HESPERIA 87 (2018)
Pages 681–741

CLASSICAL SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA, PART 1

The Pediments and Akroteria of the Hephaisteion

Χαριστήριον Angelos Delivorrias (1937–2018)

ABSTRACT

This article attributes 25 fragmentary sculptures from the Agora excavations to the pediments and akroteria of the Hephaisteion on the basis of their compatibility with the akroterion bases and the sockets in the pediment floors, and their poses, identities, findspots, marble, scales, weathering, styles, and technique. Comprising, in the pediments, the Birth of Athena (east) and the Return of Hephaistos to Olympos (west), and, as akroteria, the Nereids Thetis and Eurynome (west) accompanied by Nikai, the two ensembles are dated to ca. 430 and ca. 420–413 B.C., and their religious and cultic significance is examined in the context of the temple's sculptured *kosmos* as a whole.

INTRODUCTION

For a midsized temple, the Hephaisteion took a remarkably long time to build (Fig. 1).[1] Recent restudy of the pottery discovered within its foundations has found nothing that postdates ca. 480 B.C., fixing the project's likely inception in the 480s.[2] Its metopes seem to fit best in the 450s,

1. This study is the first in a series publishing the architectural and freestanding Classical sculpture of the Agora left unpublished by the late Evelyn Harrison at her death in 2012. Research for it was carried out in the Agora Museum in 2016–2018, aided by two invaluable assistants, Rebecca Levitan and Samantha Lloyd-Knauf. I owe my sincere thanks yet again to John Camp, T. Leslie Shear Jr., and the late Homer Thompson for permission to study and publish this material, and to John Camp for generously discussing it with me; to Sylvie Dumont, Bruce Hartzler, Pia Kvarnström, and Craig Mauzy for facilitating access to it; to Maria Tziotziou for cleaning those pieces that required it; to Hans Goette and Craig Mauzy for their splendid photographs of the pediment cuttings and sculptural fragments, respectively; to Matt Auvinen for autopsying the fragments in situ and for invaluable advice on their technique; to Nick Blackwell, Ioanna Damanaki, Jenifer Neils, Maria Pilali, Dylan Rogers, and James Wright for administrative support at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; to Kathleen Lynch and Margaret (Margie) Miles for sharing key elements of their forthcoming study of the temple with me; and to Marion Meyer for generously sending me an advance copy of her excellent *Athena, Göttin von Athen* (published Vienna, 2017). I am grateful also to Riccardo di Cesare, Antonio Corso, the late Angelos Delivorrias, Hans Goette, Tonio Hölscher, Raphael Jacob, Carol Lawton, Olga Palagia, Nikolaos Papazarkadas, Rolf Schneider, Kristen Seaman, Dimitris Sourlas, Anne Stewart, and Ronald Stroud for comments and help on particular points, and to lecture audiences in Berkeley, Christchurch (New Zealand), Athens, Tübingen, and Heidelberg for their comments and suggestions for improvement. Others will be acknowledged in their proper place. All uncredited translations are my own.

2. Papadopoulos and Smithson 2002, p. 154; Miles and Lynch, in prep.

Figure 1. The Hephaisteion, Athens. Photo H. Goette

however, and its friezes in the very late 430s, after the Parthenon frieze and probably also after the latter's pediments (see below). As will appear, the Hephaisteion's own pediments were carved immediately afterward, in the early 420s, before the frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike (ca. 425), and its akroteria perhaps even after the Nike of Paionios (ca. 420).[3]

Two inscriptions of 421/20 record that in that year the Athenians both reorganized the quadrennial festival of the Hephaistia and initiated work on the bronze cult statues of Hephaistos and Athena Hephaistia, which were attributed to Pheidias's favorite pupil, Alkamenes, by Cicero and Valerius Maximus.[4] The statues' financial accounts are sadly lacunose, but the project's cost and six-year duration show that they and the mysterious *"anthemon"* exhibited with them must have been colossal. Finished only in 416/5, they required over half the 10 years needed for Pheidias's almost 40 foot high, chryselephantine Athena Parthenos.

Like its sister temples of Athena at Pallene (which joined it in the Agora four centuries later, repurposed as the Temple of Ares), Nemesis at Rhamnous, and Poseidon at Sounion, the Hephaisteion perhaps started life

3. For this chronology, see, variously, Delivorrias 1974, pp. 48–60; Harrison 1979; Wyatt and Edmonson 1984, pp. 165–167; Scheffer 1996, p. 170; Delivorrias 1997, p. 95; Rolley 1999, p. 104; Palagia 2006a, pp. 136–137; Vallarino 2012; Greco 2014, pp. 922–941 (F. Longo); Leventi 2014, pp. 141–142, 243; di Cesare 2015, pp. 255–266 (with full bibliography); Shear 2016, pp. 143–149. Thompson (*Agora* XIV, pp. 140–142) and Camp (1986, pp. 82–84; cf. 2001, p. 103; Lalonde 2006, pp. 84, 110, fig. 1) deftly demolish the various attempts over the years to disassociate the temple from Hephaistos.

4. On the cult, see *IG* I^3 82 (the Hephaistia; a separate festival from the Chalkeia, dedicated to Athena); *SEG* LVI 77; LVIII 15; LX 84, 1921, 2030; *LSCG*, no. 13; Reisch 1898; Deubner 1932, pp. 211–213; Cook 1940, pp. 181–237; Parke 1977, pp. 171–172; Simon 1983, pp. 51–54; Shapiro 1995, pp. 1–14; Parker 1996, pp. 184, 246, n. 100; Greco 2014, pp. 939–941, fig. 558 (F. Longo); di Cesare 2015, pp. 263–266; Shear 2016, pp. 156–160. For the statues and base, see *IG* I^3 472; *SEG* LVI 60; LIX 63; LX 66, 105; Cic. *Nat. d.* 1.30; Val. Max. 8.11, ext. 3; cf. Paus. 1.14.6; *Anth. Pal.* 9.590; August. *De civ. D.* 18.2; *Agora* III, pp. 98–102, nos. 282, 284, 288, 291, 293; Harrison 1977a, 1977b, 1977c; Stewart 1990, p. 268; forthcoming b; Rolley 1999, p. 144, fig. 129; Greco 2014, pp. 935–939, figs. 556, 557 (F. Longo; reconstructions). On Alkamenes' career, see Stewart 1990, vol. 1, pp. 267–269; *DNO,* vol. 2, pp. 354–390, esp. p. 388; *contra,* unconvincingly, Lippolis and Vallarino 2010.

as a local enterprise by a deme, in this case Melite, not an official one by the Athenian state.[5] To quote Robert Parker, "In many respects, the religious life of a deme can be seen as that of a mini polis, closely comparable on a small scale to that of Athens itself."[6] Melite was no exception.

A broad triangle that fanned out westward from its apex, Agoraios Kolonos and the Hephaisteion itself, to the city wall between the Sacred and Melitides Gates, Melite was the center of the metal and ceramics industries of Athens. Its booming economy and special attachment to the fire and blacksmith god would explain not only its unique dedication of this handsome marble shrine to him (and to Athena Hephaistia) but also the temple's sluggish construction schedule (hostage to erratic local budgets) and lack of extant accounts on stone—until, perhaps not coincidentally, 421. That year's two official decrees may mark the project's nationalization, with the Peace of Nikias signed and sealed, and Athens both free of its wartime financial burdens and still the unrivaled mecca of Greek craftsmen of all descriptions. Together, Alkamenes' two colossal bronzes covered all these bases.

Whereas Pentelic marble was employed for over 99% of the temple's fabric—a first in Athenian architecture—its entire sculptural program (apart from the cult statues) was almost certainly Parian, as was usual at Athens from the late 6th century until the early 440s, when the Parthenon set a new, all-Pentelic standard for such work. Flawless, medium-grained, ice-tinted on the breaks, and shining white on modeled surfaces, Parian marble is easily distinguishable from the fine-grained, crystalline white Pentelic, with its annoying micaceous veins and golden-tinged modeled surfaces.[7]

Its use did not entail hiring Parians alone to carve it, of course, since Athenian sculptors had been using Parian marble for generations. Conversely, Parian handiwork is recognizable in the Parthenon's friezes and perhaps also its pediments, if Despinis's attribution of some of their figures to Agorakritos is to be believed.[8] Workshop conjectures for the Hephaisteion range from shadowy "island" ateliers to the Athenians Myron and Kalamis.[9]

Although the Hephaisteion's metopes and continuous friezes rank among the best preserved of all classical architectural sculptures, despite serious damage from iconoclasts, vandals, and latter-day pollution, the opposite is true of its pediments and akroteria. Though they are usually dismissed as unhelpful scraps,[10] this study aims to demonstrate that they

5. For the four sister temples, see Miles 1989, pp. 221–226; 2017; together demolishing Dinsmoor's theory of a "Theseion Architect." For the deme temple for Melite, see Miles and Lynch, in prep.; on the deme itself, see Lalonde 2006, pp. 113–116.

6. Parker 1987, p. 137; see also Lalonde 2006, p. 113.

7. The Agora's early excavators, and later Evelyn Harrison, were expert at telling marble types apart. Although it was not possible to test the 29 fragments in question scientifically, I disagreed with them only in a single case. Olga Palagia kindly agreed to recheck all of the fragments independently, and is in full agreement with me; see also Palagia 2000b, pp. 348–349; 2006a, p. 136.

8. Despinis 1971, pp. 124–132; Ashmole 1972, pp. 129–133, figs. 144–151 (frieze); cf. Stewart 2016, p. 603, n. 64.

9. For "island" ateliers, see Bockelberg 1979, pp. 46–48; Leventi 2014, p. 112. For Kalamis, see Harrison 1979, presumably because of the strikingly similar drapery of the *ephedrismos* group (**7**; see Figs. 4, 14:a, b, 15:c, below), the friezes (see Figs. 17, 43, below), and the Aphrodite "Olympias" type, often given to Kalamis (Stewart 2012, pp. 270–271, fig. 2).

10. E.g., Boardman [1985] 1991, p. 146; see, most recently, Shear 2016, p. 156, n. 46: "The sculptural fragments that have been attributed to the pediments are too few and too broken to permit any but the most speculative identification of the subject."

a b

Figure 2 *(left)*. The Hephaisteion pediment floors showing the cuttings: (a) east pediment, looking south; (b) west pediment, looking south. Photos H. Goette

Figure 3 *(below)*. The Hephaisteion, pediment floors and their cuttings. Sockets in the pediment floors are labeled with capital letters; holes for attributes and clamps to secure the statues are labeled with lowercase letters. Sauer 1899, pl. 2

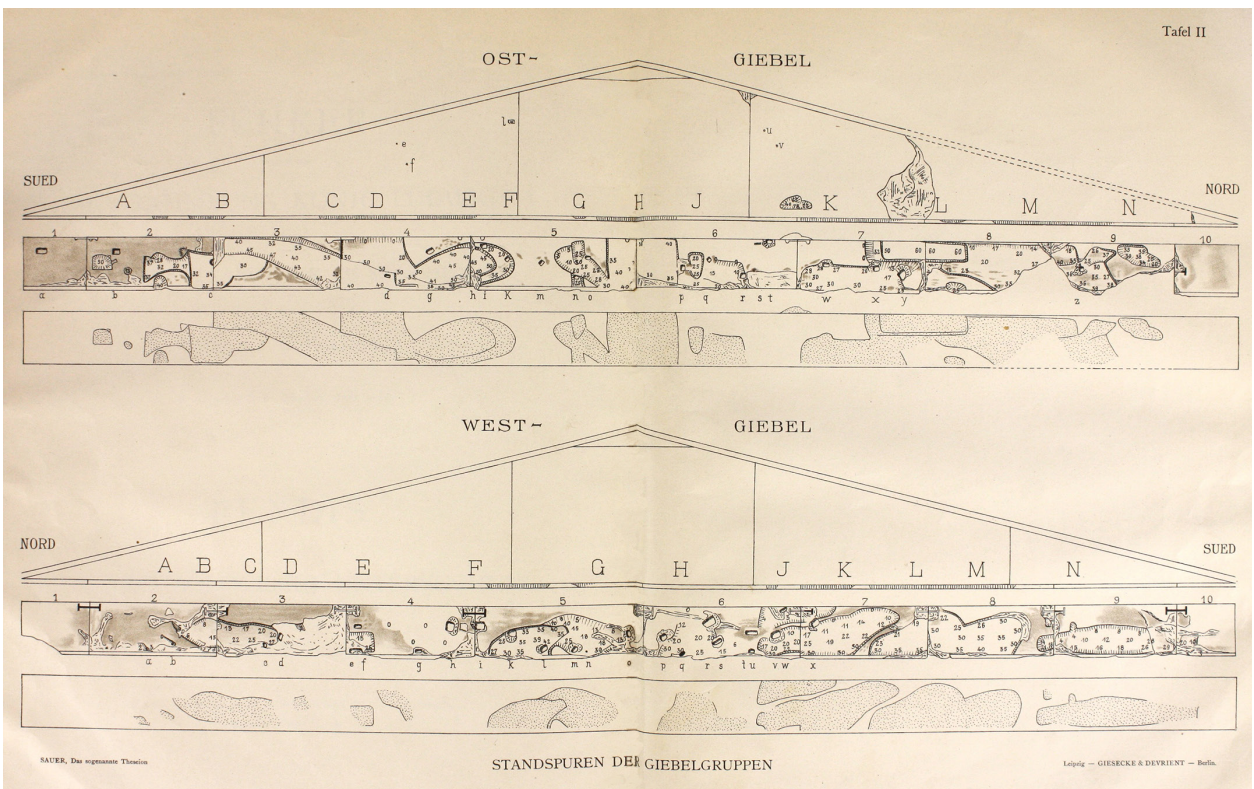


Figure 4. State plan of the Athenian Agora indicating findspots of the sculptures discussed in this article. Several are approximate only. Courtesy Agora Excavations, with additions by C. Mauzy

are by no means beyond redemption, and do have considerable historical value and perhaps some wider significance as well.

Cuttings in the floors of the temple's pediments (Fig. 2) had alerted 19th-century observers that they had supported sculpture. In 1899, Bruno Sauer published an entire book on the temple's sculptural program in which, among other things, he restored its pedimental groups from his meticulous scale drawings of these cuttings alone (Fig. 3), in two sets of elegant but overimaginative transparencies.[11] The first credible sculptural fragments from the pediments were not identified until almost 40 years later, however, when the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens began to bear fruit in the mid-1930s and early 1940s (Fig. 4). The first attempt at a synthesis, by Homer Thompson (Table 1), appeared only in 1949.[12]

Yet failure to recognize that the temple's entire sculptural program almost certainly employed Parian marble alone; undue deference to scattered findspots in late, secondary contexts; and chronological, iconographic, and stylistic uncertainties all led to heated controversy over attributions and themes. Thompson's reconstruction of the east pediment as a conflation

11. Sauer 1899, pl. 2, with transparent overlays.

12. Shear 1936, p. 408; 1937, pp. 376–378; Dinsmoor 1941, pp. 116–122; Thompson 1949. Likewise the akroteria, though their bases were properly identified and published only in 1976: Dinsmoor 1976, pp. 233–238, ills. 5, 7, 10.

TABLE 1. PROPOSED IDENTIFICATIONS OF THE SUBJECTS OF THE IONIC FRIEZES, PEDIMENTS, AND AKROTERIA, 1899–2017

Publication	*East Frieze*	*West Frieze*	*East Pediment*	*West Pediment*	*East Akroteria*	*West Akroteria*
Stewart 2017	Pelasgians	Centauromachy	Birth of Athena	Return of Hephaistos to Olympos	Nikai?	Nikai; Thetis and Eurynome
Shear 2016	Pallantidai	Centauromachy	?	?	–	–
di Cesare 2015	Pallantidai? Skamander?	Centauromachy	Centauromachy or Ilioupersis	Ilioupersis or Centauromachy	Nikai	–
McInerney 2014	Pelasgians	–	–	–	–	–
Leventi 2014	Pallantidai	Centauromachy	?	Centauromachy (wedding)?	?	?
Barringer 2009	Atlantians	Centauromachy	–	–	–	–
Barringer 2008	–	–	seated Hephaistos	–	–	–
Rolley 1999	Pallantidai?	Centauromachy	?	?	?	
Simon 1998	–	–	Return of Hephaistos	–	–	–
Reber 1998	Pallantidai	Centauromachy	–	–	–	–
Cruciani and Fiorini 1998	Pallantidai	Centauromachy	–	–	–	–
Delivorrias 1997	Skamander (*Il.* 20–21)	Centauromachy	Centauromachy (wedding)	Ilioupersis	Nikai	?
Scheffer 1996	–	–	Return of Hephaistos	–	–	–
Kotsidu 1995	Skamander (*Il.* 20–21)	Centauromachy	battle or Centauromachy	Centauromachy or battle	–	–
Knell 1990	Skamander (*Il.* 20–21)	–	–	–	–	–
Harrison 1990	–	–	–	–	florals (corners)	florals (corners)
Danner 1989	–	–	–	–	Nikai	–

of Herakles securing the apples of the Hesperides and presenting them to Zeus at his apotheosis, and of both Parian and Pentelic marble, crowned by the Hesperides themselves (the *ephedrismos* group [**7**; Figs. 4, 5] from the packing of a 13th-century A.D. well downhill to the east) as a central akroterion, attracted particularly heavy fire.[13]

Even so, Thompson's inspired identifications of the rectangular central socket in the east pediment's floor and its teardrop-shaped left-hand (southern) neighbor (Fig. 2:a) as beddings for a recoiling Athena (see Fig. 3:G) and enthroned Zeus (Fig. 3:H) were eventually taken up by Charles Morgan, who perceptively suggested the goddess's birth as its likely subject.[14] Meanwhile, in 1956, Evelyn Harrison had used three Parian marble limb fragments found in the same Byzantine well as **7** (**1**, **9**, **11**; Fig. 6), plus two Parian marble equine hooves and a foot found elsewhere on and near Kolonos Agoraios (**3**, **4**, **15**; see Figs. 11, 12, 24, below), to suggest that

13. Bieber 1951; Gottlieb 1957 (response, Thompson 1962b); Morgan 1963.

14. Morgan 1963, p. 94, but substituting Hephaistos in this position for Athena, whom he switched to Zeus's left side.

TABLE 1—*Continued*

Publication	*East Frieze*	*West Frieze*	*East Pediment*	*West Pediment*	*East Akroteria*	*West Akroteria*
Neils 1987	Pallantidai	Centauromachy	–	–	–	–
Dörig 1985	Erechtheus and Eumolpos	–	–	–	–	–
Felten 1984	Skamander (*Il.* 20–21)	Centauromachy	–	–	–	–
Delivorrias 1974	–	–	Centauromachy (wedding)	Ilioupersis	Nikai	abduction scene
Morgan 1963	–	–	Birth of Athena	?	?	?
Morgan 1962b	Pallantidai	Centauromachy	–	–	–	–
Thompson 1962b	Pallantidai	Centauromachy	Herakles → Olympos	Centauromachy (wedding)	Hesperides	?
Harrison 1956	–	–	–	Centauromachy (wedding)	–	–
Thompson 1949	–	–	Herakles → Olympos	?	Hesperides	?
Gullini 1949	Pelasgians (Amphiktyon)	Centauromachy	Niobids	–	–	–
Dinsmoor 1941	–	–	–	–	–	–
Picard 1939	Athenians vs. Eleusinians	Centauromachy	–	–	Demeter and Kore	–
Olsen 1938	Pallantidai	Centauromachy	–	–	–	–
Sauer 1899	Pelasgians (Amphiktyon)	Centauromachy	Birth of Erichthonios	Hephaistos before Thetis	–	–

the west pediment featured a Centauromachy.[15] Unlike Thompson's and Morgan's proposals, this one received wide acceptance.

In 1973–1974, however, the Greek Archaeological Service carried out consolidation work on the temple that included partially filling some of the cuttings in the pediment floors with cement (see Fig. 2), thus rendering their interiors inaccessible for further study and compelling reliance in these cases on Sauer's drawings of 1899 (see Fig. 3).[16] Also in 1974, however, the debate was both upended and considerably enlivened by the publication of Angelos Delivorrias's audacious dissertation on Attic 5th-century pediments and akroteria.[17] Revisiting the published fragments and including other unpublished ones in the Agora reserves and a head in the Kerameikos (not to mention a few intruders from elsewhere), but essentially ignoring the cuttings in the pediment floors, he offered two striking but highly conjectural reconstructions (photomontages by K. Iliakis) of the temple's two facades. Featuring a Centauromachy (east) and Ilioupersis (west), crowned by Nikai and an abduction group involving the "Nereid" (**17**; Fig. 7), neither gained much traction in subsequent scholarship.[18]

Thereafter, the only major breakthroughs were William B. Dinsmoor Jr.'s meticulous study of the temple's roof and simas, published in 1976

15. Harrison 1956.

16. This work was noted by Dinsmoor (1976, p. 246), remarking that it also would have rendered his study of the temple's roof largely impossible.

17. Delivorrias 1974, pp. 16–60, pls. 6–17, 56:c, d, 57, foldout pls. 3, 4.

18. Accepted by di Cesare (2015, p. 262); *contra,* e.g., Harrison 1976; Boardman [1985] 1991, p. 146 ("the remains . . . [are] very scrappy and attributions disputed"); Danner 1989, pp. 17 (no. 104), 22 (no. 143); Harrison 1990; response and partial retraction, Delivorrias 1997.

Figure 5. *Ephedrismos* group (7). Athens, Agora Museum S 429. Scale 1:7. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

a **b** **c**

Figure 6. Limb fragments from 13th-century well G 8:1: (a) male right leg (1); (b) left elbow and adjacent part of upper arm (9); (c) male right thigh (11). Athens, Agora Museum (a) S 1835, (b) S 1837, (c) S 1836. Scale (a, c) 1:8; (b) 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

but fortunately completed just before the ill-judged consolidation work described above, and Charlotte Scheffer's study in 1996 of the *ephedrismos*/"Hesperides" motif (**7**).[19] Dinsmoor showed both that the Hephaisteion's central akroterion bases must have been double the normal width (1.644 m) and that two corner ones formerly attributed to the Temple of Ares must in fact belong with them (Fig. 8).

