

THE SCULPTURES OF THE HEPHAISTEION

II. THE FRIEZES

(PLATES 77-84)

PREFACE

AS in the preceding section of this article (*Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 210-219) references to other publications for textual, bibliographical and illustrative material have been limited as far as possible to four sources which are cited parenthetically in the text by the author's last name followed by page or plate number. These are:

Dinsmoor, W. B., *Hesperia* Suppl. V, *Observations on the Hephaisteion*

Richter, G. M. A., *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*

Smith, A. H., *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*

Thompson, H. A., *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 230-268, "The Pedimental Sculpture of the Hephaisteion"

References to other publications by these authorities as well as to other sources of pertinent material are cited in footnotes in the normal way. Peripheral comment, when of more than parenthetical length, is treated in Appendices.

BASIC DATA

The Ionic friezes of the Hephaisteion, carved in Parian marble, are two in number, that on the west corresponding to the full width of the opisthodomos, that on the east extended beyond the pronaos over the pteroma to bed against the backers of the Doric frieze of the exterior colonnade. This arrangement represents a refinement of the continuous frieze of the Parthenon, as does the Ionic crown of the epistyle on which it rests contrast with the Doric taenia-regula-guttae moulding of the larger building. Like the concentration of the metopes on the eastern end of the temple, the unusual projection of the pronaos frieze is usually interpreted as an effort to emphasize the eastern end of the temple. In the light of this divergence from the scheme of the Parthenon, the separation of the friezes might be explained also in terms of an axiom "the less extensive the less expensive" and budgetary considerations might be inferred. Another possible solution might be found in the assumption

Hesperia, XXXI, 3

of a shortage of materials, for Parian marble, common in Athenian architectural sculpture before the Parthenon, was long thereafter out of fashion.

The height of the friezes is identical to that of the metopes (0.828 m.), a necessary coincidence since the east frieze connected with the inner frieze of the peristyle. Their thickness is difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy. At the corners the moulding is cut back from the frontal plane of the figures which project from a background of varying depth.

SUBJECTS

The theme of the west frieze is the popular Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths, favored in Athens because of the participation of Theseus, its greatest hero. The designer, influenced by his desire to bring the royal Athenian as nearly into the center as possible, moved his monumental triangular group of two Centaurs burying Kaineus under boulders to make room for him. The characters are limited to combattants only, the lustful incidents that appear on the west pediment of the Olympia temple and on the metopes of the Parthenon being omitted.

The subject of the east frieze has given rise to much speculation. At either end are scenes appropriate to the fringes of a battle. Over each of the antae are three seated deities, so distinguished by their dress, their scale and their detachment. On the two middle slabs the conflict rages between warriors of mortal stature. One set of combattants is armed with shields and spears, the other with gigantic boulders. This latter primitive equipment would suggest a battle of gods and giants; but the size of the passive deities over the antae plainly denies this solution. The likeliest interpretation seems first to have been offered by Müller¹ who saw in this primordial foray the victory of Theseus over the rebel Pallantids that established his benign rule in Athens (App. I). If this interpretation is correct, the focal figure of the frieze (#15, Pls. 78, b; 82, a) can only be Theseus, here dominating the turmoil more dramatically than does his counterpart among the Centaurs on the west.

The southern group of gods (Pl. 77, b) is almost universally designated as Athena with her aegis, Hera with her veil, Zeus holding his scepter (App. II). There is much less uniformity of opinion about the northern trio (Pl. 79, a). Moving northward from the center I would see Apollo, since his sacred area in the Agora was sited just below, Aphrodite whose precinct lay to the north, and her husband, Hephaistos, balancing Athena and so sharing equal prominence on the temple which seems to have been dedicated to them both. His heavy torso suggests a more mature god than Apollo, and the stiffness of his legs implies, possibly, lameness.

¹ *Die erhobenen Arbeiten am Frieze des Pronaos vom Theseustempel zu Athen in Kunstarchaeologische Werke*, 4, pp. 1-16.

COMPOSITION

Through the nature of its subject it is not surprising to find that the west frieze is largely comprised of fighting pairs; but there is room on each slab for five figures, and the designer has shown remarkable variety in his disposition of the odd antagonists. In the first section a Lapith, whose thrusting pose is identical with that of so many of the figures on the east frieze, occupies the center and moves to his right to ensure the discomfiture of a fallen Centaur (Pl. 80, a). In the fourth section the odd Lapith is at the extreme left and forms an essential part of the group at his right in which a Centaur has beaten a Lapith to the ground (Pl. 81, b). Theseus, on the third section, occupies a like position (Pl. 81, a) but here he moves powerfully toward the action on slab 2, coming to the aid of Kaineus. In this latter episode, the sculptor executes a triangular group of Centaurs hoisting a boulder over the half-buried Lapith.

The composition of the Kaineus group is important for it was closely duplicated in the friezes of both Bassae and Sounion² and all three seem to derive from a common source. The shape and monumentality would lead one to expect it as a central motive; but in this instance we have already seen the reason for its displacement.

Efforts to link the designs of the separate slabs together are few and unimportant. The tail of Centaur #15 (best seen in Pl. 81, b) is carved on the fourth block, while above it the thinly modelled cloak of Lapith #16 extends over onto the third. The end of the club of the Centaur #6 is carved on slab one (Pl. 80, b). None of these joins is of sufficient complexity to have necessitated executing the reliefs *in situ*.

The composition of the east frieze may well have been influenced by that of the Parthenon. The designer plainly began at either end with relatively quiet and unimportant episodes. There is somewhat more activity on slab one (Pl. 77, a) at the southern end, the first two figures moving toward the conflict, then resumed by the fifth figure who continues vigorously in the direction of the fray. This last pose is repeated by #25 on the sixth slab (Pl. 79, b). Over the antae the deities (Pls. 77, b and 79, a), like their predecessors of a century before on the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, appear as animated spectators. On slab two there is room for one, on slab five for two, warriors the first of whom charges eagerly forward, while the latter pair rush away from the action. The third slab is occupied by a see-saw engagement in which four figures, struggling behind a fallen man, irregularly continue the conflict to the right (Pl. 78, a); and the fourth section contains the culmination (Pl. 78, b). At its left a massive solitary figure, Theseus, charges squarely into a whirlpool of opposition.

This design is extraordinarily subtle. As in the west frieze, Theseus is placed just to the right of center, but his action is forcefully still further to the right. The

² Cf. Richter, fig. 299; *Ath. Mitt.*, IX, 1884, pl. XVII, 2.

artist makes of his necessity a dramatic triumph, boldly exaggerating the imbalance by the impelling lines of the hero's long cloak. The cluster of opposing warriors firmly brings the left-to-right surge to a halt. The two retiring figures on slab five pick up the motion briefly and again it is stopped by the seated gods. On the sixth slab the verticality of the three central figures acts as a series of periods at the end of a sentence to which effective finality is given by the relaxation and direction of the concluding youth. Here the nearly exact balance of the design of the Parthenon frieze is broken in a highly sophisticated way.

THE STYLE OF THE PARTHENON SCULPTURE

The connection between certain individual figures and groups in the Hephaisteion friezes and the sculptures of the Parthenon has long been noted. Since it is to this latter monument that we shall often be forced to turn in discussion of the former we must first consider what is implied by this sectional heading. One speaks with easy equanimity of "the style of the Parthenon" as a pole against which all mid-fifth century sculpture may be equated. And yet its elements have none of the homogeneity of a planked shad or a sirloin steak. Rather it is a superlative bouillabaisse concocted of many ingredients and blended into a general, all-pervasive identity.

