

PERGAMON'S ATHENA PARTHENOS: QUESTIONS OF GREEK IDENTITY AND THE
IMPACT OF ANCIENT AND MODERN DISPLAY

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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One of the largest and best preserved copies of the Athena Parthenos, the famed statue was found in Pergamon, a major city in the Hellenistic period. This statue from c. 170 BCE diverged in part from the original becoming a representation of Pergamon's interest in art and assertion of Hellenism. It is often featured in studies of Hellenistic sculpture or of the excavation of Pergamon. Drawing on previous scholarship of Pergamon history, cultural positioning, and excavations, this thesis analyzes this work of art and examines its role in constructing Pergamene identity. By comparing this statue to the original version and other extant copies of the Athena Parthenos, I also investigate issues of interpretation and access. Finally, this thesis examines the history of its display to understand how it is understood in modern spaces and its relationship to important museological issues.

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This thesis follows the *American Journal of Archaeology* guidelines for citation style and the abbreviations of journals and the *Oxford Classical Dictionary's* guidelines for the abbreviations of ancient sources.¹

¹ The guidelines for American Journal of Archaeology citations can be found here: <https://www.ajaonline.org/submissions/references>
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	9
II. PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP	11
III. ATHENA PARTHENOS: DESIGN, CONTEXT, AND INTERPRETATION ..	15
IV. ATTALID IDENTITY AND THE ATHENA PARTHENOS.....	27
V. PRESENTATION AND DISPLAY OF THE PERGAMENE ATHENA PARTHENOS	34
VI. CONCLUSION.....	45
APPENDICES	48
A. FIGURES.....	48
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	65

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Athena Parthenos from Pergamon	48
2. The Sanctuary of Athena Polias.....	49
3. The Great Hall- section and plan of remains	50
4. Back of Athena Parthenos.....	51
5. Close up of the face of Athena Parthenos from Pergamon.....	52
6. Close up of Gorgoneion and Aegis of Pergamene Athena Parthenos	53
7. Side view of Athena Parthenos from Pergamon.	54
8. Base for the Athena Parthenos from Pergamon.....	55
9. Varvakeion Athena	56
10. Statue of Athena Parthenos (the Virgin Goddess).	57
11. Medallion of Athena Parthenos.	58
12. Statue of the Athena Parthenos. View of the Telephos Hall in the Old Pergamon Museum.....	59
13. View of the Telephos Hall in the Old Pergamon Museum.....	60
14. Installation of the collection of antiquities in the Pergamon Museum, Hall of Athena Parthenos	61
15. Athena Parthenos in Hall of Hellenistic Architecture.....	62
16. A view of one of the galleries in the exhibition <i>Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World</i>	63
17. The statue of Athena Parthenos stands in the magnificent Great Hall	64

I. Introduction

Replicas, copies, and reproductions appear throughout the classical Mediterranean world. While some copies may be seen purely as imitations, designs become emblematic and ultimately part of complicated historical webs. The Pergamene Athena Parthenos (AvP VII 24) (Fig. 1) is one such Hellenistic reproduction, copying one of the most well-known Pheidias statues built for the Parthenon on the Athenian acropolis, but carved to grace Pergamon's own Athena Sanctuary.² Other copies of the Athena Parthenos in different mediums survive into the Roman period but they are not as large and detailed as this Pergamene copy. Although the Athenian original is now lost, the idea of the Parthenos lives on in these copies and other reproductions from the classical period to the modern day. The Pergamene Athena Parthenos is a critical piece of Hellenistic art, combining decoration and function, to reference an Attic precedent in a new space. The statue's design and location were manipulated, serving a new Pergamene audience.

Pergamon originated as a small town on a hill in ancient Anatolia near what is now Bergama in Turkey but blossomed into a Hellenistic kingdom under the Attalid dynasty between 282 and 129 BCE.³ The Attalids left an extensive and complex legacy, present in their work in their city and abroad. During their period of rulership over Pergamon, they borrowed from the artistic present and history of the Greek world acquiring art from other cities and crafting their own under classical influence. This included the construction of the Sanctuary of Athena Polias Nikephoros on their own acropolis as well as a stoa along its edges.⁴ It is in this stoa that the Pergamene version of the Athena Parthenos was excavated by a German team in the 1880s.⁵ In the present day, the statue is in possession of the Pergamonmuseum in Berlin, Germany.

² For main bibliography on the statue, see Schwarzmaier and Scholl 2019, 168-171

³ For Pergamon and previous bibliography, see Grüßinger, Kästner, and Scholl 2011.

⁴ For the Sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros and previous bibliography, see Kästner 2011, 184-194.

⁵ Niemeier 2016, 132.

This thesis examines the statue in detail, addressing the design along with its ancient and modern contexts. Doing so, it focuses on the following questions: How was the Pergamene Athena Parthenos designed and what was its role in its setting? How does the statue relate to the broader history and actions of the Attalid rulers? What is the statue's history of acquisition and display and how does its modern context affect interaction with viewers? To answer these questions, this thesis analyzes how the Pergamene Athena Parthenos relates to the original and compares with other copies. Building on this, I include a discussion of Pergamon's use of art and culture to support its position and relate to the broader Mediterranean world, especially Athens. This includes a discussion of Pergamon's history of collecting art. The statue is also engaging in the broader cultural and political context of Pergamon as the Attalids formed relationships with foreign powers and used art and intellectualism to serve their own means. Finally, the statue has an important modern history through excavation and museum display. Photos and other records evidence its display in recent museum contexts and exhibitions. Temporary and permanent exhibitions created sites of engagement with the statue where approaches to the display of the work differ. Overall, its cultural context and relationship to other works highlight its significance in the ancient world, while its recent history speaks to how it can be seen although it no longer inhabits its intended space.

II. Previous Scholarship

Before analyzing the statue, it is important to examine how the statue has been addressed in scholarship previously, in particular, in regard to its design and purpose. Early mentions of the statue come from A. Conze's 1884 chapter and R. Bohn's 1885 book.⁶ As part of their studies, Bohn and Conze argue for the identification of the upper room of the stoa in the Pergamene Athena Sanctuary where the Parthenos was found as a library, using the statue as an important piece of evidence in their argument though this is disputed by later scholars.⁷ In 1908, F. Winter published a description of the work for *Altertümer von Pergamon*. J.P. Niemeier also included the statue in his 1985 dissertation that describes copies of classical works produced in the Hellenistic period.⁸ Other studies addressing the statue debated whether it could have a votive function and discussed its other possible roles. J. Tanner (2006) and V. Platt (2010 and 2011) address this issue, for example examining the meaning the statue creates for viewers and its relationship to religious contexts.⁹ Entries for the statue were published in the catalog for the *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World* exhibition in 2016 and the *Katalog der Antiken Skulpturen in der Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Band II in 2019.¹⁰ In addition, scholars such as J.J. Pollitt (1986), A. Stewart (1990 and 2014), and B. Ridgway (2000) include this statue in their handbooks on Hellenistic art and Greek sculpture.¹¹

Regarding the original Athena Parthenos, the ancient writers Pausanias and Pliny the Elder are important sources providing ancient descriptions of its design. In modern scholarship, N. Leipen's *Athena Parthenos: A Reconstruction* is valuable as it provides a comprehensive

⁶ Conze 1884, 1259-70; Bohn 1885.

⁷ For debates see: Nagy 1998, 185–232; Radt 2003, 33-43; Coqueugniot 2013a, 123-131; Coqueugniot 2013b, 109-123.

⁸ Niemeier 1985, 24-27, 62-64, 114-129.

⁹ Tanner 2006, 22-233; Platt 2010, 197–213; Platt 2011, 170-173.

¹⁰ Niemeier 2016, 132-133; Schwarzmaie and Scholl 2019, 168-171.

¹¹ Pollitt 1986, 167, 235; Stewart 1990, 25, 63, 77, 213-214; Ridgway 2000, 13, 162; Stewart 2014, 282-283.

survey of known (as of 1979) ancient reproductions of the Athena Parthenos.¹² The statue from Pergamon is one of the many examples of the Parthenos represented in statuary, figurines, and coinage included in her survey. Leipen compares the different works alongside the ancient textual references to the statue, acknowledging diverging details and how they may relate to the original statue.

In addressing Pergamene history, E. Hansen's 1971 book *The Attalids of Pergamon* remains a cornerstone assessment of the period.¹³ Despite its age, it is significant due to its comprehensive approach to many aspects of the Attalid kingdom, discussing aspects such as the art, the building activity, the cults, and the individual reigns of Attalid rulers. Other scholars such as E.S. Gruen address how the Attalids conceived of and portrayed their identity. Gruen's critical chapter "Culture as Policy: The Attalids of Pergamon" (2000) addresses how the Attalids formulated their identity around their cultural works.¹⁴

The history and role of art collecting and its use in Pergamon is one piece of the Attalids' cultural activities frequently addressed in scholarship. S. Howard's 1990 chapter "Pergamene Art Collecting and its Aftermath" examines the Pergamene desire to gather and display art and its impact on the broader world.¹⁵ M.M. Miles's recent assessment "Collecting the Past, Creating the Future: Art Displays in the Hellenistic Mediterranean" (2015) scrutinizes how collecting related to status.¹⁶ While this thesis focuses on art collecting as it relates to the Athena Sanctuary, Miles also includes discussions of private collecting and the acquisition of literary works, demonstrating the broader spectrum of collecting. In a chapter written for the same book to

¹² Leipen 1979.

¹³ Hansen 1971.

¹⁴ Gruen 2000, 17-31.

¹⁵ Howard 1990, 28-41.

