

# PHEIDIAS AND OLYMPIA

(FRONTISPIECE AND PLATES 79-86)

## INTRODUCTION

PHEIDIAS and the Parthenon, for a century and a half, have been regarded as virtual synonyms. The kinship has so far extended itself that certain characteristics of the one have been transferred to the other. Thus Athena springing full-grown from the head of Zeus is paralleled by the style of Pheidias erupting suddenly and maturely from the mind of the artist. Such a parthenogenic concept is unique in the history of art.

The standard interpretation of the life and style of Pheidias was evolved in the nineteenth century. It represents a fusion of the antique with the romantic science of its creators. The nineteenth century coupled fervent imagination with a thorough sense of order; and when thought soared up to garner stars, practicality sorted, evaluated, classified and filed the harvest in the best tradition of the Victorian house-keeper's motto: "A place for everything, and everything in its place." It took good care that its treasures might remain secure.

The current version, of which Miss Richter's account in her *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* is not only the best known, but also the clearest, fullest and fairest, needs no retelling here. It may reasonably be assumed that the reader will be familiar with it. The present account is written on the basis of another type of selection and evaluation. The controversial points between the two are largely considered in the appendices.

It should be added that this study was provoked with no iconoclastic intent, but merely as an attempt to determine, if possible, the source of the architectural sculptures of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, using the evidence from antiquity rather than modern hypothesis as a guide. The solution, however, lay on the fringes of the legends that inevitably cling to and obscure great names. To search for what they covered was inevitable.

There is little in this article that may be claimed as purely new. An adequate bibliography with full credit at every point would be more extensive than the text itself. For purposes of simplification the more familiar chapter and verse references have been omitted wherever it seemed reasonable to the author. It is assumed that Miss Richter's *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* and Overbeck's *Schriftquellen* will be readily available to those scholars who will wish to check. To all those who have studied these problems in the past from whatever standpoint some measure of thanks is due. Personal indebtedness for opinion and advice is gratefully acknowledged to Benjamin D. Meritt, Lucy T. Shoe and Homer A. Thompson.

## THE LEGEND OF PHEIDIAS

The chief glories of the museum at Olympia are the fragments of the pediments and metopes of the Temple of Zeus. Amazingly well-preserved, they have stood since their discovery as the finest group of sculptures surviving from the decades that followed the Persian Wars, and as a subject of extraordinary controversy. Few now doubt their aesthetic excellence, but few would agree on their origin. Fully to understand the background of this uncertainty, we must dip into history; and in so doing we promptly encounter the legend of Pheidias.

The modern legend of Pheidias began to take shape nearly two centuries ago when Winckelmann, in 1764, wrote: "I did believe that Pliny placed the bloom of Pheidias in (448-444 B.C.) because he had probably completed at that time the statue of Olympian Jupiter; but this is a mere supposition on my part and not based on any authority."<sup>1</sup> And, in his notes: "It is not yet ascertained which of the two works (the Athena Parthenos and Olympian Zeus) was executed first . . . But about this time (448-444 B.C.) the artist must have begun his Athena . . . because it was finished in 431 . . . Indeed it must have been finished several years earlier, for in the comedy of Aristophanes, *The Peace*, Mercury names as the first among the secret causes of the war an accusation against Pheidias, which at the time was based on the embezzlement of gold, but afterwards on the crime of having put his own likeness and that of Perikles on the shield of Athena. The accusation had its effect; although Pheidias did not die in prison, as Plutarch relates, he was obliged to flee. According to Eusebios, the artist completed the Athena Parthenos in 439, and he placed his name below it."<sup>2</sup>

Winckelmann does not give his reasons for preferring the Scholiast on Aristophanes to Plutarch, though on the indictments of Pheidias he seems to have confused the two. But with a choice to make between two statements of apparently equal value, and nothing to influence one or the other except personal inclination, one cannot quarrel with his decision. On the literary evidence available a purely subjective conclusion was inevitable.

Half a century later the first masonry was erected on Winckelmann's cornerstone. Between 1803 and 1812 two hundred packing cases filled, in part, with sculptures from the Parthenon arrived in England. Lord Elgin, their importer, claimed that they represented the style of Pheidias. Mr. Payne-Knight, President of the Society of Dilettanti, insisted that they were nothing of the kind. The protracted controversy achieved an acrimony not lost on a public fascinated both with the prominence of the protagonists and with excitement for all things classical. Lord Elgin's claims may be summarized in the words of Benjamin Robert Haydon who, relying on Plutarch's statement that Perikles put Pheidias in charge of all the new

<sup>1</sup> *History of Ancient Art*, II, 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, note 18 on Chapter II.

artistic works of his administration, wrote: "—Where would it be more likely for Pheidias to put his hand than on the finest temple in Athens, built by his patron Perikles, when he (Pheidias) was director of all public works?"<sup>3</sup>

The House of Commons, by voting a partial reimbursement to Lord Elgin in 1816, put a tacit but popular seal of approval on this opinion. For sixty years the Elgin marbles were the accepted standard for the style of Pheidias and for all his associates as well.

It was Jefferson's belief that a revolution was required every thirty years to keep the principles of liberty fresh and alive. But in the twice thirty years that followed the vote in the House of Commons, though storms of dissension disturbed many other studies in Greek sculpture, the established concept of Pheidias remained unchallenged, and enthusiastic individuals labored at its more monumental building. The particular qualities of the sculptures were defined, analyzed, expanded. Scholars nosed industriously through museums ferreting out potential copies of the works of Pheidias and of his entourage. No shortages delayed nor strikes deterred their pleasant sequence of construction.

When the spades of the German excavators first rang out in the Altis at Olympia in 1874 they commanded the ears of a wide and interested audience. Curiosity centered chiefly about the Temple of Zeus, and its sculptures. Everyone knew that Pheidias himself had made the great cult image of gold and ivory, but no one seriously dared hope that any of these precious materials had survived. On the other hand Pausanias had explicitly stated that: "The western gable is the work of Alkamenes, a contemporary of Pheidias and second only to him in the sculptor's art." Pedimental sculpture would be in marble. No works of Alkamenes had yet been identified in copies with any certainty; but it would be reassuring to see for oneself that the prophesied refinement and delicacy of the latest of the Parthenon sculptures were really his. When the vision of the Venus Genetrix was replaced by the Sterope of the east pediment and the Lapith Women of the west, it was only the mechanics of publication that delayed the chorus of denial. Ears attuned to Mozart had been presented with Gregorian Chant.

But no self-respecting seer makes public prediction unless he is convinced of the validity of his powers. In 1874 all living authorities, and all their distinguished predecessors, had subscribed to the specific theory that the sculptures of the Parthenon exclusively represented the style of Pheidias and his fellows. Nineteenth century scholarship inclined always to place its emphasis upon theory, supported if possible by material evidence. If this evidence could not be used for such confirmation, it, not the theory, was suspect. In this case fact and fiction seemed irreconcilable. Under the circumstances it is small wonder that material fact was discarded.

<sup>3</sup> *Autobiography and Memoirs of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, p. 207.

That the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus offered possible new light on the entourage of Pheidias seems to have occurred only to a handful of scholars, whose courageous objectivity is their epitaph. They asked for a thorough review of all that was known of Pheidias and Alkamenēs; but their colleagues were far more concerned with patching up the cracks in their elaborately-built fabric than in studying its foundation. In the ferment of their disappointment the possibility of a second, and not necessarily antithetical, cornerstone being established was rigidly forbidden.

To maintain and isolate the existing concept of Pheidias was easy. Only Pausanias had, in antiquity, named Alkamenēs as the sculptor of the west pediment; and it could be shown that Pausanias had made mistakes. The affirmation that here again was an error came easily to those who specialized in textual emendation and criticism, too easily, perhaps, when one considers that these same judges rested much of their case for Pheidias on Plutarch's account of his overseership under Perikles while citing the same authority for perjury in his account of Pheidias' death.

Thus was the prevailing evaluation of the style of Pheidias retained and reinforced. For it was tacitly ordained that the sculptures of the Parthenon, and *only* these, might be considered as criteria for his work. This, of course, confirmed the Scholiast's story of the late date of the Olympian Zeus; it removed Pheidias, and with him his disciple Alkamenēs, from any participation in the original work on the Temple at Olympia. It clarified and congealed a grand concept, and at very little expense: charging another slip to Pausanias, and making the Olympia sculptures orphans of an academic storm.

This outline brings us to the original problem of this paper: the citizenship, if not the precise parentage, of the metopes and pediments of the Temple of Zeus. To establish this, only the sculptures themselves can supply the necessary clues, all other aid having been denied them. We must now turn to these for enlightenment.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE OLYMPIA SCULPTURES

No inscriptions have, with certainty, been associated directly with the Olympia sculptures.<sup>4</sup> But the figures themselves offer two potential types of information; and the first of these is their style.

Stylistic comparison, as a type of evidence, is inherently subjective. In order to remain as strictly factual as possible, similarities to the Olympia style have been rigidly limited to original works of certain provenance, or to universally accepted copies of lost originals of known provenance. The following list excludes all copies of debatable identification and all other works of doubtful authenticity or uncertain provenance. It includes:

<sup>4</sup> Excepting possibly that on the base of the Nike of Paionios for which see *infra* p. 309.



- "Blond Boy", from the Athenian Acropolis (Pl. 79a)
- Stele of an athlete crowning himself, from Sounion (Pl. 82a)
- The metopes from Temple E, Selinous (Pl. 81a)
- Relief of Demeter, Triptolemos and Persephone from Eleusis (Pl. 81c)
- The sculptures of the Hephaisteion, Athens (Pl. 79f)
- The metopes and frieze of the Parthenon, Athens (Pls. 79c, d, g, h; 81e; 82c; 83e)
- The Tyrannicides, after Kritios and Nesiotes, originally set up in the Agora at Athens, and included here because a sufficient number of copies is known to assure the accuracy of transcription from the originals. (Pl. 80a)
- The Varvakeion Athena, and the Strangford Shield, after Pheidias, here included because of their general acceptance as reasonably accurate reflections of the original cult image in the Parthenon. (Pls. 82b; 83c)

The eye sees most strongly what it wishes to see; and words, a limiting means of communication, inevitably stress only what has seemed significant to the eye. In an effort to minimize the effect of prejudice, the parallels for separate comparative features are illustrated on the plates with only the barest verbal sketch at this point in the text to accompany them.

**Hair:** The Olympia sculptures use four different formulae for representing hair. The first type, tight curls, is most closely paralleled in the "Blond Boy" and a Lapith head on a Parthenon metope, but in its more formalized concept in the Harmodios, and in the Zeus and Herakles from the Selinous metopes (Pls. 79 b, a, c; 80a; 81a). The second type, zig-zag locks, is also used on the "Blond Boy," the reliefs from Sounion and Eleusis, the Selinous metopes and on many figures of the frieze of the Parthenon (Pls. 80b; 79a; 82a; 81 c, a; 79d). The third variant, short, flat locks, had previously appeared only on the Aristogeiton, and was to become, with modifications, virtually standard in Greek sculpture (Pls. 80a; 79c). The fourth, a cap-like mass without detail, is new at Olympia, and, except as it is retained sporadically in the metopes of the Hephaisteion and certain sculptures on the Parthenon, otherwise unique (Pls. 81b; 79 f, h). The only parallels between Sicily and Olympia are the two mentioned in this paragraph.

**Head:** Parallels between the head of the Apollo of the West Pediment, the "Blond Boy" of the Acropolis and the Sounion Stele have long been cited (Pls. 80b; 79a; 82a). Those of the Centaurs reappear in the Eurystheus and Skiron of the Hephaisteion metopes and finally in some of the heads of Centaurs on the Parthenon metopes (Pl. 79 e, f, g). The baldness of the Old Seer is repeated in the Eurystheus of the Hephaisteion, in two of the centaurs on metopes of the Parthenon, and in the Pheidias on the Strangford Shield (Pls. 83a; 79 f, g; 83c). No similar types are found outside of Attica.

Body: The huge, solid and simple anatomy finds its only real parallels in the Tyrannicides (Pl. 80 a, b).

Drapery: The doughy, round-ridged folds and overall heaviness of the Olympia garments find few parallels. The vague lacunae, well illustrated in the Kneeling Boy, are reflected in the Lapith Woman of one of the Parthenon metopes (Pl. 83 d, e); the rigid vertical folds of the standing women at Olympia in the Demeter of the Eleusis Relief, the Maidens of the Parthenon Frieze (Pls. 80c; 81c; 82c), and the Varvakeion statuette which last is unique in repeating the firm triangular fold running from knee to instep on the relaxed leg of the Athena on the Atlas metope at Olympia (Pls. 82b, 81b).

Pose: The informality of Athena's attitude in the Stymphalian Birds metope recurs on one of the Parthenon metopes which also preserves close, though not detailed, similarities to the Olympia drapery style (Pl. 81 d, e).

The inference, based on likeness to sculptures of impeccable nationality, is almost exclusively in favor of Attica. That more comparative material, and from other localities, is not available supplies reason for regret; but the consistency of the Attic parallels seems as conclusive proof as stylistic analogy can ever supply. And though stylistic reasoning is always in part subjective, the material evidence here represented is infinitely more reliable than all the hypothetical arguments which in the past have generated schools of sculpture in Northern Greece, Paros, the Peloponnesos and Elis combined. Within the limits of this method, this testimony is overwhelmingly in favor of Attica.

One other approach to the origin of the sculptures is offered by their iconography. The selection of subjects for architectural decoration in Greek times seems to have been limited by few, if any, restrictions.<sup>5</sup> The choice seems to have been guided by a predilection for myths and legends, either of particular local significance or of general Hellenic interest. Thus in their Treasury at Delphi the Athenians recount the prowess of their special hero Theseus, the labors of the international athlete Herakles, and an event of dual significance since it applies equally to both heroes, the battle of Greeks and Amazons. In the Hephaisteion at Athens, despite the cult, Hephaistos plays no known, and certainly no important, part in the decoration. Theseus again performs on the flanks of the main façade, while Herakles' deeds occupy the metopes on the eastern face, and his reception into Olympos fills the east pediment.<sup>6</sup> The sculptures of the Parthenon devote the principal pediment to Athena's birth on Olympos, the secondary to her most important local exploit. The metopes include the battle of Gods and Giants; the Trojan War; the battle of Centaurs and Lapiths, of local

<sup>5</sup> For a recent discussion of this topic see H. Kähler, *Das Griechische Metopenbild*, Munich, 1949.

<sup>6</sup> See H. A. Thompson, "The Pedimental Sculpture of the Hephaisteion," *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 243 ff.

interest because of Theseus' participation; and, again, the battle of Greeks and Amazons.

In approaching the search for iconographic indications in the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus it is important to keep this flexibility in mind. Choice of subject is significant only if it seems to differ from these two general principles of local importance or general Hellenic concern.

#### TABLE OF ICONOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

##### The Metopes: The Labors of Herakles.

Appropriateness: Unquestionable. The story was not only part of the pan-Hellenic legend, but, according to one tradition, Herakles founded the Olympic Games.

Interpretation: Except for some of the attempts at new compositions which seem to have been part of the overall experimental quality of much of the Olympia sculptures, the only striking deviation from the norm is the ubiquity of Athena. She appears three, probably four, and possibly more times. As the chief deity of Athens next to Zeus, she greets Theseus on the metopes of the Delphic Treasury and Herakles on the metopes of the Hephaisteion, but on the Attic buildings she never feels it necessary to participate in the performance of their specific exploits. Her participation at Olympia is without parallel in sculpture.<sup>7</sup>

Conclusion: The scenes of the Labors of Herakles are unusual iconographically because of the frequent, and, in sculpture, unique participation of Athena in the action scenes.

Inference: Attic influence.

##### The East (and more important) Pediment: The Chariot Race of Pelops and Oinomaos.

Appropriateness: Unquestionable. According to one tradition this contest was regarded as the inauguration of the Games.

Interpretation: Normal; no peculiarities apparent.

Conclusion: The selection and interpretation of the subject are entirely within the expected formula.

##### The West (and less important) Pediment: The Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths.

Appropriateness: Questionable, for it represents neither local legend, nor a myth

<sup>7</sup> The association, however, was common in Attic black-figured vase painting. For an unusual interpretation of the Hephaisteion metope, see H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 245.

of general Hellenic significance.<sup>8</sup> Possible explanations have been proposed as follows:

1. Peirithous was said to have been a son of Zeus;
2. Theseus was said to have been a grandson of Pelops;
3. Apollo, who plays no necessary part in the story, but here occupies the central position, was said to have been the ancestor of the Lapiths;
4. The Lapiths lived on the slopes of Mt. Olympos, the dwelling place of the gods.

Aside from these morsels of erudition, there is no link between Olympia and the legend.