In examining the components, one finds veteran recipes and prophetic experiments drawn into a unified whole that took only half a generation to create. It is perhaps the variety within the overall synthesis that provides its powerful appeal to successive generations, ancient and modern, combining as it does traces of the blunt vigor of the transitional period with the calm assurance of Athens at the peak of her power, and at the same time evincing some of the nervous flourishes that were to characterize so much of the sculpture of the troubled decades ahead.

Survivals from the past are most conspicuous in the metopes, more fugitive in the frieze, almost absent from the pediments. In the first group tradition reveals itself in the grotesque quality of some of the Centaur heads, though at the same time one is aware that this particular type is losing its ferocity and is sometimes mellowed by the standard idealism of the rest of the sculptures (App. III). Five of the Centaurs wrinkle their brows over Semitic noses, snarl and bare their teeth, but three others reveal themselves in a new role with noble, humane visages.³ From the same earlier source, best known from Olympia, come occasional doughy folds of drapery. Add to these the heavy eyelids of one of the Centaurs, the curious strap-like device on the drapery of certain figures, and the vague lacuna above the knee of Kekrop's daughter on the west pediment and one has cited most of them. They are relatively few in number; but they spice the whole with the flavor of the days when Athens' star was rising.

³ App. IV contains specific references for the mannerisms cited in the ensuing paragraphs.

Portents of the future are hardly more prominent. There is a tendency in the chariot groups to pose the warrior with one knee crooked in his eagerness to mount, here a natural and traditional attitude but one which will later be used for its diagonal surge in endless and boring repetition. An occasional cloak, often partly masked by a head and shoulder, floats out to fill up empty space. This motive, too, will often overstuff later designs. And, in places, a sculptor will flatten his chisel at a sharp angle to the marble and coax out thin wedges of stone folds over the nude loveliness of the feminine form. In so doing he is refining on a formula already predicted in the sculptures at Olympia, but is also giving it a definition of great consequence to his successors on the Nike Temple parapet.

For the rest, one may summarize the style of the Parthenon as the replacement of the tougher standards of the earlier generation by a vogue for younger types and finer cloth. On this temple no one grows old, one merely grows a beard. Here youth reigns supreme. Only some of the Centaurs have real maturity, their wrinkled, balding heads caricaturing the sin of age.

To supply the hundreds of figures demanded by this vast enterprise sculptors worked long and manfully and with a keen, competitive awareness. Some moved easily into an understanding of this new concept, and these were probably the Attic entourage of Pheidias whose earlier experiments at Olympia, carried further in the Hephaisteion metopes, now led the way with slimmer, active bodies and large flowing draperies. For a time they and their provincial colleagues stammered over how to represent the edges of a cloak seen head-on or what to do with a mass of drapery falling over a lap. Some of them frankly outlined the initial drawing in flat ridges or cut grooves painstakingly in parallel lines across projecting areas. Others fastened onto the potential device of shallow, wavy folds derived from the archaic recipe for thin cloth. But the great majority of the Parthenon draperies, early or late, depend on the broad-folded, heavy-ridged garments evolved in the Theseus metopes of the Hephaisteion (*Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, Pls. 73, b; 75, a).

And just as the experiments went forward in the field of adjuncts, the evolution of the human form was not neglected. The massive-bodied hero of by-gone years occurs only as an echo in some of the gods of the west pediment, the latest unit of all. Largely efforts are expended in two directions, one of which continues and refines the smooth-muscle form of the Victor relief from Sounion (Richter, fig. 494) while the other seeks to transmute the rugged energy of former days into a lighter articulation deriving from the tradition of Pythagoras and Kalamis. By sharp definition and sleek distinction of planes the artists of the Parthenon impart vitality to their figures, even to those in quiet poses.

But over and above these trends and emphases the sculptors, caught up in an atmosphere of excellence, outdid themselves; and in their struggle for perfection they

pictured a world of self-confident, youthful energy. Once the style of the Parthenon was established it served as a long-lasting quarry of forms and ideas.

THE STYLE OF THE HEPHAISTEION FRIEZES

While the style of the Parthenon contains many dwindling relics of earlier mannerisms and probes sporadically into the realm of the future, the friezes of the Hephaisteion are remarkable for their willful evocation of much earlier types, their frequent and quite shameless borrowings from the Parthenon, and their whole-hearted and developed presentation of forms and formulae which are essentially those of the fourth rather than of the fifth century.

There are two direct derivations from the early Transitional Period; for in each of the friezes there is one central actor, Theseus, who is conceived in a more heroic mould than his agitated fellows (Pl. 82, a, c). His body is broader, more simply rounded, with greater emphasis on mass and less on detail. This leading character, in both cases, has a familiar look. On the east frieze he impersonates Aristogeiton, on the west Harmodios, as they appeared in the group by Kritias and Nesiotes that was set up in the Athenian Agora in 477 (Pl. 82, b, d; Appendix V). In neither instance is our paladin a direct copy. As Aristogeiton his right arm is raised, and his long cloak swings down and back further to emphasize the more fashionable forward lunge of his pose. As Harmodios he imitates his model more faithfully, quite as closely as does Alkamenēs' Peirithous in the west pediment at Olympia (Richter, pl. 392), though here he has acquired a cloak, and his left hand, for spatial reasons, is brought up against his chest. Thus Theseus, the warrior king of Athens attacking his savage enemies, appropriates the guise of the historic foes of tyranny. And by these borrowings from an earlier generation the sculptor seems consciously to be seeking a form which will set his chief actor apart and above his companions many of whom are the direct descendants of the sculptures of the Parthenon.

By way of transition from these earliest reminiscences to the next, let us consider the southernmost lapith, #20, of the west frieze (Pl. 81, b). He swings forward to stab a Centaur in the body. This motive stems from the southernmost fighting group of the west pediment at Olympia where, though the general angle differs to fit the narrow space, the torso of the Lapith is tilted forward to accommodate the action of the right arm (Richter, fig. 391). The scheme is repeated, again with adaptation to space, in south metope XI of the Parthenon which, though destroyed, may be recovered in Carrey's drawing (Smith, fig. 50, 52). This desire for frontal views is a dominant characteristic of fifth century sculpture until partly replaced by innovations in the Hephaisteion friezes. Very close indeed to this treatment is the same scene on a kylix by Aristophanes in the Boston Museum.⁴

⁴ #00.344; *ARV*, p. 842.

From the Parthenon alone come some direct and many implied borrowings. These are commonest in the west frieze whose northernmost group (Pl. 80, a, #1 and 2) has long been recognized as an undiluted derivative from Metope IV of the south series of the great temple (Smith, pl. 17, 2). But one has only to compare the simple modelling of the Lapith on the metope with the lively body from the frieze to note a different quality of realism. Another fallen Lapith (#18, Pl. 81, b) may well have been drawn from the same model.

