

KELLOGG-HUBBARD LIBRARY FRIEZES: PORTALS TO THE PAST

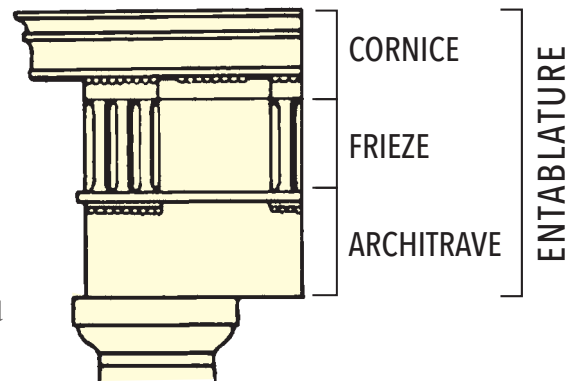
Hidden in plain view at several locations in the Kellogg-Hubbard Library is an unusual treasure: reproductions of three separate friezes that have been here since 1953. These full-scale replicas are examples of two landmark periods of European history—ancient Greece and the Italian Renaissance—that have an enduring influence on many of the institutional and cultural traditions of contemporary Western society. Like many other landmark works of art, the friezes are portals for understanding and comparing how art, architecture, music, rituals, and institutions represent societies far removed from us and continue to shape our society in our own day.

WHAT IS A FRIEZE?

A frieze is a continuous band of ornamental and figurative low-relief sculpture. The objects and figures in a frieze are to varying degrees raised from the background surface. It is a medium between a flat two-dimensional representation, such as a painting, and a free-standing three-dimensional representation, such as a statue.

Friezes are most often seen as ornaments of the outside of a building and are the middle element of what is called the “entablature.”

The largest of the three sets of frieze panels in the library, reproductions of panels of the frieze from the Parthenon in Athens, Greece, is one of the best-known examples of this architectural application. The other two friezes in the KHL collection are reproductions of panels designed and carved by Luca della Robbia and Donatello that decorated organ and choir galleries, called *cantoria*, inside the Cathedral at Florence.



A GIFT OF ART

The Parthenon and the *cantoria* panels were a gift from Samuel M. Jones, Esq., of Morristown, NJ, **not** to the Kellogg-Hubbard Library (built in 1894/5, opened 1896), but rather to the T. W. Wood Art Gallery, which opened in 1897 in the YMCA building located at the corner of State Street and Taylor Street (now the site of the Capitol Plaza Hotel).¹



Frieze at T.W. Wood Art Gallery (1897-1953)

Mr. Jones's cousin, Ruth Payne Burgess, studied art with Thomas Waterman Wood and was the wife of Professor John W. Burgess, a close friend of Wood and a founding trustee of the gallery.

In 1953, the Wood Gallery moved its collection to the second floor of the Kellogg-Hubbard Library, where it installed the frieze panels in the room originally designed as a lecture hall for the library. In 1985, when the Wood Gallery moved to the campus of Vermont College (now Vermont College of Fine Arts), its trustees gave the friezes to the Kellogg-Hubbard Library, with the expressed hope that they would continue to be seen and enjoyed by the public. In 2001 the room was renamed in honor of Karen Bitterman Kitzmiller, a state legislator, former board member and advocate for the KHL. As part of the library's "Millenium renovation," in 2000, the frieze was cleaned, and lighting was improved.



Frieze at Kellogg-Hubbard Library (after 1953)

The panels of the three friezes were produced and sold by P. P. Caproni and Brother in Boston, which produced plaster cast reproductions of works of sculpture from classical antiquity through the nineteenth century. The company, founded in 1892 by Pietro Paul Caproni and his brother Emilio, continues to this day to produce a wide variety of sculptural reproductions for study in art schools and museums, and for decoration in hotels, theaters, and residences.

RELIEFS.

Greek.

| NO. | | SIZE, IN. | PRICE. |
|-----|---|-----------|--------|
| 700 | Archaic relief <i>Louvre</i> | 24½ x 37 | \$4.00 |
| 701 | Archaic relief " | 24½ x 37 | 4.00 |
| 702 | Archaic relief " | 24½ x 37 | 4.00 |
| 703 | Stele of Aristokles <i>National Museum, Athens</i> | 78 x 17 | 8.00 |

The Parthenon—or Temple of the Goddess Athens—was the most beautiful of all Greek buildings, both in its architecture and in the sculpture with which it was decorated. It was built to crown the Acropolis, or citadel, of Athens during the administration of Pericles, and was finished about the year 438 B.C. The architects were Iktinos and Kallikrates, but this is one of the buildings of which Pausanias tells us that Pericles gave the general charge to Phidias. It is most probable, therefore, that he designed, and possibly executed the sculpture of the Temple, and especially the marvellous frieze surrounding its walls, which is the most beautiful work of its kind ever produced. This frieze represented the procession which took place every four years at the great festival of the patron-goddess of the city, one of the chief elements of which was the cavalcade of the sons of Athenian citizens, mounted upon superb horses, probably of Thessalian breed. The selection which we offer of this is the best preserved of what now remains, and is from the western end of the building. All but two blocks of it (Nos. 1 and 2) are still in their original place on the Parthenon; these two are in the British Museum. It represents the preparations for the cavalcade. Some of the men are harnessing their horses, others mounting, and others already on their way. No portion of the frieze better illustrates the variety of the composition or the technical qualities which have made the work famous among sculptors.