¹⁶ Miles 2015, 33-44.

which Miles contributes, A. Kuttner focuses mainly on Pergamon as an exceptional example of court collecting to examine how collections were amassed and used.¹⁷ This thesis also follows Kuttner's approach of viewing patronage and collecting of art together. The Athena Parthenos is only a minor component of these chapters; however, they provide relevant contextualization of the historical collecting process.

As the final section of this thesis addresses the modern history of the acquisition and display of the statue and other Pergamene artifacts, there are a few pertinent books and articles I would also like to acknowledge. C. Bilsel's *Antiquity on Display* (2012) critiques the history of the Pergamonmuseum and its architectural displays.¹⁸ Similarly addressing the present museum space, A. Scholl, the curator for the Pergamonmuseum, in 2014 argues for its strengths in "Three Museums- One Collection: The Antikensammlung Berlin as a Research Institute."¹⁹ This article along with his chapter "Monumental, Impressive, Unique: Hellenistic Art and Architecture in the Restored Pergamon Museum" (2019) explores the historical development of the museum since its origins to the present day.²⁰ These studies acknowledge the history of acquisition for the museum. However, they do not go as in depth into these processes as M. Greenhalgh's *Plundered Empires* from 2019.²¹ Greenhalgh's book examines the competition to retrieve ancient art throughout the Mediterranean broadly, including the excavations of Pergamon as one of the examples.

The perspectives found within these works of scholarship are varied, some focusing particularly on the Parthenos statue while others highlighting the circumstance in which it was

¹⁷ Kuttner 2015, 45-53.

¹⁸ Bilsel 2012.

¹⁹ Scholl 2014, 19-28.

²⁰ Scholl 2019, 47-57.

²¹ Greenhalgh 2019.

viewed in both the ancient past and the modern day. Questions of the statue's function have also developed within these studies. The analysis of the history of the original Athena Parthenos and the Attalid dynasty illustrates how Pergamon and its Attalid rulers were positioned in the ancient world. The discussions of the Pergamene excavations and the formation of the Pergamonmuseum are more generalized. However, they provide a modern context for the Athena Parthenos' display. Drawing on these sources will help me to craft a multifaceted approach to understanding the relationship of the statue to its present museum context.

III. Athena Parthenos: Design, Context, and Interpretation

The Pergamene Athena Parthenos, in all its glory, is a remarkable Hellenistic statue. Reminiscent of the original made for the Athenian Parthenon, it deviates from this design for its role in a new location. Ancient texts and other copies elucidate the consistencies and differences in these designs. Beginning with an overview of the statue's context and composition, I will examine how the statue relates to the original Athena Parthenos and other replicas and the viewer's impressions of the function.

Although buried within the ruins of Pergamon for centuries, the marble statue of Athena Parthenos maintains many of the details of Athena's face, body, and clothing. Unlike some other Greek art and statuary, the Pergamene Athena Parthenos has a recorded findspot. A German archaeological team excavated the Sanctuary of Athena on the Pergamene acropolis in 1880, discovering the statue among the ruins of the sanctuary.²² Her body was discovered mostly intact within the North Stoa; however, her head was found within the nearby courtyard.²³ Figure 2 shows a map of the sanctuary area including the room of the stoas where this statue was found, labeled as "*bibliothek*." Three of these rooms were destroyed, but the fourth room retained some of its architectural elements.²⁴ The statue was believed to have originally stood on a platform in the large eastern room, sometimes called the Great Hall, (as seen in the diagram of Fig. 3).²⁵ Her back stood against the northern wall, and she faced the door overseeing the room and its visitors. The statue is dated to around 170 BCE, likely made during the rule of Eumenes II.²⁶ Standing at 3.105 m tall, the Athena Parthenos is over life size, about a third of its classical progenitor.

²² Niemeier 2016, 132.

²³ Niemeier 2016, 132.

²⁴ Coqueugnoit 2013b, 110.

²⁵ Coqueugnoit 2013b, 113.

²⁶ Niemeier 2016, 132.

Although it is smaller than the original, its size is nonetheless impressive. It is believed to have been produced by a Pergamene sculptor.²⁷ Unfortunately, the name (or names) of the maker(s) is not recorded.

Athena stands in the aspect of the Parthenos, the virgin goddess, not aggressive but honorable. As I observed during my visit to the Pergamonmuseum, Athena stands resolute, looking forward, placing her weight on her right leg as her left leg is bent. The statue is crowned by a helmet and from under which hair curls away from her forehead, over her ears, framing her face (Fig. 4). Her helmet covers most of her head and the rest of her hair except a length of hair gathered in a braid down her back (Fig. 5). Scholars have interpreted recesses on the helmet as an indication of the addition of “three attachments, possibly crests.”²⁸ The reconstruction displays a singular crest down the middle, but additional attachments may have further emulated the original. She has a “heavy bland face”²⁹ with a slightly open mouth. She is dressed in a peplos, and looking at the statue in person, one sees that the deep carved lines of her flowing drapery under the belt at her waist are clear. An aegis with carved feathers is draped around her shoulders and over her breast. Small bore holes are also present which Winter suggests are for addition of serpents over the aegis of the statue.³⁰ A gorgoneion rests atop the aegis at its center (Fig. 6).

Most of the front of her face, despite surface damage and a broken nose, is preserved. Part of the right side of her neck also has survived. Athena’s back is not carved in detail, although folds of her drapery continue to flow down her body. Some of the upper back is also missing, now filled in with plaster. A base for the statue was also discovered (as seen in Fig. 1),

²⁷ Hansen 1971, 256; Stewart 1990, 63.

²⁸ Niemeier 2016, 132.

²⁹ Stewart 1990, 213.

³⁰ Winter 1908, 35.

carved with a scene depicting the birth of Pandora. This is in line with Pausanias' description of the base accompanying the original Athena Parthenos statue, reinforcing the Pergamene statue's identification as a copy of that work.³¹ This thesis will not explore the details of this base in depth. However, it is notable given it is modelled on the original base for the Athena Parthenos. The front of the base is damaged obscuring all but parts of the bodies of six standing figures. The base, in its original undamaged state was likely a rectangle. It is about 40.5 cm high and only slightly wider than the statue itself.³²

Unfortunately, both arms are missing from the statue. An indentation on the right side indicates where the arm would have been attached, fitting under the curve of the aegis (Fig. 7). Scholars have argued that a small depiction of Athena Nike may have been held in the missing left arm and rested on a column.³³ Other elements, such as the spear, shield, and snake described in Pausanias and Pliny as accompanying the original Athena Parthenos, are also missing.³⁴ However, a hole in the base may be indicative of where the spear was originally propped (Fig. 8).³⁵ It is unlikely that all these elements were included with the statue owing to space constraints. As with the original statue, these details may have been added in other materials. These added elements could have been removed prior to the burial of the statue, especially if they were made of valuable materials.

Later additions have filled in some of these missing pieces to create an impression of its original appearance. The statue as it currently stands is the result of multiple rounds of restoration. It underwent restoration in 2002 in preparation for an exhibit at Martin-Gropius-Bau

³¹ Paus 1.24.7. Trans. W.H. Jones.

³² Niemeier 2016, 132.

³³ Leipen 1971, 36-37; Picón and Hemingway 2016, 132.

³⁴ Paus 1.24.7. Trans. W.H. Jones.

³⁵ Niemeier 2016, 132.

in Berlin, Germany.³⁶ Another round of restoration occurred in 2015 to correct aspects of the earlier restoration, including its awkwardly long neck and its shoulders. Now, its neck is more fitted to the gap in the statue.³⁷ Its shoulders were also widened giving it a stronger figure than the earlier sloping form from earlier restorations.³⁸

To better understand its form and its interpretation, it is necessary to clarify the design and context of the original. During the Classical period, the grand Parthenon was built on the Athenian acropolis atop the remains of the Old Parthenon. Pheidias was commissioned to construct a statue to reside in the Parthenon's cella after its completion.³⁹ This chryselephantine statue was made of gold, ivory, and other precious materials around a wooden core.⁴⁰ It dates to 447-438 BCE.⁴¹ Athena Parthenos stood 11.5 m tall.⁴² In terms of literary references, Pausanias and Pliny the Elder are the primary writers who describe the statue although other mentions exist.⁴³ These authors both lived after the end of the Attalid dynasty, during the first and second centuries CE. Pausanias describes the design of the figure, saying: "The statue itself is made of ivory and gold. On the middle of her helmet is placed a likeness of the Sphinx—the tale of the Sphinx I will give when I come to my description of Boeotia—and on either side of the helmet are griffins in relief... The statue of Athena is upright, with a tunic reaching to the feet, and on her breast the head of Medusa is worked in ivory. She holds a statue of Victory about four cubits high, and in the other hand a spear; at her feet lies a shield and near the spear is a serpent. This serpent would be Erichthonius. On the pedestal is the birth of Pandora in relief."⁴⁴

³⁶ Maßmann, Will, and Wegel 2018, 173.

³⁷ Maßmann, Will, and Wegel 2018, 173.

³⁸ Maßmann, Will, and Wegel 2018, 173.

³⁹ Stewart 2008, 132.

⁴⁰ Stewart 2008, 132.

⁴¹ Stewart 2008, 132.

⁴² Stewart 2008, 132.

⁴³ Leipen 1979, 1.

⁴⁴ Paus. 1.24.5-7. Trans. W.H. Jones.

