble loveliness as the head in Bologna (Roman copy though it is). . . If only it were certain that by this beautiful helmetless Athena, Himerius had meant the Lemnian, or even that Pliny's 'bronze' Athena is the Lemnian, the case would be strong indeed. But neither of them actually says so. And so we cannot regard the identification as absolutely certain.[7]

There are also those who take a position definitely opposed to Furtwängler's. To begin with, they cite the possibility that the original was not bronze after all, but marble or acrolithic. Furtwängler was convinced it was bronze as that was the preferred material in the Fifth century B.C. The detailed treatment of the hair on the marble head again suggests that the original was bronze. Those who think nevertheless that it was of some other material base their opinion on the quotation from Himerius, who indicates there was a rosy tinge on her cheek. Actually he does not mention the Lemnia by name, but it is assumed by most that he meant this particular work. On the basis of this quotation some historians, such as Th. Schreiber[8] and W. Amelung[9], think it likely that the Lemnia was not bronze, as there could be no rosy blush on a bronze face. There is also a later reference in the text of Ailios

Aristeides which refers to the three Athenian Athenas as the ivory, the bronze and the Lemnia. (Overbeck, SQ 639). It would be possible to argue from this reference that the Lemnia was indeed not bronze, or else that Aristeides puts her in a separate category because she is different stylistically from the traditional presentation of the goddess.

The most recent denunciation of Furtwängler's hypothesis was made by Kim J. Hartswick, who proposes a sweeping reappraisal, taking exception to most of Furtwängler's theory.[10] Hartswick questions Furtwängler's use of the gem or gems as evidence of the statue's stance, with helmet in her right hand. In the gems Athena is armless with a "hovering" helmet on her right side. Hartswick thinks the gems were designed this way mainly to make a pleasing composition in the oval shape of the gem, and, more importantly, believes the gems are of eighteenth century origin rather than ancient.[11]

Hartswick then analyzes the Bologna (also called the Palagi) head, which in 1976 was removed from the body and is now displayed alone. He asserts unequivocally that it does not fit the body as Furtwängler claimed. Neither, he thinks, does the Dresden head the one that had been much damaged but was then restored fit properly onto the body. A plaster band hides the neck break now, and therefore analysis is difficult. He notes much damage along the break line of the neck, and although he admits it may have

happened when the head was broken from the body, he suggests another possibility: that the neck could have been damaged when a head that did not fit was forcibly united with the neck. He does not believe this head belongs to this statue.[12]

He further disagrees with Furtwängler on the stylistic comparisons to other fifth-century B.C. works. The Lemnia was made around 450 B.C., and Hartswick finds no model in that period for the transverse aegis which appears on the two Dresden statues. He thinks this feature could have been added by a Roman copyist. If this were true, the Dresden Athena could not be a faithful copy of the Athena Lemnia. Furthermore, he asserts the Palagi head in the Bologna Museum does not have typical fifth-century features. According to Hartswick the general shape of a fifth-century head is massive with a wide forehead and fleshy cheeks. The lower part of the face is typically "U-shaped", and the eyes are large with prominent upper and lower lids; the nose, long and straight. The profile reveals an almost straight line from forehead to tip of nose and the mouth is small with fleshy lips. He points out that the Palagi head differs from these typical fifth-century features (Figs. 1 and 4). Her chin is rounded and thin giving a "V" shape to the face. Her cheeks are smooth and gently curved. The eyes are medium-sized and only the upper lid is sharply carved. Hartswick concludes that the Palagi head is sufficiently different from the fifth-century type to be disqualified as a Pheidian work,

and that the Bologna head is in all probability a classicizing Roman creation.

Mr. Hartswick has made a bold attempt to destroy Furtwängler's hypothesis, point by point, but I believe that in his zeal he has overreached himself. Olga Palagia verifies that at least one of the gems Furtwängler cited is genuine.[13] In further support of his opinion, she points to two original sculptures of the classical period, a late fifth-century statuette from the Athenian Acropolis and a fourth-century relief from Epidauros of Athena holding her helmet (Figs. 5 & 6).

