Readings

in Art History

Third Edition

VOLUME I • ANCIENT EGYPT THROUGH THE MIDDLE AGES

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INTRODUCTION

This selection—from a book designed for the general reader and student—is particularly useful for the emphasis it accords the expressive side of Greek art, so often treated essentially in terms of formal developments; but Pollitt's work has other salutary features as well: while its focus is chiefly on the Classical Period (ca. 480 to 323 B.C.), its range is actually much wider, providing the reader with an evocative panorama of Greek art as psychological manifestation and cultural expression from Archaic to Hellenistic times. By placing the visual arts of the Hellenic world in the context of literary, philosophical, social, and political currents, the author effectively amends the image of Greek art as a chronicle of ebb and flow between "the real" and "the ideal."

Cited by Pollitt in his bibliography is a group of four works by a single author that should be noted here: T. B. L. Webster, Greek Art and Literature, 700-530 B.C. (1960); Greek Art and Literature, 530-400 B.C. (1939); Art and Literature in Fourth-Century Athens (1956); and Hellenistic Poetry and Art (1964). Two anthologies, J. J. Pollitt, ed., The Art of Greece, 1400-31 B.C. Sources and Documents (1965) and Milton C. Nahm, Selections From Early Greek Philosophy (1962), will also prove useful to the student. For further exploration of the subject addressed by this selection, see C. M. Bowra, The Greek Experience (1958); Bernard Ashmole, The Classical Ideal in Greek Sculpture (1964); J. J. Pollitt, "Professional Art Criticism in Ancient Greece," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, LXIV (1964), 317-90; J. E. Raven,

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ANTECEDENTS AND FIRST PRINCIPLES

ORDER AND CHAOS

A deep-seated need to discover an order in, or superimpose an order on, the flux of physical and psychological experience is a continuing feature of all Greek artistic and philosophical expression. While it is true that every conscious creature feels this need to some extent, the intensity with which the quest for order was carried on by the Greeks was exceptional. Whether as a result of some mysterious tendency in the national psyche or as a spontaneous reaction to their turbulent historical experience after the break-up of the Mycenaean world, the Greeks felt that to live with changing, undefined, unmeasured, seemingly random impressions—to live, in short, with what was expressed by the Greek word chaos—was to live in a state of constant anxiety.

An awareness of this anxiety which often haunts Greek thought and expression is of crucial importance in understanding and evaluating Greek art. Looking at Greek sculpture out of its original context or at some of the ribald scenes on Greek painted vases, or recollecting in a general way the spirit of Aristophanic comedy, it is easy to be lured into thinking of the Greeks, especially in the Archaic period, as living in a unneurotic, innocent, emotionally uncomplicated world where there were few restraints on natural impulses. Yet even in a casual survey of the extant fragments of the Archaic lyric poets, this picture of the happy springtime of western civilization quickly vanishes. The lyrics are filled with expressions of a profound anxiety provoked by the irrational uncertainty and mutability of life. Archilochos of Paros, for example, experiences an eclipse of the sun and reacts:

... gloom-filled fear has come upon mankind.
From now on anything may be believed, anything expected among men. No longer should anyone marvel at what he sees, not even if the beasts of the field make an exchange with dolphins.
for their watery pasture, and the echoing waves of the sea
become dearer than dry land to those who once found the hillside
sweet.

Solon of Athens tries to reconcile the wisdom of Zeus with in-
justice in the world and is bewildered . . . Simonides of Amorgos
depairs at the vanity of human endeavors; Mimnermos of Kolon-
phon shudders at the prospect of old age; and Simonides of Keos
beautifully expresses the fundamental anxiety which underlies all
these specific fears when he says that reversal (metastasis) of the
human condition comes more quickly than the overturning of a
dragonfly's wing. True, the lyric poets also give us vigorous
drinking songs and love poems. The youthful vigor of Archaic
Greece is not an illusion, but it finds expression as often under a
cloud of worry as in a clear sky of optimism.

If the apparent mutability of the physical world and of the
human condition was a source of pain and bewilderment to the
Greeks, the discovery of a permanent pattern or an unchanging
substratum by which apparently chaotic experience could be
measured and explained was a source of satisfaction, even joy,
which had something of a religious nature. For the recognition
of order and measure in phenomena did more than simply satisfy
their intellectual curiosity or gratify a desire for tidiness; it also
served as the basis of a spiritual ideal. Measure and commensur-
bility are everywhere identified with beauty and excellence was
Plato's way of putting it in a dialogue in which measure is identi-
fied as a primary characteristic of the ultimate good (Philebus
64e). Rational definability and spirituality were never mutually
exclusive categories in Greek thought. If the quest for order and
clarity was in essence the search for a kind of spiritual ideal, it
was not an ideal to be perceived in rapturous emotional mysticism
but rather one to be arrived at by patient analysis. When the
Greeks saw a mystical light, he was inclined to break it down into
its component wavelengths and, to the extent that such things are
possible, give it rational definition.

We see this process at work especially in Greek philosophy,
which in various ways was aimed at alleviating the anxiety which
is inherent in the more spontaneous expression of lyric poetry.
The Milesian philosophers of the sixth century were interested
above all in discovering a primary substance from which, by an
orderly process of derivation, all other phenomena could be
explained. Whether it was water, air in various states of condensa-
tion, or some other 'element,' the Milesians used their primal
substance as the basis for a cosmology (kosmos = order) in which
the world was seen as a perfectly functioning machine. Neat,
clear, and sublimely undisturbed by the social world of man, who
took shape and dissolved within the natural order of things, it was
an austere ideal, an astringent antidote to the apparent senseless-
lessness of life; but at least it made some kind of sense. The man
who contemplated it deeply could feel that he was part of a great
system which was impersonal but predictable, and, like Lucretius,
who revived the Milesian attitude in a later age, he could derive
a peculiar kind of peace from it. As time passed and Greek
philosophy developed, the urge to find order in experience was
shifted from physics to the realm of mathematical abstraction by
the Pythagoreans, and to the world of human behavior by various
thinkers of the later fifth century; and, finally, Plato and Aristotle
attempted to weave all these foci of interest into comprehensive
pictures of the relationship between human life and the world as
a whole. But in all these epochs the basic quest—the search for a
kosmos—remained the same.

