
Development of the Triangular Pediment Space in Archaic Greek Temples

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It is well known that the ancient Greeks decorated their temples with sculpture, but what is not so well known is the way in which they used their traditional tales to fill the pediment space, the triangular space under the roof of the entrance and back of the temple. The triangle form resulted in a fan-shaped composition, giving the ancient Greek artists a completely different visual approach to art and to storytelling. In contrast to reading left-to-right, as we do with vase and frieze compositions, when viewing the pediment space our eyes move from the center out. In what follows, therefore, I will describe the compositions in the same manner.

The temple pediments were decorated to advertise the power of the gods to protect their cities and the people who worshiped them. Pediments provided another outlet for Greek artists to produce works that communicated the pride they had in their traditional tales and that glorified their culture. Some of the earliest examples of temple decoration in the Greek world come from Cretan and Sicilian architectural sculpture. These forms lack any sort of narrative, and generally depict terracotta Gorgon heads as apotropaic (or evil-warding) symbols. Over time, the pediment compositions developed and became more sophisticated, often conveying epic traditions. In examining five different sets of pediments, all created during the sixth century BCE, we will see the stylistic and compositional changes that distinguish the manner in which the individual narratives of the Greek epic tradition are told.

The Temple of Artemis at Corcyra

The Archaic Doric pseudo-dipteral temple of Artemis dates to around 600-580 BCE and is built on the island of Corcyra off the northwest coast of the mainland. Only one of the pediments (the one on the west side) is in a fair state of preservation, while the other (on the east side) is so badly damaged that it is hard to be certain of the subject. However, enough of the east pediment survives to indicate that the same forms were probably repeated on both sides.¹ The pediments measure 3.15 meters high and about 22 meters long. In the west pediment we see the transition from the earlier use of the space as a mere architectural decoration to its later use as a showcase for the epic narrative and for direct representations of the deity and its domain (Fig. 1). The west pediment sculpture is in a fair state of preservation, enough to see the central figures, one whole lion, and bits of the scenes off to the sides in the corners. The sculpture stands in high relief and had been carved on separate slabs of rock and then placed into

the triangular space of the background. High relief was used because as of the time this temple was built, it was impossible for the sculptors to create freestanding compositions, and low relief works would not have been visible from the ground level.²



Figure 1. West pediment from the Temple of Artemis at Corcyra.

(Plate courtesy of Yale University Press³)



Figure 2. Close-up of Medusa, Pegasus, and Chrysaor from the Temple of Artemis at Corcyra.

(Plate courtesy of Yale University Press)

On the surface, it is not apparent exactly what all these elements have to do with the goddess Artemis, the deity of hunting, wild animals, nature, the harvest, and childbirth. The Gorgon figure was sometimes used in Greek art as an alternate for a Near-Eastern type of “Mistress of Animals.” When we think of Medusa, we typically recall the story of Perseus cutting off her head, but the only aspect of that story of importance here is the fact that her full-grown children sprung from her neck once he decapitated her. The running figure of the Gorgon implies violent movement and emphasizes the wilder and more ferocious side of her nature.⁴ Since Artemis was the goddess of animals and nature, it is logical to depict such a creature and its offspring alongside lions on her temple.

The overall narrative makes little sense, however, as both Pegasus and Chrysaor were born after Perseus cut Medusa’s head off. The narrative is also confusing because the figures of her progeny are more than half her size. This is not to indicate that they are young, for the image of Chrysaor appears full-grown. However, this discrepancy would not have been unusual to the Greeks; many vase paintings likewise depict figures that are supposed to be full grown but who are far smaller than the rest of the char-

In the center of the west pediment is the running figure of the Gorgon Medusa shown with her serpentine hair and clothed in a short chiton with a snake belt. On either side are the disproportionately smaller figures of Pegasus and Chrysaor, her children, who were born to her posthumously. Next, Medusa’s children are flanked by feline figures crouching to match the descent of the triangle (Fig 2). Two small narrative scenes fill in the space near the corner, while in the very corners are reclining figures. In the right hand corner is a small scene of Zeus attacking a giant, probably referring back to the myth of the battle between the gods and the giants, known as the Gigantomachy. We gain a much better understanding of the Gigantomachy from Hesiod’s *Theogony*, the Greek creation story that explains how the world came to be as it is. One of its main themes is how the gods defeated anarchy and restored order to the world. The left scene on the pediment illustrates Priam dying at the hand of Neoptoleos, the son of Achilles, an event that took place during the sacking of Troy. The two scenes at the edges, which are completely out of proportion and smaller when compared with the central Gorgon and lion figures, seem to have nothing to do with the other parts of the pediment.

