

THE SCULPTURES OF THE HEPHAISTEION

III. THE PEDIMENTS, AKROTERIA AND CULT IMAGES

(PLATES 33–35)

PREFACE

AS in the preceding two sections of this article (*Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 210–235) references to other publications for textual, bibliographical and illustrative material have been limited as far as possible to four sources which are cited parenthetically in the text by the author's last name followed by page and/or plate number. These are:

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

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

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

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

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

A. THE PEDIMENTS

BASIC DATA

Until recent years it was believed that the pedimental sculptures of the Hephaisteion whose existence is attested by the cuttings on the floors of the tympana had been removed in antiquity by rapacious Romans (Thompson, pp. 230, 231). Among the countless sculptural fragments unearthed by the Agora excavations five pieces have been identified as belonging to the missing groups,¹ and all of these because of their scale and their materials are likely candidates (Thompson, pp. 252 f.). The three largest, an Athena and two male figures, one standing and one reclining, are very promising ones indeed (Pls. 33, a; 34, a-c; 35, a). One other small fragment is of Parian marble, the material from which the metopes and friezes are carved, and it has been assigned to the west pediment. These under discussion are of Pentelic.

STYLE

The mannerisms of the torso of Athena (Pl. 34, c) relate to the innovations of the Parthenon and do not go beyond them. Her *contrapposto* gives her a lively air

¹ Since 1949 several other unpublished small fragments have been assigned to one or the other pediment. Like their predecessors some are of Parian, others of Pentelic, marble.

controlled by the heaviness of her chiton which follows, in the upper part, the lines of her anatomy with no more ardor than that of her counterparts on both the Parthenon and Hephaisteion friezes. The fullness over the right hip reminds one of the nameless goddess facing Athena on north metope XXXII of the Parthenon (Smith, pl. 25, 1), and, as a stamp of origin, retains the pie-crust edge. Multiple flowing folds down the right side of the figure appear to derive from the type of the Athena Parthenos as seen in the Varvakeion copy (Richter, figs. 600, 599). There is no indication of a date later than the original Parthenos.

The male figure, here identified as Hephaistos (Pls. 33, a; 34, a, b; below, pp. 96-97) is so prophetic in style as to demand a search far down into the fourth century to discover a good three-dimensional parallel. The relatively slender body with the long hips and thighs and the forward roll of the shoulders find their best counterparts no earlier than the Agias at Delphi (Pl. 33, b), dated in the thirties of that century. But one has to look no further back in time or space than the fourth slab of the Hephaisteion's east frieze to find these identical features firmly pronounced. The long, prominent muscles of the lower back and the narrow buttocks (Pl. 34, b), even the forward thrust of belly and shoulders, so much the trademarks of Lysippos, are already formed. Similarly the muscular definition, admirably caught by Miss Frantz on Plate 34, a, is only feebly suggested on the most advanced of the Parthenon's west pedimental sculptures (cf. Smith, pl. 10, 1, 2); and the detail of the chest, especially in the prominence of the juncture of the second rib with the sternum, is rare in the fifth century but a commonplace later. These observations, coupled with the vertical profile line of chest and abdomen that the forward motion of the major joints imposes on the whole, give to the Hephaistos the full promise of the late fourth century, and, through Lysippos, the Hellenistic Age.

The third surviving fragment (Pl. 35, a), a reclining male, is of the same scale as the other two. For this reason, even if he be only a spectator (Thompson, p. 244), he is certainly a god. Thompson has noted the marked similarity in the modelling of this figure and the standing male, here identified as Hephaistos. The only apparent difference is in the scale of the musculature which suggests that this figure represents Herakles (below, p. 97).

SUBJECT

Bruno Sauer, without benefit of the above mentioned fragments, restored the Birth of Erichthonios in the east pediment and Hephaistos before Thetis in the west.² Thompson, though not naming a subject for the west group,³ reconstructed the eastern pediment as containing the Apotheosis of Herakles (pp. 243 ff.). The evidence is meager in any case; but what there is of it, coupled with what is known or may be

² *Das sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck*, 1899, pp. 23 ff.

³ Miss Harrison, *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, p. 178, suggests a centauromachy.

surmised of fifth century choice in pedimental subjects, strongly suggests a different conclusion.

Although many fragments of pedimental sculpture exist from the fifth and fourth centuries, we rarely have a specific indication as to what prompted the choice of subject. The only literary reference that might be helpful is that of Pausanias who, speaking of the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, remarks: "the figures in the back gable are by Alkamenes, a contemporary of Pheidias, and only second to him as a sculptor. His work in the gable represents the battle of the Lapiths with the Centaurs at the wedding of Pirithous. . . . Alkamenes, I think, represented this scene because he had learned from Homer that Pirithous was a son of Zeus, and because he knew that Theseus was a great grandson of Pelops."⁴ In other words this was not the subject he would have expected, and thus he felt obliged to find a remote genealogical explanation.⁵ His confusion implies that certain types of subject were normal in Greek pediments of the fifth and fourth centuries; and from surviving examples and/or records it is not difficult to tabulate what these were:

<i>Temple</i>	<i>East Pediment</i>	<i>West Pediment</i>
	Fifth Century	
Zeus at Olympia	Chariot Race of Oinomaos	Centauromachy
Parthenon	Birth of Athena	Contest of Athena and Poseidon
	Fourth Century	
Apollo at Delphi	Apollo, Artemis, Leto, Muses	Dionysos and the Thyiades
Athena Alea at Tegea	The Arkadian Boar Hunt	Telephos and Achilles

In three cases out of four the east pediment was associated with the cult deity. In three cases out of four the west pediment was concerned with a local legend as was also the east composition on the Temple of Zeus. Hence Pausanias' great surprise at finding on the west pediment at Olympia a legend relating neither to Zeus nor to the Altis, even to Elis.

Thus the search for a likely subject for the east pediment of the Hephaisteion should logically begin with one or the other of these two types, preferably with one concerning Hephaistos himself. The almost certain presence of Athena should help. We should, therefore, review the Hephaistos legends, especially those that place a sometimes cross-grained or comic deity in a good light and, secondarily, one that includes Athena. It could hardly have been the tale of his cuckolding by Ares, nor his

⁴ V, 10, 8.