Scheffer, for her part, demonstrated that in extant Greek art, the so-called *ephedrismos*/"Hesperides" motif (**7**) occurs only in Dionysiac/erotic or playful/secular contexts, and its participants are always running, not kneeling or crouching.[20] This observation, in turn, prompted her to reidentify the east pediment (in front of which **7** had been found) as the Return of Hephaistos, with an enthroned but still imprisoned Hera at center in position H (Figs. 2:a, 3). Predictably, most recent commentators have found this Olympian bondage scene almost as unappealing as Thompson's

19. Dinsmoor 1976, pp. 230–231, 234, 237–239, ills. 5, 7, 10; Scheffer 1996.

20. Scheffer 1996, *contra* Delivorrias 1974, foldout pl. 4.

Figure 7. Akroterion (17), probably Thetis. Athens, Agora Museum S 182. Not to scale. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

proposed apotheosis, but such doubts did not inhibit some from speculating upon the program's overall meaning and motivation even so.[21]

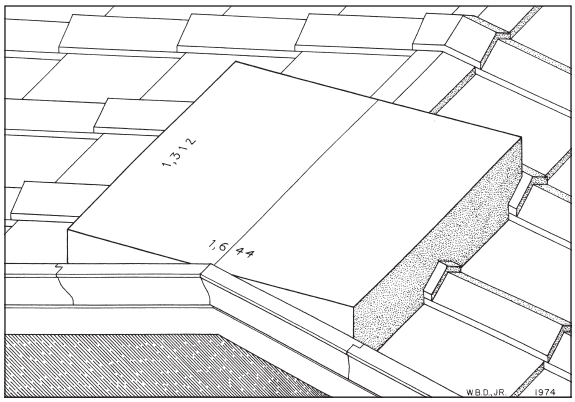
With this checkered history in mind, the following criteria have guided the selection and attribution of the fragments that follow:

The Context

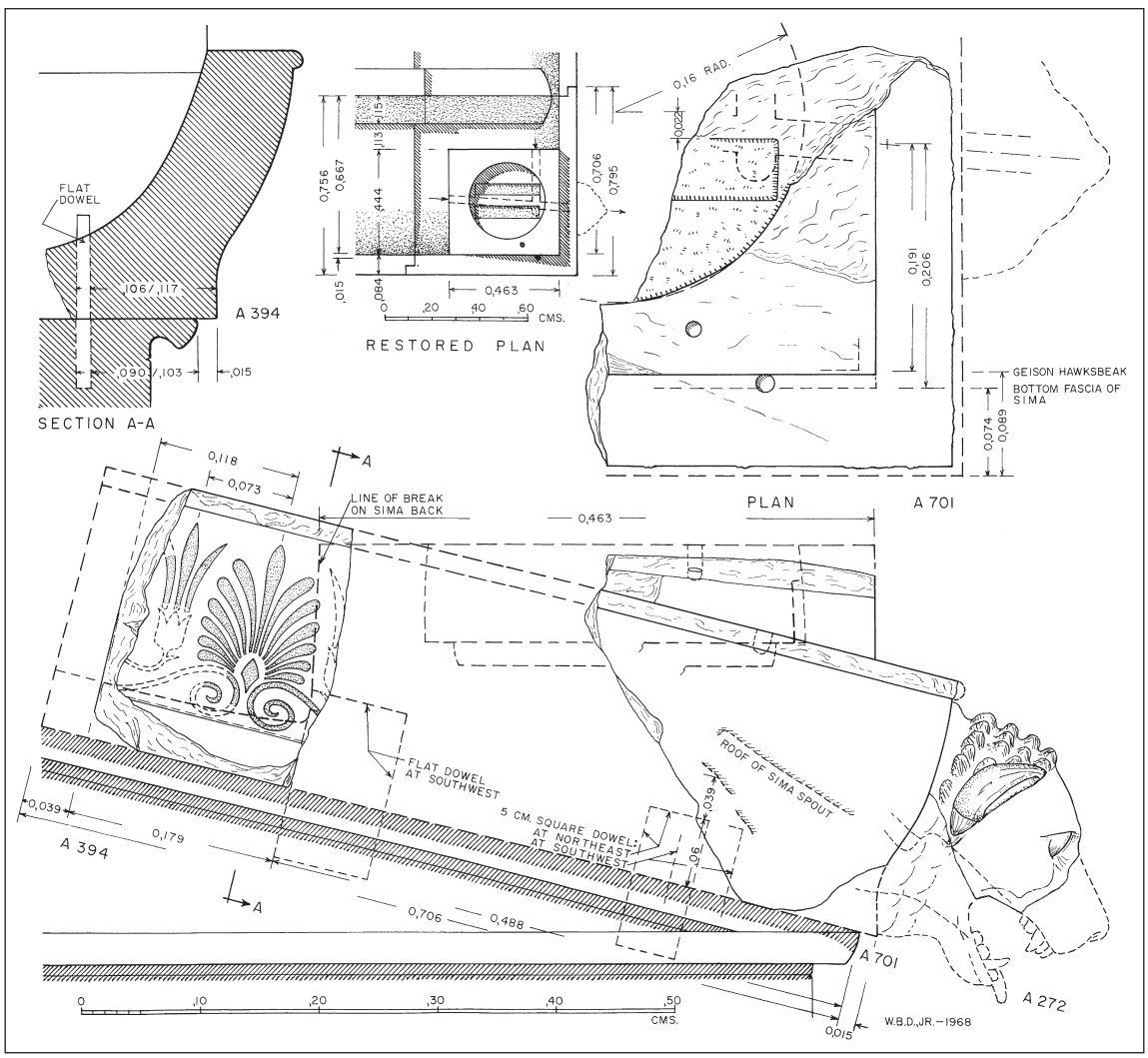
1. Poses and attributes: These must be compatible with the cuttings in the pediment floors; the interior dimensions of the pediments (max. H. 1.527; W. 12.468; D. 0.490 m); the reconstructed dimensions of the central akroterion bases (Fig. 8:a); and the circular socket in Agora A 701, the extant corner akroterion base (see Fig. 8:b).
2. Themes: To paraphrase Tonio Hölscher's observation, by this date one would expect the Hephaisteion's pedimental themes to be "a 'normal' choice . . . that . . . provided a sculpted frame for this [Athenian] cult": in this case, the joint cult of Hephaistos and Athena Hephaistia.[22]

21. Scheffer 1996; Simon 1998, p. 199; Rolley 1999, pp. 107–108; Barringer 2009; Greco 2014, pp. 929–931 (F. Longo); Leventi 2014, pp. 131–143; cf. Harrison 1956, 1976.

22. Hölscher 2009, p. 57 (apropos the Parthenon); see also Osborne 2009.



a



b

Figure 8. The Hephaisteion akroterion bases: (a) central, restored; (b) lateral, Agora Museum A 701. Drawings W. B. Dinsmoor Jr.: (a) Agora PD 2282; (b) Agora PD 1857

The Sculptures

3. Findspots (see Fig. 4): Since none of the fragments in question was found in situ (i.e., exactly where it had fallen from the temple), discovery on and around Kolonos Agoraios encourages attribution to the temple as such, but should be pushed no further; discovery elsewhere (particularly in late/modern contexts) should not necessarily discourage or negate such attribution.
4. Material: The marble should be Parian, to match the temple's Doric and Ionic friezes and the fragments from Kolonos Agoraios. This criterion is crucial since the Agora has yielded less than a dozen other mid- to late-5th-century Parian marble sculptures among the 3,573 excavated and inventoried to date.[23]
5. Scale: The pedimental figures should be around 80% life-size (conventionally, ca. 1.65 m or 5 ft., 6 in.), that is, standing around 1.30–1.45 m high. For the akroteria, no clear 5th-century rules exist, but the central one probably should exceed both the lateral akroteria and the pedimental figures in height.[24]
6. Weathering: Aside from secondary weathering from later reuse, the pedimental fragments should be weathered on their exposed surfaces only, and the akroteria all round.
7. Modeling: Surfaces invisible from the ground may be modeled somewhat more summarily, but not necessarily so.
8. Style and technique: Late-5th-century (i.e., Parthenonian or post-Parthenonian) Parian/Attic.[25]

As a result, the catalogue that follows comprises 25 fragments from the Agora attributable to the pediments and akroteria (**1**–**25**); two possible fragments, including one from the Kerameikos (**26**, **27**); and a single reject (**28**). By a process of elimination based on criteria 1 and 2 above, the pedimental themes are identified as the Birth of Athena (east) and the Return of Hephaistos to Olympos (west). Although the eastern central akroterion, presumably a group given its double-wide base (see Fig. 8:a), remains a mystery, the equally wide western one is identified as the Nereids Thetis and Eurynome (after Homer, *Il.* 18.394–409), and the corner akroteria on one or perhaps both facades as winged Nikai.

23. Excluding *dubitanda:* S 65 (statuette of a young woman: Harrison 1982); S 1535 (small horse's head from a pediment or high relief); S 1852c (two-thirds life-size wrist and lower forearm); S 1819 (female head fragment once with inlaid eyes); S 1882 (over-life-size late-5th-century Aphrodite: Harrison 1960, pp. 373–376, pl. 83; Stewart 2016, pp. 587, 610–612, 619–621, no. 3, figs. 12, 34, 35); S 2094 (slightly over-life-size head of a goddess: Harrison 1960, pp. 369–370, pl. 81:a, b; Delivorrias 1974, pp. 143, 153); S 2159 (colossal drapery fragment); S 2461 (foot fragment from an acrolith); S 2802 (female head fragment). Two more, S 3337 (**27**) and S 907 (**28**), may belong elsewhere on the Hephaisteion itself.

24. Vitr. *De arch.* 3.5.12 advises that the corner akroteria equal the tympanon in height (here, 1.527 m), and the central ones exceed it by 12.5%. Although these are Hellenistic neoclassical guidelines, and 5th-century akroteria rarely seem to conform (see Danner 1989; Schultz 2001, pp. 11–14, table 1), the present ones may well do so (see n. 47, below).

25. The technical sections have benefited enormously from a visit to the Agora from May 30 through June 8, 2018, by Matt Auvinen, M.F.A., a specialist in premodern stone-carving techniques (http://www.mattauvinen.com/), when all technical descriptions and conclusions were double-checked against the fragments and his observations in situ.

CATALOGUE

East Pediment: The Birth of Athena

1 Male right thigh and knee Figs. 4, 6:a, 9

S 1835. Late Byzantine (13th-century) packing of well G 8:1 on east slope of Kolonos Agoraios, at G/4,5–8/10,11 (ca. 23 m east of Hephaisteion), discovered February–March 1934, together with **9** and **11**; recognized by Homer Thompson and registered March 1954. Cf. also **7**, from deposit G 8:1.1.

L. 0.349; W. 0.140; D. 0.171; p.L. of thigh through pad of vastus medialis 0.28 m. Parian marble.

Broken across just above start of buttocks and below knee; upper break chipped, lower sharp; weathered on anterior surface, increasingly less on sides, not on posterior.

Surface polished; some abrasion marks on buttock and posterior of thigh.

The man, who was life-size or slightly under, stood frontally on his left leg with his right flexed and withdrawn. The modeling is powerful and broad, with the thigh muscles, lower pad of the vastus medialis, knee tendons, patella, and shinbone carefully distinguished.

The marble, scale, and weathering are compatible with the Hephaisteion's pediments, and the pose would be compatible with a standing figure from the center of the east pediment (position J, cuttings p–r on Fig. 3), presumably Hephaistos himself. If so, he was either naked or (more likely) just wearing a cloak, not an *exomis,* and probably also his trademark hat, the *pilos*.

Harrison 1956; Thompson 1962b, pp. 344 (n. 22), 346 (n. 28); Delivorrias 1974, p. 26, n. 101; Leventi 2014, p. 136.

Ca. 450–400 B.C.

Figure 9. Male right leg (1), front view. Athens, Agora Museum S 1835. Scale 1:6. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

2 Draped lower right leg from a peplophoros Figs. 4, 10

S 2046. Marble pile at U-19,21 (section EΛ); recovered and registered May 1959.

H. 0.24; W. 0.181; D. 0.216 m. Parian marble.

Broken above ankle and knee, and diagonally from proper right rear to folds between legs at front; breaks battered. Folds between legs chipped away from knee level downward. Ridges of all folds battered and chipped. Front weathered, right side less so.

Folds on right side lightly rasped in patches, running drill channel (Diam. 3, 5 mm; p.L. 14.5 cm) down valley 2 cm from break at back. Front folds rasped out, obliterating signs of prior tooling; one then bisected with vertical groove using corner of flat chisel or rasp edge. Medial face of right knee rasped vertically.

Figure 10. Peplophoros fragment (2): (a) right profile; (b) front; (c) left profile. Athens, Agora Museum S 2046. Scale 1:6. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

The woman, somewhat under life-size, was standing with her right leg relaxed like Erechtheion Caryatids D–F. Her peplos falls in thick, twin-ridged folds between her legs and slightly smaller, thinner ones down her right side. A dart-like fold crosses her thigh diagonally just above her knee, terminating at its right side, and another flat one falls vertically from her kneecap, narrowing gently as it does so. Folds from the rest of the garment curve toward this one from either side of her lower leg, outlining her thigh, bifurcating as they approach her shinbone, and vanishing as they near it.

The marble, scale, and weathering are compatible with the Hephaisteion's pediments, and the pose and subject indicate position K in its east pediment (cuttings w, x on Fig. 3; her withdrawn right heel would fit in its protrusion at left rear).

Eileithyia? Cf. Parthenon east pediment, Hera (so-called Wegner Peplophoros; Brommer 1963, pls. 136, 137), and the Erechtheion Caryatids.

Delivorrias 1974, p. 45, n. 175, suggesting an attribution to the Hephaisteion's akroteria.

Ca. 430 B.C.

West Pediment: The Return of Hephaistos to Olympos

3 Hoof of a horse, donkey, or mule Figs. 4, 11

S 785. Cistern on west side of Arsenal at E/17–6/8,9 (deposit E 6:1, ca. 20 m north of Hephaisteion; abandonment fill, ca. 175–125 B.C.), June 8, 1936.

H. 0.094; W. 0.078; D. 0.076 m. Parian marble. Originally identified as Pentelic by the excavators, whence Thompson 1949, p. 234 (cat. item D); then Parian by Alexandros Mantis (n.d.); Harrison (1956); and others, including Olga Palagia (pers. comm., 2016); and the present author.

Broken across pastern, left bulb of heel, and tip of hoof; edges of breaks battered. Proper right side weathered.

Underside and rear of hoof flat chiseled.

Asymmetries in the anatomy show that the hoof comes probably from the animal's right legs. The weathering shows that it was moving to the right, and the break at the tip of the hoof indicates that it stood originally on its tip, so probably it belonged to a foreleg flexed at the knee and carved in one piece with its plinth, as was usual. Its scale, finish, and weathering indicate that it comes from the same animal as **4**.

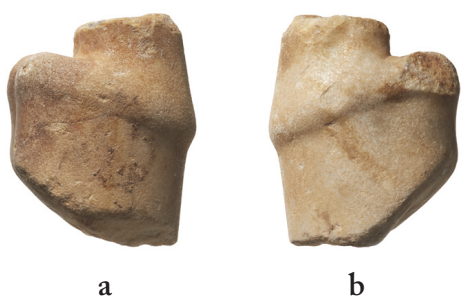


Figure 11. Equine hoof (3): (a) right profile; (b) left profile. Athens, Agora Museum S 785. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

See **4**, below, for an identification and attribution.

Dinsmoor 1941, pp. 120–122, fig. 52; Thompson 1949, p. 234 (cat. item D), pl. 52:2; Harrison 1956; Gottlieb 1957, pp. 161, 163, 164, fig. 1; Thompson 1962b, p. 346, n. 28; *Agora* XIV, pp. 80 (n. 236), 148; Delivorrias 1974, pp. 19, 24, 26, 27,

52, pl. 6:b; Scheffer 1996, pp. 182–183; Leventi 2014, pp. 132, 136. For the deposit and its date, see *Agora* XXXIII, pp. 351–352.

The find circumstances show that at least this part of the animal was damaged and discarded by the mid–late 2nd century B.C.

4 Hoof of a horse, donkey, or mule Figs. 4, 12

S 1873. Marble piles west of Tholos at approximately F-11 (ca. 50 m south of Hephaisteion), recovered with **12** and **25**, October 1954; registered 1955.

H. 0.107; W. 0.072; D. 0.062 m. Parian marble.

Broken across pastern, right bulb of heel, right side of hoof, and diagonally up hoof from front; edges of breaks battered. Weathered, more on proper right side.

Top of left bulb of heel chiseled.

Asymmetries in the anatomy show that the hoof comes probably from a right leg, and the weathering shows that it was moving to the right. The similarities to **3** in scale, finish, and weathering indicate that it comes from the same animal; it looks slightly smaller only because of the damage.

The marble, scale, and weathering of **3** and **4** are compatible with the Hephaisteion's pediments. Red-figure comparanda suggest that the animal's height at the withers should be ±8 times theirs, or ca. 80 cm, producing an overall height of ca. 1.35–1.40 m. (The pediments are 1.527 m high at center.) This and the animal's pose would fit position G, cuttings k–o, in the west pediment (see Fig. 3). If so, it should be Hephaistos's mule, identifying the composition's subject as his return to Olympos after nine years in an ocean grotto.

Harrison 1956; Thompson 1962b, p. 346, n. 28; Delivorrias 1974, p. 28, n. 101 (erroneously cited as S 1837); Scheffer 1996, pp. 182–183.

Figure 12. Equine hoof (4): (a) right profile; (b) left profile. Athens, Agora Museum S 1873. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

5 Head of a girl Figs. 4, 13

S 1093. Medieval walls north of Kolonos Agoraios at E,G-2,3 (ca. 90 m north of Hephaisteion), February 2, 1939.

H. 0.16; W. 0.137; D. 0.079 m. Outer corners of eyes, W. 0.071; inner corner to corner of mouth, H. >0.042 m. Original H. of head ca. 0.16 m. Parian marble.

Broken all round and heavily weathered; lower part of face, right cheek, left side and back of head broken away. Features and hair battered.

Left side and top of hair sketched with point only; channels between locks on right side honeycombed with 3 mm Diam. drill (L. 1–3 cm); one channel running drilled and centers of curls point drilled with 5 mm bit. Ear cavity drilled out with same tool. Tear duct of right eye probably point drilled with 3 mm bit. Eyeballs outlined against eyelids and upper lid against brow ridge with 2 mm running drill; left nostril outlined against cheek with same tool.

Since the right eye is deeper set and more sharply curved than the left, the girl's head, about four-fifths life-size, was facing to the spectator's left and seen in three-quarter view. The surviving left nostril is distended, with a prominent running drill channel separating it from the cheek. The eyes are narrowed in ecstasy or

a b c

Figure 13. Head (5), probably of a maenad: (a) front view; (b) right profile; (c) left profile. Athens, Agora Museum S 1093. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

distress, with the lower lids drawn up and bisected horizontally by a prominently curved furrow, and the upper ones partially closed; and the eyeballs are almond-shaped and bulging. The upper eyelids meet the lower ones at the outer corners. The right ear is delicate and finely carved (the left is missing). The hair is thick and wild, waved back from the forehead over the skull and curled at the ends; the locks and curls are drilled for further emphasis.

The marble, scale, and weathering are compatible with the Hephaisteion's pediments, and the subject, presumably a maenad in a state of ecstasy *(enthousiasmos),* places it in the western one. See also **6**, below; unlike her, however, this head might belong to **7**, the *ephedrismos* group.

Delivorrias 1974, p. 29, n. 113, folding pl. 3, attributing it to the east pediment (in his view, a Centauromachy) of the Hephaisteion.

Ca. 440–400 B.C.

6 Female head Figs. 4, 14

S 429*bis*. Deposit E 11:2.2 at D/20,E/1–11/16,17 (well, ca. 72.50 m south of Hephaisteion, 3rd century A.D.), June 6, 1936. Joined to **7** (Figs. 4, 15) in June 1936, soon after discovery; removed December 1968.

H. 0.192; of head, 0.163; of face, ca. 12.5; W. 0.141; D. 0.156 m. Outer corners of eyes, W. 0.069; inner corners to corners of mouth, H. 0.048 m. Parian marble.

Broken across neck, break chipped and battered. Eyebrows, nose, lips, and chin battered perhaps by hammer blows; hairline, side hair, and ears chipped and battered. Heavily weathered on left side of neck, left side and top of head, gradually decreasing past front of neck and face. Right eye somewhat encrusted; original surface preserved on forehead and rear of right cheek.

Modern hole for pseudo-join to **7** in break on neck (Diam. 1.5; D. 8.5 cm). Mouth running drilled with 2 mm drill (L. 3.7 cm); four upper teeth squared with specialized, finely pointed channeling tool or corner of flat chisel. Left ear cavity drilled with 5 mm drill (D. 4 mm). Hair roughly chiseled at sides and back, pointed with vertical strokes on upper left side, mason's strokes on crown and right side; several shallow, swirling 7 mm running drill channels on crown and right side. Some of this tooling might well be due to later refurbishment, though the weathering prohibits certainty. Headband chiseled and rasped; right side of skull rasped.

The woman, who is about four-fifths life-size and exactly the same scale as **5**, wears an unevenly folded headband (W. ca. 3–4.5 cm) that covers her front hair and is drawn back over the ears to the remains of a low bun at the nape of the neck. She turns her head up and to her right; the axes of her eyes and mouth converge in this direction, and her right eye is slightly longer and more salient than her left.

a b c

Figure 14. Head (6), probably of a maenad: (a) front view; (b) left three-quarter view; (c) right profile. Athens, Agora Museum S 429*bis*. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Her mouth opens to show her upper teeth, her nostrils flare, and her eyes are narrowed in ecstasy or distress. They are not quite as long as those of **5**, however, and although their upper eyelids also do not cross the lower ones at the outer corners, the latter are not creased like those of **5**, suggesting a different carver at work. There is no warrant for conjecturing a join to another figure in the hair at the proper left.[26]

The marble, scale, and weathering are compatible with the Hephaisteion's pediments, and the subject, presumably another maenad, places it in the western one. The extreme extension of the neck, asymmetrical features, rasping, and weathering pattern suggest a reclining figure in the south half of the pediment with her head in near profile, straining to catch the events at the center. Cf. the figures in the corners of the Olympia pediments, and see also **5**, above.

Shear 1936, p. 408, figs. 3, 4; 1937, pp. 376–378, fig. 42; Thompson 1949, pp. 235–236, pl. 55:1, 2; Gottlieb 1957, p. 164; Thompson 1962b, p. 345; Delivorrias 1968, p. 26, n. 44; Travlos, *Athens,* fig. 346; Delivorrias 1974, pp. 28–29, 52–53, pls. 7, 9 (still joined to **7**); Boardman [1985] 1991, p. 146, fig. 115 (still joined to **7**); Camp 1990, pp. 43, 202–203; Scheffer 1996.

Ca. 440–400 B.C.

7 *Ephedrismos* group (two young women) Figs. 4, 5, 15

S 429. Deposit G 8:1.1 at G/4,5–8/10,11 (late Byzantine, 13th century A.D., in well on east slope of Kolonos Agoraios, ca. 23 m due east of Hephaisteion), February 23, 1934. Cf. also **1**, **9**, **11** (Fig. 6) from packing of well G 8:1.

H. 0.65 (rider); 0.49 m (carrier). Est. total H. ca. 1.10–1.20;[27] W. ca. 0.55; D. 0.42 m. Rider's shoulders, W. 0.35; carrier's, p.W. 0.335 m. Necks, W. 0.094 m. Parian marble; a small, kidney-shaped hole in the left arm of the rider is apparently a natural flaw, presumably once effaced with plaster.

Missing: carrier's head and neck (**6**, attached to **7** shortly after its discovery in June 1936, was removed in December 1968), left upper arm, left breast, body below waist; most of right arm from elbow to wrist split away; right breast, right side of waist, ridges of folds, and all breaks battered. Rider's head and neck, left forearm, legs from knees down, backs of both thighs missing; right elbow, ridges of folds, and all breaks battered. Anteriors of shoulders and upper torsos weathered; rider's left thigh and both figures' backs badly water damaged (presumably by its long post-antique exposure to well water), though patches of original surface are visible in well-sheltered areas.

Carefully finished all round; technical details often blurred by weathering. Patches of original surface survive below carrier's right armpit, in the hollow of

26. Delivorrias (1974, p. 29), citing Harrison, but with no reference to a publication.

27. Thompson (1949, p. 242, pl. 63) arbitrarily increased this to 1.32 m to qualify **7** as an akroterion: critique, Delivorrias 1974, p. 34, though his own reconstruction (p. 39, pl. 4) incorrectly has the carrier kneeling and the group thus only 90–95 cm high; *contra,* decisively, Scheffer 1996, pp. 172, 177–178.

a b c

Figure 15. *Ephedrismos* group (7): (a) right profile; (b) front; (c) left profile. Athens, Agora Museum S 429. Scale 1:10. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

her back, and under rider's right arm and drapery folds between upper thighs at rear. Modern dowel hole for pseudo-join to **7** in carrier's neck (Diam. 1.7 cm). Folds below carrier's right hand honeycombed with drill (Diam. 6; D. 3–4 mm); a few others show faint traces of 2–4 mm running drills, all but totally effaced with pointed "riffler" files, chisels, and abrasives. Eyelets of carrier's kolpos on proper right, rider's kolpos on proper left, and tops of fold valleys between rider's legs drilled (Diam. 4 mm). Transition between carrier's right arm and torso from armpit downward running drilled (Diam. 3 mm; p.L. 19 cm); likewise between right arm of rider and carrier's torso (Diam. 2 mm); both channels mostly recut with riffler file and abrasives. Some secondary folds on rider's torso and anterior of thigh incised with chisel; some fold valleys on both figures finely abraded lengthwise in places.

