

THE PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF THE HEPHAISTEION

(PLATES 48-64)

INTRODUCTION

THE TEMPLE of Hephaistos, although the best-preserved ancient building in Athens and the one most accessible to scholars, has kept its secrets longer than any other. It is barely ten years since general agreement was reached on the name of the presiding deity. Only in 1939 was the evidence discovered for the restoration of an interior colonnade which at once tremendously enriched our conception of the temple. Not until the appearance of Dinsmoor's study in 1941 did we have a firm basis for assessing either its relative or absolute chronology.¹

The most persistent major uncertainty about the temple has concerned its pedimental sculpture. Almost two centuries ago (1751-55), James Stuart had inferred

¹ The general bibliography on the Hephaisteion was conveniently assembled by Dinsmoor in *Hesperia*, Supplement V, *Observations on the Hephaisteion*, pp. 1 f., and the references to the sculpture *loc. cit.*, pp. 150 f. On the sculpture add Olsen, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 276-287 and Picard, *Manuel d'Archéologie grecque, La Sculpture*, II, 1939, pp. 714-732.

The article by Giorgio Gullini, "L'Hephaisteion di Atene" (*Archeologia Classica, Rivista dell'Istituto di Archeologia della Università di Roma*, I, 1949, pp. 11-38), came into my hands after my MS had gone to press. I note many points of difference in our interpretation of the sculptural history of the temple, but I find no reason to alter the views recorded below. Two points of fact in Gullini's article do, however, call for comment. On p. 19 the author maintains that there is no trace of apples in the hand of Herakles in the northernmost of the eastern metopes; he feels constrained, therefore, to leave the interpretation of the metope open. Anyone, however, who will take the pains to lean over the cornice and look down on the metope will see clearly the lower parts of two apples in the right hand of the hero. Dr. Gullini (p. 36) rejects the attribution of our Herakles on the ground that it is too early for his (hypothetical) dating of the pedimental sculpture; he proposes, on the other hand, the attribution of two statues in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen: a running female Niobid (?) (Poulsen, *Katalog over antike skulpturer*, 1940, no. 304) and a crouching male Niobid (?) (Poulsen, *op. cit.*, no. 399a). Each of the Copenhagen figures has in its back a cutting for a heavy clamp intended to secure the statue to the tympanum; inasmuch as Gullini accepts these cuttings as evidence for identifying the figures as pedimental, he presumably regards them as original. Corresponding cuttings must have existed in the tympanum. It is barely conceivable that such a cutting for the crouching youth has disappeared with the now missing section of the tympanum in the right wing of the east gable. The cutting for the running girl, however, must certainly have appeared in one or other of the surviving tympana; the fact that no cutting of appropriate size and at the appropriate height exists in either tympanum at once rules out the running girl; since the crouching youth is clearly a pendant to the girl, he also must be rejected. Apart from this technical consideration, the small scale of the Copenhagen statues is enough to disqualify them: the running girl may be restored with a full standing height of *ca.* 0.94 m. whereas the statues presented below, the scale of which accords perfectly with the requirements of the pediments, have a corresponding dimension of 1.25 m.

the existence of free-standing sculpture in the east pediment from cuttings in the tympanum.² Failing to observe the cuttings in the floors of the pediments and not finding any cuttings in the west tympanum, Stuart concluded that the west pediment, like the west metopes, had never been adorned with sculpture. Later visitors detected the beddings in the pediment floors, so that Ludwig Ross was able to write definitely of the existence of sculpture in both pediments.³ Penrose, however, in his drawings made in 1846-47, indicated only the cuttings in the floor of the *west* pediment.⁴ From this Bötticher hastily assumed that only the west pediment had contained sculpture.⁵ The matter was put right some ten years later by Gurlitt and Ziller in their careful study of the building.⁶ During the next quarter century scholars took the existence of the pedimental sculpture as established but no one concerned himself with the question of its restoration. The first and indeed the only detailed study of this aspect of the problem we owe to Bruno Sauer who, encouraged by the results of his work on the Parthenon pediments, approached the lesser temple in 1890. In 1899 Sauer presented his conclusions in the volume *Das Sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck*. The basic evidence for the reconstruction of the pedimental groups, viz., the cuttings in the pediment floors and in the east tympanum, is here presented in a set of exceedingly careful and accurate drawings, accompanied by many acute technical observations. On the basis of this evidence Sauer proceeded to restore every figure and to identify the themes: in the east the birth of Erichthonios, in the west Hephaistos before Thetis. The very completeness of Sauer's restoration and the assurance with which he advanced it, coupled with certain palpable errors in his reconstruction, aroused the scepticism of later scholars and quenched the interest that he had hoped to stimulate. Thus in the most recent comprehensive study of Greek pediments, the Hephaisteion receives only passing mention.⁷

As to the pedimental sculpture itself, Sauer was not aware of the existence of a single scrap and doubted whether it had survived the Middle Ages.⁸ As recently as 1941 Dinsmoor held to the belief that the pedimental sculpture of the temple had been carried off to Rome in antiquity.⁹

² Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, III, 1794, ch. I, pp. 2 f.

³ *Das Theseion und der Tempel des Arcs*, 1852 (Greek edition 1838), p. 10, note 32.

⁴ *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, 1851, p. 68, pl. 35; 2nd ed. 1888, p. 73, pl. 35: "As it has been questioned whether the western pediment was adorned with statues, I have given a plan of the upper bed of the cornice of that front, on which there are evident traces of the positions which the sculptures occupied."

⁵ *Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis*, 1863, p. 183.

⁶ "Attische Bauwerke: I, Das Theseion," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, VIII, 1873, pp. 86-91.

⁷ E. Lapalus, *Le Fronton sculpté en Grèce des origines à la fin du IV^e Siècle*, Paris, 1947.

⁸ *Theseion*, p. 1: "die Giebelgruppen, von denen auch nicht ein Bröckchen sich erhalten hat, haben das Mittelalter schwerlich erlebt."

⁹ *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 27; *Hephaisteion*, p. 122.

The reader will have in mind that apart from the pedimental groups the temple exhibits various series of sculpture in relief (Pls. 48, 59). The ten metopes of the east façade illustrate nine of the Labors of Herakles, while the easternmost four metopes of both the northern and the southern flank are carved with exploits of Theseus. A continuous Ionic frieze spanning the pronaos and the lateral colonnades

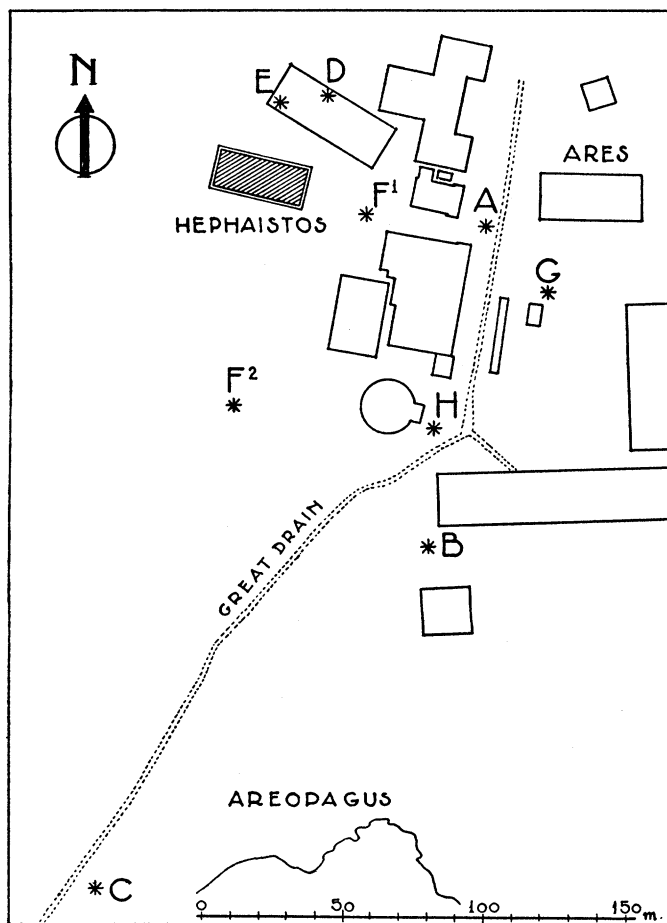


Fig. 1. Places of Finding of Marbles from the Hephaisteion

depicts a battle scene of which two groups of three divinities each are spectators; a similar frieze at the west end, confined to the width of the opisthodomos, has as theme a centauremachy. All this sculpture, though much weathered and broken, is complete enough to be intelligible.

In the course of the current excavations in the Agora several pieces of sculpture in the round have come to light which from the combined evidence of provenance, scale, date and quality invite association with the Hephaisteion. The purpose of the

present paper is to present this material as a coherent group and to establish its attribution to the temple, without, however, entering into the detailed analysis of style or subject that the sculpture merits and must some day receive.¹⁰

Of the six pieces to be examined, five can be shown to derive from the pedimental groups proper, one is an akroterion. The pedimental figures may be further subdivided on the basis of their material into two groups of four and one, the four (A-D) being of Pentelic, the one (E) of Parian marble. The two groups, as we shall see, are to be assigned to opposite pediments of the temple. The akroterion (F) is of Parian marble identical with that of the second group of pedimental pieces. It will be recalled that the relief sculptures on the temple, both the metopes and the inner friezes, are of Parian marble, whereas the main fabric of the building is of Pentelic save for certain blocks of the cornice, sima and ceiling which are of Parian.¹¹

CATALOGUE

A. Reclining Male Figure. Pl. 49 1-2. Inv. No. S 147. Found in 1931 in the foundations of a modern house about 65 meters east of the Hephaisteion. Preserved height, 0.29 m.; breadth of chest below armpits, 0.23 m.; width of neck at base, 0.105 m. Near the middle of the broken underside is a small, round dowel hole (0.008 m. in diameter) with a trace of iron stain: an indication that the statue was built up of more than one piece. Pentelic marble; unweathered; slight golden patination.

The figure was clearly a reclining male resting his weight on his left elbow. A scar of attachment at the lower edge of the left flank as preserved indicates that he reclined on irregular ground in an attitude about midway between the "Ilissos" and the "Theseus" of the Parthenon pediments. The set of the neck tendons suggests that the head was turned slightly toward the proper left, i. e., away from the feet.

B. Standing Male Torso. Pls. 49 3, 50. Inv. No. S 1313. Found in 1948 incorporated in the

wall of a burial vault belonging to the 18th century chapel of the Prophet Elias and Saint Charalambos, *ca.* 127 metres south-southeast of the Hephaisteion.¹² Gray mortar clinging to the torso when found was identical with that in a wall of the late Roman period (probably 5th century after Christ) which had been cut through by the vault builders; hence the statue had been twice re-used. The left knee and lower part of the thigh were found near by in a separate fragment. Preserved height, 0.83 m.; height restored, *ca.* 1.25 m.; breadth of chest below armpits, 0.23 m.; breadth of figure measured on swell of upper arms, 0.348 m.; width of neck at base 0.105 m.

Pentelic marble. The front of the figure shows no erosive weathering but is stained by a black water deposit on the lower part of the chest, on the abdomen and thighs. Since the stain is interrupted by the scars sustained in the late re-uses of the torso, it would seem to have formed while the statue stood in its original position. The back is unweathered.

¹⁰ I owe most of my photographs to the skill and daring of Miss Alison Frantz. Pls. 53, 54 and 55 1-2 are by Herman Wagner. John Travlos has prepared the drawings. The study has been improved in places by my wife's encouragement, elsewhere by her restraint.

¹¹ Sauer, *apud* Overbeck, *Griechische Plastik*, I⁴, p. 470, note 3; *Theseion*, p. 20; Dinsmoor, *Hephaisteion*, p. 112. Sauer had inferred from the evidence of the patching given by the beddings for the pedimental figures that they too were of Parian marble (*Theseion*, p. 184).

¹² *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 360, 442 ff.

The figure rested its weight largely on the right foot; the left was thrust well back. The upper arms were pendent; the head turned slightly toward the proper left.

C. Torso of Athena. Pls. 51, 52 1. Inv. No. S 1232. Found in 1947, lying loose in a level of the late third century after Christ at the west foot of the Areopagus, 250 metres to the south of the Hephaisteion.¹³ Preserved height, 0.70 m.; restored height, *ca.* 1.25 m.; width of chest below armpits, 0.23 m.; breadth measured on swell of upper arms, 0.32 m.; width of socket for neck, 0.12 m.

Pentelic marble, fresh and unweathered. The figure is broken away from the middle of the thighs downward. The head and the two forearms were cut in separate pieces and secured with small iron dowels, one for the left arm, two for the right arm and two for the head. The neck was set in a shallow socket with smooth joint surface around its rim, rough picked on the floor presumably for cement. A short length of a drapery ridge on the back of the figure was also cut separately and cemented in place. Drilled holes mark the places of the bronze snake heads on the aegis and the girdle ends.

There is a large rudely incised *delta* on the left upper arm and another on the left breast. The purpose of the letters is not clear. If they existed while the statue was in its original place and condition, they would have been concealed by the shield. They may, however, have been inscribed when the statue was removed from the pediment in late antiquity. Such attributes as shield and spear would undoubtedly have been detached to facilitate handling and the letters may then have been placed, on both

statue and attribute, to assure their correct re-assembly.

The goddess may be restored with a shield, probably of bronze, carried at shoulder height on her left forearm; this would account for the less-studied design and the more summary finish of the left side. From the very careful treatment of the right side we may infer that it was meant to be fully exposed and enjoyed. The fact that the right forearm was cut separately suggests that it was outthrust. The most likely attribute for the right hand is therefore a spear. That the head was worked separately on so small a statue implies that it involved much detailed carving; presumably it was covered with an ornate helmet.¹⁴ A mass of hair, worked in low relief, falls far down the back; near its lower end a smooth bed was worked for the tip of the helmet crest.

The goddess wears a Doric peplos with simple girdle; her aegis is of the narrow variety, symmetrically disposed, with a small gorgoneion between the breasts.

D. Horse's Foot. Pl. 52 2. Inv. No. S 785. Found in 1936 in a cistern 20 metres north of the middle of the north side of the Hephaisteion in debris probably to be associated with the Sullan destruction of 86 B.C.¹⁵ Width across the hoof 0.08 m. Pentelic marble, slightly weathered on the upper, proper right surface. Honey-colored patination. The tip of the hoof is broken away, but, since the underside is well finished, the foot was probably raised in the air.

E. Right Foot of a Draped Figure. Pl. 52 4-5; Fig. 2. Inv. No. S 737. Found in 1936 in the filling of a mediaeval storage pit (probably abandoned in the 13th century) 27 metres north of the northeast corner of the Hephaisteion.¹⁶

¹³ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 175 ff., pl. 51.

¹⁴ The head of Athena in the west pediment of the Parthenon was likewise worked separately and inset (Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, p. 18, figs. 31, 32, pl. 10).

¹⁵ Dinsmoor (*Hephaisteion*, pp. 120 ff.) preferred not to associate this fragment with the Hephaisteion.

¹⁶ Dinsmoor (*Hephaisteion*, pp. 118 ff., figs. 49-51) regarded the attribution of this fragment with misgiving.

Maximum width of fragment, 0.13 m.; width of foot, 0.08 m.; thickness of plinth, 0.045 m. Parian marble. The toes and front part of the foot are heavily weathered, the back part less so.

The plinth has been undercut beneath the toes by means of a series of 12 horizontal drill holes which form a rebate *ca.* 0.018 m. high and *ca.* 0.035 m. wide (Fig. 2).

The amount of drapery trailing on the ground suggests a seated or crouching rather a standing figure; the fineness of the stuff marks it as of a chiton rather than himation or chlamys, hence most likely a female figure.

F. Group of Two Girls. Pls. 53, 54, 55 1-2. Inv. No. S 429. The torsos were found in 1934 in

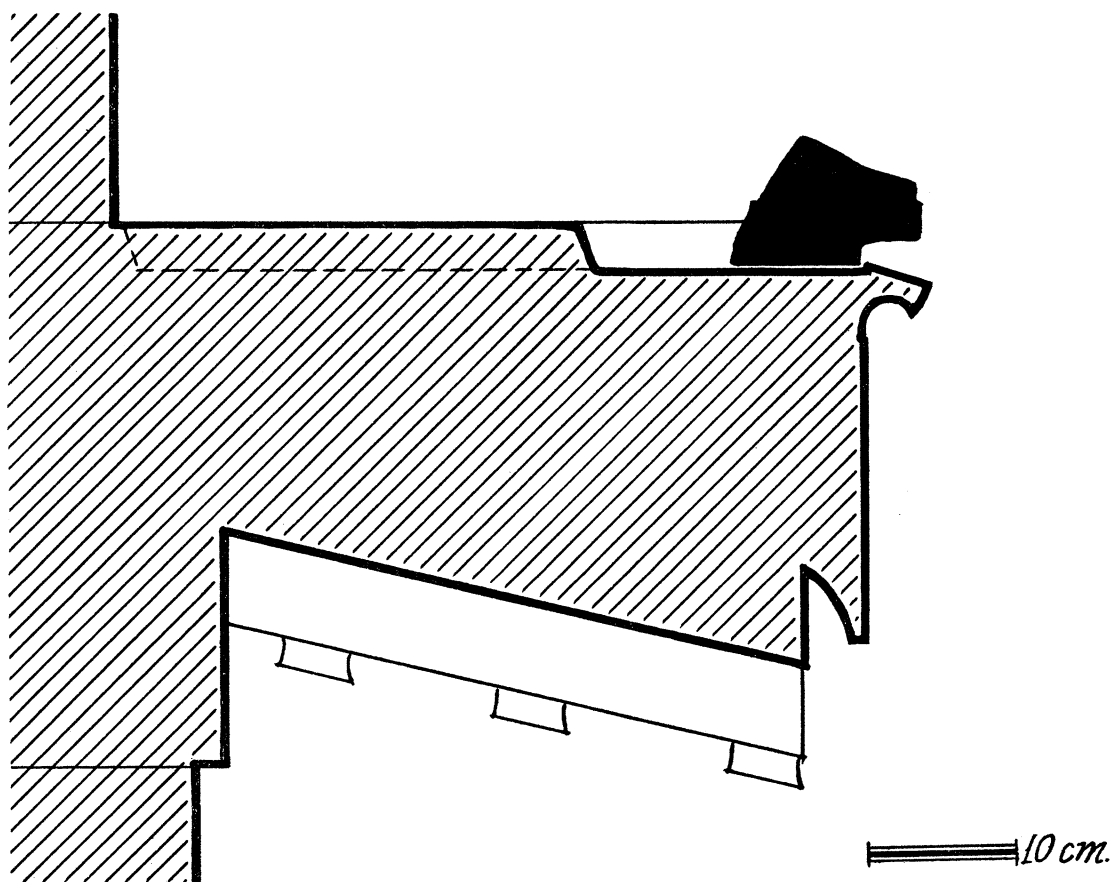


Fig. 2. Section through Floor of West Pediment with Fragment E in Place (Scale 1:10)

the upper filling of a well abandoned in the 13th century, about 23 m. east of the Hephaisteion, i. e., on the east slope of Kolonos Agoraios. The head appeared in 1936 in a well at a level of the late 3rd century after Christ about 72.50 m. south of the temple. Both neck and shoulders are badly battered so that there is no direct contact, but identity of material, work-

manship and scale coupled with the congruity of modelling make their association virtually certain. The connection is put beyond question by the fact that the surviving head is roughly worked precisely where the sculptor would have been hindered by the presence of the now missing head.¹⁷

Height of carrying figure with head, 0.65 m.;

¹⁷ Shear, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 376 f.; *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 407 ff., figs. 3, 4.

width of chest beneath armpits 0.255 m.; width of neck at base, 0.103 m.; height of head from chin to crown, 0.175 m.; breadth of head measured in front of ears, 0.105 m. Height of carried figure, 0.65 m.; width measured on swell of upper arms, 0.364 m.; width of neck at base, 0.103 m. Restored height of group, *ca.* 1.32 m. Parian marble of medium grain. Heavily weathered all over from its original exposure; the surface much battered from subsequent abuse.

The rider has doubled her right leg and thrust it through a loop formed by the arms

of the carrier; she steadies herself by resting her right hand on the shoulder of the carrier. Since there is no trace of attachment for the left hand, it was presumably outthrust. Both women wear thin chitons girt at the waist; the garment of the carrier is sleeveless, that of the rider is short sleeved. The carrier's hair is tightly confined in a sakkos.