Pausanias offers a description of the complete statue, but Pliny focuses instead on the material and the shield's iconography. Pliny records "she measures 26 cubits- of ivory and gold she is made- but on her shield he wrought in relief the battle of the Amazons in the convex area of the shield, and in its concave part the combat of the gods and the Giants, and on the soles that of the Lapiths and the Centaurs... What is wrought on the base, however, they call the Birth of Pandora, and gods are present 20 by number."⁴⁵

The materiality of the original and the Pergamene Athena Parthenos differs significantly. Both Pausanias and Pliny note the Athena Parthenos was made of gold and ivory and depicted the birth of Pandora on her base. On the original statue, both the drapery and perhaps the snakes of the aegis were gold.⁴⁶ The shield was gilded bronze, but its gorgoneion was gilded silver.⁴⁷ Adorned in gold and ivory, the Athena Parthenos was made of "glittering, precious materials."⁴⁸ Other copies of the Athena Parthenos (including the Varvakeion statuette) and similar statues were found with "the remains of paint, and various colour effects attained through the inlay technique."⁴⁹ This suggests a tradition of painting or otherwise adding color to the Athena Parthenos copies. Therefore, the original likely had additional coloring as well beyond the inherent white and gold of its materials.⁵⁰ The marble may have been viewed similarly to the ivory for its inherent paleness, while added paint or other materials increased the resonance between the copy and the original. Studies of this Pergamene Athena Parthenos have not noted any evidence of coloring or painting but perhaps it faded with time. Many ancient sculptures were colorful but polychrome decoration often fades over time.

⁴⁵ Plin. *HN* 36.18. Trans. H. Rackham

⁴⁶ Leipen 1971, 19.

⁴⁷ Leipen 1971, 19, 58.

⁴⁸ Stewart 2008, 138.

⁴⁹ Leipen 1971, 21.

⁵⁰ Leipen 1971, 21.

With the difference in material is also a difference in cost. Therefore, this original shining Athena Parthenos was expensive to construct. Thucydides and Ephoros report the (perhaps rounded) figures of 40 and 50 talents of gold being used in the statue, respectively.⁵¹ Philochoros was more specific recording the use of 44 talents.⁵² Lapatin calculates the total cost “between 705 talents 1500 drachmas and 996 talents 1600 drachmas of silver,”⁵³ an exceptional amount of money in that time. It was a richly designed and expensive figure, shining and complex with all her attributes. While the quantity of marble needed for the Pergamene version would not have been as costly as the quantity of gold and ivory needed for the Athena Parthenos in Athens, carving the copy would still have been an expensive undertaking. The cost of the Pergamene statue was not recorded but if gold or precious materials were added, it would have both increased the resonance with the original and the expense.

It should be emphasized that this statue in Pergamon is not the only example of a copy of the Parthenos statue so while it emulates the original it is part of a broader collection of reproductions. Athena’s image as the Athena Parthenos was already being disseminated. Therefore, while most people in Pergamon and even in Athens would not have had the opportunity to see the original due to its location in the Parthenon, a temple that was a purposefully inaccessible space, the image of Athena was still known and spread beyond the Athenian acropolis. Leipen asserts that no plaster casts of the Athena Parthenos statue were made; these would have been the best means to replicate the statue with precision.⁵⁴ Therefore, no known copies are exact, but they “more or less faithfully reproduce the tangible, factual

⁵¹ Thuc. 2.13.5; Ephoros *apud* Diod. Sic. 12.40.3; Philoch. *FGH* 328 F 121; Leipen 1971, 19; Eddy 1977, 107; Lapatin 2001, 64-65.

⁵² Philoch. *FGH* 328 F 121; Leipen 1971, 19; Eddy 1977, 107; Lapatin 2001, 64-65.

⁵³ Lapatin 2001, 65.

⁵⁴ Leipen 1979, 2.

appearance of the statue.”⁵⁵ This is also true for the Pergamene copy. Many examples of the statue have not been firmly dated although some such as the Varvakeion statuette seem to originate from the time after the Pergamene copy was carved (Fig. 9). The Varvakeion statuette is a 1.045 m high pentelic marble statuette that is dated to the Hadrianic period.⁵⁶ The Varvakeion statuette is mostly complete with its arms intact and includes a column not mentioned in the texts about the original statue. Evidence of red, brown and yellow paint also survive on its marble surface.⁵⁷ Its discovery led to speculation that a column may have existed as a support for the Nike and Athena’s hand, perhaps added later in the 5th century BCE.⁵⁸ The rest of the design is consistent with Pausanias’ description of the original.

Another marble Roman statue, currently in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, replicates the Athena Parthenos, measuring 154 cm tall (Fig. 10).⁵⁹ It is complete with an aegis and gorgoneion atop its belted peplos with elaborated details, in particular on its three-crested helmet. The bust of Athena Parthenos was also frequently carved or cast in medallions. Currently in the Louvre is a Hellenistic silver medallion portraying Athena’s head crowned by the three-crested helmet, surmounted by a sphinx (Fig. 11).⁶⁰ Her aegis and gorgoneion are also defined, and a necklace is added. Therefore, the image of the Athena Parthenos was perpetuated throughout the Mediterranean from the Classical Greek period to the Roman period. The statue created for Pergamon was therefore responding to both the location within Pergamon and the original Athena Parthenos in Athens.

⁵⁵ Leipen 1979, 2.

⁵⁶ Leipen 1979, 3.

⁵⁷ Leipen 1979, 3.

⁵⁸ Leipen 1979, 36-37; Hurwit 1999, 26; Stewart 2008, 132.

⁵⁹ The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston has an entry for this statuette on its collections website at <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/150203/statue-of-athena-parthenos-the-virgin-goddess?ctx=99c1843a-39d7-4bed-bdac-ee1e10f893a4&idx=29> .

⁶⁰ Leipen 1979, 11. The Louvre also has an entry for this medallion on its collections’ website at <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010256031>.

The means by which the artist of the Pergamene Athena Parthenos statue first viewed the statue is unclear, but her likeness was likely widespread enough to allow artists or artisans to conceive of the design and for viewers of these copies to understand the reference. These explanations may be best summarized in M. Gaifman's description of the Athena Parthenos type: "it is generally assumed that a standing female figure wearing a peplos, a triple-crested helmet and an aegis, who is holding in her extended right hand a standing figure of Nike, and has a shield, a spear and a coiling snake next to her is a replication of the Athena 'Parthenos'."⁶¹

Assessing these different copies of the Athena Parthenos and these textual references indicates that differences existed between the original statue and the Pergamene version in both the style and the attributes. Like other copies of the Athena Parthenos statue, the Pergamene version does not correspond directly to the original. Leipen describes the Pergamene statue as a "rather free Hellenistic adaptation"⁶² of the original. This statue has a more "contemporary look"⁶³ as reflected in "the elongated proportions of the face, the pronounced wing of the body, and the deeply carved drapery of the peplos."⁶⁴ Ridgway similarly describes this work as "modernized."⁶⁵ The helmet is another element that may diverge from the original. Pollitt associates the style of the Pergamene Athena Parthenos' helmet with those found in other Pergamene monument reliefs, demonstrating it was more Hellenistic.⁶⁶ However, Ridgway argues that while the current reconstruction of the Pergamene statue only has one crest, it may have had three metal attachments.⁶⁷ Therefore, this helmet may have originally been more akin

⁶¹ Gaifman 2006, 264.

⁶² Leipen 1979, 7.

⁶³ Karoglou 2016b, 66.

⁶⁴ Karoglou 2016b, 66.

⁶⁵ Ridgway, 2000, 162.

⁶⁶ Niemeier 2016, 132; Pollitt 1986, 167.

⁶⁷ Ridgway 2000, 162.

to the original than we currently understand it. Despite the differences, Hansen argues “it is the largest and best copy extant of the great chryselephantine statue of Phidias.”⁶⁸

As noted previously, common attributes of the Athena Parthenos include a shield, a spear, a snake, and a figure of Nike, none of which is present in the Pergamene statue’s current reconstruction. A hole in the base for the statue is commonly interpreted as a space for Athena’s spear.⁶⁹ However, other scholars have argued that this hole anchored the shield or snake.⁷⁰ Each of these interpretations only argues for one of the three attributes being part of the Pergamene work. The base of the statue was only about 1.2 m wide, so the other pieces may not fit.⁷¹ However, Hansen proposed that these attributes were included instead on the 2.75 m wide foundation surrounding the base.⁷² It is difficult to discern whether the small, winged Nike was present in its complete form since it is unclear how Athena’s arms were positioned.⁷³ This seems unlikely as other versions of this sculpture changed and excluded details, so the lack of some attributes does not negate its interpretation as an Athena Parthenos statue.⁷⁴ Therefore, details from the statue and base indicate the inclusion of the shield, the snake or the spear on Athena’s left side. Some of these attributes may have been created for the statue but no longer survive. Since these pieces, if they existed, are lost, it is impossible to tell the specific materials they were made of, but they could have been gold or gilded metal. As her drapery is highly detailed, it seems unlikely that it was plated and attached to the work as on the original statue.⁷⁵

⁶⁸ Hansen 1971, 355.

⁶⁹ Niemeier 2016, 132.

⁷⁰ Ridgway 2000, 162.

⁷¹ Hansen 1971, 356; Niemeier 2016, 132.

⁷² Hansen 1971, 356; Coqueugniot 2013b, 113.

⁷³ Niemeier 2016, 132.

⁷⁴ Gaifman 2006, 262.

⁷⁵ Leipen 1971, 19.

In general, the Pergamene Athena Parthenos is understood as an updated version of the Athenian original to fit Hellenistic standards while maintaining many but not all attributes of the original. Although it is smaller than the original, it is still impressive given that it is over life-size. Visitors to the Pergamene statue, like those to the original Athena Parthenos, would have noticed its height as it overlooked them and the room where it stood, especially with the addition of the base adding height. Given its height and position, moving the statue to its setting on the second floor of the stoa would also have taken significant effort.