Interpretation: The selection of a theme for conspicuous presentation that had no local and little general Hellenic interest at this time is at least peculiar. It was of special Athenian importance, particularly at the time of the building of the Temple at Olympia when Theseus' bones had recently been installed in a magnificent compound in Athens after their transfer from Skyros by Kimon. It should be further noted that the Centaurs, except as they appear on the imported chest of Kypselos, are unique at Olympia; where also Peirithous appears only once again, in company with Theseus, on the decorations by Panainos of Athens that accompanied the cult image of Zeus by Pheidias, an Athenian. The only ancient description of the pediment that has survived records the central figure as Peirithous, though its scale clearly denotes a god, and the cuttings in the right hand and wrist indicate a missing bow. Why the mortal offspring of Zeus should have taken precedence over one of his immortal sons in the minds of ancient commentators may perhaps best be explained as inability to comprehend Apollo's inclusion in the pediment at all. His commanding position cannot be justified by the importance of his worship at Olympia, although according to one tradition his match with Hermes had inaugurated the Games. At all times he was the patron god of Olympia's chief pan-Hellenic rival, Delphi. During the years that the sculptures were carved, pan-Hellenism was of vital interest to all Greeks and a major commercial one at Olympia. At this time Apollo, in addition to his customary high veneration by the Athenians, held for them an additional importance as the presiding deity of Delos, symbolic and fiscal center of their empire.

<sup>8</sup> Because of its choice for the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus, it has often been held that it represented a pan-Hellenic symbol of the victories of the Greeks over the Barbarians. The proof of this is lacking except in Attica.

Conclusion: the subject is unique at Olympia, but popular at Athens. The prominence of the essentially Ionian, and rival, god Apollo, and the choice of a legend generally associated with the Athenian hero Theseus is difficult to explain except by:

Inference: Athenian influence.

Both stylistic and iconographic testimony indicates Athens as the source of the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus. Neither type is, in itself, conclusive; but, combined, the two present a consistent and persuasive picture. Two similar results may be considered a coincidence that only a third can convert into a certainty. The one remaining scrap of evidence from ancient times directly concerning the sculpture is to be found in Pausanias' account in which he unhesitatingly ascribes the west pediment to Alkamenes of Athens and the east pediment to Paionios of Mende, a sculptor now recognized on the basis of his later Nike as an exponent of the Attic style.

All the evidence of classic date is in. Three different approaches achieve the same conclusion. Yet this result has been firmly disallowed and Pausanias' statement considered wrong. It becomes essential to review the reasons for this rejection, centered largely about prevailing reconstructions of Paionios and Alkamenes. To do this in perspective we must first consider the development of Attic sculpture in the decades that followed the Persian Wars.

## THE REVOLUTION IN ATTIC SCULPTURE

The precise steps by which the revolt away from the decorative mannerisms of the archaic style began are not yet clear. From the similarities between the heads of the "Blond Boy" and the Olympia Apollo we may assume that even before the Persian sack in 480 certain definite changes had been initiated. That they had already achieved a considerable degree of development becomes evident in the unprecedented, but maturely expressed, concept of the Tyrannicides (Pl. 80a). In these figures, whose originals were installed in the Agora at Athens in 477, only the smiles and the hair of the Harmodios retain the stamp of archaism. Thus far no adequate precursors have been recovered for the heavy rounded masses of the bodies and the heroic vitality that infuses them; but it is obvious that the forms of the revolution, singularly appropriate to express the stern resolve evoked by the victories over the Persians, were ready for immediate adoption in Attica. These incorporated the direct with the powerful, the physical implication of superhuman might, and the calm determination that accompanies confidence in divine guidance. They are the embodiment of the characters of Aischylos.

In all these respects the Olympia sculptures represent a continuation, with some modifications and experiments, of an established manner. In them the last direct

imprints of archaic formulae disappear. The smile is replaced by a serenely impassive mouth. Only the bitten Lapith (Pl. 79b) curves his lips upward at the corners, but here the expression is clearly intended as a realistic grimace, not as a survival of archaism. The short flat locks of Aristogeiton recur in one of the Centaurs (Pl. 79e), are repeated in some of the sculptures of the Parthenon and later become standardized in the type of Polykleitos. The tight arbitrary curls of Harmodios are loosened a little at Olympia and varied; although if one considers the type used in the "Blond Boy" it is evident that the hair of Harmodios is a survival of an earlier symbol sporadically continued into Periklean times, and that the hair of Apollo, of Sterope, and others at Olympia merely progresses from the "Blond Boy" toward the Apollo on the Parthenon frieze.

As for the physical type, the Olympia figures retain the qualities of the Tyrannicide group almost without change.

Other fields for comparison with Harmodios and Aristogeiton are limited to the drapery over the arm of the latter. This detail, of little consequence in that group and so perhaps less reliable in the surviving replicas, recurs many times at Olympia with its overall flatness and deliberate variety in the spacing of folds and the outline of edges. It may be seen most clearly, perhaps, in a Lapith woman in the west pediment (Pl. 83b), where the sculptor seems still determined to evade archaic pattern while retaining the shallow parallel planes. This tendency never died out, and very possibly contributed one of the terms of ultimate compromise that resulted in the style of the Parthenon.

Thus far the comparison of the Tyrannicides and the Olympia sculptures demonstrates a close continuity of elements, some of which remain virtually unchanged while others lead toward later and new solutions. But in certain respects the later sculptures exhibit characteristics not to be found in the earlier group. Some of these trends are to remain of unique or limited implication. Others provide skeleton themes for later and greater development.

In the first category falls a definite, though sporadic, flirtation with realism.<sup>9</sup> We have already noted this in the bitten Lapith of the west pediment whose arc-shaped mouth suggests the adaptation of an earlier convention to complement the furrowed brow in an expression of pain. In the east pediment the wrinkled forehead of the Old Seer expressly implies alarm (Pl. 83a). In this figure other details owe their existence to the same trend: the folds of middle-aged flesh under the chest, the twist of the edge of the robe about the waist, the partial baldness of the head. The flabby body does not appear again in Greek sculpture until the age of the City State has passed. The baldness, common earlier in red-figured vases of the Brygos-Douris group, rarely recurs in painting after the middle of the century. In sculpture it is

<sup>9</sup> Miss Richter, in *Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture*, considers this an outstanding characteristic of the period.

repeated only in the Eurystheus of the Hephaisteion metope, in two Centaurs on the Parthenon metopes and in the self-portrait of Pheidias on the shield of the Athena Parthenos as seen on the Strangford shield. The last instance has peculiar significance since it is not only unique among human types in Periklean art, but seems thoroughly contrary to all we know or may infer concerning the set principles of physical idealism of that age.

Another experiment of the Olympia artists consisted in the rendering of hair in a solid, cap-like mass (Pl. 81b), so appropriate to the broad simplicity of the type it adorned that it recurs only in the metopes of the Hephaisteion and some of the sculptures of the Parthenon. After that, elaboration overwhelms it.

A further, less easily demonstrated, note of attempted realism may be found in much of the drapery. The lower part of the Seer's body is largely hidden by doughy lumps; and the shoulder of the kneeling boy is obscured by a similar textile that fairly oozes down it in curious open loops. Here again, the sculptor seems to be trying to evolve a type of stuff appropriate to the forms it covers, thinking in terms of thick rounded ridges and revealing more of the character of heavy material than any previous style had shown. The uneven border that follows neckline, chest and hip of several figures further increases the sense of naturalism.

A final manifestation of tentative realism may be seen in the unconventional pose of Athena, perched casually on a rock to receive the Stymphalian Birds. Her crouching pose and awkward twist at the waist reappear only once, in a metope from the north side of the Parthenon where she engages Hera in conversation.

But if the Olympia sculptures continue earlier precedents, and explore variations that enjoy at best a limited vogue and at worst no further emulation, they also carry over or invent new forms that endure. The simplest of these to demonstrate is a type of hair, derived from the "Blond Boy" and the relief of a man with a kylix in his hand from the Persian debris of the Acropolis.<sup>10</sup> The head is covered with crisp parallel zig-zag ridges terminating, on the "Blond Boy," in tight, slightly varied curls. This coiffure is repeated in the Apollo of the west pediment, and with increasing freedom in the Sterope of the east pediment and the Demeter of the Eleusis relief, in the Poseidon, Apollo and Artemis of the Parthenon frieze, and continuously thereafter, especially on female heads, for generations.

The lips of the Olympia Apollo are slightly parted, a mannerism softened and amplified in the Eleusis relief, and thereafter standard in Greek Art.

While the rounded planes of the bodies of the Tyrannicides continue to dominate the Olympia sculptures, the careful eye may discern, especially in the torso of Apollo (Pl. 80b), the faint beginning of the flatter planes and crisper transitions that are to be developed into a standard characteristic of the Periklean style. It will certainly

<sup>10</sup> H. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, pls. 129, 130.

detect, in the veins on the hand of one of the Centaurs an early acceptance of the prevailing trend toward multiplicity of details already evident in contemporary Sicilian sculpture and soon to be manifest extensively in the Parthenon.

The most important original contribution, and the one which more than any other was to find a glorious culmination in Attic art of the later fifth century, was the concept of using the lines of the drapery to amplify the modelling and the motion of the figure. Such a formula was latent, but thoroughly dormant, in pre-Persian archaism. The Acropolis maidens pull their skirts tightly about their buttocks and legs revealing the anatomical outlines; but this idea is never consciously developed by the arrangement and direction of the folds. At Olympia the dishevelled chiton of a Lapith woman clings to one breast while its folds seem to frame it and accent its curve as they part and flow down on either side (Pl. 84b). The edge of the chiton follows and heightens the contours of shoulder and chest. More familiar is the magnificent broad sweep of the cloak over the hips and thigh of the Kladeos, and the gradually contracting curves of its folds as it wraps itself about the knees, legs and feet (Pl. 84a). The basic formula for the recumbent "Fate" of the east pediment of the Parthenon is already announced (Pl. 84c). It awaits only a further evolutionary step that took place during the decade following the Olympia sculptures.<sup>11</sup>

This development followed two courses. The first was complication, the multiplication of ridges, deepening of hollows. The second was a shift paralleled in anatomical style, from an emphasis on roundness of planes to a partial return to the flat planes and angular transitions of archaic days. Both of these may be simply but clearly shown in a comparison of the chiton of Sterope with its few folds and heavy rounded edges; to the Demeter of the Eleusis Relief where the pleats are more numerous, the edges sharp, and the clarity emphasized by a shallow concavity along the top of the flat vertical ridges; to the Maidens of the Parthenon frieze, the Varvakeion Athena, the Caryatids of the Erechtheum, etc. If one remembers the close similarities of the heads of the Eleusis Demeter and the Sterope (Pls. 81c; 80c), it is necessary only to glance at the other side of the Eleusis Relief to the figure of Persephone and find in the hair, the eye, the chiton and himation the style of the Parthenon in full flower.<sup>12</sup>

Thus the Olympia sculptures provide not only a vivid extension of the potenti-

<sup>11</sup> Many of the Olympia drapery mannerisms appear in the partly-finished backs of certain of the pedimental figures of the Parthenon. Cf. Pl. 84d.

<sup>12</sup> While the Eleusis relief is clearly in mind, it is instructive to consider the third figure, Triptolemos. Though the firm curls of his hair derive from Olympia they are a step closer to the freer rendering of the Parthenon. His body in pose, proportion, foreshortening and detail is almost identical with that of the youth on the Sounion stele, whose head presents so striking a parallel to that of the Olympia Apollo. Further transitional details on the Eleusis Relief may be noted in the eye of Demeter which, though retaining the heavy upper lid of Olympia, carries it beyond its junction with the lower; and in the mouths of all the figures as already noted.



alities inherent in the style of Kritios and Nesiotes, but also the earliest clear premonitions of the style of the Parthenon. They are the source from which came the massive form and easy flow of the "Theseus" and the recumbent "Fate" of the latter's east pediment. It is from their dynamic questioning that the ultimate compromise between force and sophistication is found.

This solution was achieved by the consolidation of the characteristics of the Olympia style with a separate tendency stemming more directly and pacifically from the late archaic. We have seen that the Olympia sculptures find their only known parallels in Attica, earlier in the Tyrannicides, later in a whole series of monuments including the Parthenon itself. But there was another trend in Attic sculpture at this time that paralleled the development in Sicily. We cannot follow it as clearly; but literary references to the interest of the Athenian Kalamis in veins and sinews relate him to similar experiments by the Sicilian Pythagoras. These may be seen in the metopes from Temple E at Selinos, which show much lighter physical types than the Olympia figures, and consistently develop minor anatomical detail while retaining archaic mannerisms in the drapery.<sup>13</sup> None of them faintly suggests the bulk or the dynamic linear qualities which imbue the sculptures of the Parthenon.

The partial modification of the heroic physical type of Olympia, seen first in the Sounion stele and the Triptolemos of the Eleusis relief, and then in the metopes of the Hephaisteion and the Parthenon, supplied the earliest opening concession to the compromise. From this point the adaptations toward greater softness, ease and complication, more minor detailed realism combined with an agreeable overall idealization, rapidly shaped the final draft of the treaty which we call the Periklean style. The modifications were inevitable, for at this time the raw power of Aischylos was undergoing a similar adjustment in the suaver persuasion of Sophokles.

## THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP

(See also Appendix A)

The apparent digression on changes of style, necessary because they are so often ignored, has temporarily drawn us away from the next logical topic for consideration. For as it is generally held that neither Paionios nor Alkamenes had a part in the work on the Olympia sculptures, despite the statements of Pausanias and the apparent Athenian origin of the pediments, there must be very sound reasoning, or proof, or both to maintain this position. We must then scrutinize what is known of these artists and weigh the justness of this opinion.

Was Pausanias right or wrong in his attributions of the pediments? There is no

<sup>13</sup> The veil of the Hera on the Selinous metope and the cloak (?) of Zeus embody certain mannerisms later used in the sculptures of the Parthenon, though Hera's chiton and the dress of the figures on the other metopes is rigidly archaic.

suspicion of corruptness in the text. He does not qualify his statement in any way; and since he eschews the phrases "they say" and "it is said" which he uses to indicate unreliable sources of information, we may be sure that he gave his assertion without reservation. It is easy to say Pausanias was wrong. His was a human fallibility, and scores of avid critics nearly two millennia later have shown conclusively that he did, on occasion, err. But the burden of proof lies with the prosecution, and must be shown valid before it can be sustained. This particular accusation has been supported by the claim that neither Paionios nor Alkamenes, for reason of their dates and their styles, could have executed the Olympia pediments.

### PAIONIOS

What do we know of Paionios of Mende? He is mentioned only twice in ancient literature; and both monuments have survived, thereby establishing a unique record in correspondence of evidence. Pausanias names him as the sculptor of the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus, and, later, as the artist of the Nike dedicated by the Messenians of Naupaktos which stood near by.

The sculptures of the east pediment have already been noted (Pls. 80c; 83 a, d). They are consistently in the Olympia manner, presumably no later in date than 458 when the Temple is considered to have been complete, and, except for their embryonic experiments with the formula of amplifying the body through the lines of the drapery, seem not especially advanced.

The Nike is a magnificent example of the full-blown Periklean style, the long free-sweeping ridges of the chiton giving action and direction to the otherwise scantily clad form (Pl. 85c). Of the stiffness of Sterope and the bulk of the Old Seer no traces whatever remain. The mannerisms of the sculptor are so similar to those of "Master B" of the parapet of the Nike Temple in Athens that Carpenter is tempted to identify him as Paionios,<sup>14</sup> and this proposal together with its implication of strong Athenian association with the artist have generally been accepted.

The date of the Nike is not certain. Neither the letter forms of its well-preserved inscription, the mouldings of its lofty pedestal, nor the unspecified victory it commemorated can be placed surely within a limit of thirty years or more. It is now generally dated about 425; so far as style is concerned it can hardly be much earlier.

The Nike is unquestionably the work of Paionios of Mende, for the inscription bearing his name survives to demonstrate that, this time at least, Pausanias made no mistake. Because of the probable date and the highly developed and complex style of the Nike, it has been maintained that Paionios cannot also have been the author of the east pediment.

The first part of this argument is clearly untenable. It arbitrarily assumes that

<sup>14</sup> *The Sculptures of the Nike Temple Parapet*, p. 35.

an artist's life is brief, whereas one needs only to compute the average age of the artist members of the Century Association to make a good case for the opposite. This proposal is misleading and irrelevant.

The second argument, that the differences in style between the two monuments make it impossible for Paionios to have done them both, ignores countless parallel instances in the history of art in general, and in particular, the development of Attic sculpture between 460 and 425. One cannot conceive of the mass demise of the Olympia sculptors before 450, and yet the traces of their mannerisms had almost entirely disappeared by the time the metopes of the Parthenon were carved. It would be as startling to find Sterope on the Nike base as to discover the Nike herself taking part in the chariot race in the pediment.

Unless further proof is forthcoming we should in fairness accept Paionios as the author of both monuments; and in support of this contention certain further indications are available.