These two fundamental forces in Greek thought and expression
—anxiety prompted by the apparent irrationality of experience
and the drive to allay this anxiety by finding an order which
explains experience—had a profound effect upon Greek art and
are at the root of its two most essential aesthetic principles:

(1) The analysis of forms into their component parts. This is one
aspect of the process, also inherent in physical science, which
brings unity to the multiplicity of things by finding common bases
for all of them . . . The Greek artist . . . chose to stand aside from
nature, to analyze what its constituent elements were, and then to
reshape it according to his conception of what it should be. Over
the centuries, this process became increasingly subtle, but it was
never forgotten, as the great importance which was attached to
such concepts as symmetria 'commensurability,' and rhythmos
'pattern,' in Classical art and art criticism, indicates.

(2) Representation of the specific in the light of the generic.
Greek artists tended to look for the typical and essential forms
which expressed the essential nature of classes of phenomena in
the same way that Platonic 'forms' or 'ideas' expressed essential
realities underlying the multiplicity of sense perception. This principle helps to explain why the range of building-types in Greek architecture and the range of subjects in Greek sculpture and painting is so deliberately limited. When one is trying to define essence within multiplicity, whimsical innovations, fantasies, and vagrant moods have no place. Consistency and limit are characteristics of order; diversity is more often a characteristic of chaos.

These two aesthetic principles are best understood not as inflexible edicts but rather as statutes of an artistic common law, subject to reinterpretation in every period. According to changing historical circumstances, their application differed. Perhaps the single greatest difference between the Archaic and Classical periods, for example, was a new attitude in the latter toward the 'specific in the light of the generic principle' insofar as it concerned the representation of emotions and changing states of consciousness. Archaic art, like contemporary Milesian philosophy, on the whole chose to transcend the overt expression of emotion and changing states of mind and to rely on purely formal qualities of design to express the orderly world which it envisioned....

One of the distinguishing features of the art of the Classical period was that it broke away from this emotional impassivity in Archaic art....

Greek society, as it had developed in the seven centuries which had followed the breakup of the Mycenaean world after 1200 B.C., consisted of relatively small independent communities or poleis as the Greeks themselves called them, in which the sources of power and policy were immediate, familiar, and of personal concern even to those who did not directly wield that power. Because the Orient was also undergoing a period of disruption and readjustment in these centuries and because Greece was on the periphery of the oriental world, the Greek cities were able to evolve their peculiar social forms without the threat of interference from the larger eastern powers. In each of the poleis authority, political and moral, ultimately rested in an enfranchized group of citizens....

Perhaps the most overriding characteristic of the Greek cities was the pressure which they exerted upon the individual citizen to merge his life and interests in those of the group. It has sometimes been claimed that the outstanding characteristic of the ancient Greeks was their high esteem for individualism, and it is certainly undeniable that Greece did produce many brilliant, talented, and ambitious individuals, who, if their gifts were used in the service of the polis, became prominent men. But if one means by individualism a tolerance of those who reject the group’s norms and pursue their own interests in disregard of the dominant values of their society, the poleis hardly qualify as hospitable ground. The unconventional individualists of Classical Greece—Themistokles and Socrates, for example—often suffered for their individualism and not infrequently came to a tragic end; and yet even they were essentially what a sociologist would now call ‘group-oriented.’ In the Apology, for example, Plato’s Socrates emphasizes that his persistent and at times annoying quest for truth was in the best interest of his fellow citizens, even if they were unable to realize it.

The pressures which the Greek polis put upon the individual to merge his interests in those of his society may account for the great emphasis put on the ideas of moderation, restraint, and avoidance of excess in Greek religious and moral thinking. All Greeks were subject to and respected the maxims of the Delphic oracle: ‘know thyself’ (i.e., ‘know your limitations’) and ‘nothing in excess.’ These pleas for restraint and measure, which were summed up in the virtue of sophrosyne (‘discretion, temperance, self-control’), were not, it should be emphasized, a purely negative prescription. From Hesiod through Solon to the Classical dramatists and philosophers, such virtues were presented as the key to right living, to a happiness which was in keeping with man’s nature and was divinely sanctioned. Men whose desires and ambitions knew no restraint, who defied the accepted measure and order, courted chaos and disaster for themselves and those around them. For the Greeks an irrational overturning of the natural order of things was always fraught with deep anxiety.
J. J. POLLITT

CONSCIOUSNESS AND CONSCIENCE

THE EARLY CLASSICAL PERIOD, CA. 480-450 B.C.

The New Range of Expression

The art of the Early Classical period differs from that of the Archaic in its interest in exploring emotions and changing states of mind, particularly in a dramatic context. Archaic statues tend to be iconic, that is, to be unchanging ‘presences,’ in tune with a higher reality and unaffected by the changing conditions of the world. Early Classical statues tend to be dramatic, and to carry with them the impression that they represent one distinct stage in a series of events. They are more often qualified by association with particular times and circumstances. To illustrate this point most simply we can look at two statues which are not far from one another in date and in function but which make totally different impressions. The ‘Strangford Apollo’ (Fig. 10), a small (about 3' 4" high) kouros in Parian marble now in the British Museum, must date from 490 or 485 B.C. and is a good example of the outward humanization which characterizes much late Archaic sculpture. Its scale is strictly human rather than superhuman, and, although the sculptor who made it clearly employed a conventional ‘canon’ of proportion and composition, the individual elements within that canon more closely approximate a natural mean. Yet although the Strangford kouros may impress us as humanized when compared with the ‘heroic,’ greater than life, atmosphere which surrounds many of the earlier kouroi (see Fig. 8, p. 39), it is still fundamentally like them in conception. Its traditional kouros stance and impassive face seem to ignore the ordinary human condition. As you look at it, or at any kouros in a museum, it will seem to look past you.

By contrast, the ‘Kritios Boy’ (Fig. 11) in the Acropolis Museum in Athens seems as if he might turn and ask you a question. This figure was found on the Acropolis in Athens in the nineteenth century but is apparently not part of the debris left by the Persian sack of Athens since it was broken and repaired in Antiquity, whereas the figures smashed by the Persians were not. It therefore probably dates from just after 480 B.C. and stands at the very beginning of the Early Classical period. The sculptor (the ascription to Kritios is based on analogies with the Tyrannicides group) broke with the 150-year-old kouros stance by shifting the seeming stress of the weight to the left leg while leaving the right leg, with the knee slightly bent, free to balance or propel. The displacement of the weight to the left leg raises the left hip and causes a slight unevenness of the axes of the torso. The head turns to the right, to complete the break with the rigidly frontal kouros. The effect of these technical devices is to create a figure which seems to hesitate and to be uncertain about what it is doing and where it will go. It seems conscious of its surroundings and faced with alternatives which ask for judgement and decision. In short, it seems to live and think.