⁵ See *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 301 f.

drunken arrival on Olympos to free his queenly mother from her ungainly discomfiture in his magic chair. The story of the Birth of Erichthonios, probably represented on the pedestal of the cult images, does him scant credit even though it includes Athena. Of all these episodes in which he and his half sister appear together the one that reflects equal honor on them both and gives him most credit as a creative artisan is the Birth of Athena from the Head of Zeus.

May we set aside for a moment the inevitable chorus of objection, and examine the hypothesis on its own merits. Let us put it in the balance and see how the existing fragments of evidence even out. We have the torso of an Athena to place in the one scale and the torso of a male figure which could be Hephaistos to set in the other. We must not overlook the third major fragment, a reclining male torso, very like in style to the standing statue except that its musculature is fuller and more pronounced. This could be Herakles.

If the Hephaistos stood to the spectator's left of the central position, and this seems likely from the turn of the neck, then the only possible position for the Athena is on the right, her place on the Madrid Puteal. The cuttings on the pediment floor can neither affirm nor deny this allocation since the lower part of both figures is missing and any restoration of their plinths is highly conjectural. That the rectangular indication in the center was intended for an enthroned Zeus seems both likely and appropriate. If the deep cutting to the right of our Athena is indeed intended for a tree, her olive would certainly be appropriate. Further than this it is hardly profitable to pursue the tantalizing indications of the pediment floor until (hopefully) more sculptured fragments are identified.

The choice of the Birth of Athena for the Hephaisteion pediment will at once invite the objection that the subject had already been used on the Parthenon. This would not have been a serious consideration for the designer of the Hephaisteion who, in the friezes, adopted one theme and many single figures and groups from the earlier monument. To argue that so important a theme for Athens could have been used only once is to deny that Sophokles and Euripides could have written their "Elektras" since Aischylos had already told the story in his "Choephoroi."

SUMMARY

1. The material of the pedimental sculptures, largely Pentelic marble, differs from that of the metopes and friezes.
2. The figure of Athena has close affinities to the sculptures of the Parthenon.
3. The figures of Hephaistos and Herakles find their best parallels in the figures of the east frieze of the Hephaisteion and in late fourth century sculpture.
4. Because the mixture of styles accords so well with the friezes of the Hephaisteion the date appears to be late in the fifth century.

B. THE AKROTERIA

BASIC DATA

Only one possible candidate for an akroterion has been presented (Thompson, pp. 247-250). It consists of a fragmentary *ephedrismos* group of two women carved in Parian marble on a scale which is perhaps suitable for a position at the peak of the gable (Pl. 35, c).

STYLE

The drapery of the lower woman resembles that of the female divinities of the east frieze and of the pedimental Athena. The upper is clad in a chiton which, for all its lack of skill, is carved in the revealing style of the Nike Temple Parapet, a mode completely ignored in all the other sculptures associated with the building. This style does not begin to appear on datable monuments earlier than the east frieze of the Nike Temple which we have already seen must post-date 432. The single surviving head, though closer to that of the fallen Lapith on the Hephaisteion's west frieze (No. 18; *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pl. 81, b) than to the one on the Parthenon metope which Thompson selected for comparison, finds its nearest kinship in the smooth oval jaw and rather narrow eyes of the Bassae frieze (Richter, figs. 197, 198, 202, 298).

SUBJECT

The theme of the group has been interpreted as two Hesperids bringing the apple, missing in the northeast metope, to complete the Apotheosis of Herakles in the pediment below. Since this article proposes an entirely different pedimental subject, this identification seems out of the question (see Appendix III).

SUMMARY

1. The material agrees with that of the metopes and friezes, but differs from that of most of the figures assigned to the pediments.
2. The style of the drapery of the lower figure agrees with that of the other female figures associated with the building's frieze and pediment.
3. The style of the drapery of the upper figure suggests a later mode.
4. The head finds its best parallels after the Parthenon.
5. The subject seems difficult to associate with the building.

CONCLUSION

The date seems to conform to that here assigned to the friezes and east pediment of the building.

C. THE CULT IMAGES

It is known from Pausanias⁶ that the temple contained statues of both Athena and Hephaistos. The foundation for these appears to have reached the full width of the inner colonnades (Dinsmoor, pp. 68, 69, 73, 92, 108, 109 note 156).

Two blocks of blue Eleusinian limestone, probably from the base, were discovered by Orlandos in 1936 during the dismantling of the apse wall of the church (Pl. 35, b; Dinsmoor, pp. 105-110). Their material, common for bases in the Late Archaic and Transitional periods but ignored in the Parthenon,⁷ recalls that it was common in the fourth century. Its evocation of the post-Salamis era coincides neatly with the figures of Theseus in the friezes. One of the blocks (Pl. 35, b) carries on its finished face five rectangular cuttings evidently intended for the fastening of metal reliefs not unlike those on the frieze of the Erechtheion, dating after 409.

An inscription records payments between 421/420 and 416/415 for two large bronze statues and has been associated with the cult figures of Hephaistos and Athena (Dinsmoor, pp. 109, 110). It is likely that this is the case, although it should be noted that no mention is made of the sculptor (Appendix IV).

SUMMARY

1. The use of blue Eleusinian stone for the pedestal suggests a date either well before or well after the Parthenon.
2. An inscription, dating from the Peace of Nikias, has been associated on reasonable grounds with the making of the cult images.
3. A combination of these two clues, in conjunction with the other sculptural evidence afforded by the building, implies that the cult statues were completed and installed about 415 B.C.

APPENDIX I

IDENTIFICATION OF THE FIGURES

Standing male fragment, Hephaistos vs. Herakles:

The challenge to occupy the nearly central place on the pediment would normally be called no contest. Hephaistos was the butt of Olympian sarcasm. Herakles was a much more even match; in fact the odds should be reversed. Here is a temple dedicated to Hephaistos and known by his name only, although he shared it in some indeterminable sense with Athena, the patron goddess of Athens. This very proximity to her implies a shared importance, respect and responsibility. Hence one would expect him to play a leading role in this presentation (see above, pp. 93-94). Furthermore if, as seems to be the case (below) that Herakles is already in the pediment in another position, the winner must be declared by default.

The left arm of the Hephaistos, despite its losses, was certainly flexed at the elbow. The restoration given in *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949 (Thompson, p. 63) is certainly incorrect. Its motivation

⁶ I, 14, 6.

⁷ See *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 167 f.

could have been caused by holding a club. It happens to duplicate the action of the left arm of the Hephaistos on the Madrid Puteal (Pl. 33, c) to which figure its proportions, modelling and turn of head conform in a remarkable degree. And, after all, it is for Hephaistos that we are looking.