The head of the Nike is virtually destroyed, but copies of it have been recognized in a less battered condition. Carpenter, pointing out their similarities to a head by "Master B," notes that: "the features seem smooth, clear and shallow, with quiet and rather massive hair above expressionless cheeks and eyes";<sup>15</sup> and indeed the early qualities of these details have been used to demonstrate a date before 450 for the Nike. Such a date is plainly impossible either for the rest of the Nike or for the work of "Master B" on the Nike Temple parapet. But these heads are closer in feeling and in style to the heads of the Olympia sculptures than to most of those on the metopes and frieze of the Parthenon.

A characteristic of the drapery of the Nike, mirrored in the work of "Master B," is the curious tubular type of ridge which the artist raises in long lines from the clinging chiton. When one remembers that though many of the sculptures of the Parthenon retain the Olympia roundness of fold, one of the essential technical developments of the Periklean style was the flat, or even slightly depressed, ridge with crisp edges, it is possible to conceive of this peculiarity as a well-disguised survivor of the rounded ridges of Olympia.

A third indication is to be found in the inscription which reads: "Paionios of Mende made (the Nike), and he was victorious in making the ἀκρωτήρια on the Temple." The common translation of "ἀκρωτήρια" would imply that Paionios was referring to the gilt victory and kettles that crowned the three angles of the pediment. These, being gilded, were presumably of bronze, and have not survived. It is doubtful, that what is now a technical term of precise meaning was similarly connoted in the fifth century B.C.<sup>16</sup> Literally "ἀκρωτήρια" means "the higher-up things," and might

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>16</sup> For a very full discussion of the word as meaning "extremities" or "tips of an object" see Dorothy B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 291 ff.

have been used to refer to the sculptures of the pediment. No certain decision on this point can be reached. It is important, however, to note that Paionios specifically puts himself on record as participating on certain exterior sculptures of the Temple of Zeus.

The results of this review of Paionios may be summarized as follows:

1. Both works ascribed to Paionios by ancient writers have been recovered.
2. The Nike is certainly an original by Paionios.
3. There is no reason to assume a short life for Paionios.
4. There is every reason to assume, and none to refute, that all Attic artists changed their style markedly about 450, and that Paionios was an artist associated with Athens.
5. The head and drapery of the Nike both suggest earlier mannerisms largely outmoded by the time of the Parthenon sculptures.
6. The signatory inscription definitely associates Paionios with work on the temple.
7. There are no valid reasons for rejecting Pausanias' ascription of the east pediment to Paionios.

This proposal accepts both the Nike and the east pediment as originals by Paionios. It invokes all the evidence from ancient times in its support.

### ALKAMENES

Of Alkamenes we know more that is vague, and less that is tangible, than in the case of Paionios. He is mentioned many times in ancient literature; but aside from a few generalities which may be helpful, only a handful of references are of real value in visualizing his work and his career.

Three dates, two specific and one implied, have come down in ancient literature as associated with him:

*ca.* 460—the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia;

448/45—in which years Pliny says he flourished along with Pheidias, Kritios, Nesiotes, and Hegias;

404/03—a colossal relief by Alkamenes was dedicated at Thebes.

The first two dates are compatible; the second and third are of possible, the first and third of unlikely, consonance. On the evidence of these three dates alone it is more reasonable to accept the first and second, than to insist on the third at the expense of the first.

Whereas for Paionios all the known attributed examples were available for study,

only three possible works, one a copy, by Alkamenes have been preserved. The first of these, the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Pls. 79 b, e; 80b; 83b; 84b), we have already discussed. Like the east pediment it is largely in the heroic style with occasional prophecies of future development, such as the modelling of the Apollo and the drapery of the Lapith woman whose head is the most delicately carved of all the architectural sculptures of the temple.

The second is a Herm, unearthed at Pergamon in 1903 (Pl. 86d). It bears an inscription reading: "You will recognize Alkamenes' beautiful statue, the Hermes Propylaios. A Pergamene set it up." The combination of snail-shell curls and formalized beard with eyes and mouth of the Parthenon style have long perplexed the very scholars who, at the same time, believe it to be a copy of a Herm which Pausanias noted in front of the Acropolis of Athens without recording its artist. Many other copies demonstrate that it was not only from a famous original but that the archaic elements were no whim on the part of the copyist. Some of them even render eyes and mouth in an earlier style.

The discrepancy of hair and beard has usually been explained as conscious archaism on the part of Alkamenes. The argument would carry more weight if it could be shown that any such tendency ever existed in the sculpture of the later fifth century. Taken at its face value, the combination recalls the Demeter of the Eleusis relief and the Nike of Paionios where the same type of juxtaposition of styles is to be found.

The third sculpture is a badly-battered group of a young woman and a small boy, found more than a century ago on the Athenian Acropolis (Pl. 86 a, b, c). Pausanias listed there: "a group representing Prokne and Itys, at the time when Prokne had taken her resolution against the boy, was dedicated by Alkamenes."<sup>17</sup> He does not specifically state that Alkamenes, the *famous sculptor*, was the dedicator (neither does the copyist of the Herm from Pergamon). If, as is certainly possible, it was he, it is a fair presumption that the work was his own. Dedications by artists were by no means rare on the Acropolis. As for Pausanias failing to qualify the name, we ourselves rarely amplify the names of "Rembrandt," "Bernini" or "Raphael" today.

The group has found small favor with those who would insist on Alkamenes being reflected only in the type of the Venus Genetrix. Prokne's pose is formal. Her flowing garments are clearly in the Parthenon style, better paralleled by the conservative forms of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos than by more advanced and complex mannerisms. Her shattered face retains only the curve of the cheek, the heavy chin and eye, the plain forehead framed by heavy locks. In these features the impartial viewer will more readily recognize the similar qualities of the Varvakeion Statuette, the Demeter of the Eleusis relief, less distinctly those of Sterope, than the usual variety

<sup>17</sup> I, xxiv, 3.

of types of the Parthenon. Here again, as in the Pergamene Herm and the Nike of Paionios, the earlier and the later styles are met in a somewhat less than perfect blend.

This concludes the specific evidence from antiquity for Alkamenes. It may be summarized as follows:

1. Two of the ascribed dates agree well. The third does not.
2. The three extant candidates to represent the style of Alkamenes agree well with each other and with the first two dates.
3. None of the extant candidates supports the third date.

Therefore, on the basis of the unity of two dates and three monuments as opposed to a single date, such proof as there is strongly supports the attribution of the west pediment to Alkamenes.

In addition to the above selections, there are many more or less explicit references to the style and career of Alkamenes in ancient literature. Some of these are valueless, such as Lucian's reference to his "symmetry" and "delicacy," for we do not know by what standard he measured these terms. If he had in mind the refinements of the Nike Temple parapet or of the Venus Genetrix, he implied one thing; but if he was thinking of the style of Kritios and Nesiotes with whom Pliny linked Alkamenes he was suggesting another. It is more interesting to note that Alkamenes was mentioned more often with Pheidias than alone, and always in his company when style is the chief consideration. He appears much less often with Polykleitos; and Quintilian tells us that the latter lacked the "pondus," translated by Miss Richter as "lofty serenity," of Alkamenes and Pheidias. "Pondus" seems better to suit the sculptures of the Parthenon and of the Temple of Zeus than the restlessness of the Nike Temple parapet. As had already been noted, Pliny does not hesitate to include Alkamenes in the same date with Pheidias, Hegias, Kritios and Nesiotes.

In essence, the trend of the evidence for the style of Alkamenes would easily show him to be an earlier and middle period artist except for two factors: the date of 404/03,<sup>18</sup> and his close association with Pheidias. It is almost safe to conclude that, but for the problem of Pheidias, the single late date would never have been considered a serious matter. In fact, the evidence for Alkamenes would in itself be strong enough to carry Pheidias with it except that: Pheidias was regarded as a greater man; there is much more literary and much less monumental evidence for him; and there is a tradition, two centuries in building, for the opposite point of view. Unless there is real reason to question this, all other indications will continue to be ignored. We are at last confronted directly with the master.

<sup>18</sup> See Appendix A.

## PHEIDIAS

(See also Appendices B and C)

The greatest of all Greek sculptors is known to us today only indirectly. The ivory and gold and bronze which he fashioned has long since been recut or melted down. Only one of his statues, the Athena Parthenos, is certainly identified, in small, lack-lustre copies (Pls. 82b; 83c). Fragments of undecorated stone that once formed parts of the pedestals for some of his greatest works tell us tantalizingly little of value. A single inscription seems surely to record the accounting connected with his colossal Athena Promachos. Compared to this the monumental evidence for Alkamenes looms large indeed.

In partial compensation, ancient literature abounds with references to Pheidias, his works and his style. For the most part their contents are not very meaningful, for their generalities intrigue rather than satisfy, opening up an infinity of speculation that will remain forever theory until more specific information becomes available. At best they represent a small handful of fact; at worst they confuse and contradict each other. The elusive quality of the evidence for Alkamenes is multiplied. For here is greatness, and greatness inspires poetry rather than prose.

In chronological sequence, the following dates and events have been associated with Pheidias at one time or another and with varying degrees of acceptance.

*Ca. 500-475, Apprenticeship*

Pheidias is said to have been a pupil of Agelaidas of Argos. Agelaidas made statues for two athletes whose Olympic victories were won in 520 and 516, and of a third who was put to death in 507. His dedicatory group for the Tarentines was apparently set up early in the fifth century. One of his statues of Herakles stood in Athens, suggesting a period of residence there.<sup>19</sup>

Pheidias is also said to have been a pupil of Hegias of Athens. Pausanias calls Hegias a contemporary of Agelaidas and of Onatas, who was certainly working at Olympia before the Temple of Zeus was built. Hegias is also considered as a contemporary of Kritios and Nesiotes whose Tyrannicides are dated 477, and whose dates are amplified by three bases on the Athenian Acropolis bearing letter forms of 460 or earlier. A base on the Acropolis, signed by Hegias, resembles those just mentioned epigraphically, and, further, was damaged by fire, probably at the time of the Persian sack in 480. Pliny lists Hegias as a contemporary of Pheidias and Alkamenes along with Kritios and Nesiotes under the date of 448/5.

Thus both named masters of Pheidias were active in Athens before the Persian

<sup>19</sup> Tzetzes, *Chil*, VIII, 325.

Wars and the known works of most of his "contemporaries" ante-date the completion of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. This indicates a period of training for Pheidias before 480; and possibly shortly thereafter.

*Ca. 477-461, Marathon Memorial*

Pheidias received three of the largest commissions the Athenians had to award for monuments to their victories over the Persians. One of these, the bronze Athena Promachos, seems surely to have been executed as late as 455; and there is reason to believe the second, the acrolithic Athena Areia at Plataia, was done at about the same time. But the third, comprising bronze gods and heroes which were set up at Delphi in honor of Marathon, included a portrait statue of Miltiades. Portrait sculpture was a rarity in Greece in the fifth century, and the inclusion of a mortal among divinities and heroes was unique in its time. Because of this it has been inferred that the group was erected under the patronage of Kimon, the son of Miltiades, whose supremacy at Athens endured between 477 and 461, the year in which he was exiled. There remains, of course, the bare possibility that Miltiades himself set it up; but Miltiades died in 488, two years after the battle and his name was regarded with definite reserve by his immediate successors. Thus we may reasonably place the figures between 477 and the year of Kimon's exile.

*Ca. 470-458, Olympian Zeus*

The temple of Zeus at Olympia was built between these dates as is clearly shown by both literary and monumental sources. Pheidias is known to have made the cult image; and though its contemporaneity with the building which housed it has been questioned, there is considerable evidence that supports this date for the colossal figure.<sup>20</sup>

The manufacture of a new cult statue seems almost always to have been synchronous with that of the temple it occupied. There can have been no long lapse, if any, in this instance, for the Temple of Zeus was built in the mature lifetime of Pheidias.<sup>21</sup>

The architectural sculptures of the Temple, certainly contemporary with the building, are said to have been carved by two artists, one of whom was the most famous pupil of Pheidias and the other a man who worked in the Attic style. The sculptures are remarkable for their uniformity, implying a single supervisory authority.

<sup>20</sup> For a full discussion of the later date, see Appendix B.

<sup>21</sup> The completion of the cult images for the Hephaisteion in Athens in 420 whereas the building was begun in 449 has been used as an argument to sustain the concept of later dedications. But there is good reason to think that the completion of that temple itself was considerably delayed.



Pausanias, in his elaborate description of the decoration of the throne of Zeus, records numerous subjects some of which relate to the cult of Zeus, some to general Greek mythology, and some very reminiscent of the Athenian peculiarities already noted in the architectural sculptures. Thus the Battle of Greeks and Amazons appear twice, each time featuring Theseus, once as the ally of Herakles and once alone. The reliefs on the pedestal apparently placed Hephaistos next to Zeus and Hera. Hephaistos had but a single altar at Olympia as compared to Apollo's two. In Pausanias' whole tour of Greece the only temple to Hephaistos that he notes was the one above the Agora in Athens, a city which venerated him as midwife to Zeus during the birth of Athena, and as god of the artisans to whom Attic commerce owed so much. As in the metopes, Athena appears with Herakles. Apollo and Poseidon are included. On the barriers under the throne the nine panels painted by Panainos include two with a strong Attic bias, for Salamis is grouped with Greece and, reminiscent of the west pediment, Theseus is paired with Peirithous. The close correspondence between the subject matter of the architectural sculptures and the decorations of the cult image not only implies Athenian prejudice in each, but urges contemporaneity of execution and a single directing mind.

Panainos, the painter, is sometimes called the brother or the nephew of Pheidias. Aside from his work on the Olympian Zeus, his only other suggested date is given by his painting of the Battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile in Athens. The recently recovered fragments of this latter building show it to have been built between 460 and 450, a date which perfectly suits Polygnotos who also painted there.

The date of Panainos is important. As the brother of Pheidias they must both be considered middle aged before the end of the second quarter of the fifth century. As the nephew of Pheidias he would seem to make our dating for the apprentice years of the master conservatively late. In either case, the description of Pheidias as an old man in 438 is amply justified.

Pausanias records that in his time the workshop of Pheidias, where he wrought the image "piece by piece," was still to be seen at Olympia outside the Altis. Just north of the Leonidaion, which Pausanias mentions in his next sentence, the excavators unearthed the remains of a series of structures remarkably suited to this purpose. A row of small and lightly built rooms face an open area on the north, on the west side of which a single huge room faced east. The complex is just outside the Altis, as near to the Temple as it was possible to place it except within the sacred enclosure.

The large building is remarkably similar in orientation, dimension, material, plan and construction to the cella of the Temple. A comparison of the plans of the two structures reveals that their only real difference is (Fig. 1 a, b) in the substitution in the temple of columns for the spur walls of its counterpart.