In the case of the Kritios Boy we intuitively sense a kind of dramatic context for the statue, even though we cannot specify precisely what it is. If we turn to architectural sculptures, which normally represent known mythological episodes and hence have a specific narrative context inherent in them, we none the less still
J. J. Pollitt

find that a distinct difference in atmosphere separates the products of the Classical period from their Archaic predecessors. One of the most vivid illustrations of the gap in feeling and expression between the two periods occurs in the pedimental sculptures, both apparently depicting combats of Greeks and Trojans, from the temple of Aphaia on the island of Aegina. The west pedimental group of this temple seems to have been completed, along with the temple itself, around 490 B.C. An east pedimental group, also completed at this time, was damaged by an unknown agent and replaced by a new set of sculptures somewhere shortly before or after 480 B.C. While most of the figures from both the west pediment and the new east pediment are fragmentary, there are extant two largely complete figures of fallen, wounded warriors, one from each pediment, which had similar narrative functions in

11. Kritios Boy, found on the Athenian Acropolis, c. 480-475 B.C., Marble, Height approximately 2'9" (Acropolis Museum, Athens; Deutsches Archäologisches Institut)

Art and Experience in Ancient Greece

their respective scenes and invite comparisons. The warrior from the west pediment (Fig. 12) has been struck in the chest with a spear (of bronze or wood, now missing) which he grasps with his right hand while he props himself up on his left elbow. His expressionless face, sprucely set off by the beaded bonnet of his hair, stares out at the viewer. His right leg is arched over the left, giving a clear, almost delicate silhouette, evocative of the crisp figures of early Attic red-figure vase paintings. Rather than suffering from an excruciatingly painful wound, he seems to be posing for a dignified court tableau.

The fallen warrior from the east pediment is another matter (Fig. 13). As life ebbs away and he sinks toward the earth, he tries futilely, sword (now missing) in hand, to raise himself. His eyes narrow as his consciousness fades; his mouth is slightly open as his breathing grows difficult; he stares at the earth. His enfeebled movements contrast poignantly with his massive physical frame in which, for practically the first time, the individual details of the musculature are fused and unified by a softening of the lines of division between them, and by increasingly subtle modulation of the surface from which one senses the presence of a unified physical force emanating from within the body. The sculptor who conceived the figure had obviously thought carefully about exactly what it meant. He must have asked himself what it must really be like when a powerful warrior is wounded and falls. . . . The warrior from the west pediment seems more like a recumbent kouros; his companion from the east pediment is a character in a drama.

Confidence and Doubt

What factors were there which might be said to have brought into being this new analysis of consciousness in Early Classical art? It seems something more than a natural evolution from what had gone on in the Archaic period and should perhaps be ascribed to both a new self-confidence and a new uneasiness which arose among many thoughtful Greeks in the wake of the Persian Wars.

Confidence and optimism arose, of course, simply from the fact that the Greeks had won. Triumph in the face of such overwhelming odds suggested that perhaps Greek culture, with its restrained, group-conscious, way of life, had received divine sanction and justification. Aeschylus, and following him, Herodotus and others,
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begin to ponder the question of how *hybris*, ‘arrogance, unbridled ambition without restraint,’ brings in its wake *ate*, ‘folly,’ and finally *nemesis*, ‘retribution.’ There can be no doubt that in Greek eyes the Persians, embodied by the wild figure of Xerxes flogging the sea, had gone through just such a cycle. In the end ‘Zeus’ (the name covered a multitude of religious and moral conceptions) had punished them. . . . The belief that the Persians had suffered punishment for their *hybris* also made it necessary to believe that there was some kind of order in the immediate world—arrogance was punished, moderation was rewarded. This involved a departure from the thought of the Archaic period, which, unable to discover any rational order in the world of immediate experience had reacted by conceiving of orders which were beyond it. In the Early Classical period, this budding belief that the world as it was might ‘make sense’ must have provoked a new interest in the nature of its changing conditions. Changing states of consciousness could be understood as aspects of a universal moral order, and it may have been this realization which led the artists of the period to begin exploring them. . . .

But if a new confidence led the Early Classical artists to begin experimenting with the representation of conscious inner life, it was another motive which led them to dwell most often on its sombre, meditative, even haunted aspects. That motive was a new uneasiness of mind produced by the growing belief that men were responsible for their own fortunes, good or bad, and by the implications which this belief had for the course of Greek domestic politics after the Persian Wars.

Art and Drama

The confident yet self-questioning atmosphere which developed in the wake of the victory over the Persians also served to bring to maturity the dominant and most characteristic literary form of the fifth century B.C.—Athenian tragic drama. The dramas were public rites, performed at religious festivals by actors who were, in most cases at least, the fellow citizens of those who witnessed them. They were above all reflections of group-experience. The dramatic poet, whether reflecting the mentality of his time or seeking to shape it (or both), spoke to, and often for, society as a whole. It is therefore not surprising that the best dramas bring into focus simultaneously most of the intellectual and emotional
preoccupations of the Early Classical period—the willingness to believe that there is a meaningful moral order in the world, the consequent uneasiness over the human tendency to pursue self-interest through violence, the possible implications of such violence within the moral order, the new significance attached to individual human consciousness and thought, and finally a new conception of what constitutes nobility in human character. When the proud and strong characters of Greek drama are pitted against hostile forces, sometimes circumstantial and sometimes within themselves, which threaten to destroy them, one often feels that the fate of Athens and Greece as a whole in the fifth century is being enacted, either historically or speculatively.

We have already seen how a dramatic quality pervaded the earliest works of Early Classical art. Sculptors and painters seem, in fact, actually to have borrowed some of the technical devices which had been developed in dramatic performances to convey character and narrative action—for example, the formal gestures of actors, the masks which were designed to express at once an individual character and a basic human type, and perhaps also a sense of dramatic timing. Nowhere is the attempt to adapt the themes, spirit, expressive power, and technical components of the great dramatic cycles like the Oresteia of Aeschylus to the medium of the visual arts more successfully and grandly carried out than in the sculptures of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. A comparison of the Aeschylus trilogy with these sculptures is instructive.