Resting male fragment, Herakles vs. "Spectator":

The extraordinary muscular bulk of the reclining fragment suggests Herakles, especially since it is so much greater than that of the standing, and more prominent, figure. The pose is familiar. One need only turn from Thompson, plate 49, 1 to plate 44, 1 in the same volume of *Hesperia* (XVIII, 1949) to find its duplicate. Thus it would appear that Herakles was an interested but non-participating onlooker at the central action. His position at the southern end of the design is appropriate since his principal shrine in Athens, as Alexikakos, lay to the south of the Hephaisteion in Melite.⁸

APPENDIX II

For the possible guidance of interested scholars, one point upon which Carpenter insists and which Thompson follows should be reassessed. Both place their central Zeus in a violent three-quarter position, thus allowing all the implied motion of the focal point to feed into one side of the composition and by raising the high back of the ornamental throne block all intercourse with the other. Through the Temple of Zeus at Olympia the standard practice of pedimental composition was to place a single figure impartially in the center. Beginning with the west pediment of the Parthenon the design tended to divide the central place equally between two figures. In no known instance of post-archaic sculpture was the design abruptly bisected. In the east pediments of both the Parthenon and the Hephaisteion the surviving cuttings for the central figure indicate a neat frontality for the main figure.

Carpenter argued that a full-face statue of Zeus in the Parthenon gable would have projected beyond the pedimental floor, and that this was against the rules of the game. In so doing he ignored the still evident projection of several surviving figures in the east pediment. Two small seated figures from the frieze of the Erechtheion⁹ show that their sculptor not only foreshortened them, but also placed the buttocks higher than the knees, thereby acknowledging his debt to previous sculptors who had worked out this useful formula for seated colossi or normal figures to be seen from below. This latter mannerism is true of all the seated figures in the Hephaisteion's east frieze, although being in side view in relief it was quite unnecessary except as lending animation to the groups. Michelangelo, drawing on such ancient poses, remade Italian and European art for centuries.

APPENDIX III

THE EPHEDRISMOS GROUP

The original reconstruction of the east pediment as representing the Apotheosis of Herakles seems to have rested on the interlocking of various bits of evidence, as must any such hypothesis. The links originally proposed consisted firstly of the northeast metope of the eastern series in which a Hesperid and Herakles exchanged two apples. This Hesperid now appears to be Athena. Secondly, the standing male figure in the east pediment was identified as Herakles, although as hopefully demonstrated above (pp. 92-94, 96) he is actually Hephaistos with Herakles occupying a minor role. Thirdly, the Ephedrismos was identified as the two remaining Hesperids bringing in the remaining apple to the Triumph of Herakles. But if we accept Athena in the metope and Hephaistos in the pediment, it is hard for the pick-a-back sisters to continue in their joint role.

At the same time it is difficult to reject them out of hand from playing any part in the

⁸ On the location of this sanctuary see R. E. Wycherley, *A.J.A.*, LXIII, 1959, pp. 67, 68.

⁹ Paton and others, *The Erechtheum*, fig. 152; Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 349, fig. 20.

Hephaisteion's decoration. It is, of course, perfectly possible for them to have been a mere votive monument as Dinsmoor suggests (p. 122). This would explain their weathering. But the coincidence of their scale, material, and paradoxical style makes it difficult to dismiss them outright. There is no precedent for forcing them into the subject matter below them if they were akroteria. Might they have been placed over the west pediment? Their material might suggest that position. Their subject remains a provocation.

APPENDIX IV

It is often said that Alkamenes was the sculptor of the cult images.¹⁰ Although this attribution involves no apparent chronological difficulty, there is no evidence for the direct assumption. The argument is similar to that so long used to establish the style of Lysippos:

- a. Lysippos made an Apoxyomenos;
- b. There is a statue of an Apoxyomenos in the Vatican; ergo:
- c. The Vatican Apoxyomenos represents the style of Lysippos.

One needs only to rephrase this formula to read:

- a. Alkamenes made a statue of Hephaistos;
- b. A statue of Hephaistos stood in the Hephaisteion; ergo:
- c. Alkamenes made the statues of Hephaistos and Athena in the Hephaisteion.

The only direct ancient reference to the cult images is made by Pausanias¹¹ who states: "Knowing the story about Erichthonios I was not surprised that an image of Athena stood beside Hephaistos; but observing that Athena had blue eyes, I recognized the Libyan version of the myth."

IV. THE BUILDING

PREFACE

The three preceding sections of this discussion (*Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 210-235; above, pp. 91-98) have examined in detail the sculptures of the temple with the primary purpose of determining their dates. Having reached the conclusion that the metopes immediately precede work on the Parthenon, and that the other carvings cannot demonstrably be earlier than the Peace of Nikias, it is natural to turn to the building itself to see if it offers any comparable evidence. The minute complexities of Periklean architecture are definitely not within the scope of this writer's competence; but the building itself offers many obvious discrepancies which to this unprejudiced observer are certainly curious and hopefully pertinent.

Parenthetical references in the text are limited as before to Dinsmoor's *Observations on the Hephaisteion*, *Hesperia*, Supplement V, and to the three earlier articles in this series in *Hesperia*. All other sources are cited in footnotes in the usual way. These have been kept to a minimum since the Dinsmoor study contains a nearly complete bibliography.

¹⁰ Dinsmoor, p. 106; and especially S. Papaspyrida-Karusu, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXIX-LXX, 1954-1955, pp. 67-94.

¹¹ I, 14, 6.

I. THE VISIBLE EVIDENCE

The Hephaisteion stands facing east almost on the brink of the sharply sloping Kolonos Agoraios, the flat-topped ridge that forms the western edge of the Athenian Agora. Even though imposing structures later fringed it below and crowded its main approach, it remained in antiquity as it had been intended from the start as the structure dominating the commercial and political heart of the city of Athens.

It was begun about the middle of the fifth century, in 449 precisely if one accepts Dinsmoor's date (p. 153), the first unit in Perikles' plan for rebuilding the monuments destroyed by the Persians. Its exterior has survived nearly two and a half millenia with little outward damage aside from the inevitable wear by man and the elements.

As one walks about it there is nothing unusual about the relationships of its length and breadth whether one compares it with the Parthenon or with the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (Fig. 1, A). Viewed vertically it presents two interesting features:

1. The columns are proportionately leaner than those of the Parthenon, suggesting a later date, while the entablature is heavier, implying an earlier.