The choice of brick for all but the lower part of the walls, and the lack of flutes

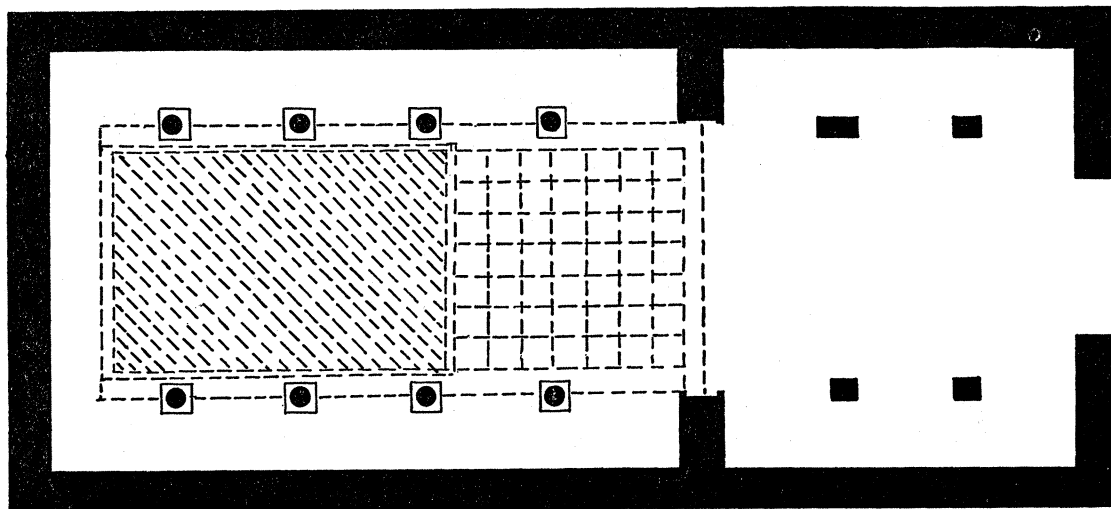


Fig. 1 a. Plan of the Workshop of Pheidias, with the base and reflecting basin of the Temple cella superposed in hatched lines

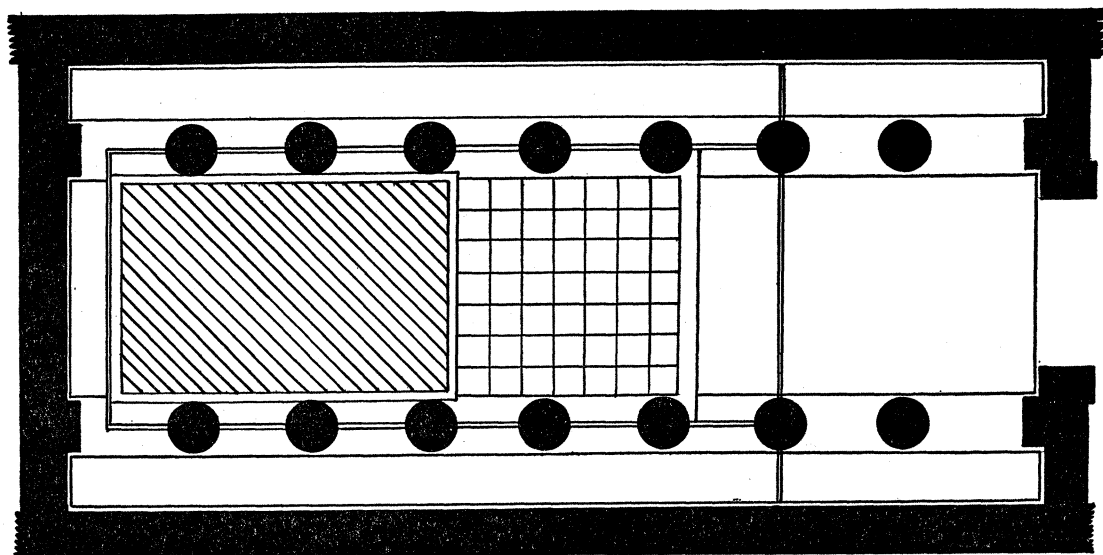


Fig. 1 b. Plan of the cella of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

on the interior columns of the "workshop" clearly suggest a building intended for relatively temporary and utilitarian purposes.

The large hall and its associated inconspicuous structures are perfectly adapted to the complexity of the construction of a colossal chryselephantine statue. The wood and ivory carvers, the goldsmiths and other metal workers, the carpenters all had special equipment and requirements which could best be met by special workrooms. Large lumber could be stacked in the courtyard until needed. The single huge building served in its eastern part to store the supply of unworked precious materials, while in the larger section to the west the great image could be assembled "piece by completed piece." The spur walls supported wooden doors or other types of barrier which would normally be closed, but which could be removed to study the effectiveness of the growing statue.<sup>22</sup> The solidity of the building's structure ensured the security of its valuable contents.

How perfectly the "assembly area" of the Workshop was suited for its purpose may be seen in Figure 1 a where the areas of the image base and of the dark paving with its raised rim of white marble have been transposed from the plan of the cella, Figure 1 b. Allowing a space between the back of the base and the rear wall equal to that which exists in the cella, the front edge of the white rim projects just half way into the space between the spur walls. It is also significant that the overall width of the pavement precisely corresponds to the distance between the ends of these spur walls.

The dark pavement may have served, as Pausanias noted, as a shallow reservoir for the oil which kept the wood and ivory of the statue from warping and cracking. It seems also to have served as a giant mirror by which light from the doorway was deflected upward. One of the most serious problems confronting Pheidias at Olympia was the lighting of his colossus. The cella, for all its relatively generous dimensions, was dwarfed by the enormous Zeus whose head must nearly have scraped the rafters. The sturdiness of construction and proportion of the architecture further tended to increase the sense of crowding gloom that the mighty doorway could not dispel. To counter this, at least in part, the dark blue limestone pavement, drenched with liquid (oil had the great advantage over water in its relative slowness of evaporation) anticipated the modern phenomenon of a macadam highway in the rain.

This interpretation finds support in the position of the eastern barrier in the cella. Instead of coinciding with the front face of the basin rim, it was placed between the second columns of the interior colonnades, chopping off a small section of the normal pavement of the cella. The explanation of this curious procedure may be found by plotting the lines of the angles whereby direct exterior light could reach the reflecting surface. If we postulate the position of the barrier as set up in the Workshop at the edge of the basin rim we note that more than three-quarters of the area received this

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Gardiner, E. N., *Olympia, Its History and Remains*, p. 244.

light through the outside doorway (Fig. 2, A1). Conditions within the cella were different, the depth of the pronaos and peristyle more than doubling the distance between the pool and the open air. If the barrier had been retained at the edge of the basin less than a third of its surface would have been directly serviceable (Fig. 2, A2). By moving the barrier eastward to its actual position light could again reach the precise point it had achieved under the conditions of the Workshop<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 2, B 3).

If the Temple of Zeus had been completed before Pheidias arrived to begin his work, the cella itself would have been a logical assembly point for the image. The

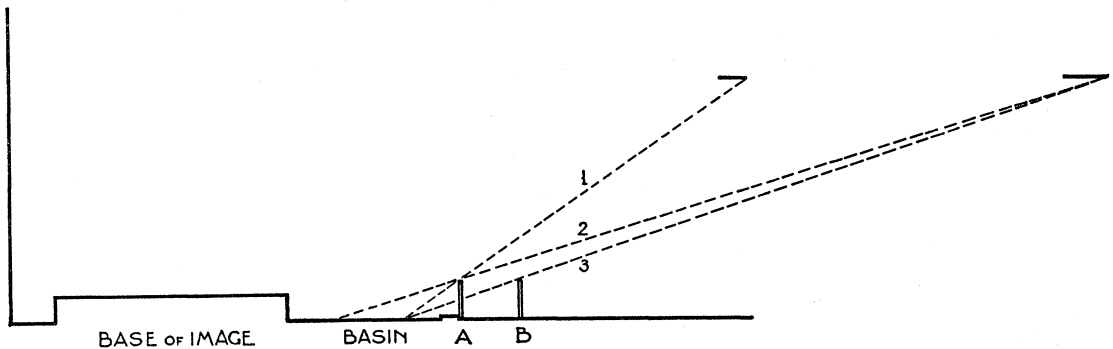


Fig. 2. Diagram of the maximum reflecting angles of the basin before the statue of Zeus:

1. Within the Workshop with the barrier (A) at the edge of the basin
2. Within the cella with the barrier (A) at the edge of the basin
3. Within the cella with the barrier (B) in its actual position

whole expensive operation of constructing a separate structure for which no other reasonable purpose has ever been assigned, and the difficult, delicate, not to say dangerous, task of dismantling, transferring and re-erecting the myriad parts of the intricate, but gigantic, statue would have been obviated.<sup>24</sup>

#### Pre 455, Pellene Athena

Travelling through Achaia Pausanias noted at Pellene a chryselephantine statue of Athena, and added, "They say it was made by Pheidias before he made the images of Athena on the Acropolis and at Plataia."<sup>25</sup> It is not clear from his text whether

<sup>23</sup> The lesser angle of refraction achieved, however, was less efficient. It is interesting in this connection to recall the lighting surprises that confronted Daniel Chester French when his colossus was installed in the Lincoln Memorial in Washington only a generation ago.

<sup>24</sup> It might be objected that the process of gradual assembly in the cella while the building was in use would be intolerable to the priests. It should be remembered that the Pope and Cardinals regularly celebrated Mass in the Sistine Chapel during the four years that the structure was filled with Michelangelo's scaffolding; and that he and his helpers worked continually between the services.

<sup>25</sup> Pausanias, VII, xxvii, 2.

his qualifying "they say" refers to the authorship of the statue or to its relative date. If the statement is true, it shows that Pheidias was at work on a major commission in the northwest Peloponnesos before 455 when we know him to have been engaged in fabricating the Athena Promachos on the Acropolis.

In addition to the Zeus at Olympia and the Athena at Pellene, Pheidias is credited with two other works in this general area, a chryselephantine Aphrodite Ourania at Elis and a victor statue in the Altis at Olympia. The construction of a gold-and-ivory statue of whatever size was a time-consuming task, and both the Athena and the Aphrodite were cult images, hence presumably larger than life. No direct clue as to the date of the Aphrodite at Elis has survived. It is significant that Panainos and Kolotes, both of whom assisted Pheidias on the Zeus, also worked at Elis; for this implies that Pheidias and his chief aides on the Zeus were continuously at work together for the Eleans over a considerable period of time. The construction of the Zeus must have required years.

These commissions seem best to fit the period before the Zeus was started. Pheidias was working in Athens by the early fifties of the century, and from then on we know enough of his career, however interpreted, seriously to doubt that he can later have made a protracted stay away from his native city. The clue to the date of the Athena at Pellene further urges this conclusion. Except for the Marathon Memorial at Delphi, Athens seems to have offered little in the way of orders for monumental sculpture between 480 and the Athena Promachos.

#### *Ca. 460-450, The Athenas Promachos and Areia*

The fragmentary inscription that apparently records the accounts connected with the making of the bronze Athena Promachos for the Acropolis at Athens is to be dated in this decade. The accounts cover a nine year period. Dinsmoor believes that they began a little before 460,<sup>26</sup> but Meritt prefers to date the cutting of the inscription toward the end of the decade.<sup>27</sup> Fragments of the base have survived. They include a large, heavy egg-and-dart moulding and a band of the same blue Eleusinian stone used by Pheidias for the pedestal and the pavement in front of the Olympian Zeus.

A combination of sources leaves little doubt that this bronze colossus stood about twenty-five to thirty feet in height.<sup>28</sup> The material was already familiar to Pheidias from his work on the Marathon Memorial at Delphi. He was also apparently familiar with statues larger than life, for his Athena at Pellene, if not the Olympian Zeus, seems to have been done before this time. The record of the fabrication of the Promachos covers nine years, a period equal to that in which he made the Athena Parthenos, a larger and more complicated image done while he was carrying the full

<sup>26</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, pp. 118-129; XLV, 1941, p. 427.

<sup>27</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 362 ff.

<sup>28</sup> See G. P. Stevens in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 491 ff.

organizational responsibility for Perikles' program. Obviously he cannot have been entirely occupied with this one figure during this time.<sup>29</sup>

The Athena Areia at Plataia was an acrolithic image, apparently only slightly smaller than the Athena Promachos. Its date seems to be linked with that of the Promachos in Pausanias' account of the Athena at Pellene. A further clue is supplied by the known active period of Polygnotos who painted decorations within the shrine that housed Pheidias' statue. For Polygnotos was fully employed for a long time before the middle of the century, but we have no indication that he worked later. Certain dates have been associated with him on reasonable grounds. The murals in the Lesche of the Knidians must antedate the death, in 468, of the poet Simonides. The daughter of Miltiades is said to have been one of his models. He adorned the walls of the Theseion, erected on the slopes of the Acropolis in honor of the recovery of the bones of Theseus by Kimon about 470. He worked with Mikon and Panainos on the Stoa Poikile in Athens, built as we have seen between 460 and 450.

Beyond the relative size of the figure and the fact that it was acrolithic we have no specific information about this statue. The materials of marble and gilded wood, requiring relatively little piecing, cannot have been as costly of time as gold and ivory. Plataia is not far from Athens. Pheidias, on the basis of the known date of the Promachos and the presumed date of Polygnotos' work in the sanctuary of Athena Areia, probably made the two statues concurrently.

#### 449-438, Hephaisteion, Parthenon and Parthenos

Plutarch states that Pheidias became Perikles' supervisor of the great rebuilding and adornment program for the shrines of Athens. The author further adds: "The several enterprises had great architects and artists besides," all of whom came directly under the authority of Pheidias.

Dinsmoor dates the beginning of work on the Hephaisteion in Athens in 449. Stylistic parallels between its metopes and the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus have already been noted. This small temple seems to have been the first enterprise of the new program headed by Pheidias. The metopes were surely the first carvings for its adornment. It is perhaps not too subjective to suggest that Pheidias entrusted these first commissions to his associates of a decade before at Olympia. How far the stylistic revolution had affected them may be seen in the physical proportions of the figures. How tenacious certain features of the earlier manner proved is apparent in the preserved heads.

In 447 work was initiated on the Parthenon. This was a very much larger and more elaborate undertaking than the Hephaisteion. From the disparity in style be-

<sup>29</sup> Michelangelo, working under much the same conditions as Pheidias, but with little experience in bronze and only one larger-than-life figure to his credit, executed the twice life-size bronze of Julius II at Bologna in a little more than a year.

tween the metopes and friezes of the latter, it is clear that a considerable amount of time elapsed between their respective productions. The lingering traces of the Olympia mannerisms on the metopes and, more faintly, on the frieze of the Parthenon imply that work, in sculpture at least, was temporarily suspended on the Hephaisteion, and its sculptors transferred to the Acropolis. The somewhat later character of the mouldings of the interior friezes of the Hephaisteion compared to those of the exterior and of the Parthenon, the advanced style of these reliefs and of the pedimental sculptures, and the date of 420 assigned to the cult images all confirm this interruption in favor of the Parthenon.

The relationship between Pheidias and the sculptures of the Parthenon has long been debated. Less than a decade intervened between the laying of the foundations of the building and the dedication of the Athena Parthenos. During this time Pheidias was responsible, not only for the statue and for the work on the temple as a whole, but for all the rest of the extensive program. The new Telesterion at Eleusis was built, the plan for the Propylaia was drawn up, and that for the Temple of Ares. Between 449 and his death Pheidias was credited with the manufacture in Athens of a marble Aphrodite Ourania and possibly with the thus far undatable and unidentified Athena Lemnia and the Parnopian Apollo on the Acropolis. He is said to have lent a helping hand to Alkamenes on his Demeter for the Metroon and to Agorakritos on his Nemesis for Rhamnous.

Considering the known social status of an artist in ancient Greece, no caste barrier prevented Pheidias from joining his employees directly on any project. It is possible but highly unlikely that he chiselled some of the extant figures for the Parthenon. The search for these will doubtless continue, with more profit to those who take the copies of the Athena Parthenos as their guide to the style of Pheidias at this time, rather than basing their conclusions on imagined criteria.<sup>30</sup>

In the sculptures of the Parthenon the final phases of the stylistic revolution appear in plain but uneven sequence. The physical type had already been established by the time of the Hephaisteion metopes in which heroic form had been in part subjugated by a less bulky, more agile mould. The severities of head and hair were somewhat softened and made more generally lifelike. Certain peculiarities such as the eyelids and lips had already been incorporated in the Eleusis Relief. The uncertainties of the Olympia draperies had almost disappeared except for rounded ridges which were steadily replaced by the sharp-edged naturalistic sweep and revelation of cloaks and chitons. By the time the pedimental figures were carved in the thirties the transition was complete.

The colossal gold-and-ivory Athena Parthenos by Pheidias was dedicated in 438. This is the only one of Pheidias' creations that has been preserved for us in copies,

<sup>30</sup> See E. Langlotz, *Phidiasprobleme*, 1947.

and of these the Varvakeion Statuette is the most useful (Pl. 82b). Despite the mechanical character of the workmanship, the style of the Parthenon is manifest, especially in the design and arrangement of the draperies; but the parallels are rather with the more conservative mannerisms of the metopes and frieze than with the undulating elaboration of the pedimental sculptures. This severity is enhanced by the heavy impassive face. A detail, the heavy squarish fold that hangs down from the relaxed knee, repeats a motive found elsewhere only in the Athena of the Atlas metope and the Sterope of the east pediment at Olympia. It does not occur in the sculptures of the Parthenon.

The appearance of the inner part of the shield is in part recoverable in the Strangford Shield (Pl. 83c) which bears out Plutarch's tale that in presenting the Battle of Greeks and Amazons "Pheidias represented himself as a bald old man lifting high a stone with both hands and also an excellent likeness of Perikles fighting with an Amazon . . . contrived to conceal the resemblance which can, however, be clearly seen from either side."<sup>31</sup> The relief is of such inferior technical skill that minute inferences may not be drawn from it. The modelling of the anatomy, especially in the figure of Pheidias, suggests more the type of the Olympia figures than the flat-planed bodies of the Parthenon. Certainly the draperies seem little advanced in plan, and repeat none of the more charming convolutions sometimes seen in the frieze of the Parthenon. We cannot check on Plutarch's reference to the portrait of Perikles; but Pheidias' head is clearly bald in the manner of the Old Seer of the east pediment at Olympia.

#### 438-432, ?

There are two irreconcilable accounts of these years preserved in classical tradition. According to one he continued on in Athens and died there; but the other made him a refugee in Elis where he fashioned the Zeus and was then executed or exiled. Since this latter version has materially affected the standard reconstruction of Pheidias, Alkamenes and Paionios—indeed of the whole development of Attic sculpture after the Persian Wars—it is of vital importance to reconsider their evaluation.