Greek.

| NO. | | SIZE, IN. | PRICE. |
|-----|--|-----------|---------|
| 704 | Parthenon Frieze, Slabs from Western Frieze: | | |
| | Slab 3 | 42 x 56 | \$12.00 |
| | " 4 | 42 x 56 | 12.00 |
| | " 5 | 42 x 53 | 12.00 |
| | " 6 | 42 x 56 | 12.00 |
| | " 7 | 42 x 54 | 12.00 |
| | " 8 | 42 x 56 | 12.00 |
| | " 9 | 42 x 54 | 12.00 |
| | " 10 | 42 x 53 | 12.00 |
| | " 11 | 42 x 53 | 12.00 |
| | " 12 | 42 x 56 | 12.00 |
| | " 15 | 42 x 67½ | 12.00 |
| 705 | Reduction of Slab No. 2 | 16 x 28 | 3.00 |
| | " " " " 9 | 16 x 24 | 2.50 |
| 706 | Reduction of Slab No. 2 | 11 x 17 | 1.50 |
| | " " " " 3 | 11 x 14½ | 1.50 |
| | " " " " 4 | 11 x 14½ | 1.50 |
| | " " " " 5 | 11 x 14 | 1.50 |
| | " " " " 6 | 11 x 14½ | 1.50 |
| | " " " " 7 | 11 x 14½ | 1.50 |
| | " " " " 8 | 11 x 13½ | 1.50 |
| | " " " " 9 | 11 x 14½ | 1.50 |
| | " " " " 10 | 11 x 15½ | 1.50 |
| 707 | Slab from Northern Frieze | 40 x 48 | 12.00 |

Greek.



703



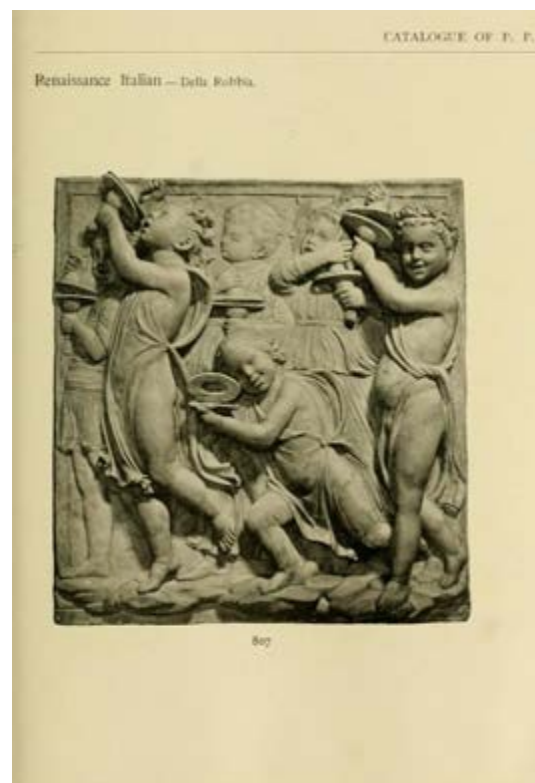
704-706

Top and bottom: Pages from Caproni catalogue (1894)

Their catalog for 1894 included images of eleven blocks of the west frieze and one block of the north frieze of the Parthenon and seven panels from the della Robbia *cantoria*. These constitute most of the blocks in the KHL collection. They sold for \$12.00 each (about \$386.00 in current purchasing value). The company had not yet begun selling reproductions of the Donatello *cantoria*. But in 1897, when Mr. Jones made his gift of art to Montpelier's new art museum, it appears that those also cost \$12/panel.² The Caproni company still makes these reproductions, which now cost \$1,100 to \$1,200 each.

| CATALOGUE OF P. P. CAPRONI & BROTHERS. | | | | | |
|--|--------|--|---|-----------|--------|
| RELIEFS—Continued. | | | | | |
| Renaissance Italian—Della Robbia. | | | | | |
| SIZE, IN. | PRICE. | NO. | DESCRIPTION | SIZE, IN. | PRICE. |
| 16 x 12 | \$2.50 | 802 | Reduction of 800 | 10½ x 7 | \$1.50 |
| 16 x 16 | 2.00 | 803 | Five Boys, grouped, singing from one Scroll | 40 x 26 | 10.00 |
| 21 x 12 | 2.50 | 804 | Reduction of 803 | 20 x 15 | 4.00 |
| 8 x 23 | 2.50 | 805 | Six Boys playing on Trumpets; four Children dancing | 40 x 38 | 12.00 |
| | | 806 | Reduction of 805 | 11 x 10 | 1.50 |
| | | 807 | Six Children playing on Cymbals, gracefully draped | 40 x 37 | 12.00 |
| | | 808 | Five Boys playing on Drums; four Children dancing | 40 x 38 | 12.00 |
| | | 809 | Reduction of 808 | 11 x 10 | 1.50 |
| 18 x 15 | 3.00 | 810 | Three Girls playing on Lyres, with five others in Background; two Children seated | 40 x 38 | 12.00 |
| 12 x 12 | 2.00 | 811 | Seven Girls playing on Lutes, with two Children seated | 40 x 38 | 12.00 |
| | | 812 | Bambini (so called) each | 40 x 32 | 8.00 |
| | | Four reliefs (marked A, B, C, D) from the Children's Hospital, Florence. These represent four infants, wrapped in swaddling clothes, in graceful positions. The heads are cast separate, on pedestal measuring 18 x 15 inches, price each, \$5.00. These are excellent studies for art students, as well as beautiful ornaments for home decoration. | | | |
| 40 x 26 | 10.00 | 813 | Madonna and Child, with Head of a Cherub at bottom | 26½ x 18 | 3.50 |
| 20 x 15 | 4.00 | | | | |

