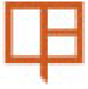

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Author(s): A. F. Stewart
Source: *Classical Antiquity*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Studies in Classical Lyric: A Homage to Elroy Bundy (Apr., 1983), pp. 133-144
Published by: University of California Press
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25010789
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A. F. STEWART

Pindaric *Dikē* and the Temple of Zeus at Olympia

THE TEMPLE of Zeus at Olympia was built, so we are told by Pausanias, from the spoils of nearby Pisa, which was captured by the people of Elis around 470 B.C.; we know that it was finished around 457, for in that year, or shortly afterward, the Spartans dedicated a golden shield on the apex of the gable to mark their defeat of the Athenians and their allies at Tanagra.[1] The architect was one Libon of Elis; the sculptor remains unknown (Alkamenes and Paionios, Pausanias' suggestions, cannot be right, for both were only children at best by the time of Tanagra). The building was finished with two great sets of carved pediments, over 87 feet long and 10½ feet high (26 x 3.3m), and six 5-foot metopal panels across the front of each of the interior porches.[2]

The east pediment (fig. 1) showed the preparations for the race of Pelops and Oenomaos (king of Pisa), the victor of which was to win the hand of Oenomaos' daughter, Hippodameia. The story may well have been the "purified" version familiar from Pindar's first *Olympian Ode* of 476.[3] According to this version, Oenomaos had received an oracle that he would die at the hands of his son-in-law, so he challenged each suitor for Hippodameia to a race to the death from the river Kladeos at Olympia itself to the Isthmus of Corinth. The suitor started first, taking Hippodameia with him; Oenomaos would sacrifice a ram to Zeus, then set

All photographs courtesy of Alison Frantz.

1. Paus. 5.10.

2. E. Curtius, F. Adler, and G. Treu, *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia* (Berlin 1875–81) 2, (pp. 4–27 and pls. 8–17; 3, pp. 44–181 and pls. 18–45. The most convenient recent account, with new fragments and joins, is B. Ashmole, N. Yalouris, and A. Frantz, *Olympia: The Sculptures of the Temple of Zeus* (London 1967). All sculptures not illustrated in the present article may be found in this book's superb plates.

3. Pind. *O*.1.67–100.

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off in pursuit. Since his horses were divine the outcome was a foregone conclusion, and the loser was accordingly speared to death. Pelops, a grandson of Zeus and according to some accounts a foreigner from Phrygia or Lydia, was the fourteenth to make the attempt. He took the precaution of praying to Poseidon (who loved him), was rewarded with even swifter horses, and succeeded in outrunning his pursuer, whom he then killed and supplanted as king. A more picturesque variant of this, first found around 440 in the Attic mythographer Pherecydes,[4] had Pelops bribe Oenomaos' charioteer Myrtilos to substitute wax plugs for the bronze lynch-pins of the king's chariot wheels, which at once spun off when the vehicle picked up speed; Oenomaos was thrown off and killed, while on the way home, Myrtilos himself (who survived) attempted to rape Hippodameia and was thrown into the sea and drowned. He died cursing Pelops, whose family bore the taint for all time. Yet Pherecydes' mention of Poseidon's gift of the horses betrays this version as probably his own invention,[5] for with these in Pelops' possession his dealings with Myrtilos become somewhat redundant; in any case, both were worshipped as heroes at Olympia,[6] where one imagines that Pherecydes' somewhat sordid tale would hardly have been received with enthusiasm.

The west pediment (fig. 2) showed the battle of Theseus and Peirithoos against the Centaurs, at the wedding of Peirithoos to Deidameia. Peirithoos, another grandson of Zeus and king of the Lapiths, invited his neighbors, the Centaurs, to the feast, where they became drunk and tried to rape the bride. Theseus and Peirithoos together drove them out of the kingdom and continued to harry them even as far as the Peloponnesus, where they were eventually exterminated. Though the deeds of Zeus' children were certainly appropriate subject-matter for his own temple pediments, with both compositions it is likely that a topical reference was in the designer's mind: on the east to the recent victory over Pisa that had financed the temple itself, and on the west to the defeat of the barbarian Persians, among whose many sins was the profaning of sanctuaries, not to mention the violence done by them to civilized society in general.