2. The bottom step of the stereobate is of a local limestone, bluish in tone when viewed on the north side where the adhesive red-to-buff Attic soil is kept scoured away by the wind. The use of this contrasting material could be interpreted as an imitation of the Older Parthenon, ruined a generation before 450 (Dinsmoor, p. 37; or as a cheap imitation of the blue-black Eleusinian limestone made popular by Mnesikles in the post-Parthenon Propylaia?).

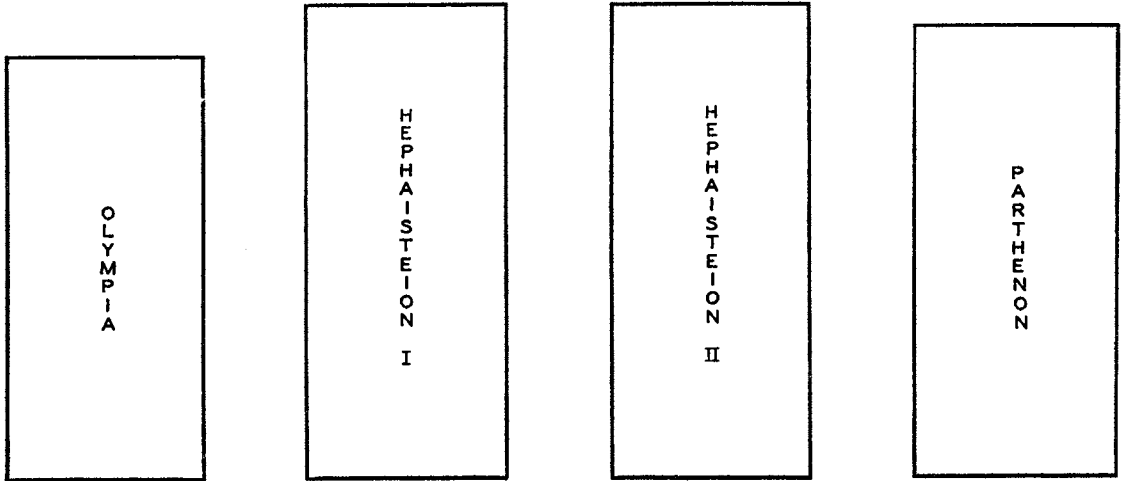
The carved metopes are concentrated on the eastern end, ten across the façade and four down each of the flanks. This arrangement has no parallel. The style of the reliefs is mid fifth century. The order of the events they depict is peculiar.

Step inside the pteroma and look about. The alignment of the antae of the pronaos with the third flank columns of the peristyle is a unique feature at this date. So is the continuous Ionic frieze stretching across the opisthodomos and, more spectacularly, its counterpart over the pronaos which springs across the pteroma to bed against the inner frieze of the peristyle.

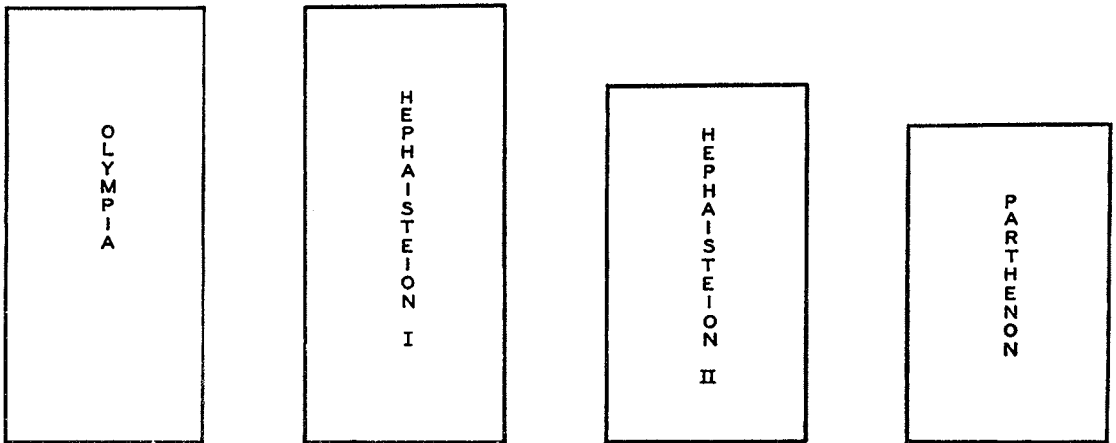
The pronaos and the opisthodomos are deep, strikingly unlike the shallow vestibules of the Parthenon, more akin to the generous antechambers of the Temple of Zeus. The pronaos is markedly the more spacious, an unusual feature in the first half of the fifth century but common in the fourth.

The western cross wall and the recesses for the blocks of the eastern cross wall of the cella (Dinsmoor, figs. 31, 36) mark off a relatively broad and shallow chamber much more in keeping with the proportions of the Parthenon than with earlier temples (Fig. 1, B).

The mouldings throughout up to and including the horizontal geison are all of a mid fifth century character.



A.



B.

FIG. 1. A. Stylobate Proportions; B. Cella Proportions.

Only the very specialized eye will note that while the superstructure of the temple is of Pentelic marble in much the greater part, the sculptured metopes and the inner friezes of the building are of imported Parian marble, a material favored throughout the first half of the fifth century for architectural sculpture but, after the Parthenon, quite out of favor. A visit to the storerooms of the museum in the Stoa of Attalos will show that the potential candidates for the figures of the west pediment are also of this material while those attributed to the east are of Pentelic.

A trip by ladder to the upper parts of the entablature will be rewarded by the view of bits of this expensive Parian used indiscriminately in architectural construction and of the raking geison which is certainly to be dated a full quarter century after its horizontal counterpart below.¹²

With this curious fact in mind one will recall that the carving of the Parian metopes is surely to be dated just before those of the Parthenon while the Parian friezes, like the Pentelic east pediment figures, find their best analogies midway in or even later than the Peloponnesian War. Add to this the scanty evidence of the cult images. The external evidence points straight to a dichotomy in the temple's history at which juncture we must look to:

THE EVIDENCE OF THE EXCAVATIONS

In 1939 the interior fill of the building and the area surrounding it were excavated with meticulous care (Dinsmoor, pp. 3-5). Earlier explorers had already cleared what remained in the exterior footing trench, and Christian tombs had inexorably erased every trace of ancient fill throughout all but the eastern part of the interior. Some scanty remains under the floor of the peristyle and the fill in adjacent pits outside supplemented the existing foundations to give a tantalizing series of clues to the history of the temple's construction. They may be summarized as follows:

The foundations of the peristyle were laid first as was customary. It is noteworthy that the bottom two courses on the west were placed well beyond the final line of the stereobate at this point.