The Athena on the Epidauros relief and the small scale copy of figure 6 seem to derive from a similar type of Athena in Attic peplos common in the last decades of the Fifth century. Ms. Palagia notes the high quality of the workmanship and the fine detail which suggest to her a fifth-century original. She believes the relief and the statuette are minor reflections of a large-scale prototype that may have stood on the Acropolis. She believes the body type could have felt the influence of Furtwängler's Lemnia, as such retrospective tendencies are not uncommon in the later part of the fifth century.[14]

From this brief summary of some of the diverse opinions on the subject, it becomes apparent that a number of conclusions are possible in view of the scarcity of real facts available. There seems to be two primary questions involved in making a judgment as to the authenticity of

Furtwängler's Athena. The first concerns the likelihood of the Bologna head fitting perfectly on the Dresden body. Furtwängler claims that when the head was placed upon the torso, "the two fitted together fracture for fracture, of course, not in the front where the edges are broken off, but in the core of the neck."[15] Hartswick says, on the other hand, "The Palagi head unequivocally does not fit within the Dresden body."[16] This leaves us with a dilemma that can only be resolved by a personal inspection of the two pieces.

The other major question is whether the style is compatible with what could have been done by Pheidias in the mid-fifth century or is it more likely a classicizing Roman creation. This is a question which relies on personal judgment and varies with each expert. Brunilde Ridgway's opinion supports Hartswick in finding the tapering chin, delicate cheeks and realistic hair incompatible with the heavy face of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos or any Parthenonian head. She concludes, "The refined oval of the Bologna head must therefore be out of context within the Fifth century. The piece is probably a Classicizing creation of surpassing beauty."[17]

Margaret Bieber doubts that this statue could be Pheidian because she finds the mood it conveys more joyful and less thoughtful, reticent, and noble than a typical Pheidian work.[18] Some scholars find the head to be closer to a Polykleitan work.[19] Opinions indeed vary

considerably. That the beautiful head does not fit exactly the Fifth century mold has been a stumbling block for some scholars. One of Hartswick's major objections was the atypical shape of the face with its rounded chin, gently curving planes of the cheeks, the nose set at an angle to the forehead which he found at variance with the expected Pheidian style. But the very features that Hartswick cannot accept as Pheidian, seem to be the very ones that Lucian is describing in his dialogue (Images #6). When it is proposed that he fashion a perfect image of feminine beauty by selecting features from famous statues, from the Lemnia he takes "the outline of the whole face, and the tenderness of the cheeks and the shapely nose."

The historians who support Furtwängler usually concede that the head is different from the other Parthenonian sculptures, but that with an artist of Pheidias' genius it would have been possible for him to have created something beyond the common style of his time.

NOTES

[1]Pausanias I, 28, 2.

[2]Adolf Furtwängler, Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture (Chicago: Argonaut Publishers, 1964) pp. 5-7.

[3]Furtwängler, p. 6.

[4]Furtwängler, pp. 10-12.

[5]Ernest A. Gardner, Six Greek Sculptors (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910) p. 112.

[6]Gardner, p. 113.

[7]Gisela M.A. Richter, The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929) p. 228.

[8]Th. Schreiber, "Review of Sludniezka's Vermutungen Zur Griechischen Kunslgeschichte (Vienna 1884)" BPW (1885) 1559.

[9]W. Amelung, "Athena des Phedias," Öjh 11 (1908) 208.

[10]Kim J. Hartswick, "The Athena Lemnia Reconsidered," American Journal of Archaeology 3 (July, 1983): pp. 335-346.

[11]Hartswick, p. 336.

[12]Hartswick, p. 339.

[13]Olga Palagia, "In Defense of Furtwängler's Athena Lemnia," American Journal of Archaeology 1 (January, 1987) pp. 81-84.

[14]Palagia, p. 84.

[15]Furtwängler, p. 5.

[16]Hartswick, p. 339.

[17]Brunilde S. Ridgway, Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press) p. 171.

[18]Margarete Bieber, Die Antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen des Königl. Museum Fridericianum in Cassel (Marburg, 1915).

[19]P. Jamot, "L'Athena Lemnia de Phidias: Response a M. Furtwaengler," RA 27 (1895) 27; and G. Becatli, Probleme Fidiaci (Milan, 1951) 173.