By Luca della Robbia
originally in the
Santa Maria
della Vittoria.



Pages from Caproni catalogue (1894)

THE FRIEZES—I: PARTHENON

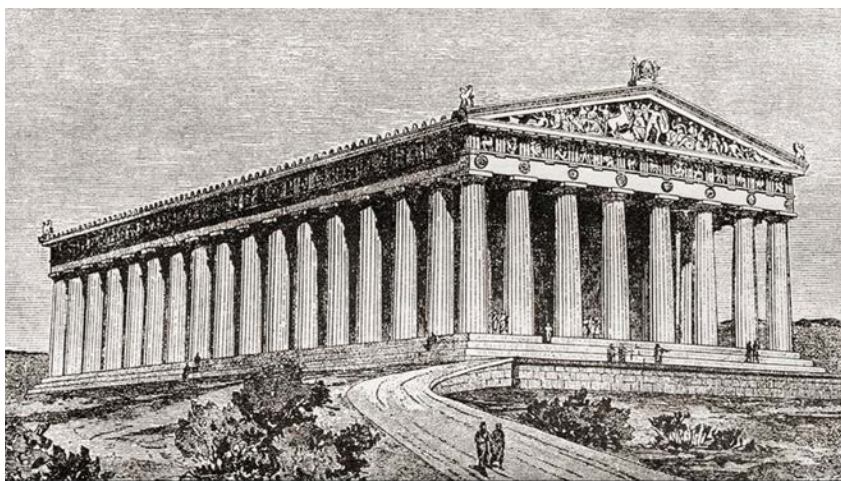
(East and West Walls, KHL Fiction Room—and Elsewhere)

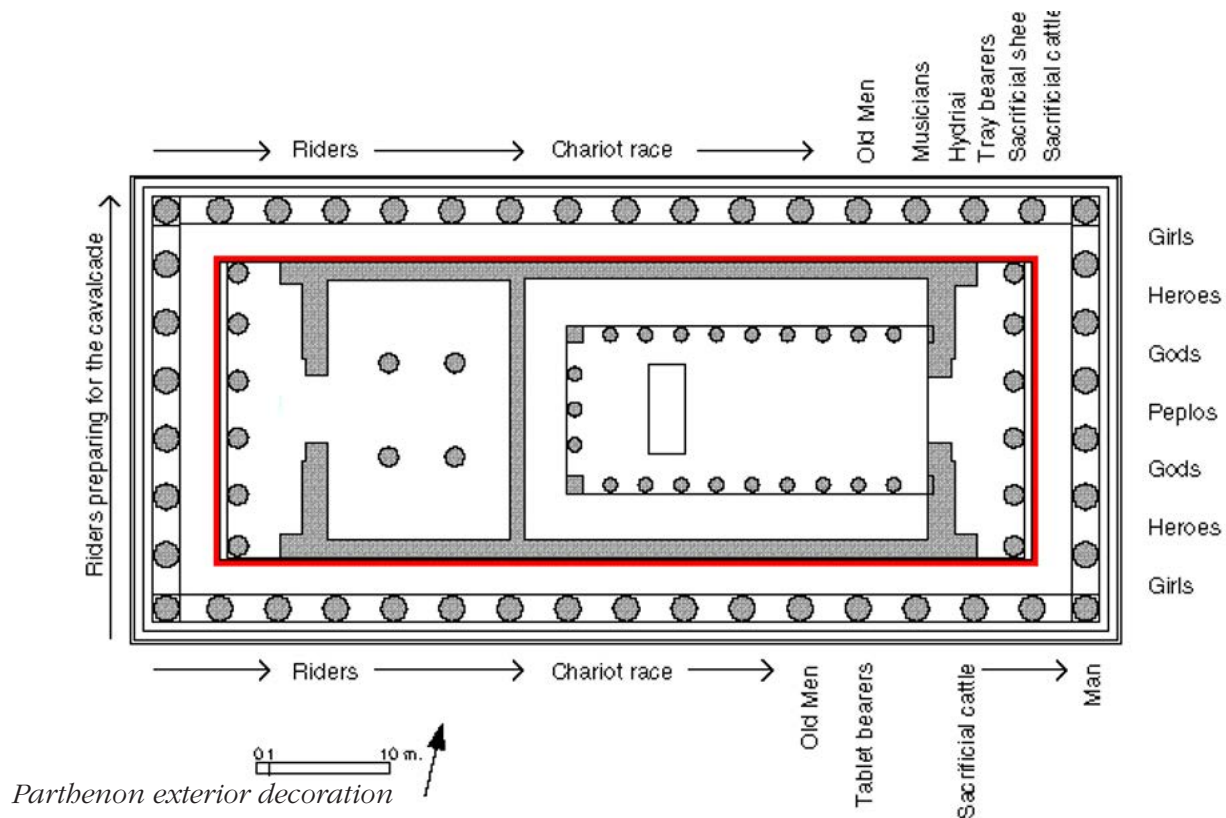
The Caproni catalog of 1894 describes the Parthenon friezes as “the most beautiful work of its kind ever produced.”³ That judgment is confirmed by the millions of visitors, antiquarians, art historians, and art students who, over the past 2,500 years, have studied, copied, and photographed the extant originals still in Athens, either affixed to the Parthenon or on display in the nearby Parthenon Museum, or in several other museums, including the Louvre in Paris, and—most famously—the British Museum in London, where they are known as the “Elgin Marbles.”⁴