acters in the composition.⁵ Ridgway suggests that the presentation of the Medusa's two children is used solely for identification of the Gorgon, which would make sense given what remains of the pediment.⁶ The two scenes at the corners of the triangle, however, do not fit into the narrative that we see in the central part of the space. It could be that the lions are used as a way to visually separate the three scenes or narratives, or it could be that the three narratives convey a common theme, such as the idea that the goddess is supreme and able to conquer enemies and protect her followers. By using powerful figures such as monsters, ferocious animals, and images of the destruction of the Greeks' enemies, the sculptor effectively conveys the power of Artemis and emphasizes the fact that she is worthy of worship. The figures of monsters and powerful animals on the temple would also have terrified the ancient Greeks. Their depiction was a new development, and would certainly have made many respect the temple as holy ground.

It is interesting that the Corcyrans would have chosen Medusa and her progeny to be at the center of their temple, as the symbol for Corinth was Pegasus.⁷ Since Corcyra was a colony of Corinth, one of the wealthiest cities at this time, its citizens would have wanted to strengthen their ties to their mother city. Surely they were sensitive to the fact that their temple had political overtones in favor of an association with Corinth. Pediments were probably first conceived and built in Corinth, which was also apparently the place that the use of the Gorgon mask on temple structures was perfected.⁸ The artist here intentionally made Medusa's and Chrysaor's faces mask-like, in the style of faces from an earlier period, and thereby separates their figures from the later forms at the corners of the pediment.⁹

Overall, there is a great sense of movement in the figures on this pediment, with the running shape of Medusa, the lunging form of Zeus, and Neoptolemos slaying Priam. Yet even with all the movement we see in the pediment space, it is very difficult to say whether or not a single coherent narrative was intended. The figures are of varying proportions and sizes, making the relationships among them unclear. The space seems to be divided to form three separate narratives rather than a single organized storyline.¹⁰ Possibly, the collection of images is not intended to be read as a narrative, but rather to convey a theme, or perhaps this kind of presentation is simply a precursor to the depiction of complete narratives. In both corners of the west pediment, we see the figures depicting the theme of order defeating chaos, or of the Greeks defeating a foreign power that threatens their well-being. The idea of Greeks defeating *others* becomes a very common theme in later works of architectural sculpture, and individual depictions of the same events portrayed in Artemis's temple are used later on other temples to produce coherent narratives.

The Old Temple of Athena at Athens

There is a great deal of controversy as to whether or not the Old Temple of Athena is the same building as the Hekatompedon. Based on an inscription identifying the temples as two separate buildings, some scholars argue that *Hekatompedon* (literally, "Hundred Footer" in Greek) is the name of an older temple that no longer stood when the Old Temple of Athena was built, while others suggest that "Hundred Footer" was a nickname for Athena's temple.¹¹ However, the similarities in the narrative and style of the surviving sculptures from the pediments suggest that the two are most likely the same, and I will treat them as such for this examination. The temple has been dated to 529-520 BCE and stood in the area of the present Erechtheion.¹² The Old Temple of Athena was rendered in the Doric order and the pediments were made from limestone. These pediments are in a very poor state of preservation, adding to the confusion over whether or not the Hekatompedon and the Old Temple of Athena are one and the same. The pediments here measure around 2.5 meters high and are 21 meters long, close in size to those in the Temple of Artemis at Corcyra.