CHAPTER IV

ICONOGRAPHY

Furtwängler wished to reconstruct the Athena Lemnia to as close an approximation of the original as possible. The statue in Dresden had no arms and, using the position suggested by what remained of the shoulder, he worked out a logical solution. Basing his conclusions on a number of extant vase paintings showing Athena holding her helmet in her right hand, he believed this could be true of the Lemnia (Fig. 7). He adduces further evidence in a first-century B.C. gem reproducing the bust of the Athena, showing no arms but a helmet hovering on the edge as if held in the goddess's right hand (Fig. 8). Furtwängler was convinced that the gem carver was basing his representation on the Lemnia of Pheidias. No literary source had ever given any indication of the position of the helmet or even if there was a helmet included. In his way of speaking of the statue, Himerius nevertheless made it possible for one to imagine it as bareheaded. Furtwängler's idea that she was holding her helmet rests strongly on the evidence of the gem, but this is tenuous evidence. A gem carver working in the confines of the small oval, might wish (since the aegis must be very tiny in this small space) to emphasize the

identity of his image by including one of her symbols. It does not necessarily follow that he was copying the Lemnia or any other existing model. Based on the evidence we have, I suggest that it is more likely that this Athena probably did not hold a helmet in her hand, but instead stood with hand extended in a benign gesture of greeting to match the tender expression of her face. The gesture of the Athena Farnese (Fig. 9) would be an appropriate pose for the Athena Lemnia also, and since the former is reputed to have been done by a pupil of Pheidias, it is possible the Lemnia was an influence on him. In support of this suggestion I would cite as evidence the situation of the Lemnian cleruchs who commissioned the work, the nature of the goddess herself, and the intuitive powers of the artist Pheidias.

First, let us consider Furtwängler's reconstruction (see Fig. 10), with the head tipped slightly forward and to the right. If we follow the line of sight, Athena seems to be contemplating her helmet. The expression on her face is one of thoughtful tenderness. Would she expend this sort of concern on her helmet? The incongruity of this attitude seems to have struck others who have made a study of this work, and some scholars have questioned its plausibility.

Erika Simon in her book Die Götter der Griechen has another suggested solution to this problem. She, too, finds it strange that the goddess should just be standing there looking at her helmet. Simon thinks the colonists of Lemnos might have chosen a different attribute for the

goddess of their votive offering--perhaps, "the most Attic of them all, namely a little owl."[1] There are bronze statuettes and vase paintings showing Athena with her sacred bird (see Figs. 11 & 12). Simon postulates that with the aegis turned to one side and the bird in her hand, this might have been thought of as a good omen by the cleruchs.

Margarete Bieber is another scholar who finds the helmet in hand an awkward solution. She has studied in great detail a third copy of the Dresden torso which is in the Museum Fridericianum in Cassel. The statue at Cassel has been reconstructed with a bowl in her right hand. This appeared preferable to the helmet in Miss Bieber's opinion, although she does not exclude the possibility of the helmet.[2] She merely judges it the less likely possibility. A bowl for libations is better symbolically than a helmet, but I believe there is another preferable solution.

Perhaps a more satisfying resolution of the puzzle could be arrived at by considering what the cleruchs might have wished for in their offering, and how Pheidias might have responded to the challenge. The gift was for Athena, a complex, many-sided deity. In Attic art she is portrayed in a number of guises--sometimes arrayed threateningly in battle garb and sometimes tranquilly with shawl and spindle.[3] In the Fifth century the warrior maiden type predominated, as her primary commitment was to defend the polis, and Pheidias' first Athena for the Acropolis was

Athena Promachos--protectress and helper in battle, instructor in the art of war.[4] This bronze image was placed on a high place on the Acropolis where it could be seen from ships approaching Athens by sea.[5] His second Athena for the Acropolis would be different.

Seeking to learn more about this goddess, we find there are many myths and many versions of every myth, each giving another view of her. She too, has her dark side--a vengeful and passionate side. It was Athena who gave Medusa her hideous face, enraged with the latter's cavortings with Poseidon in Athena's own sactuary. She struck Tiresias blind when he accidently saw her bathing. Cecrops's daughters went mad and killed themselves after they disobeyed her command not to peek into the infant Erichthonios' basket. Athena caused Telamonian Ajax to go mad to save Odysseus from his wrath when, during the Trojan War, the armor of Achilles was awarded to Odysseus instead of him.[6]

In the twenty-eighth Homeric Hymn there is a description of Athena's birth.