The access to the statue was limited in part due to its location within the Athena Sanctuary. Unlike the other artworks placed on prominent display in the central area of the sanctuary, this statue was in a separate upper room of the stoa. It is unlikely that the statue would have been visible from the main area of the sanctuary, as it was assumed to stand at the back of the room. If the room did constitute the famous ancient library, access to the room might have been open to all who wished to enter but that does not mean that everyone would have been inclined to visit it. The primary interpretation of this room, beginning with excavators like Conze, is that it was a library.⁷⁶ Pergamon was famous for its library much like the Hellenistic city of Alexandria was for its Mouseion and Library. The library and its significance will be further discussed in Chapter 3. Other interpretations of the space include the room's possible usage as a banquet hall for feasting.⁷⁷ If the room was a banquet hall (either as part of the library or for the sanctuary in general), it might have been inaccessible to most.⁷⁸ (The Athena Parthenos statue would be an appropriate work to display in a banquet hall as it still honors the goddess to whom the sanctuary was dedicated.)

⁷⁶ Hendrickson 2014, 380–381; Coqueugnoit 2013b, 114.

⁷⁷ Platt 2010, 202; Coqueugniot 2013b, 115–116.

⁷⁸ Coqueugniot 2013b, 117, 119.

Both the original and the Pergamene Athena Parthenos created a grand impression on viewers. In its context, the original statue's height, complemented by the material and composition, "convey[ed] the goddess's awesome power, beauty, and grandeur."⁷⁹ Scholars propose varied interpretations of the purpose of the Pergamene Athena Parthenos, comparing it to the status of the original. According to Tanner, placing the statue within the stoa at the edge of Athena Sanctuary meant it was desacralized as it no longer functions "as the periodic embodiment of the divine power or personality of Athena."⁸⁰ On the other hand, Platt asserts the statue might not have had a ritual function, maintaining a votive one.⁸¹ According to Platt, "it was precisely the representational nature of Phidias' Parthenos (rather than its own debatable ritual function) that made this form of replication [in the Pergamene Athena Parthenos] both possible and meaningful for Greek viewers."⁸² Kuttner highlights that these multiple ways of viewing the Pergamene statue, both as a reference to the divinity and as a votive, could occur simultaneously.⁸³ For her, viewers could meditate "either on divine presence, or upon its denotation- a cognition and emotional response that Hellenistic artistry was aimed to catalyze."⁸⁴ We cannot firmly know how a particular viewer would have approached this statue. However, Kuttner's suggestion of a middle ground seems appropriate. Visitors to the Athena Sanctuary in Pergamon likely recognized the figure as the Athena Parthenos and contemplated her religious significance, although it was not present as the center of ritual.

This Pergamene Athena Parthenos appears to have been primarily viewed as a demonstration of wisdom and intelligence, instead of Athena cast in her role as a warrior. Most

⁷⁹ Stewart 2008, 138.

⁸⁰ Tanner 2006, 228.

⁸¹ Platt 2010, 202.

⁸² Platt, 2011, 172.

⁸³ Kuttner 2014, 53.

⁸⁴ Kuttner 2014, 53.

often, it is often viewed as a “personification of wisdom.”⁸⁵ Others scholars have expressed similar interpretations, for example stating Athena “is here portrayed not as defender of the city but as the source of wisdom.”⁸⁶ The Pheidian Athena statue, on the other hand, portrayed the goddess as “a successful warrior resting after her combat.”⁸⁷ The general acceptance that the Pergamene Athena Parthenos is in the guise of the goddess of wisdom, not war, is interesting in light of Pergamon’s storied military history. This change from protector to scholar is based on the missing attributes and its relation to the library.⁸⁸ The presentation of Athena as such is consistent with Pergamon’s history of intellectualism.

While the design of the Pergamene Athena Parthenos emulated a pre-existing work, it did not entirely correspond to the original. As a completely marble statue, it does not have the materiality (or extraordinary expense) of the original from Athens, yet it would still require careful crafting and funding to complete. Elements of the original statue seen in other extant copies like the Varvakeion Athena may also have been present but are now lost and cannot be restored. These differences do not hinder its identification as a copy of the Athena Parthenos, however. The Pergamene statue was also established in a location different from the original, in a room whose access was perhaps partly impeded yet not quite as restricted as the Parthenon’s. Some of its religious value may have been lost but in this transition. It also could have acquired new value as an emblem of Pergamene culture, an aspect that will be further analyzed in the following chapter.

⁸⁵ Platt 2010, 202.

⁸⁶ Ridgway 2000, 162.

⁸⁷ Jenkins 2006, 82.

⁸⁸ Ridgway 2000, 16; Platt 2010, 202.

IV. Attalid Identity and the Athena Parthenos

As the Attalids strove to create an enduring kingdom, they also crafted an identity for themselves through their political, military, and cultural advancements, including the sculpting of the Pergamene Athena Parthenos. Their dynasty (241-133 BCE) began from humble origins but what started as the small town of Pergamon blossomed into a center of art and intellectualism. As Hansen describes, the Attalids “not only extended [Pergamon’s] influence by their achievements in war but also made it a center for the arts of peace.”⁸⁹ Attalid kings organized and funded new art and construction projects both in Pergamon and abroad.⁹⁰ They expanded the lands under their control and established relationships with other Mediterranean powers.⁹¹ Their appreciation of Hellenism also became a cornerstone of their work.⁹² To examine the importance of the Pergamene copy of Athena Parthenos and how it fits in this process, this chapter briefly surveys the history of Pergamon and its connections with other cities, and then it analyzes the other art it commissioned and its collecting practices.

To begin, some historical context about the position of the Attalids and their formation of a dynasty is necessary. The Attalids did not originate in Anatolia, nor did they come from nobility. Philetairos (282-263 BCE), the dynasty’s founder, was born near the Black Sea and only came to Pergamon as he was assigned there by Lysimachus, king of Thrace.⁹³ An ambitious man, Philetairos made a foothold for his family and himself in Pergamon by pursuing Pergamene autonomy.⁹⁴ Under his successor Eumenes I (r. 263-241 BCE), Pergamon gained independence. However, it was not until Attalos I (r. 241-197 BCE) received the diadem (and hence kingship)

⁸⁹ Hansen, 1971, 13.

⁹⁰ Seaman 2016, 417.

⁹¹ Kosmetatou 2005, 161–164.

⁹² Gruen 2000, 28; Kosmetatou 2005, 159.

⁹³ Hansen 1971, 14; Gruen 2000, 17; Kosmetatou 2005, 159; Kästner 2016, 33.

⁹⁴ Kosmetatou 2005, 160.

that Pergamon became a formal kingdom.⁹⁵ Attalos I was responsible for the defeat of the Gauls, a group of Celtic tribes.⁹⁶ This defeat gained Pergamon recognition from surrounding cities that were also threatened by these groups and the opportunity to present Attalos I's achievement through art. Eumenes II (r. 197-159 BCE) continued the military expansion of Pergamon.⁹⁷ He pursued political alliances with distant Rome and more locally through marriage alliances.⁹⁸ Extensive construction also occurred under Eumenes II within Pergamon, as he "added sacred buildings and libraries and raised the settlement of Pergamum to what it now is."⁹⁹ Three kings, Attalos II (r. 159-138 BCE) (Eumenes II's brother), Attalos III (138-133 BCE), and Eumenes III (r. 133-128 BCE), ruled in succession after Eumenes II's death.¹⁰⁰ It was after these three rulers that the Attalid dynasty collapsed. The kingdom was willed to Rome, and the Romans seized control in the area.¹⁰¹

During this period, the Attalids made a dedicated effort to align themselves with other classical cities and powers. Their relationship with Athens was significant. Athens' political influence waned during the Hellenistic period, but their cultural ideal remained influential.¹⁰² The Attalids therefore hoped to emulate Athens' influence, by making Pergamon "the new Athens of Hellenism."¹⁰³ To demonstrate their commitment to the Athenian ideal, the Attalid rulers, Attalos I and Eumenes II, constructed stoas in Athens, creating meeting places for contemporary Athenians and establishing their names within the Athenian space.¹⁰⁴ The Attalids

⁹⁵ Kosmetatou 2005, 161.

⁹⁶ Kosmetatou 2005, 161, 170; Picón 2016, 3.

⁹⁷ Kosmetatou 2005, 163.

⁹⁸ Kosmetatou 2005, 163–164.

⁹⁹ Strab. 13.4.2. Trans. H.L. Jones; Stewart 2014, 33.

¹⁰⁰ Kosmetatou 2005, 165.

¹⁰¹ Kosmetatou 2005, 166.

¹⁰² Scheer 2005, 230.

¹⁰³ Howard 1990, 30

¹⁰⁴ Mattingly 1997, 136; Stewart 2014, 33, 95; Seaman 2016, 412.

also crafted two colossi in Athens to honor the Attalid rulers.¹⁰⁵ In an example of promotion through military-inspired art, a monument depicting four battles (the Gigantomachy, the Amazonomachy, the Athenian battle against Persia, and Pergamon's military success against the Gauls) was set up by the Pergamene kings, likely under Attalos I, in Athens.¹⁰⁶ The representation of the famous Athenian Athena Parthenos statue in Pergamon can be seen as the inverse of this work. Instead of bringing Pergamon to Athens, the Attalids brought Athens to Pergamon.

Much like the Parthenon in Athens, the Sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros in Pergamon, the space within which the Pergamene Athena Parthenos resided, was also dedicated to Athena. The sanctuary referenced Athena in her aspect of the Nikephoros, or "victory-bearer," (not Parthenos) as evidenced by the inscription on the sanctuary's propylon commissioned by Eumenes II. The name Nikephoros likely first appeared during his reign.¹⁰⁷ The sanctuary also honored Athena's mythical father, Zeus, through portrayal of Zeus's eagles in its propylon and in its Doric temple with a divided cella.¹⁰⁸ The stoa in which the statue was found was part of a later building project by Eumenes II that enclosed the existing Athena Sanctuary. Both Athens and Pergamon viewed Athena as a patron goddess for their cities and constructed spaces and art to honor her.