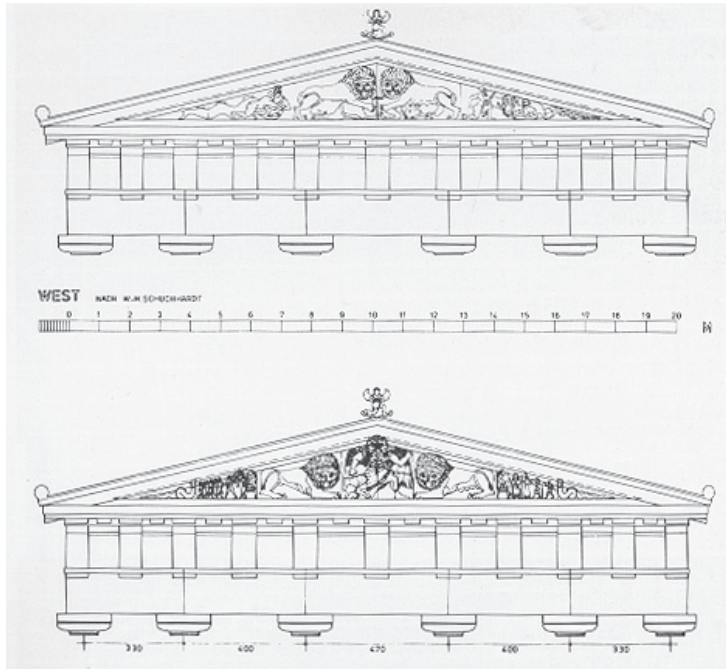


Figure 3. Reconstruction of pediments from the Old Temple of Athena at Athens. (Plate courtesy of Yale University Press)

the Greek epic tradition. The themes of order defeating chaos and of the gods using their power to protect the people shine through in these pediments.

The characters and style of presentation in the pediment sculpture in the Old Temple of Athena are very reminiscent of those in the earlier Temple of Artemis at Corcyra. Much like the scene depicted in the Corcyra Temple, which featured a running Gorgon Medusa, flanked by two figures (her children) who are in turn flanked by lions, on the west pediment of the Old Temple of Athena we see a winged Gorgon figure flanked by a feline on either side and two tiny scenes in the corners with large snakes filling in the very edges. The figures and layout on the east pediment are similar, minus the Medusa figure. The Gorgon has apotropaic qualities, with her wide-eyed mask-like face and tongue sticking out, as if she guards the temple. The two lions face the Gorgon, with the lioness covering a small bull, while her companion lion has no prey under him. The two corners, respectively, present scenes of the introduction of Herakles into Olympia and of the Birth of Athena.¹⁶ In the scene involving Herakles, we see him being brought among the gods to take his place with them after many years of suffering and attempting to atone for his sins. The fact that Athena had been his patron and guided him in his battles explains his presence on her temple. In the scene of the birth of Athena, she springs from the head of Zeus as Hephaestus cuts his head open with an axe. There is a great deal of movement present in these pediments, with the Gorgon in the same running position as we found at Corcyra, lions savagely devouring prey, and scenes with humans engaged in battles.

Like those on the Corcyra pediments, the figures on the Old Temple of Athena are also rendered out of proportion and do not display a clear, easily-read narrative. The disproportion among the figures suggests that there are distinct narratives sharing the same triangular space. The scenes show stylistic qualities and apotropaic themes similar to those found in the Old Temple, but lack the unity in theme that characterizes later archaic temple pediments.

In the center stand two monumental lions, which hover over a fallen bull that they are devouring. The two small scenes in the corners show Herakles fighting a monster (Fig. 3). On the right he battles a three-bodied monster (referred to as “Bluebeard”), which coils away, and on the left he fights Triton, the son of Poseidon.¹³ The character of Bluebeard is most likely the monster Typhon, a son of Earth and Tartarus. It is said that he was the largest and most fearsome creature that walked the earth, with a hundred serpent heads growing from his shoulders, snakes for feet, and eyes and head capable of flashing fire.¹⁴ It has been postulated that the scene depicts one part of the battle between the gods and the giants.¹⁵ The scene of Herakles battling Triton is less well known to us today because it did not become part of the canon that we now call the Twelve Labors of Herakles; however, that does not necessarily mean that it was less important in

The Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi

The Siphnian Treasury at Delphi dates to between 530-525 BCE and is rendered in the Ionic style of white Cycladic marble from Siphnos.¹⁷ The legend attached to the treasury tells how the Siphnians came to build it. The island of Siphnos contained productive gold and silver mines, and Apollo commanded the inhabitants of the island to pay tithes on the mines to Delphi. After the islanders built the treasury, they became greedy and refused to pay the tithes. Because of this blasphemy, the sea overflowed and destroyed the mines and the settlements. In his *Histories* Herodotus mentions the mines and the building of the treasury, but notes that the destruction of Siphnos came when the Samians sacked the island in 525 BCE.¹⁸ Excavations show that pits for smelting gold are now at the bottom of the sea, evidence that the water has risen considerably since then, as the tradition suggests.