The group is worked completely in the round and is finished with great care behind; only the top of the head has been treated in a sketchy manner. The modelling and surface finish throughout are of extraordinary delicacy.

ATTRIBUTION

In considering the origin of this sculpture let us take first the group of three torsos (A, B, C). The three are associated not only by identity of material (Pentelic marble) but also by their scale (two thirds life) and by their unweathered condition. The combination of erect and reclining figures at once suggests a pedimental composition. The only possible candidates within the general area are the temples of Hephaistos and of Ares.¹⁸ A glance at the sketch plan (Fig. 1) will suggest that the combined provenance of the three pieces is only a little more favorable to Hephaistos than to Ares. Two other factors, however, tip the scales to the side of Hephaistos: first, the marbles could have become scattered more easily from the Hephaisteion because of its lofty site and, secondly, the head of Eurystheus which unquestionably derives from one of the eastern metopes of Hephaistos was found at position H on Figure 1, midway between torsos A and B.¹⁹

Various technical features of a general nature also accord well with the attribution of the three torsos to a pediment of the Hephaisteion. Not merely are the statues worked in the round; they are finished with great care on their backs. This procedure, which is paralleled at Aegina and on the Parthenon, we should certainly expect also in the pediments of the Hephaisteion inasmuch as the relief sculpture on the building is finished most meticulously even on parts that cannot possibly be seen from the ground.²⁰ More precisely significant is the free use of patch work on our statues. Long ago Sauer had emphasized the number of limbs and other details of the relief sculpture that were worked separately and attached by means of dowels.²¹ This was

¹⁸ The existence of pedimental sculpture on the temple of Ares has been inferred from a vase painting; the evidence of the marbles found thus far is not decisive. Cf. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 31 f., 47 f.; Lapalus, *Le Fronton sculpté*, p. 438.

¹⁹ Dinsmoor, *Hephaisteion*, pp. 117 f.

²⁰ Sauer, *Theseion*, p. 186.

²¹ *Theseion*, pp. 184 f.

due in part, no doubt, to the unusually high relief of the friezes, in part also to a characteristic fussiness which distinguishes the work of the Hephaisteion atelier from that of the Parthenon. Since Sauer's writing another striking illustration of this same spirit has come to light in the head of Eurystheus which was secured in its place on the Boar Metope by means of four small round dowels.²² The object of using several small rather than one large dowel was presumably to avoid weakening the marble to a dangerous degree. We have observed a similar procedure in the case of our Athena torso (C). The actual treatment of the joint surfaces on the Athena may be paralleled in a characteristic passage of the west frieze in which one foreleg of each of the two centaurs and the shield of Kaineus were worked separately and pinned in place (Pl. 60¹).

The one-time existence of sculpture in the pediments of the Hephaisteion is amply attested, as noted above, by cuttings in the east tympanum and still more by deep beddings for the plinths of individual statues worked in the floors of both pediments (Pls. 56, 57, 58). The detailed evidence is clearly set out in Sauer's plate II and in his accompanying commentary and need be reviewed here only insofar as it affects our specific problems. In general it may be noted that the horizontal cornice which forms the pediment floor was thickened, the better to bear its burden. The reinforcement took the form of a continuous step or bench, 0.03 m. high, the outer face of which rises in the same vertical plane as the outer face of the cornice, but is concealed from the spectator below by the projection of the hawkbeak moulding that trims the cornice at the level of its proper top (Fig. 2). One standing in the pediment might describe the situation by saying that the front edge of its floor had been rebated to a depth of 0.03 m. and width of 0.04 m. The useful width of the bench that remains between rebate and tympanum is 0.49 m. Into this bench the plinths of the individual statues were let down in beddings which vary greatly in size and shape and range in depth from a very shallow dressing to the full thickness of the step or even more, the maximum depth being 0.06 m. In most cases the bedding extends to the very front of the bench and actually opens on the rebate. The less stable figures were secured by metal dowels set in the floor and hooked over the edge of the plinth.

Let us now proceed to test the attribution of our individual pieces, starting with the reclining male. In pose the figure is so close to the "Ilissos" of the Parthenon and so obviously related that it demands a similar position, i. e., in the angle of a pediment, clearly the left angle. Near the left extremity of the east pediment of our temple there does in fact exist a bedding of very distinctive shape in which Sauer had long ago restored a reclining nude male figure (Pl. 58¹). The overall length of the bedding is 1.26 m. Since our reclining figure (A) is of the same scale as the standing male (B), he may be restored with a standing height of *ca.* 1.25 m. When the neces-

²² Dinsmoor, *Hephaisteion*, pp. 117 ff.

sary deductions have been made for the intervals between the plinth and the edges of the bedding, and for the projection of the plinth beyond the outline of the figure proper, the remaining length, say 1.15 m., is eminently suitable for a figure of the scale and pose of ours.²³ Sauer observed a curious change in the level of the floor of the angle bedding, a change that occurs in a transverse line rather closer to the foot than to the head of the bedding. From this circumstance he inferred that the angle statue must have been built up of two pieces of marble.²⁴ It will be recalled that our reclining figure (A) is shown by the dowel hole in its trunk to have been pieced together, the joint falling in the region of the waist. Such a striking coincidence of curious features in bedding and statue can scarcely be fortuitous; it happily confirms Sauer's inference and puts beyond all reasonable doubt the attribution of our figure A to the left angle of the east pediment of the Hephaisteion. There it was kept from tilting forward by a single dowel placed near the middle of its back.

Our second figure (B), the standing male, in view of its erect posture, should come from near the middle of the composition. The floor of the east pediment shows at its very middle a large rectangular bedding (0.80×0.49 m.) in which Sauer, no doubt rightly, placed a seated figure (Pl. 56²). To either side of the axial bedding is a lesser bedding obviously intended for a single standing figure.²⁵ The bedding to the left, as we shall see below, is admirably suited to a draped and so presumably female figure. We are thus left with the bedding to the right for our nude male. This bedding is precisely defined toward the back and the right; toward the left the limit of the cutting is somewhat vague. If, however, we combine the evidence of the cutting with that of the two dowels by means of which the plinth was secured, we may restore the plinth as roughly rectangular in outline with slightly rounded corners and with overall dimensions of *ca.* 0.25×0.40 m. These are precisely the dimensions and the shape required by a statue of the scale and stance of B. It is to be noted, moreover, that the dowels are correctly placed for a figure in Polycleitan stance with the left foot thrust back: the one dowel would have been hooked over the edge of the plinth in front of the left foot, the other behind the right foot. The height of the tympanum

²³ Through misinterpreting the pose of this angle figure, Sauer (*Theseion*, p. 30) overestimated its scale and concluded that it was of life size. Since he used this figure as a key to the scale of all the pedimental sculpture, his initial error was disastrous, leading as it did to an excessively crowded effect in his whole restoration.

²⁴ *Theseion*, p. 184.

²⁵ In connection with the principal bedding for each of the flanking figures there is a smaller, deeper sinking which Sauer associated with the flanking figures (*Theseion*, pp. 32, 40). This interpretation, however, involved Sauer in impossible difficulties. It would seem preferable to explain the lesser sinkings as connected with the handling rather than the actual setting of the sculpture, conceivably for scaffolding used in hoisting or, more likely, for removing the axial figure; it will be observed that the lesser cuttings are symmetrical about the centre line of the pediment and so also about the axial figure.

behind the midpoint of this bedding is *ca.* 1.32 m. The difference of *ca.* 7 centimetres between this figure and the restored height of our statue (*ca.* 1.25 m.) will admirably provide for the slight projection of the plinth above the level of the pediment floor and for an appropriate interval between head and cornice. A striking feature of the bedding in question is the fact that it falls entirely in the outer half of the floor. The front of the statue, therefore, must have come directly beneath the outer edge of the raking cornice. If now we suppose that the statue stood in its place for some time after the *sima* had disappeared but while the cornice still remained, we have a ready explanation for the water stain on the front of the figure. The weathering on the floor of the bedding indicates that the plinth was set with its front edge at a slight angle to the edge of the cornice in such a way as to turn the gaze of the statue very slightly away from the axis of the pediment. A closer scrutiny of the torso shows that the water stain is heavier on its proper right side, which must therefore have been the more exposed, in precisely the degree required by the bedding. Here again, therefore, we have a slight but nonetheless significant coincidence of a purely mechanical sort which clinches the attribution.

We have now to find a place for Athena (C). As in the case of the preceding figure, her erect stance at once indicates a position near the axis where the only remaining bedding now available is that to the left of the great axial bedding (Pl. 56²). At first glance this bedding appears to be of unsuitable shape, but close examination reveals a slight difference in the weathering on the floor of the cutting sufficient to prove that the back part of the socket was occupied by an oval plinth *ca.* 0.25 × 0.45 m. in overall dimensions while the narrow front part which opens on the edge of the pediment floor remained unfilled.²⁶ Here, then, we have a socket of precisely the requisite shape and size for a statue of the scale and in the stance of our Athena. The height of the tympanum behind the middle of the bedding in question measures *ca.* 1.38 m. Our Athena may be restored, on the analogy of the Athena Parthenos, with a total height of *ca.* 1.25 m., equal, that is, to her male counterpart. The greater interval between the top of her head and the cornice (*ca.* 0.13 m. as compared with *ca.* 0.07 m.) will comfortably accommodate the crest of her helmet. The extraordinarily fresh state of the statue may be readily understood from such a position; the outermost edge of the plinth was kept 0.14 m. back from the front edge of the pediment floor so that the figure would have been thoroughly protected by the cornice. A final piece of evidence for assigning this bedding to Athena is the presence of a small

²⁶ The reason for carrying the socket to the edge of the floor may have been to provide for the escape of rain water which would otherwise have gathered in the socket with disastrous consequences in case of frost. There is nothing to suggest that the joints between plinth and pediment floor were sealed with lead in the Hephaisteion, although Furtwängler has argued for the use of lead at Aegina (*Aegina*, p. 203).

sinking to the left of it: perfectly placed to receive the butt end of the Goddess' spear.²⁷ The disposition of the cutting clearly requires that Athena, like the corresponding male figure on the other side, should have turned slightly away from the axis.

What now of fragment D, the horse's foot? Its connection with the temple, suggested by its place of finding, is made highly probable by its correspondence in modelling and surface finish with the feet of the centaurs on the west frieze of the temple (Pl. 52³). Since it is approximately twice the size of the centaurs' feet, it cannot, of course, derive from the frieze. Its scale, however, being about two thirds life would be appropriate to the pediments, and its Pentelic marble suggests association with figures A, B and C.²⁸

Let us now consider the possibility of restoring horses in our east pediment. The positions occupied by horses in pediments of the period is either in the midpart of the wings facing toward the axis (e. g., Olympia east, Parthenon west) or in the extremities (Parthenon east). In our pediment the angles are already filled by human forms; there remain the midparts of the wings. The plan of the east pediment floor shows in each of these areas a series of three closely related beddings (Pl. 63). In each case the two outer beddings carry forward to the outer edge of the pediment floor while the middle bedding lies close in at the foot of the tympanum; and in each group the middle bedding exhibits an angular outline that would be more appropriate to an inanimate than to an animate occupant. Sauer's handling of these two groups of beddings is one of the least satisfactory parts of his study: the group on the left he filled with three human forms, that on the right with one monstrous and one human figure. In this interpretation Sauer disregarded the striking symmetry of the two sets of beddings and admitted a glaring discrepancy in the scale of his figures. A more prosaic but much more plausible restoration would call for a chariot group on either side facing toward the axis, each group consisting of a team, a chariot and a charioteer. Comparison with the east pediment of Olympia²⁹ will reveal at once that the beddings are properly related to one another for such a restoration and likewise of the proper scale in relation to the whole pediment. A glance at the restoration (Pl. 63) will show that the projecting heads of the horses serve to close the otherwise disproportionate interval between the second and third beddings to either side of the axial bedding. The analogy with Olympia, when taken in conjunction with the actually surviving foot is so cogent as to make the restoration of chariot groups virtually certain. In view of its weathering our foot D may then be recognized as the right front foot of the outermost horse in the left wing of the pediment.

²⁷ This small cutting was associated by Sauer, very unconvincingly, with the next figure to the left (*Theseion*, pp. 34 f.).

²⁸ Dinsmoor (*Hephaisteion*, p. 122) preferred not to associate this fragment with the Hephaisteion because of its Pentelic marble and because of the absence of sockets for horses. As alternatives he suggested its derivation from a Parthenon metope or from a votive monument.

²⁹ *Ergebnisse*, III, pls. XVIII-XXI.

The evidence for attributing fragment E, the draped human foot, is drawn largely from the curious undercutting of the plinth. This cutting represents a laborious and risky operation carried out after the foot was carved and presumably while the statue was being set in place. The undercutting can scarcely have been intended to accommodate the plinth to any ordinary irregularity in the floor of its socket, for it would have been much easier and safer to chisel away the projection. A completely satisfactory explanation is provided, however, by the supposition that the toes of the foot projected beyond the outer edge of the raised portion of the pediment floor so that the undercutting was considered necessary to prevent the weight of the statue from snapping off either the toes or the hawksbeak moulding on the face of the cornice. That the foot did in fact rest at the outermost edge of the pediment floor is shown by the heavily weathered state of the toes; farther back the surface is fresher as though it had been more adequately protected.

It has been argued above that the foot most probably derives from a seated or crouched female figure. The place for such a figure is of course midway between the axis and either extremity of a gable. In the east pediment we shall look in vain for an intermediate bedding with a shape suitable to accommodate our fragment. Its proper place is to be found rather in the west pediment, midway in its right wing, the position marked L on Sauer's plate II (Pl. 58², Fig. 2). Here all the curious conditions demanded by our piece are perfectly met: the bedding carries out through the front edge of the statue bench; its outline matches perfectly the curve of our fragmentary plinth; its bottom extends down some 5 millimetres below the level of the top of the hawksbeak. The height of the tympanum behind the mid point of bedding L, *ca.* 0.81 m., is thoroughly appropriate to a figure seated low or crouched on the floor of the pediment. The horse of Helios which Sauer had placed in this position must therefore make way for the counterpart of one of the "Three Fates" in the east pediment of the Parthenon.

The association of the marble group F with our temple may also be regarded as certain. The evidence consists of the joint provenance of the two fragments (in itself very suggestive), the identity of marble between the group and the relief sculpture on the building, and the stylistic similarities between the group and the friezes of the temple.³⁰

³⁰ Shear associated the group with the Hephaisteion, without however suggesting its place in the building (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 376; *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 409). Picard proposed its identification as an akroterion of the temple at a time when he still insisted on regarding the building as the Eleusinion (*Manuel*, II, p. 716).

Studniczka (*Kalamis*, p. 51) proposed to identify as an akroterion of the Hephaisteion a small marble statue found in 1891 during the cutting of the trench for the Athens-Piraeus railway at a point *ca.* 50 metres to the east of the Bryaxis Base, i. e., *ca.* 100 metres northeast of the temple. The circumstances of finding suggested that the marble had been re-used in a late wall (Kavvadias,

In placing the group on the temple we need consider only two possible uses, viz., as a pedimental figure or as an akroterion. The scale of the group (restored height, *ca.* 1.32 m.) would permit of its insertion at or near the middle of a pediment of the Hephaisteion (height of tympanum, 1.528 m.). A pedimental position is ruled out, however, by the heavy weathering on the upper and back parts of the group, in which respect this marble is utterly different from A, B, and C, but very similar to the Nike akroterion from the Stoa of Zeus. As a central akroterion the group would be thoroughly appropriate in scale, in composition and in modelling.

First, the question of scale. The height of our group restored is approximately nine-tenths the height of the visible opening of the pediment, a proportion that holds also for the closely contemporary Parthenon and the temple of Poseidon at Sounion.³¹ It may be objected that the figures of our akroterion exceed in scale most of the figures in the pediment. The immediate comparison, however, would be with the axial figure directly beneath, and this, as we shall see, was a seated divinity much greater in scale than the akroterion.³²

Δελτίον Ἀρχ., 1891, p. 89, no. 18; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1893, pp. 39 ff.; Svoronos, Τὸ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικὸν Μουσεῖον, pp. 165 f., pl. 27; Couve, *B.C.H.*, XVI, 1892, pp. 552 f.; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, pp. 279 f., figs. 725 f.).

The type was regarded by Kavvadias and Studniczka as a wingless Nike, by Svoronos as a Nereid. Miss Richter (*loc. cit.*) has argued for a date in the latter part of the fifth century. Scale (1.10 m. high without the head) and stance are thoroughly appropriate to a central akroterion. Since, however, it concords less well than our group both in place of finding and in date with an attribution to the Hephaisteion, this statue must now give way to the group. Since it is utterly different in style from the Nike akroterion found in front of the south wing of the Stoa of Zeus (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 374 ff.), it can scarcely have anything to do with that building. It presumably derives from some building along the north side of the Agora.

³¹ The relative heights of central akroterion to tympanum may be tabulated as follows:

	<i>Tympanum</i>	<i>Central Akroterion</i>
Aegina, east	100	113
“ west	100	109
“ third	100	114
Hephaisteion, east	100	86
Parthenon	100	86
Sounion	100	90
Temple of Athenians on Delos, front.....	100	133
“ “ “ “ “ back	100	150

Aegina: Fiechter, *Aegina*, pp. 274 ff.; Parthenon: Praschniker, *Jahreshefte*, XIII, 1910, pp. 5 ff.; Sounion; Orlandos, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, I, 1915, pp. 22 ff.; Delos: Courby, *Délos*, XII, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 237 ff.

The scale of the Delian akroteria is extraordinary and is presumably to be explained by the hypothesis that the akroteria, consisting as they do of four human and one animal form each, were intended to take the place of pedimental sculpture.

³² The Nike employed as a central akroterion on the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros is slightly larger in scale than the Amazons of the pediment (Defrasse et Lechat, *Épidaure*, p. 76, note 1, pl. III).

For the use of a group rather than a single figure as a central akroterion, very adequate parallels exist in the second half of the fifth century: the Royal Stoa as recorded by Pausanias (I, 3, 1), the Temple of the Athenians on Delos, and the Nereid Monument at Xanthos. The relation among these examples will be discussed below.

As to the composition of our group, it will be noted that the front planes of the two torsos are set at a slight angle to each other while the lines of their gaze are still more divergent. This mitigated the strict frontality that marks the central akroteria of the Alcmaeonid Temple of Apollo at Delphi and the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina; we have here at work the same tendency that is illustrated in the east pediment by the setting of the figures at a slight angle to the tympanum.

In the details of its design our group is also admirably suited to its use as an akroterion. The eye of the distant spectator was assisted in distinguishing between the two interlocked figures first through the difference in the pattern of their dresses (the one with sleeves, the other without) and secondly by a radically different rendering of the stuff: well rounded, boldly projecting ridges on the carrier, ribbon-like ridges and broad, clinging areas on the rider. The head, moreover, was set at such an angle and the face so well protected by the projecting masses of hair that the features suffered little from the weather during the seven centuries of their exposure.

Since all the evidence agrees so well and is mutually confirmatory we shall regard the attribution of the group as established and shall place it as the central akroterion above the east gable.³³

RESTORATION AND THEME

So much for the distribution of the surviving pedimental marbles. In going beyond this point we find ourselves on less secure ground since we shall have the direct evidence only of the beddings and must depend greatly on analogy with other pediments and on vase painting. Our caution in the employment of such means should be accentuated by the discovery that Sauer's confident interpretations have been seriously disturbed by the new finds. We may, however, indulge in some speculation regarding the further restoration and the theme, especially of the east pediment.

Two additional figures of the east pediment may be restored with reasonable assurance. The first is that in the right extremity. According to all analogy this should be a reclining human form corresponding to that in the left angle. The bedding (Pls. 56¹, 63), though much of it is broken away, conforms to such a restoration,

³³ No lateral akroterion for the Hephaisteion has yet been identified with certainty. A tempting candidate, however, is the "Nereid" found in 1932 at the foot of the hill to the east of the temple, the position marked G on Fig. 1 (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 527 f.). This piece is recommended not only by its place of finding, but also by its material (Parian marble) and its theme (a running girl). Against an attribution to the Hephaisteion is its scale (appreciably greater than that of our group) and its more advanced style.

and the more ample width of this bedding as compared with that in the left wing would seem to justify Sauer's assumption that the right-hand figure was draped and hence female.