Centaur #6 and #13 (Pls. 80, b and 81, a) seem to admit of a common derivation, perhaps south metope I of the Parthenon (Smith, pl. 16, 1). In this instance it is interesting to recall how rarely backs appear on the sculptures of the Parthenon or, indeed, in most fifth century relief work until they become almost a commonplace on the friezes of the Hephaisteion. Centaur #17 and #19 (Pl. 81, b) seem also descended from a single prototype, and south metope XXX of the Parthenon provides a likely sire (Smith, pl. 23, 2). Here there is not only a close correspondence of pose, but the crisp, flat surfaces of chest and abdomen are closer to the earlier monument than to the general characteristics of the other figures on the Hephaisteion.

The extant Centaur heads follow the developed style of the Parthenon metopes (Pl. 80, b). Their almost compassionate gazes as they lower the enormous boulder onto the hapless Kaineus represent the ultimate in the domestication of their type.

The quieter figures on the end blocks of the east frieze (Pls. 77, a; 79, b) are reminiscent of the scenes of preparation on the west frieze of the Parthenon. The closest parallel is to be found in the standing warrior adjusting his cloak (#28; Pl. 83, a) who strongly recalls three similar knights on the earlier monument (Pl. 83, b, c, d).

Thus there is no lack of parallels between the Hephaisteion friezes and the sculptures of the Parthenon. The same observation could be made of almost all other known sculptures of the second half of the fifth century and of the early fourth; and it is with these latter that many of the non-Parthenon mannerisms find their best counterparts.

The list of later fifth century buildings whose sculptures have survived is a short one, and positive dates that may be linked to them is much shorter still. They may be summarized as follows:

The Temple of Athena Nike in Athens: Though ordered in 449 B.C., its structure cannot have been started until the completion of the Propylaia in 432. Dinsmoor believes that the actual work on it occupied the years 427-424.⁵ Its friezes contain remarkable parallels to those of the Hephaisteion (App. VI).

The Temple of Poseidon at Sounion: Dinsmoor now places this building between

⁵ *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 185, note 4.

444 and 440 B.C.⁶ He had earlier dated it about 420 B.C.,⁷ a position in time concurred in by Orlando⁸ and Robertson.⁹ Since its ruined sculptures duplicate many of the motives used in the Hephaisteion friezes this broad range of dates may not be without significance (Appendix VI).

Temple on the Ilissos in Athens: Dinsmoor believes that this building was constructed soon after 450 B.C.¹⁰ Its sculptures bear parallels to the Hephaisteion friezes, especially in the generous spacing, striding poses, and profile posing of many of the surviving figures (Richter, fig. 420).¹¹

Temple of Apollo at Bassae: Dinsmoor considers its plan to have been determined and the building at least begun by Iktinos about 450 B.C., but that work was not completed until about 425 B.C.¹² Pausanias,¹³ deriving his date from Apollo's title "Epikourios" and its association with the plague, infers a date of about 430-429 B.C. Miss Richter dates the sculptured friezes with the Peace of Nikias, about 420 B.C.¹⁴

The Erechtheion in Athens: Stylistically later than the Temple of Athena Nike, it is generally believed to have been begun during the Peace of Nikias.¹⁵ That the work was temporarily interrupted is shown by inscriptions dated in 409/8 B.C., recording a commission's report on the state of the building, and continuing with yearly records of payments up to, probably, 405/404. The report of 409 indicates that the Caryatids were already in place. Many of the later entries list payments for figures in the friezes; therefore to this period most, if not all, of the surviving fragments must belong.

In this array of monuments for possible comparison there are only three certain dates:

1. The Temple of Athena Nike and its frieze must postdate 432 B.C.
2. The Caryatids of the Erechtheion must be earlier than 409 B.C.
3. The frieze of the Erechtheion (in part at least) must date between 409 and 405 B.C.

There are six ways in which the sculptures of the Hephaisteion friezes differ entirely from the sculptures of the Parthenon. As each of these passes in review the reader will easily recognize features which are alien to monuments surely dated

⁶ *Op. cit.*, Chronological Table.

⁷ Anderson, Spiers and Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, Chronological Table.

⁸ *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, p. 318.

⁹ *Greek and Roman Architecture*, p. 328.

¹⁰ Pp. 159, 160.

¹¹ Best illustrated by Studniczka, *Jahrb.*, XXXI, 1916, pp. 169 f.

¹² *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 154.

¹³ VIII, 41, 5.

¹⁴ P. 34.

¹⁵ Thus Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 188; and Paton, *The Erechtheum*, pp. 452 f.

before the last quarter of the fifth century, while many of them suggest a host of parallels securely lodged in the fourth. They are as follows:

1. The anatomy of many of the figures is prone to a new type of spare fluency. One tiny mannerism indicative of the whole change may be noted in a tight little wrinkle above the navel. This has been tried simply at Olympia, and some of the figures of the Parthenon are familiar with the device; but the Hephaisteion friezes are the first to exploit its full potential, extending it liberally across much of the abdomen as an adjunct of supple activity. From such relatively insignificant detail one progresses to the greater changes that infuse the larger parts of the figures. The latest sculptors of the Parthenon had occasionally experimented with a pronounced separation of the abdominal muscles from the rib cage, as most graphically seen in the Hermes of the west pediment (Smith, pl. 9, 1). But the taut torso of the Pallantid #17 of the east frieze (Pl. 84, a) goes far beyond it in expression. This same exaggeration of anatomical definition may be seen to a slightly lesser degree in many of the figures of both friezes. The salience of the rib cage itself, well illustrated in figures 5, 9, 14, 17, 22, 25, 27 on the east frieze (Pls. 77-79), has become so common a formula that it must have been established earlier. To contain this new type of physique many of the bodies increase in apparent slimness, best demonstrated by #7 of the west frieze (Pl. 80, b) and by #26 and #27 of the east frieze (Pl. 79, b). For this development there are no mid-fifth century parallels, but the fourth century presents them in profusion, as in the Mausoleion (Richter, figs. 720, 729, 735).

2. The new poses fall essentially into two types. The first lays heavy emphasis on a forward lunge, one leg projected forward and bent sharply back at the knee, the other leg thrust stiffly on a strong diagonal line. This is an adaptation of the earlier formula for vigorous action; but a comparison of such a figure as Lapith #3 of the west frieze (Pl. 80, a) with Aristogeiton (Pl. 82, b) will show how much more urgent is the angle of the knee, how much more tense the straight leg of the later figure. For this insistent pose which occurs four out of eleven possible times in the west frieze and twelve out of twenty-nine in the east, the Parthenon offers no real parallels at all except for the Poseidon of the west pediment (Richter, fig. 394). On the other hand the friezes of the Nike Temple, the temples at Sounion and Bassae are riddled with it. An excellent parallel may be seen in a frieze section of the Temple on the Ilissos (Richter, fig. 88). It is a commonplace in the fourth century (Appendix VII).

The second type of pose stressed the unusual. The persistence of back views already noted on centaurs #6 and #13 of the west frieze (Pls. 80, b and 81, a) continues in the east frieze with numbers 10, 13, 16 and 19 (Pl. 78, a, b). It is remarkable that this latter group represents fifty per cent of the standing figures on the two central slabs. Back views are extremely rare among the sculptures of the

Parthenon. The Centaur falling on his back, #5 of the west frieze (Pl. 80, a), is a novelty repeated at Bassae (Richter, fig. 203). His human chest turns outward toward the spectator creating an effect of torsion that is an advanced refinement on the *contrapposto* of Polykleitos. This technical development is carried further in the Kaineus, #9 of the west frieze (Pl. 80, b), who thrusts his right leg and left shoulder forward, his abdomen receding from, his chest projecting toward, the spectator, while his neck and head turn upward toward his left. Slight variants on this theme are to be found at both Bassae and Sounion.¹⁶ Such three-dimensional *contrapposto* will not be encountered so fully again before the works of Lysippos in the second half of the fourth century.