The pediments measure approximately 0.75 meters high and 3.83 meters long, making for a smaller scene than is present in either the Temple of Artemis or Athena's Old Temple. It is interesting to note that on the lower portion of the pediment, the figures depicted have been executed in high relief, while those in the upper parts have been rendered completely in the round, making this the only known example of such a transition.¹⁹ Nothing of the west pediment remains and there is no known documentation of what scene had decorated that space. Enough of the east pediment survives to identify that it depicts the dispute between Herakles and Apollo over the Delphic tripod (Fig. 4). The myth tells us that, after the murders of many of his friends and family, Herakles sought out the advice of the Delphic Oracle. When it could not give an answer that comforted him, he tore the temple apart, and when he saw the Tripod, he decided to establish an oracle of his own.²⁰ It was then that Apollo intervened to prevent his prized possession from being taken from his sacred site.

In the east pediment we see for the first time an example of multiple scenes unified by a single narrative, a characteristic that becomes standard in later temple pediments. Although the outcome of the story is not depicted explicitly and the scene leaves off at the point at which Herakles carries the tripod off, viewers would have known that Apollo will get his tripod back, not only because the myth tells them so but also because, in the scene, Zeus gives Apollo a look that acknowledges that the tripod is his and will stay with him.



Figure 4. East pediment of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi.

(Plate courtesy of Yale University Press)

which probably appeared along with chariots that had been painted on, since there was not enough space on the pediment to sculpt both figures and chariots.²¹

In this pediment the characters are closer to being in proportion to each other, and the multiple scenes that take place within the same space and time are unified around a single narrative. That Zeus is looking over at Apollo alludes to the fact that his son will reclaim the Tripod, and reinforces Apollo's authority over the sacred site. This is the first known example of a pediment scene linking epic tradition simultaneously to the significance of both the deity and the specific site of his or her temple.

In the center of the pediment stand Herakles and Apollo with Zeus between them, preventing his sons from further fighting. To the left stands Artemis, who tries to hold back her brother by the arms as he tries to seize the tripod. To the right, Athena looks on as Herakles escapes with the tripod on his back, while he gazes over his shoulder at Athena and Apollo. In the corners are the remains of human figures and horses,

The Temple of Apollo at Delphi

The pediments on the Doric temple of Apollo, which dates to 510 BCE and is made of limestone and marble, are in a very poor state of preservation (Fig. 5).²² We are fortunate to have as much of these pediments remaining as we do, because,

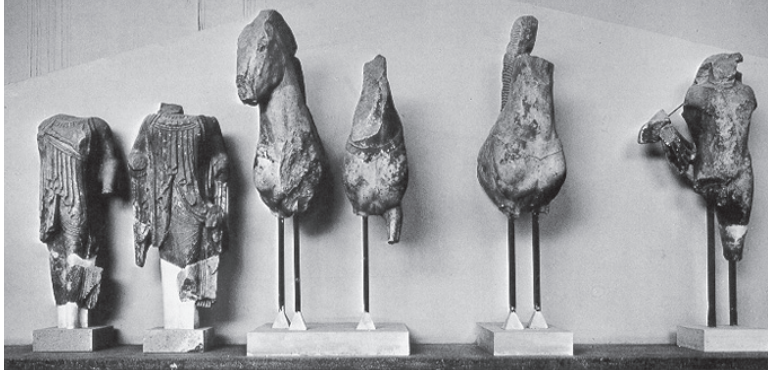


Figure 5. Present state of the east pediment of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. (Plate courtesy of Yale University Press)