The Oresteia was produced in 458 B.C., a year or so before the pediments of the temple of Zeus at Olympia were completed, and is our most vivid example of how personal, civic, and cosmic themes were woven into one artistic form in Greek drama. In the first two plays of the cycle, the Agamemnon and the Choephoroi, we are confronted with a group of strong characters caught in an obscure web of suffering, of mutual and self-destruction, which defies rational explanation. Inheriting the curse of the terrible crimes of his father, Agamemnon commits violence and suffers violence. Divine demands, the pressure of circumstances, and his own arrogant and ambitious nature drive him to sacrifice his own daughter and bring suffering on all who follow him. Clytemnestra, driven by the pain of her daughter’s death and by her husband’s infidelity, but also by the pressures of her intrigue with Aegisthus and her own will for power, assassinates her husband. Orestes, both protected and spurned by his titanic mother, is then compelled by the dark force of his father’s ghost, by a divine command, but also by his own desire to regain his kingdom, to avenge by matricide his father’s death, and for this he is pursued by the Furies, the force of an ancient tradition demanding that blood guilt must inevitably be avenged. The forces which sustain and perpetuate this chain of suffering seem to stem both from the characters themselves and from a primeval, chaotic, and brutal world of values which confounds human comprehension. Even Zeus, who overthrew his own father, seems to be involved in, rather than in control of, the avenging destructive forces, and the chorus, speaking from both within and without the dramatic action, is forced to invoke him in bewilderment . . . But in the Eumenides, the final drama of the trilogy, Aeschylus brings us out of the earlier dark irrationality into what seems an enlightened world of order and reason. Orestes, defended principally by Athena, the goddess most closely bound up with thought and progress, is tried before a court of Athenian citizens on the Areopagus in Athens, and is acquitted. Athena turns to the Furies, without hostility, . . . and reason and compromise win them over . . .

The temple of Zeus at Olympia, which was the most important architectural project in Greece proper during the Early Classical period, was completed between 470 and 456 B.C. Although actually financed and built by the people of Elis with the booty which they had won in a war with neighboring towns for control of the Olympic sanctuary, the temple was nevertheless a monument for all Greeks. Not only was it dedicated to their supreme god, but it stood in the most panhellenic of their sanctuaries. Its chief architect was Libon, a local man, but workmen, particularly stone carvers, from many parts of Greece must have been employed on it. The great sculptural groups in the pediments (over eighty feet long and ten feet high in the center) were of Parian marble . . .

The east pediment group, which faced into the sanctuary of Olympia and toward the starting line from which the Olympic chariot races began, represented the story of the chariot race between King Oinomaos of Pisa and the young, wandering adventurer Pelops. Oinomaos had a daughter, Hippodameia, whom he coveted, some sources say incestuously, and did not want to lose.
Whenever a suitor appeared for her hand, Oinomaos would challenge him to a chariot race from Olympia to the isthmus of Corinth. If the suitor, who took Hippodameia on his chariot and was given a head-start, won the race, he also won the bride, but if he was overtaken by Oinomaos, he was killed. Since Oinomaos had special arms and horses given to him by the god Ares, a number of suitors had met their end in this way. When Pelops arrived in Pisa Hippodameia fell in love with him and persuaded the charioteer Myrtilos, who was also in love with her, to sabotage her father’s chariot by replacing its metal linchpins with pins made of wax. In the ensuing race Oinomaos’ chariot collapsed and he was killed. Later Myrtilos, either in expectation of a promised reward or urged on by his own inclinations, made amorous advances toward Hippodameia, whereupon he was thrown into the sea by Pelops and drowned; but not, however, before he was able to call down a curse on the line of Pelops. The designer of the east pediment captures the elements of this story by showing us the moment just prior to the start of the race, when the participants are offering sacrifice, and presumably swearing an oath of fair-play, before the altar of Zeus. The god himself stands in the center...

Taken as a whole the east pediment seems like an episode in a great dramatic cycle. As in drama, the violent action is to take place off-stage. We are confronted with a scene in which the implications of that action are to be pondered. There is a tension in the air. Conflicting motives drive on the characters to their fate. They exist at various states of anxiety and knowledge. There is a moral and religious problem in the scene which they contemplate according to their understanding and which we are forced to contemplate too. The pediment embodies not action, but thought.

The scene in the west pediment of the temple of Zeus formed a marked and, probably, deliberate contrast to the east. It is full of violent action and an almost elemental pitting of right against wrong. The scene represents the battle of the Lapiths (early Thessalian Greeks) and Centaurs, which broke out at the wedding of the hero Peirithoös and his bride Deidameia. The Centaurs were wild creatures, half man and half horse, who lived in the mountains of Thessaly. Wine, to which they had very low resistance, brought out their animal side, and when they had consumed too much of it at Peirithoös’ wedding party they attacked his bride and her handmaidens. The party broke up in a wild brawl in which Peirithoös and his comrade Theseus eventually subdued their savage opponents. The designer of the west pediment in all likelihood selected this story to express the triumph of human civilization—with the discipline and adherence to order which it required—over unthinking barbarism. In the center of the pediment stands the towering figure of a young god, who must be Apollo. He can be understood either as a statue within the scene, i.e., a statue representing a statue, or as an invisible spiritual presence. With a gesture of his right arm, without directly participating in the battle, the god who was the guardian of religious law and a patron of civilized institutions, the god who was also present with Athena at the trial in the Eumenides, seems to be decreeing order out of chaos...

The west pediment, like the Eumenides, celebrates a triumph of rationality. It is another expression of what I have called the ‘new confidence’ of the Early Classical period and is a meaningful companion piece to the east pediment, which captures the underlying uneasiness of the period.

The New Severity

The new spirit of Early Classical sculpture was accompanied by new ways of rendering details, by new systems of proportion, and by new patterns of composition—in short, by a new style. Modern critics often apply the term ‘severe’ to this style, and appropriately so. It is a style with few frills, with few ornaments which could be looked upon as delights ‘for their own sake.’ As the expressive intention is serious, so is the external form austere...

Perhaps the most consistent element in ‘severe style’ sculpture and painting, the feature which gives it its definitive stamp, is its characteristically ‘moody’ facial type which is already well-developed around 480 B.C. ...

If we try to sum up in a general way the motivating forces behind the ‘new severity’ of Early Classical art, we can point to two factors. One is an anti-traditional feeling, which in this period means to some extent an anti-oriental feeling. Archaic Greek art
had never lost touch with the artistic traditions of the ancient Near East from which it had borrowed certain schemes of composition and a good many decorative details (e.g., the kouros stance, formal ways of rendering the hair, animal friezes, etc.). After 480/479 B.C. the Orient was increasingly viewed as barbarous and contemptible; and Archaic art, which had been fostered in many cases by Greek tyrants who had been on good terms with the oriental monarchs and had set themselves up in power somewhat on the oriental model, was tainted by these associations. In renouncing strict patterns like the kouros stance and abandoning the aristocratic love of jewel-like detail in favor of a new repertoire of austerely unornate but flexible forms which could be used to express a sombre thoughtfulness, the Greeks finally achieved an artistic identity which was completely their own.

The other basic motivating force behind the style was the new emphasis on personal and group responsibility which we have already examined. In a world where it suddenly appeared that men had the power to create and preserve or destroy the conditions in which they lived, it was wise to present an appearance which was severe and seemingly undeluded by the external trappings of power.