The foundations for the inner building were laid after those of the peristyle (Dinsmoor, fig. 13). They originally defined a conservative style cella, rather long and narrow, with pronaos and opisthodomos of generous depth. Even at this phase, however, the pronaos antae were aligned with the third column of the flank peristylar colonnades.

At some time during the construction of the building several changes were made, some of which attest haste or economy or both. These include:

1. The positioning of the flank cella walls at the extreme outer limits of their foundations rather than on center.

¹² Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, p. 108, pl. LIII, 21, 22.

2. The eastward corbelling of the west peristyle foundation above the second course, an alteration so radical that no part of the weight of the columns is borne by the bottom two tiers of blocks.

3. The eastward corbelling of the west cella wall foundation, the successive overhangs propped up in rather haphazard fashion.

4. The westward resetting of the east cella wall foundations, this change effected in two stages. Bed rock rises higher in this area and the adjustment was accomplished solidly.

Only one specific indication of date was unearthed. In ancient pits and hollows to the south and west of the building quantities of working chips were discovered including scraps from the cutting of columns and a great deal of fragmentary pottery. Despite the humble nature of these finds they are important in two respects:

1. None of the pottery dates after 450 B.C. thus providing a *terminus post quem* for the original construction; and

2. The mass of chipped marble is evidence that a great deal of work was done at this early date.

SUMMARY

Consolidating this scattered evidence we may conclude that the building was started about 450 B.C., probably in 449 as Dinsmoor proposes (p. 153), as a Doric temple-in-antis with conservative proportions in plan but mixed advanced and reactionary relationships in its elevation. To this original design we may ascribe the location of the friezes and their material though not their carved designs, although the metopes were cut at this time.

And just as surely we may assert that the final touches were made a generation later as evidenced by the work on the friezes, the sculptures of the east pediment, the topmost mouldings of the temple and the epigraphical record of the modelling of the cult image.

Precisely when the plan of the cella was altered we shall probably never know. This writer, after years of doubt, has finally concluded that the clinching proof rests in the early character of the wall mouldings and has come to agree with Dinsmoor (p. 154) that the change was made not very long after the foundations were first laid. Yet these changes were accomplished by such makeshift expedients that they remain intriguing. The ensuing hypothetical explanation is only one, but it remains:

A POSSIBLE RECONSTRUCTION

The background of the Periklean program has its roots in 479 B.C. when the victorious Greeks standing in front of the battlefield of Plataia and surrounded by mountains of booty solemnly swore never to rebuild the sanctuaries that the Persians had destroyed but to leave them in ruins as perpetual reminders of barbarian ferocity.

In one respect this oath was a difficult one for Athens whose territory had been utterly devastated, but in another it was a boon since it allowed the city to apply all the funds that would ordinarily have been diverted to pious reconstruction toward the swift recovery of the state's economy.

Thus all through the generation when Athens was building the richest and most powerful Greek empire before Alexander, she herself presented a curious spectacle of lavishness abroad and austerity at home. From her portion of the spoils she contributed her share to the erection of the Serpent Column at Delphi and the colossal Zeus at Olympia. More than this she erected the Stoa at Delphi to display some of the trophies taken from the Persians and, in the same sanctuary, chose Pheidias to model thirteen large bronze figures as a memorial to Marathon.

Meanwhile the Athenian citizen carried out his business literally amid the cinders and burned wood of his most sacred shrines. He had no compunctions about reusing such materials as were serviceable as witnesses the wall of Themistokles on the Acropolis or (probably) the rebuilding of the secular part of the Old Temple of Athena since the state's growing treasure had to be housed. But the rest of that building and the remains of the unfinished Older Parthenon went on smelling of char after every winter rain and sending up with every summer whirlwind little funnels of ash over the heart of the city. To the best of our knowledge it was twenty years before the government undertook any major building and this was the Stoa Poikile, a secular structure of poros, not marble.

Similarly, for home consumption, the state commissioned only the new bronze statues of the Tyrannicides to replace the original group that the Persians had transported from the Agora to Susa. This was in 477. It was twenty years more before they let a second contract, this time to Pheidias for the colossal bronze Athena Promachos; and it is characteristic of the local state of mind that the payments were distributed over nine years, the identical time it took, a decade later, virtually to complete the Parthenon, image and all.

This paucity of local orders meant, of course, that the best Athenian artists of all kinds, lacking employment at home, scattered to the four winds to find it. Except for Pheidias and his entourage¹³ we have few clues to their whereabouts. Athens became a mercantile state of prime importance, and her industries filled the banks of oars and the purses of the oarsmen while the city filled its own coffers and those of its League. Except for Pheidias' splendid Marathon Memorial at Delphi¹⁴ and the Plataian Zeus at Olympia, the future arbiter of the Hellenic arts in a crucial generation went into virtual retirement as a patron.

This was the Athenian picture when Perikles, assured of his post as head of state, felt sufficiently secure to project his program of rebuilding Athens. He had

¹³ "Pheidias and Olympia," *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 314 ff.

¹⁴ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 333-334.

no trusteeship of tradition and he had no backlog of artists of any kind to drive him in the direction his imagination led. The inspiration, as far as we know, was his and his alone; and the immediate local tradition was entirely against him.

In the Periklean head, which the comic poets enjoyed caricaturing, there was space for a major concept and for the problems it might raise. These latter were multiple but the contents of the noble skull were equal to them.

The first was simply the matter of money. It has long since been conceded that the best way to find the practical means is to create a desire for them. Perikles chose the other method, of supplying the means and then directing their application. In 454 he transferred the treasury of the Allies from Delos to Athens. This measure automatically raised cries of mistrust from the islands and Ionia. He let the cries rust slowly on their hinges for five years without provocation. Then he abrogated the Treaty of Plataia and without delay instituted a program for the glorification of Athens.

Perikles had not only the very real clamor of the Allies over the removal of the treasury to consider. There was another problem at home. In 449 no powerful citizen could challenge his supremacy, but thousands of Athenians born and bred in the tradition of Attic austerity had seen Athens grow exceedingly great through the rigid abnegations of a generation fostered by Kimon, son of Miltiades. Kimon might have been ostracized and later granted a hero's death in battle, but there could be no doubt that his precepts of self-denial had brought the state from ruins to security. The gods were benign in their mantles of sackcloth and ash. Leave them there!