The friezes get their name from the Temple of Athena, which is the largest of several buildings perched atop the Acropolis—a citadel built on a rocky outcrop that overlooks Athens.

The word *parthenon* (virgin's chamber) refers to Athena's characterization as a chaste goddess of wisdom and war, possibly to the use of the building as the residence of young girls dedicated to service to the goddess, and more to the

point, the story of her motherless birth, sprung fully grown from the head of Zeus.⁵ This origin story from Greek mythology is presented in the sculptures of the east pediment, which capped the main entrance to the building.⁶





The temple was commissioned around 447 BCE by Pericles, the political and military leader of Athens. It was designed by architects Iktanos and Kallicrates, and constructed in the years 447-432 BCE under the supervision of the sculptor Phidias, who also received the commission for the colossal statue of Athena that stood in a central position in the “cella”—the central space inside the temple. The temple was dedicated in 438 BCE. In its 2,500 years of history, the building was used successively as a tribute to Athena as the protector of the city and as the storehouse for the collection of gifts to the goddess, possibly as a residence for the young girls and women devoted to her service, as a church, as a mosque, and unfortunately as a storehouse for explosives by the Ottoman Turks in their war with Venice, when in 1687 the building was fired upon and exploded, destroying a substantial portion of the structure and much of its exterior sculpture.⁷

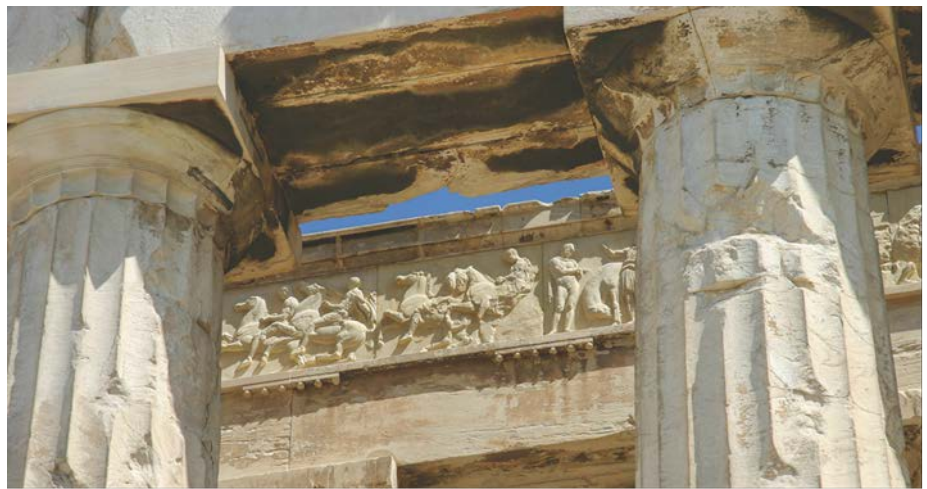


In addition to his job as supervisor of the construction, Phidias also served as the supervisor and sculptor of much of the external decoration.⁸ He very likely worked with assistants or even assigned some panels to others in his workshop (resulting in some uneven quality of the panels, which disturbs some art historians and antiquarians); but most of the panels are thought to be his work, and all reflect his influence—especially in the portrayal of the drapery of garments. The 115 blocks that comprise the frieze encircled all four sides of the temple (160 meters/525 feet), are 1 meter (3.281 feet) in height, an average of 1.22 meters (4 feet) in length, and carved to a depth of between 5.6 and 7 centimeters (2.2 and 2.75 inches) from the surface. Within that shallow depth, Phidias and his colleagues carved as many as six layers of figures: humans, horses, and other animals.