The figures are moving to the spectator's left. The carrier has locked her arms around the rider's right leg and bears her weight partly also on her left shoulder and side. The rider rests her right arm on the carrier's right shoulder. Their clothing clearly distinguishes them in age and status. The carrier, the elder of the two, wears a peplos girdled low, creating a curving *kolpos,* and the rider a similarly girdled sleeved chiton that has slipped off her left shoulder; four buttons with associated radiating fold starbursts are visible on her right shoulder and arm, and one near the break on her left arm. The folds of the peplos are rounded and comparatively thick; those of the chiton are faceted, often ribbon-like, and sometimes twin-ridged, and a few of the latter are incised.

Until Delivorrias placed the group in the temple's west pediment in 1974, it was generally accepted as its eastern central akroterion and variously identified as the Hesperides (Thompson 1949), a pair of Clouds (Bieber 1951), and so on. The patches of original surface on sheltered areas of the back rule out such an exposed location, however, and together with the weathering on the anterior and the scale point instead to the pediments. The subject, which in a sacred context must be Dionysiac (Scheffer 1996), places it in the western one. Since the carrier must be running (*pace* Delivorrias 1974, folding pl. 4), probably the group stood near the center, presumably in position F, or more likely J (cuttings e–i, u–x on Fig. 3; Delivorrias 1997, pp. 94–95, figs. 19, 20), next to Dionysos himself. In the latter position, the long diagonal socket K (L. 1.41 m) could accommodate its width, and the upward slope of the pediment its height (max. available H. ca. 1.2 m).

Figure 16. Iris (figure N) from the west pediment of the Parthenon. London, British Museum 304. Photo H. Goette

Figure 17. Assembly of the Gods, with an Athenian warrior at right. Hephaisteion, east frieze, slab 2 (plaster cast in Basel). Photo H. Goette

Figure 18. Assembly of the Gods. Temple of Athena Nike, east frieze (detail). Photo A. Stewart

Shear 1936, p. 408, figs. 3, 4; Picard 1937, pp. 127–128; Shear 1937, pp. 376–378, fig. 42; Picard 1938, p. 95; 1939, pp. 716–718, fig. 290; Dinsmoor 1941, p. 122; Thompson 1949, pp. 235–236 (cat. item F), pls. 53–55:1, 2; Lippold 1950, p. 158; Bieber 1951; Gottlieb 1957, pp. 161–164, pl. 61, figs. 1, 2; Thompson 1962b, p. 345; Eckstein 1967, pp. 81–82, figs. 4, 5; Delivorrias 1968, p. 26, n. 44; 1974, pp. 28, 30, 33–34, 51, 53, 56, 147, 165, 167, pls. 9–11 (pl. 9, with 6 still joined); Dinsmoor 1976, p. 239, n. 47; Harrison 1976, p. 210; Thompson 1976, p. 195; Ridgway 1981, p. 60; Harrison 1982, p. 49, n. 45; Boardman [1985] 1991, p. 146, fig. 115 (with 6 still joined); Danner 1989, p. 91, no. A 21; Camp 1990, pp. 43, 202–203; Despinis 1993, pp. 88, 91, 93–94; Scheffer 1996; Delivorrias 1997, pp. 97, 100, fig. 22; Palagia 2000b, p. 353, n. 12; Gawlinski 2014, pp. 45–46, 156; Leventi 2014, pp. 111, 132–139, 142, fig. 18.

Ca. 430 B.C. Cf. Parthenon, west pediment C, N (Fig. 16), and Hestia, east pediment K; also Hera, Hephaisteion, east frieze ii.7 (Fig. 17); and contrast the Nike temple's east frieze, where the *kolpoi* have become almost parabolic (Fig. 18).

8 Naked male torso fragment Figs. 4, 19

S 1625. Marble pile at northeast corner of yard of Church of the Holy Apostles, at P-15; recovered and registered April 10, 1952.

H. 0.247; W. 0.221; D. 0.166 m. Parian marble.

Broken across waist, top of right thigh, and down left side of torso from waist to groin. Left buttock, left leg and hip, lower part of right buttock, and penis broken away; breaks battered. Front heavily weathered; back somewhat less so, with ancient surface preserved on base of spine and cleft between buttocks.

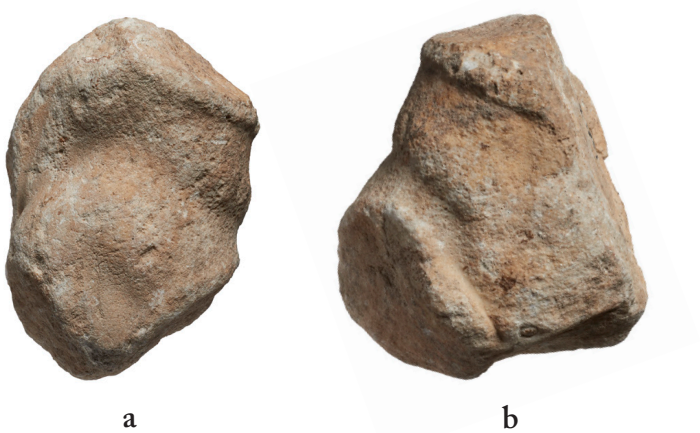


Figure 19. Torso (8), perhaps of a satyr: (a) right profile; (b) front view. Athens, Agora Museum S 1625.
Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Penis inset with plug into 1.3 cm Diam. hole; cleft between buttocks chiseled.

Although much of the body is missing, the pose can be reconstructed with some confidence. The man, who is a little under life-size and should be pedimental, was apparently poised facing the observer and lunging to his left, with his left leg flexed (and his right thus extended), and his torso curving vigorously over it. The modeling is broad, with the major transitions emphasized and the minor ones barely indicated. The pubic hair must have been painted.

The marble, scale, and weathering are compatible with the Hephaisteion's pediments. Although the fragment theoretically could belong to either of them, the man's contorted pose best fits an action scene, and thus the northern half of the west pediment, and (in contrast to **11**, whose genitals were carved in one piece with the body) he may well have been ithyphallic. A similarly pieced and clearly once-ithyphallic male torso of ca. 470 probably from a pediment of the Temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus on the south slope of the Acropolis (Athens, National

Archaeological Museum 2324), offers a striking precedent that was readily available when **8** was carved.[28]

Delivorrias 1974, p. 29, n. 113, folding pl. 3.

Ca. 450–400 B.C.

Pedimental, Unassigned

9 Left elbow and adjacent part of upper arm Figs. 4, 6:b

S 1837. Late Byzantine (13th-century) packing of well G 8:1 on east slope of Kolonos Agoraios at G/4,5–8/10,11 (ca. 23 m east of Hephaisteion), discovered February–March 1934, together with **1** and **11**; recognized by Thompson and registered March 1954. Cf. also **7**, from deposit G 8:1.1.

L. 0.102; W. 0.084; D. 0.81 m. Parian marble.

Back of elbow and adjacent part of upper arm alone preserved; broken across halfway up triceps and down center of arm; U-shaped break down medial side of arm above elbow, L. 6.5 cm, perhaps attachment to left side of torso. Slightly weathered.

No tooling visible.

Slightly under life-size. The elbow was flexed at right angles; its pristine surface suggests that it faced away from the observer.

The marble, scale, and weathering are compatible with the Hephaisteion's pediments.

Harrison 1956; Thompson 1962b, p. 346, n. 28; Delivorrias 1974, p. 26, n. 101.

Ca. 450–400 B.C.

10 Right wrist Figs. 4, 20

S 1852b. Marble dumps between Stoa of Zeus and Temple of Ares at I-7,8 (section H′, ca. 65 m east of Hephaisteion), fall 1933; found in box with **21** and fragments of S 312 and S 373 (Nikai attributed to Stoa of Zeus) and registered April 1954.

H. 0.045; W. 0.061; D. 0.048 m. Parian marble.

Broken below and above the wrist; lightly weathered.

Two skin folds on medial face lightly chiseled.

The wrist is approximately four-fifths life-size; the skin folds near the break on the medial face show that the hand was slightly flexed.

The marble, scale, and weathering are compatible with the Hephaisteion's pediments.

Unpublished.

Ca. 450–400 B.C.

Figure 20. Right wrist (10). Athens, Agora Museum S 1852b. Scale 3:4. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

11 Male right thigh Figs. 4, 6:c

S 1836. Late Byzantine (13th-century) packing of well G 8:1 on east slope of Kolonos Agoraios at G/4,5–8/10,11 (ca. 23 m east of Hephaisteion), discovered February–March 1934, together with **1** and **9**; recognized by Thompson and registered March 1954. Cf. also **7**, from deposit G 8:1.1.

L. 0.22; W. 0.136; D. 0.143 m. Parian marble.

Broken across at crotch, genitals mostly missing, remainder heavily battered; breaks somewhat battered and chipped. Heavily weathered on medial surface near knee, increasingly less toward groin, not at all near the break; anterior, lateral, and posterior surfaces unweathered.

Surface polished; genitals defined against thigh with chisel.

The scale and weathering are compatible with the Hephaisteion's pediments; the former shows that the man, who was identical in scale to **1** but somewhat less

28. Despinis 1996–1997, pp. 201–204, figs. 6–8, 10, 11, 14; Stewart 2008, p. 582 (with later bibliography), fig. 1. Hereafter, pieces from museums in Athens will be referenced by their inventory number, prefixed by "Athens NM" for the National Archaeological Museum and "AkrM" for the Acropolis Museum.

muscular, lunged or knelt in profile toward the spectator's left, with his right leg forward.

Harrison 1956; Thompson 1962b, pp. 344 (n. 22), 346 (n. 28); Delivorrias 1974, p. 26, n. 101; Leventi 2014, p. 136.

Ca. 450–400 B.C.

12 Flexed male left knee and adjacent object Figs. 4, 21

S 1911. Marble pile west of Tholos at approximately F-11 (50 m south-southeast of Hephaisteion), recovered with **4** and **25**, October 1954; registered May 1955.

H. 0.124; W. 0.109; D. 0.085 m. Object, W. at bottom 0.04, at top 0.063; D. 0.047 m. Parian marble.

Broken across above and below knee; lower leg, attached object, and most of back battered away and crumbling from long exposure in the marble pile. Flesh surfaces and remaining surface of object moderately weathered; lightly weathered band of original surface visible across crook of knee.

Object defined against medial and anterior surfaces of knee by sharp chisel lines.

The knee is approximately four-fifths life-size, flexed almost at a right angle, and could belong to either a seated or a reclining man. The object is elliptical in cross section, passes behind the knee diagonally from calf to thigh, and expands as it goes. It is too regular and wrongly positioned to be another limb, and too conical to be a staff or scepter. Possible candidates include a cornucopia, branch, thyrsos, or similar object, gripped between the knees presumably of a god, Dionysiac figure, or personification.

The marble, scale, and weathering are compatible with the Hephaisteion's pediments.

Thompson 1962b, p. 346, n. 28; Delivorrias 1974, p. 26; Leventi 2014, p. 136.

Ca. 450–400 B.C.

Figure 21. Flexed male left knee and adjacent object (12): (a) front view; (b) back view. Athens, Agora Museum S 1911. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

13 Male(?) left foot on a plinth Figs. 4, 22

S 1472. Marble pile at northwest corner of Temple of Ares, at J/9–7/15,16 (ca. 80 m east of Hephaisteion); recovered and registered April 13, 1951.

L. 0.092; H. 0.05; W. 0.088 m. Foot behind toes, W. 0.072 m. Plinth, max. H. 0.025; p.L. 0.071 m. Parian marble.

Front, bottom, and sides of plinth broken away; foot broken across at instep. Very heavily weathered; bottom encrusted.

Transition between medial side of foot and plinth running drilled (Diam. 9 mm; D. 3–4 mm; p.L. 8.5 cm); also between big toe and second (Diam. 7 mm; L. 2.5 cm).

a b c

Figure 22. Left foot (male?) on a plinth (13): (a) lateral view; (b) front view; (c) medial view. Athens, Agora Museum S 1472. Scale 1:2. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

A badly weathered ridge between the left side of the foot, the toes, and the plinth may be the remains of a sandal (it stops after the big toe). If so, the conspicuous 8 mm gap between the big and second toes was intended to accommodate a (painted) toe-strap. The heel apparently was raised, so the figure was walking to the spectator's left. The foot seems slightly smaller in scale than **13** and **15**, perhaps largely because of the weathering.

The marble, scale, technique, and weathering are compatible with the Hephaisteion's pediments.

Unpublished.

Ca. 450–400 B.C.

14 Female left foot on a plinth Figs. 4, 23

S 1952. Found just east of Tholos at G,I-11,12 (section Z, ca. 90 m southeast of Hephaisteion), 1933. Recognized among uncatalogued marbles in the basement and registered 1956.

L. 0.162; H. 0.083; W. 0.075 m. Foot behind toes, W. 0.073 m. Plinth, H. 0.032 (front), 0.043 m (center and back). Parian marble.

Plinth's left side, left front, right side, and most of its back largely broken away; edges of breaks chipped and battered. Foot broken across diagonally from anterior of instep to left side of heel; right side and top of big toe, tip of little toe, and adjacent surface of foot's left side chipped away. Foot increasingly weathered toward the front.

Surviving side of plinth pointed in long diagonal "mason's" strokes; front and bottom vertically punched. Gaps between toes and toenails, and transitions between the foot, supporting wedge (see below), and plinth chiseled.

The foot is approximately four-fifths life-size: the same scale as **15**. Its toes and ball rest on the ground, but the rest of it is raised off the plinth by a marble wedge 1.7 cm high at the break before the heel. The modeling is delicate; the toenails are U-shaped.

The marble, scale, technique, and weathering are compatible with the Hephaisteion's pediments.

Delivorrias 1974, p. 26, n. 101 (described as male).

Ca. 450–400 B.C.

a b

Figure 23. Left foot (female) on a plinth (14): (a) lateral view; (b) top view. Athens, Agora Museum S 1952. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

a b c

Figure 24. Right foot (female) on a plinth (15): (a) lateral view; (b) top view; (c) front view. Athens, Agora Museum S 737. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

15 Female right foot on a plinth Figs. 4, 24

S 737. Late medieval pithos on north side of Arsenal, at F/15,17–6/5,6 (ca. 30 m north of northeast corner of Hephaisteion), April 28, 1936.

H. 0.88; L. 0.172; W. 0.142 m. Foot behind toes, W. 0.074 m. Plinth, H. 0.041 (front), 0.045 (back); lip at front, H. 0.02; protrusion, D. ca. 0.025–0.04; recessed lower part, H. 0.021; angled flat plane at back, H. 0.107; W. 0.12 m. Parian marble.

Broken at proper left; battered at front, destroying most of big toe and tip and upper surface of second toe. Somewhat weathered.

Back cut flat at a 60° angle with long "mason's" strokes of the point overlaid by careful vertical ones. Underside of plinth coarsely pointed in long strokes; right side pointed at front, flat chiseled behind; recessed lower part at front defined against protruding lip by horizontal row of 10 drill holes (Diam. 8–9 mm; p.D. ca. 1–5 mm, originally ca. 3–4.5 cm); another drill hole (Diam. 3; D. 4 mm), of uncertain purpose, on anterior of lip 4.2 cm from break at proper left. Right side of foot defined against top of plinth by 2 mm running drill channel (Diam. 2 mm; p.L. 5.5 cm); left side by two more (p.L. ca. 3.5 cm). Drapery folds near left side of foot cut by two running drill channels (Diam. 8 mm; p.L. ca. 4 cm); fold at front of plinth drilled (Diam. 3 mm).

The foot, which was slotted into both its heel and its socket in the pediment (mostly 3–4 cm deep; 6 cm on one occasion [Sauer 1899, p. 19, pl. 2; Thompson 1949, pp. 237–238, pls. 56–58]), is approximately four-fifths life-size: the same as **14**. It stands flat on the ground, also upon which several drapery folds terminate a few millimeters from its left side; the end of another fold hangs down above them, and still another, its ridge entirely broken away, flanks the break on the fragment's proper left. Since the work is careful, and the modeling is clearly late 5th century, it may be a contemporary repair or simply an add-on to fix a flaw in the marble; there is no reason to consider it a later repair (Harrison 1990, pp. 168–169).

The marble, scale, and weathering are compatible with the Hephaisteion's pediments, though the plinth is somewhat low; this could have been a mistake, easily rectified by inserting a thin, flat piece of marble below it.

Dinsmoor 1941, pp. 118–120, figs. 49–51; Thompson 1949, pp. 234–235 (cat. item E), fig. 2, pl. 52:4, 5; Harrison 1956; Gottlieb 1957, pp. 161, 163, 164, fig. 1; Thompson 1962b, pp. 344 (n. 22), 346 (n. 28); Delivorrias 1974, pp. 19, 26, 28, 53, pl. 6:a, c; Harrison 1990, pp. 167–169, fig. 5; Leventi 2014, pp. 132, 136.

Ca. 450–400 B.C.

Figure 25. Female head (16), perhaps Nike: (a) front view; (b) right profile; (c) left profile; (d) top view. Athens, Agora Museum S 1832. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Akroteria

16 Female head with meniskos hole Figs. 4, 25

S 1832. Built into north–south wall behind school facing Vrysaki Street (immediately east of Stoa of Attalos) at approximately S,T-9,10; recovered and registered February 27, 1954.

H. 0.158; W. 0.154; D. 0.165 m. Outer corners of eyes, W. 0.076; inner corners to corners of mouth, H. 0.05; original H. of head ca. 0.18 m. Parian marble.

Broken across diagonally from lower lip to crown of head, leaving only central part of face and much of hair mass. Upper lip, left eyebrow, right front hair chipped; nose largely broken away. Hair badly weathered, forehead and left cheek less so, right cheek almost intact.

Meniskos hole in crown (Diam. 1.3; D. 4.1 cm), offset 1 cm to proper left of central axis. Drilled twice; second, lower hole with slightly narrower bit and at slight angle: to bend spike and prevent loss during installation? Hair punched vertically.

The head is slightly under life-size. The hair, parted in the center, forms a thick roll around the hairline, but adheres more closely to the skull behind it; it was only roughly finished, but the face was carefully smoothed. The eyes are narrow, with thin lower lids, and the mouth is slightly open. The left eye is somewhat shorter and higher than the right, suggesting that the head was turned slightly to the figure's left.

Its marble, meniskos hole, life-size scale, and weathering indicate an akroterion from the temple.

Delivorrias 1974, pp. 45, 58, pl. 15:a, folding pl. 3.

Ca. 425–400 B.C.

17 "Nereid" akroterion (Thetis?) Figs. 4, 7, 26

S 182. J/12,13–9/15,16, 1 m depth, ca. 30 m due east of Metroon (i.e., ca. 90 m east of Hephaisteion; not "ca. 90 m ESE of Tholos," as stated on registration card), February 12, 1932.

H. 1.25; W. 0.52; D. 0.39 m. Neck, W. 0.115; D. 0.11 m. Shoulders, W. ca. 0.36; nipples, 0.20; waist, 0.252 m. Pit of neck to nipples, H. 0.124; to navel, 0.32 m. Est. total H. ca. 1.70 m. Parian marble.

Missing: head and most of neck; right arm from above elbow; left arm just below shoulder (mended from several fragments); himation down this entire side; anterior of both legs below knees; feet and plinth. Breaks battered, likewise ridges of many drapery folds. Evenly weathered all round, more heavily toward and at the top.

Hair mass at back punched in vertical and "masons'" strokes; curls then chiseled. Some chiton folds below broken left arm, on right side, and hem below left shoulder blade honeycombed with 2 and 3 mm Diam. drills; transition between hair and back of torso honeycombed with 5 mm Diam. drill. Some chiton folds on torso and left thigh incised with edge of flat chisel. Himation fold valleys between legs running drilled with varying combinations of 2–5 mm Diam. bits, then reworked with riffler file to obscure or obliterate drill channels. Medial face of left thigh and calf coarsely rasped in diagonal strokes, right side of torso toward chiton lightly so.

The figure strides vigorously forward against a fresh breeze, her right leg advanced, arms lowered and somewhat withdrawn, head turned to her left (displacing the hair mass to her right shoulder), and left leg trailing. Her hair was long and hung in a thick mass down her back, *parthenos*-style, and her upper body is girlish, with sloping shoulders and small breasts; her hips are quite wide, however, and her thighs long and powerful. She wears a light, sleeved chiton and himation. The chiton is buttoned on her right shoulder and down her arm (three buttons and associated "starburst" folds are preserved), but has slipped down to expose her left shoulder and breast, its hem dropping diagonally between her breasts down to her left hip in an undulating sequence of rounded folds. Elsewhere, its folds are generally ribbon-like or even incised, but occasionally crinkle into low, sharp ridges.

Her himation must have been draped up and over her now-lost left forearm, and then back between her elbow and body, since from the break down her proper left side it descends down her back from waist to right hip in a heavy, tightly rolled bundle, from which a zigzag hem at lower left and then a series of tubular and twin-ridged folds drop diagonally to the break above her ankles. Passing around her right hip and flank, it then rises up and over her advanced right thigh and knee, forming a distinctively undulating fold bundle over her groin that rhymes visually with the trailing upper hem of her chiton above, and finally drops down to the ground again between her legs.

The marble, life-size scale, motif, and weathering indicate an akroterion from the temple. Too big to be a corner figure, it was presumably a central one. Its bowlegged appearance in front view (Fig. 26:a) shows that it was poised on the diagonal, striding to the spectator's left (Fig. 7). This poise, its noncontrappostic stance, and its head's once sharp turn to its left strongly support Delivorrias's former conjecture (1974, pp. 46–47; withdrawn, 1997, p. 100) that it was grouped with another figure situated there. See **21**, below, for an identification and attribution.

Cf. the Nike of Paionios (Fig. 27). Cf. also AkrM 989 (seated Athena) and AkrM 7305 for back view, from the Nike temple parapet (426–423; Brouskari 1998, pls. 27, 28, 67); and from the Erechtheion (derivative), see AkrM 2825, AkrM 1288, AkrM 1076 for front view (Boulter 1970, pls. 1, 2, 10, 13, 14); AkrM 2844 for back (Boulter 1970, pl. 5:b); AkrM 21071 for right side (Boulter 1970, pl. 11).