Similarly the fallen warriors on the east frieze, #12 and #18 (Pl. 78, a, b), are no longer in the simple parallel plane of the dead Lapith on Parthenon metope XXVIII (Smith, pl. 23, 2). The body of the first arches up, backward and forward, the other sprawls downward and outward from the background. There is nothing in mid-fifth century sculpture to compare with the brilliantly contorted back views of warriors #10 and #16 on the east frieze, but they find good parallels in the Persian of the Nike temple frieze and on the Mausoleion (Richter, figs. 295 and 735).

3. Foreshortening is used dramatically. On the frieze of the Parthenon the exigencies of low relief required frequent use of this device, but the sculptors never pressed its possibilities. The east frieze of the Hephaisteion, despite the much greater depth of its relief, insists upon it quite unnecessarily twice, in the leg of the kneeling captive, #3 (Pl. 77, a), and of the fallen warrior, #18 (Pl. 78, b). In both instances the sculptor could have simplified his problem greatly by extending the leg more to the side, thereby freeing the foot from the overlapping leg of the next figure; but he elected otherwise. His daring was often emulated by late fifth century vase painters¹⁷ and served as a very popular device among sculptors of the fourth century (Richter, fig. 730).

4. The figures enjoy extraordinary isolation. On the Parthenon the chief emphasis is upon extravagant crowding with only occasional wide spacing between figures. The influence of the Parthenon may perhaps be inferred in the Hephaisteion's west frieze where incidents and figures are more compactly grouped and in the spacing of the quiet figures of the east frieze. But in the battle scenes on the latter even the violent poses are set apart from each other. Each character enjoys his own domain; and only once, on the fourth slab, do these independent figures achieve a cumulative organization. This concept is even freer than in the frieze of the Nike Temple. By contrast, the rich crowding of the Bassae reliefs distinctly recalls the Parthenon.

¹⁶ Cf. Richter, fig. 299; and *Ath. Mitt.*, IX, 1884, pl. XVII, 2.

¹⁷ Cf. Miss Richter, *A.J.A.*, LXIII, 1959, pl. 55, figs. 40 and 41.

5. The figures project physically into space with a new boldness. Their freedom from the background, though similar to that of the Hephaisteion and Parthenon metopes, exceeds that of all known earlier continuous friezes. This three dimensional quality is utterly opposed to the consistent "illusionism" of the Parthenon frieze which consequently cannot be inferred as a basic inspirational source. Less marked, but equally apparent, is the similar freedom on the reliefs of the Nike Temple and of those from Bassae and Sounion. It accords with the appliqué figures of the Erechtheion frieze, and becomes a commonplace in the fourth century (Appendix VIII).

6. Composition in space dominates the Hephaisteion friezes more strongly in some parts than in others, but it is especially marked on the two central slabs of the east frieze. Here the artist thinks in terms of limitless depth, single bodies shifting from one plane into the next as do warriors #11 and #13 (Pl. 78, a). More than this, the sculptor of the fourth slab (Pl. 78, b) arranges his four Pallantids into a cyclic design. The fallen soldier projects diagonally out toward the spectator, his body acting as an axle around and over which two of his comrades revolve, showing back and frontal poses propelled about his body and in and out of the background. This small whirlwind acts as a dynamo for the fourth figure of the group who, in back view, confronts the charging Theseus. Broken though parts of the relief may be, the overlapping of all four Pallantids may still plainly be seen; and the vigorous differentiation of their poses demonstrates the brilliant sense of composition in depth that dominates the whole design.

By contrast the artist of the adjacent slab, number three (Pl. 78, a), with his alternating back, nearly-frontal, nearly-back, frontal sequence that does not link in with the fallen figure, confesses devoted but not fully comprehending admiration for the novelty. Similar respectful imitation occurs at least three times on the frieze of the Nike temple, providing the only good parallels in fifth century sculpture for this innovation. The date of this little building has been noted above: post 432 B.C.

Though space composition appears in few carved examples of the later fifth century, it was vigorously exploited in a group of Attic red-figure vases dating from nearly 400 B.C. Significantly these deal largely with the theme of the Gigantomachy and other scenes of combat. Clear indications of the beginnings of this style exist before 420 in the work of the Kodros and Penelope Painters, but the closest parallels to the Hephaisteion frieze occur on vases signed by Aison and Aristophanes and others assigned to the Pronomos and Suessola Painters (Appendix IX).

SUMMARY

1. The material, Parian marble, and the height of the friezes agree with those of the metopes.
2. The location of the friezes has no demonstrable parallel.

3. The friezes patently borrow from the past for the heroic type.
4. They also take mannerisms, types, even groups from the Parthenon at will.
5. On six separate counts they offer characteristics not found on the Parthenon.
6. The closest sculptured parallels for these friezes are to be found on the Nike temple, dated not earlier than 432 B.C.
7. The closest parallels of all are found on Attic red-figure vases dating from the end of the century.

CONCLUSION

The friezes of the Hephaisteion must date at least twenty, and possibly fifty, years after the metopes of the building.

APPENDIX I

THESEUS' CONQUEST OF ATTICA

Omitted from the building's metopes are all references to Theseus' reception in Attica. Plutarch relates that after he had dispatched Prokrustes he reached the Kephissos where he was purified of blood guilt, of which he had by this time acquired a good deal. He then identified himself to Aegeus, foiled Medea's attempt to poison him, and was declared heir to the throne of Athens. At this point the sons of Pallas fomented a revolution which was suppressed, in part at least, by treachery. After his adventures in Crete he established a democratic government in Athens by a series of far-seeing actions.

It is possible that the now-missing central metopes on the south side of the Parthenon may be identified with some of these episodes. If the original intention of the Hephaisteion designer had been to carve all the metopes of the temple, it may well be that the surviving reliefs represent only a part of his plan for the cycle in which the Athenian events of the heroic saga were to have been included.

APPENDIX II

IDENTIFICATION OF THE VEILED GODDESS

It is quite possible that the second female figure of the southern group of gods represents Demeter to whom a veil would also be appropriate. Hera had no love for Hephaistos, her ugly offspring. On the other hand Athena, sanctified on the Acropolis, and Demeter on its north slope occupied near-by shrines and were particularly venerated by the Athenians. It might also represent the Mother of the Gods, represented with a veil, whose sacred area lay in the Bouleuterion complex just below the Hephaisteion and a little to the south.

The possibility of identifying the deities from the location of their precincts in the Agora area is paralleled by the surviving deities on the east pediment of the Parthenon where the reclining male god at the southern corner overlooks the sanctuary of Dionysos and at the northern end one may see Aphrodite above her North Slope sanctuary, lying in the lap of Persuasion.

APPENDIX III

THE DECLINE OF THE REPUGNANT

The disappearance of the uncouth was a rapid one toward the middle of the fifth century, a demise which may be traced in the centaur metopes of the Parthenon. Though some of these offer exaggerations of feature, the trend is firmly set for handsome, compassionate standards (Smith, pls. 17, 2; 23, 2; 24, 1). The ugly realism of baldness occurs but twice. It has been used freely at Olympia and in pre-Periklean vase painting. With these final renditions it succumbed, save for Pheidias' fatal self-portrait on the shield of the Athena Parthenos, overwhelmed by a new aesthetic ideal.