Finally, the metopes were carved with the twelve labors of Heracles—a cyclical presentation here, in contrast to the mono-scenic nature of the pediments. As the son of Zeus and great-grandson of Pelops, Heracles held a special position at Olympia: it was he who had first marked out the sacred enclosure (Altis) there and had instituted the Olympic games, where one of the major events was a chariot race commemorating that of Pelops.[7]

It is one of the ironies of the history of Greek art that whereas one is usually

4. *FGH* 3 F 37.

5. See, e.g., *RE* s.v. *Myrtilos*, cols. 1154, 1157–58, for a like opinion. If this is correct, Pausanias' guides might well have been influenced by this later version of the story.

6. Pelops: Paus. 5.13.1–6; Pind. *O*.1.90–93. Myrtilos as *taraxippos*: Paus. 6.20.15–17—unless, once again, the etiology depends upon Pherecydes.

7. Pind. *O*. 10.24–25, etc.: cf. *RE* s.v. *Pelops*, col. 2521.

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confronted with the problem of reconstructing sculptural complexes from severely damaged, fragmentary, and anonymous material, at Olympia the pediments are comparatively well-preserved and are even copiously documented in writing, but even so, the arrangement of the key figures (and with it, one's whole interpretation of the composition) remains substantially in doubt. The findspots being an unreliable guide (for many of the statues were reused as building material in Late Antiquity), one is forced for the east pediment, where the problem is worst, to fall back on Pausanias' description. Yet Pausanias, besides making two or three relatively minor errors of identification, does not trouble to tell us whether in using the words "on the left (or right) from Zeus" to describe the relative positions of the protagonists he is speaking from the god's point of view or his own. Accordingly, scholars have argued for over a century over the arrangement of the figures, the central group in particular. Over seventy articles and books devoted to the subject have still not resolved the problem to general satisfaction.[8]

The solution adopted here (fig. 1) was first proposed in its entirety by Kekulé in 1884 and was strengthened with new arguments by Erika Simon in 1968; concerning the central group it also has the support of two of the most important recent connoisseurs of the subject writing in English, Bernard Ashmole and Martin Robertson.[9] In brief, its justification rests on a number of mutually supporting observations, as follows:

1. The carefully dressed hair, girdled peplos, and gesture of the girl K (fig. 4), who draws forward her veil with her left hand, show that she is the bride Hippodameia, whom Pausanias lists at the side of her young suitor, Pelops (G). This leaves F, identifiable by her fuller figure, wispy hair, and less formal attire (fig. 5) as queen Sterope, to stand next to her husband, king Oenomaos (J).[10] The order of the five central figures, from spectator's left to right, must therefore be Hippodameia (K), Pelops (G), Zeus (H), Oenomaos (J), and Sterope (F), or this reversed.

2. Of these two, only the first solution conforms to the principle of late archaic-early Classical pedimental composition—as applied on the west pediment, at Aegina, on the Parthenon, and elsewhere—that a converging movement from the wings to the center should be balanced by a centrifugal movement operating from the center outward.[11] Here, the former is provided by the chariot groups and the glances of the secondary

8. For a catalogue of attempts to 1970, see M.-L. Säflund, *The East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia*, SIMA 27 (Göteborg 1970) 11–59.

9. R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, *RhM* 39 (1884) 481–89; E. Simon, *AM* 83 (1968) pp. 147–66; Ashmole in Ashmole-Yalouris (supra n.2) 13 and fig. 14; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975) 277–78.

10. Cf., e.g., Ashmole-Yalouris (supra n.2) 13–14; Süflund (supra n.8) 46 (dissenters), 117–18.

11. See in this context A. Delivorrias, *Attische Giebelskulpturen und Akrotere des fünften Jahrhunderts*, Tübinger Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte 1, (Tübingen 1974) 183. Säflund's arguments, based largely on optical distortions in the modeling, are too complex to be

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figures, the latter by the outward-turning postures of Pelops and Oenomaos (fig. 3) and by the diagonals of the relaxed legs of both couples.

3. This arrangement has the added advantage of placing the ill-fated Oenomaos on Zeus' ill-omened left side and linking him with the apprehensive seer N, while Pelops now stands on Zeus' lucky right hand, a position whose implications are reinforced by the turn of the god's head toward him.[12]

4. It also meets the requirement of the narrative whereby Pelops' team started first, so should be ready to go: in fact, only the left-hand team has its full complement of grooms (C and B), while the right is untended and so as yet unprepared.