Shear 1932, p. 384, pl. C; Karo 1932, cols. 119–120, fig. 10; Payne 1932, pp. 236–237, fig. 1; Shear 1933, pp. 526–528, figs. 10–12, pl. 16; *RE* VI.A.2, 1937, col. 1364, s.v. Timotheos 76 (G. Lippold); Picard 1938; 1939, p. 716; 1948, p. 376

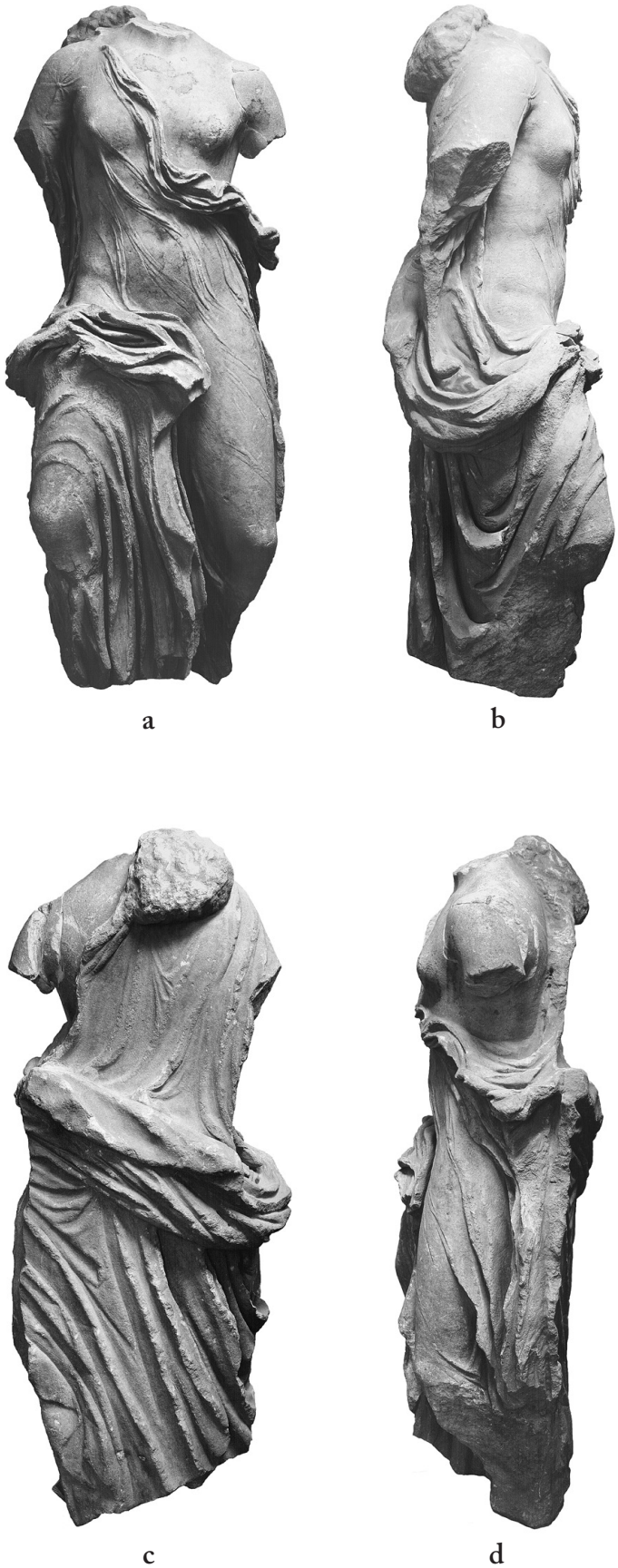


Figure 26. Akroterion (17), probably Thetis: (a) front view; (b) right profile; (c) back view; (d) left profile. Athens, Agora Museum S 182.
Not to scale. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 27. Nike by Paionios of Mende. Olympia, Archaeological Museum 46-48. Photo H. Goette

(n. 4), 383, fig. 150; Thompson 1949, p. 243, n. 33; Lippold 1950, p. 221; Gottlieb 1957, p. 163; Thompson 1962a, p. 126; 1962b, p. 345, n. 24; Schlörb 1965, pp. 40–41, fig. 43, pl. 10; Adam 1966, pp. 53, 93, pl. 23:c; *EAA* 7, 1966, p. 864, s.v. Timotheos (L. Vlad Borrelli); Delivorrias 1974, pp. 41, 45–47, 58–59 (n. 178), 149–150 (n. 639), pls. 16, 17, folding pl. 4; Dinsmoor 1976, p. 238, n. 46; Harrison 1976, p. 210; Thompson 1976, pp. 190–191, fig. 99; Bielefeld 1978, p. 64; Ridgway 1981, pp. 62, 114; Boardman [1985] 1991, p. 146, fig. 116; Harrison 1988, p. 105, pl. 20:4; Danner 1989, pp. 22–23, no. 143, pl. 19; Camp 1990, pp. 198–199; *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 819, no. 483, pl. 515, s.v. Nereides (N. Icard-Gianolio and A.-V. Szabados); Buitron-Oliver 1992, p. 138, no. 27; Despinis 1993, p. 92; Barringer 1995, p. 232, no. 379; Delivorrias 1997, p. 100, n. 57, fig. 21; Rolley 1999, p. 121, fig. 111; Schultz 2001, p. 17, n. 56; Palagia 2006a, p. 143; Gawlinski 2014, p. 68; Leventi 2014, pp. 140–142, 197, 199, fig. 19.

Ca. 420–410 B.C.

18 Right wing and drapery fragment, probably from an akroterion Figs. 4, 28

S 1895. Marble pile at D,E-8 (ca. 10 m south of Hephaisteion); recovered and registered 1955.

H. 0.193; W. 0.213; D. 0.061 m. Parian marble.

Broken almost all round (except below), and inner part of wing chipped away vertically; breaks battered. Moderate weathering.

a b

Figure 28. Right wing and drapery fragment (18), probably from a Nike akroterion: (a) front view; (b) back view. Athens, Agora Museum S 1895. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Secondary (larger/outer) wing feathers chiseled along shaft and edges; secondary coverts (smaller/inner ones) diagonally chiseled and rasped with coarse and fine rasps to indicate barbs. Two drapery folds at back discreetly undercut with running drills (Diam. 3, 4, and 6 mm); curl of drapery fold at bottom hollowed out with 12 mm drill; lower boundaries of flatter fold valleys sometimes defined with edge of rasp. Cutting between wing and drapery at proper left running drilled with 12 mm bit, then punched, chiseled, and abraded. Back of wing at top diagonally claw chiseled (5 teeth/8 mm); edge of drapery punched and chiseled.

The wing was partially open, with its secondary feathers approximately at a 45° angle. The drapery (a himation) was slung over the figure's right shoulder and the top/leading edge of the wing, hanging down the back in a series of curving, converging folds that merge with the (abruptly truncated) ends of the lowest two secondary feathers and terminate in a half roll with a hanging eye at the bottom of the fragment. The folds are flattish, both twin- and multiple-ridged, and each is separated by a smaller ridged fold down the middle of the valleys between them.

The backs of this and **22** are by the same hand and perhaps from the same statue. Their marble, scale, motif, and weathering indicate a corner akroterion of the Hephaisteion, evidently a flying or alighting Nike. The cloak-over-wing motif first appears on AkrM 995 from the Nike temple parapet, ca. 425–423 (Brouskari 1998, pls. 41, 42), and is echoed spectacularly ca. 390–380 on the northeast akroterion from the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, Athens NM 162 (Yalouris 1992, p. 19, no. 2, pls. 3–5; Prignitz 2014, pl. 1:, below), by Theomne/astos (*DNO,* vol. 3, pp. 274–276, nos. 2115, 2116; cf. *DNO,* vol. 4, pp. 61–62, no. 2753, a painter).

Delivorrias 1974, pp. 44–45, 58, pl. 15:b, c.

Ca. 425–400 B.C.

19 Female left hand, holding drapery Figs. 4, 29

S 1780. Marble pile behind north end of Stoa of Attalos, at R-7; recovered and registered November 1953.

L. 0.185; H. 0.111; D. 0.094 m. Parian marble.

Broken off below wrist; finger joints and ridges of folds battered; some folds chipped away entirely. Severely weathered all over.

Fingernails deeply chiseled; valleys of some folds chiseled lengthwise; those below fingers apparently running drilled (Diam. 3 and 5 mm), creating conspicuous tunnels at their upper ends (L. 3–11 mm). Faint traces of somewhat coarse rasping remain on some drapery folds.

The arm was extended outward and upward at an angle of about 45° and was completely wrapped in drapery, presumably a himation, below the fingers. The woman grips the cloth in her fist between her thumb, forefinger (which it also covers), and remaining three fingers, so that a thick bundle of it hangs vertically down from the latter. The folds over the arm on the anterior and posterior are

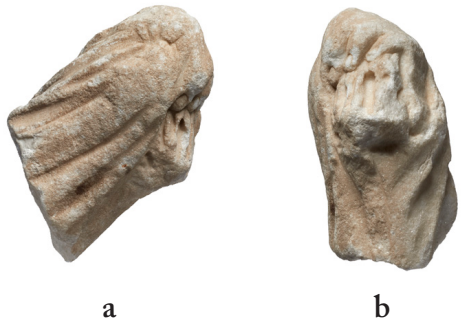


Figure 29. Female left hand, holding drapery (19): (a) front view; (b) lateral view. Athens, Agora Museum S 1780. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

flattish and broad, while those on its upper surface are narrower and ridged, modeling the arm as they wrap around it. The hanging bundle is composed of three twin-ridged folds, and the fingernails that grip them are ∪-shaped. The figure was a little under life-size (i.e., roughly the same scale as the pedimental figures), and the motif anticipates or echoes the Nike of Paionios (Fig. 27).

The marble, scale, motif, and weathering indicate a corner akroterion of the temple, evidently a flying or alighting Nike.

Delivorrias 1974, p. 29, n. 113 (erroneously cited as S 178).

Ca. 425–400 B.C.

20 Right leg of a woman Figs. 4, 30

S 1665. Marble pile north of Temple of Ares, near east end, at K-7; recovered and registered June 12, 1952.

H. 0.345; W. 0.087; D. 0.090 m. Foot, p.L. 0.126; base of toes, W. 0.076 m. Parian marble (originally identified as Pentelic, but a fresh chip on the upper break shows otherwise).

Broken below knee and above toes; moderately weathered, with marble pile erosion on medial face.

Sole of foot roughly punched in front of heel.

The leg is life-size, bare, not standing on a plinth, and finished all round; the foot is pointed downward at roughly a 30° angle, showing that it came from a running or flying figure.

Figure 30. Right lower leg of a woman (20): (a) lateral view; (b) medial view. Athens, Agora Museum S 1665. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

The marble, scale, weathering, technique, and poise indicate an akroterion of the temple, evidently a flying or alighting nymph (**18**) or Nike (**21**) like the Nike of Paionios (Fig. 27).

Delivorrias 1974, p. 124, n. 541.

Ca. 425–400 B.C.?

21 Thigh fragment(?) covered with flowing drapery Figs. 4, 31

S 1852a. Marble dumps between Stoa of Zeus and Temple of Ares, at I-7,8 (section H′, ca. 65 m east of Hephaisteion), fall 1933; found in a box with **10** and fragments of S 312 and S 373 (Nikai attributed to Stoa of Zeus) and registered April 1954.

H. 0.135; W. 0.103; D. 0.05 m. Parian marble.

Broken all round and down the back; weathered.

Folds lightly rasped, on slight diagonal.

The leg is approximately life-size and comes from a figure striding vigorously forward against a fresh breeze. The garment clings to the anterior of the leg, so that the remains of three drapery folds cross it diagonally from upper left to lower right, the lower two converging as they descend and begin to leave the body. The fragment matches **17** (see Figs. 7, 26) in marble, workmanship, style, and patina but does not join it and is too thick to be a nonjoining chip from it. It must therefore come from a companion figure by the same sculptor, of which apparently it is the sole remaining piece, unless **20** also belonged to it.

These two figures (**17**, **21**), the first definitely wingless and the second thus probably so, may be identified with some confidence as Thetis and Eurynome, the two sea nymphs who saved Hephaistos when Hera threw him into the Ocean, and nurtured him in a grotto for nine years.[29] They presumably served as the temple's central western akroterion, poised above the god, his mule, and the scene of his return to Olympos. Significantly, the bases for the temple's two central akroteria were both abnormally wide and deep (1.644 × 1.312 m) and composed unusually of two adjoining blocks, evidently to support such groups, which, as **17**'s dimensions show, were ca. 1.2 m wide at a minimum.[30]

Unpublished.

Ca. 420–400 B.C.

Figure 31. Thigh fragment(?) covered with flowing drapery (21). Athens, Agora Museum S 1852a. Scale 1:4. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

22 Piece of flying drapery Figs. 4, 32

S 2031. From core of Byzantine repair of post-Herulian Wall, north of small gate by Roman (pre-Herulian) southeast entrance to the Agora, at S-17, March 10, 1959.

H. 0.297; W. 0.202; D. 0.119 m. Parian marble.

Broken across at top and bottom, all down proper left side, and diagonally above and below proper right, leaving ca. 8 cm of the edge folds intact at center; hem and ridges of most prominent folds of overfold, and ridges of all folds on back except one at right, broken away; edges of breaks battered. Moderately weathered.

Rear of overfold honeycombed with drill at proper left (Diam. 8 mm), and channeled with running drill at proper right (Diam. 3 mm). Some folds then grooved out with riffler file. Front folds lightly rasped in patches along valleys and ridges; rear ones more thoroughly.

The fragment comes from a figure running or flying to the spectator's left, and apparently was blown clear of the body's left side, adjoining it at its proper top right. The folds are bold and mostly tubular, with a single discreet nick in the front ridges as preserved, and none behind. Twin-ridged folds occur once on both sides.

29. *Il.* 18.394–409; *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 316–321.

30. Dinsmoor 1976, pp. 230–231, 239, ills. 5, 10: i.e., 107% of the height of the tympanon; by comparison, the width of the Parthenon's central akroterion bases is less than 50% of its tympanon's height.

Figure 32. Piece of flying drapery (22): (a) front view; (b) back view. Athens, Agora Museum S 2031. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

The backs of this and **18** are by the same hand and perhaps even from the same statue. Their marble, scale, motif, and weathering indicate an akroterion from the temple.

Unpublished.

Ca. 425–420 B.C.

23 Drapery fragment Figs. 4, 33

S 2191. Marble pile at approximately E,F-6 (ca. 17 m north of Hephaisteion); recovered and registered July 26, 1966.

L. 0.20; W. 0.107; D. 0.071 m. Parian marble.

Broken all round, breaks battered; ridges of folds broken away and battered. Weathered on front, somewhat on back, hardly at all on third side; breaks friable from long exposure in the marble pile.

Wide, almost unweathered valley on one side and narrower one on the other diagonally rasped; at bottom of former, three shallow holes 5 mm apart (Diam. 5 mm; remains of honeycombing); back abraded and unpolished.

This fragment of flying drapery, probably from the edge of the garment, has a roughly triangular cross section. Remains of three folds are visible on the most weathered side. The first, flattish, rounds off to the back; the second bifurcates a few centimeters down from the break into a smaller fold and a larger one that transitions to the second side; its overhang protected the wide valley on the other side from the elements.

The marble, scale, motif, and weathering indicate a corner akroterion of the Hephaisteion, evidently a flying or alighting Nike.

Unpublished.

Ca. 425–400 B.C.

Figure 33. Drapery fragment (23): (a) front view; (b) back view. Athens, Agora Museum S 2191. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 34. Windblown drapery (24): (a) front view; (b) back view. Athens, Agora Museum S 1816. Scale 1:5. Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

24 Windblown drapery Figs. 4, 34

S 1816. Circled marbles at I,K-8,10 (section E, to east of Metroon, ca. 95 m east of Hephaisteion); recovered and registered June 4, 1931.

H. 0.163; W. 0.131; D. 0.063; min. Th. 0.012 m. Parian marble.

Broken and battered all round; edges of folds chipped and highly friable from long exposure; severely weathered all round.

Edges and valleys of folds chiseled and rasped, following the curves; entire back similarly chiseled and rasped, but more coarsely.

From near the lower hem of a freestanding section of a chiton or himation. The cloth, which thins out toward the bottom, swirls as if inflated by a gust from the spectator's left, with an updraft flipping up part of the hem into an Ω fold at this side. Three major folds are visible, two on the main part of the garment and one on the cupped hem; all are tubular and twin-ridged, and the rightmost is nicked. The back is schematic, with six parallel curving folds visible on the main part, but none on the rest. The fragment closely resembles the work of "Master B" (Paionios?) from the Nike temple parapet, especially his Nike leading a bull (AkrM 972: Fig. 35), where the updraft motif famously appears behind the left ankle.

The marble, scale, motif, and weathering indicate a corner akroterion of the temple, presumably a flying or alighting Nike.

Unpublished.

Ca. 425–400 B.C.

Figure 35. Nikai leading a bull to sacrifice, from the parapet of the Temple of Athena Nike. Athens, Acropolis Museum 972. Photo H. Goette

Figure 36. Piece of flying drapery (25), front view. Athens, Agora Museum S 1872. Scale 1:3. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

25 Piece of flying drapery Figs. 4, 36

S 1872. Marble piles west of Tholos at approximately F-11 (ca. 50 m south of Hephaisteion), recovered with **4** and **12**, October 1954; registered May 1955.

H. 0.11; W. 0.064; D. 0.015 m. Parian marble.

Broken all round.

Folds at back tooled lengthwise with bullnose chisel, then rasped. Moderately weathered, especially along hem at bottom.

Broken from a freestanding section of flying drapery, undulating on its exterior and concave on its interior, and folded vertically so that its piecrust hem lies flat upon the (considerably thicker) expanse of cloth beneath. Cf. S 1852 and S 312, attributed to the Stoa of Zeus.

The marble, scale, motif, and weathering indicate an akroterion from the temple.

Unpublished.

Ca. 440–400 B.C.

Residue

26 Head of a youth Figs. 4, 37

Athens, Kerameikos Museum P 313. From the foundations of a late Roman wall, March–June 1936.

H. 0.192; W. 0.145; D. 0.163 m. H. of head, 0.185; of face, ca. 0.136 m. Mouth, W. 0.04 m. Left eye, W. 0.026; right, 0.24; outer corners of eyes, W. 0.07; left canthus to corner of mouth, H. 0.053; right, 0.054; to jawline, 0.083 m. Neck, H. 0.01; W. 0.09; D. 0.10 m. Parian marble.

Broken across the neck; break battered. Large crack from outer corner of right eye, across crown of head, to 5.5 cm above left ear. Hair locks weathered, battered, and apparently burned, especially on right side before ears and in front; ears, right eye, bridge of nose, nostrils, lips, chin battered. Right side of head weathered, left side of head and back of neck largely intact. Nose repaired in antiquity, now missing.

Two skin folds under jawline on left and narrow gap between lips incised with specialized channeling tool or corner of flat chisel. Hair curls on right side point drilled with 8 mm drill (max. D. 0.005); curls on crown and back of head with 6 mm drill (max. D. 0.004 m). Left ear cavity running drilled with 5 mm drill (L. 0.010; D. 0.003 m). Nostrils drilled with 4 mm drill (D. 0.001–0.002 m). Some hair locks and hairline recut with flat chisel. Back of hair sketched only; shallow, smooth, horizontal cutting 4 cm above hairline (L. 0.08; W. 0.015; D. 0.004 m). Right side of nose carefully flattened for stucco repair (L. 0.038; max. W. 0.020 m).

The youth's head, which was carefully cleaned up and repaired in antiquity (cf. **6**), was turned somewhat to his left and inclined toward his raised left shoulder, creating two pronounced creases under his chin on this side. The hair on the left side is undrilled and more summarily modeled, the left eye is slightly wider than the right, and the right side of the face is both fuller and more weathered, suggesting that the head was to be seen in three-quarter- or near-profile view, facing toward the spectator's right (Fig. 37:b).

The hair is full and curly, and the locks divided into several strands, with prominent eyes at their centers. The ears may have been cauliflowered, but the damage prohibits certainty. The eyeballs are gently curved, and the upper eyelids cross the lower ones at the outer corners, unlike those of **5** and **6**. The full lips are slightly open, but no teeth are showing. The facial expression is solemn and pensive.

The marble, scale, weathering, date, technique, and refurbishment (cf. **6**) encourage a tentative attribution to the Hephaisteion's pediments. The head is

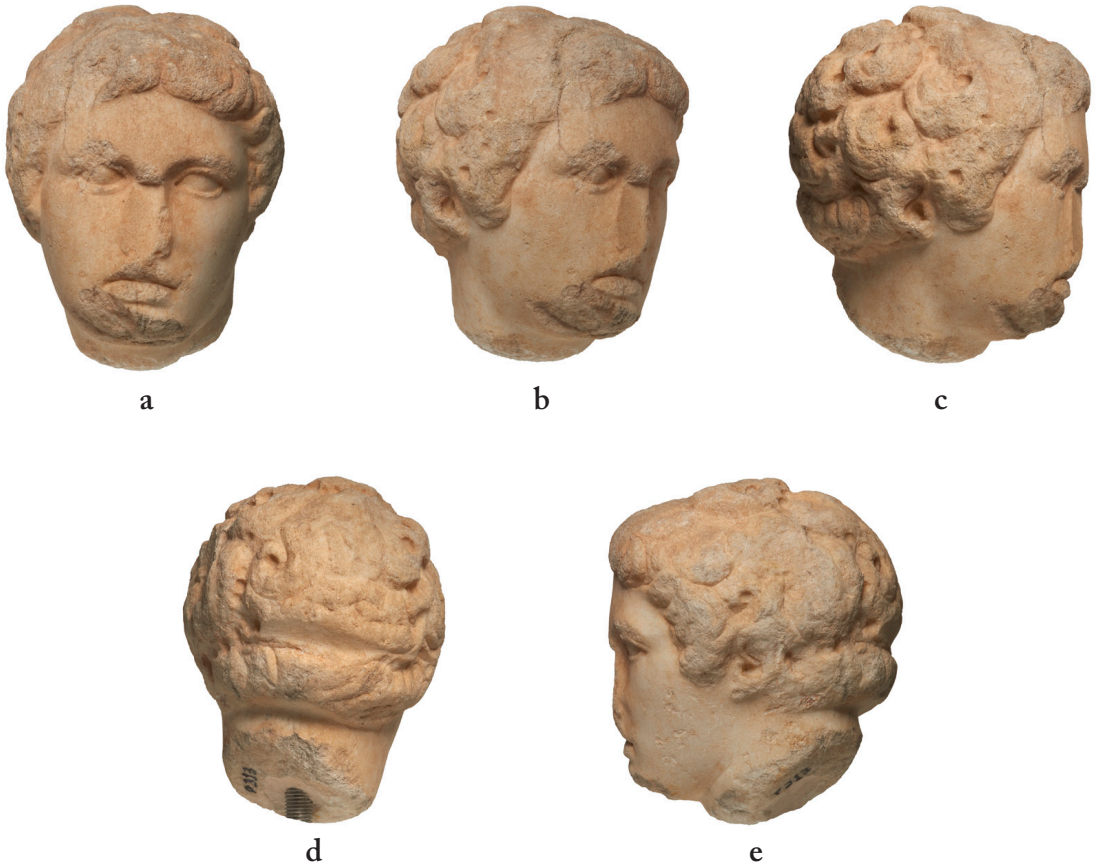


Figure 37. Head of a youth (26): (a) front view; (b) right three-quarter view; (c) right profile; (d) back view; (e) left profile. Athens, Kerameikos Museum P 313. Scale 1:4. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

slightly larger in scale than **5** and **6**, perhaps (if it belongs) because it is masculine and/or belongs to an important individual; it also seems slightly rounder than they and closer to those of the Parthenon frieze. The upper eyelids cross the lower ones at the outer corners, but the point drilling in the hair is identical to that of **5**. The unweathered cutting at the back of the hair might have secured a crown, as (presumably) on **27** (Fig. 38).

Recognized as pedimental and late 5th century by Frel (1972), attributed to the Hephaisteion and dated to ca. 430 by Delivorrias (1974, p. 166), and accepted by Harrison (1976, p. 210, identifying it as female), it could come from either pediment; see p. 721, below. Delivorrias (1974, pp. 164–165) lists other exchanges between the Kerameikos and Agora but strangely omits the numerous gravestones, 389 of which are now published in *Agora* XXXV. All of them must have come from the Kerameikos or the city's other extramural cemeteries.

Kerameikos II, pp. 87–88, no. 116 (female), pl. 26; Frel 1972, pp. 74, 76, no. 3 (ephebe), figs. 3, 4; Delivorrias 1974, pp. 20, 164–166 (ephebe), pls. 56:b–d, 57; Harrison 1976, p. 210 (female).

Ca. 440–420 B.C.

27 Female head fragment Figs. 4, 38

S 3337. Circled marbles at P,S-22,24 (section ZZ); recovered and registered October 24, 1980.