The men of Marathon were growing old. Their places were taken with eager and ambitious citizens, reared in the concept of the veterans of the final skirmishes against the Persians, viewers of Ionian luxury. It was not difficult for Perikles to persuade these to recreate in Athens the central image of the Hellenic world.

Nevertheless Perikles moved as delicately as most present-day presidential candidates into the area of domestic affairs. The abrogation of the Oath of Plataia might raise a croak from a veteran's throat, but the implied release from shackles that a younger man no longer understood was certain to drown it in an accolade. Still Perikles was cautious. It was one thing to talk about building and quite another to decide which building. The Acropolis was the obvious spot but also the most sensitive, so he deftly began with another.

His choice of the Hephaisteion provides a clue to his amazing governorship of Athens. There, on the brink of the Kolonos Agoraios, he could set up a monument in full view of citizen and visitor alike that marked an old tradition of craftsmanship without necessarily replacing a venerated shrine (Dinsmoor, p. 127).

The building was planned to embody the richest evidence of Athenian tradition, conservatively in the Doric order, recalling piously the limestone step of the Older Parthenon and the full complement of carved metopes that had so long been Athens'

pride on its conspicuous Treasury at Delphi. It might also recall a long-lost shrine on the Acropolis in which the two artisan deities, Hephaistos and Athena, were equally honored (Dinsmoor, p. 127; Plato, *Kritias*, 112B). For an architect Perikles chose the only one who had been given a recent commission in Athens.¹⁵ He had no one else to turn to for his pioneer experiment after the long hiatus in Athenian public buildings. As supervisor for this building and as long-range planner for the whole program he named Pheidias, renowned in all Greece for his work at Olympia and, more recently, for his Athena Promachos which had brought sharply into the focus of the state's dusty citadel its flashing magnitude of bronze. Pheidias, as sculptural arbiter at Olympia¹⁶ and as diplomat with architects,¹⁷ already held a unique esteem in Hellas.

The role of Pheidias on the Hephaisteion was entirely peripheral. He used it to form his cadre for the greater works to come. Men to work marble were in short if not insignificant supply. Local sculptors, monumental or architectural, had moved away long since in search of a living. The Hephaisteion, with the Delian Treasury in reserve, and Pheidias' present reputation formed the magnet that slowly but irresistably pulled in the marble workers of Greece to Athens for the prospective millennium.

The original plan of the Hephaisteion is evidence that the arts might have been on short leash in Athens for a time, but that this niggardliness had engendered imagination along with restraint. The "Theseum Architect," along with his old-fashioned cella, heavy entablature, dark lowest step, and full set of metopes, had also envisioned slender columns and Ionic friezes, not fully encircling to be sure, but as prominent features on the inner building. This was the personality with whom Pheidias, much older and more experienced, had to work in his first labors of coördination. The architect had had no dealings with sculptors. Pheidias would need them badly in the years to come, and his first move was to call back some of his young (now older) assistants from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia as the metopes bear witness.

The marble workers began to enlist, the sculptors drifted in after their last commissions elsewhere had been finished. Pressure from higher authority shot down the chain of command with increasing voltage so that within two years, by 447, the Hephaisteion's priority became distinctly second and work was begun on the final Parthenon. This had always been Perikles' objective and, the way now cleared with the allies and the electorate, he moved his chisel of authority from the hillock overlooking the Agora to the citadel itself.

¹⁵ Miss Shoe, whose study of the Stoa Poikile will appear shortly in *Hesperia*, assures me that there are elements in that building that align with mannerisms of the Hephaisteion. I am grateful to her for allowing me to cite her in advance of publication; see her report in *American Philosophical Society Year Book 1962*, 1963.

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 334-336.

¹⁷ *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 165.

If a show of power is important, no wise politician drops his initial project as though held with scorched fingers. There must be an easy flow of transition, the shift so gracefully managed that none but the inner circle is aware of it. Perikles did not begin the Parthenon until he was certain that the Athenian citizen would support him and that he had on hand enough artisans to carry his ideas through. Thus Pheidias must in a mere two years have collected enough stone cutters and sculptors to ensure the building of the Parthenon. Whether he or Perikles was responsible for importing Iktinos for this particular architectural assignment we shall never know. Dinsmoor would see the selectee as one trained in Peloponnesian ideas.¹⁸ Yet Iktinos, though he designed a stouter peristyle than that of his rival on the Hephaisteion and put a Doric moulding under his Ionic frieze, carried that frieze around the inner structure in a purely eastern way, broadened the cella and inserted Ionic columns in the rear chamber. Simply stated, Iktinos was as revolutionary an architect as the one named for the Theseion. Perikles was anxious to equate his program with his League which was Ionian and with the traditional mixture of Doric and Ionic that was Athenian. The origin of Iktinos remains a mystery as does the identity of his discoverer, Perikles or Pheidias. May one conjecture that at this crucial point Iktinos profited from his local rival's experiments with Ionic features and found an ideal solution?

The repercussions of this change of emphasis from the hilltop overlooking the market to the sacred crag itself must have been momentous. It could not have been achieved so shortly and with such astonishing results—for the Parthenon was virtually complete in nine years—without a quick initial build-up of men in the quarries and the shops, and a violent wrench in the original plan. One may postulate this on a number of counts: the quantity of carved metopes for the exterior frieze of the Hephaisteion which are finely done, the great number of wall blocks ready to hand, uniformity of columns, entablature pieces and mouldings already prepared for the Hephaisteion and the already delivered sections of Parian marble for the metopes and friezes.

In a short two years Pheidias had achieved a magnetic miracle. Athens, the desert of the arts, was suddenly bursting with artisans. Perikles then weighed the scales and found the balance good. Priority orders for the Parthenon were issued. The Hephaisteion, well advanced, must give way to the new colossos on the citadel for there were enough skilled workmen on hand for one building but not both. There was a time limit set on the transfer of artisans, a terminus for the temple rising over the Agora.