> From his awful head wise Zeus himself bore her arrayed in warlike arms of flashing gold, and awe seized all the gods as they gazes. But Athena sprang quickly from the immortal head and stood before Zeus who holds the aegis, shaking a sharp spear: great Olympus began to reel horribly at the might of the owl-eyed goddess, and earth round about cried fearfully, and the sea was moved and tossed with dark waves, while foam burse forth suddenly.

From her ancient past, the owl and the serpent have been associated with this goddess, as well as the life giving

olive tree. These symbols suggest the ambivalence inherent in her character. We often see her accompanied by a snake and a scaly aegis on her breast. Even Pheidias was to portray her thus at a later time. The owl, too, although sometimes the symbol of wisdom brings to mind as well dark associations. It is a bird of prey, a night bird, associated with death and darkness. Could the owl be a lucky symbol, a good omen for the colonists? I do not think this is the symbol they would have chosen to speed them on their way into the unknown.

Rather, I think, their minds would turn to a more positive aspect of the goddess. There are many stories of Athena befriending the great Greek heroes in their many trials and tribulations. We see Athena carved on the temple of Olympia, serene and unarmed accompanying and giving support to Herakles (see Figs. 13 & 14). Many vase paintings show how Athena stood by her friends in many a tight situation (Figs. 15 & 16). She gave courage and confirmation when most needed. Although she did not actively participate, she instilled boldness and a will to victory. As pointed out by Walter Otto, in her care of Herakles, as the one who always appeared to him when most needed, she represented "the nearness of the divine at the moment of severest trial."[7] Another of her proteges was Odysseus. She stood by him all the long years of the Trojan War. She came to him in many guises, encouraging and restraining him. She wanted Odysseus to retain his integrity, his optimism, his

balance. Athena's love, not being possessive, also extended to his wife Penelope. She not only endowed Penelope with her skill in weaving, but also with understanding and cleverness to cope with her trials. Athena was a formidable ally, and if she could be enticed to aid your cause, success would surely be yours. These might well have been thoughts of a band of emigres as they left their homeland.

With the help of their goddess the Athenians had been victorious in the war against the mighty Persian army. But now peace had come and it was important to the colonists that peace endure, that their island be free from invasions, that their harvest be plentiful, that their homes be safe. For these blessings it was again to Athena that they must turn, for although she was often portrayed as a warrior goddess, she did not fight for the love of strife. Her activities in war were to restore order, and thus she was in fact a goddess of peace. She upheld law and order and encouraged the arts. She was the inventor of many aids to humankind such as the plough and the loom, and the potters claimed her for their patroness. We can see her likeness on a Fifth century pot (Fig. 17) bestowing honors on the potters at work. Although Athena was a friend to exceptional men, she also gave gifts to the multitudes who needed skill to master mundane tasks. To this goddess in her benign aspect the settlers of Lemnos must surely have directed their votive gift.

Pheidias for his part, was well chosen for the task. Now, at mid-Fifth century, he was a mature artist with at

least two great Athenas to his credit--the Athena Plateau[8] and the Athena Promachos.[9] Already he had shown his talent for combining nobility of character with a feeling for the divine. As a citizen of Athens, he had always known of the goddess Athena. The life of his city revolved around her festivals. Her stories were as familiar to him as the faces of his friends. Pheidias, always an intuitive artist, would easily have comprehended the kind of image of Athena that the cleruchs were seeking. To the heroic Athena, larger than life, symbol of a victorious polis, he would return later with the great cult statue of the Parthenon. Now, liberated from the religious restrictions imposed by a cult statue, Pheidias was free to create a different kind of image.