H. 0.081; W. 0.080; D. 0.027 m. Channel for metal tainia, L. 0.062; W. 0.007; D. 0.002 m. Parian marble.

Broken all round; breaks weathered and battered. Hair locks weathered and somewhat battered.

Figure 38. Female head fragment (27). Athens, Agora Museum S 3337. Scale 1:2. Photo C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

Remains of two small drill holes on break at front, (1: Diam. 3, D. 6 mm; 2: Diam. 5 mm, D. 1 cm). Hair locks chiseled; tainia channel rasped.

Only a small section of the right side of the head is preserved, but its scale and style would allow a tentative attribution to the Hephaisteion's pediments. It preserves 7–8 wavy locks in a "spaghetti" style, a channel for a metal tainia, and, above it at the front, two shallow drill holes perhaps for the attachment of a coronet or crown.

Possibly from the Hephaisteion, but perhaps more likely (given its discovery ca. 100 m downhill from the Propylaia) debris from the Acropolis. Cf. the "Hera" head probably from the Parthenon's east pediment, AkrM 2381, 438–433 (Brommer 1963, pls. 134, 135); and S 305 and S 367 from the Agora High Relief Frieze, ca. 430–425.

Unpublished.

Ca. 440–420 B.C.

Reject

28 Head of a centaur or grimacing man, from an appliqué relief Figs. 4, 39

S 907. Roman house foundations just east of Tholos at H-12, May 6, 1937.

H. 0.168; W. 0.114; D. 0.087 m. Outer corners of eyes, W. 0.061 m. Parian marble.

Broken across diagonally from chin to nape of neck, and vertically from there to right temple and side of beard. Small piece of beard tip broken off and reattached; rest of tip missing. Face battered and worn but unweathered; left side of head battered and eroded.

Figure 39. Head of a centaur or grimacing man (28): (a) front view; (b) left three-quarter view; (c) back view. Athens, Agora Museum S 907. Scale 1:3. Photos C. Mauzy; courtesy Agora Excavations

A repair: gamma-shaped pattern of two dowel holes (Diam. 1; D. 2.5 cm) on vertical break at back, and a third on diagonal break below, all parallel (plus modern hole, Diam. 8 mm, near latter for a mount). Left ear replaced by a shallow drill hole (Diam. 1.7 cm), evidently for an insert. Eyeballs, hair, and beard outlined with the chisel.

The head was facing in three-quarter profile to the spectator's left; an amorphous chunk of marble on the right of the beard may be either its owner's right hand or an adversary's. The face is markedly asymmetrical: the mouth and eyes converge sharply toward the relief plane, and the nose is crooked. The mouth is open and snarling, the nostrils are distended, and the eyes bulge; a prominent crow's-foot crosses the left temple. The forehead (which is roughly furrowed) and crown are bald; the hair was not modeled but forms a ca. 1 cm thick, undifferentiated cap around the head.

Formerly attributed to Eurystheus on metope E:IV of the Hephaisteion and then to its (hypothetical) pedimental Centauromachy, the head has been thought too big for the former (max. panel H. 82.8 cm), and it cannot come from the latter, since it is clearly in relief, too small, and even more primitive than the temple's metopal heads (Koch 1955, figs. 125–129), which date to its first phase in the 460s–450s. *A fortiori,* this also excludes a repair to a centaur on its west frieze, since their extant heads are coolly classical and clearly post-Parthenonian (Sauer 1899, pl. 4; Koch 1955, figs. 137–140; Thompson 1949, pl. 60:1, 2; Morgan 1962b, pl. 80:b; Bockelberg 1979, pls. 34, 41).

Dinsmoor 1941, pp. 116–118, figs. 44, 45, 48; Koch 1955, pp. 118–119, fig. 113; Morgan 1962b, pl. 76:b; Delivorrias 1974, pp. 28, 30–33, 40, 51, 54, 164, 171, pl. 8; Harrison 1976, p. 210; Delivorrias 1997, pp. 87, 88, 96, 104 (n. 23), fig. 9; Leventi 2014, pp. 111, 138; di Cesare 2015, p. 262, fig. 142.

Ca. 475–450 B.C.

TECHNICAL OBSERVATIONS

Technically, the fragments broadly meet one's expectations for marble sculpture of the last third of the 5th century, but with one major surprise: the quite extensive use of the running drill. Predictably, perhaps, given their long exposure to the elements and late/secondary archaeological contexts, no traces of color were observed on any of them.

The Pediments

All modeled surfaces are properly finished, though retreating, withdrawn, and invisible ones sometimes retain traces of rasping (**2**, **6**, **7**; Fig. 14:a), chiseling, or even pointing (**6**). The rasping over the inside of the peplophoros's right leg (**2**) may be due to a Roman cleanup. Occasional traces of honeycombing with the drill remain (**7**), on the plinth of **15** (Fig. 24:c, a repair) and in drapery valleys, and of point drilling in their termini and in eyelets (**7**), hair curls (**5**), tear ducts (**5**), and ear cavities (**6**), and on other similar features. The socket for the penis on **8** was also drilled. A specialized, finely pointed channeling tool or the corner of a small flat chisel may define teeth (**6**; Fig. 14:b), skin folds (**5**, **10**), incised drapery folds (**1**, **7**; Fig. 5), and attributes against flesh (**12**; Fig. 21:b). There is no sign of the claw.

The running drill is used for three quite different purposes: for special effects (**5**, **6**; Figs. 13, 14); to define and rough out drapery folds, particularly where percussion tools were unusable or inefficient (**7**); and summarily to define transitions invisible to the spectator (**7**, **13**, **15**; Figs. 22:a, c; 24:c). In the case of the two maenads (**5**, **6**), some of their long, wavy hair locks and the one surviving nostril and mouth are running drilled, and on **5** even her eyeballs and upper lid/brow ridge transition. Moreover, in the tousled hair of **5**, the running drill channels between the locks are deliberately played off against the point drilling in their terminal curls. As for invisible areas, on **7** the transition between the withdrawn right arm and torso is drilled, as are those between the sides of the soles of two of the feet (**13**, **15**) and their plinths. One of these feet, **15**, is a contemporary repair or add-on.

The Akroteria

The technique is broadly similar, though somewhat more tooling appears on invisible surfaces, such as the roughly punched hair of **16** and **17** (Figs. 25:b–d, 26:c), the tops of the wings of **18** (Fig. 28), and the sole of the foot on piece **20** (Fig. 30). Rasping and riffler filing are even more in evidence on the invisible parts of both flesh and drapery: in the drapery channels and patches on the sides and back of **17**, and on the backs of the drapery fragments on **22**–**25** (Figs. 32:b, 33:b, 34:b, 36). On **17**, honeycomb drilling defines the hair mass against the back of the torso, and many drapery folds of **17**, **18**, and **22** were also running drilled with a variety of bits, then carefully chiseled to remove the traces and vary the modeling.

On visible surfaces, honeycomb drilling of drapery folds still occurs (**17**, **22**, **23**), together with light rasping on both cloth (**21**–**24**) and wing feathers (**18**). More unexpected, perhaps, is the emphatic contrast between the sharply chiseled fingernails of the outthrust hand **19**, and the boldly drilled drapery it clutches: the valleys are running drilled and their upper ends, easily visible from the ground, are deeply tunneled (Fig. 29:b). As on the pedimental figures, none of this tooling looks secondary, and together it goes some way toward supporting Blümel's blanket assertion that the technique was used extensively in this period over Adam's flat denial that it was.[31]

There is but a single sign of the claw, on the back of wing **18**. This is unsurprising. Both Blümel and Adam found very little claw chiseling on marbles of this period, though neither of them noticed that medium-grained Parian marble, at least, was less receptive to such tooling than fine-grained Pentelic.[32] The coarse rasping over the medial face of the left thigh and calf of **17** (Fig. 26:a) looks like the product of a Roman cleanup.

To summarize, despite the pitiful state of the remains, it seems reasonable to conclude that two different workshops carved the pediments and akroteria, and that the latter one was somewhat less obsessive about finish than the former. The switch is not surprising given the decade or so that apparently intervened between them (see pp. 728–730, below).

31. Blümel 1927, pp. 9–10, 15; also Palagia 2006b, pp. 258–259; *contra,* Adam 1966, pp. 64–66.

32. Blümel 1927, p. 12; Adam 1966, p. 20.

ATTRIBUTION

The reasons for attributing each individual fragment to the pediments or akroteria are listed in its catalogue entry. All assignments to specific sets of these, on the other hand, are based primarily on criteria 1 and 2 (see above, p. 689), which we now revisit.

We begin with criterion 1 (poses and attributes) and the sockets in the pediment floors (Fig. 2), labeled by Sauer in uppercase letters (Fig. 3; see also Figs. 40, 41, below). The edges of the plinths are indicated by the rectangular holes scattered around each socket's periphery (now often reduced to mere craters), for Π or hook clamps to hold the statues in place. These holes, labeled by Sauer in lowercase letters, diminish in number and vanish entirely toward the wings, where the figure's center of gravity would be low enough to omit them. To complicate matters, though, (a) several of the sockets, cut into the others and deeper than they, are clearly secondary, indicating later adjustments or major repairs to the ensemble; and (b), as mentioned earlier, some now are partially filled with concrete and inaccessible for study. As for the themes (criterion 2), since the cult was a dual one, of Hephaistos and Athena Hephaistia, by this point in the history of Greek architectural sculpture each divinity ideally should feature in at least one pediment, and Hephaistos preferably in both. This sharply limits the possibilities available.

The West Pediment

We begin with the most remarkable of the fragments, and thus the most revealing: the *ephedrismos* group (**7**; Figs. 4, 15). As mentioned earlier, given the focus of the cult (criterion 2), the group's subject (which must be Dionysiac) points to one Hephaistos myth and one only: his Return to Olympos from his nine-year exile in an ocean grotto.[33] Since (as will appear) the sockets in the east pediment's floor are incompatible with this myth's known iconography, and those on the west pediment are not, **7** must come from the west pediment, whose center is tentatively sketched *exempli gratia* in Figure 41. It may be no coincidence that around 430, along with this pediment, Athenian vase painters suddenly produced a veritable flood of red-figure pictures of the subject (e.g., Fig. 42).[34]

The discovery of **7** east of the temple (Fig. 4) is no obstacle, since it was found not in situ but in a secondary, late medieval context, and there is no telling its peregrinations in the interim. Since **7**'s carrier must be running,[35] the group surely stood near the pediment's center, presumably in position K (cuttings v–x), since the protocols of Greek pedimental composition would require a countervailing centripetal accent at this point to balance any surge

33. Scheffer 1996; cf. Hedreen 2004 (reference kindly supplied by Margie Miles).

34. E.g., see Attic red-figure skyphos Toledo, Museum of Art 82.88, ca. 430: *CVA Toledo* 2 (USA 20), pls. 84–87 (Kleophon Painter); *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 638, no. 119, pl. 392, s.v. Hephaistos (A. Hermary and A. Jacquemin), p. 694, no. 315, s.v. Hera (M. Halm-Tisserant: Curti Painter); Matheson 1995, pp. 129–130, 185, 188–189, 379 (Curti Painter), pl. 115; Scheffer 1996, p. 182, fig. 11; cf. *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 638–644, nos. 120, 122, 150, 162:a, b, 163:a–c, 164:a, b, 165:c, d, 166, pls. 396–399, s.v. Hephaistos (A. Hermary and A. Jacquemin); Scheffer 1996, pp. 187–188 (app. 2). About half of them are attributed to the workshop of Polygnotos.

35. Scheffer 1996, pp. 172, 177–178.

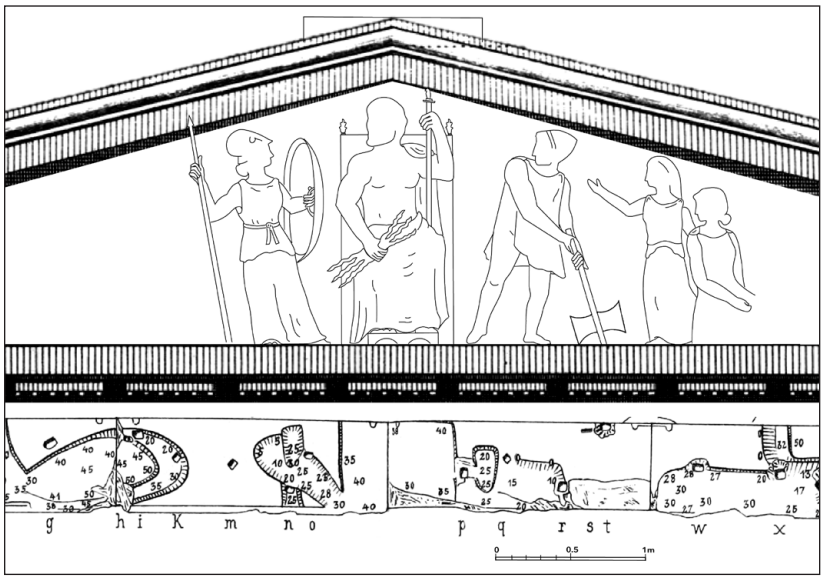


Figure 40. Birth of Athena. Hephaisteion, center of the east pediment. Conjectural reconstruction A. Stewart; drawing R. Levitan

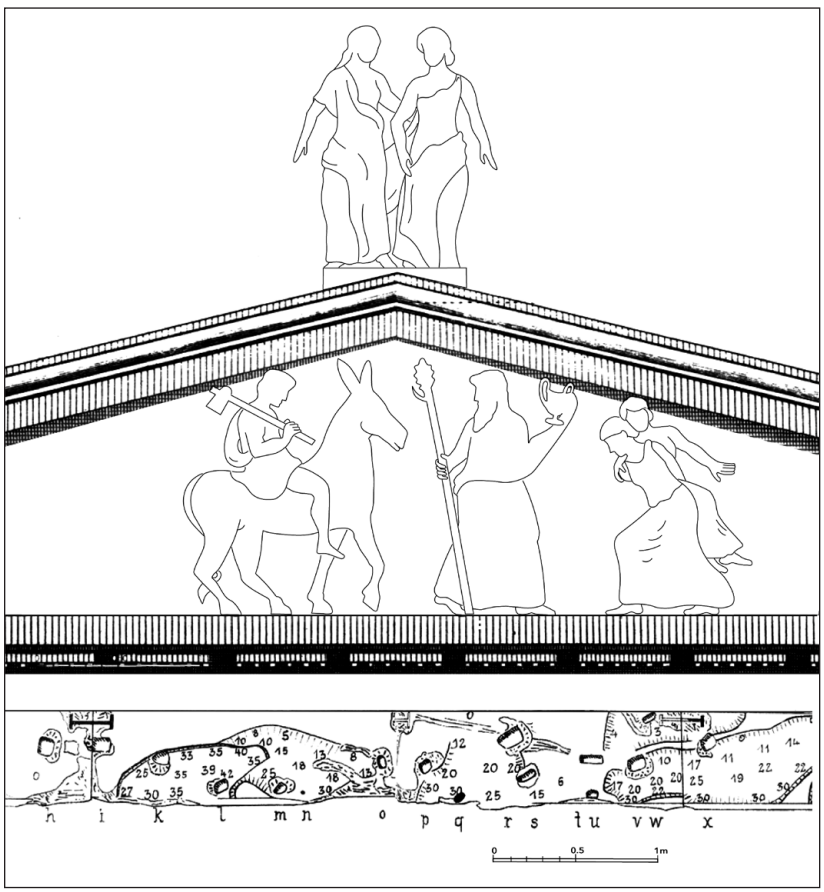


Figure 41. Return of Hephaistos to Olympos, with Thetis and Eurynome above. Hephaisteion, center of the west pediment and central akroteria. Conjectural reconstruction A. Stewart; drawing R. Levitan

from the other wing. And what better to complement the returning god than two frisky maenads coming to greet him playing piggyback?

From this all else follows, in a mutually reinforcing array. The two girls' heads, **5** and **6** (Figs. 13, 14; the latter once wrongly joined to **7**), also must belong to maenads; given its weathering and pose, **6** likely comes

Figure 42. Return of Hephaistos. Attic red-figure skyphos, attributed to the Curti Painter. Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art 82.88. Courtesy Toledo Museum of Art

from a reclining or lunging figure somewhere in the pediment's right wing (sockets L–N). Thus **8** (Figs. 4, 19) may belong to an ithyphallic satyr, as suggested in the catalogue on the analogy of Athens NM 2324 (a similarly pieced male torso of ca. 470, probably from a pediment of the Temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus just south of the Acropolis), and by contrast with **11**.[36] Finally, the two equine hooves (**3**, **4**; Figs. 4, 11, 12) should be from Hephaistos's mule, walking to the spectator's right and firmly anchored in the long, bladder-shaped socket G by the five cuttings k–o.

The original length of socket G is unknown, since its left half is recut to accommodate another, but in any case, symmetry with the *ephedrismos* group (**7**) would require another figure behind the mule and preferably carved in a single block with it: presumably one of the instrument-playing satyrs or maenads often found on contemporary vase paintings depicting the Return (Fig. 42). This recut area and the fact that hoof **3** was found in a 2nd-century B.C., pre-Sullan deposit show that the animal had sustained some damage by then, perhaps from lightning or an earthquake, and it may have been replaced wholly or in part. Did the experience also prompt the extension of the socket to accommodate in a single block this other, stabilizing figure?

As for dates, one thinks immediately of the strong earthquake in Thesmophorion (October/November) 426, just after these pediments were installed. Since it was violent enough to shift the entire northeast corner of the Parthenon over 2 cm northward, probably also to damage the Athena Parthenos, and to cause considerable havoc in the Agora (some

36. Osborne's contention (2009, pp. 9–12) that in the hierarchical structure of a pediment the obdurately anarchic satyr "offered no path to resolution, and so had no place" thus may require qualification. As Hedreen has shown (2004), in an auxiliary role (together with maenads and others) of articulating the joy of Hephaistos's return and consequent reintegration into divine society, they *did* have a place in such a structure; see also Heinemann 2016, pp. 262–275, 756 (English summary).

of it within a few dozen meters of the Hephaisteion), this event becomes an obvious suspect.[37]

As for Hephaistos himself, **26** (see Fig. 37) is a tempting candidate, since contemporary pictures of the Return uniformly show him as an ephebe (see Fig. 42). This would also explain the slightly larger scale of **26** and the unweathered cutting at the back (see Fig. 37:d), perhaps for a crown, as in Figure 43? In any case, his solemn expression then could be read as pensiveness at the prospect of his imminent return to his daunting Olympian parents and family. Was his damaged and repaired nose the upshot of the events described in the previous paragraph?

Finally, Dionysos, of whom there remains no obvious fragment, must have stood in socket H (cuttings p, r, s), leading the triumphant Hephaistos back up to Olympos. The butt of his thyrsos would have rested in cutting q.

The East Pediment

As mentioned earlier, the sockets of the east pediment (see Figs. 2:a, 3, 40) clearly indicate an enthroned central figure (H) flanked by two standing ones (G, J) in three-quarter view.[38] The entries for "Athena" and "Hephaistos" in the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* immediately reveal only one qualifying scenario, which fortunately also showcases both god and goddess in equal measure: the Birth of Athena from the head of Zeus. Moreover, as Williams has pointed out, in such a scene we should expect "the father of gods and men" to be enthroned, as tentatively sketched *exempli gratia* in Figure 40.[39]

To begin with Zeus himself, his throne (H) was offset a few centimeters to the north of the pediment's central axis, suggesting that he sat on it somewhat askew. Presumably his feet (no doubt resting on a footstool) were angled to the spectator's right, and his body and head the other way, thereby uniting the pediment's two wings, or *kerkides.* Completely stable and blessed with a very low center of gravity, he needed no clamps or dowels to keep him and his throne in place.

As for his two companions at G and J, cuttings m and s + t point the way. As Thompson realized, socket G and cutting m point enticingly to a striding Athena, correctly occupying the place of honor on Zeus's right.[40] In this position, she would be secured front and back by clamps n and o, and as usual, she would be holding her spear vertically in her right hand, with its butt planted on the ground before her right foot in cutting m. Sadly, no fragment either of her or of Zeus apparently has survived.

By the same token, socket J and cuttings s + t would perfectly suit an Hephaistos striding the opposite way. Formerly secured by clamps p, q, and r, today he is represented only, it appears, by **1** (see Figs. 6:a, 9), the flexed male right leg found in the aforementioned Byzantine well located 23 m to the east of the temple. If so, the enigmatic rectangular and square cuttings s + t against the tympanon wall at right, the latter given to the Hesperides' apple tree by Thompson (but universally ignored since), presumably secured, respectively, the left-hand blade and the head of the god's double-axe, now lowered safely to the ground behind him, its task complete.[41]

37. Thuc. 3.89; Diod. Sic. 12.59.1–2; Strabo 1.320. See, most conveniently, Rotroff and Oakley 1992, pp. 51–57, 59 (I thank Margie Miles for this reference); Ambraseys (2009, pp. 83–84; 2010, p. 124) is skeptical. For two alternative candidates, see Thuc. 3.87.4 (427/6) and 4.52.2 (March 424): Ambraseys 2009, pp. 83–84. For the rest of the period in question, only the Atthidographer Melanthios (*floruit* ca. 300) records another such event (*FGrH* 326 F1; *PAA* 638285, fr. 1; see also Ambraseys 2009, p. 90). After this, however, our sources are beyond scanty.

38. Thompson 1949, pp. 238, 244.

39. Williams 2013, p. 56.

40. Thompson 1949, pp. 239–240, pl. 63; cf., on her placement, Palagia 1993, p. 29.

41. Tree: Thompson 1949, p. 246 (ignoring hole "s"), pls. 59:3, 63.

As for the two deeper, tooth-shaped cuttings intruding into sockets G and J from behind, these are clearly secondary, and presumably each served the same purpose. Could they have held marble wedges, inserted under the plinths of the two figures after they were installed in order to cant them forward somewhat?[42] Since the narrow terrace in front of the temple, just 7 m wide, afforded only a very sharply foreshortened view of the pediment, did its designer underestimate the visibility of his figures from there, necessitating such last-minute corrections?

Beyond these three central figures, the complex of sockets A–F and K–N must have supported a series of standing, seated, and reclining figures, but among the extant fragments the only viable candidate seems to be the once-fine little peplophoros **2** (see Fig. 10). If placed in socket K, grouped with another figure, and secured by clamps w, x, and y, she could be Eileithyia, or even Hera.[43] The deep, rectangular socket L behind and beside them is uniquely regular, and whatever it supported was (like Zeus's throne) both unclamped and clearly intended to be seen in the gap between figures K and M. Could it have held an altar or the like, and if so, was it balanced by some equivalent feature on the opposite side, in socket D: a rock(?).

One final observation remains. The sizable gaps between the central triad G–J and their neighbors F and K indicate that the pediment's designer took some pains to isolate and frame his central group for greater emphasis and visibility. Whatever the final verdict on the exact configuration of the Parthenon's east pediment and its Birth of Athena, it was certainly extremely crowded, and apparently presented no such emphatic central accent to the observer's eye. Since it was carved between 438 and 433, and our pediment probably around 430 (see pp. 725–727, below), it seems reasonable to view the latter as a tacit critique of its distinguished but woefully overcrowded predecessor. Our two pediments' recessed sockets for their figures, a first in the genre, point in the same direction.

The Hephaisteion itself offers a precedent for such a Parthenonian critique. The figures of the Parthenon frieze (carved ca. 442–439) project only a maximum of 5.6 cm for a frieze height of 1.02 m., that is, just over 1/18th or just under 5.5% of the slab's height. The projection of the Hephaisteion's pronaos and opisthodomos friezes (Figs. 28, 43, 44; carved probably ca. 430), however, ranges from 15.5 cm to almost 22 cm at times, for a frieze height of only 82.8 cm. At a minimum, this projection is nearly one-fifth or 20% of the height of the slabs: almost quadruple that of the Parthenon frieze.[44]

Clearly, whatever the latter's genesis and visibility in the half-light of the Parthenon's colonnade (the debate still rages), the Hephaisteion's designer considered it to be woefully inadequate,[45] and so, too, did the

42. Thompson (1949, pp. 238 [n. 25], 268) interpreted them as bedding for gear to remove the central Zeus, but they clearly pertain not to him but to the flanking figures.