APPENDIX IV

MANNERISMS ON THE PARTHENON

- "Five Centaurs wrinkle" etc.: Cf. those of the metopes numbered I, II, VII, IX, and XXVI, Smith, pls. 16, 1, 2; 19, 1; 20, 1; 21, 2.
- "occasional doughy folds" etc.: Cf. south metope XXV, Smith, pl. 21, 2; and north metope XXXII, Smith, pl. 25, 1.
- "heavy eyelids" etc.: Cf. centaurs on south metopes II and XXVII, Smith, pls. 16, 2; 21, 2.
- "strap-like device" etc.: Cf. number 48 of the east frieze, Smith, pl. 38.
- "vague lacuna above the knee" etc.: Cf. Smith, pl. 8.
- "edges of a cloak seen head-on" etc.: Cf. Smith, pl. 22, 1.
- "drapery falling over a lap" etc.: Cf. Smith, pl. 36, fig. 38.
- "archaic recipe for thin cloth": Cf. Smith, pl. 23, 1.
- "broad-folded, heavy-ridged garments" etc.: Cf. Smith, pl. 20, 2.
- "the massive-bodied hero" etc.: Cf. Smith, pls. 9, 2; 10, 2.
- "the tradition of Pythagoras and Kalamis": Cf. Smith, pl. XII, b.

APPENDIX V

ARCHAIZING IN THE LATE FIFTH CENTURY

B. Sauer, *Das Sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck*, p. 151, noted the resemblance to the Harmodios type. In *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 311, I questioned the existence of specific proof of archaizing in the late fifth century. The derivation of the Theseus types in the Hephaisteion friezes is a clear demonstration of the rashness of this doubt. For even though the Attic vase painters had found the pose of Harmodios continually useful, the Hephaisteion sculptor palpably wished to connote the rugged dynamism of a by-gone age. The mannerisms of the Parthenon, of course, persist in an unbroken series of sculptures well into the fourth century, and their recurrence must be regarded as a continuing phenomenon, not as a deliberate return to an outmoded style.

APPENDIX VI

SCULPTURES FROM THE TEMPLES OF NIKE AND POSEIDON

The friezes of the Nike Temple in Athens are divided between the British Museum and the Acropolis. They are perhaps most conveniently illustrated in Picard's monumental *L'Acropole*, 1929, I, in which the west, north and south friezes appear on plates 40 and 41. The following comparisons are made with figures on the east frieze of the Hephaisteion:

- pl. 41, 4: first figure at left shows a bent knee and leg position almost identical to #3.
- pl. 40, 2: second figure from left virtually identical to #5 and #20.
- pl. 40, 2: seventh figure from left virtually identical to #10.
- pl. 40, 1: Third and eighth figures from left virtually identical to #11.
- pl. 40, 4: fourth figure from left virtually identical to #11.

Compare also the cyclic groups on slabs three and four of the Hephaisteion's east frieze with Picard pl. 40, 1, figures 4 through 6; pl. 40, 2, figures 2 through 7 and 8 through 11; pl. 40, 3, figures 4 through 7.

The sculptures from the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion are so terribly damaged that they are impossible to photograph, and reproductions of any kind are very limited. The earliest is in A. de Blouet, *Expedition scientifique de Morée*, 1838, III, pl. 33. One slab, either drawn before the existing mutilation took place or aided by the artist's imagination, shows two warriors one of whom is charging in frontal view against an adversary posed in profile. The effect of motion is much the same as on slabs three and four of the Hephaisteion's east frieze.

Five fragments, not very clearly drawn, are shown by K. Lange, *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 1881, pl. IX.

Line drawings of thirteen fragments are reproduced in E. Fabricius, *Ath. Mitt.*, IX, 1884, pls. XVII through XIX. Of these:

pl. XVII, 1, shows a running warrior identical in pose to #3 on the west and #5 and #20 on the east frieze of the Hephaisteion.

pl. XVII, 2, duplicates the bend of Kaineus' body and the torso of the right-hand centaur as they appear on slab two of the Hephaisteion's west frieze.

pl. XVII, 3, reproduces the composition of metope XXVII of the Parthenon (Smith, pl. 20, 1). Only the lapith's drapery has been changed.

pl. XIX, 13, presents a pose similar to that of Harmodios, the back-thrust arm being closer to the original than is #11 of the Hephaisteion's west frieze.

APPENDIX VII

THE SHIELD OF THE ATHENA PARTHENOS

Miss Harrison, in her studies on the shield of the Athena Parthenos, believes this motive to be a late Pheidian mannerism. It certainly occurs obnoxiously often on Roman copies of that composition if, indeed, they be copies of that particular monument. It is immaterial if they are taken from the Pheidian original or from Damophon's extensive restoration of the monument executed in the second century. If the copies faithfully reproduce the great master's handiwork, we can only admire the truth of Pliny's statement that Pheidias showed the way to his successors; and if they repeat Damophon's repairs we can only suppose that the Hellenistic sculptor, looking for material from which to restore the ruined shield drew his inspiration from the more congenial Hephaisteion friezes rather than from the less turbulent reliefs on the Parthenon.

APPENDIX VIII

SOME FOURTH CENTURY PARALLELS

Specific parallels for many of the mannerisms of the Hephaisteion friezes are to be found on many monuments accurately dated in the fourth century.

1. Two stelai dated to the year 394 by their connection with the Corinthian War show the physical type of the east frieze of the Hephaisteion. The better known of these, the Dexileos Monument (Richter, fig. 215), offers an especially good parallel in the fallen warrior. Contrasting to him

is the mounted Dexileos whose head, body and flying cloak continue the tradition of the Parthenon knights with very little change.

2. The sculptures from the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros are dated by the building inscription in the first quarter of the fourth century. The same physical type noted on the Hephaisteion east frieze is repeated in many of the fragments of the pedimental sculptures (J. Crome, *Die Skulpturen des Asklepiostempel von Epidauros*, pls. 24, 26, 28, 29, 31).

3. The friezes of the Mausoleion at Halikarnassos are dated about the middle of the century from the known history of the building. These repeat not only the anatomical proportions of the Hephaisteion friezes, but demonstrate clearly how the diagonal thrust of leg has become an obnoxious mannerism. Here, too, the wide spacing between figures is continued; and the frequent turn of the body in action seems to be a later adaptation of the Hephaisteion's feeling for motion in space (Richter, figs. 720-722, 729, 730, 735).

4. The Choregic Monument of Lysikrates in Athens, dated 335-334, continues all these mannerisms, increasing the open spaces between figures and exaggerating the slimness of the bodies (Richter, fig. 491).

APPENDIX IX

LATE FIFTH CENTURY ATTIC VASES

Usually dated before 420, the Penelope Painter anticipated the movement toward three dimensional grouping in the cluster of suitors attacked by Odysseus on a pelike in Berlin (#2588; *ARV*, p. 721, 1, 2). At about the same time the Kodros Painter attempted the same type of design on a kylix in Berlin with his scenes of the Kalydonian Boar and a deer hunt (#2538; *ARV*, p. 739, 5, 2). Somewhat later than both of these Aison designed an Amazonomachy that more nearly approximates the circular action of the Hephaisteion battle on a squat lekythos in Naples (#86496; *ARV*, p. 799, 11, 2). Still later, Aristophanes, in a combat between Zeus and Porphyron, approximated the same effect on a kylix in Berlin (#2531; *ARV*, p. 841).