It is said that he worked as a painter in his youth, and he would have been well aware of the painters' traditions that preceded him. Archaic, sixth-century, black figure portrayals of Athena, such as appear on the pots in Figures 18 & 19, were probably known to him. In these earlier images of Athena we find her without attributes. At most she carries a spear. A somewhat later black figure kylix depicts Athena and Hephaistos creating Pandora (Fig. 20). Here Athena can be identified by the suggestion of curly snakes bordering her aegis, but there is no helmet on her head or spear in her hand. Here she is engaged with Hephaistos in creating the beautiful Pandora. Hephaistos, the craftsman has fashioned her. It was Athena, legend says, who breathed life into her. This is an image of

Athena as creator and life-giver that Pheidias would certainly know. He would also know the benign image of Athena as portrayed on many pots (see Figures 21 & 22) telling the story of the birth of Erichthonius. Again she is the beautiful goddess, the nurturer, receiving the child tenderly in her arms. There is no stern war goddess here.

In the decades preceding the creation of the Lemnia, we see Athena on vases in various situations with her helmet off and armed only with a lance, as in the charming judgment of Paris scene of Figure 23. Here we see her between Hera and Aphrodite. She looks quite feminine and appealing without her war-like accoutrements. Duris has decorated a cup with a beautiful scene of a bareheaded Athena pouring wine into Herakles' cup (Figure 24). Athena is sometimes shown holding a wreath. Figure 25 shows her in a festive scene adorning Pandora with a wreath. In the vase painting medium we find Athena frequently in a role other than the warrior maiden.

Besides vase painting, Pheidias would have been familiar with the various festivals of Athena, in addition to the Panathenaia,[10] celebrated in Athens. There were numerous festivals; some were celebrated in their own right, and some contained preparatory rites for the Panathenaia. Two months before the great festival was a celebration called the Plynteria, the feast of the bath. On that day the cult-statue of Athena Polias was taken to the sea to be

bathed.[11] This statue represented a royal goddess who wore not a helmet but a high crown of gold. It is said she was carved of olive wood and wore real clothes and jewelry.[12] Copies in terra cotta were found on the Acropolis as well as inscriptions on black figure vases, and these give us an idea what she looked like (Fig. 26).

So we can see that images abounded showing Athena as other than the warrior goddess, and Pheidias was surely familiar with many of them. Later there would appear on the Parthenon frieze, which Pheidias helped plan, an Athena seated with the other gods of Olympus as a goddess with no attributes at all (Fig. 27). Pheidias was not bound by artistic or religious traditions in this work. He could create for the departing cleruchs whatever was most significant for them and what also satisfied his own concept of the nature of this goddess. The cleruchs leaving this city of their birth, reluctant to cut old ties, proud of their citizenship, steeped in the traditions of their religion, convinced of the power of votive gifts, perhaps thinking of the time when they might return, could set off with lighter hearts because of this powerful and tangible link they had left behind.

For these men Pheidias created a statue that was to become renowned in the ancient world. She was bareheaded and serenely beautiful. I do not believe she held a helmet or a bowl nor an owl. She was placed, Furtwängler believed, near the gate "on the way from the Promachos and the quadriga to the Propylaia; close to it were placed

other monuments set up by the departing cleruchies, and here also stood the portrait of Perikles. It is quite evident how appropriately all these works were placed together, for the cleruchies, so often a godsend to the poorer citizens, were the work of this citizen."[13]

Rather than standing contemplating her helmet, I believe the Athena Lemnia was placed so that her glance followed the departing cleruchs, and her hand was extended in a gracious gesture of protection and greeting. Her aegis was turned to one side to minimize its threatening aspect. The aegis and the lance that she held in her left hand sufficiently identified her. Her head was most likely bare and her helmet most likely discarded, to symbolize her compassion and concern for her people.

NOTES

[1]Erika Simon, Die Götten der Griechen (Munich: Hirmer, 1980) p. 207.

[2]Margarete Bieber, Die Antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen des Königl. Museum Fridericianum in Cassel (Marburg, 1915) "Da Bronzestatuetten der Athena, die 1. die Lanze aufstützen, während sie eine Schale hatten, überaus häufig sind, so ist eine Ergänzung der r. Hand mit Schale, besonders bei der umgearbeiteten Casseler Replik, nicht ausgeschlossen, wenn auch weniger wahrscheinlich als die mit Helm," p. 7.

[3]Walter F. Otto, The Homeric Gods (New York: Pantheon Books, 1954) p. 56.

[4]Jane Ellen Harrison, Mythology (New York: Longman's, Green and Co., 1924) p. 101.