The frieze as it was installed on the outside wall of the temple was all but obscured by the portico that extends about 15 feet beyond the outside wall of the cella. In order to view the panels, therefore, visitors would have to stand under the portico and look up at a very steep angle.

Phidias and his crew of sculptors compensated for this distortion of the line of sight by carving the upper portions of each

block more deeply than the lower portions. Visitors to the KHL have in common with their ancient forerunners the problem of distortion caused by the angle of vision; but modern-day viewers in the KHL, museums, and other indoor venues share a different challenge: imagining the frieze turned, as it were, inside out. What we see as decoration **inside a room** was originally decoration of the **outside of the building**.



Parthenon frieze in situ

What we see on the panels is in some ways easy to describe. The blocks from the south, west, and north side of the temple (east and west walls, KHL) depict a procession of men and women of all ages, some on horseback (north and south sides, temple—west wall, KHL), some preparing to mount their horses (west side, temple); some wearing the distinctive cavalry helmet, and one wearing a broad-brimmed floppy hat (*petasus*); some on foot—at least one supported by a crutch, suggesting old age; some leading cattle and sheep that are destined for sacrifice to honor Athena; and some bearing trays, tablets, and large vases containing wine and water.





Attributed to the Berlin Painter, Panathenaic Prize Amphora: Athena between Columns (Side A); Wrestlers and Judge with Staff (Side B), 480-470 BCE, terracotta and black-figure, Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth: Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ray Winfield Smith, Class of 1918; C.959.53.

Missing from the selection of blocks in the KHL collection are scenes of chariots, possibly a chariot race, part of the Panathenaic games. The blocks from the east side of the temple depict several of the Greek gods—recognizable by their seated pose and their larger size relative to the figures of participants in the procession.

The east side blocks also include five figures of particular interest. A group of two females carry on their heads what appear to be folded cloths (SE corner, KHL). A second group (NE corner, KHL) includes one female figure who appears to greet someone and a male adult receiving from a child (male or female is difficult to determine) a partially unfolded cloth. This group of five was originally placed directly over the east entrance—the main entrance—of the temple.⁹

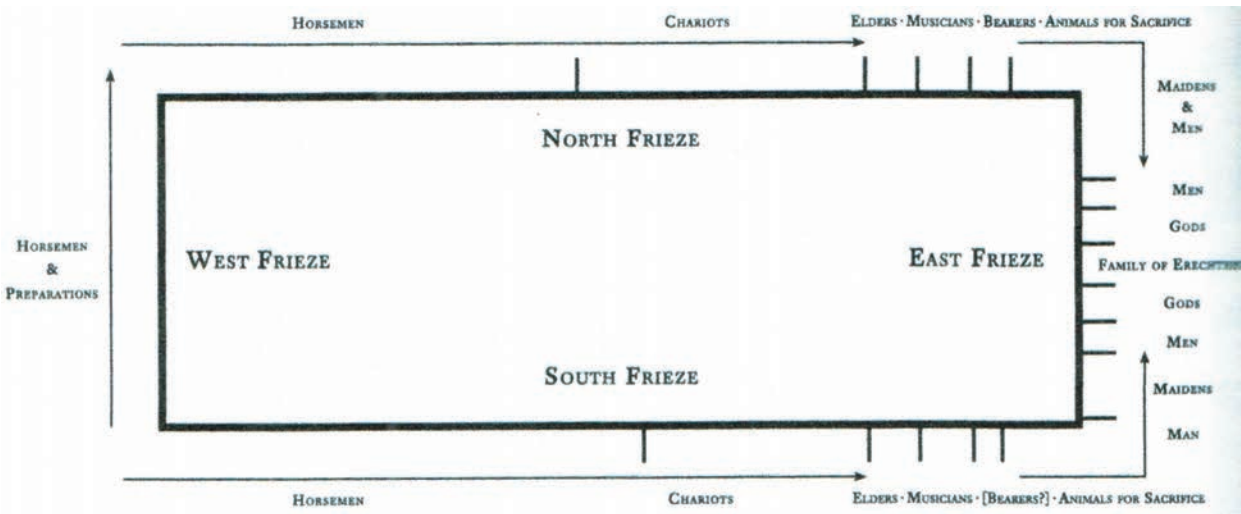


The interpretation of the friezes—especially the five figures over the east entrance—is a topic of long dispute.

Most historians and art historians now agree that the Parthenon frieze as a whole represents the culminating procession of the Greater Panathenaea celebration, a quadrennial event to honor Athena—the patron and protector of Athens. The procession started at a stadium where athletic, music, and poetry recital contests were held as part of the celebration. It then wound its way through the middle of the city, including the famous *agora*—market place—and ended on the acropolis at the Parthenon. The five figures above the east entry portray the climactic episode of the festival: presentation of the *peplos*, a saffron-dyed robe that was draped around an ancient wooden statue of Athena.¹⁰ This interpretation thus portrays and celebrates not only the goddess but the civic life of Athens in the 5th century BCE.¹¹



This interpretation is puzzling however, because it was unusual, impious, and unique to the Parthenon, to portray nonmythological figures in the decoration of a building dedicated to the gods. This anomaly has given rise to an alternative interpretation of the frieze as the portrayal of a myth of the founding of Athens: The sacrifice of the three daughters of Erechtheus, a legendary early king of Athens, in order to save the city from invasion by a rival king, Eumolpos.