Ethos and Pathos
Ancient Greek psychology recognized two forces at the root of human emotional expression—éthos, a man’s ‘character’ as formed by inheritance, habit, and self-discipline, and pathos, his spontaneous reaction to experiences in the external world. In the fourth century B.C. and later, . . . both writers and artists began to display and articulate an active interest in just what role these two aspects of human expression should play in the arts. . . .

Movement and Pictorial Space
Just as the confidence of the Early Classical world, its growing belief that meaning and order could be found in the world of immediate experience, had led to an expanded range of emotional expressions, so also it seems to have given rise to an interest in the creation of a broader spatial environment in which figures could be seen to move, as well as to think and react. Along with this quest for a wider ‘stage’ went a desire to make figures in motion seem more ‘real’ without sacrificing the rational, definable order which was felt to be essential for a successful artistic composition. . . .

It was perhaps the new significance attached to human action in the Early Classical period which inspired a reassessment of how motion could be represented. Motion was the concomitant, the physical expression, of action. As with emotion, there seems to have been a feeling that the representation of it should become more vivid and immediate and yet not become so fleeting that it began to defy rational analysis. The concept around which new order for the representation of motion was organized was rhythmos. The basic meaning of this word was ‘shape’ or ‘pattern.’ It seems to have become associated with music (as has its modern descendant ‘rhythm’) because of its connection with dancing. A dancer, moving in time with music, performed specific ‘steps’ in time with the ‘beat’ of the music. Between each step there were momentary ‘steps’ (called erêmiêi) in which the body was held for an instant in characteristic positions. The positions were rhythmoi, ‘patterns’ isolated within continual movement. A single, well-chosen rhythmos could, in fact, convey the whole nature of a movement. One might give the analogy of a painting of a pendulum-clock. If the artist depicts the pendulum in a diagonal position, in the process of swinging to either the right or left, the viewer instinctively understands that the pendulum is moving; whereas if it is depicted in a vertical position, he is uncertain as to whether it is moving or not.

. . . The most vivid example of a particular rhythmos used to define an entire movement in Greek sculpture is the Diskobolos (‘Discus thrower’) of Myron. The original Diskobolos, a bronze produced around 460 B.C., has not survived, but its appearance can be reconstructed with reasonable accuracy from a literary description (Quintilian n. 13. 8–10) and from a number of Roman copies, mainly in marble. . . . The discus thrower is represented at the high point of his backswing, the point where, like a pendulum, his motion is arrested for a split second before he lunges forward. The viewer cannot mistake what the motion is; a single rhythmos has captured the whole action. Just as symmetria . . . gave rational order to form, rhythmos gave rational order to motion.
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THE WORLD UNDER CONTROL

THE CLASSICAL MOMENT, CA. 450-430 B.C.

The two opposing poles, confidence and doubt, around which the thought and expression of the Early Classical period gravitated, were by nature in conflict. In Athens during the first two decades after the middle of the fifth century, the scale seems to have tipped in favor of confidence, the belief that men could shape their world in accordance with their own vision of it.

A number of forces helped to create this atmosphere of self-belief in the High Classical period: the psychological legacy of the victory over the Persians was still active; there was an anthropocentric drift in Greek philosophy away from concern with the physical world and toward a preoccupation with human society; and the prosperity and power which accrued to Athens from her Aegean confederacy undoubtedly gave some Athenians at least a new sense of well-being. But none of these factors, individually or in concert, can completely explain the new frame of mind. The heady effects of the victory over the Persians were dimming; the anthropocentric drift in philosophy was as much a result as a cause of the new era; and Athens' rise to power was beset with as many set-backs and frustrations as triumphs. What was needed to make all these forces effective and reap their fruit was a will to believe and spokesmen to articulate that will. The Great Believers and also the spokesmen were Pericles the son of Xanthippus and the artists like Pheidias and Sophocles who helped to make the Periclean vision real by giving it witnessable form.

Periclean Athens

Not all Classical art is Athenian nor are all the characteristics of Classical Athens attributable to Pericles, but without Athens Greek art would not have become what it did and without Pericles Athens would not have been what it was.

One of the products of the formal end of hostilities with Persia was little building activity in Athens between 479 and 450 B.C. But peace with Persia made this oath seem less binding, and Pericles now decided to rebuild the temples and public buildings of Athens both as monuments to Greece's victory over 'barbarism' but also, and perhaps even more important in Pericles' mind, as visible expressions of Athens' new status in Greece. The program was financed in part by Athens' own resources but also in part by the treasury which legally was to be used only for the coordinated actions of the Delian League. The distribution of this money to what must have been thousands of workmen, traders, and contractors meant prosperity as well as glorification for Athens. Pericles justified it to the allies at first by maintaining that as long as Athens gave them protection and security there was no need for them to worry about how their money was spent.

As the usurpation of the treasury of the Delian League might suggest, the political events of the period between the signing of the peace with Persia and the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C. contrast in an almost dismal way with Pericles' vision of Athens and the great buildings which were created to express it. The complex and wasting Peloponnesian War, with periodic truces, was to last a generation and alter drastically the Greek cultural psyche.

At the end of the first year of the war Pericles was selected to make a public funeral oration in honor of the Athenian soldiers who had fallen in the first campaigns. This famous speech, as Thucydides (II. 34-46) presents it, captures better than any other document the ideals of Periclean Athens and the spirit which pervades its art. Athens is depicted as the one society where justice applies equally to all and where social restrictions do not prevent a man from becoming as great in public life as his natural capacity permits; submission to law and authority and acceptance of the dangers of war are maintained voluntarily, without force and without complaint; power and discipline are balanced by a free intellectual life and a buoyant spirit; the functioning of the society is open for all to see; neither secretiveness nor suspicion exist. Such a society was a paradigm, Pericles felt, for all societies, the 'school of Hellas.' If it controlled others, it did so by virtue of innate merit, and its subjects therefore could have no cause for complaint.
The Funeral Oration is the high water mark in that tide of humanistic optimism which had been growing in Greece since the Persian War.

Man and the Measure of All Things

The confident belief in the value of human thought and action which is expressed in Pericles’ Funeral Oration was part of a broad intellectual current in the second half of the fifth century B.C. and extends beyond the confines of Athens. In Greek philosophy it is most clearly articulated in the Sophist movement. The Sophists were a diverse group of itinerant teachers, scholars, and eccentrics who differed widely from one another in the details of their doctrines and activity, but were unified as a group by a common emphasis on the importance of human perception and human institutions in interpreting experience and establishing values. The tendency of Greek philosophy in the Archaic period, as we have said, was to search for a rational order, a kosmos, which was beyond the fallibility of human perception and the mutability of the human condition. The willingness of the thinkers of the Classical period to reverse this trend and bring the kosmos ‘down to earth’ seems to be a reflection of the humanistic confidence of the age.