Not only is the Pergamene Athena Parthenos statue a direct reference Athenian artistic past, other Pergamene works also suggest the relationship between Athens and Pergamon. One example is the Great Altar, located near the Athena Sanctuary on the Pergamene acropolis. Gruen contends that the gigantomachy on the Pergamene altar emulates Parthenon designs,

¹⁰⁵ Stewart 2004, 198; Seaman 2016, 418.

¹⁰⁶ Stewart 2004, 181, 200, 218-220; Kosmetatou 2005, 170; Picón and Hemingway 2016, 179.

¹⁰⁷ Webb 1998, 243.

¹⁰⁸ Webb 1996, 61; Seaman 2016, 414.

therefore associating “the Attalid achievement with that of Classical Athens, standard-bearer of order against chaos, of Hellenic civilization against barbarism.”¹⁰⁹ Athena holds a prominent place within the scene here as well, engaged in battle.¹¹⁰ Therefore, she is not in the guise of an intellectual. The Attalids therefore constructed various forms of artistic references to Athens to emphasize their relationship to the city and the potential of Pergamon to continue Athens’ cultural legacy.

The Attalids were also deeply connected with Rome, another major Mediterranean power. The Attalids allied themselves with Rome to pursue their military successes bringing further power to both, counteracting the rise of Seleucid and Macedonian rulers, although the Attalids’ relationship with Rome was not always positive.¹¹¹ Kosmetatou contends the Attalids were “anxious to refute anyone who dismissed the Romans as barbarians,”¹¹² owing to their close alliance and therefore hoped to promote the Greekness of the Romans. This cultural positioning was therefore tricky but a necessary evil for the Attalids. In the following generations after the Attalid dynasty, the Romans left their mark on Pergamon after it was willed to them with new temples, such as the Trajaneum, but the Athena Sanctuary remained. The Romans themselves were also interested in replicating Greek art for their homes. Platt even describes the replication of the Athena Parthenos as a “harbinger of the replicatory practices so characteristic of Roman art.”¹¹³ Smaller figurines of the Athena Parthenos were made during the Roman period as well, indicating the Romans’ interest in the design. Although contexts of these copies may differ, both Pergamene and Roman cultures attribute a value to these earlier precedents. These

¹⁰⁹ Gruen 2000, 17

¹¹⁰ Scholl 2016, 46.

¹¹¹ Kosmetatou 2005, 163, 165.

¹¹² Kosmetatou 2005, 172.

¹¹³ Platt 2010, 202.

artistic references (such as the Athena Parthenos) and cultural works allowed Pergamon to assert its relevance to Athens or Rome.

The library affected Pergamene cultural positioning as well. The exact identification of the stoa's purpose remains debatable although a library is a common identification given Athena's role as the goddess of wisdom. The construction of a library in the sanctuary is not strange. As Platt points out, the library in Alexandria was also tied to a religious context.¹¹⁴ This ancient library was a significant rival to Pergamon's own.¹¹⁵ Supporting the library was one of the many means by which Pergamon strived to establish itself within the Mediterranean. The construction of this library and the invitation of foreign scholars to study and teach there illustrate Pergamon's pursuit of intellectualism.¹¹⁶ Eumenes II, in particular, was able to bring the scholar Crates of Mallos to Pergamon.¹¹⁷ As Kaye describes, "Symbolically, as a vast store of cultural prestige, the Library contributed to the power of the dynasty."¹¹⁸ The Pergamene library was open for "general perusal,"¹¹⁹ according to Vitruvius but that does not mean everyone from Pergamon would visit the space. Although this indicates a lack of formalized restrictions, lack of time or interest could still have meant the library was primarily accessed by the elites or intellectuals. The library was a symbol of Attalid education and civilization cultivated in Pergamon.

Pergamon had an extensive collection of art, and the Athena Sanctuary was one site for display of its collection. Kuttner attributes the beginning of Pergamene collecting to Attalos I, "who placed at the citadel sanctuary of Athena Polias, on new bases inscribed to name the artist

¹¹⁴ Platt 2011, 172.

¹¹⁵ Hansen 1971, 390-433; Coqueugniot 2013a, 123; Miles 2015, 42.

¹¹⁶ Nagy 1998, 214.

¹¹⁷ Kaye 2022, 286-287.

¹¹⁸ Kaye 2022, 287.

¹¹⁹ Vitr. 7. Preface 4. Trans. F. Granger.

and origin city, statues from territories he took under control.”¹²⁰ Attalos II is also noted as trying to acquire art from outside Pergamon such as the artwork Dionysus by Aristides.¹²¹ Successive rulers built on this collecting practice (in connection to battles and outside of it) and the Athena Sanctuary became a major site of display. The Attalids were not just interested in funding and crafting new Hellenistic designs, but also in remembering and revitalizing classical and archaic styles.¹²²

Localized in its small stoa room yet not independent of the larger system of images displayed in the Sanctuary, the Athena Parthenos statue is just one example of the Attalid’s work in these earlier styles of art. The statue is not an older work from another city (through seizure in battle or by purchase) or a brand new commission but almost something in between. As Kuttner has analyzed, this statue among others found in the sanctuary are evidence of Pergamene Neo-Classicism as artists and other Hellenistic individuals had developed “high esteem for new art that visibly aped the admired past.”¹²³ Stewart claims the original statue was “the very icon of imperial Athens.”¹²⁴ Additionally, the copies of the Athena Parthenos “reveal the image’s role as an instrumental emblem of the Athenian cult of Athena Polias in Athens in the mid-fifth century.”¹²⁵ The original Athena Parthenos was an illustration of high classical style, becoming both a religious and civic symbol within Athens and beyond. It was therefore an ideal work to copy if one is interested in echoing classical art. Tanner also proposes the Pergamene Athena Parthenos is “a metaphor of intellectual culture,”¹²⁶ in its location, building on these associations with Athens and Greek religion. It is a reference to the older classical period but was also

¹²⁰ Kuttner 2015, 49.

¹²¹ Tanner 2006, 222; Kuttner 2015, 50.

¹²² Kuttner 2015, 51.

¹²³ Kuttner 2015, 52.

¹²⁴ Stewart 2008, 151.

¹²⁵ Gaifman 2006, 271.

¹²⁶ Tanner 2006, 228.

adapted to contemporary styles of depiction.¹²⁷ The Parthenos was a historical reference, but artistic license was also taken.

During the Hellenistic period and especially the reign of Eumenes II, Pergamon was recognized for three important reasons: Attalid military power, intellectualism, and artistic appreciation. The Athena Parthenos statue was a part of this narrative of Pergamon as a military, political, and cultural powerhouse within the Hellenistic Mediterranean. The Attalids built this reputation through military alliances like that with Rome. They also commissioned art and buildings both at home and abroad to establish their wealth and presence on a broad scale. Their intellectualism too is demonstrated by their choice to grow their library collection and attract scholars to their central city. Borrowing from the Athenian past, they crafted and placed the Pergamene Athena Parthenos within their own sanctuary to Athena as a sign of their cultural knowledge and commitment to Athena as their military and intellectual guide. The Pergamene Athena Parthenos therefore carried a significant value and while modern audiences might not be witness to the intrigues of the Hellenistic period, it continues to be a piece of the Pergamene puzzle through its modern display history.

¹²⁷ Kuttner 2015, 52.

V. Presentation and Display of the Pergamene Athena Parthenos

Throughout the nineteenth century, archaeologists and nations were interested in the procurement of works of ancient art, conducting excavations in Turkey and throughout the Mediterranean acquiring new goods for museums.¹²⁸ The modern history of the Pergamene Athena Parthenos itself began with its rediscovery in Pergamon in the 1880s. Pergamon became one of these areas of interest, becoming a part of the complicated history of the acquisition and display of Greco-Roman art and artifacts. In analyzing the Pergamene Athena Parthenos' modern history, we first will look first at the development of excavations in Pergamon and examine its relationship to the formation of the Pergamonmuseum and the means of its display.

Pergamon and its acropolis were never fully abandoned or out of view. Pergamon faced spoilation and destruction owing to construction.¹²⁹ C. Humann, seeing the site of Pergamon while working in Turkey, became interested in its remains and organized a treaty with the Ottoman government to buy the land.¹³⁰ In this case, the Ottomans agreed to Humann's deal to share the finds he discovered but they were "strapped for cash."¹³¹ According to the Ottoman Law of Antiquities of 1874, excavation finds were meant to be equally split among three parties: "the excavator, the owner of the property on which the discovery was made, and the Ottoman state."¹³² As the excavator and the land owner, to acquire the final third, Humann only needed to purchase the final part of the split. Humann also had the assistance of A. Conze, a museum director in Berlin, for these excavations, and the discoveries were sent to Berlin.¹³³

¹²⁸ Greenhalgh 2019, 557

¹²⁹ Greenhalgh 2019, 287.

¹³⁰ Greenhalgh 2019, 288.

¹³¹ Greenhalgh 2019, 288.

¹³² Bilsel 2012, 98.

¹³³ Scholl 2019, 52.