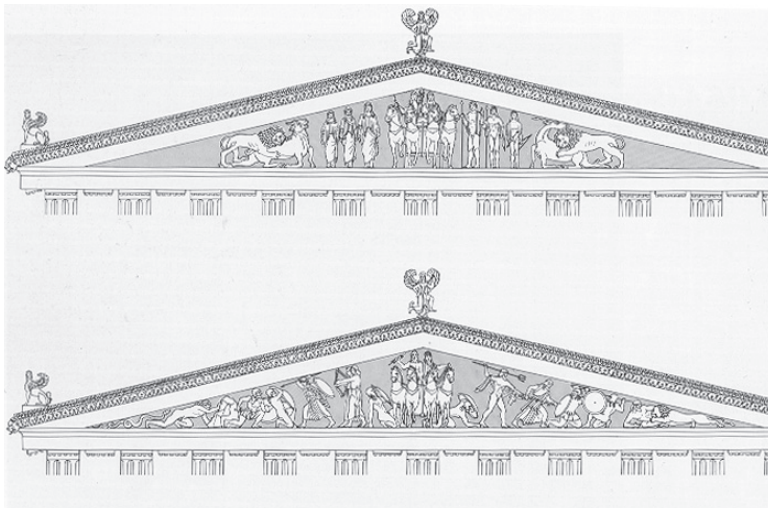


Figure 6. Reconstruction of the east (upper) and west (lower) pediments from the Temple of Apollo at Delphi.

(Plate courtesy of Yale University Press)

(Goddess of Justice) and Ge (Mother Earth), and on the right by King Delphos and two Athenians (Fig. 6, upper). At the edges of the triangle are individual lions attacking a stag and a bull, respectively, with a lot of empty space at the corners. We can identify these characters because of the description that Aeschylus provides in the first six lines of his play *Eumenides*, when the Prophetess proclaims:

With first place among the gods in this prayer I
give special honour to Earth, the first prophet; and after her,
to Themis, for she was the second to sit at her mother's oracle
here, as one story has it. The third to have this office
assigned—it was at Themis' wish and with no violence to
anyone—was another of Earth's daughters by Titan, Phoebe.²⁵

after the temple's destruction in 373 BCE, they lay buried behind a retaining wall to the north.²³ The pediments measure approximately 2.3 meters high and 19.5 meters long, making them only slightly smaller than those on the earlier archaic temples with Gorgon relief sculpture. However, in comparison with earlier temples—the Old Temple of Athena and the Temple of Artemis at Corcyra—we see dramatic changes in the placement and size of the figures within the triangular space as well as in the overall appearance of the pediments. According to ancient tradition, Delphi was consecrated to Ge, or Gaia (Mother Earth), who shared the original temple space with her son Python, a giant dragon who held control over the Oracle at Delphi. Apollo had to defeat Python, the heavenly ruler, as well as Delphos, the earthly king of Delphi, in order to proclaim himself the new ruler.²⁴

The east pediment, which stands over the temple's entrance and is therefore more important, depicts Apollo's triumphant entry into Delphi. In the scene, Apollo rides on a chariot facing outward toward those entering the temple. He is flanked on the left by Phoebe (Goddess of Light), Themis

Though written about fifty years after the temple was built, Aeschylus' play helps us to understand what is depicted in the triangular space. The figures of Ge and King Delphos help to legitimize Apollo's assumption of Python's place as the keeper of the Oracle and heavenly ruler of Delphi. The figures of Phoebe and Themis, who are welcoming Apollo and represent light and justice, respectively, help add to the idea that the god is the embodiment of virtue, nobility, justice, goodness, and courage. Delphi was a sanctuary of such great importance that people traveled from all across Greece, not only because it housed the Oracle but also because it provided a place for the exchange of information and ideas.²⁶

Eumenides is centrally involved with the theme of justice, and features a plot in which, at the order of Apollo, Orestes kills his mother Klytemnestra and her lover for having murdered his father. In killing her, Orestes avenges his father's death as well as atoning for the ultimate sin that she committed in destroying the family; he is thus responsible for ending a cycle of death and self-destruction that had plagued his family for generation.²⁷ Through his character, this play asserts that Apollo represents light, justice and the superior strength of order over disorder and chaos. The pediment pieces as well as the play would have been devices used to teach the Greeks and their children about proper behavior and morals. These epic stories were portrayed on the temples to reflect the moral principles that the Greeks felt were required to live a good life. In light of Greek philosophy and ethics, we can also see the pediment scene as a comment on the distinctive qualities of Apollo. The Greeks considered him to have been the most gifted of all gods in his generosity, understanding, and insight, the one who saw to it that men followed the light of reason and integrity.²⁸ People from all around the known world came to consult Apollo's oracle and took its advice to heart.