Sauer's restoration of a seated figure at the middle of the east pediment is also exceedingly plausible. We may, however, quarrel with details. Sauer would have this figure seated high on a rough boulder. In view of the strikingly regular outline of the bedding it would seem preferable to restore a throne rather than a boulder, a type of seat which would, moreover, better accord with the dignity to be expected in this the most prominent of all the pedimental figures. No one could question Sauer's decision to have the figure seated with feet toward the right inasmuch as the head thus comes directly below the apex of the pediment and the small sinking to the right of the large bedding may be used for the lower end of the staff or sceptre held by the figure.

There remain the small sockets in the extreme angles beyond the beddings for the reclining figures. The corresponding beddings in the east pediment of Aegina were filled by Furtwängler with fallen armor,³⁴ a plausible restoration in view of the battle that rages in that pediment. In the case of our pediment, however, the evidence barely permits of a reasonable conjecture and so we have given only a schematic restoration in Pl. 63.³⁵

In speculating on the identification of the figures and the theme of the east pediment we advance to still more precarious ground. This much, however, we can restore with assurance: a central group in quiet colloquy comprising a seated figure flanked on either side by a standing figure, next on either side a chariot group, and beyond this in either wing a calmly reclining spectator. One identification is clear and certain: Athena. Sauer had seated Athena on the axis; having found her standing to the left of centre we must now seek a new candidate for the axial position. In order to fill the central space the enthroned figure must obviously have been of greater scale than the erect flanking figures. Here in Athens what divinity could have been given greater prominence than Athena save only Zeus?

In attempting next to identify the standing male to the right of the axis we may be reasonably sure, inasmuch as he balances Athena, that he too is of divine rank. The absence of all trace of beard and the youthful form rule out the senior gods. One is tempted to think of Hephaistos, the presiding deity of this temple who does, moreover, appear with Zeus and Athena to complete the corresponding triad in the east pediment of the Parthenon. In the Parthenon gable, to be sure, Hephaistos is represented smooth faced, but this phenomenon has been regarded as so exceptional by some scholars as to make them prefer an identification with Prometheus. A further

³⁴ *Aegina*, pp. 337 f.

³⁵ Sauer placed a dolphin in the left extremity, a duck in the right (*Theseion*, pp. 40 f.).

objection to Hephaistos is the presence of chariots. Hephaistos did, we know, return to Olympus, but on donkey back and in a state far removed from the sober dignity of our figure.

Let us, however, explore this line of reasoning a little further. The seated Zeus shows that we are in the home of the gods. The chariots suggest an arrival. Zeus has turned to welcome the newcomer who is given additional prominence by being drawn out into the foreground. The figure that balances and so presumably accompanies the newcomer is Athena. We need not go far afield to find a theme that suits all these conditions: it is evidently the apotheosis of Herakles. Nor need one be surprised that even at this stage in his career Herakles should be represented in youthful form in a pediment of this temple. In the eastern metopes he appears throughout with youthful figure and in those cases where the state of preservation permits a certain decision he is beardless, even in the last of his labors, the Apples of the Hesperides.³⁶

The depiction of Herakles' apotheosis in the east pediment of our temple is thoroughly congruous with the representation of his labors in the east metopes. Sauer observed that both the Theseus and the Herakles series of metopes follow a carefully studied sequence.³⁷ Four of the labors of Theseus are represented in the four easternmost panels of the south flank and four more of the same hero in the corresponding panels of the north flank; in each case the geographical sequence proceeds Athenswards. The Herakles series, which fills the metopes of the east front, commences with the Nemean Lion (traditionally the first) on the left and finishes with the Apples of the Hesperides (traditionally the last) on the right. In this last metope Herakles already has two apples in hand and is about to receive the third from one of the Hesperides.³⁸ It was to deliver the recently acquired apples that Herakles proceeded

³⁶ Cf. Sauer, *Theseion*, p. 179. The type of our Herakles is well represented in more complete form by a statuette of Greek marble in Syracuse in which the lion skin hung to the ground from the left arm while the right hand was shaped to hold an apple (Orsi, *Antike Plastik, Walther Amelung zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, pp. 172 ff., pl. 12). John Travlos reminds me of a marble Herakles in the Eleusis Museum (no. 40), about one tenth greater in scale than our figure, with stance reversed but otherwise very similar, with lion skin pendent from left forearm and with traces of a club cradled in the same arm; the head and right arm, the right leg from the hip and the left leg from the knee are missing. The Eleusinian statue may be thought of as a free adaptation of the Athenian; one is reminded of the small-scale renderings of figures of the west pediment of the Parthenon found at Eleusis (Carpenter, *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 11 ff., 23 ff.).

³⁷ *Theseion*, pp. 158, 169.

³⁸ The lady can scarcely be Athena, as maintained by Schneider (*Zwölf Kämpfe des Herakles*, p. 65), nor Hera as proposed by Robert (*Die griechische Heldensage*, II, p. 493, note 1, p. 498) since she has none of the appropriate attributes. Sauer (*Theseion*, pp. 178 f.) regarded her as an Hesperid but restored her in the act of offering a wreath to Herakles, a gesture that would ill accord with the story. On the other hand Sauer was certainly right in accepting Zahn's report of two apples in the hand of the hero. The surviving traces completely rule out Katterfeld's suggestion (*Die griechischen Metopenbilder*, p. 31) that Herakles held a patera. Furtwängler (Roscher, *Lexikon*, I, col. 2227), proposed the restoration of a spray of apples in the Hesperid's hand.

to Olympos, there to be deified and there to remain in bliss. It would thus appear that the narrative begun in the metope frieze rose to a splendid climax in the pediment above.

Nowhere in the metopes does Athena appear, a very striking omission in view of her prominence in the comparable series of metopes at Olympia where she is represented three or possibly four times: cheering, assisting, congratulating the hero. In our frieze the omission is now seen to have been justified by the appearance of the goddess in greater dignity overhead.

Metopes and pediment were supplementary in another respect. In the many pictures of the Hesperides Labor in vase paintings of the second half of the fifth century the tree that bore the golden apples is normally prominent. In view of the Hephaisteion Master's delight in picturesque detail, he is not likely to have omitted this element of the story. Could the tree have stood in the pediment? One of the most puzzling sets of cuttings in the whole pediment occurs between the bedding in which we have placed Herakles and the bedding for the horses of the right-hand chariot group (Pl. 59³, 63). In the floor of the pediment, close to the foot of the tympanum, is a small, square sinking. High in the face of the tympanum and directly above the square sinking in the floor is a pair of small round drill holes apparently intended to support some slender object planted in the square sinking. Again in the face of the tympanum, but at a much lower level, is a cutting with level floor, curved back and a curiously irregular front³⁹ (Pl. 59³). Here then let us plant our apple tree, setting its roots in the square cutting in the floor, fastening its upper branches with the help of the small round holes, and assigning the large cutting in the tympanum to the guardian dragon, Ladon. All this was no doubt worked out in bronze, like so many other accessories in the sculpture of our temple.

Of the many representations of tree and dragon that might be adduced to support this restoration a characteristic example is here illustrated from a pelike of the early fourth century in the Metropolitan Museum (Pl. 62²).⁴⁰ In the vase painting the major coils of the serpent seem curiously suspended in mid air and should not really be capable of supporting themselves, much less the weight of the Hesperid who leans so nonchalantly upon them. In our pediment, on the other hand, the coils had to be raised well above the floor in order to be visible from below.⁴¹ It may be noted that

³⁹ Sauer used the three first cuttings to support the staff of his Kekrops, the curious large cutting in the tympanum to accommodate Kekrops' hip, a restoration that must strike one as highly improbable inasmuch as the staff suggests instability in the figure of Kekrops and the laborious cutting of the socket in the tympanum is not adequately motivated.

⁴⁰ Richter and Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, no. 166, pls. 162, 163, 173. I owe the photograph to the kindness of Miss Christine Alexander of the Metropolitan Museum.

⁴¹ A connection with the Hephaisteion is indicated further by the observation that the Hesperid appears to be a contamination of the Hera and Athena of the east frieze of the temple.

the cutting in the tympanum is perfectly suited to the reception of a double coil of a serpent of comparable scale.

Such a restoration would accord perfectly, moreover, with Hesiod's reference to the "dread serpent which with its great coils keeps guard over the golden apples in the hidden places of the dark earth."⁴² This is the element, too, that gleams out in Euripides' vignette of the Hesperides Labor:

"To the Song-maids he came, to the Garden enfolden
In glory of sunset, to pluck where they grew
Mid the fruit-laden frondage the apples golden;
And the flame-hued dragon, the warden that drew
All round it his terrible spires, he slew."⁴³

In point of composition, the restoration of tree and serpent is satisfactory, for the tree balances Athena's spear and the coils of the dragon fill the open space beneath the horses' heads. The reader need scarcely be reminded that a serpent-encircled tree occupied an equally prominent position in the west pediment of the Parthenon.

The names of the lesser personages of the pediment we shall probably never know. The identification of the angle figures is made particularly precarious by our ignorance as to whether they are of Atlantis or Olympos; consequently we have refrained from making a suggestion that could be little more than a guess. As charioteers we have ventured to designate Nike for Athena and Iolaos for Herakles. Their service in this capacity is well attested by the vase paintings of the second half of the fifth century,⁴⁴ and the alternation of the sexes which thus results in our pedimental composition is paralleled not only in the pediments of the Parthenon but also in the east inner frieze of the Hephaisteion where a group of two goddesses and one god on the left correspond to one goddess and two gods on the right.

We must now consider the theme of our akroterion.⁴⁵ It may be taken as axiomatic that in the middle of the fifth century such a prominent element in the decoration of a temple façade would have been mythological in theme. This is borne out by what we know or can safely infer about the comparable akroteria. Thus the groups on the roof of the Royal Stoa are reported by Pausanias (I, 3, 1) as Theseus and Skiron, Hemera and Kephalos. The better-preserved central akroteria of the Temple of the

⁴² *Theogonia*, ll. 334 f. (Rzach): δεινὸν ὄφιν, ὃς ἐρεμνῆς κεύθει γαίης | σπείρησιν μεγάλης παγχρύσεια μῆλα φυλάσσει. σπείρησιν μεγάλης Wilamowitz: πείρασιν ἐν μεγάλοις Mss.

⁴³ *Hercules Furens*, lines 394 ff., trans. Way in the Loeb Classical Library.

⁴⁴ Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, cols. 327 f. (Bulle); I, col. 2240 (Furtwängler).

⁴⁵ Picard's identification of the group as Demeter and Kore was doubtless inspired by his view that the temple was the Eleusinion, and was supported by a questionable interpretation of a notorious passage in Pliny's *Natural History* (XXXIV, 69). Cf. *Rev. Arch.*, 1938, II, pp. 95 f.; *Manuel*, II, pp. 716 ff.

Athenians on Delos have been very plausibly restored as Boreas and Oreithyia, Eos and Kephalos.⁴⁶ Furtwängler made out a good case for identifying the groups on the Nereid Monument of Xanthos as the Dioscuri carrying off the daughters of Leukippos.⁴⁷

The internal evidence of our own group provides certain conditions which narrow the range of choice. The two members of the group are evidently of similar age and dignity, and both are young women. There can be no question of force or violence, the rider is clearly compliant. The carried figure, moreover, is certainly alive and shows no trace of wound or injury. We must, however, lament the disappearance of the helpful attribute which would undoubtedly have been present, like the eagle beneath the feet of the Nike of Paionios, the bird in the hand of the Nike akroterion on the Temple of Asklepios at Epidaurus or the sea creatures that have suggested the identification of the Nereids of Xanthos. Without this key we can scarcely hope to solve the riddle with assurance, but we may hazard a conjecture.

If we must choose from among the various groups of youthful mythological females a pair likely to have engaged jointly in some congenial enterprise, why should we not select those most appropriate to the theme of the pediment, viz., the Hesperides? In representations of the Garden of the Hesperides on vases of the later fifth and early fourth century several of the sisters normally appear, engaged in guarding or gathering the apples, in negotiating with Herakles or in adorning themselves. In any extended account of the episode, such as we clearly have on our façade, we should expect to find at least the original three, Aigle, Erytheia, and Hesperethusa, who were known to Hesiod (Fragment 270) and whose number, corresponding to that of the apples, is presumably elemental in the myth.⁴⁸ Combining, then, the two Hesperides of the akroterion with the one of the metope, we have the requisite three maidens.

Some more specific evidence for the identification of our group may be wrung from that familiar series of terracotta figurines of the fourth century and Hellenistic period generally regarded as representations of *ephedrismos* or *en kotyle*.⁴⁹ These groups regularly consist of one woman carrying another in a manner identical with or closely similar to that of our marble figures. There are naturally many minor variations in pose, dress, and coiffure. Normally the upper woman uses both hands to steady herself or, if one hand be free, it is empty. Among those examples that seem certainly to be genuine the only attribute carried in the free hand is a round object

⁴⁶ Délos, XII, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 237 ff.

⁴⁷ *British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture*, II, nos. 926-928; *Monumenti Inediti*, X, pl. XII; *Arch. Zeitung*, 1882, col. 347.

⁴⁸ Cf. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, II, p. 489.

⁴⁹ Winter, *Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, Part 2, pp. 136 f.; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. "ephedrismos" (S. Reinach); Stuart-Jones, *Catalogue of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pp. 66 f., pl. 16.

that has been variously interpreted as a ball, a pomegranate, or an apple. This occurs on two of the earliest and most carefully worked examples, one in the Louvre,⁵⁰ the other in the Hermitage (Pl. 59 2).⁵¹

The connection between the terracotta figurines and the game of *ephedrismos* is very dubious. Pollux, the best literary source on the matter, gives a clear account of the game (IX, 119): "they put down a stone and throw at it from a distance with balls or pebbles. The one who fails to overturn the stone carries the other, having his eyes blindfolded by the rider, until, if he does not go astray, he reaches the stone, which is called *dioros*." A little farther on (IX, 122), *s. v.* ἐν κοτύλῃ, Pollux has the following note: "The one person puts his arms around behind and clasps them; the other, resting his knee in the hands, and blindfolding the bearer with his own hands, is carried about. They also call this game *hippas* and *kubesinda*." Pollux is obviously dealing with various phases of one and the same game, and Hesychius *s. v.* ἐφεδρίζειν explains specifically that in Attica ἐφεδρισμός is called ἐν κοτύλῃ.

The game as described by Pollux is exactly illustrated on a red-figured oinochoe in Berlin.⁵² In this drawing one boy rides another, holding his hands over the eyes of the bearer. The bearer gropes his way toward the target which consists of a sizeable rock with a pebble, obviously the missile, lying by its side. It will be seen that the blind-folding of the bearer is an essential part of the game, yet this gesture is not represented in the terracottas. It must also be borne in mind that the missile (ball or pebble) at this stage of the game should be on the ground rather than in the hand of a contestant. Here, then, are two strong arguments against associating this group of terracottas with *ephedrismos*. An additional objection might be drawn from the observation that whereas the terracottas represent women, the vase pictures in which *ephedrismos* is demonstrably illustrated show boys.

If we thus dissociate the group of terracottas from the game of *ephedrismos*, we may with the greater probability connect the series with our akroterion. Certainly the terracottas are sufficiently singular in theme and uniform enough in their treatment of the theme to justify the assumption that this whole series derives directly or indirectly from a common source. The question of whether the terracottas are based on a prototype in major sculpture or vice versa has frequently been debated.⁵³ The present state of our knowledge should permit a reasonably certain decision. The type is now represented by our marble, of life size and of the fifth century, by a marble in Rome of *ca.* two-thirds life size and of the Hellenistic period,⁵⁴ and by a numerous

⁵⁰ Heuzey, *Figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre*, pl. 33, 1.

⁵¹ Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff*, pl. 81.

⁵² Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painting*, p. 754, no. 23 (Shuvalov Painter); Robert, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1879, pl. 5, 1; Schröder, *Der Sport im Altertum*, pl. 40, 1.

⁵³ Cf. Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen*, p. 154; Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, pp. 223 f.

⁵⁴ Stuart-Jones, *Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pp. 66 ff., pl. 16. Stuart-Jones

series of terracotta figurines extending from the fourth into the second century B.C. or later. There can be little doubt, surely, that priority goes to the major work in marble, and, in view of the singularity of the theme, coupled with the great distinction and prominence of our group, it would seem as certain as such matters can be that the temple akroterion is the *fons et origo* of the whole series.

If now the terracottas derive from our marble, we have a ready explanation for the round object in the hand: it is clearly one of the golden apples, the key to our riddle.⁵⁵ If we restore the attribute in our group, placing it, that is, in the left hand of the upper woman, we find that it is being extended in the direction of the tree and Herakles. We thus have a simple and natural motivation for the theme: the one girl has lifted the other to enable her to pluck the apple from a higher limb, the sort of help that might have been welcomed by the apple-picker on the familiar cup by Sotades.⁵⁶

A satisfactory bit of confirmatory evidence may be drawn from the expression on the face of the carrier girl. It is to be noted that her head is thrown up in a curious way and her mouth is slightly open, revealing the teeth. This is the normal gesture assumed by singers in the vase-paintings of the period, as illustrated for instance by Orpheus himself on the column krater by the Orpheus Painter.⁵⁷ Such an interpretation agrees perfectly with the emphasis on the voice in the literary references to the Hesperides. For Hesiod they are the "clear-voiced,"⁵⁸ for Euripides the "singers" and "choristers,"⁵⁹ for Apollonios the "charming songsters, bustling about."⁶⁰

How now are our conclusions to be related to the myth of Herakles? We clearly have to do with the most monumental rendering yet known of a distinctively Attic version which Furtwängler long ago reconstructed by collating the scattered literary references and the vase paintings.⁶¹ The story runs briefly as follows. At her wedding

placed the work stylistically in the late fourth century but left open the question of whether it is an original of that period or a copy of later times. Kleiner (*op. cit.*, p. 224) has assigned it to the late second century B.C.

⁵⁵ It is to be noted that in the terracotta (Pl. 59 2) the hand is turned downward in a gesture thoroughly appropriate to this context but the reverse of that employed in gestures of offering as between figures standing at the same level.

⁵⁶ Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 527. A similar thematic relationship between akroterion and pedimental group is to be observed in those cases where a Nike occurs above a scene of contest as in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia or of Asklepios at Epidauros.

⁵⁷ Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 703, no. 1; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 554.

⁵⁸ *Theogonia*, 518: 'Εσπερίδων λιγυφώνων. Cf. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, p. 110, 20. 34: 'Εσπερίδων λιγυφώνων.

⁵⁹ *Hippolytos*, 742 f.: 'Εσπερίδων δ' ἐπὶ μολόσπορον ἀκτὰν | ἀνύσαιμι τὰν δαιδῶν. *Hercules Furens*, 394 f.: ἑμνωδούς τε κόρας | ἦλυθεν 'Εσπερίαν ἐς αὐλάν. Picard (*Manuel*, II, pp. 716 ff.), interpreting our group as Demeter bearing Kore to the underworld, regarded the expression as one of sorrow; Shear (*A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 409) took it for a sign of great exertion.

⁶⁰ IV, 1398 ff.: ἀμφὶ δὲ νύμφαι | 'Εσπερίδες ποίπνον, ῥεφίμερον αἰδιδουσαι.

⁶¹ Roscher, *Lexikon*, I, cols. 2228 f. Cf. also Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, II, 1921, pp. 488-498.

with Zeus, Hera was presented by Ge with cuttings of the tree that bore the golden apples of eternal life. Delighted with the gift, the bride ordered the cuttings to be planted in the garden of the gods, beyond the Ocean, by the home of Atlas, where dwelt also the Hesperides, the daughters of Night. Since the Hesperides persisted in stealing the apples, Hera was obliged to set as guard over the tree a snake or dragon, Ladon. Herakles, ordered to fetch the golden apples, decided to employ his charm rather than his club and induced the Hesperides to help him. They secured the apples, either by drugging the dragon or by slipping up behind his back, and presented them to Herakles. The hero, accompanied by Athena, then proceeded to the home of the gods and delivered the fruit to Zeus. This, the last of his labors, accomplished, Herakles was rewarded with the hand of Hebe, daughter of Hera, herself the embodiment of eternal youth, and together they lived happily ever after.