5. Finally, it concurs with Pausanias' description of the two corner figures on the sides of Pelops and Oenomaos, respectively, as the river Alpheios and its tributary the Kladeos: here A is bearded, P clearly youthful, as the relationship between them demands.[13]

From even the most cursory glance at this monument it should be clear that what confronts us is a highly sophisticated work of art, as complex in structure and meaning as it is gigantic in scale. In this article it will be my contention that its unknown master-sculptor explores the whole problem of the different sorts and conditions of being and their proper roles in society. To this end, he plots their distinctive *aretai*, their motivating *ēthē* and *pathē*, and their interactions with each other,[14] in a way unequaled by contemporaries except in the tragedies of Aeschylus and (in particular) in the victory odes of his great contemporary, Pindar: justification, I hope, for the inclusion of this essay in a collection devoted to the memory of Elroy Bundy, elucidator of Pindar *sans pareil*.

To turn to the dramatis personae. All classes of being are represented—gods, kings and heroes, prophets, ordinary mortals, domesticated animals, beasts and monsters; it is perhaps best to take each in turn. To begin with the gods, Zeus (fig. 3) and Apollo in the pediments and Athena in the metopes with the later exploits of Heracles (figs. 11, 12) are the very essence of Homer's immortals,

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tackled adequately here; it should be noted, however, that the central viewpoint upon which she bases her reconstruction is by no means universally accepted (cf., e.g., E. Pfuhl, *JdI* 21 [1906] 154) and that others, using the same criteria, have arrived at diametrically opposite results (e.g., S. Stucchi, *ASAtene* n.s. 14-16 [1952-54] 75-129.

12. I cannot follow C. Kardara's contention, in *AJA* 74 (1970) 325-29, that the head of Zeus was actually turned in the *other* direction, i.e., to his left (our right).

13. In addition,the Alpheios flowed to the south, the Kladeos to the north of the temple, as here; arguments against the identifications are presented by Säflund (supra n.8) 147-49 and, more recently, by R. M. Gais in *AJA* 82 (1978) 355-62. Yet the question of whether the names are anachronistic is really irrelevant here: Pausanias' guides are unlikely to have accepted them had they not corresponded to the evident differences between the two figures. Hence A must be Alpheios and P, Kladeos.

14. On these concerns in early Classical art, especially painting, see J. J. Pollitt, "The Ethos of Polygnotos and Aristides," in *In Memoriam Otto J. Brendel: Essays in Archaeology and the Humanities*, ed. L. Bonfante and H. von Heintze (Mainz 1976) 49-54; idem, *The Ancient View of Greek Art* (New Haven 1974) 184-89; cf. Säflund (supra n.8) 129-30.

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whose "*aretē* and honor and strength exceed ours by far."[15] Icon-like in their simplicity and commanding presence, they are always shown *en face*, tall, erect, utterly perfect in body, grave of feature. They have come as *sōphronistai*, "wisdom-enforcers" or castigators,[16] signifying their wishes by a glance and a single economical gesture of arm and hand. In all respects "better" than men, their kinship with mankind is nevertheless established through their anthropomorphism, their degree of involvement with human concerns, and their scale—not so large as to dwarf men, but large enough to overshadow or significantly overtop them. This conception of the gods, which rivals contemporary tragedy in its maturity, is underscored by the treatment of Athena in the metopes, where she literally grows in stature and *aretē* before our eyes. The idea is familiar from Aeschylus, in whose *Oresteia* Athena and other mortal characters seem to grow in a similar way. Yet whereas a trilogy of plays naturally generates this kind of developing narrative, in sculpture the process is only possible in the context of the metopal frieze, for it alone can correlate successive vignettes from a story with a time-progression generated by the spectator himself as he walks along, "reading" the panels (in this case) from left to right, beginning at the west porch and ending at the east.

Athena appears four times in the metopes: in the first, third, tenth, and twelfth scenes (figs. 9–12). In the aftermath of the battle with the lion on west 1 (fig. 9) she is a kindly, solicitous helpmate, turning to offer a comforting hand to the exhausted hero. By west 3, where Heracles presents her with the Stymphalian birds, she has become a little more aloof (fig. 10). She has now acquired her proper seat, a rocky acropolis, and is segregated from the hero both physically and compositionally. Yet, for all this, she is still rather shy and reserved, slightly smaller than Heracles and evidently a little unsure of just how to deal with this self-possessed, hefty man and his strange offering.