Plutarch, as reliable a source as any that has come down to us from antiquity and our chief authority on all other matters pertaining to Pheidias' relationship to Perikles and his program, writes: "Pheidias . . . being a friend of Perikles, and wielding strong influence over him, made enemies because of the jealousy he incited. These foes persuaded one Menon, an aide of Pheidias, to take refuge in the Agora and claim immunity if he should lodge information and accusations against Pheidias. The people accepted the man's proposal, and indicted Pheidias. Embezzlement was not proven, for the gold of the statue from the very start had been so wrought upon and cast about it by Pheidias, at the wise suggestion of Perikles, that it could all be taken

<sup>31</sup> *Perikles*, 31.



off and weighed, and that is what Perikles actually ordered the accusers of Pheidias to do at this time . . . .”<sup>32</sup> But a charge of sacrilege, based on the inclusion of the portraits on Athena’s shield, was raised and “Pheidias was accordingly led off to prison, and died there of sickness; or as some say of poison which the enemies of Perikles provided, that they might bring calumny upon him. And to Menon the informer, on the motion of Glykon, the people gave immunity from taxation, and enjoined upon the generals to make provision for his safety.”<sup>33</sup>

A Scholiast, reliability otherwise unknown, comments on a passage in Aristophanes,’ *Peace* as follows: “Philochoros, writing on the archonship of Pythodoros (432; but usually amended to read ‘Theodoros,’ archon in 438), says: ‘The golden image of Athena was placed in the great temple. Pheidias, the artist, was thought to have been guilty of stealing ivory from the serpent’s scales, and was put on trial. He fled to Elis, where he is said to have accepted the contract for the image of Zeus at Olympia, and, having executed it, to have been put to death by the Eleans in the archonship of Skythodoros (this archon otherwise unknown).—And they say, when Pheidias the sculptor was found guilty of swindling the city and banished, Perikles, worried because he had been connected with the making of the statue, and because he had been party to the theft, signed the anti-Megarian decree and went to war with them to avoid giving an accounting to the Athenians while they were wrapped up in the war: so he charged the Megarians with putting to the plough a strip of land belonging to the goddesses. *But suspicion about Perikles seems unfair, since the happenings to Pheidias took place seven years before the war.* When Pheidias, as Philochoros says, in the archonship of Pythodoros (read Theodoros?) made the statue of Athena, he stole the gold from the serpents of the chryselephantine Athena, was detected, and fled. While in exile in Elis he made the statue of Olympian Zeus for the Eleans, was condemned by them, and perished in exile.”

Judged on their own inherent merits the relative credibility of these accounts seems simple enough to determine. That of Plutarch is straight-forward, factual, precise. It lists the name of an important minor character; and includes with reservations an alternative detail which the author is inclined to discount but unwilling to discard entirely. It bears all the hallmarks of sound scholarly investigation.

The Scholiast’s is generally vague. It names Philochoros as a source for a part, how much we cannot tell, of the story. The two versions differ on what Pheidias stole, under what circumstances he left Athens, what happened to him in Elis. The archon’s names are senseless throughout; though the Scholiast repeats that Pheidias fled from Athens in 432 and states that this was seven years before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. It is consistent on only three points: Pheidias was found guilty of

<sup>32</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>33</sup> *Loc. cit.*

theft in Athens, made the Zeus at Olympia, and was found guilty of theft by the Eleans. It bears all the hallmarks of backstairs gossip.

There is no doubt that both of these contradictory accounts co-existed in ancient times for other authors, none as reliable as Plutarch, refer to one or the other. There is varied evidence to support either tradition,<sup>34</sup> but the ultimate decision may briefly be reached within the limits of ancient literature.

The Scholiast is specific on one vital point: "the suspicion about Perikles seems unfair, since the happenings to Pheidias occurred seven years before the war." His whole statement is prompted by the passage in Aristophanes' *Peace* in which the poet cites the downfall of Pheidias as the first cause of the Peloponnesian War which began in 432/1.<sup>35</sup> The Scholiast, to put it bluntly, says that Aristophanes was wrong. Now the credibility of the Scholiast and of Philochoros has been defended on grounds of the latter's relatively early date, *ca.* 300 B.C., compared to Plutarch's; but Aristophanes, as a mature Athenian, had lived through the times of which he wrote, and he was writing specifically for an audience a large part of which had also been direct or indirect witnesses to the events. Thus Plutarch finds a host of supporters of impeccable calibre, while the Scholiast is left only with Philochoros.

We must then conclude that Pheidias, after the completion of the Athena Parthenos in 438, continued for six years as general supervisor for Perikles. During this time the Propylaia and the Temple of Ares were built and the pediments of the Parthenon completed. Possibly Pheidias occupied his spare moments with work on the marble cult image for the reconstructed Metroon. In 432 political intrigue caused his trial and condemnation. He died shortly thereafter in an Athenian prison.

Ancient literature is in accord on one crucial point regarding Pheidias: he was a stylistic innovator. This has been true of every great artist in history. Each has evolved from an established style with varying speed a different and more perfect form of expression than had existed before. Unless we infer an incredible uniqueness for Pheidias, the style of his earlier works must have been modified in his later ones. We have seen that during his lifetime Attic sculpture underwent a marked and consistent change. Tradition supports the conclusion that Pheidias led this development and consequently his own progress was parallel to and slightly in advance of it.

If his Marathon group dates from soon after the Persian Wars, we should expect it to have been made much in the spirit of the Tyrannicides incorporating their massive dynamism.

If the Zeus at Olympia was made synchronously with the Temple, his style at that time should be admirably reflected in the architectural sculptures of that building,

<sup>34</sup> Support for Plutarch is included in the above text under the discussion of the Olympian Zeus. Items in favor of the Scholiast are discussed in Appendix B.

<sup>35</sup> Lines 605-609.

the forms of the Tyrannicides sublimated with majesty, and the first indications of the new style beginning to ameliorate the earlier crude force.

If the Athenas Promachos and Areia were erected between 460 and 450, we may presume that Pheidias' Olympia manner was modifying in the directions indicated by the Eleusis Relief.

In the Parthenon the evolution of the master is complete, but the mannerisms of the new forms are already carried on and beyond him by a host of younger men, who like all gifted pupils could imitate, exaggerate and complicate genius without changing its essentials. The style of the Parthenon dominated Greek sculpture for three quarters of a century.

## APPENDIX A

### THE CASE AGAINST PAIONIOS AND ALKAMENES

#### I

The only serious objection to accepting Paionios as the author of the east pediment is based on style. This has already been countered in the main text; but since these appendices are largely concerned with conjecture, a further development of this theme may be hazarded at this point. Important sculptors do not seem to have taken commissions for architectural sculpture in antiquity. These were considered an integral part of the building they adorned and a field for the assistant or promising pupil of the master. They are rarely mentioned or described in ancient literature. Pausanias who might be expected to discuss them more than other authors seldom names artists; and his description of the figures on both pediments of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia is the fullest in his travelogue. For the Parthenon he gives only the subjects of the two gables with no reference to their authors. This state of affairs is paralleled in our own times. Only when a helper later becomes famous do the historians recollect his decorative works as an apprentice. The volumes on Rodin rarely specify his products as an aide to Carrière-Belleuse.

From this observation we may with some reason postulate that the metope and pedimental sculptures of the Temple of Zeus were a part of an overall commission, delegated to likely assistants. Thus both Paionios and Alkamenes should be regarded, about 460, as young men of tested worth and hopeful promise.

We may also suggest that the names of Paionios and Alkamenes were remembered in connection with these sculptures largely because of their subsequent reputations. The normal anonymity of pedimental sculptures may very well have induced Paionios pridefully to have included a reference to them in his inscription on the base of the Messenian Nike; for the Temple of Zeus, thanks largely to Pheidias' image, had

already achieved great fame, and these youthful works tied him in neatly with the whole. It is certainly difficult to imagine him referring so pointedly to the pair of gilt kettles and the Nike which were the literal "acroteria."

## II

The greater reputation of Alkamenes and his close association with Pheidias have occasioned more varied arguments against his participation in the work at Olympia. These may be considered as follows:

1. The date of 404/3 for the colossal relief by Alkamenes. This is the sole item of evidence from ancient times that disagrees with all the rest. As has been indicated in the text, pressure to accept it, and it alone, as meaningful for Alkamenes seems unreasonable. A simple explanation may serve to place it in perspective. The occasion for the dedication of this relief was the formal recognition by Thrasyboulos of the aid Thebes had given him in overthrowing the Tyranny of the Thirty in Athens. The years following Aigospotamoi were not favorable to large-scale sculpture in Athens. Yet victory and dedication followed closely on one another, suggesting that Thrasyboulos sent the Thebans a monument already in existence.

This solution is entirely in keeping with others advanced and generally accepted. Thus the dedicatory date of 430/429 for the Herakles Alexikakos by Kalamis is explained to every one's satisfaction, though at that time the sculptors of Athens seem to have been numerous and employed. To accept such an explanation in the case of Alkamenes' relief is not only consistent with the rest of the ancient evidence, but puts to a final rest another old confusion which would split the sculptor into two separate persons.

2. The Prokne group has been called an unlikely product of Alkamenes' hands because of "inferior workmanship." This argument has been considered in the text. It may be further observed that the statue suffered dreadful mutilation when used as a building block in the Propylaia during the Middle Ages, but that despite the damage the preserved sections seem technically the equal of many of the best of the sculptures of the Parthenon and superior to much of the rest. This statement is as subjectively vulnerable as is the opposition's; it is the result of an equally strong conviction.

3. The sculptures of the Temple of Zeus have been called non-Attic in origin. The central theme of this article maintains that the essential impediment to recognizing the sculptures as Attic has lain in their consequent association with Alkamenes, and through him with Pheidias. In order to justify the late date for the statue of Zeus it has been customary to subordinate or ignore the Attic associations of the sculptures and to explain their origin in other ways.

The dearth of known parallels except in Attica has led to the association of the

sculptures with other "schools," some accredited, others entirely invented. A group of sculptors of similar training and ideals is clearly implied by the unusual unity of metopes and pediments. Pheidias as supervisor, Alkamenes, Paionios and lesser assistants would be the perfect explanation if it were not *tabu*. A similar organization in another locality must be visualized.

The search for an alternative proposal has been greatly aided by the nineteenth century's interest in ancient "schools" of sculpture. The Roman authors were fond of speaking of the "Aeginetan," "Argive," "Sikyonian" Schools. Their visual reconstruction, except for the Aeginetan, has been somewhat impeded by lack of material evidence. Nevertheless the Argive School has been restored in the following fashion: Agelaidas was an Argive who made statues of athletic victors; fifty to a hundred years later other Argives were making victor statues; ergo, the Argive School specialized in athletic types. A pleasing bronze statuette, found in Ligourio in the Argolis, seems to date from about the time of Agelaidas. The type is sturdier than that found in the pediments from the Temple of Aphaia at Aigina. Thus the Argive type is visualized as stocky and athletic. The Sikyonian School is supposed to have been lighter than the Argive, on the basis of two statuettes evidently adapted from an Apollo by Kanachos. These resemble each other in little but pose.

The Olympia figures fit none of these at all well. They have the known agility of Aigina and the presumed bulk of Argos. We know that active massiveness is surely associated with Kritios and Nesiotes in Attica, and at more nearly the same time.

Since none of the "Schools" mentioned in ancient times except the Attic serves well, others have been imagined. Paionios' origin in Thrace suggests the possible existence of a North Greek School not noticed by ancient writers, and no traces of which have survived. Because at the time of the building of the Temple there was an Elean sculptor working at Olympia, an Elean School, otherwise unknown, has been proposed. Because some of the Olympia characteristics have been noted on a group of anthropoid sarcophagi in Asia Minor, and because these are of Parian marble, a Parian School, otherwise unknown, has been created.

But within the limits of what we *know*, the sculptures are demonstrably Attic.

4. Schrader saw in the repaired three figures in the corners of the west pediment the hand of Alkamenes. His proposal antedated Blümel's observations in the technical field which found them to be centuries later than Alkamenes; and Dinsmoor's account of the earthquake and repairs to the Temple in the second century confirms Blümel.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Blümel, *Griechische Bildhauerarbeit*, pp. 34 f.; and Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 339 f.

## APPENDIX B

## THE CASE AGAINST AN EARLY DATE FOR THE ZEUS

The Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Peace* has always formed the main support for dating the Olympian Zeus after the Athena Parthenos. The reliability of the Scholiast has been considered in the text. In its support, however, an assortment of related items has been gathered; and while without the Scholiast they present severally or collectively no impressive force, they should in fairness, be reviewed.

1. The first is cyclic. Pausanias mentioned a statue of a boy tying a fillet about his head in the Altis at Olympia. He does not name the subject, but gives Pheidias as its author. Furtwängler identified as a copy of this figure the "Farnese Boy" in the British Museum, basing his attribution on the pose and on the stylistic similarities to the sculptures of the Parthenon. In so doing he presupposes that Pheidias was at work in Olympia after the Parthenon was built. The conclusion of the assumption is then turned about and used as proof of the correctness of the original premise. One is reminded of the late Gertrude Stein's: "A rose is a rose is—."

2. It has been suggested that Pheidias was more likely to have been commissioned to make the Zeus after his reputation was at its height, i. e. after the completion of the Athena Parthenos. Since the Zeus was undoubtedly his most famous work, we must reckon its completion as marking the height of Pheidias' reputation, from which secure point we may postulate on this premise any or all of his other works as later. More seriously, the Marathon Memorial at Delphi was of a magnitude, and set up in a sufficiently famous shrine, to have established his reputation many years before the Athenas Promachos and Parthenos. We might further suggest that Pheidias' work under Perikles involved an image of almost comparable scale to the Zeus plus an organizational problem of far larger scope, from which fact we can proceed to imagine that Perikles, to whom organization was no stranger, selected a man of proven ability to head his program—one, for example, who had demonstrated just these qualities in his work at Olympia.

3. Of only slightly less subjective character is the recognition of Pheidias' Zeus in a series of coins issued by Elis in the reign of Hadrian that bear on their reverse a seated Zeus, and on their obverse a head of the same god. The seated Zeus seems well to suit the pose of the cult image, but the scale of the reproduction is so small as to make any effort at interpreting detail futile. The head on the obverse presents a type more advanced than that of the pedimental sculptures of the Temple, and very reminiscent of the style of the Parthenon. The recognition of famous statues on coins has enjoyed a considerable vogue; and though there is unquestioned value in this approach to the study of ancient monuments claims are often overpressed. Pausanias

records dozens of statues of Zeus in the Altis at Olympia. So much attention has been given this one series that another, minted about 420 B.C. by the Eleans, has been overlooked or discounted. On these coins appears a profile head of Zeus precisely in the style of the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus. One expects to find earlier forms in Hadrian's time; but except as they continued traditional types, the Greek die-maker of the second half of the fifth century was almost exclusively concerned with devising brilliant designs in the new style disclosed by the Parthenon. Why Elis departed from the current trend is conjectural, but there is an obvious answer.

4. In clearing the Temple of Zeus, the excavators noted that the sunken floor of blue Eleusinian stone in front of the base of the image had replaced an earlier pavement, and that the rim of white marble that enclosed it had been fitted in under the edges of the columns after these had been installed. This fact has been used as proof that the cella was altered some time after it was completed, i. e. after Pheidias' presumed flight to Elis. But Dinsmoor<sup>37</sup> finds no difficulty in dating the change before the building of the Parthenon; and indeed the alterations may have been made at any time after the setting of the lowest drums of the interior colonnade.

In this connection we may be permitted to speculate on the origin of this unique floor. The Athenians had used this dark blue stone in other ways in building as early as the sixth century,<sup>38</sup> Pheidias had seen it employed in a massive scale on the Altar of the Chians at Delphi, and later used it in a band on the pedestal of the Athena Promachos. It appears nowhere in the Parthenon over which he had complete control. Clearly the floor was an isolated experiment used to overcome certain specific problems of the cella of the Temple of Zeus.

The cella, due to the heavy proportions of the Temple's order, was dark, and the colossal image reached nearly to the ceiling virtually filling the whole inmost third of the chamber. We know from Pausanias that the use of oil in the preservation of the statue was unusual.<sup>39</sup> Pheidias, either by accident or inspiration resolved his dual problem of light and moisture by combining them in a novel reflecting basin. We have noted the way in which the spur walls of the "Workshop" seem to have been used to support movable barriers, and how the same areal proportion of this division in the "Workshop" was retained in the cella, even though there the low barrier was set well to the east of it and did not correspond to a change in the type of pavement. Thus the correspondence between the area of the dark blue flooring and the "Workshop," combined with the early date of the latter, suggests a date contemporary with rather than later than the building of the Temple.

It has been suggested that certain arrangements in the Parthenon served as pro-

<sup>37</sup> *A.J.A.*, XVII, 1913, p. 71; XXV, 1921, p. 129; XLV, 1941, p. 427.