[5]Pausanias I, 28, 2.

[6]Catherine B. Avery, ed., The New Century Classical Handbook (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1962) p. 188.

[7]Otto, p. 47.

[8]Pausanias IX, 4, 1: "The Plataeans have a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Areia: it was built from the spoils which the Athenians apportioned out to them from Marathon. The image is overlaid with gold ecept for the face, the hands and feet which are of Pentelic marble. In size it is only a little smaller than the bronze (the Athena Promomachos) on the Acropolis. . . and here, too, it was Pheidias who made the image for the Plataeans."

[9]Pausanias I, 28, 2 (on the Acropolis in Athens): [among the monuments on the Acropolis] is a bronze image of Athena [made from] a tithe [from the spoils] taken from the Persians who landed at Marathon--a work of Pheidias.

[10]H. W. Parke, Festivals of the Athenians (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977) pp. 29-50.

[11]Erika Simon, Festivals of Attica (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983) p. 46.

[12]Simon, p. 47.

[13]Adolf Furtwängler, Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture (Chicago: Argonaut Publishers, 1964) p. 10.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

As we uncover and piece together the fragments of this great epoch and of this great artist, we are led to a new appreciation of the variety and vitality of Athens of the Fifth century. The name Pheidias conjures up an aura of excellence. We have only glimpses of this great artist and spokesman of his century and wish for assurance that we have come upon a tangible and authentic Pheidian work. If we can be confident that the Lemnia is actually Pheidias' concept of Athena in her gentler, more approachable incarnations, then we have expanded our understanding of the artist and the Athenian dream.

It was said of Pheidias that he was a maker of gods and his colossal chryselephantine statues of Zeus and Athena were wonders of the ancient world. He took for his subjects figures larger than life, and his gods and heroes lead us into the ideal world of his vision. For the Athenians these heroes were their ancestors whom they aspired to emulate, and these gods were their gods and were never far away.

Athens made a cult of power and glory, and the goddess of this cult was Athena. The Athenian Parthenon

was decorated by Pheidias to show forth to all the Greek world the power and grandeur of the Periclean vision and the Athenian ideal.

From early times the Greeks embraced a concept of manhood that valued personal bravery above all else. A man's honor was to be defended no matter the cost. The brave man sought fame as the highest reward of life. He did not fear death and to die in battle was a glorious end. The Greek states were at war frequently, so there was ample opportunity to die gloriously.

With the development of city states the concept changed: highest good was now to not defend one's own honor, but to fight for one's polis. In Athens it was assumed that anyone of the citizens could behave heroically and win honor for Athens and for himself at the same time. Pericles paid tribute to the heroes of Athens who had died in battle. "In the fighting they thought it more honorable to stand their ground and suffer death than to give in and save their lives. So they fled from the reproaches of men, abiding with life and limb the brunt of battle; and in a small amount of time, the climax of their lives, a culmination of glory, not of fear, were swept away from us."[1] Now the heroic ideal was attached to the city and the city paid honor to these champions who had died bravely in battle for Athens.

The central focus for the Athenians, what gave meaning to all their activity, glory to their city, victory in their battles was the goddess Athena whom

they revered as their special champion. She had important cults in other places, but Athens was her special home. After 449 B.C. Pericles began making plans to rebuild the temples ruined by the Persians, and he commissioned Pheidias to create a majestic statue of Athena that would embody this heroic ideal and would proclaim the glory of Athens to the rest of the world.

Pericles wished people to think of Athena as the presiding goddess of Athens. She would embody power, victory and creative intelligence. In honoring this goddess, they were affirming the values they held most dear. This huge and impressive statue that Pheidias created for the Parthenon was an enduring symbol for the city and the people of Athens. It reflected the essential element of Athenian thought and belief. This was the great expression of the spirit of Fifth century Athens.

When we turn from this image of power and victory to the Lemnian Athena, we find a gentler more serene goddess. Where the Parthenos was highly ornamented in festal attire, the Lemnia appears simple and unadorned. The Parthenos stands majestically, ready to receive the homage of her people within her temple. The Lemnia is wearing her everyday robe, standing in the open air to greet her people on their own level. She looks natural, fresher, younger. The Parthenos set the standard for cult statues for some years to come, but the Lemnia is a unique creation and there were no others just like her.