Toward the very end of the century come the closest parallels, both in the effect of motion in space and in physical proportions. A pelike in Athens and a calyx krater in Naples in the manner of the Pronomos Painter (#1333; *ARV*, p. 850; and #2883; *ARV*, p. 850 respectively) combine with a neck amphora in the Louvre by the Suessola Painter (*ARV*, p. 850) to supply as solid a group of comparative material as one medium can offer to another.

CHARLES H. MORGAN

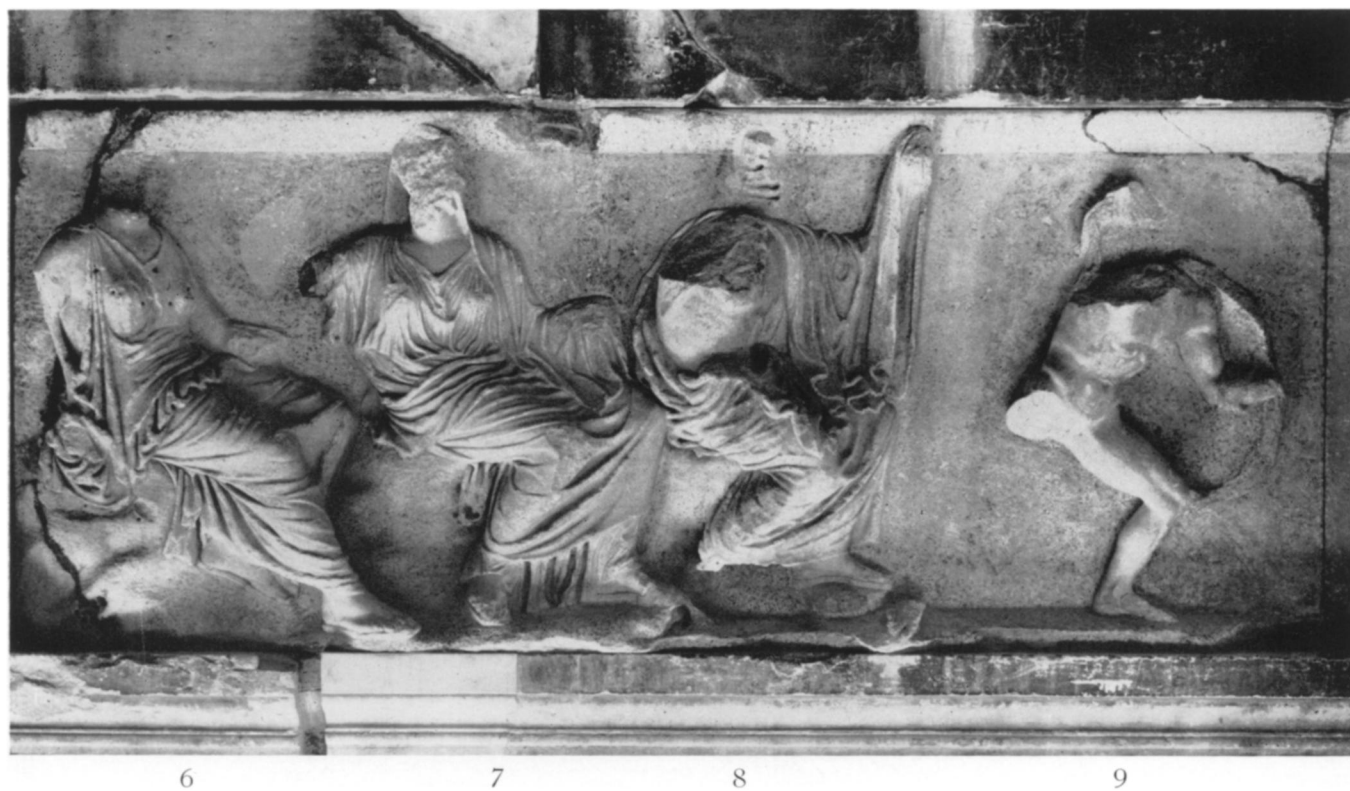
AMHERST COLLEGE



Head of Terracotta Statue found at Ayia Irini in Keos.
Height 0.192 m.