<sup>38</sup> Lucy T. Shoe, *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pp. 341 ff.

<sup>39</sup> V. xi. 10.

totypes for those in the Temple of Zeus. This argument is a double-edged sword which Dinsmoor found no menace in placing the revision of the Olympia cella before the building of the Parthenon.

5. Pausanias recounts the hereditary honors held by the descendants of Pheidias, a fact substantiated by an inscription found in the excavations.<sup>40</sup> Though this has been proposed as supporting the late date of the Zeus, it seems surely an argument for the contrary. The Scholiast is consistent in saying that Pheidias was either exiled or executed by the Eleans, and for stealing from their mighty image, hardly a good basis for heaping honors in perpetuity on his descendants. If we accept Plutarch, the story makes sense, for the family of the artist, disgraced and imprisoned by the Athenians, could reasonably expect to find sanctuary and support in a community which held his greatest work.

6. The legend of Pantarkes offers the one possible corroboration for the Scholiast, and we must consider it in full. Pausanias, describing the throne of the Olympian Zeus states: "On the bar which faces the entrance there are seven images: the eighth has disappeared, they know not how. These may be representations of the ancient contests, for the contests for boys were not yet instituted in the time of Pheidias. They say that the boy binding his head with a fillet is a likeness of Pantarkes, an Elean youth, said to have been a favorite of Pheidias. Pantarkes won a victory in the boy's wrestling match in 436."<sup>41</sup>

This is one of the strangest passages in the whole of Pausanias. His first explanation begins with some reservation: "These may be—," and the last part of the sentence is used to justify the interpretation just offered, namely that the eight figures represented the first eight events established in the Olympic Games, all of which preceded the boys' events. Pausanias had earlier<sup>42</sup> listed these, with their dates, and had then gone on to enumerate the successive institution of the contests for boys in chronological order, beginning nearly two centuries before Pantarkes. His second explanation opens with his more usual cautionary phrase: "They say—," after which he recounts Pheidias' affection for Pantarkes, and gives the date of the boy's victory.

That the eight figures represented athletes is fairly certain or Pausanias, instead of inclining to his first interpretation, would have rejected it at once. In the time of Pheidias, Pausanias had recorded only three contests for boys, running, wrestling and boxing. Consequently the eight cannot have been intended as personifications of these events; yet one was called Pantarkes.

Clearly Pausanias was confronted with two distinct traditions concerning these

<sup>40</sup> *Olympia*, V, no. 259.

<sup>41</sup> V. xi. 3.

<sup>42</sup> V. viii.



figures. Where he encountered the first is not clear, but it was apparently not hearsay, which the second specifically was. A possible explanation for his one demonstrable error is to presume that he intended to write: "for the contests for boys were not instituted among the first eight events," but found his ears attuned to the gossip of the second version and instead wrote down nonsense. That he was well-disposed to believe the legend is clear a little later in his text when he comes across the victor statue of Pantarkes in the Altis, makes no mention of its sculptor but states, without qualification: "... Pantarkes ... was beloved of Pheidias." Rarely can one trace so quickly and clearly the germination of rumor.

The seed that was planted in the usually cautious mind of Pausanias found no nourishment in other pagan authors, but almost immediately began to flourish in the Christian moralists. Here is the record of its growth:

*Ca.* 200 A.D. Clement of Alexandria states that Pheidias engraved the name of his beloved "Pantarkes kalos" on the finger of Olympian Zeus. The Scholiast on Clement adds that some Athenians say that the inscription was on the finger of the Athenian Parthenos; but that Libanios the Sophist states Pheidias wrote it on the finger of the Aphrodite.

4th c. A.D. Gregory of Nazianzus says that Pheidias wrote "*πάντ' ἀρκεῖ καλῶς*" on the finger of the Parthenos.

5th c. A.D. Arnobios returns to the first version and puts the inscription "Pantarkes kalos" on the Zeus, at the same time emphasizing the moral implication.

10th c. A.D. Suidas, after Photios, says that Pheidias wrote "Pantarkes kalos" on the finger of Zeus, and adds that Pantarkes was an Argive.

Here, in full, is the substance of the strongest support for the Scholiast's account of Pheidias' last years. It first appears as a guide's tale current at Olympia in the reign of Hadrian which Pausanias first recorded in an atmosphere of doubt and then accepted. Almost immediately the Christians welcome it as linking perversion with a famous pagan name. The legend becomes a matter of civic pride, and we find Pheidias' fellow Athenians trying to secure it for their native city. Later scholars revert to the original form of the story. If accuracy is their objective, it is interesting that the latest of them all calls Pantarkes an Argive, thereby negating the date associated with an Elean victor.

It does not seem to me that either the Scholiast or the Pantarkes legend are in any sense of comparable value to the accounts of Plutarch and Diodoros with Aristophanes and his Athenian audience behind them. But on the old association of fire with smoke it is perhaps worthwhile to speculate as to how these traditions came to exist as they clearly did in ancient times. The following is almost entirely based on a normal individual experience with tracing the origins of rumor.

How the Pantarkes legend began may possibly be explained by its partial rebirth in modern times. In his wanderings through the Altis, after he had described the Zeus, Pausanias encountered a statue of a youth binding his hair with a fillet by Pheidias. He is careful to say that the identity of the victor is not known.<sup>43</sup> A little later he came upon the statue of Pantarkes, the beloved of Pheidias, but gave no sculptor. It has been argued that Pausanias separately listed the same statue twice, and that the victor bronze of Pantarkes was the boy with the fillet, and consequently was fashioned by Pheidias. Let us presume that the sculptor of the Pantarkes statue, working in 436, or a little later, modelled his figure after one of the athletes on the bar of the throne of Zeus, already famous throughout Hellas. Portrait sculpture was reserved for triple victors, a condition impossible for boy contestants to achieve. Some time later a recording eye noted the similarity between the decoration on the throne and the unsigned state of the image in the Altis; and human nature took its course.

As for the story of the Scholiast there is nothing but the type of psychology of which our generation has been the uncomfortable witness to guide us. We may presume, indeed we often do presume today, that the Athenians rapidly repented of what seems, at the safe distance of more than two millennia, to have been a purely political accusation against Pheidias, and, in the most normal of human reactions, attempted to shift the blame. That Pheidias had been accused of theft and condemned for impiety they could not hope to deny; but, in a period when newspapers and long-range files were rare, could they not start a back-fire and blame the Eleans for the outrage instead of themselves? It was a thoroughly unlikely story, but readers of "Mein Kampf" will recall the cynical dictum that the bigger the lie and the more often repeated the likelier it is to be believed. The Scholiast's record has had wide acceptance in the last two centuries.

Philochoros seems to have appeared on the scene as a scribe at the moment when Athenian culpability was too well-known to have been discarded but when the Elean emendation was taking hold. Later the Athenians were absolved through the medium of a fancied loan-at-a-price, and the Eleans were cited as maiming, or torturing and executing, Pheidias.<sup>44</sup> The late authorities place all the blame on the Eleans. We may be grateful that Plutarch took the trouble to sift those records for which Athens seems to have been remarkable in ancient times and presented the true story stripped of its fanciful duplication. Perhaps he, as well as we, was indebted to the enduring qualities of Aristophanes.

<sup>43</sup> VI. iv. 5.

<sup>44</sup> See Seneca, *Controvers. Excerpt.* Book VIII, contra 2; and *Rhet. graec.* I, p. 455, Spengler ed.

## APPENDIX C

## A " BIOGRAPHY " OF PHEIDIAS

Hypothesis is no substitute for fact; but in reconstructing fragments of the past the two are traditional companions. The following " biography " combines the two, fact in italics, hypothesis in roman. There is an accredited segment of fact in almost every paragraph. It incorporates or explains virtually all the ancient evidence, literary and monumental.

*Pheidias was born in Athens, the son of Charmides, about 500 or a little earlier.* The final expulsion of the Peisistratids had recently taken place, and the city was in an intoxicating state of reorganization. The childhood of the future sculptor was framed in the exciting atmosphere of new-found freedom. As a boy *he was apprenticed to Agelaidas of Argos*, who like other non-Attic artists was presumably at work in Athens at this time. During this period or soon after it, *Pheidias was associated with Hegias, his fellow citizen. Sculpture was beginning to shake off the formalities of the archaic style and to explore the possibilities of plainer and more plastic forms,* better suited to the realities of young but enthusiastic democracy.

*Marathon was fought and won in 490.* Pheidias, either just too young or just old enough to participate in the fighting, shared the city's exaltation and sense of chosen destiny. During the next decade, he completed his training and began his career as an independent artist.

*In 480/79 Athens was sacked and burned by the Persians, its citizens dispersed to the islands, and its fighting men engaged in gaining the victories at Salamis and Plataia.* No certain clue relating to Pheidias' role at this time has survived. He, a young man, was more likely to have been among the fighting troops than with the refugees. He was later favored by generals, first by Kimon and then by Perikles. In his work *he caught for the first time the perfect image of the Greek concept of divinity, a sublime majesty, like that of Aischylos who, in his epitaph, considered his combat with the Persians his most important contribution.* The impress of participation is always more powerful than that of observation. The work of Pheidias bore the print of profound experience.

*In 477 the Athenians awarded an important commission, new statues of the Tyrannicides to replace those plundered by the Persians in 480. The award went to Kritios and Nesiotes.* Either Pheidias was otherwise engaged at this time or was considered less able than *his two, possibly older, contemporaries.* In any event, when Kimon was looking for an artist about this time for the much more extensive *Memorial to Marathon (and his own father) at Delphi, Pheidias was chosen. Thirteen figures, including Athena and Apollo, presumably of bronze and placed in a row, faced the*

*lower part of the Sacred Way just inside the precinct wall. This was by far the largest and most conspicuous monument yet erected by a single state in honor of the defeat of the Barbarians.*

The figures may reasonably be presumed to have represented the style of Kritios and Nesiotes, known to us from the copies of the Tyrannicides and described by Lucian<sup>45</sup> as "closely knit and taut and stiff and severe in silhouette." Displayed at the very entrance of one of the greatest pan-hellenic shrines, these massive, vital forms, phrased in the style of the Tyrannicides were immediately known to all Greeks.

Athens offered little work for its best sculptors in the ensuing decades. *Kritios and Nesiotes found some employment at home. Kalamis, who seems to have retained the lighter masses of archaic art and added to them more realistic anatomical detail, ranged far and wide for work, some of which was done at Olympia.* The Peloponnesos, untouched by the Persian invasions offered much richer fields for the artists of Attica and of Sicily where the repulse of the Carthaginians had temporarily strained local economies.

About 472 Pheidias was offered an opportunity to work in gold and ivory on a large scale. *For the citizens of Pellene in Achaia he executed an Athena.* The Eleans were impressed. They were looking for an artist to undertake the much larger projected Zeus in the same materials for the great temple they were planning in Olympia. They commissioned Pheidias to make a chryselephantine Aphrodite for their capital on the completion of his work at Pallene. The Aphrodite a success, Pheidias received the commission for the Zeus, and moved to Olympia.

There was much to be done before beginning the colossal image. Work on the temple had already progressed, metopes would soon be needed for insertion into the frieze of pronaos and opisthodomos. The pediments must soon be initiated. An overall iconographic plan must be conceived, sketched and passed through the local board of censors. Huge quantities of Parian marble must be ordered, cut and delivered; gold and ivory in massive amounts must be procured; the right sizes, ages and types of timber must be selected and brought to the Altis. More than this, an army of expert artists and craftsmen must be assembled. The very unity of workmanship and ideology that pervades the architectural sculptures and the Zeus postulates the kind of co-operation that comes most easily from common ideals and a common background. Pheidias may well have gone to Athens to select Alkamenes, Paionios, Kolotes and his relative Panainos, to aid him. In any case a solid corps of Athenian artists were soon gathered in the workshops just outside the Altis.

The complex business of these days would have taxed the energies of a younger man. Sketches and models were needed for the Zeus whose essential form had to be determined before the engineers and carpenters could begin the giant framework.

<sup>45</sup> *Rhet. Praecept.* 9.

The metopes and pediments required outlining for subject matter and design and a board of Elean supervisors persuaded to accept them. Considering their Attic emphases no little time, erudition and diplomacy were required for this. *The company of craftsmen working on the wooden under-skin, the ivory and the gold required continuous supervision. Constant inventory of the precious materials was imperative.*

Paionios and Alkamenes could be trusted with the immediate supervision of their assistants, but they in turn needed consultation, direction and advice. *The remarkable unity that binds the patent idiosyncracies of many hands in the Olympia marbles is eloquent proof of the force and effectiveness of a single presiding genius.* These are the perfect surviving exponents of Pheidias' style in the sixties of the fifth century. From them we can best form an idea of the fabulous Zeus of the master.

These were stirring times for sculptors at Olympia. *Pythagoras of Rhegion may still have been at work, turning out athletic statues renowned for their liveness and fine anatomical detail. Kalamis of Athens was busily fashioning similar statues,* apparently influenced by the great Sicilian. Myron of Eleutherae was also active, approximating more closely in style the vigor and experimentation of the group around Pheidias, where the inquiry into form, drive, and realism, begun a generation earlier, reached a new pitch of interest and perfection of its own.

The close association with the work of great artists of the past from all parts of Greece, and the excitement of constant propinquity with famous contemporaries of various origins, creeds, and mannerisms is responsible for heightening the diverse trends of the Olympic sculptures within the overall vision of the victors of Marathon and Salamis.

*The sunken blue pavement of the cella was not a part of the original plan of Libon. Experiments in the material for other uses had been made by the Athenians a half century earlier at Eleusis and at Delos. While Pheidias was working at Delphi, the Chians were erecting their great altar higher up on the slopes, using a spectacular blackish core framed above and below with white.* This perhaps furnished the original inspiration for his plan for a dark blue base for the Olympian Zeus. A decade later, the Eleusinian slabs for this base lay about the workshop. It may have been rain falling on them in the courtyard, or oil spilled accidentally on their surfaces as they were being moved into place within the great assembly room itself that suggested expanding the original plan for this material to cover the central part of the cella floor.

The possibility of creating an immense mirror of oil on dark stones to catch and deflect the light from the doorway into the shadowy cella and heighten the brilliance of the gold and ivory must have come as an immense relief to the artist, faced with the problem of illuminating the colossus with the only light available, that which penetrated through the colonnade, the pronaos, the large but relatively narrow door and fifty feet of otherwise pitch dark chamber.

*It was a simple matter to insert the new flooring into the nearly completed temple.*

*Pheidias retained the proportions of the space between the base of the image and the spur walls of the workshop in making the transfer, though within the temple the barrier was placed one intercolumniation to the east and no longer coincided with the eastern edge of the reflecting basin.*

The Zeus completed about 458, the corps of helpers dispersed in search of further work wherever it might take them. Their rambles for the next decade innocently created problems for the distant future. One of these men seems to have worked on anthropoid sarcophagi for a while, though whether at Paros where the marble was quarried or in Asia Minor where the finished products were discovered we do not know. Another seems to have carved the twin Ludovisi Throne and Boston Relief, though where he worked and where the sculptures were originally placed we have yet to learn. Alkamenes may have returned to Athens to make his Hera for an unrestored sanctuary between Athens and Phaleron. The Eleans requested Pheidias to remain and make them a bronze Athena. Pheidias declined, leaving Kolotes and Panainos to execute the commission and turned homewards to Athens where he looked forward to handsome employment.

The situation in Athens was changing now. The meagre days for sculptors were about to end, while those that had been fat for painters were drawing to a close. *Athens' empire, grown strong and wealthy, soon would be pouring untold treasure directly into the Acropolis till. Though Polygnotos and Mikon had been busy with their cheaper and quicker medium of paint decorating new and refurbishing old precincts and shrines, and though the soon-to-be-built Stoa Poikile and Hephaisteion were designed for murals, the era of pictorial art was nearly over, and plastic supremacy was about to begin.*

Other more fundamental developments were in the air. The concepts of divinity and mortality were slowly finding readjustment as the surviving veterans of Marathon and Salamis were gradually replaced by a younger generation who revered without understanding the heroic sense of their fathers. The intangible quality of painting had been enough for those who knew. For those who did not comprehend, sculpture was to supply tangible reassurance. The star of Aischylos was setting while that of the more sympathetic Sophokles began to rise.

Pheidias looked about him as he reentered the Agora of Athens. Most of the old buildings were still in ruins. Pheidias climbed the low hill to the west, sacred to Hephaistos, to begin his studies for his Athena Promachos.

He spent long hours in his workshop studying the problems of his newest commission. He was familiar with the medium of bronze, and with the distortions of large scale. But the engineering problems inherent in the two were new in the present combination. Athens, too, was alive with fresh ideas and much had been done since he went away. He trudged up the slopes of the Acropolis to view Polygnotos' murals in the Theseion.