In her face we see compassion and gentleness. In this statue Pheidias is glorifying the spiritual side of Athena. We are more aware of her clear-eyed intelligence than of her physical power. Although an aura of dignity envelops her, she is accessible to her people. In her gesture of reaching out, which I believe is the true one, Pheidias makes manifest the union which exists between gods and men. The gesture confirms her friendship, her "ever-nearness".

The Athena Parthenos is the most representative image of the Athenian personality, but although the active heroic ideal was dominant in the Athenian personality, it was not the whole picture. The myth of the goddess was rich and complex enough to explain and give form to almost everything in their lives. The cleruchs were the poor of Athens. For them life had been the same struggle as for the poor everywhere. They might aspire to greatness under the spell of Pericles' rhetoric, who proclaimed the heroic possibility for all citizens, but the reality of their life was harsh--much less comfortable and less secure in Lemnos than at home. For them this gentle goddess must have been a solace.

At this time also in Athens there were great creative personalities at work. The plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides added to the great outpouring of visual art assure us that Athena, the goddess of creativity, dwelt in this place. "The Athenian democracy was largely self-educated, but it had a good drilling in music and

poetry. . . and the sensibility cultivated by the old-fashioned well-to-do spread to a much wider public."[3] The Athenians were not exclusively men of action. There were at least a few among them who gave serious consideration to what their actions meant. The dramatists provided "a counterpoise to some of the stronger tendencies of the age. They displayed on an unexpected scale the courage of women and the worth of slaves."[4] The citizen of sensibility and awareness was also present in Athens of the Fifth century; he would understand what the Athena Lemnia stood for.

Pheidias was one of the great spokesmen of his time and reflected in his work the spirit of his age as in the great Athena Parthenos. And perhaps it could be said that in the Athena Lemnia he imprinted on his age his own spirit. The Athenians saw and were inspired by the power and majesty of their goddess. Pheidias looked beyond that and captured the grace and harmony of a greater goddess. When he did the Parthenos, his feet were firmly planted on his own native soil in his own age, and he created a great symbol embodying the thoughts and feelings of that time and place. When he created the Lemnia, I believe he was reaching above the clouds for a higher ideal than the victorious Athena. Perhaps this goddess would only be understood by a few who looked beyond the myths for the truth lodged there.

We can never know with certainty if the reconstructured Bologna statue is a faithful replica of the

original Pheidian Athena, but insofar as it captures the ephemeral quality of beauty, tenderness, and nobility of the Pheidian concept, it adds to our appreciation and understanding of the Athenian soul.

NOTES

[1]Thucydides II, 40.1. Translated by Rex Warner.

[2]Thucydides I, 70.9.

[3]C.M. Bowra, Periclean Athens (New York: The Deal Press, 1971) p. 144.

[4]Bowra, p. 175.

FIGURE 1. Bologna head.

FIGURE 2. Athena Parthenos, the Varvakeion statuette Athens, National Museum.

FIGURE 3. Statue of Athena with cast of Bologna head, Dresden.

FIGURE 4. Profile of the Bologna head.

FIGURE 5. Athena offering a helmet to a bearded man. Part of a votive relief. Epidauros Museum, Athens.

FIGURE 6. Acropolis 1337, Ca. 430/420. One of a series of sculptural types of Athena.

FIGURE 7. Athena from Attic red figure kylix museo-civico, Bologna.

FIGURE 8. Athena on gem (Cades, i, H, 17).

FIGURE 9. Athena Farnese (Naples).

FIGURE 10. Reconstruction of Dresden Athena with Palagi head.

FIGURE 11. Athena holding an owl. Ca. 450. New York, Metropolitan Museum.

FIGURE 12. Athena with Herakles. Inner surface of Kylix by Durio. 480/470.

FIGURE 13. Herakles and Atlas from a metope of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, Olympia Museum.

FIGURE 14. Herakles and the Apples of the Hesperides from a metope of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

FIGURE 15. Kylix 480/470 B.C., Museo Gregoriano, Etrusco, Vatican City.

FIGURE 16. Herakles and Kerberos 520/510 from an Amphora. Andokides-Malers, Paris.