The west pediment portrays a different theme. It depicts a different version of the battle between the gods and the giants (the Gigantomachy) than that portrayed on the earlier Corcyra temple (Fig. 6, lower). In the center of the pediment Zeus and Hera ride forward in a chariot. To the left of them stand Apollo, Artemis and Athena attacking three giants, while on the right are Poseidon and Dionysus pushing three giants toward a hungry lion.²⁹ The placement of the characters in the scene makes it clear that the gods are forcing the giants into the corners of the pediment, and the giants are thus cast in a more passive role in the scene. It has been suggested that the snake and the lion on the pediment corners allude to the Old Temple of Athena and perhaps even to the Temple of Artemis at Corcyra as well.³⁰ The theme of the gods defeating the giants was of great importance to the Greeks. It was intended to be uplifting, representing the victory—both moral and political—of Order over Chaos, as the giants who tried to overthrow the gods were defeated. It also reinforced the theme at Delphi of the superiority of Apollo's honor, justice, and reason. As Delphi was his place of worship, the Greeks honored him there by celebrating his power and ability to protect his home and his followers, thus strengthening their sense of national identity and glorifying Greek culture.

Both pediments of Apollo's temple at Delphi give a clearer sense of narrative than is present in the older temples we have examined. All of the figures are nearly the same size and are in proportion, and we see clearer relationships among the figures and scenes, in contrast to the separate scenes that we saw in earlier temples. Even the animal figures are in proportion, or nearly so, to the human figures. The west pediment in particular makes use of dynamic moving forms to fill the space, with figures crouching, dying, spearing and shooting. The sculptures overall appear more sophisticated in the way that they are rendered—much more life-like than the figures in the earlier temples. Finally, the fact that the statues are carved completely in the round shows that these later artists had a better understanding of how free-standing statues could be placed onto pediment spaces in a way that minimized the risk of their falling off and breaking.

The Temple of Aphaia at Aegina

Aphaia's temple at Aegina, which dates to approximately 500-480 BCE, is made of limestone and is done in the Doric order. Originally, the island of Aegina was called Oenone and remained uninhabited until Zeus led the nymph Aegina there and she bore him a son, Aeacus, who would later ask his father to name the island in honor of his mother. Zeus then transformed the ants on the island into men to inhabit the land.³¹ Aeacus was the grandfather to many of the greatest Greek heroes of the Trojan War, including Achilles, Ajax, and Teucer, and so it is not surprising that the temple is decorated with scenes from that conflict. While Aegina and the myths of the island do not have a pan-Hellenic meaning, they clearly reflect the honor and pride of the Aegintans in their heroic ancestry.

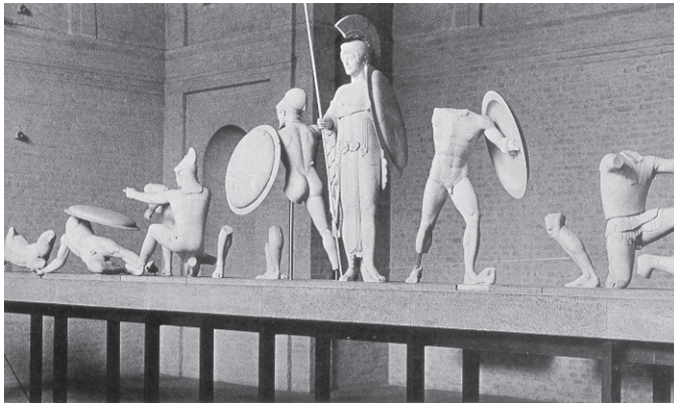


Figure 7. Present state of the west pediment from the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina. (Plate courtesy of Yale University Press)

The pediments are made of marble and are in an excellent state of preservation. They measure 1.72 meters tall and 15 meters long, making them just about life sized—only slightly smaller than Apollo's pediments and much larger than the Siphnian Treasury pediment. Like those on the previous temples, the pediments in the Temple of Aphaia would have had lots of colors painted onto the figures, primarily cream, red and black. Spaces between the figures that allowed light to pass through them would have sharpened and enhanced their appearance.³² The pediments are done completely in the round. Both depict scenes from the sack of Troy with the goddess Athena in the very center of the space. The east pediment shows the sack of Troy by Telamon and Herakles, while the west shows the battle fought by the Greeks under Agamemnon (Fig. 7).³³ In each, many of the figures are almost completely preserved, giving us a good indication of their placement in the pediment space and an even better understanding of the action in the scene.