A dynamic had been forming under the Ottoman Empire regarding excavations and the acquisition of artifacts prior to Humann's work. Europeans had procured many objects, sometimes following now disputed processes and defying the rules in place. Schliemann's excavation of Hisarlik, the ancient site of Troy, was one example of an excavator flouting these laws. The Ottoman government required permits for excavators and wanted a share of the finds. However, Schliemann took the finds as he saw fit.¹³⁴ Earlier during the 19th century, friezes and sculptures from the Parthenon in Athens were also removed to England by Lord Elgin.¹³⁵ Given Greece was under the control of the Ottomans at this time, many view the purchase of these reliefs as invalid due to Greece's (and Athens's) status. This removal of sculpture is part of one of the most famous cases regarding repatriation. Whether to return the Parthenon marbles, which have long graced a dedicated room at the British Museum to Greece, is still hotly debated. The topic of repatriation has also been brought up for other artifacts like the Pergamon Great Altar held at the Pergamonmuseum in recent years.¹³⁶

Even during the late 1800s, some were conflicted about these excavations. Osman Hamdi Bey expressed some disapproval of the amount of goods being removed from Turkey.¹³⁷ He was the director of the Imperial Museum and strove to promote legislation regarding antiquities.¹³⁸ He attempted to enforce these rules such as the Law of Antiquities and helped enact a stricter law in 1884 to maintain excavated materials within Ottoman lands.¹³⁹ The laws concerning excavations have changed since the excavation of the Pergamene Athena Parthenos but that does not mean that the negative perceptions towards sending locally excavated artifacts to enlarge

¹³⁴ Shaw 2003, 74

¹³⁵ Greenhalgh 2019, 402-404.

¹³⁶ Bilsel 2001, 384.

¹³⁷ Shaw 2003, 109.

¹³⁸ Díaz-Andreu 2007, 15; Bilsel 2012, 199; Greenhalgh 2019, 332.

¹³⁹ Díaz-Andreu 2007, 114; Özel 2010, 179; Greenhalgh 2019, 539.

European museum holdings did not already exist. Following the excavations of Pergamon, many of the Pergamene artifacts were sent to the aptly named Pergamonmuseum in Berlin. Other pieces of art and architecture from the city remained in Turkey, both on site and in the collection of the Bergama Museum.¹⁴⁰ Excavations of Pergamon continue under the direction of the German Archaeological Institute.¹⁴¹ There have been calls for repatriation to Turkey of Pergamene objects and in particular the Great Altar over the years.¹⁴² Turkey was a center of 19th-century excavations, leading to acquisition of many ancient objects, formulating the basis for the Pergamonmuseum today.

The broad history of the Pergamonmuseum highlights how curators and other museum professionals strove to bring Pergamene art and culture to the public in Germany. The original museum was opened in 1901, featuring the Pergamon Altar among its ancient artifacts and architecture.¹⁴³ There was limited space within the extant buildings on Berlin's Museum Island, so this building was meant to create a place to hold the incredible panels of the Great Altar, a centerpiece of the finds from Pergamon, in particular.¹⁴⁴ It was felt that the Pergamonmuseum needed a better space dedicated to the ancient art and architecture of Pergamon, so A. Messel developed plans for a new building to display the artifacts. After years of preparation and the complications of World War I (1914-1918), L. Hoffmann implemented these plans and the new museum was opened in 1930.¹⁴⁵ This new environment was not meant to serve an audience of artists and scholars but "was intended for the most impressionable crowds: conveying an immediate and awe-inspiring image."¹⁴⁶ To preserve the art and artifacts, many pieces were

¹⁴⁰ Bilsel 2012, 100; Seaman 2016, 206.

¹⁴¹ Scholl 2019, 52.

¹⁴² Bilsel 2001, 384.

¹⁴³ Scholl 2019, 47.

¹⁴⁴ Bilsel 2012, 117; Scholl 2014, 20; Scholl 2019, 47.

¹⁴⁵ Bilsel 2012, 210. Scholl 2019, 47.

¹⁴⁶ Bilsel 2012, 210.

removed at the beginning of World War II (1939-1945).¹⁴⁷ The Cold War (1947-1991) resulted in further issues for the museum's collection as some pieces were sent to the Soviet Union during the division of Berlin.¹⁴⁸ Parts of the museum's building were destroyed and the collection dispersed so the Pergamonmuseum required reconstruction and reorganization.¹⁴⁹ These multiple iterations and complications affected the form and collections of the museum before it arrived at its current form.

Pictures from the Pergamonmuseum highlight some of the approaches to displaying this work. Images from the original Old Pergamon Museum show the statue of Athena Parthenos placed on a raised base between two reconstructed facades from Turkey (Figs. 12 and 13). Other pieces of Hellenistic architecture and sculpture were also placed around the room, making the Parthenos one of many works encircling the courtyard. In another photo from 1945, the location of the statue was changed. Unlike before, it stood at the end of a hall, named the "*Saal der Athena Parthenos*," (Room of Athena Parthenos) displayed among ancient sculpture from different contexts instead of works of architecture (Fig. 14). The statue stands in the middle of the main aisle associating it with other sculptural works, instead of near columns or other components of architecture. More recent photos show the statue within an architectural hall once again (Fig. 15). This time, the statue was placed more in the center of the room, framed by the columns of the structure behind it. The sculpture was placed opposite the propylon of the Athena Sanctuary, the famous entry to the very space where the statue was displayed. Scholl describes the room, stating "architectural fragments are presented in partial reconstructions in such a way as to illustrate their function and effect."¹⁵⁰ He also indicates new models are being developed

¹⁴⁷ Scholl 2014, 21.

¹⁴⁸ Scholl 2014, 21; Scholl 2019, 48.

¹⁴⁹ Scholl 2014, 220.

¹⁵⁰ Scholl 2019, 52.

for the space.¹⁵¹ Displaying the architecture and the statue in such a way puts them in communication with one another even though they would not have been seen at the same time by any ancient visitor to the sanctuary. The room is inclusive of original architecture and reconstructions not only from Pergamon but also from other Anatolian cities in what is now Turkey such as Miletus, Priene, and Magnesia on the Maeander.¹⁵²

As the museum is undergoing renovation, the statue remains off display, but it is likely to return to a similar position in the Hellenistic Hall after the renovation's completion as seen in the virtual tour imagining the finished design.¹⁵³ According to Scholl, there will be limited changes to exhibit halls that display Classical and Near Eastern architecture.¹⁵⁴ Following the Museum Island Master Plan, the Pergamonmuseum will be redesigned to link the works of art and architecture in the museum through the addition of a fourth wing connecting the north and south wing.¹⁵⁵ Visitors would be able to consider the relationships between these works of architecture while walking in a circuit. While the display of the Athena Parthenos will face minimal adjustment, visitors' interaction with the larger museum will shift.

The broader Antikensammlung, of which the Pergamonmuseum is a part, portrays itself “as a prominent showcase for archaeological research.”¹⁵⁶ Many pieces of Hellenistic Pergamene art are on permanent display along with works from the Near East or and works produced during the Roman period. When I visited in March 2023, the museum was undergoing restorations, resulting in the closure of its Hall of Hellenistic Architecture and the Great Altar rooms. Despite this, the importance the museum placed on architectural displays was clear. Although the Great

¹⁵¹ Scholl 2019, 52.

¹⁵² Scholl 2019, 52.

¹⁵³ Maßmann 2022, 35. The Masterplan Museumsinsel also includes a video of this proposed organization of the building after reconstruction. <https://www.museumsinsel-berlin.de/en/masterplan/ancient-architectures-tour/>

¹⁵⁴ Scholl 2019 50.

¹⁵⁵ Scholl 2019 50-51. <https://www.museumsinsel-berlin.de/en/masterplan/ancient-architectures-tour/>

¹⁵⁶ Scholl 2014, 25.

Altar was not viewable at the time, the Ishtar Gate from Babylon (complete with lengthy reconstructed processional way) and the Market Gate of Miletus were open to museum goers. Most wall space was occupied by pieces of the archaeological architectural display. Statuary and other artifacts seem to be framed by this architecture which placed art and architecture into conversation, begging the question of the significance of setting. Most works on display are ancient works found during German archaeological excavations, although some pieces in the Vorderasiatisches Museum section such as the ritual vase from Uruk are noted replicas.

The museum's extensive collection also serves as the basis for its temporary exhibitions such as *Pergamon. Panorama of the Ancient Metropolis* in its first iteration in 2011/2012. Since 2015, the Pergamonmuseum has undergone remodeling with only sections of the museum opened to the public. To counteract this closure and maintain public exposure to Pergamene objects, many prominent artifacts from Pergamon have been on display in the current *Pergamon. Panorama of the Ancient Metropolis* exhibit, opened in 2018 as an updated version of the earlier exhibit. This exhibition is seen as a means "to create an 'immersive' experience for visitors and thus confront them to an unprecedented extent with an ancient 'reality' reconstructed in a variety of ways."¹⁵⁷ Having visited the updated exhibition as well, I was able to experience this alternative depiction of Pergamon and the way it combined the panorama and technology with the artistic display to construct an idea of the city. Most of the exhibition is constructed against a dark backdrop, highlighting Pergamene art by spotlights. The exhibition designers attempted to demonstrate how art would be seen in the city through playing with lighting to imagine different times of day and used an overlaid colored lights to emulate the ancient paint. The Athena

¹⁵⁷ Scholl 2018, 7.

Parthenos is not included in this display. However, this exhibit highlights one approach to the presentation of Pergamene art under the purview of the Pergamonmuseum.