43. As Loraux notes (1993, p. 132), in Attic vase painting one or two Eileithyiai always accompany Athena's birth, in the second case bracketing the protagonists: see *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 986–989, nos. 335–370, pls. 742–747, s.v. Athena (H. Cassimatis).

44. Kindly measured on the casts in Bonn by Kornelia Kressierer; I am most grateful to her and to Hans Goette for arranging this examination for me.

45. For the most recent defense of its visibility, see Wescoat and Levitan 2017. Yet the designer of the so-called Agora High Relief Frieze, now identified as the pronaos and

Figure 43. The Athenians defeat the Pelasgians. Hephaisteion, east frieze, slab 4 (plaster cast in Basel). Photo H. Goette

Figure 44. Centauromachy. Hephaisteion, west frieze, slabs 3 and 4. Photo H. Goette

designers of the temples of Athena at Pallene (later, the Temple of Ares) and of Poseidon at Sounion. Taken together, these salient corrections to the Parthenonian model could suggest a consensus among Attic architects and sculptors that it required major modifications for legibility in these two critical cases.

The Akroteria

As noted above, in 1976 Dinsmoor Jr. demonstrated from the cuttings, dowel holes, and pour channels in the Hephaisteion's geison course that its central akroterion bases must have been double the normal width (i.e., 1.644 m, against a depth of 1.312 m), and that two corner bases formerly attributed to the Temple of Ares must in fact belong with them (see Fig. 8).[46] One of the latter preserves a circular socket for its akroterion, 32 cm in diameter, with at least one and probably originally two rectangular cuttings in its floor for marble tenons, probably meant to secure sculpture. Two drill holes alongside this socket probably secured a hook or Π clamp and a supporting brace, respectively.

opisthodomos friezes of the Temple of Ares and also carved ca. 430–425, clearly agreed. This frieze was 83.7/8 cm high, and the projection of its fragments averages 15 cm: a ratio of 1:5.6 or about 18% of its height. Finally, if Iktinos truly also was responsible for designing the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai (Paus. 8.41.7; Cooper 1992–1996), its interior frieze included, he eventually joined the chorus too.

46. Dinsmoor 1976, pp. 230–231, 234, 237–239, ills. 5, 7, 10; the corner bases are Agora A 394 and A 701.

By common consent, **17** (the wingless "Nereid"; see Figs. 17, 26) should be one of the temple's central akroteria, given its subject, poise, weathering, and scale.[47] Because she both twists and inclines strongly to her left, once also turning her head sharply in this direction, so that her hair streams over and down her right shoulder, in 1974 Delivorrias (unaware of Dinsmoor's as yet unpublished discovery that the central akroterion bases were double-wide; Fig. 8:a) argued for a two-figure abduction group, but unfortunately he later retracted the idea.[48] These bases, though, and the thigh fragment **21** (see Fig. 31) from a second figure of the same sex, scale, style, and technique, strongly suggest that Delivorrias was correct in principle, if not in his identification of the subject. The multifigured akroteria of (probably) the Temple of Athena Nike (ca. 425) and the Temple of the Athenians on Delos (ca. 420) furnish contemporary Attic parallels.[49]

So who could **17** (and **21**) be? Given the context, the obvious candidates are Thetis and Eurynome, who, according to Homer, rescued Hephaistos when Hera threw him into the ocean. They hid him in a cave for nine years, after which he cunningly imprisoned Hera in a magical golden throne and then (as we have seen) returned triumphantly to Olympos. As he acknowledged later when Thetis came to solicit him for Achilles' new armor (*Il.* 18.394–407):

ἦ ῥά νύ μοι δεινή τε καὶ αἰδοίη θεὸς ἔνδον,
ἥ μ' ἐσάωσ' ὅτε μ' ἄλγος ἀφίκετο τῆλε πεσόντα
μητρὸς ἐμῆς ἰότητι κυνώπιδος, ἥ μ' ἐθέλησε
κρύψαι χωλὸν ἐόντα· τότ' ἂν πάθον ἄλγεα θυμῷ,
εἰ μή μ' Εὐρυνόμη τε Θέτις θ' ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ
Εὐρυνόμη θυγάτηρ ἀψορρόου Ὠκεανοῖο.
τῇσι παρ' εἰνάετες χάλκευον δαίδαλα πολλά,
πόρπας τε γναμπτάς θ' ἕλικας κάλυκάς τε καὶ ὅρμους
ἐν σπῆϊ γλαφυρῷ· περὶ δὲ ῥόος Ὠκεανοῖο
ἀφρῷ μορμύρων ῥέεν ἄσπετος· οὐδέ τις ἄλλος
ᾔδεεν οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
ἀλλὰ Θέτις τε καὶ Εὐρυνόμη ἴσαν, αἵ μ' ἐσάωσαν.
ἦ νῦν ἡμέτερον δόμον ἵκει· τώ με μάλα χρεὼ
πάντα Θέτι καλλιπλοκάμῳ ζῳάγρια τίνειν.

Well now, here in my house is a dreaded and reverend goddess,
She who preserved me the time pain came upon me as I fell far
Down through the will of my bitch-faced mother who wanted to hide me,
Lame as I am; much woe in my heart then would I have suffered,
Had not Thetis received me, Eurynome too in their bosoms,
That Eurynome, who of the back-flowing Ocean is daughter.
Nine years then was I forging for them most elegant handwork,
Brooches and spiraling hairpins and necklaces also and bracelets,
There in the hollow cave; and around me the stream of the Ocean
Flowed with its foam, ineffably murmuring; neither was any
Other of gods or of men who were mortal aware of my presence;
Thetis alone and Eurynome knew it, the ones who had saved me.
Now to our house she has come, so surely a full recompense I
Must give Thetis of beautiful tresses for saving my life then.[50]

47. At a restored height of ca. 1.70 m, it even conforms closely to Vitruvius's guideline (*De arch.* 3.5.12) for such central figures—namely, that they should be one-eighth higher than the tympanon (here, 1.527 m), or in the case of **17**, 1.718 m.

48. Delivorrias 1974, p. 46, foldout pl. 3; retracted, Delivorrias 1997, p. 100, n. 57.

49. See *Délos* XXXIV, pls. 14, 15, 19–21; Schultz 2001, esp. p. 7, figs. 3–5.

50. Trans. R. Merrill, Ann Arbor 2007.

As the senior of the pair, Thetis would be expected to stand on its proper right (spectator's left), like **17**, with Eurynome (**21**; Fig. 32) on her left. Since in the *Iliad*, "silver-footed" Thetis (e.g., 1.538) constantly mediates between heaven and earth, immortals and mortals, and at the beginning of *Iliad* 18 she even visits the Achaian camp with her entire Nereid sorority, she and they were perfect choices for temple akroteria. Where better to put them than over the west pediment with its triumphant scene of Hephaistos's Return?

As for the corner akroteria, enough fragments survive to show that at least two of them were flying or alighting Nikai (since **18–20** may come from different statues; Figs. 28–30).[51] Their circular sockets (see Fig. 8:b) would have enabled fine adjustments to be made to their positioning vis-à-vis the spectator while in situ. Unfortunately, since none of the fragments is particularly diagnostic, all were found in secondary contexts, and the themes of both pediments were triumphal, it is not possible to determine their exact or even relative places on the building. In the best-case scenario, these Nikai would have crowned all four corners of the temple; in the worst-case one, all the eastern akroteria are wholly lost.

STYLE AND DATE

The Pediments

The male nude (**1**, **8**, **11**; Figs. 6:a, c, 9, 20) is lithe and muscular, with taut flesh surfaces and modeling that is heavily biased toward grand and middle forms. Major transitions are emphatic and deep, and movement strongly articulated and vigorous (**8**), as on the sometimes contorted fighters of the temple's Ionic friezes (see Figs. 17, 43, 44).[52] These fighters, in turn, strongly resemble the little warriors of the Nike temple's friezes (dated by inscription to ca. 430–425),[53] though the temptation to date them *after* the Nike friezes should be resisted. Not only are the fighters of the Hephaisteion's friezes heavier in the torso and somewhat less lithe, but also, if anything, they surely would have inspired the Nike temple's diminutive ones, not vice versa.[54]

Female anatomy (**7**, **14**, **15**; Figs. 5, 15, 23, 24) naturally is modeled more delicately, but is no less well defined and firm. Skin folds may mark important transitional zones such as wrists. Heads (**5**, **6**; Figs. 13, 14) are ovoid, with sturdy chins, broad cheeks and foreheads, and large, emphatic features. Female hair is generally shortish, somewhat wavy or even curly,

51. Harrison (1990, p. 184, n. 35) suggested florals but offered no evidence for them.

52. Sauer 1899, pp. 93–154, pls. 3, 4; Bockelberg 1979; Felten 1984, foldout pl. 4:1; Boardman [1985] 1991, figs. 112, 113 (drawings); Dörig 1985 (east only); Reber 1998, pp. 36, 38, figs. 1, 2; Barringer 2008, pp. 123–125, figs. 93–97; 2009, pp. 110–113, fig. 10:7–12; cf. Rolley 1999, p. 107, fig. 94 (east only); Greco 2014, pp. 932–935, fig. 555; di Cesare 2015, pp. 260–263, 380, figs. 143, 144.

53. See *IG* I^3 64a (before 424/3, probably ca. 430–425, on funding the temple); *SEG* LII 40.

54. Late 430s: Delivorrias 1974, pp. 49–51; Rolley 1999, pp. 104, 107. Ca. 430: Felten 1984, pp. 57–58; Palagia 2006a, pp. 136–137. 420s: Morgan 1962b, pp. 226–232; Bockelberg 1979, pp. 42–48; Harrison 1982, pp. 49 (n. 44), 51–52; Leventi 2008, p. 42, n. 170. For summaries and discussion, see Greco 2014, pp. 932–933 (F. Longo); Leventi 2014, pp. 109–113. Battle friezes of the Temple of Athena Nike: Felten 1984, pls. 34–37; Boardman [1985] 1991, fig. 128; Stewart 1990, figs. 413–417; Rolley 1999, p. 109, fig. 97.

and its locks are subdivided into three or four strands. As mentioned earlier, locks may be running drilled and terminal curls point drilled for emphasis. Drapery (**2**, **7**; Figs. 5, 10, 15) affords only limited and selective ocular access to the body at its salient points (chiefly shoulders, breasts, and thighs). Folds are crisp: either flat and ribbon-like or stringy when pressed against the body, or sharp-edged, often twinned, and separated by deep, quite narrow, flat-bottomed valleys where they hang clear of it. *Kolpoi* are quite shallowly curved and bordered by a single row of overlapping fold eyelets.

Among the fragments, chronologically the most revealing is, again, the *ephedrismos* group (**7**)—but only because its drapery, unlike its subject, is completely conventional. In style, it clearly postdates the Parthenon frieze (ca. 442–439); equates well with that temple's pediments (438–433; Fig. 16); parallels the drapery of the Hephaisteion's Ionic friezes, especially the eastern one (Figs. 17, 43); and clearly predates such monuments of the 420s as the Nike temple's eastern frieze (ca. 430–425; Fig. 18) and parapet (ca. 425–423; Fig. 35).[55] As noted in the catalogue, it closely resembles the drapery of figures C and N on the Parthenon's west pediment (Fig. 16), K (Hestia) on its east pediment, and figure ii.7 (Hera) on the Hephaisteion's east frieze (Fig. 17); and contrasts markedly with that of the women on the Nike temple's east frieze (Fig. 18).[56] Their clothing is more transparent, inviting extensive ocular access to the body, with *kolpoi* that now are almost parabolic, fully unmask the abdomen, and nearly reach the navel.

In style, the remaining fragments more or less align with **7**, though the two heads (**5**, **6**) look quite conservative in structure, since by ca. 440 some of the Parthenon's sculptors had converted to the fuller "Pheidian" type represented here by **16** (Fig. 25:a). If the Hephaisteion's two friezes predated its pediments like the those of the Parthenon, however, to fit them all in before ca. 425 and the Nike temple at first sight might urge that the friezes were begun considerably *before* work on the Parthenon pediments ended in spring/early summer 433, which seems counterintuitive if not (frankly) implausible.

Yet the Parthenon's sculptures cannot have monopolized *every* competent carver in Athens and the islands for their 14-year duration, and the amount of work involved on the Hephaisteion should not be overestimated. Moreover, if (as suggested above) one of Pheidias's rivals or more willful team members was responsible for it, a lingering preference for the older head type would be quite explicable, and with it not only other conservative features noted by Dörig in his meticulous study of the eastern frieze, but also (*pace* Dörig) a post-Parthenonian date for the entire ensemble.[57]

Unfortunately, any direct comparison between the logistics of the two projects is vitiated by their great disparity in scale and our ignorance of how many carvers each of them required. Thanks, however, to a lucky combination of detailed, well-preserved building accounts and quite well-preserved sculptures, the pediments of the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, carved probably in the 380s, are another matter, and thus temptingly open to extrapolation. So while the following estimates make no claim to accuracy, they may not be wholly wrong.

The Asklepieion's pediments each measured 10.71 m wide × 1.25 m high × 0.395 m deep, and contained 21 figures (including horses) up to ca. 1.05 m high. Together, the inscribed accounts and extant fragments

55. For style phases during these years, see Stewart, forthcoming a. For the date of the Nike temple parapet, see *IG* I^3 64a, line 14: τ]ον δρυφακτο[ν]; Schultz 2002, pp. 294–295 (δ. = parapet), the footing of which was integrated into the temple's euthynteria: see Miles 1980, pp. 323–325; Giraud 1994, p. 47, pl. 97:b; Schultz 2003, pp. 52–54; Leventi 2014, pp. 90–99, 242–243 (English summary); Stewart 2016, p. 618). On the date of **7**, see, e.g., Morgan 1963, p. 95 (ca. 430–425), *contra,* e.g., Thompson 1949, pp. 256–257 (440s).

56. Parthenon: Boardman [1985] 1991, figs. 79:2, 80:3; Stewart 1990, figs. 349, 350; Rolley 1999, pp. 98, 100, figs. 88, 90. Hephaisteion ii.7: Bockelberg 1979, p. 25, pls. 11, 19:b; Felten 1984, foldout pl. 4:1; Dörig 1985, p. 83, fig. 113, pl. 2. Nike temple, eastern frieze: Felten 1984, pl. 39; Stewart 1990, fig. 418; Rolley 1999, pp. 110–111, fig. 98.

57. Dörig 1985, pp. 74–79.

show that the west pediment took two men about a year to carve, but the east pediment, begun at the same time but involving a team of at least three men, took a leisurely 21.5 months: that is, around 30 and 75 days per figure, respectively.[58]

Now, the Hephaisteion's pediments were about 30% larger in scale (12.7 × 1.53 × 0.49 m), but each one cannot have contained more than Sauer's estimate of 13 figures at most. Without going into more detail, it is immediately clear that even at the much slower tempo of the Asklepieion's east pediment, and allowing for the fact that the Hephaisteion's figures were well finished all round, its pair of pediments should not have taken a modest six-man team much more than two years to produce. As for its two friezes, at just over half the size of the pedimental sculptures (i.e., <82.8 cm high and usually ca. 15–16 cm deep; Figs. 17, 43, 44), their total of 58 figures (counting centaurs as double) would have consumed roughly the same amount of labor as the gables, and thus about the same amount of time.

In short, half a dozen men probably could have completed the Hephaisteion's friezes and pediments together in around four years, and easily in the seven or eight between the completion of the Parthenon pediments (by mid-433) and the Nike temple sculptures (ca. 425). Of course, this chronology is conjectural, relative, and cannot be pressed too hard. It does, however, dovetail nicely with the increasingly clear signs that when the Parthenon's workforce disbanded, at least two other sizeable sculptural projects, both led by Parians (Agorakritos and Lokros), immediately snapped it up—namely, the temples of Nemesis at Rhamnous and of Athena Pallenis at Pallene (later moved to the Agora to become the Temple of Ares).[59] Did the Hephaisteion's friezes and pediments comprise a third project, perhaps also directed by a rival of Pheidias and/or yet another Parian? The outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 and even the ensuing plague evidently made no dent in these multiple Athenian architectural-sculptural endeavors. Instead, they seem to have stimulated them.[60]

The Akroteria

As with the pediments, a single figure is the key: the Nereid **17** (Figs. 7, 26). Her noncontrappostic pose and other idiosyncrasies, mentioned earlier, clearly signal that she was grouped with a second figure to her left (our right), perhaps represented today only by the pitiful little thigh fragment **21** (Fig. 31). Seen frontally (Fig. 26:a), her physique is quasi-ephebic, with broad shoulders, somewhat underdeveloped breasts, and sturdy hips. Proportionally, too, her torso recalls the male ones of the friezes (Fig. 43).[61] Stocky, rectangular, and quite emphatically modeled, it features a pronounced trapezius, strong sternomastoids, clavicles, and deltoids, a prominent navel, and a right iliac crest and groin thrust into considerable relief by her advanced right thigh. Her thighs are long and powerful, equaling her torso in length. Firmly fleshed, she is well muscled and athletic, then, with a vigorous, seemingly irresistible gait that effortlessly unifies her entire body.

Her chiton, plastered against her right arm, right shoulder, right breast, midriff, left flank, and thigh, does nothing to conceal them. Only a few wavy, tissue-thin creases interrupt its smooth, translucent surface, mostly

58. *IG* IV² 1 102, lines 87–90, 95–100, 109–110; Yalouris 1992, p. 73; Prignitz 2014, pp. 77–78. In calculating time, for the west, 1 year = ca. 300 working days per sculptor/10.5 figures per sculptor = 28.6 days each; for the east, 21.5 months = ca. 525 working days/7 figures per sculptor = 75 days each.

59. E.g., Plin. *HN* 36.17; Paus. 1.8.4. Synopses and bibliography: Harrison 1986; Petrakos 1986; Miles 1989, pp. 221–227; Leventi 2014, pp. 33–56, 168–177, 183–200, 235–240, 246–248 (English summary); cf. Stewart 2016, pp. 603–604, 618–619 (Rhamnous and Ares); Miles 2017, pp. 110–115. The Temple of Athena Nike and the Ilissos temple were begun a few years later.

60. See Miles 1989, pp. 221–227.

61. E.g., East i.5, iv.15, and vi.25: Bockelberg 1979, pls. 18:b, 24, 30:a; Felten 1984, foldout pl. 4:1; Boardman [1985] 1991, fig. 114:5; Dörig 1985, pp. 11, 33, 59, figs. 15, 38, 60; Rolley 1999, p. 107, fig. 95. Altogether vividly illustrating the so-called "one sex/flesh" paradigm of classic body theory: see Laqueur 1990, pp. 5–6; cf. Stewart 1996, pp. xiii, 7, 11, 116, 162.

coursing across her body from her right nipple down to her groin and left flank. Emerging from under her "beautiful tresses" (Thetis, *Il.* 18.407, quoted above) of thick, frizzy hair (Figs. 7, 26:b, c), the chiton's upper fringe, rippling between her breasts down to her left flank, acts as a foil to the tongue and upper hem of her (much denser) himation as they surge over her upper right thigh and cascade between her legs. Discreetly masking her crotch, they segment her body diagonally into three unequal parts from her left shoulder and breast through her right leg: in turn nude, notionally veiled, and draped. Moreover, in concert with the recessive diagonals of her shoulders, breasts, hips, and knees, they seem to propel her body forward from a notional vanishing axis located to her proper left (i.e., up the centerline of the facade), between her and her now-lost companion (**21**; Fig. 31), and markedly enhancing the overall forward thrust of the composition.

The outcome of the sculptor's thorough and most expressive "wet look" adaptation of his inherited calligraphic vocabulary, highly sophisticated and surely intentional, is a preternaturally young, beautiful, alluring, but also powerful denizen of the deep, hastening effortlessly and confidently through her natural element. This supremely self-assertive young Nereid is the maritime counterpart of the Iris from the Parthenon's west pediment (Fig. 16): the restless ocean to Iris's streaming air.[62]

All of this persuasively places **17** after the Nike temple parapet (ca. 425–423; Fig. 35) and even after the Nike by Paionios (ca. 423–415; Fig. 27), who himself may have been seasoned on the parapet, if Carpenter's identification of him as the latter's Master B can withstand scrutiny.[63] Yet **17**'s quasi-masculine physique is elusive on the parapet and nothing like the body of Paionios's Nike. The latter is less muscular, shorter waisted, and more emphatically articulated, especially by the calligraphy of the drapery at the breasts, waist, belly, groin, and knees, as if compensating for her more feminine appearance with a quasi-masculine definitional cladding. The Pentelic marble Nereid Athens NM 3397 from the Agora, brilliantly reassembled from disparate fragments by Delivorrias and Triantis, follows suit, although, like **17**, now elongates the midriff somewhat.[64] If these two figures exemplify the Attic feminine ideal of the 420s and 400s, respectively, then **17** clearly represents a significant and influential intrusion, presumably from Paros, whose sculptors had long favored a somewhat brawny athleticism.

At Epidauros in the 380s, Timotheos and Theomne/astos, sculptors of the Aura (Athens NM 156) and the little Nike (Athens NM 162), respectively, teasingly blended this now increasingly endomorphic Attic female body type with **17**'s intimations of immaturity—or, at least, underdevelopment. Next, in the 370s and 360s, Praxiteles revived **17**'s physique, suitably matured, as the model for his Arles and Knidian Aphrodites, but

62. Brommer 1963, pls. 111–113; Boardman [1985] 1991, fig. 79:5; Stewart 1990, fig. 360; Rolley 1999, p. 99, fig. 89.

63. "Master B": Carpenter and Ashmole 1929, pp. 22–35, pls. 7–13; *contra* Brouskari 1998, pp. 59–62, pls. 2–4, 36–40, 43, 58, 76. Nike of Paionios: Boardman [1985] 1991, p. 176, fig. 139; Stewart 1990, pp. 89–92, 165, figs. 408–411; Rolley 1999, pp. 124–125, figs. 113, 114.