The whole story as told by our temple façade is distributed in a logical way among the metopes, pediment, and central akroterion. Having completed his labors in the metopes and having in the last panel acquired the golden apples, Herakles proceeds by chariot to the home of the gods in the pediment above. Accompanied by Athena (who has her own chariot), the hero appears before Zeus to complete his mission and to receive his reward. In order to make the principal representation in the pediment more nearly complete in itself and more readily intelligible, the designer included the tree, placing it discreetly in the background. The story called for the presence of at least three Hesperides. In the metope only one could be accommodated, nor was there room for others in the pediment in immediate proximity to the tree; hence the ingenious solution of placing the other two maidens above, a setting that had in itself a certain degree of propriety inasmuch as the Hesperides were sometimes regarded as daughters of Hesperus, the fairest of all the stars.

Some slight confusion must be admitted in the pediment. The presence of the tree suggests the Garden of the Gods and Zeus' proximity would imply that the god was sitting in his own garden.⁶² Why then the chariots? We may suppose either that Herakles' standing between the tree and Zeus symbolizes their separation so that Zeus may be thought of as on Olympos, or that the chariots are an inevitable residue from the earlier and more familiar scheme of apotheosis which did occur on Olympos. But the point is of little consequence since we are dealing with poetry rather than prose.

This was not, of course, the first time that the apotheosis of Herakles had been presented in the pediment of an Athenian building. The theme had been used already in one of the small poros pediments of *ca.* 570-550 B.C. recovered from the Perserschutt on the Acropolis: Zeus and Hera enthroned in the middle receive Herakles, led presumably by Athena, coming from the right; in the left wing apparently an assemblage

⁶² Such proximity is envisaged in the choral ode of Euripides' *Hippolytos*, lines 742 ff.

of deities.⁶³ The memory of this vivid little gable may well have been in the mind of the master who designed the Hephaisteion pediment.⁶⁴

Our master may also have been influenced by another early Athenian building, the Treasury at Delphi. The metopes of the Treasury, as of our temple, illustrated the labors both of Theseus and of Herakles. From the few surviving scraps of the pedimental sculpture the French scholars now tentatively propose to restore in the front gable the apotheosis either of Herakles or Theseus, in the west gable a scene of strife.⁶⁵ It may be noted that since Theseus is already officially congratulated by Athena on one of the metopes of his series, Herakles is much the more likely candidate for the pediment.

Our master may have been somewhat influenced in his choice of theme by thoughts of Marathon and in particular by the great painting of the battle that was probably being completed in the Stoa Poikile along the north side of the Agora as our temple was being designed. This painting became immediately famous and continued throughout antiquity to stir men's minds and feelings as few other monuments of the visual arts. Prominent in the picture, as we know from Pausanias' description (I, 15, 3), were figures of Theseus, Herakles, and Athena. Pausanias goes on to remind us that the Marathonians claimed to have been the first to regard Herakles as a god. The Athenians were also conscious of a personal indebtedness to the hero at the time of Marathon, for, as Herodotos observes, the Athenian army encamped in the Sanctuary of Herakles at Marathon before the battle and subsequently, on returning to Athens to forestall a Persian landing, they encamped in another sanctuary of the same hero, viz., Kynosarges (Herodotos, VI, 108 and 116). The glorification of Herakles was thus a very natural choice of theme for the decoration of our temple, the building of which was one of the first major steps in the general program for the rehabilitation of the sanctuaries destroyed by the Persians.⁶⁶

The prominence of Herakles and the absence of Hephaistos in the sculpture of the east façade of Hephaistos' own temple may at first glance seem startling. It is to be remembered, however, that Hephaistos shared the cult with Athena (their

⁶³ Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, I, p. 62; Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, pp. 29 ff., pl. I; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, p. 120, fig. 380.

⁶⁴ I am reminded by Miss Lucy Shoe that another of the poros pediments from the Acropolis, viz., the Troilos and Achilles gable, provides a precedent for the prominent use of a tree in an Athenian pediment. In this case a pictorial rendering of the same theme is ready to hand in the Tomba del Toro. Cf. Zanotti-Bianco, "Nuova Ricomposizione del Frontone dell' Acropoli detto dell' Ulivo," in *Rendiconti della Pont. Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, XIX, 1942-1943, pp. 371-387.

⁶⁵ Picard and de la Coste-Messelière, *La Sculpture grecque à Delphes*, p. 24; de la Coste-Messelière, *Études d'Archéologie grecque*, pp. 116-123; Picard, *Manuel*, II, pp. 26, 903; Lapalus, *Le Fronton sculpté*, pp. 443 f.

⁶⁶ On the historical setting cf. Dinsmoor, *Hephaisteion*, pp. 156 ff.

statues standing together in the cella) and the goddess plays though not a leading yet a distinguished part in the theme of the façade. In the second place, the subject of the west pediment is as yet quite uncertain; Hephaistos may there have gotten his due.⁶⁷ In any case the newly found sculpture need not disturb the present identification of the temple as the Hephaisteion, an identification which is now firmly established on a broad basis of substantial evidence.⁶⁸

Our temple sculpture, displayed so prominently in the district of the potters, naturally left its mark on the vase paintings of the next half century.⁶⁹ It will no doubt be possible to sort out many adaptations and echoes of it. A few specimens will here suffice by way of illustration. The first is the representation of the apotheosis as depicted on a bell-krater of the late fifth century in the Villa Giulia⁷⁰ (Pl. 61¹). Here we find our three central figures, Zeus, Athena, and Herakles, supplemented by Hera, a Hesperid, Hermes, Nike, and Eros. Between Herakles and Athena may be recognized a tree, here reduced to stenographic proportions.⁷¹ Adjustments have been made, to be sure, in the figures, but it will be noted that Herakles is of our youthful type and as sculpturesque as a drawing well could be. That the sculptural prototype stood above eye level is sufficiently indicated by the extraordinary way in which the vase painter has represented the underside of Zeus' throne.

A second, more distant echo of our pediment may be recognized on an Etruscan red-figured amphora that must be based on an Attic prototype of the late fifth century (Pl. 61²).⁷² The Etruscan vase is now accessible only in an untrustworthy drawing from which one cannot be sure of the extent of restoration or misunderstanding.

⁶⁷ In a temple of the fifth century we should have expected the proprietary divinity to be represented in the pediments, although the available evidence is much too incomplete to justify the formulation of rigid rules. Certainly in the fourth century the pediment designer felt free to give precedence to artistic considerations ahead of direct connections between sculptural decoration and cult, as witness Epidauros and Tegea. On the whole subject, cf. Tarbell and Bates, *A.J.A.*, VIII, 1893, pp. 18-27; Lapalus, *Le Fronton sculpté*, pp. 341 ff. On the problem raised by the Hephaisteion in particular cf. Olsen, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 276-287.

⁶⁸ Dinsmoor, *Hephaisteion*, p. 1.

⁶⁹ The material was assembled by Gerhard in two studies in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy, the first in 1836, pp. 253 ff.: "Archemoros und die Hesperiden," the second in 1841, pp. 109 ff.: "König Atlas im Hesperidenmyth" (= *Gesammelte akad. Abhandlungen*, I, pp. 50 ff., 219 ff.). Useful too is the compilation by Heydemann, *Berlin Winckelmannsprogramm*, 30, 1870: "Humoristische Vasenbilder aus Unteritalien." Much of what Becatti has written about the dependence of Meidias on Pheidias creations will apply equally to the sculpture of the Hephaisteion (*Meidias, un Manierista antico*, Florence, 1947, especially pp. 20 ff.).

⁷⁰ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, I, pl. XX; Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias*, pl. 13; Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 846: related to the Talos Painter.

⁷¹ Although barely discernible in our reproduction, the tree appears clearly enough in the Furtwängler-Reichhold plate.

⁷² Noël des Vergers, *L'Étrurie et les Étrusques*, pl. IV; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting*, pp. 42 f.

Fortunately there can be little question about the parts in which we are primarily interested. Here again a youthful Herakles coming from the right approaches Zeus enthroned; behind Zeus stand Artemis (?) and Apollo (?). Herakles proffers an apple in his outstretched right hand and, that there may be no question as to the source of the fruit, the tree is clearly represented in the background.⁷³

The romantic elements of the story have been emphasized by the Meidias Painter in the front half of the lower zone of his London hydria (Pl. 62¹).⁷⁴ In the middle rises the fruit-laden tree entwined by the dragon whose passive attitude suggests that he has already been mollified. To the right sits Herakles accompanied by Iolaos, barely able to conceal his triumph as he looks toward the love-lorn Hesperid, Lipara, who already holds one apple in her hand, while her two sisters on the other side of the tree, Asterope and Chrysothemis, proceed to gather more fruit. Beyond the pair toward the left sits Hygieia (= Athena Hygieia?) and, finally, the Argonaut Klytis, not directly related to the theme. Of particular interest for our immediate purpose is the distribution of the Hesperides, one standing alone, like the single figure in our metope, the other two forming an intimate group as in our akroterion; in the drawing as in the marble the two girls are distinguished by the striking difference in their dress.

Another helpful link is provided by a hydria in the Kertsch style from Cyrene (Pl. 64¹).⁷⁵ Here we need concern ourselves only with the central group. The fruit is being plucked by Eros, symbol of the love whereby the Hesperides had been led to assist the hero.⁷⁶ It will be observed that Eros proffers the fruit in a gesture identical with that of the Sabouroff terracotta (Pl. 59²), a gesture that is no doubt to be restored also in our akroterion.

One more vase may be produced in evidence: the Kertsch pelike in the Metropolitan Museum already referred to in the restoration of our tree and dragon (Pl. 62²). Here we witness a slightly earlier phase of the transaction: Herakles, just arrived, has only begun to exercise his eloquence and his charm. The seated Hesperid and the belligerent dragon are not as yet inclined to part with the fruit; the more

⁷³ The elements of the same version of the myth are already present in a stamnos by the Providence Painter in Leningrad (*Annali deli' Istituto*, 1859, pls. G-H; Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 433, no. 41), but they are depicted in two panels: A: Herakles (bearded) accompanied by Athena offers an apple to Zeus (standing) in the presence of Hera and Poseidon; B: tree with serpent, Atlas, a Hesperid and Iris. This distribution is more logical than that of our syncopated version.

⁷⁴ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, I, pls. 8-9; *C.V.A. British Museum*, III Ic, pls. 91-92; Becatti, *Meidias*, pls. I, II, XVI; Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 831, no. 1.

⁷⁵ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, II, pl. 79, 2; Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, pl. 7 a.

⁷⁶ A similar line of thought must lie behind the substitution of Eros for the upper girl in some of the "ephedrismos" terracottas. Cf. Winter, *Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, II, p. 137.

timorous sister is all agitated by the proposition and so too, apparently, is the *genius loci*, Father Okeanos, who lends support from behind. Of especial interest in this case is the disposition of the serpent, for he is coiled in precisely the way suggested by the cutting in our tympanum.

The relation between our visual representation of the Hesperides story and the treatment of the same theme by the dramatists in the second half of the century is a more involved problem and need not here concern us in detail. It is tempting, however, to think that our pediment, still fresh and glowing, may have been in the mind of Euripides when in the 20's he wrote his *Herakles*. There are, of course, many differences in the handling of the myth, but the play, like the façade, illustrates the Labors in a metope-like series of brilliant stanzas (lines 348-441) and culminates in the hero's translation to a better land, not indeed to Olympos but to Athens. Still more significant, the play did for the drama what the temple decoration did for the visual arts, that is, it arrested the decline of Herakles toward the coarse and the comic, holding him up again before men's eyes as a noble and youthful figure, the very embodiment of Pindar's "hero god."⁷⁷

To turn from the east to the west pediment is like sailing from home waters into an uncharted sea. We can be sure of the one figure represented by our foot E: a seated or crouching woman near the middle of the right wing. In view of the pitfalls into which Sauer fell when working from the beddings alone it would seem rash to attempt the identification of any other figures. Sauer may, indeed, have been right in restoring Helios rising with his chariot on the right, Selene (or Nyx) sinking behind her team on the left. But if such groups are to be inserted in this pediment they must be much smaller in scale than Sauer would have had them; it would be well in fact to confine each team to the outermost bedding in its respective wing, for thus they would occupy the same relative space as the corresponding groups in the east gable of the Parthenon. The beddings reveal that there was no single figure on the axis of the west pediment to correspond with that in the east; they suggest rather two pair of figures in opposition in a scheme somewhat similar to that of the Parthenon west gable. Here we must stop and await the discovery of more marble.

⁷⁷ *Nem.*, 3, 22. On the significance of the *Herakles* in this connection cf. Wilamowitz in his edition of the play, vol. I, p. 100. May we interpret as oblique references to the sculpture of our temple lines 1331 ff.:

(Theseus) *θανόντα δ', εὔτ' ἂν εἰς Ἄιδου μόλῃς,
θυσίαισι, λαΐνοισί τ' ἐξογκώμασιν
τίμιον ἀνάξει πᾶσ' Ἀθηναίων πόλιν.*

and line 1397:

(Herakles) *αὐτοῦ γενοίμην πέτρος ἀμνήμων κακῶν.*

FIGURE STYLE

Let us start with the akroterion (F). The most significant parallels for the head are to be found among the south metopes of the Parthenon, now conveniently accessible in Rodenwaldt's posthumous study.⁷⁸ For specific comparison we may choose the head from Metope IV now in the National Museum, Copenhagen (Pl. 55³⁻⁴).⁷⁹ Our head has in common with those of the lapiths on the metopes a striking compactness of form and smoothness of outline that distinguish these heads from those of the Parthenaean frieze. In both cases we find the same long, egg-shaped outline with smoothly rounded and scarcely modelled cheeks. The similarity extends also to the individual features. In both cases the sketchy, impressionistic rendering of the hair represents a slight advance beyond the blocked out effect so characteristic of the Hephaisteion metope heads. Still more telling is the similarity in the carving of the eye. In our head, as in most of the Parthenon lapiths and many of the centaurs, the opening is narrow, the ball is decidedly convex and the lids are prominent. The prominence of the eye lids is achieved not by means of a roll or ridge as at Olympia and often in the Parthenon frieze, but by sinking the ball deep within the frame of the lids. The edges of the lids are worked with metallic crispness. There is no suggestion of overlap at the outer angle of the eye.

One of the most striking features shared by our head and those of the Parthenon metopes is the almost naïvely circumstantial rendering of the teeth. On the metopes the open mouths and prominent teeth express rage and anguish; on our head, as noted above, they were undoubtedly intended to suggest song.⁸⁰ Both cases illustrate a practice the invention of which was attributed by Pliny to the painter Polygnotos: "This artist made a first serious contribution to the development of painting by opening the mouth, showing the teeth,"⁸¹ and varying the stiff archaic set of the features."

The drapery of the riding girl in our group illustrates another achievement attributed to Polygnotos, viz., the ability to make women's garments appear transparent.⁸² So thin is the stuff, especially over thigh and back, that only in strong light can one be sure of its presence. In this respect a striking parallel is at hand in the Selene of Parthenon Metope North XXIX where the very existence of the garment

⁷⁸ *Köpfe von den Südmetopen des Parthenon*, Berlin, 1948.

⁷⁹ Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, pl. 22; Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 17, 2. I owe the photographs to the kindness of Mr. P. T. Riis, keeper of the Classical Collection in the Danish National Museum.

⁸⁰ On the Terme Niobid the same device was used to convey pain and despair (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pls. 706-709; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, figs. 4, 196).

⁸¹ *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 58; trans. Jex-Blake and Sellers.

⁸² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 58. See the admirable study by Schröder (*Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1915, pp. 95-126) on this type of drapery and on the relation between painter and sculptor in the Pheidian period.

has been questioned.⁸³ Here surely we have a marble version of "the drapery worked out with the utmost delicacy so that it clings where it should but for the most part is blown out by the wind."⁸⁴ The folds on our girl's chiton have a thin, sketchy quality, a type of impressionism, as Schröder remarked, that is more likely to have originated with the brush than with the chisel. For the ribbon-like pleats close parallels may be found on such contemporary works as the Demeter-Kore-Triptolemos relief from Eleusis⁸⁵ and the male torso, possibly of Dionysos, in Berlin.⁸⁶ A slightly more developed form occurs on the Artemis of the Parthenon east frieze and on various figures from the pediments of the same temple, notably on the fragment numbered 930 in the Acropolis Museum.⁸⁷ The style was carried to exquisite perfection on the Nike Temple Parapet by the chisels of Carpenter's Masters D and E.⁸⁸

As for the decolletage of the riding girl, one thinks first of the "Fates" from the Parthenon's east gable. But the arrangement occurs already, and in very much the same form as in our group, on the Artemis of the east frieze of the Parthenon.⁸⁹

For the drapery of our carrying girl we shall find satisfactory parallels on the Parthenon frieze, especially among the goddesses of the east end. The most cogent comparison is perhaps provided by the Iris or Nike adjusting her hair.⁹⁰ On both, the drapery ridges are well rounded and are distributed in a uniform pattern over the front of the figure. This same formula, to be sure, was used a few years later by Agorakritos at Rhamnous,⁹¹ but already at Rhamnous one notes a greater variety in the volume of the ridges and more cunning in the suggestion of stuff drawn taut over the breasts. The next stage in the development may be read from the Caryatids of the Erechtheion and certain figures of the Nike Temple Parapet.

These few comparisons, which have brought out so many links between our akroterion on the one hand, the metopes and frieze of the Parthenon on the other, would suggest that our group was carved at the time when work was ending on the metopes and beginning on the frieze, i.e., in the late 40's.

Of our pedimental figures let us consider first the Athena. As compared with

⁸³ Praschniker, *Parthenonstudien*, pp. 25 ff., 89 ff.

⁸⁴ Lucian, *Eikones*, 7: καὶ ἐσθῆτα δὲ οὗτος (Πολύγνωτος) ποιῶν εἰς τὸ λεπτότατον ἐξεργασμένην, ὥς συνεσθάλθαι μὲν ὅσα χρή, διηνεμῶσθαι δὲ τὰ πολλά.

⁸⁵ Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 481; Ἀρχ. Ἐφημερίς, 1937, pp. 20 ff. (450-440 B.C.).

⁸⁶ *Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1915, pl. 2; Blümel, *Katalog der griechischen Skulpturen des fünften und vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, no. K 4, pl. 5.

⁸⁷ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 55, fig. 15.

⁸⁸ Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, pls. XIX-XXV.

⁸⁹ Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 36, no. 40; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 488. The motif may be traced back a few years farther on the baptism relief in Eleusis which is evidently related to Parthenon Metope North XXXII (Kourouniotes and Broneer, *Eleusis Guide*, pp. 29, 85, fig. 7); Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 75, pl. 6, 3; Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I, p. 628, note 4, pl. 45, 2.

⁹⁰ Smith, *Sculpture of the Parthenon*, pl. 34, no. 28.

⁹¹ Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 727; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 62, fig. 20.

the carrier of the akroterion group her drapery would appear to be slightly more developed inasmuch as it exhibits greater variety in the relationship between the ridges and the intervening flat areas and has been employed more effectively in the modelling of the breasts. On the Panathenaic frieze we shall find many pertinent parallels, especially on the slab now in the Louvre:⁹² the same rich, voluminous effect, the same delightful treatment of the selvage, the same distinctive dip of the overhang above the hip. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that our Master had known the Athena Parthenos in some stage of her making: so similar are the proportions, the stance, the drapery over the left thigh. It is to be noted, however, that the conservative drapery scheme used on the front of the Parthenos has been relegated by our master to the back of his figure and has been replaced on the front by a lighter, more interesting arrangement. If now we recall that the Parthenon frieze was being carved *ca.* 442-438 B.C. and that the Parthenos, begun probably in 443/2 B.C., was complete with all her gold and ivory overlay by 438 B.C., we may infer a date in the neighborhood of 440 B.C. for our Athena.⁹³

Our standing male torso also invites comparison with the Panathenaic frieze. It would appear to be stylistically earlier than most figures of the frieze, as shown by the greater angularity in the transitions between the major planes, in the more self-conscious and precise delineation of surface anatomy, and in the harder, more marble-like quality of its flesh. The comparison may be pointed by consideration of a series of three comparable figures: the Herakles in the Hesperides metope of the Hephaisteion (Pl. 64²), the Herakles from the Hephaisteion pediment and a youth, No. 9, from the west frieze of the Parthenon (Pl. 60³).⁹⁴ This would appear to be their correct chronological sequence. Certainly the metope figure is shown to be easily the earliest by his comparatively heavy build, stiff stance and the arched line of his pubic hair. The Parthenon youth with his easy stance and fluid modelling is evidently the latest. Our pedimental figure would seem to have been consciously patterned on that of the metope in order to emphasize the continuity in the narrative from frieze to pediment. The Parthenon figure is so close in build and stance to the two of the Hephaisteion as to put the relationship of all three beyond question. Since the Parthenon youth and the pedimental Herakles have in common the turn of the head toward the side of the relaxed leg (much the less common attitude), they are more specifically related. And it is perhaps logical to assume that the designer of the Panathenaic frieze, working in relief, was influenced by our figure in the round rather

⁹² Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 291; *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art, Le Musée du Louvre*, III, pls. 163-165.