By the conclusion of the tenth labor, the Apples of the Hesperides on east 4 (fig. 11), she has become a true goddess, the favorite daughter of the supreme god of the sky: her deportment is magnificent, her clothing still and straight, her pose all "pure" frontality or profile, as with one effortless movement she takes the weight of the entire domain of her father and siblings, the heavens themselves. Note here how the folds of her dress are deliberately simplified, to strengthen her poise and enhance its solemnity; her expression, too, is solemn, in marked contrast to the resignation of Atlas and the slight smile of the now-triumphant Heracles.

Finally, for her last appearance in east 6 to aid in the cleansing of the Augean stables, she has put on formal attire (a girdled peplos, like Hippodameia's in the pediment above) and armed herself with her full equipage of spear, shield, and crested helmet (fig. 12). Here she does not even need to act, merely to indicate the

15. *Iliad* 9.494.

16. Cf. here H. North, *From Myth to Icon* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1979) 29, 59, and esp. 62.

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spot to be demolished to let in the flood, and the job is done. In this she is the equal, now, of her half-brother Apollo on the west pediment—but not, of course, of her father Zeus, the turn of whose head alone suffices to ensure that his will be done. The sentiment here is Homeric, though as we know from Pindar it took on new life in the early fifth century; one may simply compare the later poet's account of the preeminent power of the gods with Homer's account in book 1 of the *Iliad* of Zeus turning the course of the Trojan war by a nod of his head.[17]

In art as in poetry, then, the stilling of a god serves only to magnify his power. The higher one stands in the scale of things, the more one's power is recognized as expanding far beyond one's immediate environment (and with it the narrow limits of mere physical action), until, at the very pinnacle of creation, "God reaches, just as he desires, his ends," wherever or whatever they may be.[18]

To turn to the heroes, in both calm and storm the upright postures, regal bearing, alert gestures, and effortless dignity and command of the men and the faultless attire and magnificent carriage of the women *are* heroic, part and parcel of the essence of the race of heroes. It would be tempting to dub this the "grand manner," were it not that these words imply a self-consciousness of execution that is completely foreign to this sculptor: for what is unique about his work is its complete lack of self-consciousness, its absolute directness. All that pertains to the essence of heroism is here, clearly and economically stated by the sculptor, and all else is simply ignored. In the east pediment Oenomaos, whose autocratic posture ominously improves upon and thereby parodies the pose of Zeus, barks out the terms of the race, while Pelops, less heavily muscled and less self-assertive, carefully inclines his ear to listen (fig. 3).[19] One hero is all action, all blind *hybris*, the other quiet contemplation, as he calculates his choices in reference to the gods and to his own capabilities, his own *ēthos*: the "reflexive thought" (*dianoia*) of later Classical literary criticism personified.[20] Indeed, nowhere else in Greek sculpture is Heraclitus' famous dictum that "*ēthos* is a man's *daimōn*" so clearly intrinsic to the rendering itself.[21] The two women serve as foils to the men, Hippodameia staring straight ahead and at least outwardly calm and self-possessed, Sterope raising her hand to her chin in a gesture eloquent of internal disquiet (figs. 4–5). On the west pediment, the bride Deidameia shows no trepidation and conducts herself even in extremis with the *aretē* of a queen, efficiently fending off her assailant with an expression of well-bred distaste, while Theseus and Peirithoos move like the men of might they are, utterly fearless and totally irresistible (fig. 2).

As for the metopes, once more these show the slow maturation of this ideal in the person of its foremost exemplar, Heracles, whose physical and spiritual

17. Pind. *P.* 2.49–52; *Iliad* 1.528–30.

18. Pind. 2.49.

19. Cf. Säflund (supra n.8) 100–103.

20. The term is Aristotle's: *Poet.* 5.1449b38, 6.1450b4–12, etc. For notes and comments see D. W. Lucas, *Aristotle's Poetics* (Oxford 1968) 106–108, especially his remarks on *proairesis*.

21. Heraclitus fr. B 119 D.-K.[7]; cf. B. Snell, *Hermes* 61 (1926) 363–64.

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resources are seen to strengthen with each new triumph. Weak and utterly exhausted after the first labor, after the third he now stands upright and self-confident (figs. 9–10), so that in the fourth he may be shown in the full bloom of his virility, as he adroitly maneuvers the bull into position for a single disabling blow with the club. Clearly (in marked contrast to the gods) it is physical prowess that primarily defines the hero and physical exertion, his enterprise, but there is more than an inkling of something else as well: intelligence, a near relative to *dianoia*. By conversing with Athena, Heracles has begun to learn how to develop and use not only his body but his mind as well. His movements are precisely timed, the combination of lasso and club (his more normal weapon was still a bow) a shrewd one, for his aim is not in fact to kill the animal, but to rope and stun it in order to bring it to his master, Eurystheus.