Similar to many of the earlier pediments, there is a great deal of movement in these temple pediments. Both show dynamic battles between the Trojans and the Greeks. The central figure of Athena looks out to the viewer, while none of the other figures look up, as they are all too engaged in battle to look away from their tasks. This small fact sets her physically outside the battle, and makes her appear even more divine. Because according to their myths she supports the Greek cause, her spiritual presence forecasts their victory over the Trojans.

We see Herakles clearly on the east pediment, wearing his lion skin and drawing his bow as he prepares to shoot the enemy. On the west pediment, we see Ajax to the right of Athena, engaged in an intense battle with the Trojans. Many of the figures are depicted nude, except for the figures of the archers and Athena. All of the characters are in proportion to one another, and appear life-like. The sculptors filled the triangular space completely with crouching archers, lunging warriors, and dying men. The figures of dying men fit into the corners of the pediment perfectly, leaving very little space unfilled. Unlike that in earlier temples, the space in both pediments depicts a clear narrative that unmistakably tells a story through a scene from Greek epic tradition. Both scenes show the same battle, only a generation apart and with different characters, thus unifying the overall theme of the temple.

The presence of Athena not only celebrates her part in the war, but also closely links her power and protection with two important local deities: Aegina and Aphaia. Aegina is the ancestor of the characters

in Homer's *Iliad* and gave her name to the island on which the Temple of Aphaia is located. Although not very important beyond Crete and the surrounding islands, including the island of Aegina, Aphaia was another nymph and a daughter of Zeus. When Minos fell in love with her, she decided that to prevent her capture she would jump into the sea, and ended up landing in the nets of fishermen. One of the fishermen fell in love with her, took her to the island of Aegina, and subsequently tried to rape her. With Athena's help and protection, however, she was able to escape into the forest. To honor Aphaia for going to such great lengths to protect her chastity, Athena made her into a goddess.³⁴

Because both pediments depict Athena protecting the Greeks during the battle, early scholars thought that this temple had been dedicated to her. However, it now seems more likely that Athena's presence on Aphaia's temple merely makes the scene more recognizable and reinforces Aphaia's local reputation as a chaste goddess.³⁵ While the link that binds the goddess Aphaia, the island of Aegina, and the sacking of Troy is not immediately evident, an understanding of Greek mythology makes it clear.

The temple is located in a site that was the center of the island's cultural and religious life, with other important buildings surrounding it. Aegina had a strong oligarchy by the time Aphaia's shrine was constructed. Built to commemorate the extraordinary part that the Aegintans had played in the Battle of Salamis, in which thirty ships manned with hundreds of men fought with distinguished skill and bravery, Aphaia's temple overlooks the sea from both sides.³⁶ The temple shows the pride that the Aegintans had in their heritage and in their ancestors, who were some of the great heroes of the Trojan War and who had descended from the namesake of their island, and honors the goddess who escaped losing her chastity by fleeing to their island.

These pediments show the end result in the long process of creating a concise narrative that filled the triangular space completely. In tying the myths of the island's foundation with the nymph Aphaia, the Aegintans were able to create a more concise narrative that reflected their pride in their heritage and epic tradition.