FIGURE 17. Red-figured hydra, Leningrad Painter. Torno Collection in Milan.

FIGURE 18. Neck of Amphora. Herakles fights with lion. Athena, men, centaurs also present.

FIGURE 19. Gorgon Painter. Hermes and Athena, Medusa and one of her Gorgon sisters. 600/590.

FIGURE 20. Athena and Hephaistos creating Pandora. Athenian cup Ca. 460 B.C.

FIGURE 21. Athena receiving Erichthoniae. Bowl of Kodros-Malers.

FIGURE 22. Hermonax, Stamnos. The Birth of Erichthonius in the presence of Athena, Hephaistos and Erotes. Ca. 460 B.C., Munich.

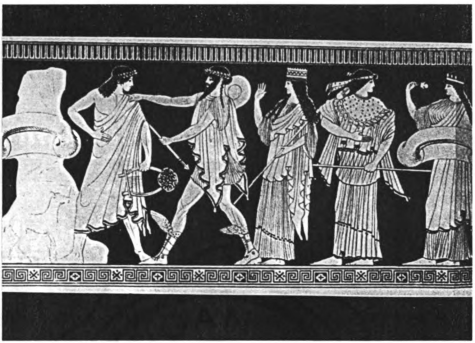

FIGURE 23. Judgment of Paris. Fifth Century Hydria British Museum 524.

FIGURE 24. Athena and Herakles. Kylix by Duris. 480/470, Munich.

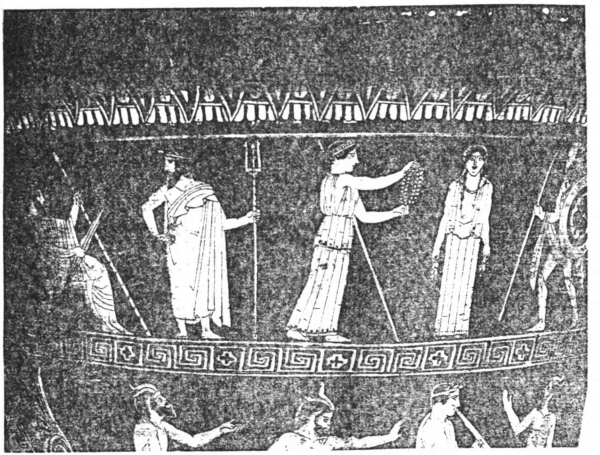

FIGURE 25. Athenian vase Ca. 460 B.C. Pandora attended by Zeus, Poseidon, Athena and Ares.

FIGURE 26. Seated Athena, terra cotta, from the Acropolis, drawing.

FIGURE 27. Seated Athena with Hepharstos on Parthenon frieze.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

REFERENCES TO THE LEMNIAN ATHENA BY ANCIENT WRITERS

There are three writers of the second century A.D. who had seen the Lemnian Athena and mention her by name:

Pausanias I, 28, 2:. . . the most worth seeing of the works of Pheidias, the image of Athena which is called "the Lemnian," after those who dedicated it.

Lucian, Imagines,4-6 (a dialogue dealing with the ideal characteristics to be embodied in Panthea). Lykinos: Of the works of Pheidias which one do you praise most highly? Polystratos: Which if not the Lemnia, on which he thought it fit to inscribe his name . . . The Lemnia and Pheidias shall furnish the outline of her (Panthea's) whole face, the softness of the sides of her face, and the well proportioned nose.

Aristeides, Orat. 50: A statue signed by Pheidias stood on the Athenian Akropolis. It was admired for its beauty and was called "Lemnia" after those who dedicated it.

There are, in addition, two more ancient sources which mention Athena's made by Pheidias. In neither case

is the name Athena Lemnia used. Therefore, it is not certain that the reference is to that Athena.

Pliny (N.H. 34.54) It is thought he referred to the Lemnian Athena when he said that Pheidias made a bronze Athena of such surpassing beauty that the statue took its surname from its beauty.

Hemerius (fourth century A.D.) Orat. 21.4: Pheidias did always portray Athena as armed, "but he adorned the maiden by shedding on her cheek a rosy tinge by which, instead of a helmet, he meant to veil the beauty of the goddess."

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