⁹³ A date in the early 30's was proposed in the original publication (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 175 f.).

⁹⁴ Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 64; Hege and Rodenwaldt, *The Acropolis*, pl. 30. On the stylistic relations of this figure cf. Schweitzer, *Jahrbuch*, LV, 1940, pp. 221 ff.

than *vice versa*. Thus again we are led to the neighborhood of 440 B.C. in the dating of our second pedimental figure, with the probabilities this time favoring a date before rather than after that year.⁹⁵

Our reclining figure (A), as far as one may judge from its present state, agrees closely in modelling with the standing torso (B). This is made especially clear by a comparison of the back views (Pls. 49-50).

Finally, a word as to the sequence of the sculptural decoration of our temple.⁹⁶ After collating all the available evidence Dinsmoor placed the fabrication of the building in the lustrum *ca.* 449-444 B.C.⁹⁷ In the Hephaisteion, as in the Parthenon, the metopes are clearly the earliest group of sculpture and they would appear to have been carved early in the building program, hence a little before the majority of the Parthenon metopes. Since the construction of the building proceeded from the outside inward, the sculptors presumably moved in the same direction. The next sculptural element is the east inner frieze, which would seem to have been completed in time to influence fundamentally the design of the Parthenon east frieze carved *ca.* 442-438 B.C. The east frieze of our temple was followed immediately by the west frieze and here the debt owing from the Parthenon was repaid, for our west frieze shows strong influence from the Parthenon centaureomachy metopes.⁹⁸ By this time work on the roof of the building had progressed to the point where akroteria were in order. Our one surviving akroterion, as noted above, shares with our west frieze the influence of the Parthenon metopes. The heads of the west frieze, moreover, insofar as one may judge of them in their terribly weathered condition, show much the same smooth outline, full round cheeks and narrow eye openings bounded by sharply chiselled lids that we have found on the head of the akroterion (Pl. 60²). In the matter of akroterion design we can draw no parallel with the Parthenon since, strangely enough, the Parthenon master used not human forms but floral designs, one of which would seem to have been put in place soon after the completion of the temple, the other many years later.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Apart from its immediate interest, our series of three male figures is of value as providing some of the earliest Attic renderings of the Polycleitan stance. In this Attic series we can trace the same progression toward slighter proportions and more fluid modelling that is represented by the Doryphoros, the Diadoumenos and the Idolino. On the question of Polycleitan influence in Athens at this time cf. Kjellberg, *Studien zu den attischen Reliefs des V Jahrhundert*, ch. VII.

⁹⁶ Cf. especially, Kjellberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-82.

⁹⁷ *Hephaisteion*, pp. 150 ff.

⁹⁸ The later date of the west frieze has been inferred from the figure style. One additional detail may be noted. The Hephaisteion metopes and east frieze show the old-fashioned arched upper line for the pubic hair; on the west frieze this has given way to the straight oblique line, which is found also on our pedimental Herakles. On the Parthenon the change occurs between metopes and frieze.

⁹⁹ Praschniker, *Jahreshefte*, XIII, 1910, pp. 5 ff.

Our pedimental figures, as argued above, appear to be a trifle later in style than the akroterion. On the other hand, if our argument is sound, akroterion and pediment are so organically related in theme that they must have been designed as parts of one whole, even though there was some slight difference in time of execution. The stylistic arguments advanced above have indicated the contemporaneity of our pedimental group and the Panathenaic frieze; here there was probably influence in both directions. We may suppose that our pedimental figures were put in place about the year 440 B.C. so that their actual effect could have been observed and pondered by the designer of the Parthenon pedimental groups, the carving of which began in the year 438/7 B.C.¹⁰⁰

PEDIMENT STYLE

The scholar artist who devised the composition of our façade cannot have failed to avail himself of the experience of other pediment designers. It will be worthwhile to consider on what sources he could have drawn.

The choice of theme, the apotheosis of Herakles, as noted above, may have been inspired in part by the archaic pediment on the Acropolis. That same pediment may have influenced the design of ours in significant ways, above all in the employment of a seated rather than a standing figure on the axis. Our master, however, improved on his model; in the old pediment Hera sat beside Zeus somewhat confusing the scene whereas in our gable Zeus stands out in majestic clarity. In the new as in the old design Herakles approaches from the right; it is symptomatic, however, of the greater dignity assigned to Herakles by our master that the hero should stand face to face before Zeus rather than being hustled along in schoolboy fashion by Athena.

More direct influence on design as well as theme may have come from the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi. Although the remains of the pedimental sculpture are exiguous and the conclusions of the French scholars still tentative, it seems reasonably certain that the mid part of the east gable was occupied by several figures in quiet colloquy flanked on either side by chariot groups, and possibly by reclining figures in the angles.¹⁰¹ This then was a static scene; the beddings in the floor of the west pediment, on the other hand, suggest a scene of movement. Although the theme of the west gable is still uncertain both in the treasury and the temple it is clear that

¹⁰⁰ Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, p. 244; *I.G.*, I², 348, line 76. The use of Pentelic marble in the east pediment of our temple rather than the Parian that had been employed in the west pediment as well as in all the other known sculpture of the building may indicate a slightly later date for the east pediment, by which time the practice of the Parthenon atelier may have recommended the use of the local material. In view, however, of the rather capricious mixture of the two marbles in the fabric of the building, this argument should not be pressed. The piecing of our reclining figure from the east pediment, surprising in a statue so small, may have been due to a desire to make use of remnants of marble, as the job neared its end; in this position the joint would have been least exposed to strain and to weather.

¹⁰¹ The references are given above, p. 252, note 65.

in this respect both followed the tradition of a peaceful scene in the east, a violent scene in the west, a tradition that goes back at least to the Alcmaeonid Temple of Apollo in Delphi and that is most familiar to us from Olympia.

The most striking characteristic shared by the Treasury and our temple is the freedom with which the designer regarded the formal boundaries of the various sculptural fields on a Doric façade. On the west end of the Treasury we have the remarkable phenomenon of one of Herakles' labors, the combat with Geryon, being spread over all six metopes; the same labor on our temple extends over two metopes. If we may accept the very plausible proposals of the French scholars, Hērakles received in the east pediment the apotheosis that came as his reward for the completion of the labors depicted on the metopes below, i. e., the same basic scheme that we have recovered on our façade. But in the Hephaisteion the solution is neater, for here the Herakles metopes come directly beneath the apotheosis pediment whereas in the Treasury the metopes beneath the apotheosis pediment have been assigned to an amazonomachy, Herakles' labors being represented on the south flank and west end. In treasury as in temple the akroteria and the metopes are also linked in theme: Amazons at Delphi, Hesperides in Athens.

Still another point in common between the Treasury and the Hephaisteion is the method of setting the statues: in both buildings the plinths were set deep in a continuous bench and laboriously secured by many metal dowels. This costly procedure was thoroughly appropriate to earthquake-harassed Delphi; its employment in Athens is exceptional in our building, for it was not used either in the Hekatompedon gigantomachy pediment of the Acropolis or in the Parthenon.¹⁰²

The same method of setting the pedimental statuary, as has frequently been observed, was followed also in the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina, perhaps likewise under the influence of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi. Our master may have been influenced directly by Aegina in other matters of technique, above all in his insistence on carving his figures completely in the round and finishing them carefully on the tympanum sides. In this respect the Aegina and the Hephaisteion masters went even further than the master of the Hekatompedon marble pediments in which the hidden sides, especially of the minor figures, are appreciably rougher than the fronts; the backs of the Olympia pedimental figures are, of course, quite unfinished.

In point of composition also our pediment has much in common with the eastern (and more advanced) pediment of Aegina. Both present a well-defined group of three figures in the middle; in both gables the reclining angle figures are similarly disposed and the extremities beyond their feet are filled with small objects; in both cases the design is remarkably clear and open, there being an absolute minimum of

¹⁰² On the technical aspects of pedimental sculpture cf. Sauer, *Theseion*, pp. 187 f.; Furtwängler, *Aegina*, pp. 203-205; Carpenter, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 2 ff.; Lapalus, *Le Fronton sculpté*, pp. 331 ff. For the Hekatompedon cf. Wiegand, *Die archaische Poros-architektur der Akropolis*, p. 144.

overlapping. The two pediment fields being almost equal in size, there is a close correspondence in the number of figures employed: the team and chariot of each wing in the Hephaisteion taking the place of two warriors in the Aegina wing.

There can be no doubt that our master had first-hand knowledge of Aegina, and little doubt that he had also studied the pediments of Zeus at Olympia. Technically, to be sure, there is a radical difference: the Olympia sculpture is close to relief in that the statues were treated summarily behind and were firmly secured to the tympanum by metal dowels, whereas our Hephaisteion statues were conceived decidedly as figures in the round and might have been set up as such in the open. This difference is more than outweighed, however, by the striking similarity in the relative disposition of central group, chariot groups and angle figures. One detail that more specifically suggests a connection between the two compositions is the manner in which in both pediments the figures flanking the axial figure turn slightly away from the axis, thus happily mitigating the repetitive frontality of the pedimental group and breaking the rigidity of its front plane.¹⁰³ Certain differences in composition may perhaps be attributed to a deliberate attempt on the part of our master to improve on Olympia. By reducing the central group from five to three, for instance, he kept farther from the peril of monotony which the Olympia master so narrowly avoided; by the same change he was able to assign more room and so a more naturalistic scale to the horses. Furthermore, the omission of one subsidiary figure both in front of and behind the chariot group in each wing resulted in a much opener effect in the Hephaisteion pediment.

If our master was so cognizant of what had been done before his time in the way of great sculptural compositions, he is not likely to have remained insensitive to the equally impressive mural paintings, especially those in his own city, in the Stoa Poikile, the Anakeion, and the Theseion, the paint on which could scarcely have been dry when work began on this temple. We have already pointed out the possibility that he had been influenced by one of the paintings, the Marathonomachy, in his choice of theme. We have seen too that our akroterion group corresponds line for line with the literary record of Polygnotos' painting style. Is it not likely, then, that our master, consciously or unconsciously, assimilated the design of his façade to that of the great wall paintings of Polygnotos, Mikon, and Panainos, known to us from the detailed but sadly non-comprehensive accounts of Pausanias and from the faint echoes in the vase paintings? In our façade, as in those paintings, a single great theme with many incidental passages was elaborated in synoptic fashion with but slight regard for the formal unities of time or place. Knowledge of perspective being still in an elementary stage, distance between figures is suggested by a difference in level, so that, for in-

¹⁰³ The evidence for the placing of Oinomaos and Pelops in the Olympia pediment was clearly stated by Treu (*Olympia, Ergebnisse*, III, pp. 49 f.) and has been wilfully disregarded by Bulle (*Jahrbuch*, LIV, 1939, pp. 137 ff.).

stance, the Hesperides of our akroterion are to be thought of not as above the central group in the pediment but as beyond it, and the cornices of our façade, both the horizontal and the raking, might be regarded as the equivalent of the contour lines in the major paintings that inspired the Orvieto krater.¹⁰⁴ Just as the solitary tree on the Orvieto krater symbolizes the grove in which the Niobids vainly seek shelter, so our tree stands for the Garden of the Hesperides, and both remind one of the willow tree against which Orpheus leaned in Polygnotos' painting of the Underworld in the Lesche at Delphi.¹⁰⁵

It is the great paintings, again, that may well have inspired such intimate groups as that of our akroterion. One comes on such little scenes again and again even in the dry record of Pausanias: "Andromache's son standing in front of her grasping her breast," "next Antenor is his daughter Krino with a baby in her arms," "below Phaedra is Chloris leaning on Thyia's knees," "the daughters of Pandareus crowned with flowers and playing at dice," "Kallisto has a bearskin for a mat and her feet rest on the knees of Nomia"—these from the walls of the Lesche alone.¹⁰⁶ Or consider the many two-figured groups painted by Panainos on the screens of the throne of Zeus at Olympia, among them "two Hesperides bearing the apples, with the keeping of which they are said to have been entrusted."¹⁰⁷ Such themes surely were dealt with first by the painters and afterwards by the masters who worked in marble on our temple and, still more, the Parthenon; the vase painters, above all Meidias and his circle, will then have borrowed both from the original murals and from the marble compositions.¹⁰⁸

We may now consider briefly the relation between our pediment and later pedimental designs, first those of the Parthenon. The Parthenon master may well have been influenced by the earlier pediment in his decision to use in his east gable a seated axial figure flanked by a single standing figure on either side, but, whereas our central group is static, that of the Parthenon is well-nigh bursting with an explosive centrifugal quality. Our master's use of chariot groups in the wings strengthened that tradition and makes the appearance of chariots in the wings of the Parthenon west pediment a little more understandable, though it helps little in the motivation, for that remains weak. Here again one notes a striking difference between the Hephaisteion and the Parthenon masters in the handling of a formula: in the Hephaisteion gable the chariot groups are relatively prominent; in the Parthenon the horses, to be sure, are huge and splendid but they are quite overshadowed by the divine forms that surge around them.

Another matter wherein the Parthenon master may have owed something to our gable is the idea of the snake-bound tree which in the Parthenon west pediment formed

¹⁰⁴ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pls. 108, 165; Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, figs. 349, 351-353.

¹⁰⁵ Pausanias, X, 30, 6.

¹⁰⁶ Pausanias, X, 25-31.

¹⁰⁷ Pausanias, V, 11, 6.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Schröder, *Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1915, pp. 95-126; Becatti, *Meidias*, pp. 20-28.

the cardinal element of the composition. But here again the motivation is less natural on the Parthenon than on the Hephaisteion, for, whereas our snake and tree are inseparably linked together by the myth, in the Parthenon pediment tree and serpent are two independent attributes of Athena arbitrarily brought together for the occasion.¹⁰⁹

As against all the formal similarities that we have noted, one must set the overwhelming contrast that is produced by the difference in the syntax of composition. Compared with the clear, simple open design of our small pediment the Parthenon groups are involved, and tightly interrelated both in body and in spirit; much the same difference separates the east inner frieze of our temple from the Panathenaic frieze. Without analyzing these differences one feels that in the rich and subtle harmony of their grouping the Pheidian compositions ring like great symphonies above the modest rhythm of the Hephaisteion gable.

One of the most interesting examples of the influence of our façade on later design is to be found in distant Tegea. In the new temple built by Skopas after the fire of 395 B.C. the west pediment illustrated the battle between Telephos and Achilles in the plain of the Kaikos; this we know from Pausanias' account (VIII, 45, 7) confirmed by the discoveries of the French explorers. Pausanias tells nothing of metopes, but the excavations have shown that a series of metopes adorned both pronaos and opisthodomos.¹¹⁰ Although only the merest scraps of the sculptured panels remain, their themes are indicated by the names engraved on the epistyle; the metopes above the opisthodomos dealt with the early life of Telephos. Here again, therefore, is an instance of metopes and pediment co-ordinated in the glorification of a single figure: the metopes filled with little pictures of incidents in his life, the pediment devoted to the crowning event of his career. Telephos, it will be recalled, was a son of Herakles, of all Herakles' children the most like his father.¹¹¹ What more natural than that Skopas, commissioned to present the story of Telephos, should have turned for inspiration to our temple that offered the most splendid representation then available of the father's career? The probability of direct connection is strengthened by the striking similarity in the treatment of the pediment floor in the two temples; the use at Tegea of a continuous sculpture bench rebated above the hawkbeak of the cornice was rightly regarded by the French scholars as "plutôt archaïque."¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ For the surviving fragments of the Parthenon tree cf. Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, p. 18, pl. 14 D; Casson, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, p. 58, nos. 942, 942(a). The tree and serpent are prominent on the Kertsch hydria (Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 604) and on the coins that reproduce the central group of the west pediment (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, pl. Z, nos. xi-xv) as well as in the decorative panels on the bases for the Giants and Tritons of the "Stoa of the Giants" which are derived directly from figures of the Parthenon pediments.

¹¹⁰ Dugas, Berchmans, and Clemmensen, *Le Sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée*, pp. 77 f.

¹¹¹ Pausanias, X, 28, 8.

¹¹² Dugas, Berchmans, and Clemmensen, *Le Sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée*, p. 24, pl. XLV.

It remains to say a word about the typological place of our akroterion. Historically the piece is of interest as the earliest known example of a group akroterion in marble and of life size. The gables of Aegina, to be sure, were crowned with elaborate marble akroteria consisting of a central palmette flanked on either side by a kore, but there was no bond between the girls and the combination of vegetable and human motifs must have appeared illogical to an artist of our period. Although our master undoubtedly had the Aegina akroteria in the back of his mind, he found more congenial prototypes in a series of terracotta akroteria in the form of genuine groups. Such had been popular in the elaborate terracotta decoration of Etruscan temples in the late archaic period but the type is also well represented at Olympia, first by a late archaic group of Satyr and Maenad found in the original German excavations¹¹³ and now by the splendid group of Zeus bearing off Ganymede, the head of Zeus from the old, the remainder of the group from the recent German excavations.¹¹⁴ Zeus, with cloak on shoulders and walking-stick in left hand, strides along clasping the youthful and compliant Ganymede close to his right side. Ganymede rests his right hand on Zeus' arm, while with his left he clutches a cock. Although the Olympia terracotta is a quarter century earlier than our marble, the two pieces have much in common: both represent the successful achievement of an organic grouping; in both the two figures were made readily distinguishable, in the earlier through having one body nude and one draped, in the later by a subtle distinction in the rendering of the drapery; both retain the late archaic formula of three-quarter movement that must appear to us who know Paionios' Nike as a yet imperfect solution for a central akroterion; and in both cases the spectator was assisted in identification by a simple, clearly visible attribute appropriately held in the hand of the carried figure. Until or unless additional evidence is forthcoming we may regard the Olympia work, apparently a Corinthian product, as a worthy prototype of our group.¹¹⁵

The fashion of group akroteria introduced by our master continued to be popular in Athenian circles throughout the second half of the century.¹¹⁶ The next example

¹¹³ *Ergebnisse*, III, pp. 37 ff., fig. 41, pls. VII and VIII.

¹¹⁴ Kunze, *III Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, 1938/39, pp. 131 f., pl. 58; *100 Berlin. Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1940; *Neue Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst aus Olympia*, 1948, pls. 63-69. Height with base 1.06 m., without base 0.95 m.

¹¹⁵ One would gladly know more of the akroteria of Pausanias' second temple of Delphian Apollo which were deemed worthy of mention by Pindar (Pausanias X, 5, 12; Pindar, Fr. 53 [Christ]):

Χρύσειαι δ' ἐξέπερθ' αἰετοῦ
ᾄειδον κηληδόνες.

This vivid little picture of golden charmers singing above the pediment may well have been in the mind of our master as he composed his group.

¹¹⁶ Cf. especially the studies by Furtwängler in *Arch. Zeitung*, 1882, pp. 335-364 and *Meisterwerke griechischer Plastik*, pp. 250-257.

of which we know would seem to have been the terracotta groups of Theseus and Skiron, Hemera and Kephalos seen by Pausanias (I, 3, 1) on the Royal Stoa. Of the second of these groups small but distinctive fragments were found in the current excavations.¹¹⁷ These akroteria were probably placed on the Stoa in the years following the Peace of Nikias (say 421-415 B.C.); the idea of using groups may well have been inspired by the akroteria of our temple and the theme of the Theseus and Skiron group may equally well have been drawn from the Theseus and Skiron metope that looked down on the Stoa from the northeast corner of our temple.

In these same years (426-417 B.C.) the Athenians crowned the pediments of the new Temple of Apollo on Delos with still more elaborate marble akroteria that may be regarded as a baroque development of ours. Above the east gable Boreas bears off Oreithyia, while at the west Eos makes away with Kephalos. In both cases the central group is closely flanked on either side by a fleeing maiden and the identification is suggested by an appropriate attribute: a horse for Boreas, a dog for the huntsman Kephalos.¹¹⁸

Still another set of marble group akroteria is known from the Nereid Monument at Xanthos in Lycia, designed under strong Attic influence in the latter part of the fifth century.¹¹⁹ The little that remains is enough to show that above each gable was represented a male bearing off a female figure, perhaps the Dioscuri abducting the daughters of Leukippos.