In this interpretation, the folded garments are shrouds for Erechtheus's daughters¹² and what has been commonly accepted as the presentation of the peplos as an annual ritual celebrating Athenian identity as a community becomes a portrait of the family of Erechtheus at a critical moment in the legend and in the founding of Athens. Unless and until some documentation emerges, we are left with ambiguity about the deep meaning of the frieze for the Athenians. But in either case, the Parthenon frieze provides us with a snapshot in stone of 5th-century BCE Athens, celebrating its origins and identity as a community with rituals, activities, and artifacts that remain recognizable in our time and place.

THE FRIEZES—II: THE CANTORIAS OF SANTA MARIA DEL FIORE

(North and South Walls, KHL Fiction Room)

Like the Parthenon, the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence—most often referred to as the “Duomo” (the Italian word for cathedral)—is an iconic building that over time has come to be one of the most recognizable symbols of the Italian Renaissance.

Construction of this massive building began in 1296, was interrupted in 1302, resumed after Florence recovered from the effects of the plague (known as the Black Death) of 1348, stalled once again in the late 1350s, then resumed under a revised plan for the design of the cathedral in 1368. The final plan called for an octagonal dome to rise from the vast space (about 140 feet across) that contains the high altar. That design created an enormous challenge and further delay, because no one at the time knew how to construct the dome, and because Florence itself became embroiled in a half century of internal and intercity conflicts. It was only in 1417 that the Opera della Duomo (what we might call the Board of Works, or the Board of Trustees of the Cathedral) commissioned Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) to design and oversee the construction of the famous dome of the cathedral in 1420-1436. The building thus became, like the Parthenon, a focus of civic pride for Florentines and a symbol of the new aesthetic and cultural vision of the Italian Renaissance. As one art historian puts it, “It is in the gigantic harmonies that Brunelleschi established for the Cathedral of Florence . . . that the individualism of the Early Renaissance is apparent. . . . This new vocabulary soon became the standard, and it conferred upon the architecture of Florence an appearance responsive to the new ideals of measure and proportion.”¹³

In addition to planning and overseeing the construction of the cathedral, The Opera della Duomo had the responsibility for planning and commissioning works of art to adorn the inside.

In 1431 the trustees commissioned Luca della Robbia (1400-1482) to design and carve the frieze for a marble choir loft (*cantoria*) to be placed over the doorway to the north Sacristy of the cathedral (South Wall, KHL).

The figures are carved into the marble panels in low relief but in several places thrust outward from the apparent limits of the space. They crowd together to sing from open books, play instruments, and dance to depict the words of Psalm 150 carved into the bands above and below the frieze (not included in the KHL panels) and are the literal text, especially verses 1, 3-5, that inspired the visual program of the panels:

¹ Praise the Lord! Praise God
in his sanctuary;

[. . .]

³ Praise him with trumpet sound;
praise him with lute and harp!

⁴ Praise him with timbrel and dance;
praise him with strings and pipe!

⁵ Praise him with sounding cymbals;
praise him with loud clashing cymbals!¹⁴

The KHL frieze show us the series of ten vignettes in one continuous line of figures. The seventeen-foot-long façade of the *cantoria*, however, presented the ten panels in two levels of four panels, each panel clearly separated by pilasters (upper level) and consoles (lower level). One panel of singers at each end of the upper level completes the series.

Although della Robbia did not attain the stature of many other Renaissance sculptors and was more noted for the development of his blue-and-white-glazed terra cotta reliefs, these carved panels, with their graceful figures and charmingly individualized faces are considered to be among his finest work and among the finest examples of Renaissance relief sculptures.¹⁵