In all of these temple pediments we see the devotion of the Greeks to their gods. The earlier temples of Artemis and Athena show multiple narratives on their pediments and use Gorgons to convey a sense of power and to ward off evil. In the earliest temples, the pediment sculpture was done completely in relief, until Greek sculptors became technically advanced enough to put the sculpture up on the high space without worrying that it would fall and break. These early pediment sculptors were also not concerned with making the figures proportional to each other, and different scenes with different-sized figures were used to fill in the triangular space. The Treasury of the Siphnians represents a transition between the earlier pediments, in which the figures were depicted in relief, and the later pediments, in which the figures were sculpted in the round. The Treasury pediment is also the first example of a depiction of only one scene with all figures in proportion to one another, with narrative devices being used to allude to earlier and later moments in the narrative. This marks the beginnings of a style in which unified compositions are created by telling an entire story from only one scene. The pediments of the later temples dedicated to Apollo and Aphaia show the culmination of this development, with figures filling the space completely, a style that became the standard for the decoration of later temple pediments. Each pediment shows us a step in the progress toward a more aesthetically pleasing and coherent narrative on the temple structure, and each also displays the pride that the Greeks had in their epic heritage. In the heroic tales pictured on these pediments, they conveyed their morals and ethics, their pan-Hellenic and local traditions, and most importantly, their identities as Greeks. With the solidifying of the standard for how Greek temples were to be styled came also the solidarity of the people in their place of worship.

Notes

1. Brunhilde Sismondo Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977), 193.
2. Andrew Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: an Exploration, Volume One: Text* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1990), 113.
3. All plates in this essay come from Andrew Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration, Volume Two: Plates* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1990). Reproduced by permission of Yale University Press (all rights reserved).
4. *Ibid*, 113.
5. One such example would be the birth of Athena; in vase painting she is shown as a tiny figure that springs from Zeus' head when Hephaestus cuts his skull open.
6. Ridgway, 193.
7. Henry Jervis, *History of the Island of Corfu and the Republic of the Ionian Islands* (Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner, 1970), 23.
8. Stewart, 113.
9. Ridgway, 194.
10. This also appears to be a common occurrence in Greek vase painting at the time. Many vases, like the François Vase, were painted in registers depicting scenes that came from different stories having nothing to do with one another. Greek artists do not seem to have been bothered by having different unrelated stories on the same space.
11. Birgetta Bergquist, *The Archaic Greek Temenos: A Study of Structure and Function* (Lund, Sweden: Lund Gleerup, 1967), 24.
12. Ridgway, 197.
13. *Ibid*, 199.
14. Herakles had killed the son of Typhon, the Hydra, in one of his Twelve Labors.
15. Bergquist, 24-25.
16. Harvey A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz am Rhein, West Germany: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, c1989), 22.
17. Erik J. Holmberg, *Delphi and Olympia* (Gothenburg, Sweden: P. Åström, 1979), 24.
18. Francis R. B. Godolphin, *The Greek Historians* (New York: Random House, 1942), 188-189.
19. Frederik Poulsen, *Delphi* (London: Gyldendal, 1920), 110.
20. Holmberg, 26.
21. Poulsen, 110.
22. The fact that the two pediments were constructed of different materials—the east is limestone, while the west is marble—is due to the convergence of two events, one natural and one political, that occurred during the temple's construction and rebuilding. The east pediments had already been constructed and survived a fire that destroyed much of the rest of the temple in 548 BCE. By the time the west pediments were constructed, the building was being supported by a new set of patrons, the Alcmaeonidae, who, after having been driven from Athens by the ruler, Pisistratus, were attempting to reclaim their position in Athenian society by rebuilding Apollo's temple and thus enlisting that god's help. Not surprisingly, only a short time after the fire, the Oracle at Delphi announced that the Alcmaeonidae should be allowed back into society (Holmberg, 23-24).
23. *Ibid*, 22.
24. *Ibid*, 6-7.
25. Aeschylus, *Oresteia*, translated by Christopher Collard (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 85.
26. W. A. P. Childs, "Herodotos, Archaic Chronology, and the Temple of Apollo at Delphi," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts* 108 (1993), 400.
27. Klytemnestra had been married to Agamemnon and had killed him shortly after his return from the Trojan War because she had fallen in love with Aegisthus, her husband's cousin.
28. Peter Hoyle, *Delphi* (London: Cassell, 1967), 6.
29. Stewart, 199-200.
30. Pierre De La Coste-Messeliere, *The Treasures of Delphi* (Paris, France: Editions du Chêne, 1950[?]), 10.
31. Sonia Di Neuhoff, *Aegina* (Athens, Greece: Apollo Editions, 1977), 3.
32. Elisabeth Ayrton, *The Doric Temple* (New York: C.N. Potter, 1961), 219.
33. Stewart, 137.
34. Neuhoff, 14.
35. Ayrton, 218.
36. Ayrton, 217.

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