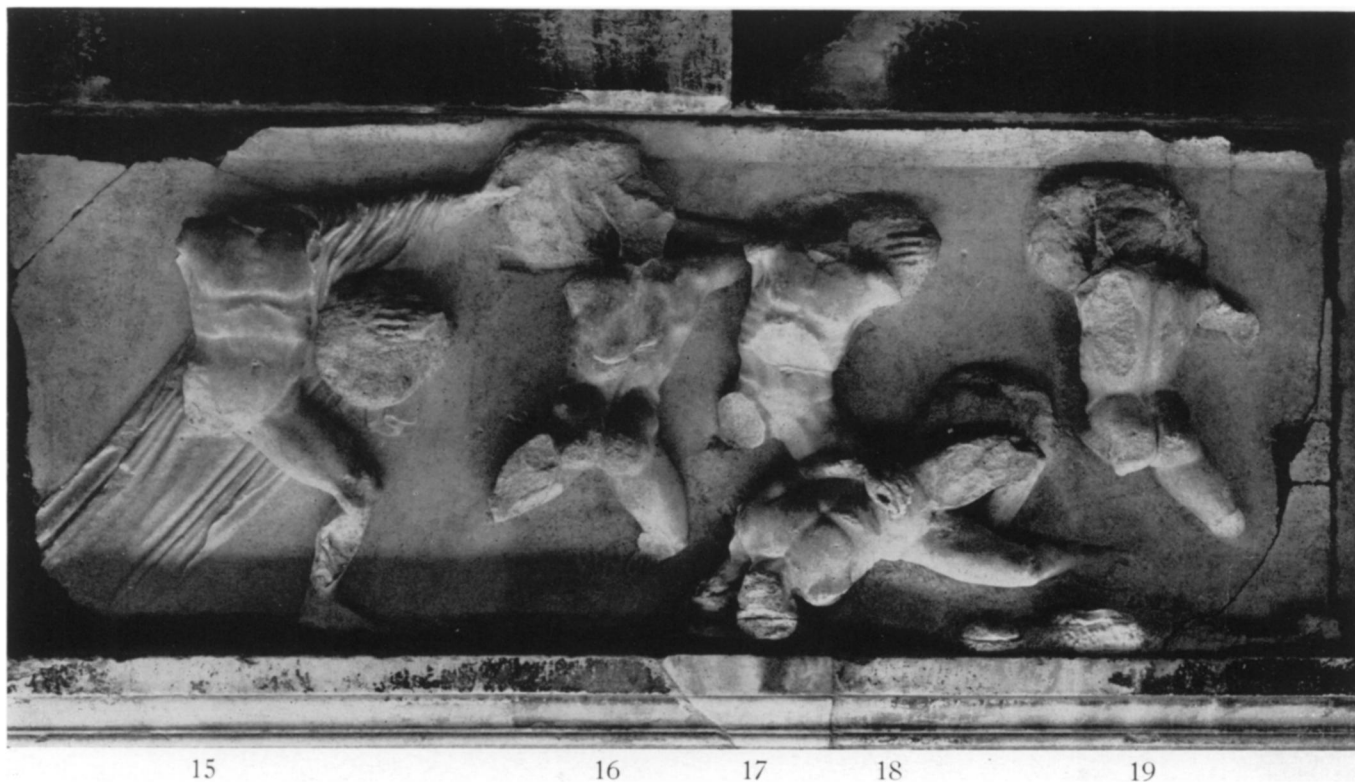
a. East Frieze, slab 1



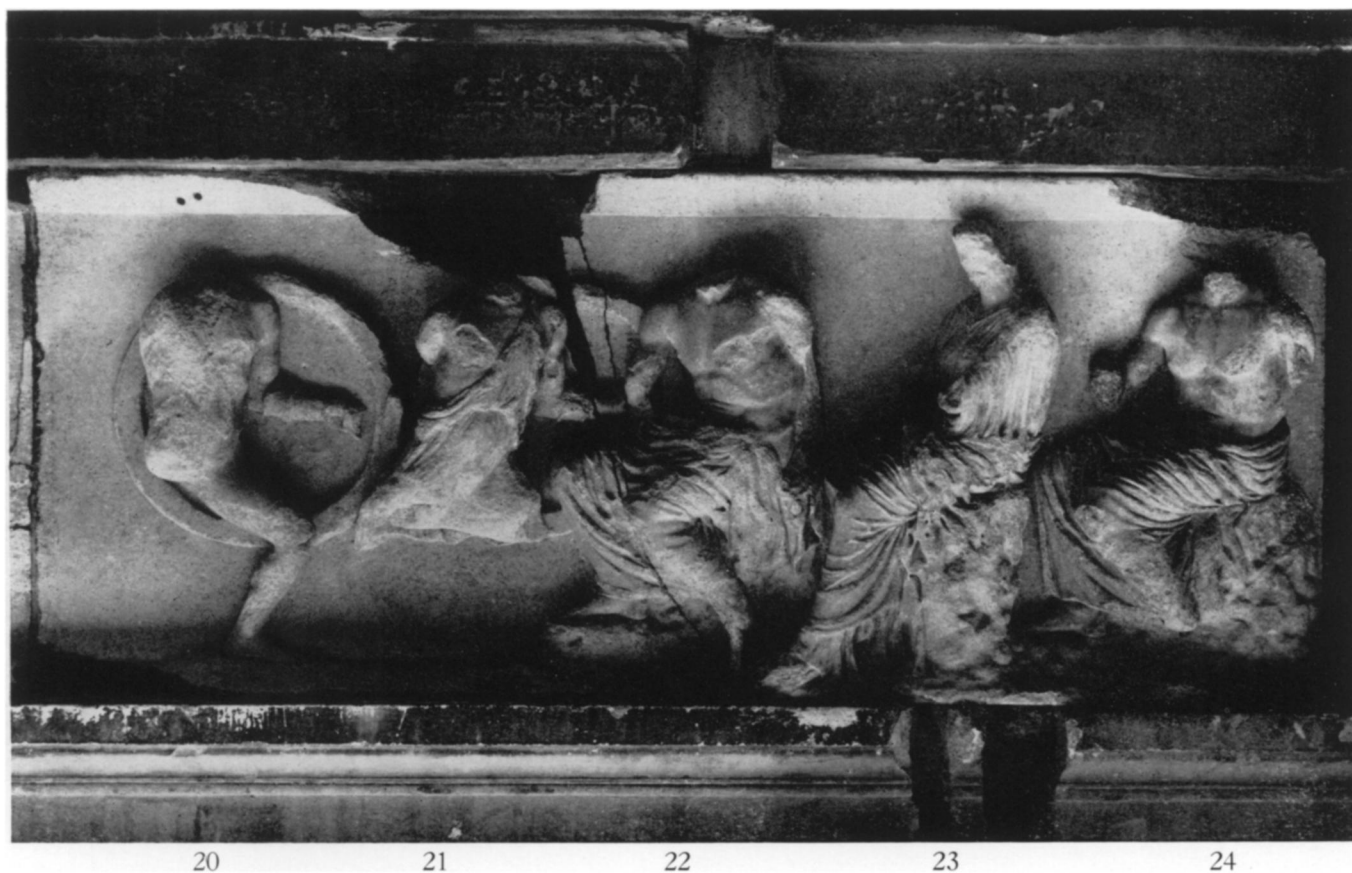
b. East Frieze, slab 2



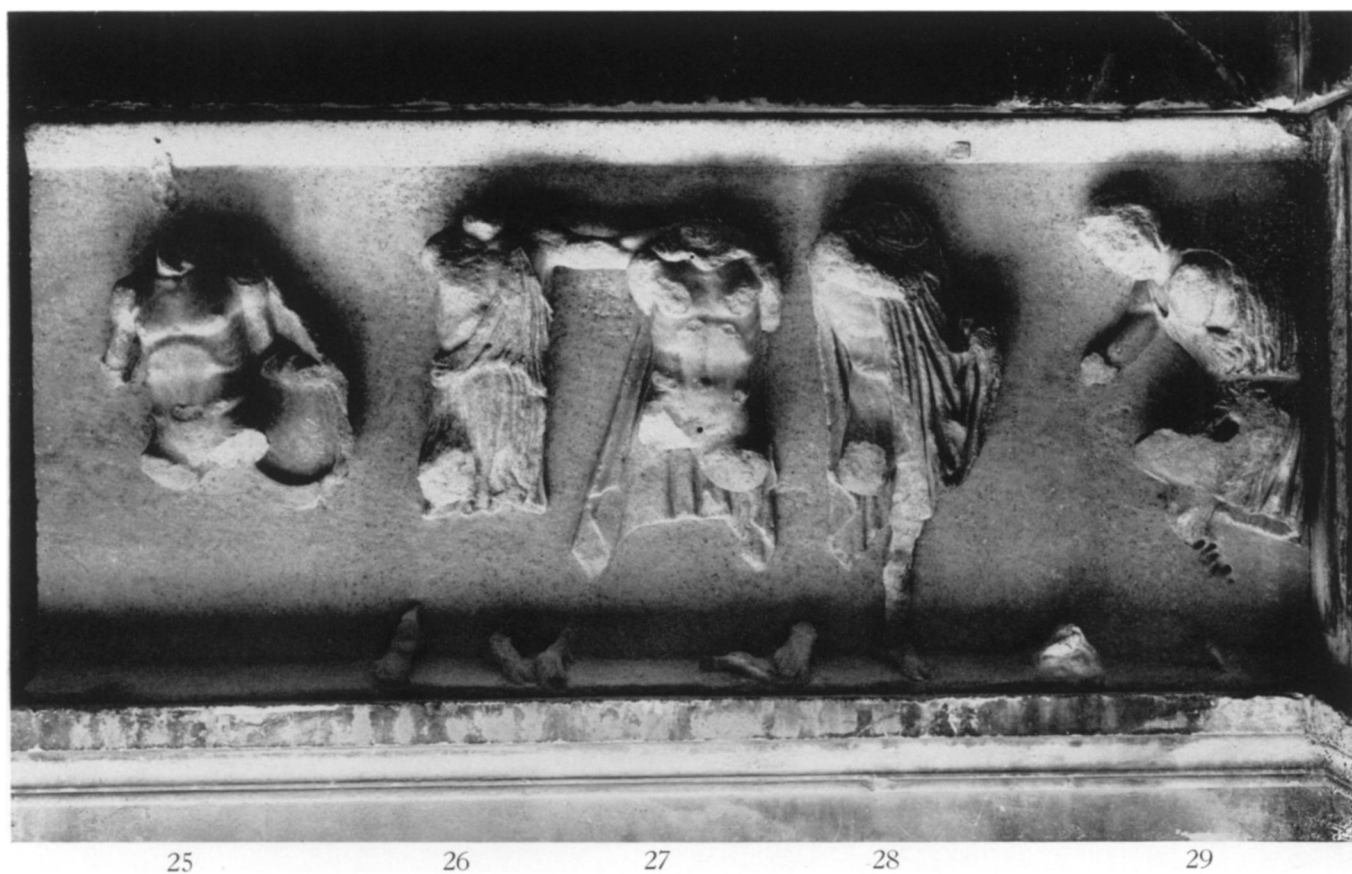
a. East Frieze, slab 3.