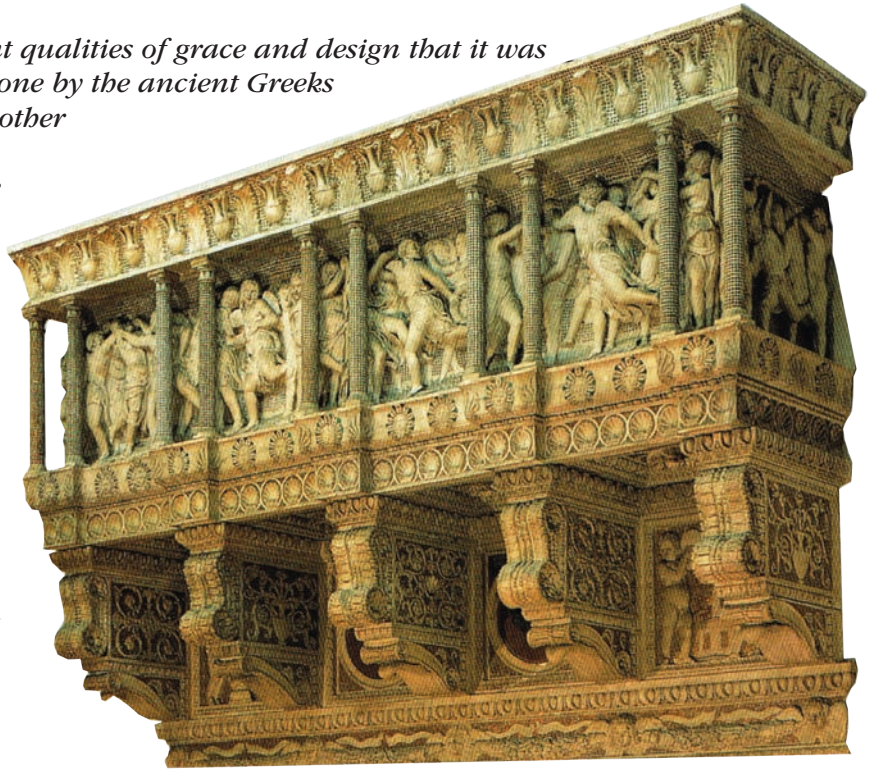
Two years after commissioning the choir loft by della Robbia, the Opera della Duomo commissioned another carved loft (North wall, KHL), this time from the older and far better-known Florentine sculptor, Donato di Niccolò Bardi, known in his own time and to this day as Donatello (1386-1466). A late-sixteenth-century painter, Giorgio Vasari (1511-74), who is better known for his collection of biographical essays about Italian Renaissance painters, sculptors, and architects, than for his own works of art, writes of Donatello that:



Luca della Robbia, cantoria, 1431-1439



His work showed such excellent qualities of grace and design that it was considered nearer what was done by the ancient Greeks and Romans than that of any other artist. He is therefore rightly recognized as the first to make good use of the invention of scenes done in low relief, which he executed with thoughtfulness, facility, and skill, demonstrating his intimate knowledge and mastery of the technique and producing sculpturers of unusual beauty.¹⁶



Donatello, cantoria, 1433-1439

Donatello's commission for the second choir loft overlapped with della Robbia's work, and there is some suggestion of competition between the two artists. One art historian suggests that della Robbia got his commission for the first *cantoria* because Donatello was traveling throughout Italy at the time.

The two choir lofts were installed opposite each other in 1439 (as they are in the KHL), with Donatello's slightly larger structure placed over the south sacristy. The two *cantorias*, however, differ markedly in their style and composition. In della Robbia's design, the architectural elements of columns and consoles—which we do not see in the KHL frieze—are like picture frames in which the figures stand serenely in place singing or performing or their instruments, enacting the text of the psalm that runs beneath them. By contrast—although we cannot see this in the KHL frieze—Donatello's figures in the upper level of the structure are all energetically in motion behind pillars that define a foreground space but do not hinder or contain the uninterrupted line of wild activity behind them.

Vasari writes of Donatello's choir loft that "the figures [are] so strongly carved, as has been said, that they look as if they are really alive and moving. And this work demonstrates that he worked as much with his mind as with his hands."¹⁷ In his biography of Luca della Robbia, Vasari offered a more detailed comparison of the two works of low relief carved for the choir lofts.



Donatello cantoria, KHL installation



della Robbia (left), Donatello (right)

Luca's work, Vasari tells us, was meticulously finished; but Donatello, working "as much with his mind as with his hands... left it rough and unfinished, so that from a distance it looked much better than Luca's. Though Luca's is made with good design and diligence, its polish and refinement cause the eye from a distance to lose it and not to make it out as well as that by Donatello, which is hardly more than roughed out."¹⁸

The two *cantorias* were dismantled in 1688 and are now on exhibit in the Museo del'Opera del Duomo in Florence.



We don't know for sure if, when he made his gift to the new T. W. Wood Gallery in 1897, Samuel Jones was keenly aware of or thinking about the connection between the Parthenon frieze and the relief sculptures of the Duomo as celebrations of the civic life of two historically famous and influential communities. We don't know if he knew enough about either of those storied cities to know that they had their own internal and external conflicts, and struggled to resolve the contradictions between their ideals and their institutions and ways of life. So, it may be a stretch of imagination to suggest that Jones's gift of art was also intended to honor civic life in Montpelier. But we can surmise with some confidence that it has enabled residents and visitors then and now to enjoy three masterpieces of fine art in the Western tradition and discover through them our own connections with past and present ideals of beauty and community.

– Michael Sherman

Notes

¹ Thomas Waterman Wood (1823-1903) was born, raised, and began his career as an artist in Montpelier, Vermont. A highly successful portrait, genre, and landscape painter, Wood achieved national recognition in the late nineteenth century and was elected president of the National Academy (PNA) and head of the American Watercolor Society. In 1895, he donated forty-two of his own paintings to establish a gallery and museum in Montpelier, supplemented in the following years with works by some of his contemporaries and his own copies of European “Old Masters.” See Willilam C. Lipke, “The Readable Image: Thomas Waterman Wood and Popular Genre,” in Ronald A. Slayton and William E. Sunderland, curators, *Thomas Waterman Wood, PNA, 1823-1903* (Montpelier, VT: Wood Art Gallery, 1972), 13-58; Joyce Mandeville, “T. W. Wood Gallery & Arts Center: A History,” in *Montpelier’s Treasures: The Legacy of Thomas Waterman Wood* (Montpelier, VT: T. W. Wood Gallery & Arts Center, 2008), 4-6; Susannah Clifford, *Free to All: The Kellogg Hubbard Library’s First 100 Years* (Montpelier, VT: Kellogg-Hubbard Library, 1996), 4-6; Kellogg-Hubbard Library, “History of the Library,” <https://www.kellogghubbard.org/khl-history>.