64. Delivorrias 1974, pls. 46–51; Kaltsas 2002, p. 129, no. 245. For its still underpublished pendant in Naples (inv. no. 119), see Delivorrias 1974, pp. 129–130, n. 561; Fuchs 1979, pls. 3–5; Leventi 2014, p. 196.

lengthened the midriff and further deepened the chest in the service of a more mesomorphic feminine ideal.[65]

Although some of the parapet's Nikai bare their shoulders, arms, flanks, or occasionally their entire legs, it was at Olympia around 420 that Paionios had the revolutionary idea of combining these sundry come-ons with a brazenly bared breast (Fig. 27). This brilliant move decisively trumped the parapet's portrayal of Victory as both teasingly desirable and by implication (since the Greeks conceptualized vision as long-distance touch) potentially available—if only to her Athenian devotees. Our akroterion (**17**) shamelessly appropriates it, but her dynamic, diagonally tripartite division of the body into nude, negligée, and draped is equally audacious. Predictably, this gambit was soon introduced to the world of Aphrodite and her avatars by the Valentini Aphrodite, the Agathe Tyche Agora S 37, and the little Aphrodite Agora S 210; and last but not least by Timotheos at Epidauros—their common author, perhaps, finally taking a step out of the shadows?[66]

Yet by the same token, one should not succumb to the temptation to date **17** too late. First, she was surely inaugurative, not derivative. Supremely poised and self-assured, she has all the hallmarks of enormous sculptural self-confidence, singular originality, and precise calibration of form to *ethos* and function. Second, despite the differences, she shares some key mannerisms with the work of Master B/Paionios, such as the suggestive tongue of drapery lapping across her groin (cf. Fig. 35; on **17** provocatively truncated by half) and the upwelling, wind-driven folds that fork up and over her advanced thigh (cf. Fig. 27) and also over **21**, her probable pendant (Fig. 31). And third, the homage paid her by several figures of the Erechtheion frieze (408–406) and also by an enigmatic akroterion in Paris, once attributed to the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, urges a date in the teens of the century.[67]

Military and political adversity narrows this window for **17** and her sisters yet further, for the Syracusan disaster of 413 and the oligarchic coup and subsequent turmoil of 411–410 would hardly be conducive to such a project. By process of elimination we therefore arrive provisionally at a mere handful of years for **17**'s creation, namely, ca. 416–413, immediately (as it happens) after the Hephaisteion's cult statues. Of course, if her sculptor had been able to sneak a look at Paionios's model for his Nike, she could have been begun as early as ca. 420, making her contemporary with the cult statues. Even so, assuming eight figures for the akroteria (of which maybe a full four were winged and so reckoned as double, as at Epidauros in the 380s), or roughly the equivalent of one pediment's labor

65. Epidauros: Stewart 1990, figs. 455, 457; Yalouris 1992, pls. 3–5, 27–29; Rolley 1999, pp. 205–206, figs. 192, 193; Prignitz 2014, pls. 1, 28–30. Praxiteles: Stewart 1990, figs. 501, 503; Rolley 1999, pp. 256–260, figs. 255–260. For **17**, cf., e.g., the full-breasted maidens and Artemis from the Parthenon frieze, Aphrodite and companions from its pediments, the Erechtheion karyatids, and even the "Sandalbinder" from the parapet: Boardman [1985] 1991, figs. 80:3, 96:15, 17, 125, 130:4; Stewart 1990, figs. 342–344, 346, 350–352, 420, 431, 432; Rolley 1999, pp. 93, 95, 100, 114, 116, figs. 83, 85, 90, 103, 105. This subject begs for more research.

66. Discussion and bibliography: Stewart 2012, pp. 274–278, figs. 7, 9, 10; updated, Stewart 2017, pp. 86–92, figs. 3–8 (S 37). Epidauros: see n. 65, above.

67. Front, respectively: AkrM 2825, 1288, 1076 (Boulter 1970, pls. 1, 2, 10, 13, 14); back: AkrM 2844 (Boulter 1970, pl. 5:b); right side: AkrM 1071 (Boulter 1970, pl. 11). Akroterion: Hamiaux 1992, pp. 328–329, no. 252 (Ma 3516).

(see p. 727, above), our hypothetical six-man team could have completed the entire set in about a year.

The remaining akroterion fragments help to buttress this chronology. Fragment **16** (Fig. 25:a) has the now-fashionable, late Pheidian rounded face; **18** (see Fig. 28) adopts the drapery-over-wing motif pioneered on the parapet; **19** and **20** (Figs. 29, 30) echo Paionios's Nike in holding the himation high aloft with the left hand and alighting with at least one leg still airborne; **24** (Fig. 34:a) quotes Master B's famous updraft motif from there (Fig. 35); and finally, one would not expect to find **25**'s piecrust hem (Fig. 36) much beyond 420, though occasional outliers appear as late as the 390s.[68]

CONCLUSIONS

It is profitable to address the Hephaisteion sculptures (at least as reconstructed here; Figs. 40, 41) as an ancient visitor would have encountered them. In descending order of prominence, beginning with the pediments and their akroteria, proceeding through the metopes to the continuous friezes, and finally confronting the cult statues, one would discover a satisfyingly coherent ensemble focused on the cults of Hephaistos and Athena Hephaistia.[69] The rigid configuration of the Doric temple naturally sundered any such package in two, however, and this particular one's elevated location above the Agora (Fig. 1) automatically made its eastern facade very much the primary focus and the western one a supplement to it.

The pediments and akroteria together constitute a full-scale theogony. To revisit Hölscher's aforementioned "Law,"[70] by this date the "'normal' choice . . . that . . . provided a sculpted frame for this [Athenian] cult" would be the basic myths of the temple's two divinities: Athena's miraculous birth as a full-grown adult, deftly facilitated by Hephaistos, and the latter's triumphant Return (a kind of rebirth) and reintegration into divine society. With the pair duly installed on Olympos and the roster of the Twelve completed, its divine machinery now could function fully and properly.[71]

To begin with the eastern facade, Hesiod's *Theogony* (924–929) had conjoined the births of Athena and Hephaistos, as did the *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo* (310–316). Homer (*Od.* 6.232–235) had already coupled them as technological benefactors, and Hephaistos's own *Homeric Hymn,* a 6th- or 5th-century work perhaps penned by an Athenian, even opens with this joint gift of theirs to humankind (1–3):

> Ἥφαιστον κλυτόμητιν ἀείσεο, Μοῦσα λίγεια,
> ὃς μετ' Ἀθηναίης γλαυκώπιδος ἀγλαὰ ἔργα
> ἀνθρώπους ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ χθονός.
>
> Sing, clear-voiced Muse, of Hephaistos famed for inventions.
> Along with bright-eyed Athena, glorious crafts
> He taught to men throughout the world.

Since Hephaistos's invention of metals and then of the double-axe had enabled Athena's birth, at Athens the two divinities became close associates,

68. E.g., the gravestone Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 2555: Kaloyeropoulou 1986, pp. 126–130, pl. 126 (dated there to ca. 390–380).

69. Thus, de facto for the Parthenon, see Boardman [1985] 1991, pp. 98–109, figs. 79–96; cf. Stewart 1990, p. 152.

70. Hölscher 2009, p. 57 (apropos the Parthenon); also Osborne 2009.

71. See esp. Hedreen 2004, pp. 38, 58–59. See also Heinemann 2016, pp. 262–275, 756 (English summary).

as shown by a Solonic couplet and the goddess's own cult title on Kolonos Agoraios. As inseparable as two sides of the same coin, they represent the two complementary aspects of craftsmanship *(techne)* in all spheres of life: the practical/skillful and the mental/creative. Attic vase painters and their public had understood this fact at least since Solon's time.[72]

Overlooking the Agora, Athens' democratic civic center, this pediment's wider message would have been clear to anyone who (like Pausanias 600 years later) knew the X-rated myth of Erichthonios's genesis from the divine pair.[73] In 431, as this project was getting under way, the chorus of Euripides' *Medea* had said it all (824–832; italics supplied):

> Ἐρεχθεΐδαι τὸ παλαιὸν ὄλβιοι
> καὶ θεῶν παῖδες μακάρων, ἱερᾶς
> χώρας ἀπορθήτου τ' ἄπο, φερβόμενοι
> κλεινοτάταν σοφίαν, αἰεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου
> βαίνοντες ἁβρῶς αἰθέρος, ἔνθα ποθ' ἁγνὰς
> ἐννέα Πιερίδας Μούσας λέγουσι
> ξανθὰν Ἁρμονίαν φυτεῦσαι.
>
> The people of Athens, *sons of Erechtheus,*
> Have enjoyed their prosperity
> Since ancient times. *Children of the blessed gods,*
> They grew from holy soil unscorched by invasion.
> Among the glories of knowledge their souls are pastured.
> Always they walk with grace under the sparkling sky.
> There, long ago, they say, was born golden-haired Harmony,
> Created by the maidens nine, the Muses of Pieria.

Previously dubbed by Aischylos, even more explicitly, "the children of Hephaistos,"[74] the lucky Athenians owed the two Olympians their current supremacy, prosperity, and indeed very existence as *autochthonoi,* and in 421 they proceeded to formalize all this with their reorganized festival. Key parts of it (especially the musical competition, hymns included?) perhaps took place in front of the temple, immediately below this pediment.[75]

The west pediment and akroteria, overlooking the Kerameikos and its industries, glossed all this like a kind of *aition*, or explanation, by parading the triumphant conclusion to the blacksmith god's ignominious expulsion from Olympos and his metaphorical rebirth from the Nereids' womblike cave in the Ocean, with Thetis and Eurynome above acting as his nurses and quasi-midwives.[76] As Hedreen has shown, the iconography

72. Solon 13.49–50 Diehl: ἄλλος Ἀθηναίης τε καὶ Ἡφαίστου πολυτέχνεω/ ἔργα δαεὶς χειροῖν ξυλλέγεται βίοτον. Cf. *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 986–989, nos. 345–370, pls. 742–747, s.v. Athena (H. Cassimatis); IV, 1988, pp. 646–647, nos. 188–201, pl. 402, s.v. Hephaistos (A. Hermary and A. Jacquemin); Morris 1992, p. 359. Thus, rightly, Meyer (2017, pp. 317, 458) states: "[Athena] is responsible for everything which is necessary for civilization and which does not occur in nature."

73. Paus. 1.14.6. On the base, see Harrison 1977b; on the myth, see, most recently, Meyer 2017, pp. 265–267, 362–369, and 460–461 (English summary).

74. Aesch. *Eum.* 13; cf. Pl. *Criti.* 109c–d; *Menex.* 239a1–2 (via Ge); Isoc. *Panath*. 124.

75. *IG* I^3 82, lines 14–15: [. . τ]ῆς μοσικ̣ῆ̣ς καθάπερ [. . .] τὸ *h*ε[φα]ίστο καὶ τ̣ῆς Ἀθεναίας [. . .].

76. *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 313–325 (again bracketing it with Athena's birth). Was Plato (*Resp.* 378d) critiquing the designer of the Hephaisteion's choice of this episode when he included it among those "not to be admitted into the city, whether presented allegorically or not"?

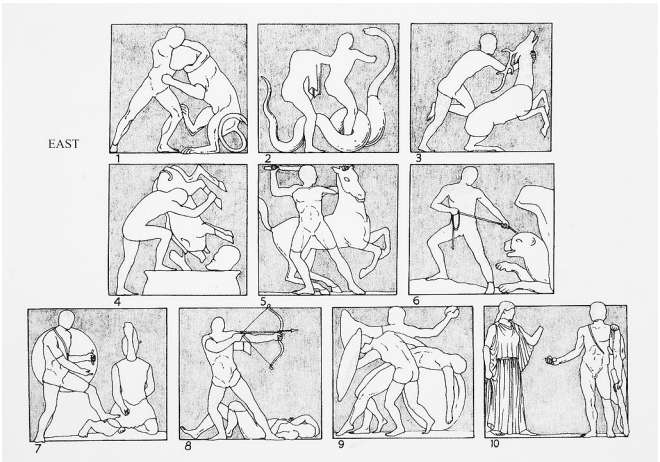


Figure 45. Labors of Herakles, east metopes of the Hephaisteion. Drawings J. Boardman, reproduced with permission

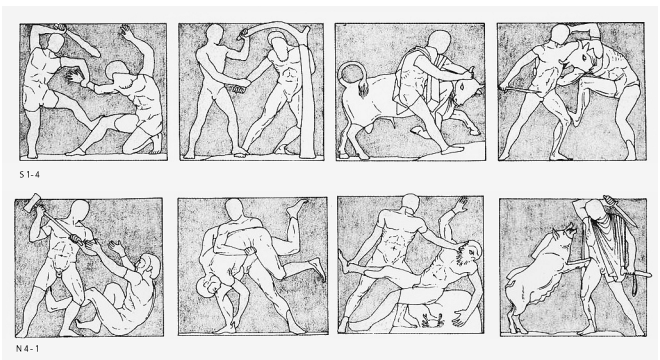


Figure 46. Deeds of Theseus, south and north metopes of the Hephaisteion. Drawings J. Boardman, reproduced with permission

of the Return in Athenian vase painting probably borrows liberally from contemporary religious processions, Dionysiac and otherwise. Although, curiously, he overlooks the festival of the Hephaistia, whose procession features prominently in the decree of 421;[77] in the present context it comes immediately to mind.

Thence, returning to the east, the visitor would have lowered his gaze to the metopes, where, like a series of film stills (to use Osborne's apposite simile), nine of Herakles' Labors splayed across the facade (Fig. 45) were bracketed on each flank by four exploits of his Athenian friend and companion, Theseus (Fig. 46).[78] The attributes of the figures can be reconstructed from the extant remains of their arms and hands, and from the rich ceramic tradition, which climaxes in precisely this period.

Also overlooking the Agora and its civic and judicial buildings, whether new, under construction, or merely planned, their collective message would have been clear. As Athena's protégés, one panhellenic and one Athenian,

77. See Hedreen 2004. Decree of 421: *IG* I^3 82, e.g., lines 24–25: τῆς δὲ πονπῆς *h*όπος [ἂν *h*ος κάλλιστα] πενφθῆι *h*ο[ι *h*ι]εροπ[οι]οὶ ἐπιμελόσθον.

78. Osborne 2009, p. 11. Cf. Sauer 1899, pp. 157–179, pls. 5, 6; Morgan 1962a, pls. 71–76; Boardman [1985] 1991, p. 146, fig. 111 (thumbnails, but left–right reversing the northern series, whence, e.g., Barringer 2008, 2009); Rolley 1999, pp. 104–105, fig. 92; Palagia 2006a, pp. 136–138; Barringer 2008, pp. 108, 114–115, figs. 81–83; 2009, pp. 107–108, fig. 10:4, 5; von den Hoff 2010, pp. 172–177; Greco 2014, pp. 931–932, fig. 553. For the correct order, see di Cesare 2015, pp. 260–262, 378–379, figs. 140, 141; Gensheimer 2017, pp. 11–12.

by putting paid to monsters, maniacs, and malefactors of all kinds, the two heroes had made life safe for civil society, and particularly for its brilliant climax and ongoing "education to Greece" (as Perikles famously put it), democratic Athens itself (Thuc. 2.41.1).

Suggestively, however, Herakles uses only his hands, club (once, on E5), and bow (once, on E8, against the rock-throwing Geryon). Not so Theseus. At the far left of each cycle (see Fig. 46), he uses two bronze weapons taken from his adversaries: Periphetes' fearsome club (S1) and Prokroustes' bone-crushing hammer (N4). At far right, however, against the Minotaur (S4) and Krommyon Sow (N1), respectively, he wields his own sword.[79] A canny Athenian and a true child of the Bronze Age, he has discovered the full range of Hephaistos's metallic marvels, and predictably triumphs every time. In turn, this rigid south–north, left–right evolutionary structure helps to account for the otherwise puzzling interpolation of the Marathonian Bull and Minotaur in the southern metopes (S3, S4), and the reversal of the proper spatiotemporal sequence (that is, Sow, Skiron, Kerkyon, Prokroustes) in the northern ones.

In sum, first we should read these three metopal cycles independently, and each from left to right, beginning with Herakles' Labors on the temple's imposing facade. Only then (and only if sufficiently motivated) should we integrate the two Theseids, taking the southern one as a radically abridged synopsis of the hero's entire *aristeia,* then reading the northern one chronologically and geographically "against the grain" from right to left as a supplement to it.

Next, entering the temple's porches and looking up, our visitor would have encountered the friezes (Table 1).[80] The eastern one features an enigmatic battle scene that has caused much controversy (see Figs. 17, 43); and the western, a Centauromachy (see Fig. 44). In each one, like Theseus on the metopes, armed and armored Greeks confront foes whose only weapons are rocks, tree limbs, and fists. So just like Theseus's metopal opponents, these foes too are stuck on the bottom rung of the evolutionary ladder. Hephaistos's gifts of metalwork and thence of arms and armor have sealed their fate. But who are the rock-throwers on the east?

Superseding more than a century of ingenious but ultimately unsatisfactory conjectures (see Table 1), McInerney's brilliant decoding of the subject as the Athenians versus the Pelasgians has solved numerous problems at a stroke, most particularly the identity of the vanquished captives at far right.[81]

Basically a Stone Age people, the Pelasgians supposedly lived among the rocks at the foot of Mt. Hymettos, built with rocks, and fought with rocks. As a result, the Athenians identified *them,* not their own Mycenaean ancestors, as the builders of the Pelargikon, the partially ruined "Cyclopean" walls that still girded the Acropolis in the 5th century, and even survive in places today.[82] Herodotos (6.137.3–4) continues the story:

> ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, δικαίως ἐξελάσαι. κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησσῷ, ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμωμένους ἀδικέειν τάδε. φοιτᾶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπ᾽ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον

79. Periphetes: Paus. 2.14 (bronze); Ps.-Apollod. 3.15.8 (iron); *contra* Eur. *Supp.* 717 (wood). Prokroustes: Bacchyl. 18.27–30. On the weapons, see Sauer 1899, pp. 157–168, pls. 5, 5*, with Gantz 1993, pp. 250–255; and, e.g., Neils 1987, p. 126. Morgan's attempt to switch the two (1962a, pp. 213–214; whence, e.g., Knell [1990] 1998, pp. 127–128; di Cesare 2015, p. 261) stumbles on the drill hole in the hero's left hand on N4, which can have accommodated only Prokroustes' hammer shaft, not a club.

80. For bibliography, see n. 52, above.

81. McInerney 2014, pp. 41–43.

82. Hellanikos, *FGrH* 4 F4; Kleidemos, *FGrH* 323 F6; Hdt. 6.137; Thuc. 2.17.2; McInerney 2014, pp. 35–36, with further references; Travlos, *Athens,* pp. 56, 60, figs. 66, 70; Greco 2014, pp. 54, 62, 75–79, figs. 1, 5, 11.

τὸν χρόνον σφίσι κω οὐδὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι οἰκέτας). ὅκως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὖται, τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίης βιᾶσθαι σφέας. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σφι οὐκ ἀποχρᾶν ποιέειν, ἀλλὰ τέλος καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐπιχείρησιν φανῆναι ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ. ἑωυτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσούτῳ ἐκείνων ἄνδρας ἀμείνονας, ὅσῳ, παρεὸν ἑωυτοῖσι ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγούς, ἐπεί σφεας ἔλαβον ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλά σφι προειπεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξιέναι. τοὺς δὲ οὕτω δὴ ἐκχωρήσαντας ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον. ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ Ἑκαταῖος ἔλεξε, ταῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι.

But as the Athenians themselves relate, the Pelasgians were justly expelled. Living at the foot of Hymettos, they sallied out and wronged the Athenians in the following way. Since neither the Athenians nor any other Greeks had any household slaves yet, their sons and daughters used to go to the Enneakrounos Fountain for water; but whenever they appeared there, the Pelasgians maltreated them out of sheer arrogance and pride. Yet even this was not enough for them; finally they were caught in the act of planning to attack Athens itself. Yet the Athenians were much better men. For when they could have killed the Pelasgians, caught plotting as they were, they decided not to, but drove them into exile instead. The Pelasgians left and settled on Lemnos, among other places. This is the Athenian story; Hekataios tells another one.

Herodotos then recounts the Pelasgians' attempt at revenge, the pretext for Miltiades' tit-for-tat seizure of Lemnos around 495 and the subsequent midcentury Athenian cleruchy there. Moreover, Lemnos was the very site of Hephaistos's second expulsion from heaven, when Zeus tossed him out for defending Hera (*Il.* 1.590–594). So not only was the Pelasgian legend quite topical when the Hephaisteion's eastern frieze was commissioned and carved, but it was also directly relevant to the temple's main honoree and his cult.

On the west, the Centauromachy glosses this story of metal-using civilization versus Stone Age barbarism. Moreover, by selecting the Thessalian one, featuring the Kaineus episode (rocks and all), its designer also was able to reintroduce Theseus, who had been associated with it and Kaineus in Athenian art since the 570s and the François Vase.[83] Sidelined on the vase, he now stands at dead center, next to his great friend Peirithoos. Suggestively, the two of them channel the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton, whose bronze statues in this guise, by Kritios and Nesiotes, had dominated the nearby northwestern entrance to the Agora since 476.

Finally, entering the cella, our visitor would have encountered Alkamenes' colossal bronze statues of Hephaistos and Athena Hephaistia, but even then, his pilgrimage was not over. For he would have seen the Birth

83. Shapiro, Iozzo, and Lezzi-Hafter 2013, pls. 2, 3, 10–12. Kleitias already understood the metal-versus-rocks motif and its implications, since in the middle of the fight he pits the fully armored Hoplon ("Armorman") against the eponymous rock-wielding centaur Petraios ("Rocky").

of Erichthonios either carved on their base or displayed elsewhere in the cella, to judge from Pausanias's cryptic note.[84] Earth-born scion of both divinities, Erichthonios personified at a stroke the Athenian claims to a special relationship with Olympos, autochthony, craft primacy, and also unique piety.[85] For he supposedly taught them to till the earth with the plow, to yoke horses and use them to pull chariots, and to smelt silver; he founded the Panathenaia in Athena's honor; and he dedicated her venerable *xoanon* on the Acropolis, whose shrine could readily be espied from the temple's own terrace.

To summarize, the Hephaisteion's sculptural program could be read either from the outside in, or from the inside out. The sequence is not temporal but causal, in the sense that Aristotle later theorized as his efficient and final causes. It presents Hephaistos and Athena Hephaistia as humankind's great benefactors. By routing their joint gift of technology to us through their protégés Herakles and Theseus (not to mention the Athenians as a whole), they had enabled humankind's evolution from what we would call the Stone Age to the present. To reprise and continue Hephaistos's *Homeric Hymn:*

> Ἥφαιστον κλυτόμητιν ἀείσεο, Μοῦσα λίγεια,
> ὃς μετ᾽ Ἀθηναίης γλαυκώπιδος ἀγλαὰ ἔργα
> ἀνθρώπους ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ χθονός, οἳ τὸ πάρος περ
> ἄντροις ναιετάασκον ἐν οὔρεσιν ἠΰτε θῆρες.
> νῦν δὲ δι᾽ Ἥφαιστον κλυτοτέχνην ἔργα δαέντες
> ῥηϊδίως αἰῶνα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν
> εὔκηλοι διάγουσιν ἐνὶ σφετέροισι δόμοισιν.
>
> Sing, clear-voiced Muse, of Hephaistos famed for inventions.
> Along with bright-eyed Athena, glorious crafts
> He taught to men throughout the world, who previously
> Used to live in mountain caves like animals.
> But now, learning crafts from famously skilled Hephaistos,
> They pass their lives in their own houses
> At ease the whole year through.

In the late 6th and 5th centuries, such ideas were in the air. From Xenophanes, through Aischylos and Sophokles, to Protagoras's *On the Original State of Things* (now lost but summarized by Plato), and beyond, Greek thinkers were fascinated by the puzzle of human evolution.[86] The Hephaisteion's anonymous designer and his clients, planning their temple

84. Implied by Paus. 1.14.6 and all but proven by August. *De civ. D.* 18.2. Cf. Karouzou 1954–1955; Harrison 1977b; Morris 1992, p. 359; Palagia 2000a, pp. 68–74; Greco 2014, p. 938. If so, given the Hephaisteion's completion ca. 415, cult statues and all, Euripides' description of the event in *Ion* 267–272 (ca. 418–410; see esp. Meyer 2017, pp. 366, 376), complete with a reference to its representation ἐν γραφῇ (line 271; in this context, presumably a fresco: see Miles and Lynch, in prep.), can hardly have been a coincidence.

85. See, most recently, Meyer 2017, pp. 265–267, 313–314, 362–377, 460–461 (English summary), figs. 341, 344, 360–371, 373, 374, 401, 405.