The most influential of the Sophists was Protagoras of Abdera (c. 480–410 B.C.) whose well-known dictum ‘man is the measure of all things’ has sometimes been expanded beyond its original context to serve as the motto of the Classical period as a whole. What Protagoras actually seems to have meant by this phrase was that all knowledge is subjective, that is, dependent upon the mind and sense organs of the individual, and that objective knowledge which discounted the perceiver is impossible. Each man’s personal subjective experience became the standard by which judgements about the nature of existence, knowledge, and ethics were to be made. From this point of view a ‘thing’ was what it seemed to be; the ‘real’ nature of an ‘object’ became a matter for subjective determination; man, and not an absolute standard outside of him, was the measure of it. This attitude, though it might at first seem to be a purely technical point of epistemology, has broad implications which can be extended not only into politics and morality (cf. Plato’s critique of the idea in Theaetetus 151e–179b) but also into the history of art. Whether by direct influence or by a more general association ‘in spirit,’ Greek sculpture in the Classical period, and the Parthenon sculptures in particular, show a tendency toward subjectivism in the design of sculptural form, that is, a tendency to think of sculptures not only as hard, ‘real’ objects known by touch and by measurement but also as impressions, as something which is in the process of change, a part of the flux of experience, bounded not by solidity and ‘hard edges’ but by flickering shadows and almost undiscernible transitions.

The doctrine of man as the measure of all things, however, can be, and was, also taken to imply a kind of general anthropocentrism, somewhat similar to that of Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in which human institutions, human endeavors, and human achievements are of more consuming interest than cosmological abstractions. One of the fruits of the anthropocentric attitude was the rise of a belief in human progress and the consequent belief in the possibility of a ‘golden age.’ A doctrine of cultural evolution which saw mankind as progressing, with the help of techné (usually translated as ‘art’ but meaning, more precisely, the orderly application of knowledge for the purpose of producing a specific, predetermined product), passed beyond purely philosophical circles and became one of the general topics of discussion among thoughtful men in the fifth century. It occurs in poetic form in the Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus (lines 476–506).

The Parthenon and the Classic Moment

In Archaic Greek art the genre of particular things had outweighed their specific, individual qualities in artistic representation. Hence abstraction, expressed through the geometricization of natural forms, dominated Archaic art. In the fourth century, it is possible to detect the first indications of a taste, which would mature in the Hellenistic period, for the representation of specifics without any emphatic suggestion of the genre or form (in the Platonic sense) from which they were derived. Realism, in short, began to undermine the long-standing role of abstraction in Greek art. In the art of the High Classical period, and particularly in the art of the Parthenon, these two poles of artistic thinking—the absolute and the relative—seem to have been magically balanced. The relativity of sense experience (e.g., optical refinements) co-exists, as we have seen, with absolute concepts like ‘number.’ The
mutability of nature, unformed and unreflective, represented by
the mountains and the sea which ring the Acropolis are pitted
against the formal perfection, seemingly symbolic of the human
mind's capacity for abstract thought, of architectural order. The
mortal natures of the processionists of the frieze are infused with
the traits of undying divinity. Historical time in the west pediment
was given equal weight with what seems to have been a symbol
of timeless cosmic order in the east.

Besides being an outgrowth of a new anthropocentric drift in
Greek philosophy, which we have already discussed, the Classical
moment also seems to reflect, in fact to be a projection of,
the sense of group solidarity which Pericles' eloquence, combined
with prosperity and a degree of luck, had forged in Athens. A
Greek polis, when understood as a particular pattern of life and
not just a geographical grouping of people and their belongings,
was essentially an abstract conception just as a 'nation' is today.
Personal life, on the other hand, is basically a succession of
particular, concrete interests and experiences. In Periclean Athens,
if we may believe the picture presented to us in the Funeral
Oration, the latter, for many citizens at least, came to be merged
without friction into the former. What an individual wanted for
himself and what he owed to the ideal were in harmony. . . .
Belief in the group, in society raised to the level of an abstraction
and revered as a quasi-deity, seems to have been an essential
ingredient in the atmosphere of the High Classical period and its
art. When the belief was shaken . . . the artistic style which it
sustained lost its cohesion.

THE WORLD BEYOND CONTROL

THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY, CA. 430–400 B.C.

The Resurgence of the Irrational

. . . The psychological upheaval in Greece during the Pelopon-
nesian War which is implicit in Thucydides becomes explicit in
the greatest of the Athenian dramas of the time. Sophocles' Oedipus
Tyrrhanus, produced in 429 B.C., almost at the beginning
of the war, portrays a masterful ruler who enters the scene as a
great riddle-solver, ferociously intellectual, flushed with confi-

dence from previous success, optimistic, seemingly in firm control
of his world but, significantly enough, faced with an inscrutable
plague in his city. At the end of the play he is blinded and power-
less, comprehending too late the nature of great forces of which
he was not the master. Sophocles, religiously inclined and a tradi-
tionalist by nature, seems bothered in the Oedipus not by the
blindness or irrationality of fate but by the blindness and inherent
arrogance of the 'man is the measure' philosophy. The pride of
the 'hymn to man' in the Antigone, written in the 440s, had
turned to anxiety by the early 420s.

What appears as anxiety in Sophocles seems to become in the
later dramas of Euripides a despairing recognition of the triumph
of the irrational, which breaks through the orderly façade of the
human intellect like an animal shattering a flimsy cage. Euripides
had already sensed this at the beginning of the war when he
contrasted the speciously logical and civilized figure of Jason
against his demonic and unpredictable wife in the Medea
(431 B.C.). In The Trojan Women, produced in 415 B.C. after the
massacre at Melos, he voiced a shocked cry of despair at the
consienceless brutality which was infecting all Greeks; and
finally, in the Bacchae, written toward the end of his life while in
self-imposed exile in Macedonia (408–406 B.C.), he created a
frightening picture of the total dominance of savage forces in man
and nature. Pentheus, the hero of this last play, is superficially
intellectual, skeptical, and confident; his adversary is Dionysos,
the god par excellence of frenzy and self-abandonment. It is no
contest. In the end Pentheus' severed head is carried onto the
scene by his mother, who along with the other women of Thebes
has torn him apart in a fit of madness inspired by the god.