This brief series of elaborate group akroteria, so far as our knowledge now goes, would seem to represent a short-lived efflorescence; in the fourth century a more sober spirit returned. The central akroteria on the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, for instance, are single Nikai (though mounted Nereids were placed on the lateral extremities) and on the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea Skopas contented himself with palmette designs in the manner of the Parthenon.

¹¹⁷ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 37 ff., 66 f. Although the question of the relationship between the Royal Stoa and the Stoa of Zeus has not yet received a definitive answer, the solution followed in 1937 still seems the most probable, viz., that the one building was known under the two names. It will be recalled that in front of the south wing of the stoa as excavated were found fragments of two marble akroteria in the form of Nikai that undoubtedly (*pace* Picard, *Manuel*, II, p. 825, note 3) fell from the lateral extremities of the façade of the south wing where they would have flanked the terracotta group of Hemera and Kephalos. Rumpf (*Jahrbuch*, LIII, 1938, p. 124) has argued that these marble Nikai are not of the fifth but of the second century B.C. because of the full breasts and high girding. For the breasts, however, abundant parallels are available in the Amazonomachy of the Bassae frieze; for the high girding cf. the "Amphitrite" from the west pediment of the Parthenon (Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 11), a figure probably from the east pediment of the Parthenon (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 54, fig. 15) and the newly found slab of the Nike Temple Parapet (*A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 145, figs. 3 f.; Picard, *Manuel*, II, p. 775, fig. 310).

¹¹⁸ Courby, *Délos XII, Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 237-241, pls. XIV, XV.

¹¹⁹ For the references see above, p. 248, note 47. The identification of the groups as akroteria has been questioned but without good reason. (Schuchhardt, *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, p. 160.)

LATER HISTORY

The construction of the temple and the carving of all the outside sculpture would seem to have been completed within the decade 450-440 B.C. The bronze cult statues of Hephaistos and Athena were prepared and set up in the cella within the period 421/0-416/5 B.C.¹²⁰

The next recorded event in the history of the Hephaisteion concerned neither the building nor its sculpture, but the temple close. To the third century B.C. has been assigned the first layout of a formal garden that continued to flourish into early Roman times.¹²¹ This was a bold undertaking: pits for the trees or shrubs had to be hewn from the solid rock and water had to be conveyed to the barren hill-top in elaborate underground channels. But the most surprising feature of this horticultural embellishment is the fact that the proprietor, Hephaistos, is the one divinity with whom no specific plant is associated. Perhaps, however, the garden was designed not for the delectation of Hephaistos or even of Athena, but as a setting for the story worked out in marble and bronze on the temple front, a characteristic touch of Hellenistic realism to supplement the stark symbolism of the fifth century.¹²² Viewed against the purple light of the setting sun, the park and sculptured façade must have seemed one with the images of the poets, a veritable garden of the gods "the pleasures of which are for the enjoyment of the blessed ones only," there far to the west "where Night and Day draw nigh and greet one another."

Thereafter we have no record of any significant change until the Roman sack of 86 B.C. Since Sulla's troops broke through the city's defences just to the west of our temple, this part of Athens suffered particularly in the savage outburst that followed.¹²³ The current excavations have yielded abundant evidence of damage done on this occasion both to buildings and to statuary along the west side of the Agora.¹²⁴ This episode may account for the discovery of our horse's foot in a cistern to the north of the temple, which, as noted above, was abandoned probably in consequence of the sack. The fragile projecting member may have fallen a victim to some chance or mischievous sling shot; there is no reason to believe that the temple suffered any grievous damage on this occasion.

Much more serious for the monuments of the Agora was the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. It is now clear that all the buildings in and around the Agora for which

¹²⁰ I.G., I², 370/371. Dinsmoor, *Hephaisteion*, pp. 105-110.

¹²¹ Dorothy Burr Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 396-425.

¹²² Cf. the dedication of plants to the Phosphoroi in the Tholos precinct (*Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 137 ff.).

¹²³ Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum*, I, pp. 655 ff.; Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², pp. 95 f.

¹²⁴ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 221 f., 411.

pertinent evidence exists were either damaged or destroyed in that year.¹²⁵ It would be surprising indeed if the Hephaisteion had come through unscathed. Two of our pieces, Athena and the head from the akroterion, were found in contexts of the latter part of the third century. We may suppose, therefore, that the temple was damaged in A.D. 267 and stood for some time in a partially ruinous condition. The fall of the central akroterion implies damage to the roof which may well have involved also the displacement of some of the raking sima leaving Herakles exposed to the drip from the edge of the cornice; the water stain on his front could have formed within a few years. After the Herulian sack and the construction of the "Valerian Wall" which followed shortly thereafter¹²⁶ our temple stood in a desolate region where it must have been exposed to the vandalism of mischievous boys. To such malefactors rather than to the "Christians" we may attribute the fall of some of the less stable statuary such as the Herakles and the reclining male. The Herakles, as also the head of Eurystheus from the Boar Metope, was available for re-use as building material as early as the fifth century after Christ. The figure represented by the draped foot from the west pediment, though found by us in a context of the thirteenth century, may also have been displaced and re-used earlier.

One at least of the figures of the east pediment would seem to have been removed with care, viz., the Zeus. As noted above (p. 238, note 25), the rough cuttings to right and left of his position may best be interpreted as beddings to support scaffolding for his removal. The rude cuttings imply the previous disappearance of Athena and Herakles. The absolute date of Zeus' removal we may never know; but the most probable time is the late fourth or early fifth century after Christ when, as the current excavations have shown, there was a burst of building activity in the region of the Agora and when, as we know from specific literary references, a number of works of art were removed from the ruinous old buildings: paintings from the Stoa Poikile carried off by a proconsul (*ca.* A.D. 400), "elephant stelai" from the Temple of Ares taken to Constantinople by Theodosius II (A.D. 408-450), a monolith from the Strategeion removed to Constantinople by the patrician Proklos in the reign of the same emperor.¹²⁷ However this may be, the pagan temple was shortly turned into a Christian church in which Herakles was succeeded by Saint George the Untiring, another destroyer of monsters.¹²⁸

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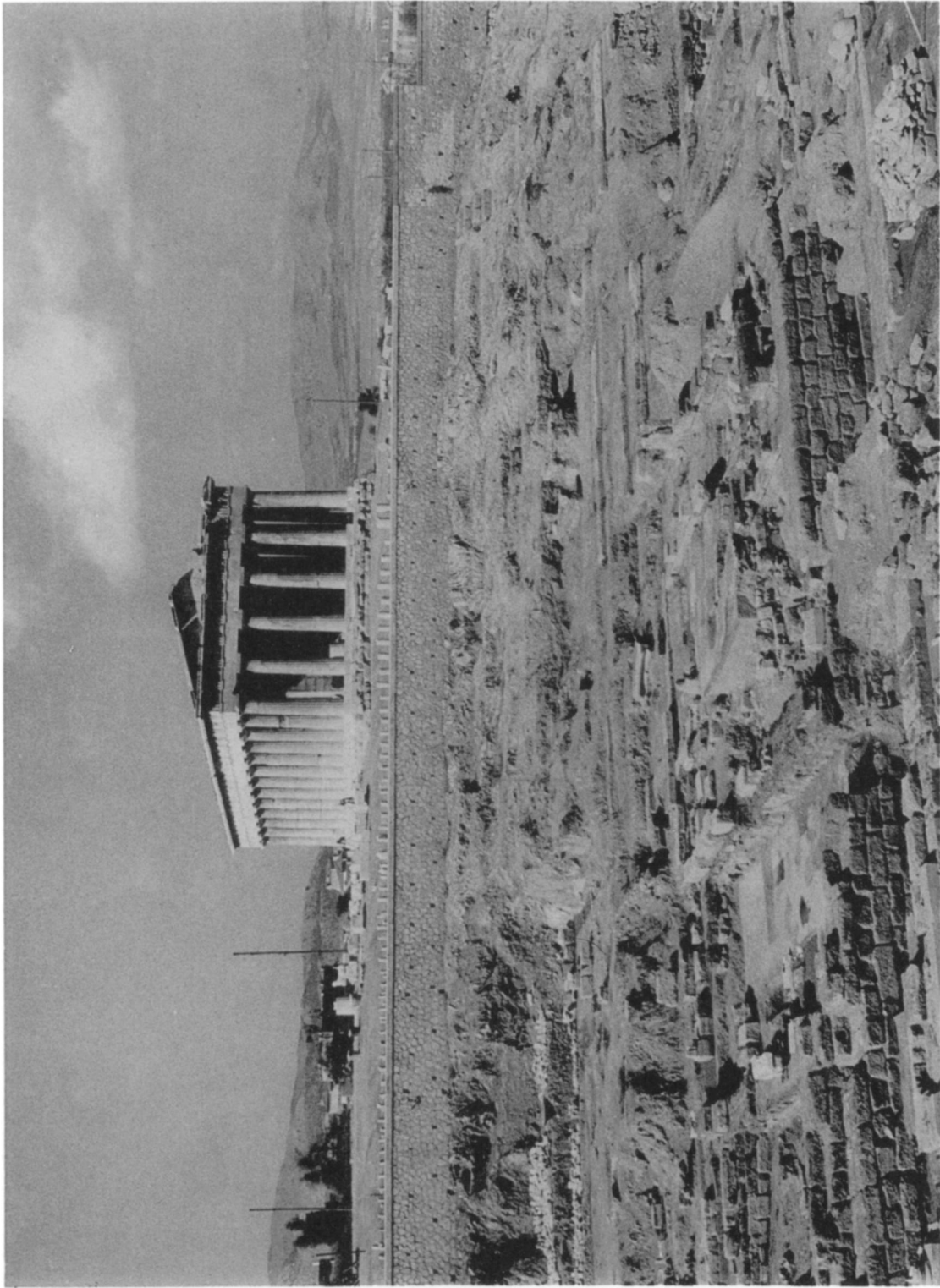
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¹²⁵ For the evidence regarding the buildings along the west side of the Agora see especially *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 76 f., 114 f., 195, Supplement IV, p. 136.

¹²⁶ *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 332.

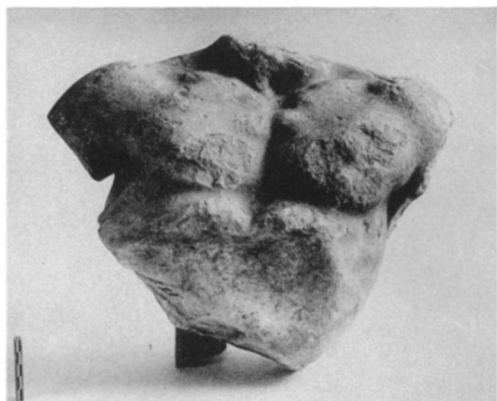
¹²⁷ Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 717 ff. Confused references in the late Greek authors imply, though they do not prove, that the Athena Parthenos and the Zeus of Olympia were also removed to Constantinople in the fifth century. Wachsmuth, *loc. cit.*; Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 45; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, pp. 217, 219.

¹²⁸ Kourouniotes and Soteriou, *Εὑρετήριον τῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, A a, 1927, pp. 48 f.; Orlandos, *Ἀρχαίων*², 1936, pp. 207 ff.; Deichmann, *Jahrbuch*, LIV, 1939, p. 131, no. 75.

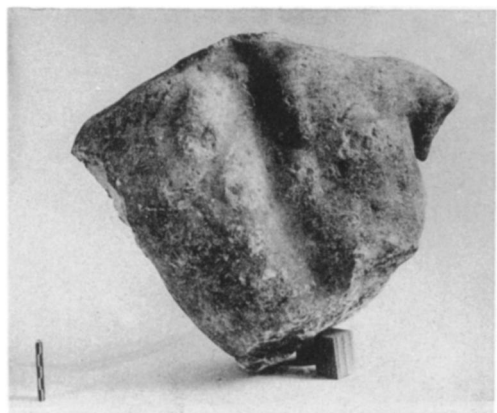


The Hephaisteion viewed from the Agora

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



1. Pedimental Torso A

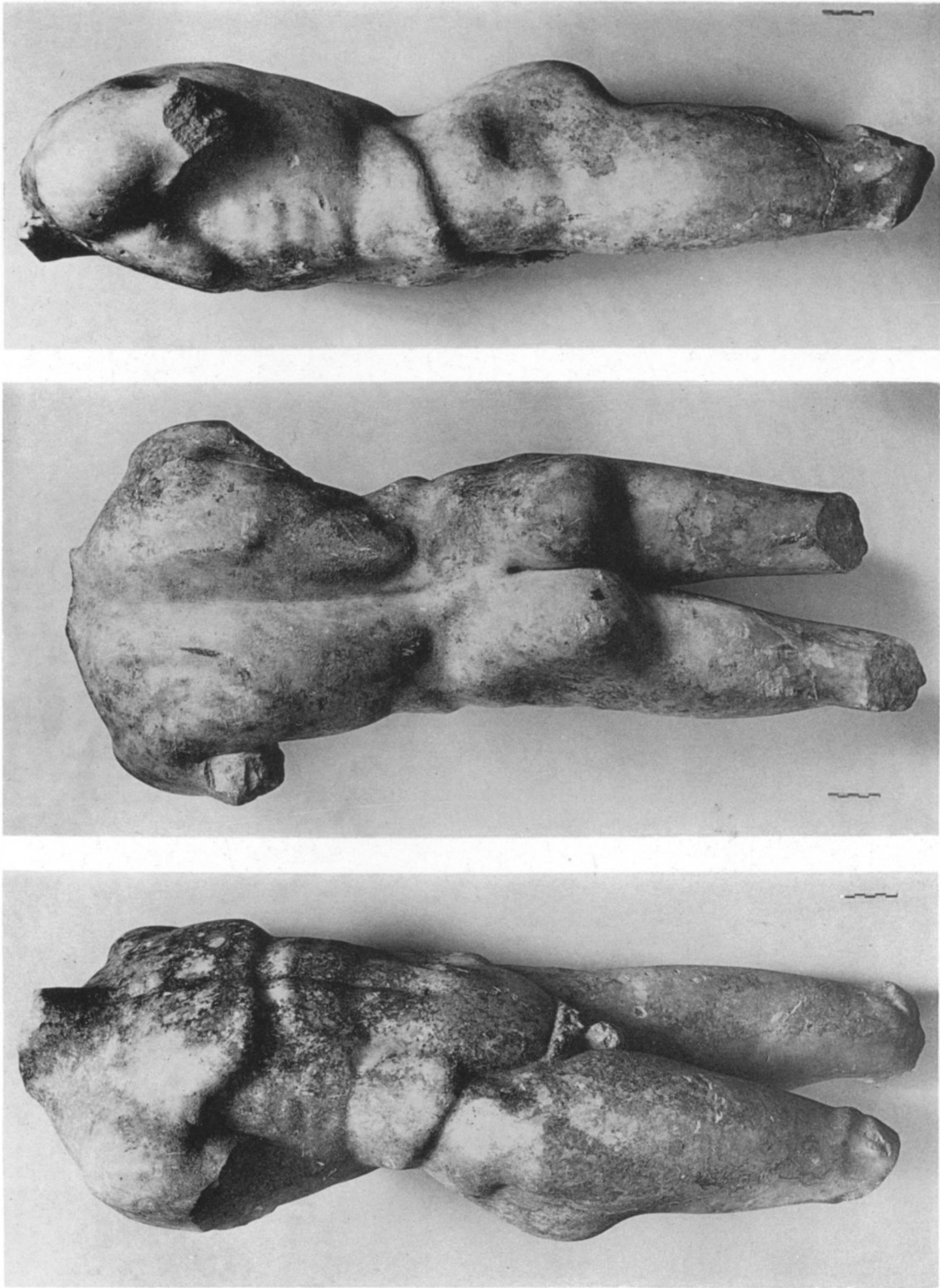


2. Pedimental Torso A



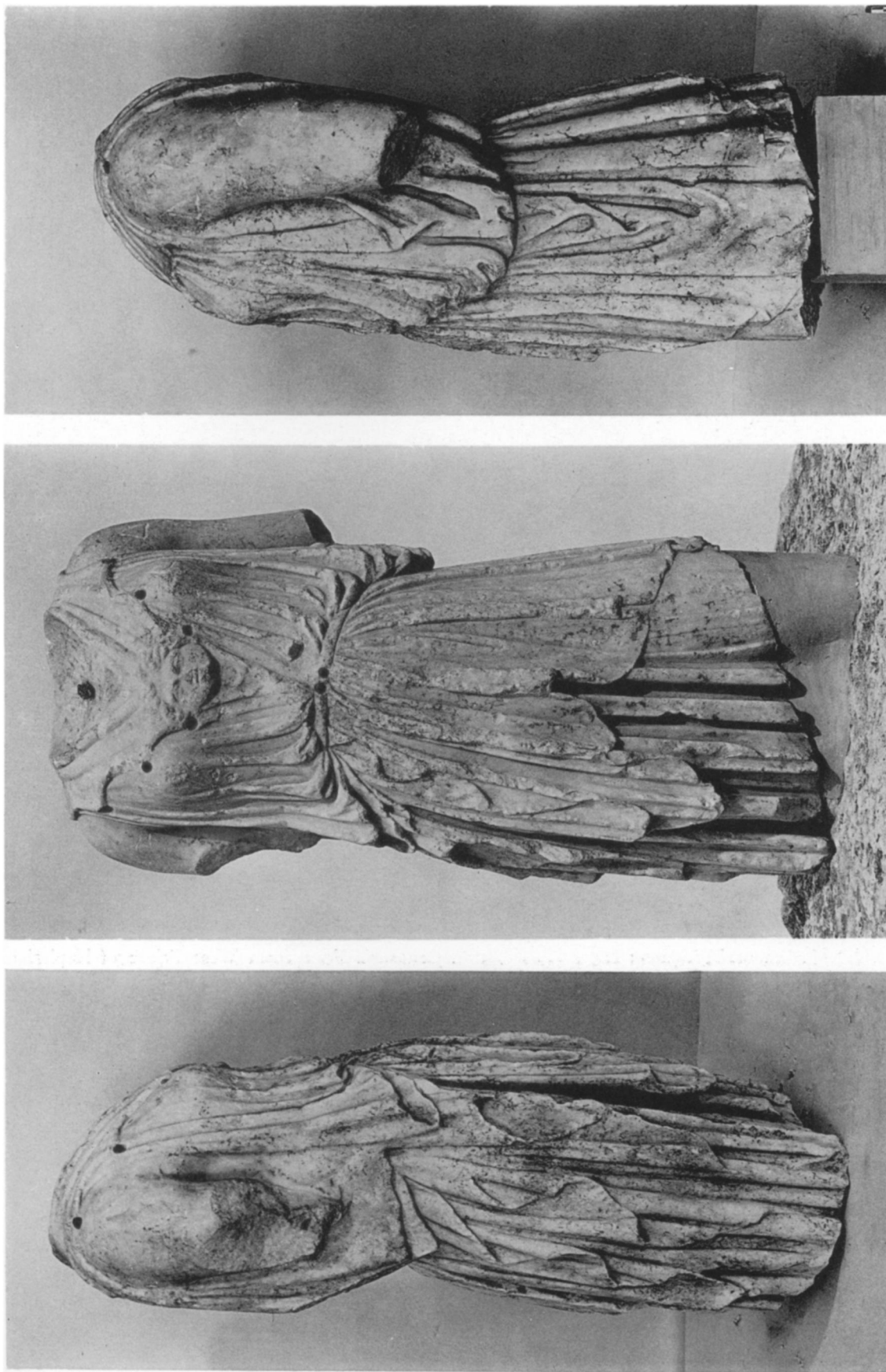
3. Pedimental Torso B

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1-3. Pedimental Torso B

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1-3. Pedimental Torso C

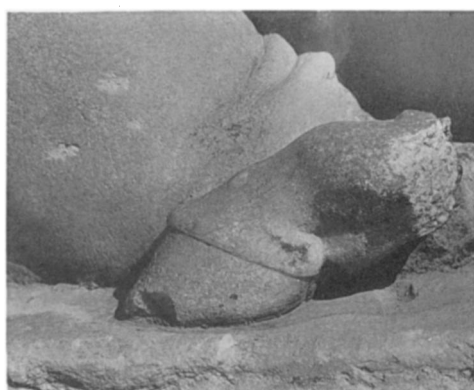
H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