86. Xenophanes *ap.* Stob. 1.8.2; 3.29.41 (= DK 21 B18); Aesch. *PV* 442–468, 478–506; Soph. *Ant.* 332–371; Protagoras *ap.* Diog. Laert. 9.55 (= DK 80 A1); Pl. *Prt.* 320c–328d. See also Edelstein 1967; Guthrie 1971, pp. 60–84; and esp. Cole (1990, pp. 1–46, 50–51), who clearly differentiates the systematic and sophisticated theory of evolution he identifies and attributes to Demokritos (460/457–ca. 380) from its more ad hoc predecessors and contemporaries, among which we may now include ours.

and its sculptural kosmos at least by ca. 460, probably should now join this array. Indeed, in Plato's dialogue, set in Athens in 423–421, Protagoras even has Prometheus "sneak into the dwelling *(oikema)* shared by Athena and Hephaistos for the pursuit of their art," in order to steal their secrets of fire and the crafts.[87] This statement is most suggestive, especially since Hephaistos and Prometheus shared an altar near the entrance to Athena's temenos in the Academy, outside the city, and the Hephaistia's torch race started there.[88]

Now, Protagoras made at least two visits to Athens, enjoyed a high reputation there, and may have known the city quite well.[89] So could the Hephaisteion, shared by the smith god and Athena, and the former's only known temple in the entire Greek world, have represented their mysterious "common dwelling" *(oikema to koinon)* of Protagoras's evolutionary tale? To cite a contemporary parallel, it is widely accepted that the huge early to mid-5th-century Temple of Zeus at Akragas represented the "House of Zeus" (Oikos Dios) on Olympos,[90] enslaved Titans and all. *Mutatis mutandis*, the Hephaisteion invites a similar label.

87. Pl. Prt. 321d–e: εἰς δὲ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡφαίστου οἴκημα τὸ κοινόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐφιλοτεχνείτην, λαθὼν εἰσέρχεται, καὶ κλέψας τήν τε ἔμπυρον τέχνην τὴν τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δίδωσιν ἀνθρώπῳ. For the date, see Ath. 5.218b; 11.505f–506a.

88. Paus. 1.30.2; schol. Soph. *OC* 56 (= Apollod., *FGrH* 244 F147 [I thank Margie Miles for this reference]); cf. di Cesare 2015, p. 264. Moreover, Harrison and others even have argued that the colossal *anthemon* of the temple's cult statues' accounts was a mock chimney for Hephaistos's furnace: e.g., *IG* I^3 479, line 68; Harrison 1977a, pp. 157–162; others, Greco 2014, pp. 937–938.

89. Pl. *Prt.* 310d–e; *Meno* 91e.

90. Bell 1980, pp. 369–370, quoting Philolaos *ap.* Aët. 2.7.7 (= DK 44 A16). I thank Gianfranco Adornato for this reference.

REFERENCES

Adam, S. 1966. *The Technique of Greek Sculpture in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (*BSA* Suppl. 3), London.

Agora = *The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens,* Princeton
III = R. E. Wycherley, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia,* 1957.
XIV = H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape, and Uses of an Ancient City Center,* 1972.
XXXIII = S. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery: The Plain Wares,* 2008.
XXXV = J. Grossman, *Funerary Sculpture,* 2013.

Ambraseys, N. N. 2009. *Earthquakes in the Mediterranean and Middle East: A Multidisciplinary Study of Seismicity up to 1900,* Cambridge.

———. 2010. *On the Long-Term Seismicity of the City of Athens,* Athens.

Ashmole, B. 1972. *Architect and Sculptor in Classical Greece* (The Wrightsman Lectures 6), New York.

Barringer, J. M. 1995. *Divine Escorts: Nereids in Archaic and Classical Greek Art,* Ann Arbor.

———. 2008. *Art, Myth, and Ritual in Classical Greece,* Cambridge.

———. 2009. "A New Approach to the Hephaisteion," in Schultz and von den Hoff 2009, pp. 105–120.

Bell, M. 1980. "Stylobate and Roof in the Olympeion at Akragas," *AJA* 84, pp. 359–372.

Bieber, M. 1951. "Personification of Clouds," in *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson on His Seventieth Birthday,* ed. G. E. Mylonas, vol. 1, St. Louis, pp. 556–558.

Bielefeld, E. 1978. "Ariadne Valentini (sog. Aphrodite Valentini)," *AntP* 17, pp. 57–69.

Blümel, C. 192=7. *Griechische Bildhauerarbeit* (*JdI-EH* 11), Berlin.

Boardman, J. [1985] 1991. *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period. A Handbook,* corr. ed., New York.

Bockelberg, H. von. 1979. "Die Friese des Hephaisteion," *AntP* 18, pp. 23–50.

Boulter, P. N. 1970. "The Frieze of the Erechtheion," *AntP* 10, pp. 7–28.

Brommer, F. 1963. *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel: Katalog und Untersuchung,* Mainz.

Brouskari, M. 1998. "Το θωράκιο του Ναού της Αθηνάς Νίκης," *ArchEph* 1998, pp. 1–268.

Buitron-Oliver, D., ed. 1992. *The Greek Miracle: Classical Sculpture from the Dawn of Democracy. The Fifth Century B.C.*, Washington, D.C.

Camp, J. McK. 1986. *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens* (New Aspects of Antiquity), New York.

———. 1990. *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavations and Museum,* 4th ed., Athens.

———. 2001. *The Archaeology of Athens,* New Haven.

Carpenter, R., and B. Ashmole. 1929. *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet,* Cambridge, Mass.

Cole, T. 1990. *Democritus and the Sources of Greek Anthropology* (American Philological Association Monograph 25), 2nd ed., Atlanta.

Cook, A. B. 1940. *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion* 3: *Zeus, God of the Dark Sky,* Cambridge.

Cooper, F. A., ed. 1992–1996. *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas,* 4 vols., Princeton.

Cruciani, C., and L. Fiorini. 1998. *I modelli del moderato: La stoà poikile e l'Hephaisteion di Atene nel programma edilizio cimoniano* (Aucnus 7), Naples.

Danner, P. 1989. *Griechische Akrotere der archaischen und klassischen Zeit* (Supplementi alla *RdA* 5), Rome.

Delivorrias, A. 1968. "Die Kultstatue der Aphrodite von Daphni," *AntP* 8, pp. 19–31.

———. 1974. *Attische Giebelskulpturen und Akrotere des fünften Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte 1), Tübingen.

———. 1997. "The Sculpted Decoration of the So-called Theseion: Old Answers, New Questions," in *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome* (Studies in the History of Art 49), ed. D. Buitron-Oliver, Washington, D.C., pp. 83–107.

Délos XXXIV = A. Hermary, *La sculpture archaïque et classique* 1: *Catalogue des sculptures classiques de Délos* (*Délos* XXXIV), Paris 1984.

Despinis, G. I. 1971. *Συμβολή στη μελέτη του έργου του Αγορακρίτου,* Athens.

———. 1993. "Ένα σύμπλεγμα εφεδρισμού από την Τεγέα," in *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia. Proceedings of an International Conference Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, April 10–14, 1992* (Oxbow Monograph 30), ed. O. Palagia and W. D. E. Coulson, Oxford, pp. 87–97.

———. 1996–1997. "Il tempio arcaico di Dioniso Eleutereo," *ASAtene* 58–59, pp. 193–214.

Deubner, L. 1932. *Attische Feste,* Berlin.

di Cesare, R. 2015. *La città di Cecrope: Ricerche sulla politica edilizia cimoniana ad Atene* (Studi di Archeologica e di Topografia di Atene e dell'Attica 11), Athens.

Dinsmoor, W. B. 1941. *Observations on the Hephaisteion* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 5), Princeton.

Dinsmoor, W. B., Jr. 1976. "The Roof of the Hephaisteion," *AJA* 80, pp. 223–246.

DNO = S. Kansteiner, K. Hallof, L. Lehmann, B. Seidensticker, and K. Stemmer, eds., *Der neue Overbeck: Die antiken Schriftquellen zu den bildenen Künsten der Griechen,* 5 vols., Berlin 2014.

Dörig, J. 1985. *La frise est de l'Héphaisteion,* Mainz.

Eckstein, F. 1967. "Ephedrismos-Gruppe im Konservatoren-Palast," *AntP* 6, pp. 75–88.

Edelstein, L. 1967. *The Idea of Progress in Classical Antiquity,* Baltimore.

Felten, F. 1984. *Griechische tektonische Friese archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Schriften aus dem Athenaion der klassischen Archäologie Salzburg 4), Waldsassen-Bayern.

Frel, J. 1972. "Réparations antiques," *AAA* 5, pp. 73–82.

Fuchs, W. 1979. "Aus den Museumsnotizen einer Stipendiatenreise des Jahres 1954," *Boreas* 2, pp. 59–61.

Gantz, T. 1993. *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources,* Baltimore.
Gawlinski, L. 2014. *The Athenian Agora: Museum Guide,* 5th ed., Athens.
Gensheimer, M. B. 2017. "Metaphors for Marathon in the Sculptural Program of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi," *Hesperia* 86, pp. 1–42.
Giraud, D. 1994. *Μελέτη αποκαταστάσεως του Ναού της Αθηνάς Νίκης,* Athens.
Gottlieb, C. 1957. "The Pediment Sculpture and Acroteria from the Hephaisteion and Temple of Ares in the Agora at Athens," *AJA* 61, pp. 161–165.
Greco, E., ed. 2014. *Topografia di Atene: Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo d.C.* 3.2. *Quartieri a nord e a nord-est dell'Acropoli e Agora del Ceramico: Agora del Ceramico* (Studi di Archeologica e di Topografia di Atene e dell'Attica 1), Athens.
Gullini, G. 1949. "L'Hephaisteion di Atene," *AntCl* 1, pp. 11–38.
Guthrie, W. K. C. 1971. *The Sophists,* Cambridge.
Hamiaux, M. 1992. *Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités grecs, étrusques, et romaines: Les sculptures grecques* 1: *Des origines à la fin du IV^e^ siècle avant J.-C.,* Paris.
Harrison, E. B. 1956. "The West Pediment of the Temple of Hephaistos," *AJA* 60, p. 178.
———. 1960. "New Sculpture from the Athenian Agora, 1959," *Hesperia* 29, pp. 369–392.
———. 1976. Rev. of Delivorrias 1974, *AJA* 80, pp. 209–210.
———. 1977a. "Alkamenes' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion: Part I, the Cult Statues," *AJA* 81, pp. 138–178.
———. 1977b. "Alkamenes' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion: Part II, the Base," *AJA* 81, pp. 266–287.
———. 1977c. "Alkamenes' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion: Part III, Iconography and Style," *AJA* 81, pp. 411–426.
———. 1979. "The Architectural Sculptures of the So-Called Theseum," in *Greece and Italy in the Classical World. Acta of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, on Behalf of the International Association for Classical Archaeology, London, 3–9 September 1978, under the Sponsorship of the British Academy,* ed. J. N. Coldstream and M. A. R. Colledge, London, p. 220 (abstract).
———. 1982. "A Classical Maiden from the Athenian Agora," in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 20), Princeton, pp. 40–53.
———. 1986. "The Classical High-Relief Frieze from the Athenian Agora," in Kyrieleis 1986, pp. 109–117.
———. 1988. "Style Phases in Greek Sculpture from 450 to 370 B.C.," in *Acta of the XII International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Athens 1983* 3, Athens, pp. 99–105.
———. 1990. "Repair, Reuse, and Reworking of Ancient Greek Sculpture," in *Marble: Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture,* ed. M. True and J. Podany, Malibu, pp. 163–184.
Hedreen, G. 2004. "The Return of Hephaistos, Dionysiac Processional Ritual, and the Creation of a Visual Narrative," *JHS* 124, pp. 38–64.
Heinemann, A. 2016. *Der Gott des Gelages: Dionysos, Satyrn, und Mänaden auf attischen Trinkgeschirr des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Image and Context 15), Berlin.
Hoff, R. von den. 2010. "Media for Theseus, or: The Different Images of the Athenian Polis Hero," in *Intentional History: Spinning Time in Ancient Greece* (Alte Geschichte), ed. L. Foxhall, H. J. Gehrke, and N. Luraghi, Stuttgart, pp. 161–188.
Hölscher, T. 2009. "Architectural Sculpture: Messages? Programs? Towards Rehabilitating the Notion of 'Decoration,'" in Schultz and von den Hoff 2009, pp. 54–68.
Kaloyeropoulou, A. 1986. "Drei attische Grabreliefs," in Kyrieleis 1986, pp. 119–133.
Kaltsas, N. E. 2002. *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens,* trans. D. Hardy, Athens.

Karo, G. 1932. "Archäologische Funde von Sommer 1931 bis Mai 1932," *AA* 1932, cols. 103–183.
Karouzou, S. 1954–1955. "Alkamenes und das Hephaisteion," *AM* 69–70, pp. 67–94.
Kerameikos II = H. Riemann, *Die Skulpturen vom 5. Jahrhundert bis in die römische Zeit* (*Kerameikos* II), Berlin 1940.
Knell, H. [1990] 1998. *Mythos und Polis: Bildprogramme griechischer Bauskulptur,* repr. Darmstadt.
Koch, H. 1955. *Studien zum Theseustempel in Athen* (*AbhLeip* 47.2), Berlin.
Kotsidu, H. 1995. "Zum baupolitischen Hintergrund des Hephaistostempels auf der Athener Agora," *Hephaistos* 13, pp. 93–108.
Kyrieleis, H., ed. 1986. *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums vom 22.–25. April 1985 in Athen* 2: *Klassische griechische Plasktik,* Mainz.
Lalonde, G. V. 2006. "*IG* I^3 1055 B and the Boundary of Melite and Kollytos," *Hesperia* 75, pp. 83–119.
Laqueur, T. W. 1990. *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud,* Cambridge, Mass.
Leventi, I. 2008. "Der Fries des Poseidon-Tempels in Sounion," *AntP* 30, pp. 7–54.
———. 2014. *Πόλη σε κρίση: Αρχιτεκτονική γλυπτική της Αθήνας στην περίοδο του Πελοποννησιακού πολέμου,* Athens.
Lippold, G. 1950. *Die griechische Plastik* (Handbuch der Archäologie 3.1), Munich.
Lippolis, E., and G. Vallarino. 2010. "Alkamenes: Problemi di cronologia di un artista attico," in *Scolpire il marmo: Importazioni, artisti itineranti, scuole artistiche nel Mediterraneo antico. Atti del convegno di studio tenuto a Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, 9–11 novembre 2009,* ed. G. Adornato, Milan, pp. 251–278.
Loraux, N. 1993. *The Children of Athena: Athenian Ideas about Citizenship and the Division between the Sexes,* Princeton.
LSCG = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (*TravMém* 18), Paris 1969.
Matheson, S. B. 1995. *Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens* (Wisconsin Studies in Classics), Madison.
McInerney, J. 2014. "Pelasgians and Leleges: Unlocking the Past to Understand the Present," in *Valuing the Past in the Greco-Roman World. Proceedings from the Penn-Leiden Colloquia on Ancient Values VII* (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 369), ed. J. Ker and C. Pieper, Leiden, pp. 25–55.
Meyer, M. 2017. *Athena, Göttin von Athen: Kult und Mythos auf der Akropolis bis in klassische Zeit,* Vienna.
Miles, M. M. 1980. "The Date of the Temple on the Ilissos River," *Hesperia* 49, pp. 309–325.
———. 1989. "A Reconstruction of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous," *Hesperia* 58, pp. 133–249.
———. 2017. "Constructing Architects: The So-Called 'Theseum Architect,'" in *Artists and Artistic Production in Ancient Greece,* ed. K. Seaman and P. Schultz, Cambridge, pp. 101–123.
Miles, M. M., and K. M. Lynch. In prep. "The Hephaisteion above the Agora: Its Date and Design."
Morgan, C. H. 1962a. "The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion, I: The Metopes," *Hesperia* 31, pp. 210–219.
———. 1962b. "The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion, II: The Friezes," *Hesperia* 31, pp. 221–235.
———. 1963. "The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion, III: The Pediments, Akroteria, and Cult Images," *Hesperia* 32, pp. 91–108.
Morris, S. P. 1992. *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art,* Princeton.
Neils, J. 1987. *The Youthful Deeds of Theseus* (Archaeologica 76), Rome.
Olsen, E. C. 1938. "An Interpretation of the Hephaisteion Reliefs," *AJA* 42, pp. 276–287.
Osborne, R. 2009. "The Narratology and Theology of Architectural Sculpture, or What You Can Do with a Chariot but Can't Do with a Satyr on a Greek Temple," in Schultz and von den Hoff 2009, pp. 2–12.
PAA = J. S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens,* 22 vols., Toronto, 1994–2012.
Palagia, O. 1993. *The Pediments of the Parthenon* (Monumenta Graeca et Romana 7), Leiden.
———. 2000a. "Meaning and Narrative Techniques in Statue-Bases of the Pheidian Circle," in *Word and Image in Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh Leventis Studies 1), ed. N. K. Rutter and B. A. Sparkes, Edinburgh, pp. 53–78.
———. 2000b. "Parian Marble and the Athenians," in *Paria Lithos,* ed. D. U. Schilardi and D. Katsonopoulou, Athens, pp. 347–354.
———. 2006a. "Classical Athens," in *Greek Sculpture: Functions, Materials, and Techniques in the Archaic and Classical Periods,* ed. O. Palagia, New York, pp. 119–162.
———. 2006b. "Marble Carving Techniques," in *Greek Sculpture: Functions, Materials, and Techniques in the Archaic and Classical Periods,* ed. O. Palagia, New York, pp. 243–279.
Papadopoulos, J. K., and E. L. Smithson. 2002. "The Cultural Biography of a Cycladic Geometric Amphora: Islanders in Athens and the Prehistory of Metics," *Hesperia* 71, pp. 149–199.
Parke, H. W. 1977. *Festivals of the Athenians* (Aspects of Greek and Roman Life), London.
Parker, R. 1987. "Festivals of the Attic Demes," in *Gifts to the Gods. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985* (*Boreas* 15), ed. T. Linders and G. Nordquist, Uppsala, pp. 137–147.
———. 1996. *Athenian Religion: A History,* Oxford.
Payne, H. 1932. "Archaeology in Greece, 1931–1932," *JHS* 52, pp. 236–255.
Petrakos, V. C. 1986. "Προβλήματα της βάσης του αγάλματος της Νεμέσεως," in Kyrieleis 1986, pp. 89–107.
Picard, C. 1937. "Bulletin archéologique," *RÉG* 50, pp. 127–128.
———. 1938. "Les acrotères de la Stoa Basileios et ceux du 'Pseudo-Theseion,'" *RA* 6º, 12, pp. 95–96.
———. 1939. *Manuel d'archéologie grecque: La sculpture* 2.2: *Période classique–V^e siècle,* Paris.

———. 1948. *Manuel d'archéologie grecque: La sculpture* 3.1: *Période classique–IV^e siècle, première partie,* Paris.
Prignitz, S. 2014. *Bauurkunden und Bauprogramm von Epidauros (400–350): Asklepiostempel, Tholos, Kultbild, Brunnenhaus* (Vestigia 67), Munich.
Reber, K. 1998. "Das Hephaisteion in Athen: Ein Monument für die Demokratie," *JdI* 113, pp. 31–48.
Reisch, E. 1898. "Athena Hephaisteia," *ÖJh* 1, pp. 55–93.
Ridgway, B. S. 1981. *Fifth-Century Styles in Greek Sculpture,* Princeton.
Rolley, C. 1999. *La sculpture grecque* 2: *La période classique* (Les manuels d'art et d'archéologie antiques), Paris.
Rotroff, S. I., and J. H. Oakley. 1992. *Debris from a Public Dining Place in the Athenian Agora* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 25), Princeton.
Sauer, B. 1899. *Das sogennante Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck,* Leipzig.
Scheffer, C. 1996. "Return or No Return? The So-Called Ephedrismos Group and the Hephaisteion," *OpAth* 21, pp. 169–188.
Schlörb, B. 1965. *Timotheos* (*JdI-EH* 22), Berlin.
Schultz, P. 2001. "The Akroteria of the Temple of Athena Nike," *Hesperia* 70, pp. 1–47.
———. 2002. "The Date of the Nike Temple Parapet," *AJA* 106, pp. 294–295 (abstract).
———. 2003. "The Stoa Poikile, the Nike Temple Bastion, and Cleon's Shields from Pylos: A Note on *Knights* 843–859," *NumAntCl* 32, pp. 43–62.
Schultz, P., and R. von den Hoff, eds. 2009. *Structure, Image, Ornament: Architectural Sculpture in the Ancient World. Proceedings of an International Conference Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 27–28 November 2004,* Oxford.
Shapiro, H. A. 1995. *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens: Supplement,* Mainz.
Shapiro, H. A., M. Iozzo, and A. Lezzi-Hafter. 2013. *The François Vase* (Akanthus Proceedings 3), Kilchberg, Zurich.
Shear, T. L. 1932. "The Excavation of the Athenian Agora," *AJA* 36, pp. 382–392.
———. 1933. "The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora: Second Report. The Sculpture," *Hesperia* 2, pp. 514–541.
———. 1936. "The Conclusion of the 1936 Campaign in the Athenian Agora," *AJA* 40, pp. 403–441.
———. 1937. "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: Twelfth Report. The Campaign of 1936," *Hesperia* 6, pp. 333–381.
Shear, T. L., Jr. 2016. *Trophies of Victory: Public Building in Periklean Athens,* Princeton.
Simon, E. 1983. *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary* (Wisconsin Studies in Classics), Madison.
———. 1998. *Die Götter der Griechen,* 4th ed., Munich.
Stewart, A. 1990. *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration,* 2 vols., New Haven.
———. 1996. *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece,* Cambridge.
———. 2008. "The Persian and Carthaginian Invasions of 480 B.C.E. and the Beginning of the Classical Style: Part 2, The Finds from Other Sites in Athens, Attica, Elsewhere in Greece, and on Sicily; Part 3, The Severe Style: Motivations and Meaning," *AJA* 112, pp. 581–615.
———. 2012. "Hellenistic Freestanding Sculpture from the Athenian Agora, Part 1: Aphrodite," *Hesperia* 81, pp. 267–342.
———. 2016. "The Borghese Ares Revisited: New Evidence from the Agora and a Reconstruction of the Augustan Cult Group in the Temple of Ares," *Hesperia* 85, pp. 577–625.
———. 2017. "Hellenistic Freestanding Sculpture from the Athenian Agora, Part 3: Agathe Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Eileithyia," *Hesperia* 86, pp. 83–127.
———. Forthcoming a. "An Absolute Chronology of Attic Sculpture, ca. 450–390 B.C." Invited for a Festschrift, honoree confidential.
———. Forthcoming b. "Patronage, Compensation, and the Social Status of Sculptors," in *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture,* ed. O. Palagia, Mainz.

Thompson, H. A. 1949. "The Pedimental Sculpture of the Hephaisteion," *Hesperia* 18, pp. 230–268.
———. 1962a. *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavations and Museum,* 2nd ed., Athens.
———. 1962b. "The Sculptural Adornment of the Hephaisteion," *AJA* 66, pp. 339–347.
———. 1976. *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavations and Museum,* 3rd ed., Athens.
Vallarino, G. 2012. "Le epigrafi dello Hephaisteion e il culto di Efesto ad Atene," in *Ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ σοφίας: Un omaggio a Paola Lombardi, Giornata di Studio, Roma, 28 Ottobre 2010* (Opuscala Epigraphica 14), ed. G. Bevilacqua and S. Campanelli, Rome, pp. 61–74.
Wescoat, B., and R. Levitan. 2017. "Seeing the Parthenon Frieze: Notes from Nashville," in *Greek Art and Context: Archaeological and Art Historical Perspectives,* ed. D. Rodríguez Pérez, New York, pp. 57–72.
Williams, D. 2013. *The East Pediment of the Parthenon: From Perikles to Nero* (*BICS* Suppl. 118), London.
Wyatt, W. L., and C. N. Edmonson. 1984. "The Roof of the Hephaisteion," *AJA* 88, pp. 135–167.
Yalouris, N. 1992. "Die Skulpturen des Asklepiostempels in Epidauros," *AntP* 21, pp. 1–92.

Andrew Stewart

University of California at Berkeley
departments of history of art and classics
berkeley, california 94720-6020

astewart@berkeley.edu