Drama seems to relive in myth, as we have observed earlier,
what Greece itself lived in fact. If the Greeks entered the Pelopon-
nesian War with the confidence and power of Oedipus, they
extricated themselves from it with only the sundered head of
Pentheus.

Refuge in Gesture

What kind of art would one expect to see produced during such
an era? By analogy with other troubled periods, the late Roman
Empire, for example, or Italy after the sack of Rome in 1527, one
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might naturally predict that there would be at least some traces of an agonized, tortured, insecure art, expressing the anxieties of the age. But the late fifth century confounds one's expectations. What actually appeared was a style which increasingly stressed grace, softness, the elegant flourish, the mastery of manner. In the period from 430–400 B.C. sculptors in particular devoted a great part of their attention to exploiting the decorative potentialities of the 'wind-blown' style of rendering drapery which had been developed by the sculptors of the Parthenon pediments (see Fig. 16, p. 98).

The most conspicuous example of the new style is found in the reliefs of the parapet which surrounded the graceful little Ionic temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis (Fig. 14). . . . In these sculptures ornamental beauty has become an end in itself and to a great degree has usurped the role of meaning or 'content' in the specific narrative sense. It is true that they do have a general overall theme—victory, and that the Nikai may be thought of as engaged in a very casual processional movement toward Athena, but compared to the Parthenon frieze where each group of figures was planned so as to contribute through both its form and meaning to a single great design and subject, the parapet seems almost aimless. The very fact that Athena appears thrice, like an ornamental motif, seems to say that the subject is just for show and that it is the ornamental function which counts. The Nikai perform a beautiful ballet, but the choreography seems designed to divert one from giving too much thought to the question of just what the dance is about.

. . . On the surface it is all elegance, but underneath it may reflect a despairing desire to retreat from the difficult intellectual and political realities of the age and to take refuge in gesture. Escapist wish-fulfillment is perhaps just as common a reaction to troubled times as overt agonizing. In the great depression of the 1930s the most popular motion pictures often centered on a stylish and carefree hero and heroine who tap-danced their way with unfailing elegance through a series of soothing, inconsequential episodes to an inevitably happy, if never very believable conclusion. The Nikai of 430–400 B.C. may seem to be swirling their way toward a similar goal, yet one can never quite forget what they are trying to leave behind.

Ancient Cults in New Shrines

Another effect of the psychological shocks which the Greeks experienced during the Peloponnesian War seems to have been a new direction in Greek religion. Many indications are discernible of a shift in attention away from the group-oriented state religion, in which the individual was important only insofar as he was a participant in the polis, toward cults which involved a personal and emotional relationship with the deity. The former reaches its supreme manifestation in the Parthenon, while the latter is perhaps epitomized by the importation from Epidaurus to Athens in 420 B.C. of the cult of Asklepios, the god whose miraculous intervention soothed and heaved the afflicted. An unusual religious fervor, with strange mystical and personal elements, marked the god's arrival. His sacred serpent was paraded through Athens in a great procession, and the cult seems to have been temporarily
housed in the residence of the poet Sophocles, who was said to have had a vision of the god.

The emotional and mystical tendencies which appeared at this time and which were to become the central focus of Greek religion in the Hellenistic period not only eventually produced new mystery cults, like that of Serapis, which offered the hope of personal salvation, but also spurred a revival of interest in ancient cults whose irrational and mysterious elements only enhanced their attraction. A mystical tradition, having its roots in the Bronze Age and represented in later times principally by the Eleusinian Mysteries and the cult of Dionysos, had always had a place in Greek religion, but the confident rationalism of the period between 480 and 430 B.C. had forced it into the background. That it began to surge to the foreground again in a period in which disillusionment was tinged with an urge to escapism is not surprising.

THE WORLD OF THE INDIVIDUAL

THE FOURTH CENTURY AND ITS HELLENISTIC LEGACY

In the conventional terminology used to describe the significant phases in the development of Greek art, the phrase ‘the fourth century’ normally refers only to the period from about 400 B.C. to the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. The ‘fourth century’ is usually seen as the last phase of Classical Greek art, and is distinguished from subsequent ‘Hellenistic’ art, the art produced during the period from 323 to 31 B.C., when the Mediterranean world was at first dominated by the Macedonian royal dynasties founded by Alexander’s successors and later by the growing power of Rome.

In many ways the conventional distinction between the fourth century and the Hellenistic period is justified. The general types of monuments which fourth-century artists were called on to execute tended to be similar to those of the fifth century as were the sources which commissioned them. And many stylistic mannerisms—patterns of composition, methods of rendering hair, musculature, etc.—represent logical extensions of fifth-century practices. But if one approaches the art of the fourth century from the standpoint of what it expresses, rather than from the standpoint of formal stylistic analysis, it is possible to make a case for its having more in common with the art of the succeeding Hellenistic Age than with its High Classical precedents. In fact, one might view the period from the early fourth century B.C. to the late first century B.C. as a continuum, with the major break between ‘Classical’ and whatever one chose to call the succeeding era occurring around the end of the Peloponnesian War.

High Classical Greek art, as represented by the Parthenon frieze, had taken group experience and a faith in the attainments of an entire culture as its principal theme. It was the product of an age which was inclined to believe that human beings through their own rational thought and action could perfect their environment. It was an art, one might say, which seemed to be trying to apotheosize the community and its values.

The Peloponnesian War, as we have seen, shattered this state of mind, and a feeling of disillusionment and withdrawal followed. In line with this new state of mind, art in the succeeding centuries tended increasingly to reflect the experiences and values of man as an individual rather than man as a participant in the community.

Personal Experience and the Polis

. . . The Hellenistic Age too was a period of psychological readjustment in which community life and the ideals of a circumscribed, familiar society lost much of their force. Cities like Alexandria and Antioch were in some ways like modern cities in which the ‘community’ has become so large that it has become impersonal. And in an impersonal urban environment each man is thrown back by necessity upon the world of his private experience. He dwells either on those experiences which are intensely personal or on those which are universal and general—that is, those which can be comprehended by all men without their having to be ‘conditioned’ by a particular culture.

There are clear examples of this attitude in early Hellenistic literature. The Characters of Theophrastus, for example, sketches general types of human personalities—e.g., the boor, the snob, the man who talks too much . . . Likewise Menander’s ‘comedies,’ more often actually taking the form of what we would call ‘melodramas,’ presented stock types of characters . . . in plots which involved variations upon a limited repertoire of very general
human situations—frustrated love, mistaken identity, false accusations, and, inevitably, reconciliation. ... The 'New Comedy' exemplified by Menander, in fact, enjoyed great popularity in Italy during the Hellenistic period and served as the basis for the development of Latin comedy by Plautus and Terence.