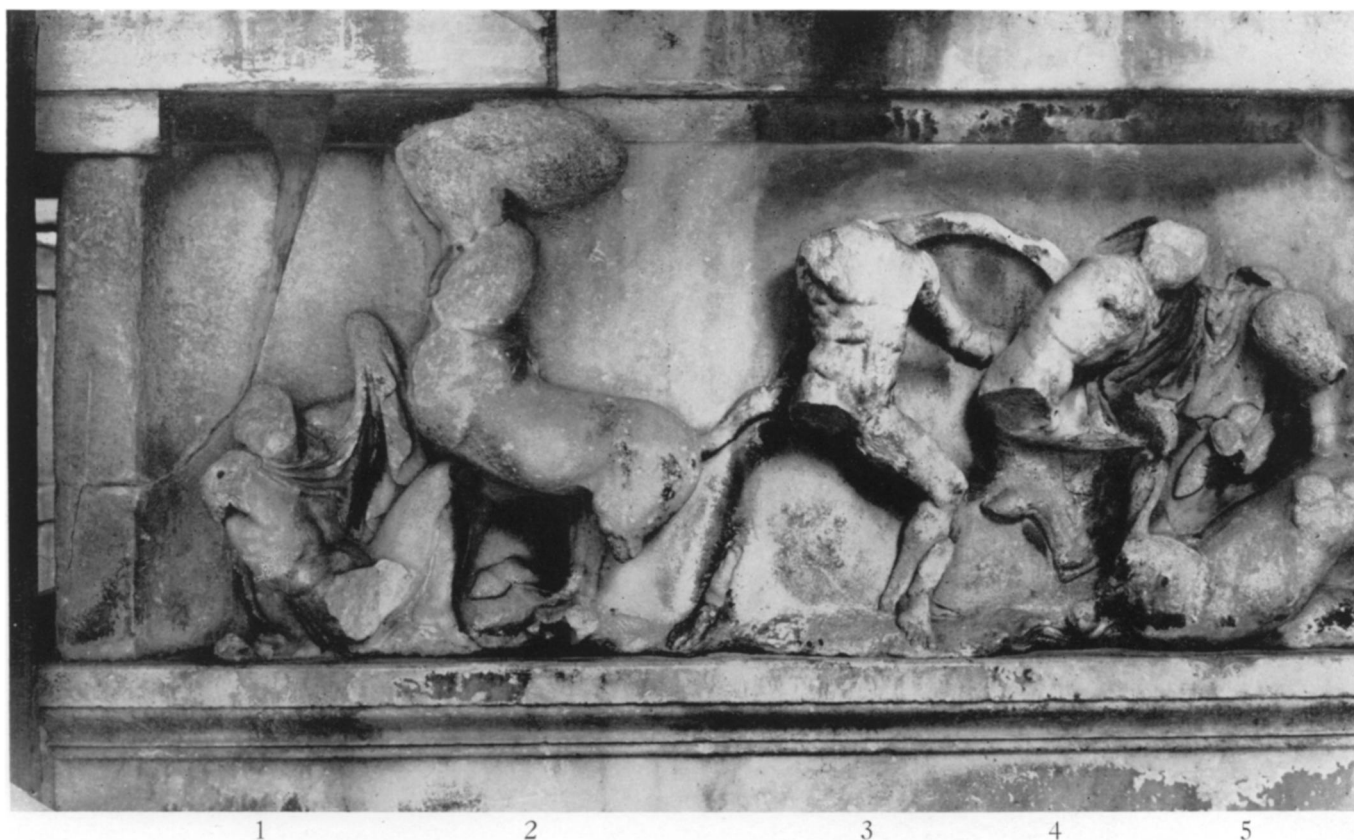
b. East Frieze, slab 4



a. East Frieze, slab 5



b. East Frieze, slab 6



a. West Frieze, slab 1



b. West Frieze, slab 2



11

12

13

14

15

a. West Frieze, slab 3



16

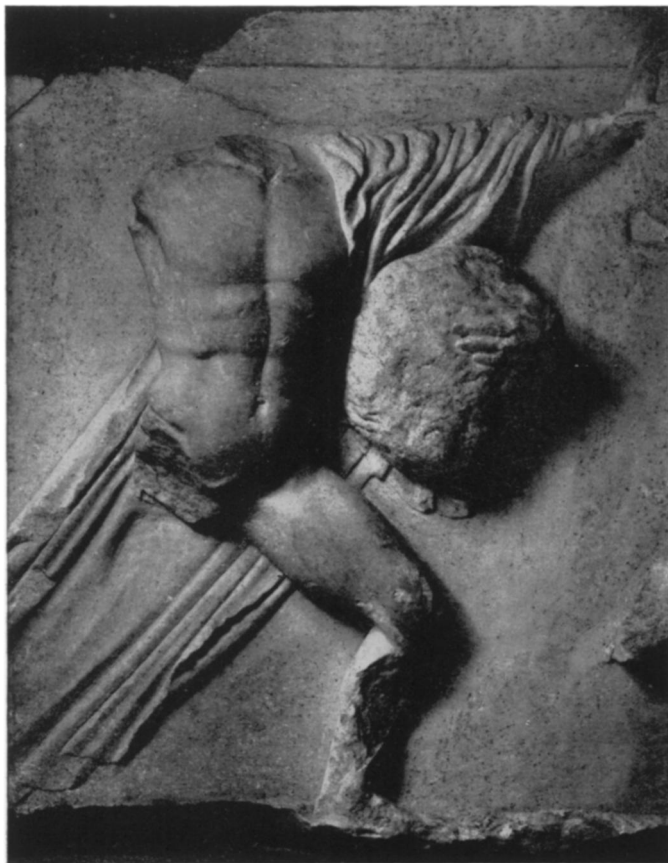
17

18

19

20

b. West Frieze, slab 4



a. Theseus from East Frieze



b. Aristogeiton (from a cast)



c. Theseus from West Frieze



d. Harmodios (from a cast)



a. Warrior #28 from East Frieze



b. Knight from Parthenon, West Frieze



c. Knight from Parthenon, West Frieze



d. Knight from Parthenon, West Frieze



a. Warrior #17, East Frieze



b. Warrior #16, East Frieze



c. Fallen Warrior #18, East Frieze