The realization that Perikles intended to rebuild the Parthenon probably struck the Theseum Architect much as Julius II's decision to rebuild St. Peter's descended

¹⁸ *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 154.

on Michelangelo and his first plan for the papal tomb. But the two artists seem to have been made of different stuff. The Theseum architect was surely affronted at being displaced in favor by an alien, but instead of haughtily running away he tried to best the usurper at his own game. One must imagine his nights spent in the light of the inadequate lamps of the fifth century testing and trying every means to make his concept match or excel that of Iktinos. He was hampered with a smaller scale, with mountains of marble blocks, stockpiled in the sun of favor, many of them irrevocably worked. He was cramped by a budget that would soon run out. What could he do with his own revolutionary building now to be superseded by another's?

He widened his cella to the utmost limits of its foundations. He shortened it east and west, discovered the mistake of the placement of the west colonnade of the peristyle rather late, but corbelled it in as fast and as hard as he could. He pushed up his finished blocks, or even unfinished ones such as the friezes, as rapidly as skilled man power would allow. One must infer from this curious episode that Iktinos anticipated the role of Bramante and that the Theseum Architect accepted it. The latter was, after all, regarded as a workman, not as a revolutionary XVI century artist.

The imprint of haste is stamped on his adjustment of all the north-south foundations except that at the eastern end. Evidently a time—and quite possibly a budgetary—limit was imposed on him. The dual alteration of the cella's front wall and the odd scrambling of the order of the metopes are further indications that he was in a hurry. The new proportions of the cella and the inclusion of an inner colonnade betray a desire to simulate the latest fashion as quickly as possible, perhaps in the frantic hope that a new re-evaluation of his competence might arise.

Inexorably the greater building drew away his men. He found himself at first without marble cutters and sculptors. Then there was no one left to go on setting the blocks already cut. And so his building, tonsured without roof or pediment from the point of view of the citizen in the Agora, waited for a generation during which the Acropolis grew in splendor and the Peloponnesian War began.

Came the Peace of Nikias. The Parthenon was complete, we trust but we do not know. Nothing on the Propylaea, the last of the great projects, suggests that even in the golden days of Athens Perikles himself had thought of sculptures for its vast and much admired expanse. Yet suddenly appeared a flood of expert carving—on the Hephaisteion, the Ilissos Temple, the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, the Temple of Athena Nike, possibly also the Temple of Ares at Acharnai.¹⁹ From this one can only assume that the cessation of strife sent expert sculptors back to Athens, and with them able artisans to finish the incomplete buildings the city had begun and left unfinished. The Peloponnesian War by 421 had created no new markets. In Athens there remained a sinecure for talent of a very high order.

The Athenian state found itself in a peculiar position. A dignified Peace, after

¹⁹ H. A. Thompson, *A.J.A.*, LXVI, 1962, p. 200.

a decade of hostility, should reveal the body politic as strong and prosperous as it had been before. Its first expression of this vitality must be the immediate completion of the public structures begun during the last regime and this meant the final touches on the minor contracts let by Perikles when the pre-war zenith of fortune held no challenge he could not meet.

The first of these obligations was the Hephaisteion. It was, after all, the most prominent temple in the lower city. Its friezes were still uncarved and it lacked both roof and pediments. To remedy these deficiencies the ablest sculptors were chosen, their mannerisms as demonstrated in Parts II and III of this article evincing considerable development during the decade of war. Thrift was inconspicuously present as in the indiscriminate use of Parian marble in the superstructure, probably pieces intended for the metopes that never had been carved and were in any case now unfashionable. With something of the verve that marked its inception nearly thirty years before, the final stages went forward. The designer of the friezes faced with the problem of dealing with blocks already in place seems to have been mistrustful of imperfections at the joints. Perhaps he recalled or had heard of the haste with which they were set. At any rate he treated each unit as a virtually independent entity and reduced overlaps between sections to a sheer minimum.

The pedimental figures were carved and set in place; the roof at long last went up; the cult images were cast and installed. It is a commentary on the relative weakness of the treasury at this time that payments for these bronze sculptures were spread out over five years while the cost of most of the Parthenon and Pheidias' gold and ivory Parthenos had been covered in nine.

Regarded as a document of Athens in the second half of the fifth century the Hephaisteion has no parallel. It was the avant-garde original unit of Perikles' great building plan, while its completion underscored the solidarity of the state during the peaceful years between the two phases of the Peloponnesian War (Appendix I).

APPENDIX I

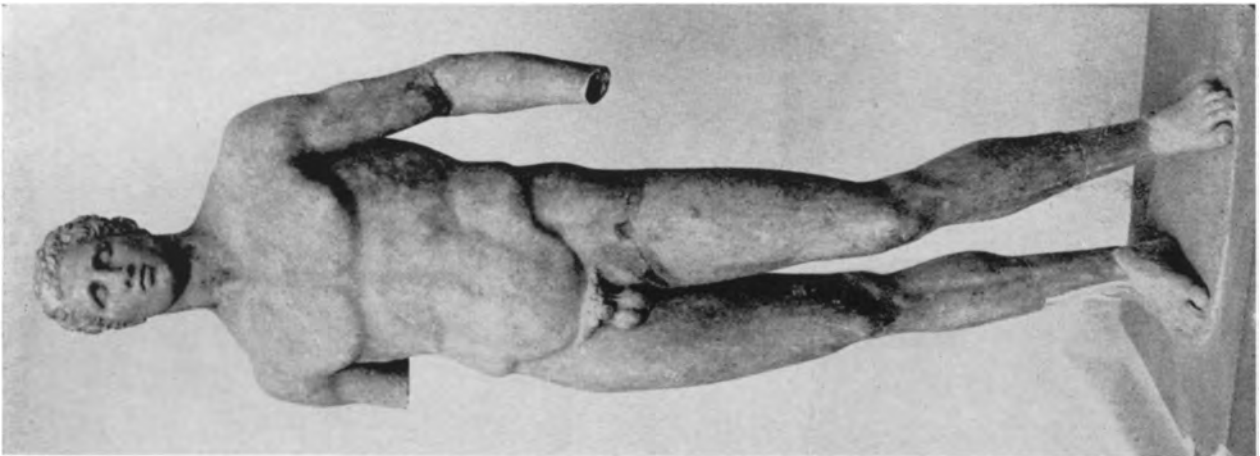
A similar history may be postulated for the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion on the basis of the close similarities between its friezes and those of the Hephaisteion.