*Polygnotos had evolved a style entirely appropriate to painting and in keeping with the trend toward more immediately attractive motion, form and generalized realism. His figures were lighter, his heads more animated with fully-parted lips, his bodies partly revealed by thin, floating garments.* Pheidias walked down the hill again reviewing what he had seen. He talked long hours with his countrymen in the Agora just below his workshop. With the sensitivity of genius he began to fuse what he had recently learned with what he had known before.

*Many accounts tell us of the Athena Promachos, but the essential facts beyond its location, date and huge scale are still unknown.* At this time a generation of unrest, so plainly seen at Olympia, begins to crystalize into definite shape. What might have become direct realism or complete idealism takes refuge in lofty generality and minor, pseudo-naturalistic detail. True plastic mass blends with pictorial lightness. Technical skill, aided by the discovery of the running drill, implements miracles of illusion and adds the painter's lovely flow of line to the dynamic course of Olympian robes. The rounded surfaces of assurance give place to the crisp, bright facets of display. Lacking the Athena Promachos, the Eleusis Relief still embodies the steps in the ultimate compromise.

Work on the Athena Promachos continued for nine years. Meanwhile the Plataians were at last eager to erect a suitable memorial to their participation in the Persian Wars. Either their share of the booty was too small, or much of it had been diverted in the interval of nearly thirty years, for *there was not enough to pay for a gold and ivory cult image. Polygnotos accepted the offer to do the paintings. Pheidias agreed to make an acrolithic figure of Athena, substituting marble for ivory and gilded wood for plates of gold.* Working closely together provided painter and sculptor a unique opportunity to exchange and perfect ideas.

Marble was not new to Pheidias after his experience of supervision at Olympia. Wood afforded nothing new to the creator of the Zeus. By 450 both giant Athenas were complete, and Pheidias was available for a new assignment. It came in heroic form.

*In 449 Perikles embarked on his ambitious program of rebuilding the ruined monuments of Attica and named Pheidias his deputy in direct charge of the operations. In so doing he selected a man whose wide variety of duties at Olympia showed him eminently capable of handling a much larger and more complicated task. Pheidias became to all intents and purposes the art dictator of Athens. Under his management came all the famous architects, sculptors and other artisans that took part in the vast, long-range project.* For nearly twenty years he supervised, or delegated authority for every part and every person within the whole design. *During this period we have only one glimpse of the master's own style as it is preserved for us in the copies of the Athena Parthenos, dedicated in 438.* It embodies recollections of the past as in the figure and head of the self-portrait on the shield and in the generally austere pose,

and square firm fold from the knee of the goddess. Such conservatism one would expect in an ageing man. But that the new trends found in him a sympathy in keeping with traditional Athenian liberalism is clear in his tolerance of much of the work on the frieze and in the pediments of the Parthenon which far outstrips his own concessions to latter-day taste.

The initial concept of the program seems rapidly to have outgrown itself. *The first building was the Hephaisteion*, and Pheidias issued an immediate summons to his old assistants, and set them to work at once on the metopes. *In 447 the foundations of the Parthenon were laid, a far larger commitment* for which he seems to have gathered not only the original group of sculptors from the Hephaisteion, thereby postponing work on that building for nearly two decades,<sup>46</sup> but calling for every available marble cutter, whether from Attica or the other states, to execute the multiple reliefs of metopes and frieze. Among them was possibly Polykleitos of Argos. Paionios and Alkamenes, tried in the Olympic crucible, held important posts.

In the critical atmosphere of Athens and the highly competitive proximity of so many first rank artists, lesser men outdid themselves, provincials became sophisticates over night, ingenuity provoked cleverness; and *within a decade a uniform style had been forged that was to prove essentially satisfactory to all Greeks for generations*. Subsequent artists like Kallimachos, could only elaborate it, or systematize it like Polykleitos.

*The supreme position of Pheidias makes his encouragement of this development a certainty*. The responsibilities and involved duties of his high office cut seriously in on his own creative output. *The Athena Parthenos was his last certainly-dated work. It was completed a decade after he took over his post of general supervision*, the artist inevitably suffering in competition with the administrator. It is perhaps significant to note that the dazzling inspiration surrounding the Olympian Zeus fades. The blue Eleusinian stone, used so profligately and effectively in the cella at Olympia and repeated faintly on the pedestal of the Athena Promachos, disappears completely in the chaste Pentelic whiteness of the Parthenon.

Politics and direction replaced creative imagination. *The Telesterion at Eleusis was begun in the forties, the Temple of Ares, the Propylaia and the pediments of the Parthenon about 437. There were a multitude of smaller undertakings. To Alkamenes went the making of the Demeter for the Metroon and the chryselephantine Dionysos Eleutherios*. The fabulous treasury began to dwindle, and the initial enthusiasm to wane. *The supreme authority of Perikles was questioned*.

*In 432 the enemies of Perikles made serious attacks on his authority*. Recognizing the futility of direct assault, *they concentrated* in the best tradition of minority parties *on discrediting those around him*. For nearly two decades Pheidias had exercised

<sup>46</sup> The friezes stylistically cannot be earlier than the pediments of the Parthenon.



virtual sovereignty over the arts in Attica. Prestige invites envy, and envy attempts to destroy prestige. *The first accusation, of theft, levelled at Pheidias failed.* The earlier, less extensive responsibility for the Zeus at Olympia had proved useful to Pheidias in the handling of accounts; and Perikles, wise in the ways of political investigations, had added his advice. *But in the end, the realism of the Olympia style proved his undoing.* The sense of precise transcription that had inspired the troubled Seer and the agonized Lapith, but which was now completely out of fashion, was the betrayer. A generation or more earlier, *Pheidias had placed Miltiades in company with Athena and Apollo with impunity.* Such association between the human and the divine were incomprehensible and shocking to the younger citizens who had never experienced this concept as a reality. The men of Marathon were old or dead. *Pheidias was found guilty of impiety, was jailed, and died. His family, disgraced, took refuge in Elis where the reputation of the mighty Zeus ensured a warm and permanent welcome. Perikles, alarmed, provoked the long-festering sores of statecraft and precipitated the Peloponnesian War.*

Years later the Athenians attempted to shift the blame for their injustices to the Eleans. In this they were nearly successful. Indeed they might have achieved their aim in the twentieth century except for the intervention of an historian, Philochoros, who recorded the rumor in the chrysalis stage; a careful Roman research scholar, Plutarch; and Aristophanes, a contemporary of Pheidias' trial.

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Plate 79 b and e: Ernst Buschor and Richard Hamann, *Die Skulpturen des Zeustemples zu Olympia*, Verlag des Kunstgeschichtes Seminars der Universität Marburg, Marburg an der Lahn.

Plate 81 e: Heinz Kähler, *Das Griechische Metopenbild*, Verlag F. Bruckmann München.

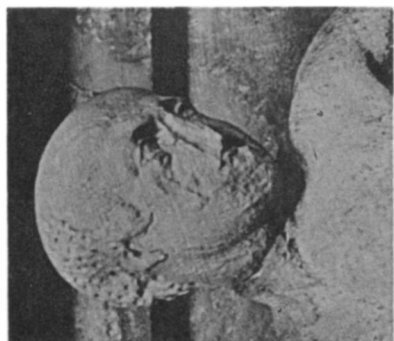
Plates 83 c, 83 d, 84 c, 86 a, 86 b, 86 c; Hans Schrader, *Phidias*, Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, Frankfurt am Main.



a. "Blond Boy," from the Acropolis



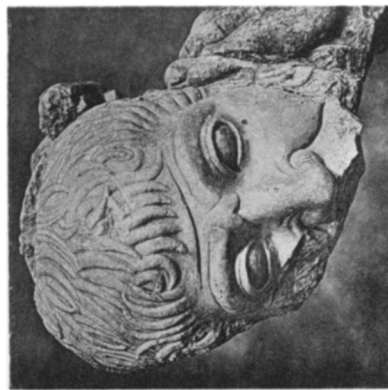
b. Head of a Lapith, from Olympia



c. Head of a Lapith, from the Parthenon



d. Head of Apollo, from the Parthenon



e. Head of a Centaur, from Olympia



f. Head of Eurystheus, from the Hephaisteion in Athens

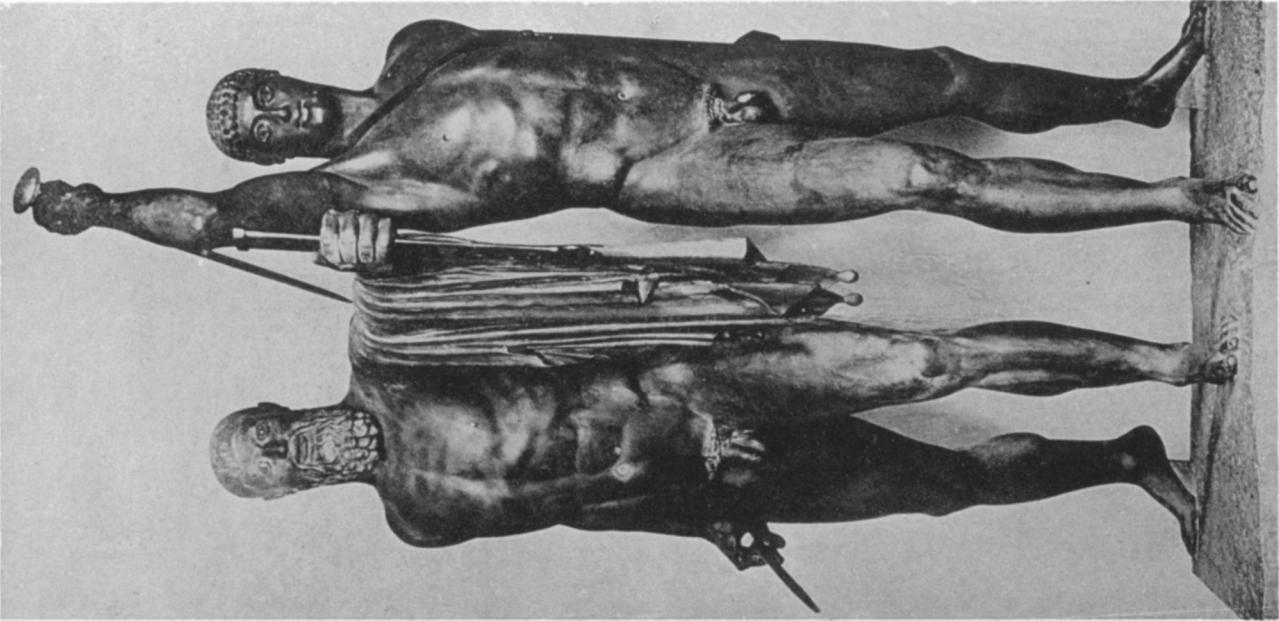


g. Head of a Centaur, from the Parthenon

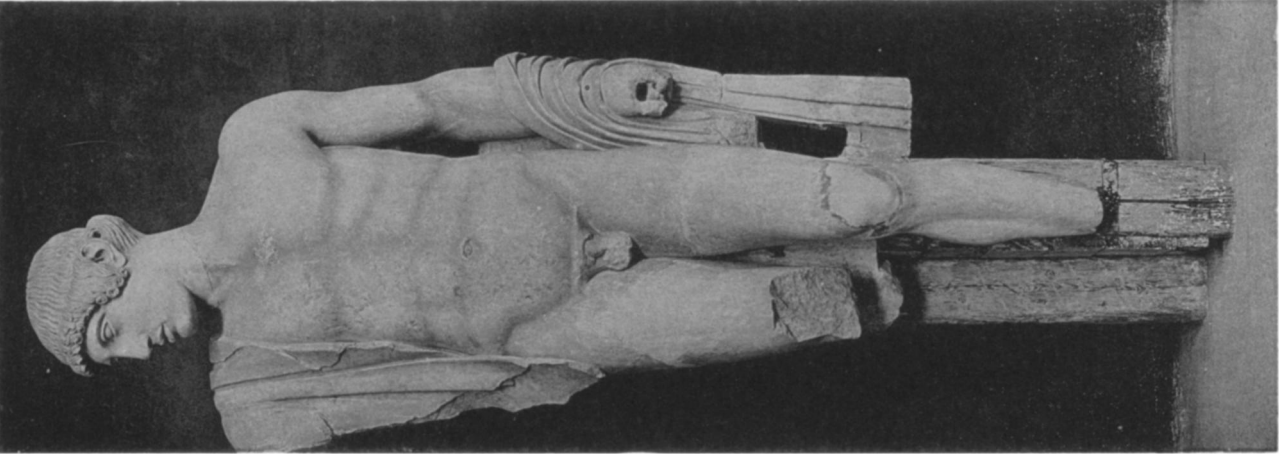


h. Head of a Lapith, from the Parthenon

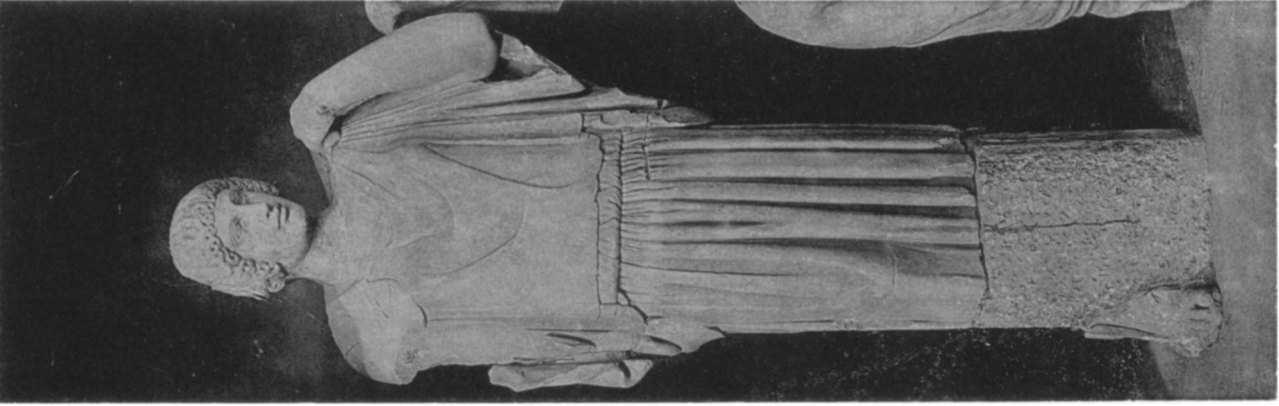
CHARLES H. MORGAN: PHEIDIAS AND OLYMPIA



a. Tyrannicides, after Kritios and Nesiotes



b. Apollo, from Olympia

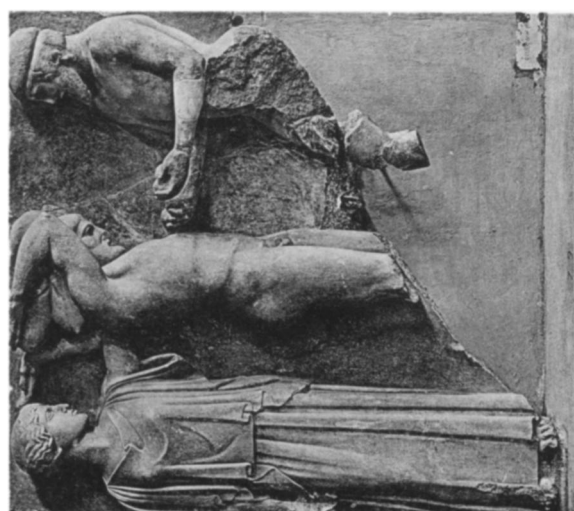


c. Sterope, from Olympia

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a. Zeus and Hera, from Selinos



b. Athena, Herakles and Atlas, from Olympia



c. Eleusis Relief of Demeter, Triptolemos, and Persephone



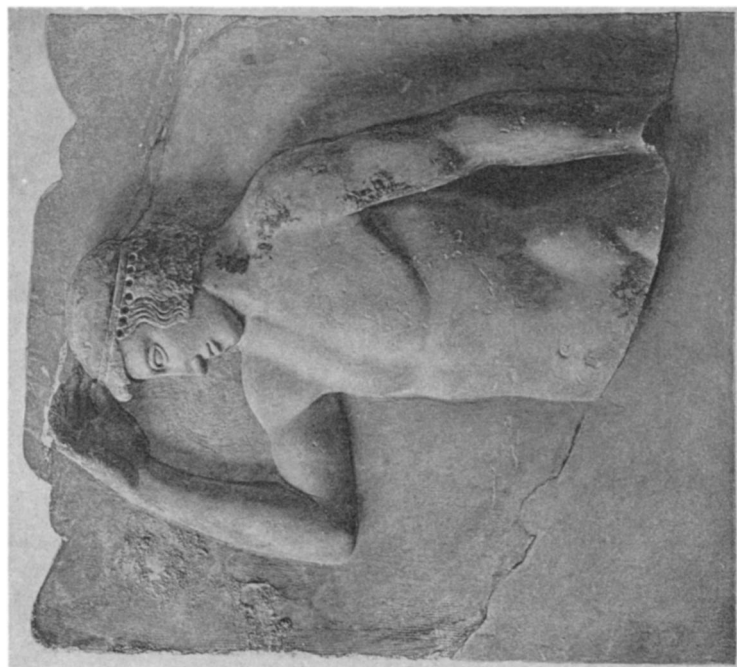
d. Herakles giving the Stymphalian Birds to Athena, from Olympia