1. Pedimental Torso C, Detail of Socket for Neck



2. Pedimental Fragment D



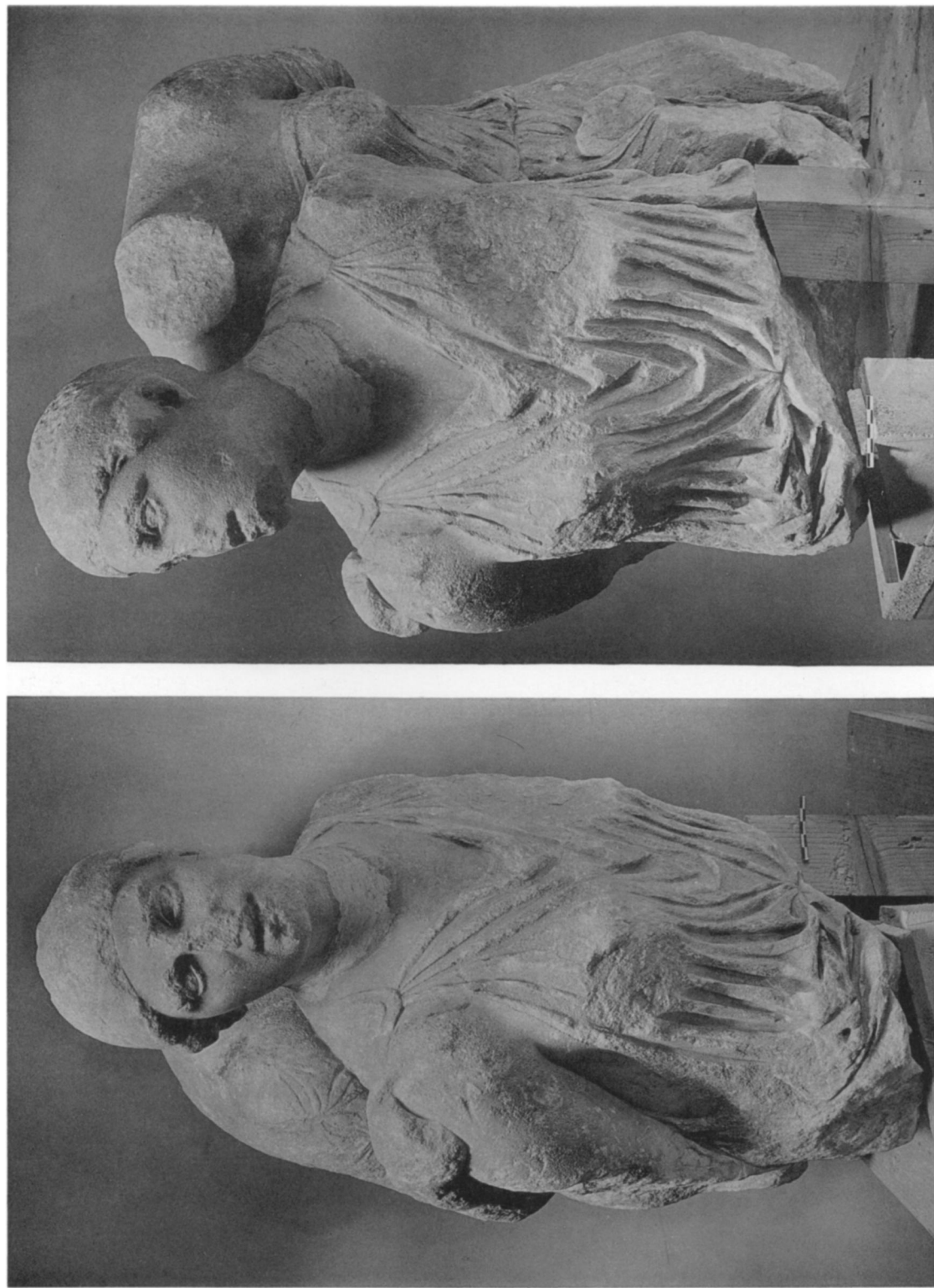
3. Centaur's Foot from West Frieze of Hephaisteion



4. Pedimental Fragment E, from above



5. Pedimental Fragment E, from front



1-2. Akroterion Group F

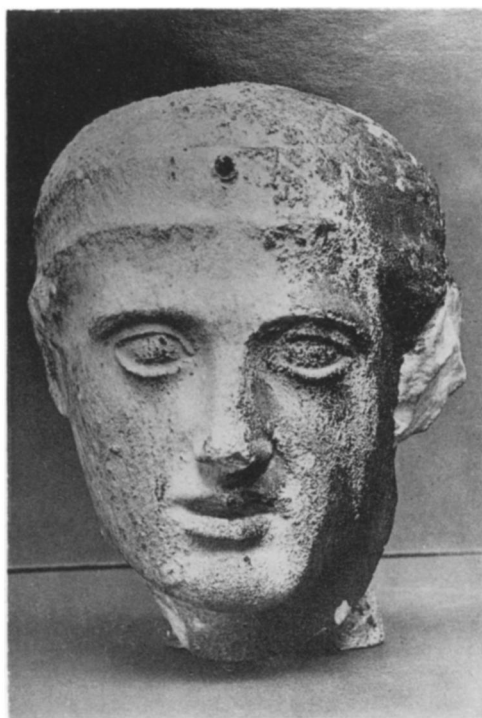
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1-2. Akroterion Group F
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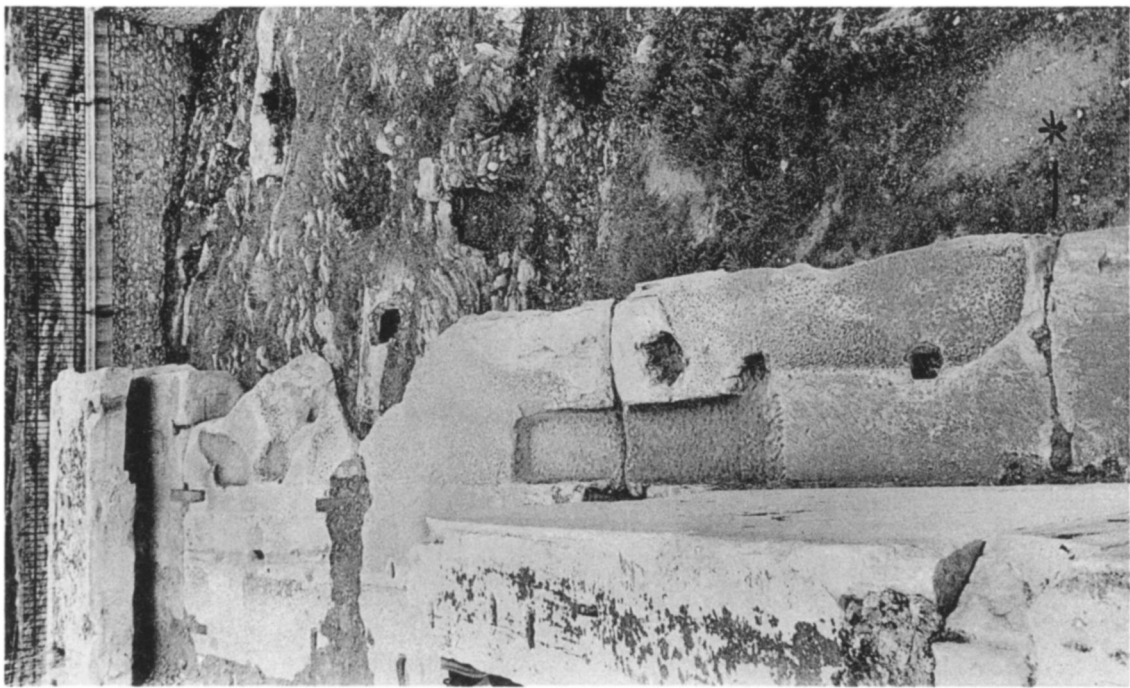