While the statue was well-maintained in the Pergamonmuseum for years, during 2016, the statue was loaned to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City as part of its *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World* exhibition which ran from April to July. Given the unique circumstances of the extensive remodeling and hence closure of the Pergamonmuseum, this exhibit created the opportunity to share Pergamene works with a broader audience while the permanent display spaces were unavailable in Berlin. In the museum's press release, the exhibition was comprised of "more than 265 exquisite objects that were created through the patronage of the royal courts of the Hellenistic kingdoms, with an emphasis on the ancient city of Pergamon."¹⁵⁸ It produced two books- a catalogue complete with entries on the exhibition objects and an anthology of essays and a second book with essays based on conference proceedings.¹⁵⁹ While not all scholarship in these books is about the Athena Parthenos statue, some essays do bring this statue to the forefront. The introduction to the exhibition catalog praises the statue, calling it "one of the most impressive and evocative masterpieces the site [Pergamon] has yielded,"¹⁶⁰ and a significant example of the artworks through which "the Hellenistic city of Pergamon is brought to life,"¹⁶¹ within the exhibit. Meanwhile, Karoglou focuses on its stylistic analysis, emphasizing the statue's relationship to Pergamene classicism.¹⁶² Therefore, these essays highlight the importance of the Pergamene

¹⁵⁸ The Metropolitan Museum of Art press release from April 12, 2016 announces and advertises the exhibition. <https://www.metmuseum.org/press/exhibitions/2016/ Pergamon>

¹⁵⁹ Picón and Hemingway 2016; Hemingway and Karoglou 2019.

¹⁶⁰ Picón 2016, 2.

¹⁶¹ Picón 2016, 2.

¹⁶² Karoglou 2016b, 66.

Athena Parthenos to the exhibition as a noteworthy statue and an illustration of the Pergamene approach to art.

To advertise the exhibition, the museum also made multiple blog posts and press releases. In one such post, K. Karoglou describes the statue as a “towering presence...[which] greets visitors upon entering the third gallery”¹⁶³ of the exhibition (Fig. 16). Karoglou highlights this statue as one of the central objects of this exhibition, in part owing to its height. These texts, the scholarly anthologies and publicity materials, emphasize the work that went into promoting the exhibition. Sending this statue as well as the other Pergamene artifacts across the ocean from Berlin to New York was a labor intensive endeavor, complete with multiple plane flights and protection for the statue as W. Maßmann describes.¹⁶⁴ It seems unlikely a similar exhibition featuring the tall, heavy statue outside of Germany will happen in the near future, as this exhibition was the culmination of exceptional circumstances with the closure of the permanent exhibition halls. As the statue makes an impressive statement in the gallery space with its height, it became a prominent component of the exhibition though it required great care to get there.

In the *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World* exhibition, the statue was displayed on its base as it would have been presented in the ancient world. Figure 16 indicates the statue was placed within the center of the gallery, allowing viewers to see it in the round once again. Smaller Hellenistic works, many of which are also made of stone and marble, are spread throughout the gallery and set along the walls, filling the space. Due to her height, the Athena Parthenos is visually prominent among these other pieces. The gallery space was darkened and used spotlights to highlight the ancient artworks.

¹⁶³ Karoglou’s 2016 blog post to highlight the *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms* exhibition describes it as such. <https://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/now-at-the-met/2016/ancient-and-modern-colossal-statues>

¹⁶⁴ Maßmann 2022, 33-35.

Once the exhibition closed, the sculpture remained in the Metropolitan Museum with another loan from Berlin's Staatliche Museums, a colossal youthful head believed to be either a god or Alexander the Great, as part of an additional two-year long display.¹⁶⁵ The Director and CEO of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas Campbell, stated the Pergamonmuseum was generous to continue the loan, without further indication as to why these two pieces were chosen to remain in New York.¹⁶⁶ One possible reasoning for this loan extension is that the Pergamonmuseum curators were interested in continuing to use the Metropolitan Museum of Art as an alternative space to display these notable works while the Pergamonmuseum proper remained closed. Instead of staying in museum storage in Berlin, people from around the world could still view the statue during their visits to the Metropolitan Museum of Art and consider the Pergamene artistry in the work, a perspective that Carlos Picón, one of the curators at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, shares.¹⁶⁷ Especially with the cost and effort of moving the statue to New York, it is reasonable the Pergamonmuseum curators wanted to get the greatest value from their collaboration as possible. During this time, the statue was moved and placed on prominent display in the museum's Great Hall, making it accessible to the thousands of guests to the museum (Fig. 17). It sat opposite an even larger Egyptian statue of Amenemhet II, also a loan from a Berlin museum.¹⁶⁸ In a video produced by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, museum staff are shown transporting the statue from into the Great Hall space. (This video demonstrates

¹⁶⁵ Maßmann 2022, 35. A press release from 2016 from the Metropolitan Museum of Art announced the extension of the loan of the Athena Parthenos statue and a colossal head of a youth from the Pergamonmuseum. <https://www.metmuseum.org/press/news/2016/pergamon-museum-loans>

¹⁶⁶ Thomas Campbell is quoted in the press release from 2016 from the Metropolitan Museum of Art which announced the extension of the loan of the Athena Parthenos statue and a colossal head of a youth from the Pergamonmuseum. <https://www.metmuseum.org/press/news/2016/pergamon-museum-loans>

¹⁶⁷ Picón is quoted in a 2016 New York Times article by J. Barone about the loan extension. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/14/arts/design/two-old-visitors-to-the-metropolitan-museum-will-stay-a-while.html>.

¹⁶⁸ Maßmann 2022, 35. See also: The Metropolitan Museum of Art 2016 press release describes the placement of the statue in the Great Hall. <https://www.metmuseum.org/press/news/2016/pergamon-museum-loans>

how complex moving the large statue is in the modern day. It must have been similarly difficult or more so in the past without the tools and coverings to protect the statue as it is transported into the display space). The statue was only recently removed and returned to Berlin in 2021.¹⁶⁹ It will not be moved back into the Pergamonmuseum proper until August or September of 2023 according to the museum's conservator.¹⁷⁰

None of these locations in either the Metropolitan Museum of Art or the Pergamonmuseum quite emulates the position of the statue within the ancient sanctuary in Pergamon. Most of these spaces allow museum visitors to see the statue in 360 degrees, instead of set against a wall. The statue is well lit in its modern contexts by spotlights and general florescent lighting inviting easier viewership. I suggest the stoa room in the ancient sanctuary had a different ambiance and some of the statue's details might have been obscured as it was likely lit by oil lamps or candles as well as the natural light that filtered in through the doorway. The exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum may better approximate the atmosphere with its dimness. However, this is also not completely accurate.

The Pergamene Athena Parthenos has long been available for the public to view. Whether visitors recognized its significance, it stands as a piece of Pergamene history as well as museum history. In considering its modern museum context, it is important to contemplate the impact of its removal from its original site. During the time periods of excavations, the removal of pieces like the Athena Parthenos may have been legal, but the rules and opinions on the removal of artifacts have changed. Often maintaining artifacts within the locations that they were found helps provide context and continuity. As one of the many artifacts excavated from Pergamon, it

¹⁶⁹ Maßmann 2022, 35.

¹⁷⁰ This information was shared with me by the conservator W. Maßmann when I visited the statue in storage on March 29, 2023.

became a part of the Pergamonmuseum's collection and its development. Since its acquisition by the Pergamonmuseum, the statue has been featured in permanent and temporary exhibitions as part of the museum's collection in Berlin and abroad. Modern museums still are unable to approximate the same environment of the upper stoa room, but these new contexts have extended its history and allowed for new viewership.

VI. Conclusion

The Pergamene Athena Parthenos, even as a copy of another larger Athenian work, is impressive in its own right. Throughout this thesis, I have examined its details and history to emphasize the role the statue played in its ancient context and how discussions about its presentation are still important in the modern world. Its size and detail indicate a commitment to portraying the strength of Athena and borrowing from older existing depictions to do so. While pieces of her shoulders, back, and drapery are missing, the statue has been restored in hopes of recreating her resolute form. Other parts of her body have been lost in entirety so their positioning remains unclear and can only be hypothesized based on the known textual references and artistic comparanda. It is one of many copies of the original Athena Parthenos yet stands out from the other examples owing to its size and materiality. As it no longer stood in a temple like the Parthenon, its function may have shifted. In its new context it could be representational of both the ideal of intellectual culture and the power of Athena, without the expectation of cult worship.

The Attalids crafted Pergamon into a consequential Anatolian city through varied pursuits to establish their legitimacy. They created a center of arts and culture, bringing the new and the old into the city. Their military strengths and relationships with foreign powers allowed them to control and influence acquired lands. They also became known for their library, where the Athena Parthenos statue may or may not have stood, developing an intellectual culture. The Athena Parthenos is a component of their legitimizing tendency. Carving such an elaborate statue asserted an immediate visual connection to the history and culture of ancient Athens visible to both inhabitants and visitors to Pergamon. It also played a part in the established tradition of commissioning and collecting art. The Athena Sanctuary where the Pergamene Athena Parthenos

stood displayed many of these works, presenting them for public consumption. The Attalids also commissioned art for cities outside their own to further their artistic patronage.

The excavations conducted in the 1880s showed that the Pergamene Athena Parthenos stood as a centerpiece of a stoa room, sitting on the base on a platform around the edges of the room. This statue was part of a larger display of art from the sanctuary often bought or taken by the Attalids, who shared them with the public in Pergamon. However, it was also distinct from this collection as part of a separate room. It is lucky that the statue itself survived relatively intact and, unlike other ancient works, there is a recorded archaeological context lending scholars the opportunity to interpret the statue's purpose and setting.

As with many displays of ancient art, the modern display of the Pergamene Athena Parthenos faces many problems. One such issue is the question of repatriation. The statue is taken not only out of its site but also out of its broader country of origin, in what can be seen as part of a problematic history of the removal of artifacts. In terms of the excavations in Ottoman lands, these processes were often affected by bribes and political influence. The history offered here shows how the approach to its display has changed in its modern context within both the Pergamonmuseum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The statue can be seen in the round in most of these museum settings, giving the audience the opportunity to observe details of her carved back not apparent to its original ancient viewers when it was set against the stoa wall.