One of the curious lacks in the later sculptures of the Hephaisteion is any trace of the transparent elegancies of the Nike Temple Parapet. Yet in the Temple of Apollo at Bassae the mannerisms of both these monuments are freely combined. A possible explanation of this latter phenomenon may be that the two styles were practiced simultaneously but separately in Athens and that both groups of sculptors, having no further employment there after the completion of their commissions, found work on the Arkadian shrine. If we recall the desperate plight of Athens after the debacle at Syracuse it is highly unlikely that new construction was undertaken, and the completion of the Erechtheion must have taxed the city treasury to the utmost. The emigrating sculptors, isolated in the central Peloponnesian mountains without the constant spurs of competition and sophisticated critics, rapidly allowed their talents to deteriorate into sterile mannerisms.

CHARLES H. MORGAN



a. Hephaistos from the East Pediment

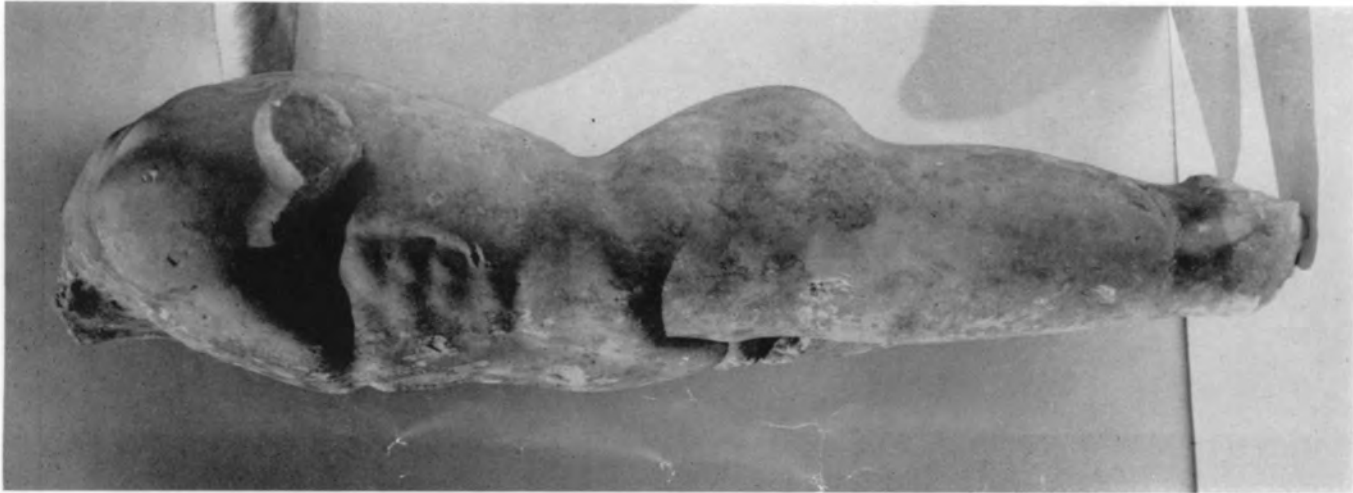


b. Agias after Lysippos, Delphi

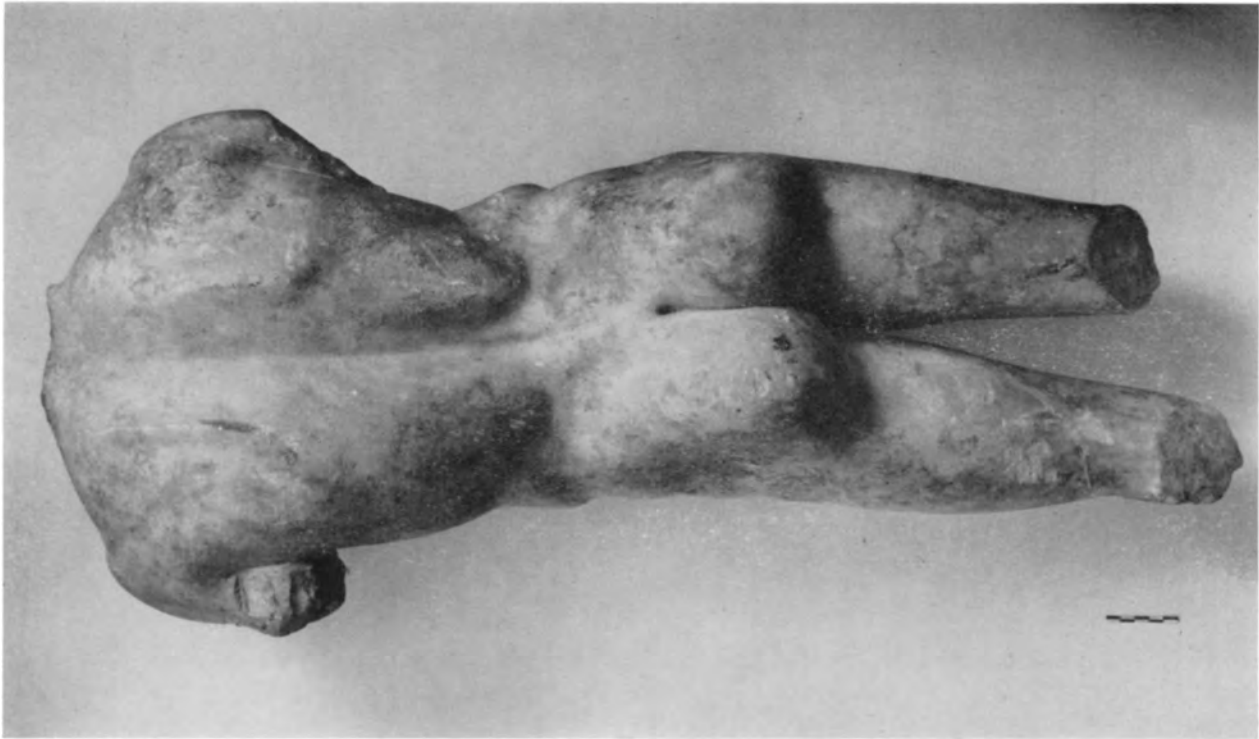


c. Hephaistos on the Madrid Puteal

CHARLES H. MORGAN: THE SCULPTURES OF THE HEPHAISTEION



a. Hephaistos, side view



b. Hephaistos, back view



c. Athena from the East Pediment

CHARLES H. MORGAN: THE SCULPTURES OF THE HEPHAISTEION



a. Herakles from the East Pediment



b. Base Block with Dowel Holes



c. Ephedrismos Group

CHARLES H. MORGAN: THE SCULPTURES OF THE HEPHAISTEION