1-2. Head of Akroterion F

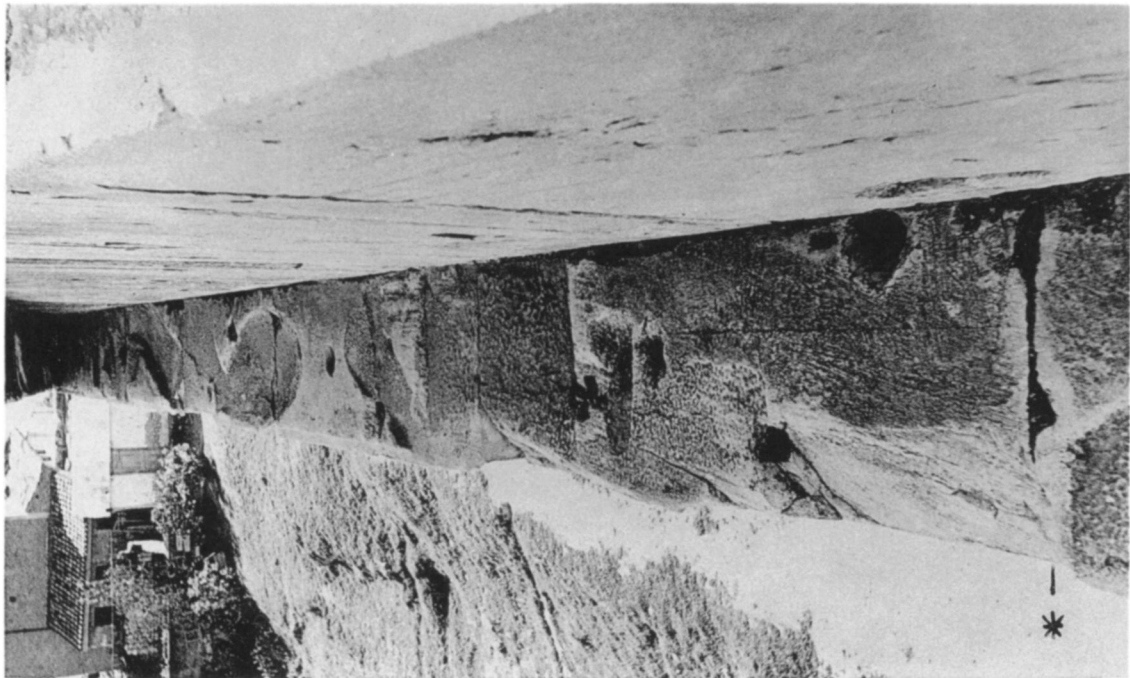


3-4. Head of Lapith from Parthenon Metope South IV

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION

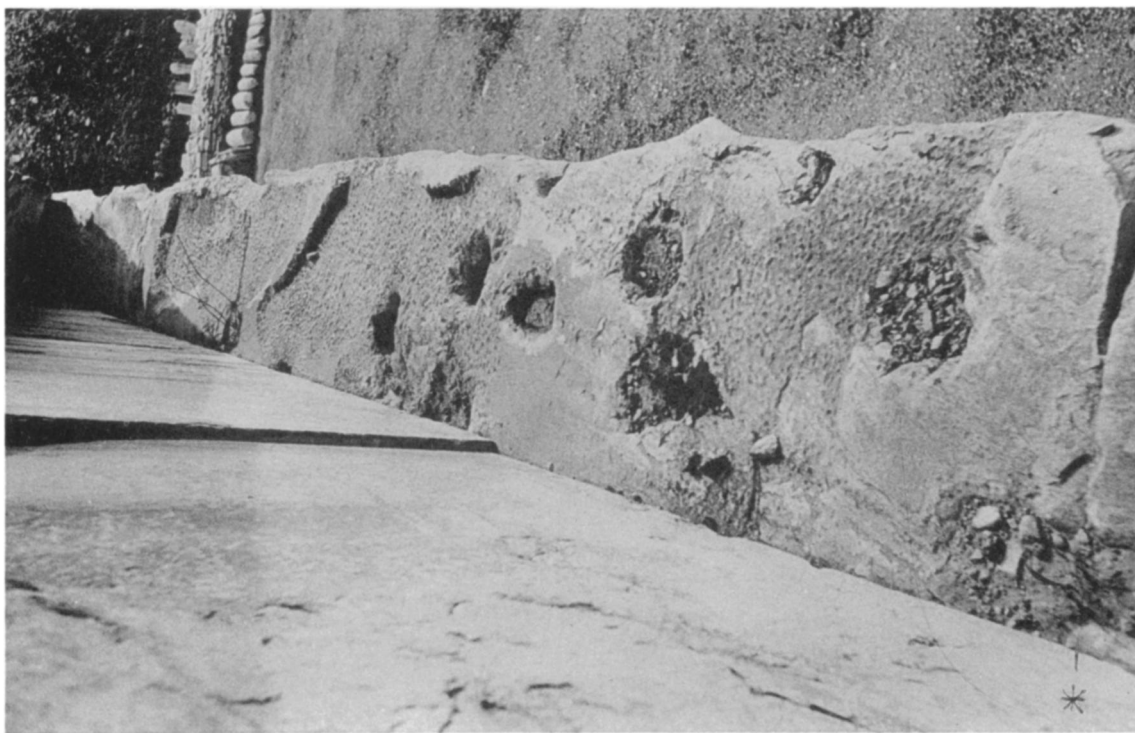


1. Floor of East Pediment, Right Wing



2. Floor of East Pediment, Left Wing

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION

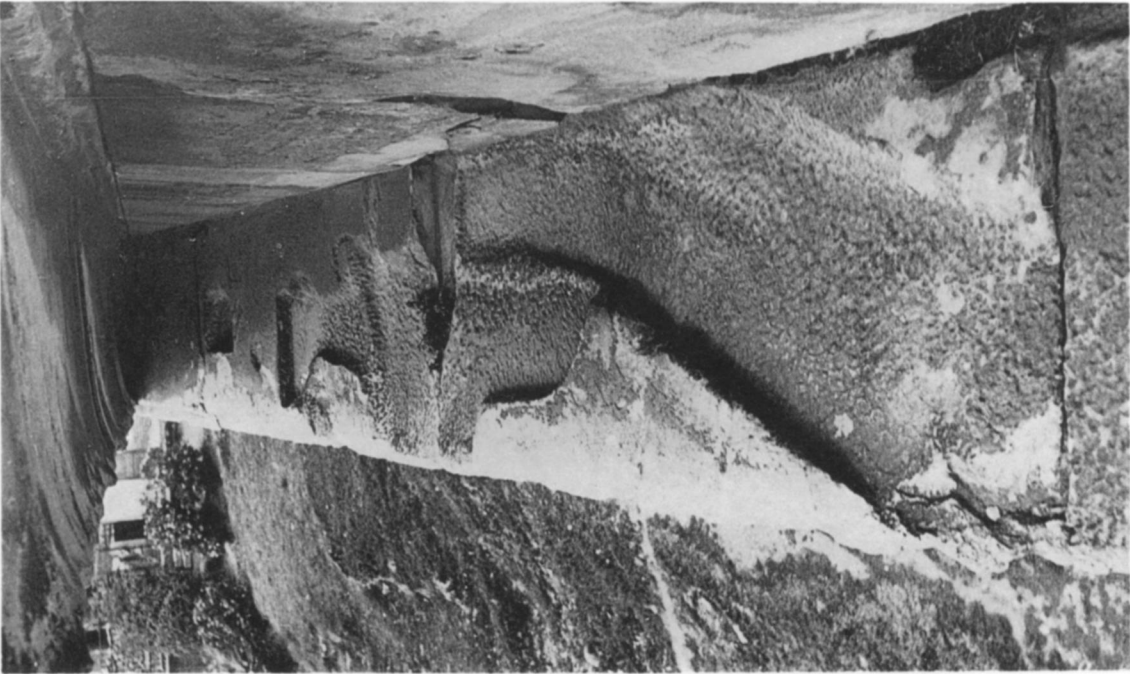


1. Floor of West Pediment, Right Wing

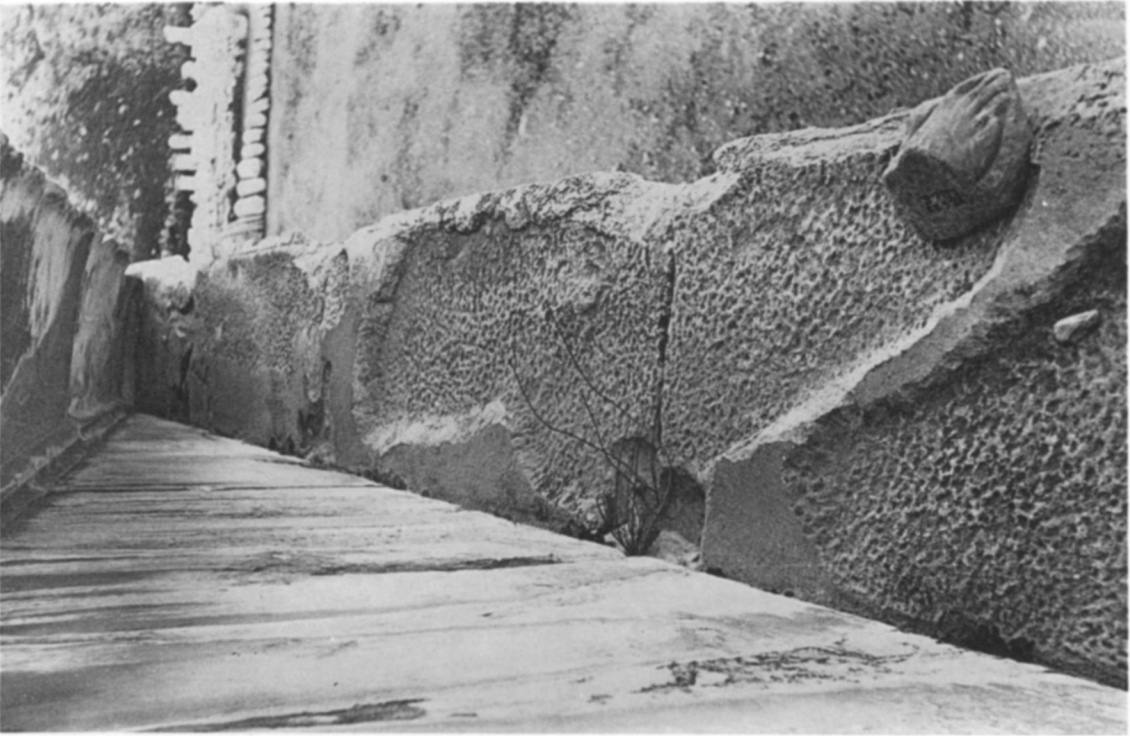


2. Floor of West Pediment, Left Wing

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION

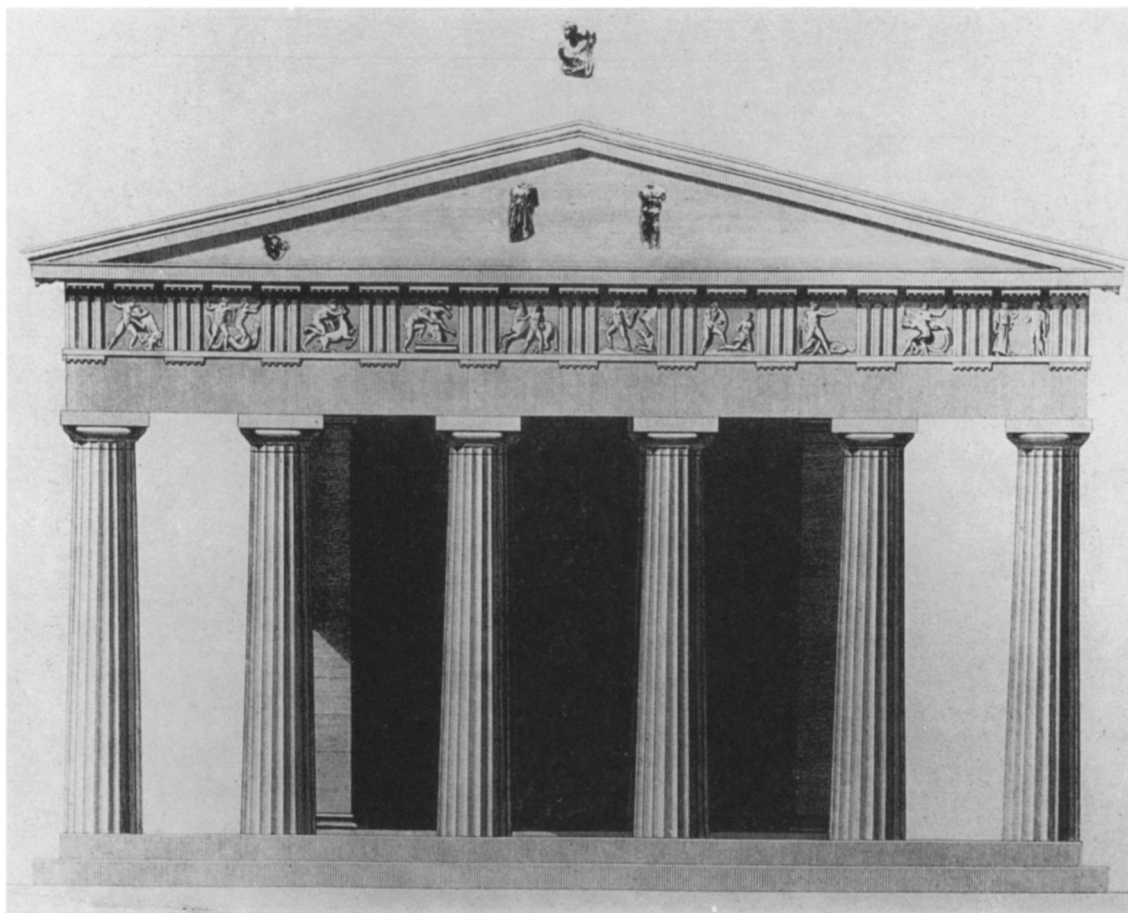


1. Floor of East Pediment, extreme Left Wing



2. Floor of West Pediment, Fragment E in position

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



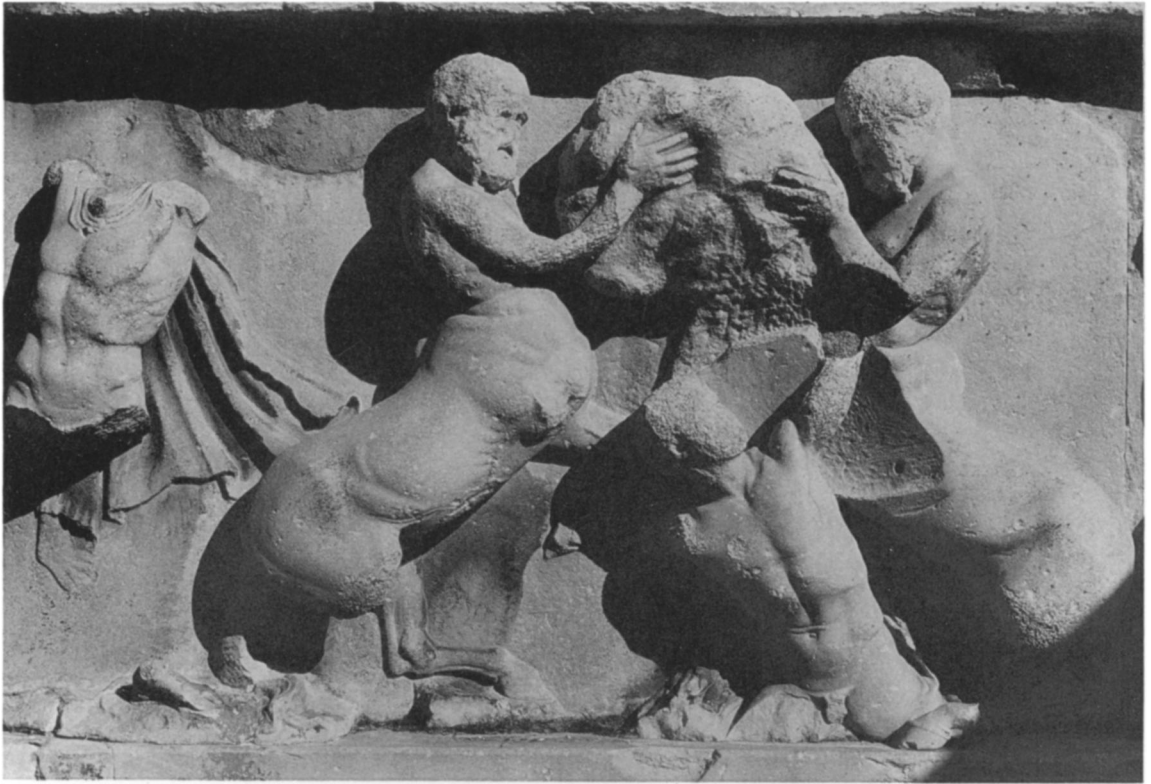
1. East Façade: Surviving Marbles imposed on Elevation by Stuart and Revett (*Antiquities of Athens*, vol. III, ch. I, pl. III)



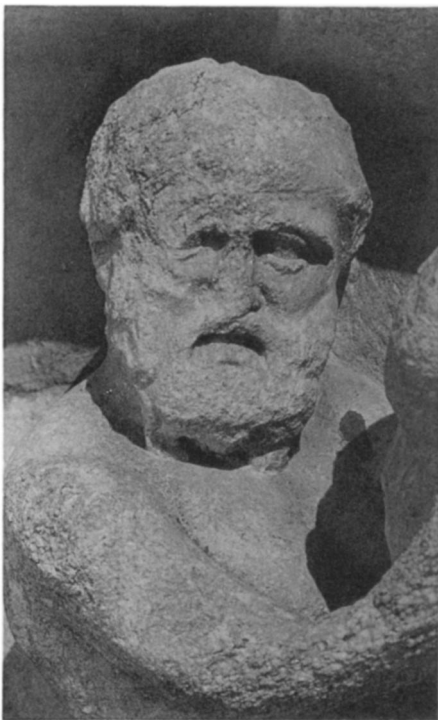
2. Terracotta in Sabouroff Collection



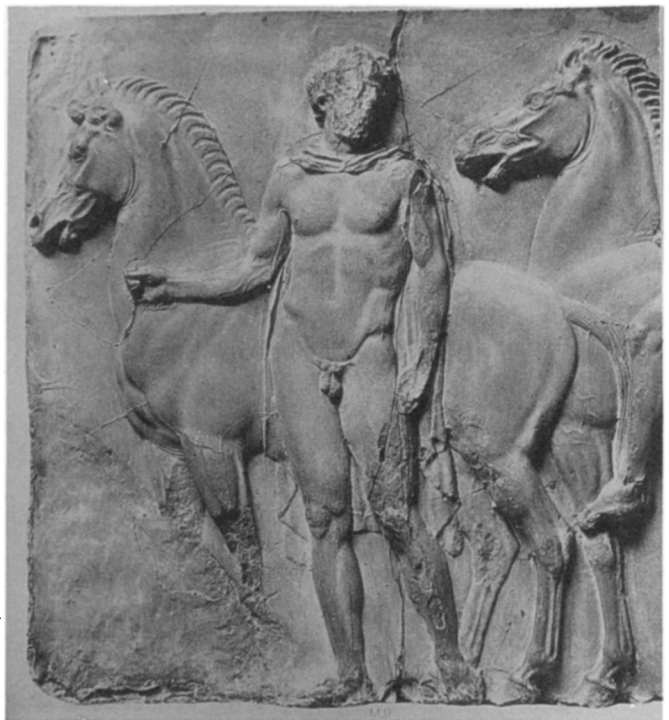
3. Cuttings for Tree and Serpent in East Pediment



1. Centauroomachy from West Frieze of Hephaisteion

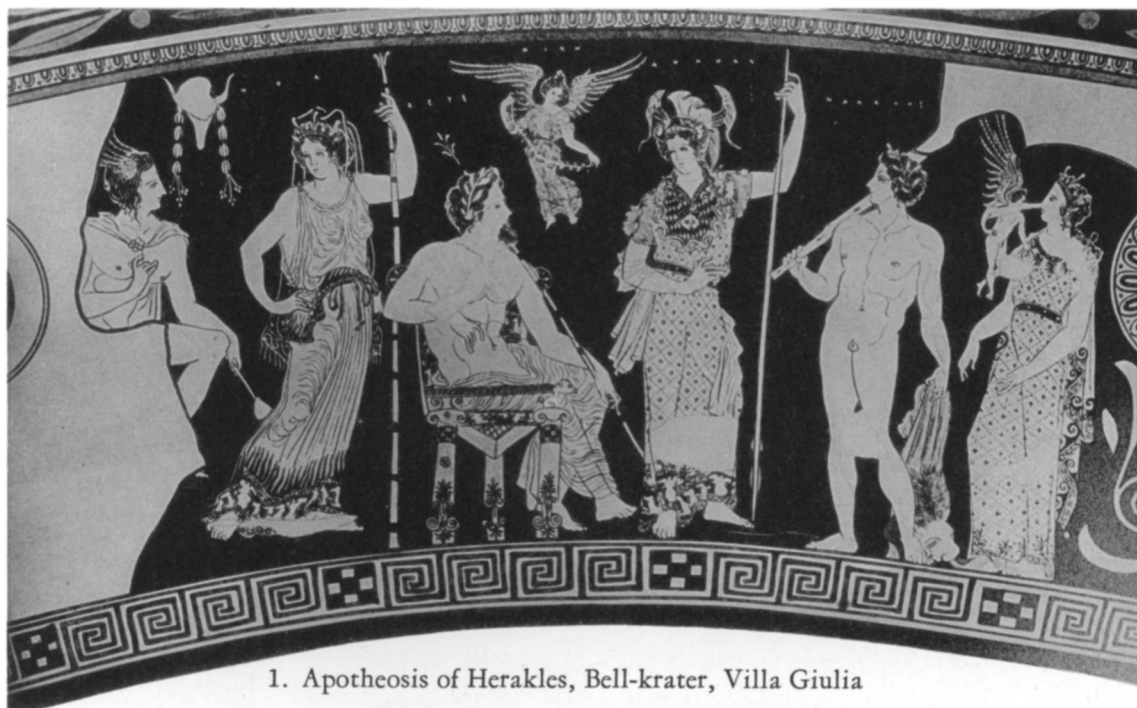


2. Centaur West Frieze

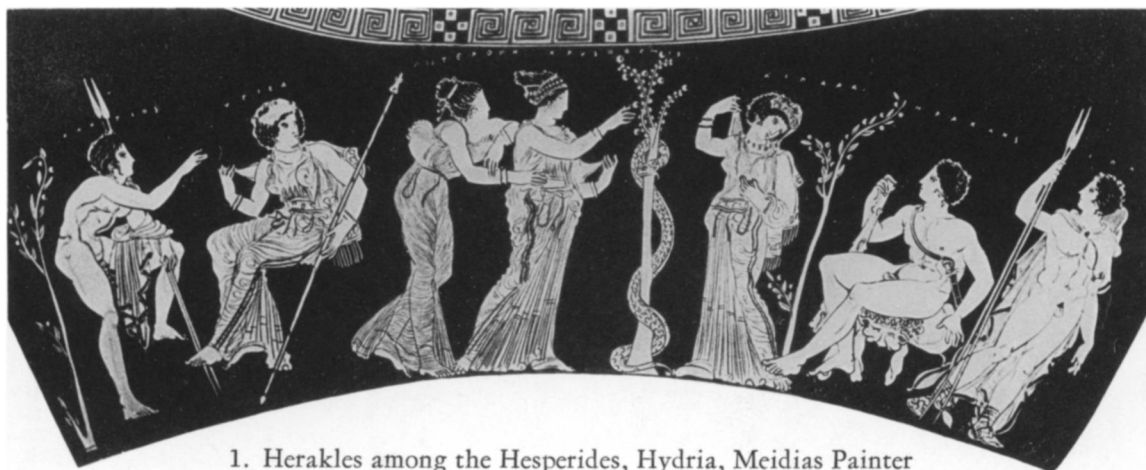


3. Parthenon West Frieze (M 9)

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



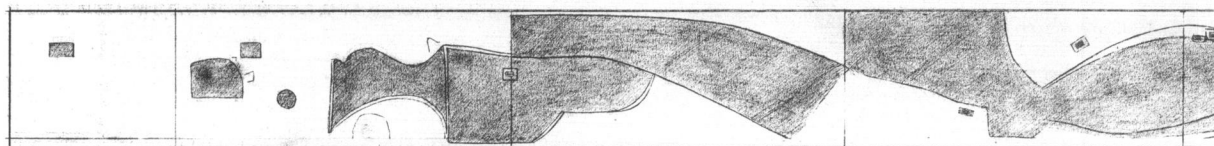
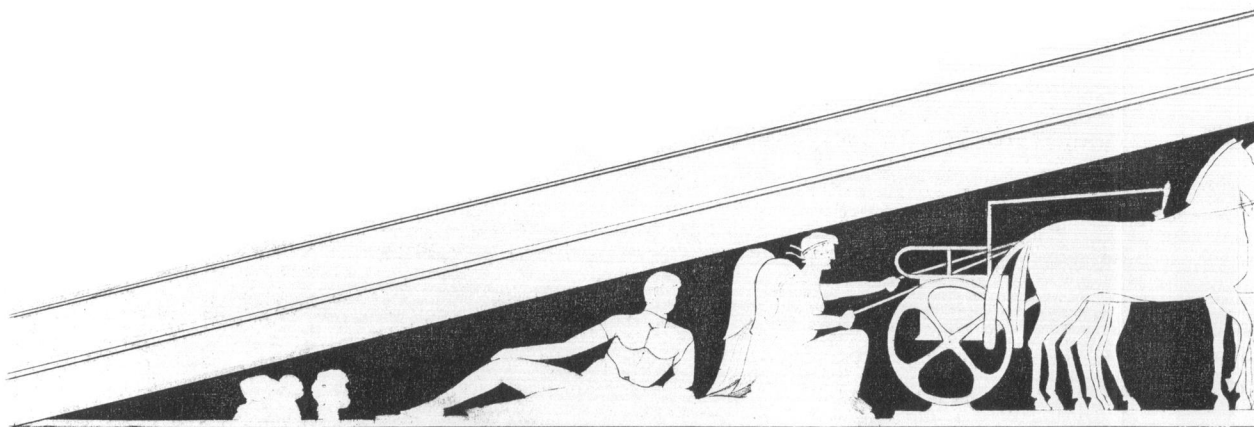
H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION

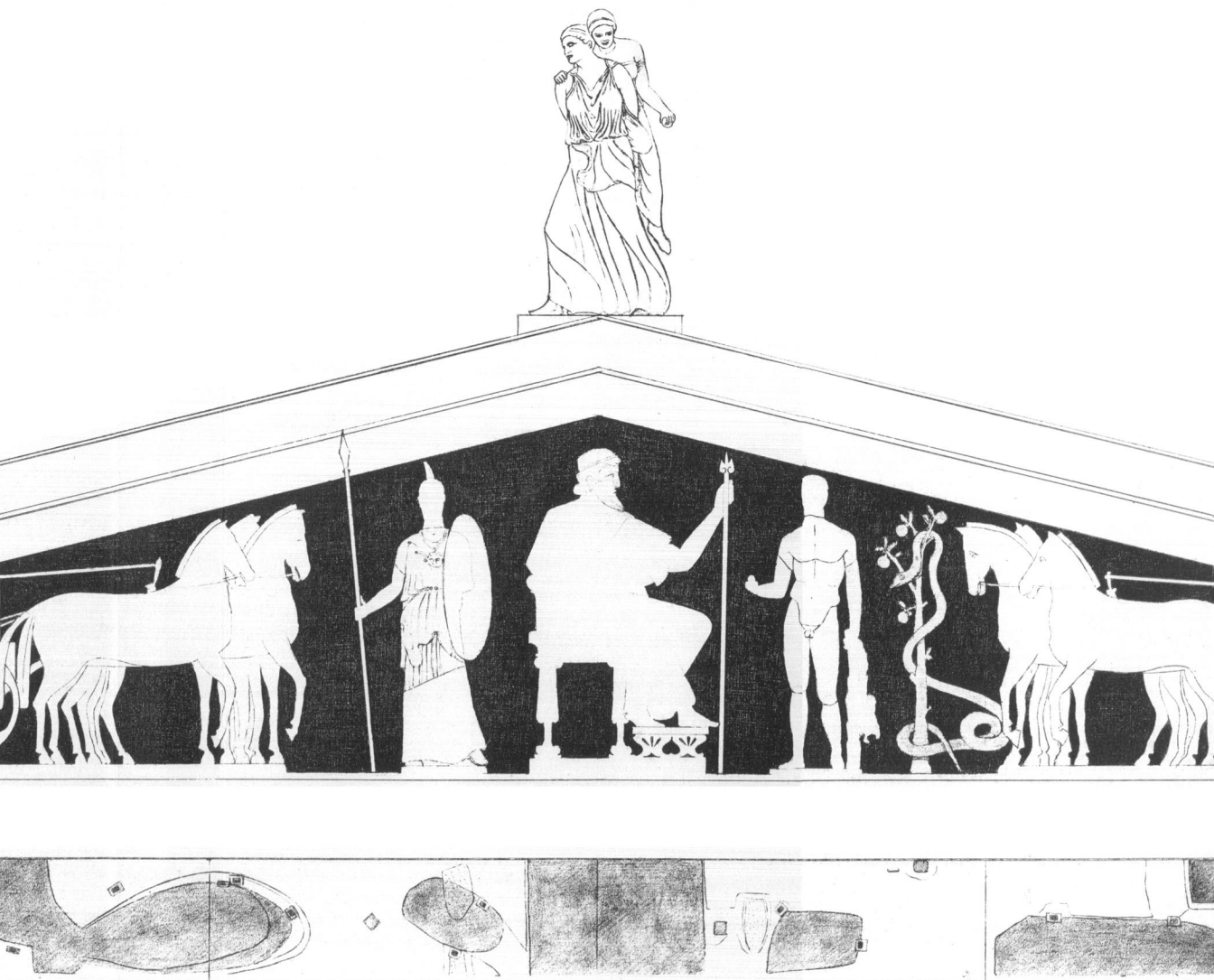


1. Herakles among the Hesperides, Hydria, Meidias Painter



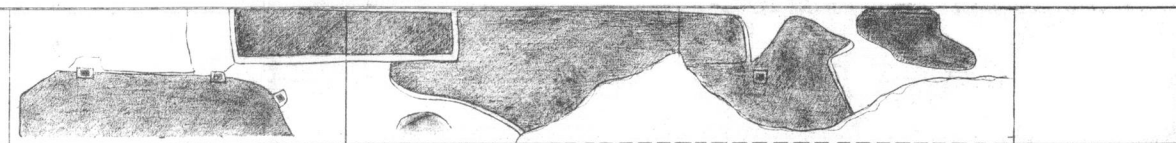
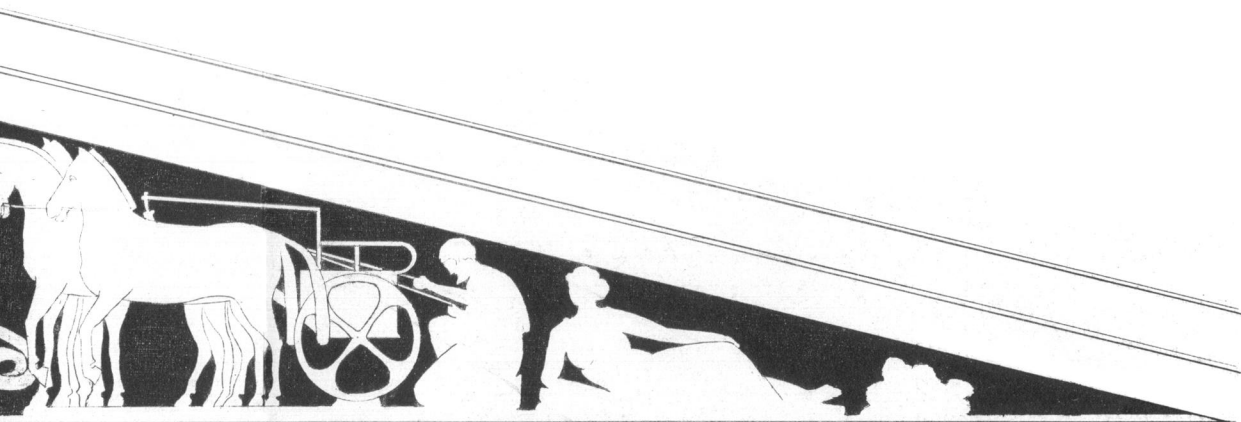
2. Herakles among the Hesperides, Pelike, Metropolitan Museum





East Pediment, restored (scale 1:30)

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



J.T.
1949



1. Herakles among the Hesperides, Hydria from Cyrene



2. Hesperides Metope, Hephaisteion East Façade