The complexities of the Athena Parthenos cannot be understated. It moves beyond a copy of an ancient work and is instead emblematic of a larger cultural goal within Pergamon, to promote itself as a climax of Hellenic culture within the Hellenistic period. Other examples of representations of the Athena Parthenos show how the Pergamene Athena Parthenos fits within the broader scheme of her design despite missing elements and body parts. The Athena

Parthenos fit within Pergamon's cultural programming and now occupies an important place in the modern Pergamonmuseum.

FIGURES:



Figure 1: Athena Parthenos from Pergamon. Ca. 170 BCE after the mid-5th century BCE chryselephantine original by Pheidias; marble, H (without base) 3.105 m, W. 1.185 m in., D. .69 m. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, AvP VII 24. From JSTOR: <https://jstor.org/stable/community.15723991>.

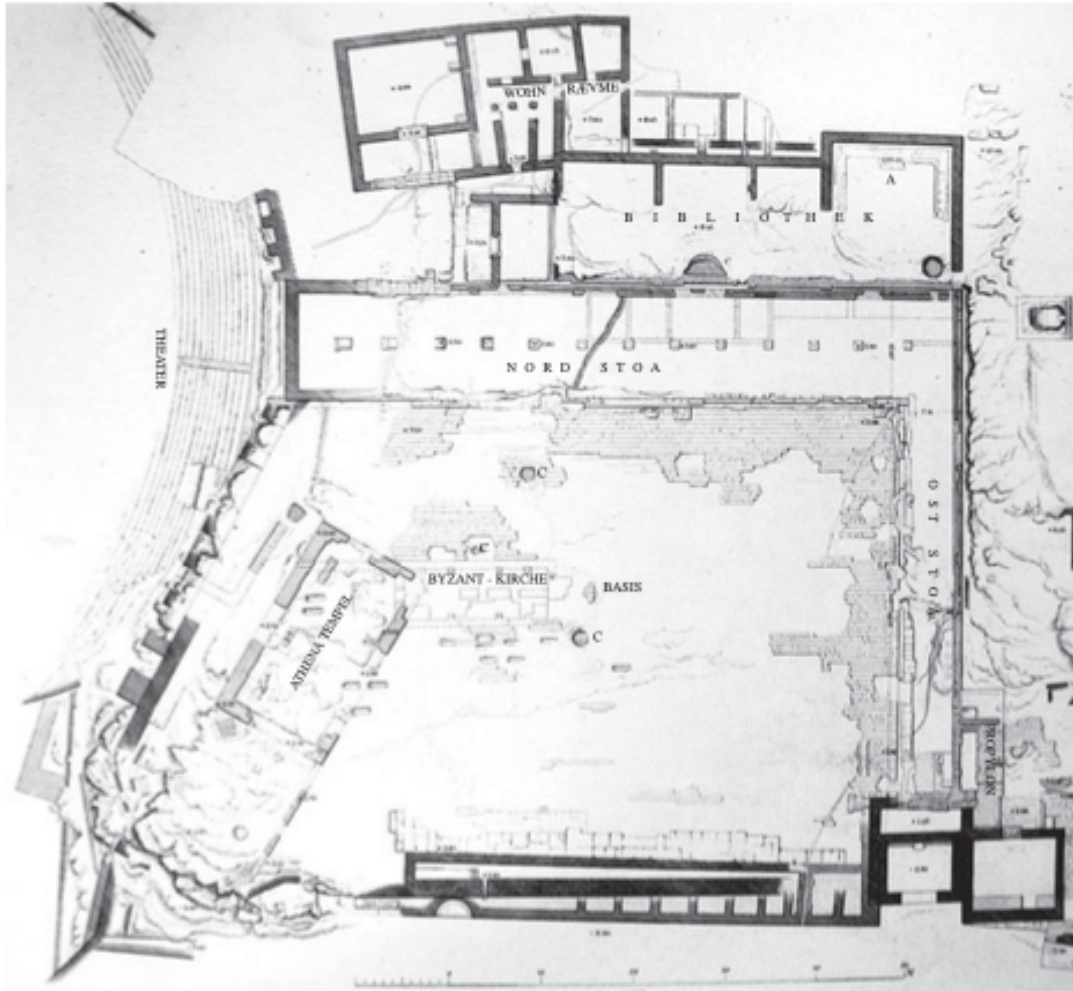


Figure 2: The Sanctuary of Athena Polias. From: Bohn, R. 1885. *Das Heiligtum des Athena Polias Nikephoros*. Berlin: W. Spemann, pl. 1 reproduced in Coqueugniot, G. 2013b. "Where Was the Royal library of Pergamum? An Institution Found and Lost Again." In *Ancient Libraries*, edited by J. König, K. Oikonomopolou, and G. Woolf, 109-123. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 112, fig. 6.2.

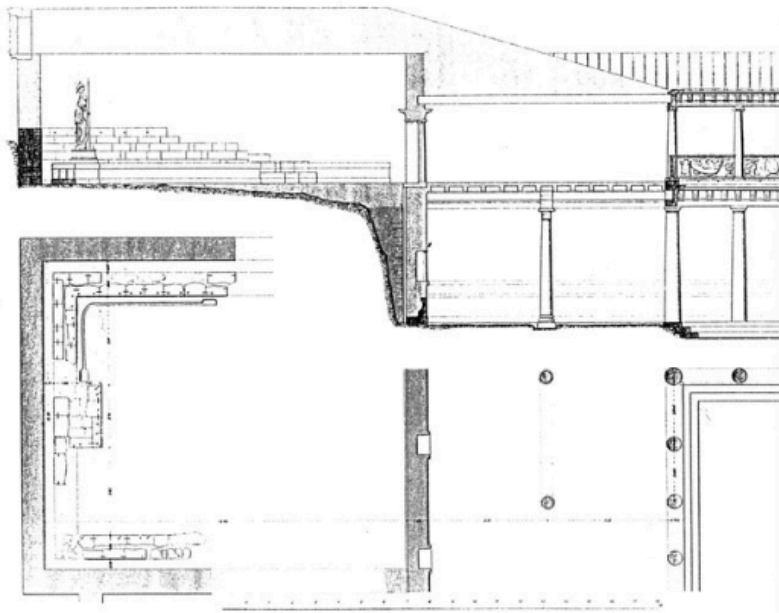


Figure 3: The Great Hall- section and plan of remains. From: Bohn, R. 1885. *Das Heiligtum des Athena Polias Nikephoros*. Berlin: W. Spemann, pl. 33 reproduced in Coqueugniot, G. 2013b. "Where Was the Royal library of Pergamum? An Institution Found and Lost Again." In *Ancient Libraries*, edited by J. König, K. Oikonomopolou, and G. Woolf, 109-123. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 113, fig. 6.4.



Figure 4: Close up of the face of Athena Parthenos from Pergamon. From C. A. Picón, 2016. "Introduction." In *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World*, edited by C. A. Picón and S. Hemingway, 1-7. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. 3, Fig.2.



Figure 5: Back of Athena Parthenos. Photograph by author.



Figure 6: Close up of Gorgoneion and Aegis of Pergamene Athena Parthenos. Photograph by author.



Figure 7: Side view of Athena Parthenos from Pergamon. From C. A. Picón and S. Hemingway, ed. 2016. *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. 133.



Figure 8: Base for the statue. The hole for an attachment is on the far right edge. Photograph by author.



Figure 9: Varvakeion Athena, reduced-scale Roman marble copy after the colossal chryselephantine Athena Parthenos by Phidias for the cella. 2nd century CE; original ca. 432 B.C.E. From: Artstor, https://library-artstor-org.uoregon.idm.oclc.org/asset/AIC_660024.



Figure 10: Statue of Athena Parthenos (the Virgin Goddess). 2nd or 3rd century CE after 5th-century BCE original. Pentelic marble. 154 cm.
From Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/150203/statue-of-athena-parthenos-the-virgin-goddess?ctx=99c1843a-39d7-4bed-bdac-ee1e10f893a4&idx=29>



Figure 11: Medallion of Athena Parthenos. Silver. Hellenistic. Found in Crete. From Louvre: <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010256031>



Figure 12: Statue of the Athena Parthenos. View of the Telephos Hall in the Old Pergamon Museum. Photograph. 1901. From Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. <https://id.smb.museum/object/1750456/blick-in-den-telephossaal-im-alten-pergamonmuseum>



Figure 13: View of the Telephos Hall in the Old Pergamon Museum. Photograph. 1901. From Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. <https://id.smb.museum/object/1750455/blick-in-den-telephossaal-im-alten-pergamonmuseum>



Figure 14: Installation of the collection of antiquities in the Pergamon Museum, Hall of Athena Parthenos. Photograph. 1945. From Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. <https://id.smb.museum/object/1750440/aufstellung-der-antikensammlung-im-pergamonmuseum%2C-saal-der-athena-parthenos>



Figure 15: Athena Parthenos in Hall of Hellenistic Architecture. Photograph. From Stewart 2014, *Art in the Hellenistic World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 282, fig. 167.



Fig. 16: A view of one of the galleries in the exhibition *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World*. Photograph. 2016. <https://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/now-at-the-met/2016/ancient-and-modern-colossal-statues>



Figure 17: The statue of Athena Parthenos stands in the magnificent Great Hall from July 2016 to July 2021 and welcomes visitors. Photograph. From: Maßmann 2022, “Kunst auf Reisen Leihgaben der Berliner Antikensammlung im Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York,” *AntW* 2.22: 34, fig. 5.

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