e. Hera and Athena, from the Parthenon

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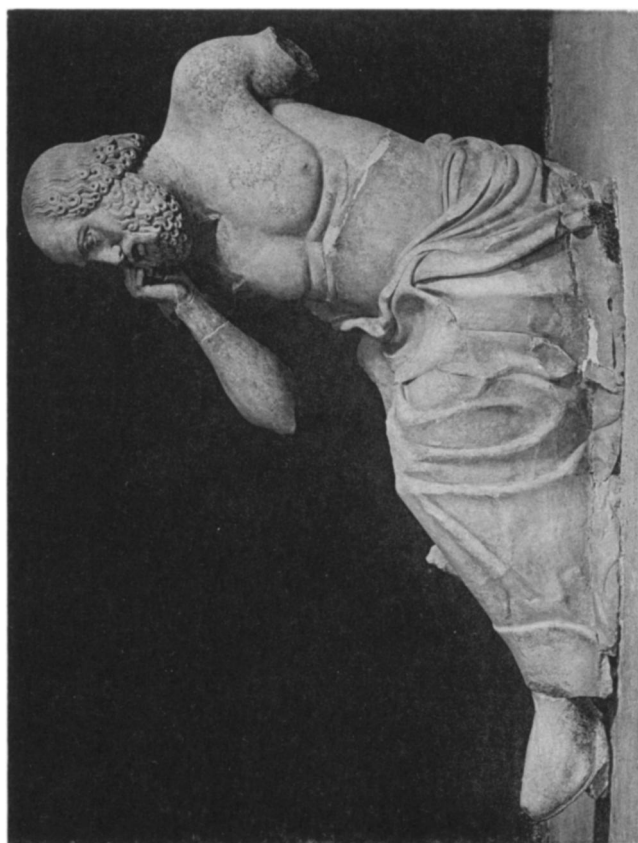
a. Athlete Relief from Sounion



b. Varvakeion copy of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos



c. Maidens, from the Parthenon



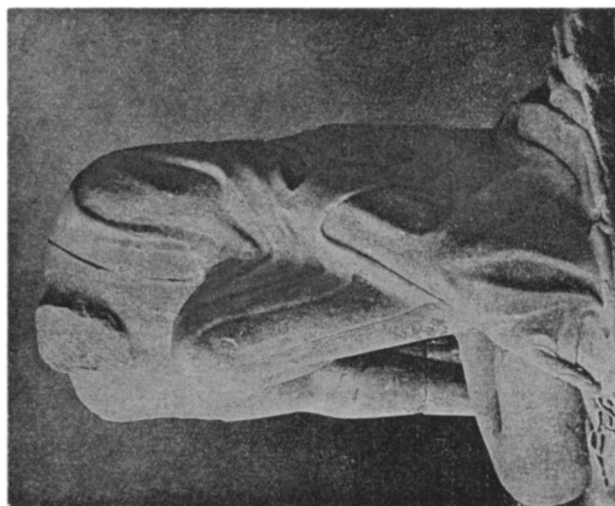
a. Old Seer, from Olympia



b. Lapith Woman, from Olympia



c. Strangford Shield after Pheidias' shield for the Athena Parthenos



d. Kneeling Boy, from Olympia



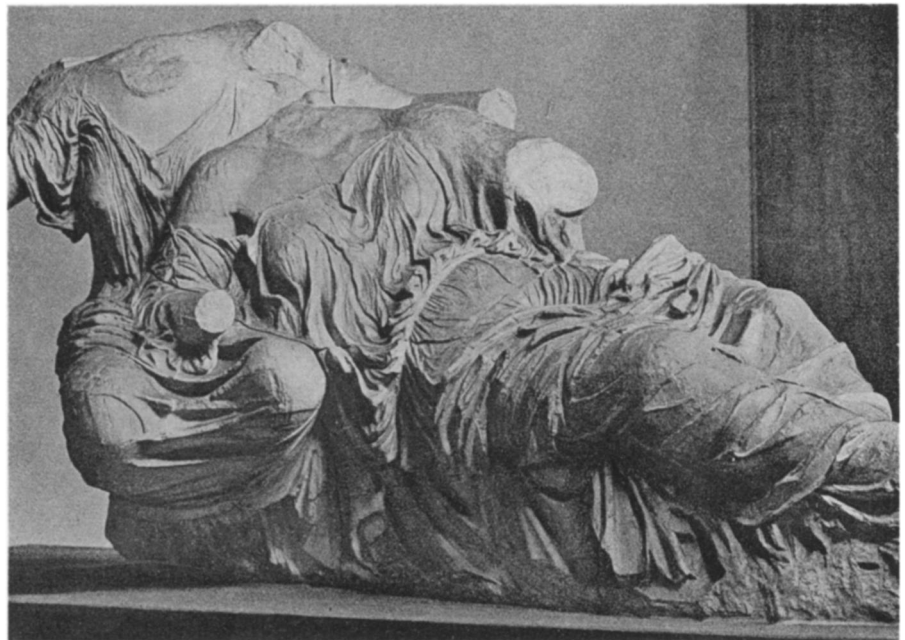
e. Centaur and Lapith Woman, from the Parthenon



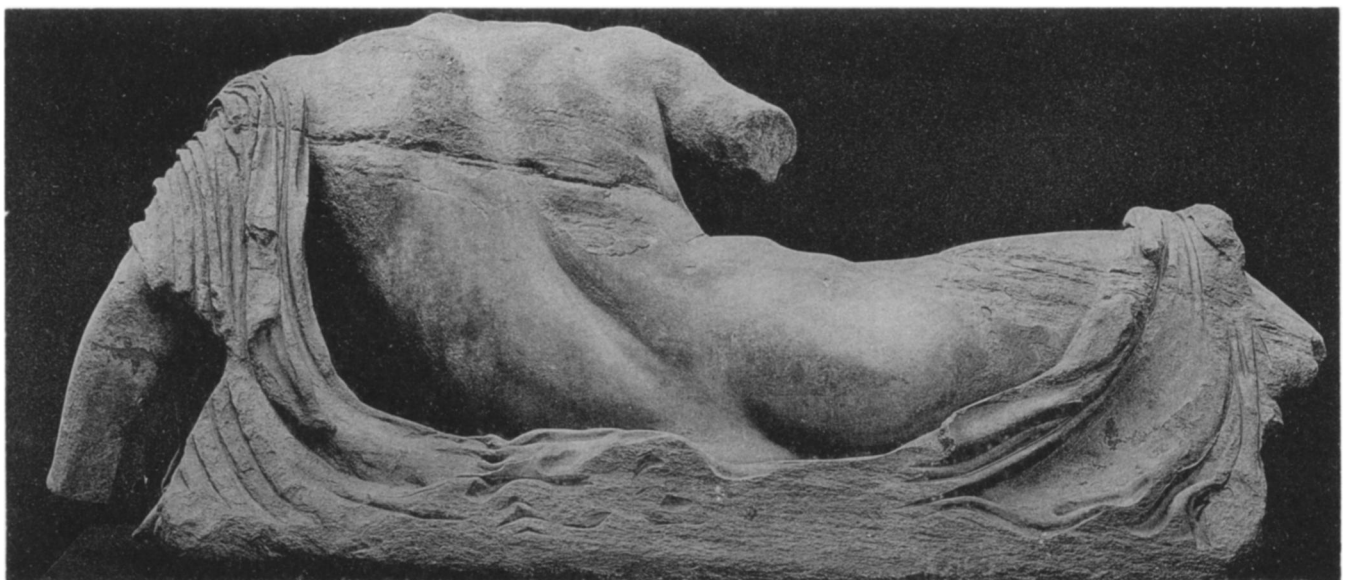
a. Kladeos, from Olympia



b. Lapith Woman,  
from Olympia

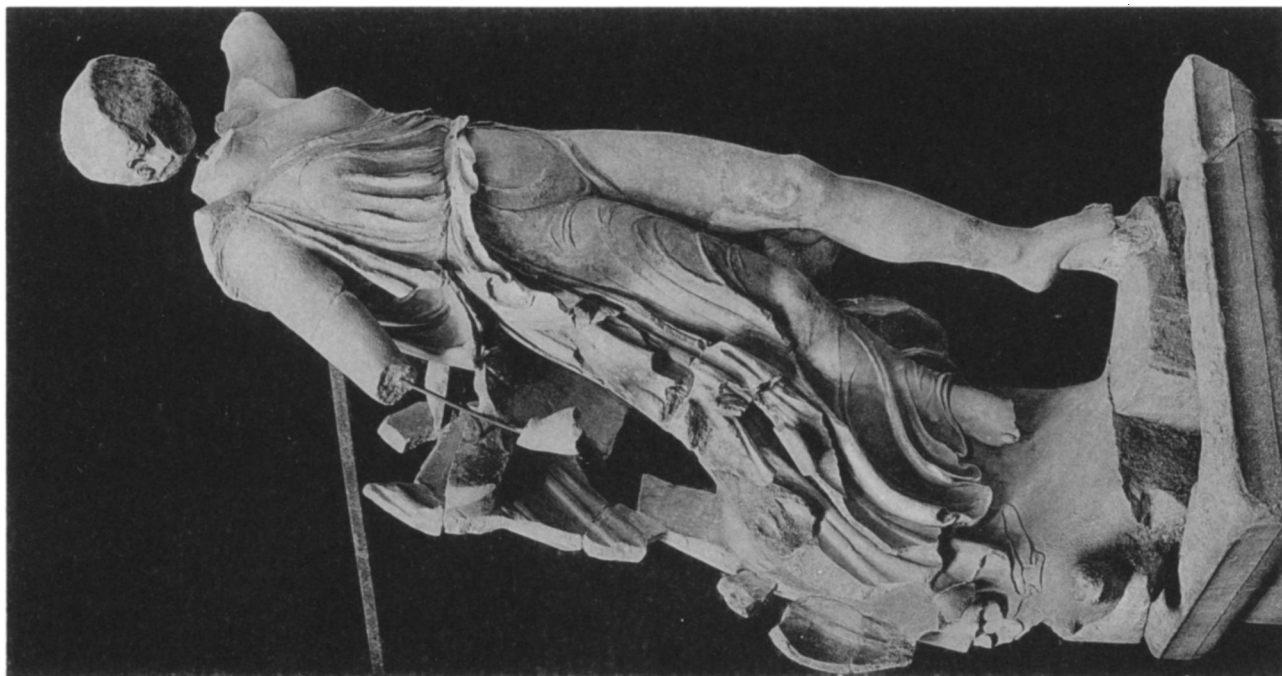


c. "Fates," from the Parthenon



d. Kephissos, from the Parthenon





c. Messenian Nike, from Olympia, signed by Paionios



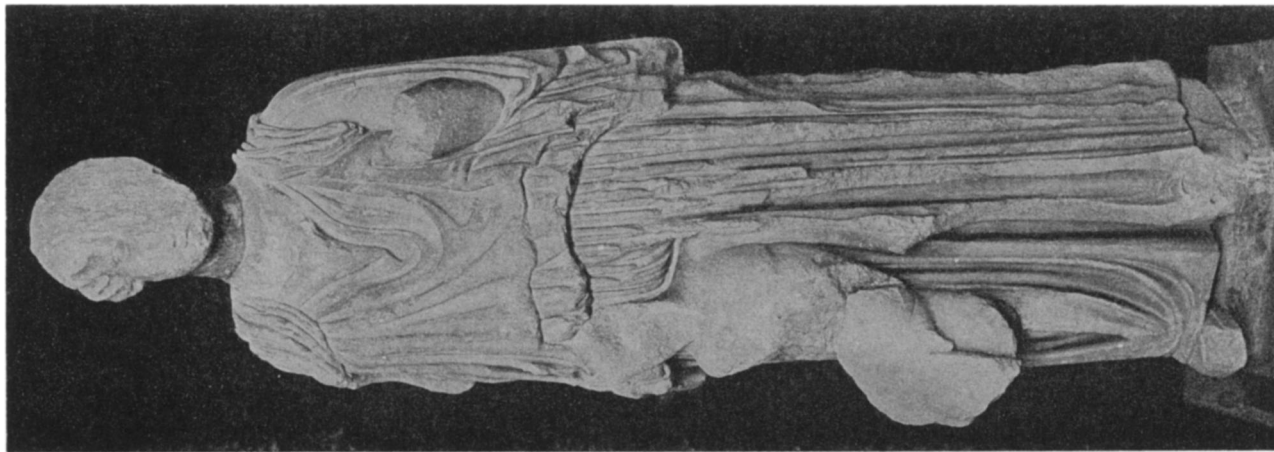
b. Copy of the head of the Messenian Nike,  
in the Vatican



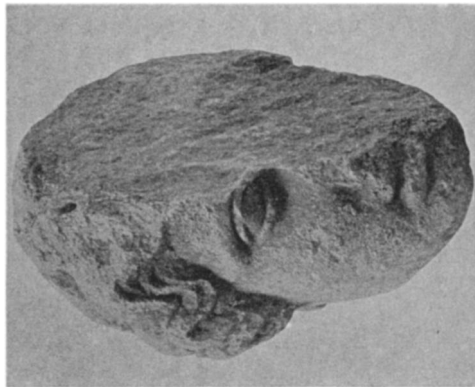
a. Head of a Nike from the Nike Temple Parapet in  
Athens, attributed to 'Master B'

CHARLES H. MORGAN: PHEIDIAS AND OLYMPIA

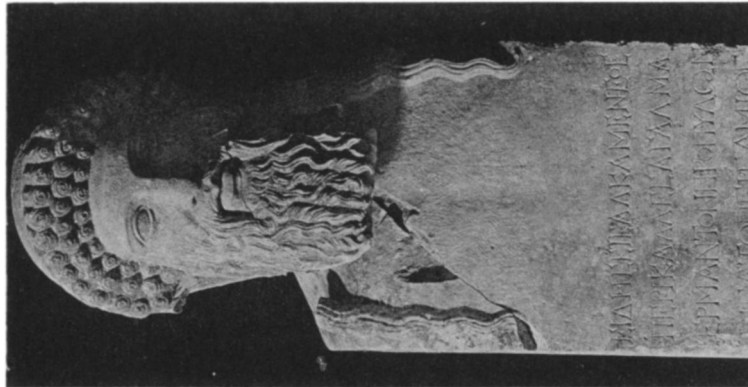




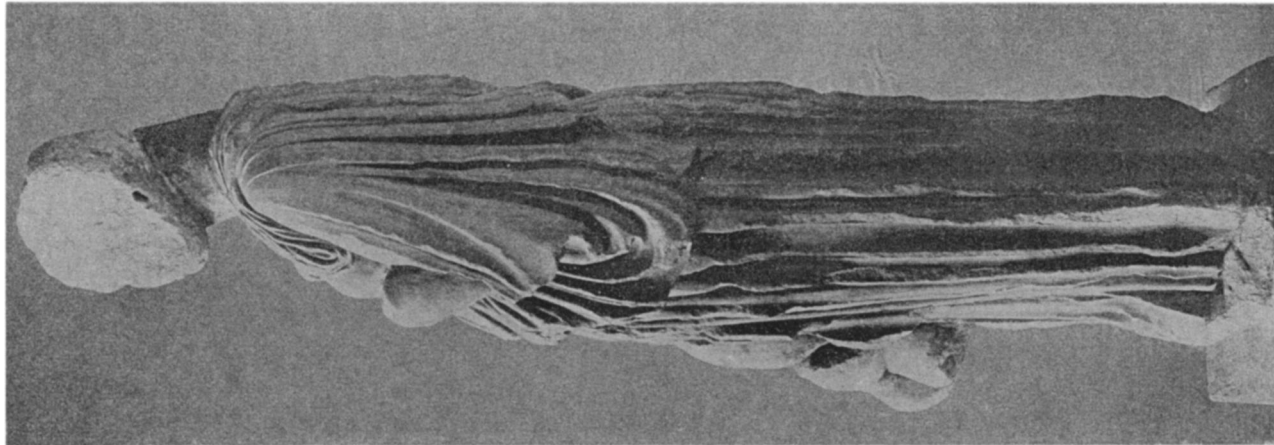
a. Prokne, from Athens



c. Head of Prokne



d. Herm, from Pergamon,  
after Alkamenes



b. Prokne, from Athens



Head of Apollo, from Olympia

CHARLES H. MORGAN: PHEIDIAS AND OLYMPIA

(Frontispiece)