² P. P. Caproni & Brother, “Catalogue of Plaster Cast Reproductions from Antique, Medieval, and Modern Sculpture” (Boston: P.P. Caproni & Brother, 1894). <https://archive.org/details/catalogueofplas1894ppca>, Parthenon: 65-66, della Robbia: 84-86.

³ Caproni, catalog, 109.

⁴ Thomas Bruce, 7th Lord of Elgin, was British ambassador to Constantinople, 1799-1803, when the Ottoman Turks ruled Greece. Lord Elgin convinced the Sultan to allow him to take samples of the frieze that had fallen from the temple and ended up taking a substantial portion of the frieze. Elgin sold the frieze to the British Museum in 1816. The collection of panels and fragments from the Parthenon has been on display in the room designed to hold them since 1817. Mary Beard, *The Parthenon* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003). For over 200 years, Lord Elgin has been praised for saving the frieze from even greater destruction than what he saw and castigated as an opportunist and a cultural thief. This ongoing debate has its political side, with successive governments of Greece demanding the repatriation of the frieze and the British Museum—and other institutions that have fragments in their collections—resolutely refusing to return them. See Franz Lidz, “The Robot Guerrilla Campaign to Recreate the Elgin Marbles,” *New York Times*, 8 July 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/08/science/elgin-marbles-3d-print.html#site-content>.

⁵ Hesiod, *Theogony*, l. 924, in R. M. Frazer, *The Poems of Hesiod. Translated with Introduction and Comments* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 85. See also, *Larousse World Mythology*, ed. Pierre Grimal, trans. Patricia Beardsworth (NY: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1965), 109-10; Beard, *The Parthenon*, 43-4.

⁶ The pediment is the triangular space that defines and decorates the width and elevation of the roof of the temple. See the diagram of the Parthenon.

⁷ For the complicated history of the use of the site, see Beard, *The Parthenon*, 23-115.

⁸ There are three separate elements of the external decoration of the Parthenon (see diagram):

- 1) the pediments: east end (“Birth of Athena”); and west end (“Contest between Athena and Poseidon”)
- 2) four sets of metopes (bas relief panels on the outside of the portico):
 - i: east end (battle of gods and giants—14 metopes)
 - ii: west end (battle of Greeks and Amazons—14 metopes)
 - iii: south side (battle of Greeks and Centaurs—32 metopes)
 - iv: north side (battle of Greeks and Trojans—32 metopes)
- 3) the frieze

⁹Unfortunately, these two blocks, which appear side by side on the temple, were placed far from each other when they were installed at the KHL).

¹⁰ Not to be confused with the enormous ivory and gold statue of Athena sculpted by Phidias that occupied a central place inside the temple. See Beard, *The Parthenon*, 28-9 and illustration 3 at page 6. Beard describes the old and far more modest statue of Athena that resided in the Erechtheion (a smaller temple near the Parthenon) and was dressed each year with the new *peplos*, as “little more than an olive-wood plank—albeit decked out with all kinds of jewelry.” Ibid., 147.

¹¹ See note 10, above. The two girls bearing folded cloth bolts are at the south-east corner; the child unfolding the cloth thought to be the *peplos* and the adult receiving it are at the north-east corner. This panel also includes the other adult woman in this sequence, turned to accept the other two cloth bolts.

¹² Joan Breton Connelly, *The Parthenon Enigma* (New York: Alfred A. Knoph, 2014), 149-209.

¹³ Frederick Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall/ New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1969), 114-15; for a history of the building, see 105-7, 111-15.

¹⁴ Timbrel: a small hand drum or tambourine; pipe: small, lap-held organ, also called portative organ.

¹⁵ See Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art*, 199-200; Italian Ways, “Luca Della Robbia’s Cantorial Pulpits: A Dance of Praise,” <https://www.italianways.com/luca-della-robbias-cantorial-pulpits-a-dance-of-praise/>.

¹⁶ Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* [1550 and 1568], selected and translated by George Bull (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), 173.

¹⁷ Ibid., 177.

¹⁸ Quoted in E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon Press, 1960). Vasari concluded his comparison of the two choir loft reliefs with this advice to painters and sculptors:

Artists should pay much attention to this, for experience shows that all things which are far removed, be they paintings, sculptures, or whatever, have more beauty and greater force when they are a beautiful sketch than when they are finished. And quite apart from the distance which has this effect, it also frequently appears in sketches which arise all of a sudden in the frenzy of art that expresses the idea in a few strokes, while a labored effect and too much industry sometimes deprive of force and skill those who cannot ever leave their hand from the work they are doing. (Ibid.)