Thus voluntary withdrawal in the fourth century and a far-reaching change in social conditions in the Hellenistic period brought both eras to the same point—a preoccupation with personal and general experiences rather than with communal experience.

The Exploration of Personal Experience: Human Emotion

The most obvious result of this trend toward personal experience as a subject for artistic exploration was a revival of the interest in representing specific human emotions, particularly basic human feelings like anguish, tenderness, and humor which are universal products of personal experience. In dealing with such subjects the art of the fourth century can be seen as continuing a tendency which had begun in the Early Classical period and had been interrupted by the dominant Olympian calm of the High Classical style, but the earlier trend was not resumed without a new shift in emphasis. Pathos, immediate personal reaction to experience, now receives more attention than ethos, perhaps because conceptions of 'character' are inevitably bound up with the morals and ideals of a specific social group and the artists of the period preferred to avoid involvement in such questions. ...

Although the expression of personal emotions like anguish and tenderness may have been most vividly formulated in the works of the great sculptors of the age, it can also be seen in more modest, or at least more commonplace, anonymous monuments, like Attic grave stelae, and its presence in such works may be taken as an indication of its general appeal.

The Exploration of Personal Experience: Sensuousness and Sense Perception

Delight in the experience of the senses and the pleasure which results from it are also, like pain and other basic emotional reactions, personal and at the same time universal phenomena (in the sense that they apply to all men regardless of cultural conditions); and it seems to be again for this reason that sensuousness, often bordering on eroticism, becomes an increasingly important factor in the art of the fourth century.

In the cultivation of sensuous appeal no artist played a greater and more decisive role than Praxiteles. A languid, soft grace, which gives the impression of being deliberately anti-Polykleitan, and a dreamy atmosphere pervade most of the works which can be ascribed to him. ...

The Exploration of Personal Experience: Religious Emotion

... A trend toward thinking of religious experience in more personal terms can also be detected in some of the important cult images of the period, particularly those of Asklepios, whose compassionate aspect calls to mind later images of the bearded Christ and may conceivably even have served as a prototype for such images. ...

Idealism and Abstraction

... At the beginning it was suggested that Greek art habitually attempts to represent the specific in the light of the generic and hence to favor the representation of ideal types, rather than random aberrant examples, of men and things. It should be emphasized that the fourth century, in spite of its interest in personal experience, is not really an unqualified exception to this principle. The emotions depicted in most fourth-century sculpture are obviously personal, but they are not idiosyncratic; on the contrary, they are universal experiences, and they are presented as universal types. ...

But while the tendency toward idealism and abstraction remains strong in the art of the fourth century, it now often appears in a new, consciously intellectual, even scholarly form, which must owe something to the philosophical climate of the period and at times seems rather forced when compared to the spontaneous fusion of abstraction and observation of the High Classical period. The formal divorce of the apparent and the ideal in Platonic thought and the consequent exaltation of ideas (in both the transcendent and everyday sense) at the expense of 'objects' of the physical world, for example, perhaps accounts to an extent for the increasingly frequent appearance of personifications and allegory in the art of the fourth century. It is not unlikely that the artists of the time, eager as ever to demonstrate that they too...
were intellectuals, able to cope with new currents of thought, and not simply manual laborers, saw in personificatory statues a way of demonstrating their own capacity to comprehend and formulate abstractions. If Plato in the Crito was willing to turn an essentially abstract concept like 'the laws' into embodied beings capable of arguing with Socrates, artists like Kephisodotus and Skopas could feel a certain dignity in giving physical form to such ideas as 'peace and wealth' or 'yearning.' Personifications of this sort became increasingly common as the century progressed and once again seem to be the ancestors of a long line of such figures in Hellenistic and Roman art.

Another aspect of this intellectualistic trend in fourth-century idealism is the beginning of what might be called 'classicism'—the conscious repetition of features which were characteristic of the High Classical style of the fifth century—at the very least, its Olympian calm and balanced patterns of composition—as if they now constituted formal, established, and approved types. As we have suggested earlier, there has probably been no single, more influential artistic style in the history of art than that of fifth-century Greece. Since then—often in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, at times even in the Middle Ages, and, of course, with an almost continuous passion between about 1400 and 1900—European art has been marked by a series of 'Classical revivals' which seem intended, consciously or intuitively, to recapture something of the confident humanism and harmony of forces which the style developed in the Periclean era embodies. The Classical Greeks managed to put Archaic art almost completely behind them, but the post-Classical Greeks (and their followers) were never quite able to forget their Classical past.

**NOTES**

1 The poems referred to are numbered in Diehl's *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* as follows: Archilochos, no. 74; Solon, no. 1; Semonides, no. 1; Mimnermos, no. 1; Simonides, no. 6.

2 A *polis* (plural *poleis*) was in size like a city but in its political independence like a state, and is hence often translated as 'city-state.'

3 The reconstruction of the pediments is based on A. Furtwängler's thorough analysis of the fragments in *Aegina, Das Heiligtum der Aphata* (Munich 1906). Many of the details which enhance the effect of Furtwängler's models and drawings are of necessity hypothetical.

4 A number of the details of the story vary. I follow here the version of Apollodoros *Bibliotheca* ii. 4-8.

5 Pausanias literally says 'an image of Zeus' (v. 10. 6), implying perhaps that we are to interpret the figure as a 'statue of a statue.' The same may also be true for the central figure of the west pediment.

6 Pausanias does not actually identify the figure as Apollo, and a few scholars have challenged this interpretation, preferring to interpret the central figure as Peirithoos or as the young Zeus. But the identification as Apollo is almost certainly correct. There are cuttings in the figure's left hand which seem to have been intended for an archer's bow, one of Apollo's typical attributes. Pausanias, working from notes and attempting to harmonize information given to him by a variety of guides with his own memory, seems occasionally, and understandably, to have been guilty of errors of omission or misinterpretation. A summary, with bibliography, of the various suggestions about the 'Apollo' is given in G. Becatti *Il Maestro di Olimpia* (Florence 1943).

7 This clause of the oath is preserved by Diodorus xi. 29. 3 and Lycurgus *Against Leocrates* 81. As a matter of conscience it should be pointed out that the authenticity of the oath, as well as the Peace with Persia, was questioned by the ancient historian Theopompos, and modern historians, after years of controversy, are still divided on the point.

8 Personifications were not a completely new phenomenon in Greek art at this time, but their number, diversity, popularity, and complexity all show an increase in the fourth century. For a survey of personifications in Greek art from the Archaic period onward see L. Deubner, s.v. 'Personifikationen,' in W. H. Roscher *Ausführliches Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1902-9) cols. 2110-45.