And so his development progresses, labor by labor, till in the tenth metope (physically the most demanding of all) he can even allow a slow smile of satisfaction to flicker across his age-softened features as his task nears completion (fig. 11). Intelligence and tact (the province of Athena to begin with, as in west 3 where it was the rattle, her invention, that scared the birds out of the marshes so that Heracles could shoot them) have now come to supplement sheer brute strength, as Heracles learns to cushion his shoulders against the weight of the sky, to tease the reluctant Cerberos from his lair, or to divert the Alpheios through the stables of Augeas (fig. 12). Here he has come at last to fulfill Simonides' ideal of the man who treads the path to *aretē* and "with sweat, clenched concentration and courage, climbs to the peak";[22] in fact, by the 470s this image was so firmly rooted in popular thought on the matter that Pindar only needed a brief throw-away reference to Simonides to establish Heracles' preeminence in this quest, as he described him in a single half-line as standing "on the mighty peaks of *aretē*."[23]

In the world of heroes, seers play a vital part, and thus are accorded special attention in the east pediment. Only they can properly divine the true wishes of a god, only they can "see" the true path to *aretē* and communicate it to men: "the manifest signs are not hidden from the seer."[24] Both clans of Olympia's seers, it seems, were included in the composition (cf. fig. 1). Thus on the spectator's left Iamos (L), son of Apollo by Evadne, is shown next to the figure identified by Pausanias' guides as the river Alpheios (A), where (Pindar tells us)[25] he was born and later received his gift of prophecy from Zeus.

Appropriately, therefore, he turns around to look directly into Zeus' eyes, seeing therein what is to come: that Pelops will win and that Zeus will blast the house of Oenomaos with the thunderbolt (this was added in bronze and is now lost) that is even now in his left hand, right next to the king. Thus will come requital for the monstrosity of the competition and the murder of the thirteen

22. Simonides fr. 74 Page.
23. Pind. *N.* 1.34; for the history of the motif see Sophocles fr. 397 Pearson, with commentary.
24. Pind. fr. 63.13–14 Bo. (65 Sn.).
25. *O.* 6.30–80; on these seers n.b. esp. Simon (supra n.9) 157–62.

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who failed. Meanwhile on the opposite side, our right, sits a member of the Klytiad clan (N), perhaps Amythaon, with his son Melampous (E) next to him (figs. 6–7). Melampous, soon to become a great prophet in his own right, is as yet too young to realize the full import of these events and so participate in them properly, but, as Erika Simon has noticed,[26] it is perhaps in token of his future that he sits both regarding and touching his feet: the name *Melampous* means "blackfoot," and unwashed feet were commonly regarded as a attribute of a true prophet. His father, however, is horrified, his face lined with apprehension, his gesture of concern a stronger echo of Sterope's (cf. fig. 5). "Mature in mind"[27] as in body, he is the epitome of the wise prophet of doom as exemplified for instance, by Amphiaraos in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* of 467:

> a wise, just
> Upright and pious man, a powerful seer, allied
> Against his judgment with blaspheming, boastful men
> In a far journey that shall prove long to retrace—
> He, if Zeus will, with them shall be dragged down to earth.[28]

Together the two seers externalize the emotions, conflicts, and consequences implicit in the scene, focusing the spectator's attention on its likely result through their gestures and expressions, structuring the narrative and strengthening its inherent dichotomy of right and left, right and wrong, *sōphrosynē* and *hybris*. The device is one familiar in early tragedy, which often makes use of such *sympatheia* ("suffering with")[29] in its choruses to spotlight the workings of the tragic doom woven by the *ēthē* of gods and men and to enable the spectator to share the emotions of the moment through direct address. Meanwhile, as once again in both tragedy and (so it seems from the literary accounts) Polygnotan painting, the narrative is suspended about them, for only thus can its manifold implications and possible outcomes be explored, only thus can *mythos*, *ēthos*, and *dianoia* intersect in a single moment of crisis. Each participant is caught in the act, as it were, of building his own destiny, in pondering or making choices among the rights and wrongs upon which it is the seers' function, above all, to provide a commentary.

No greater contrast could be imagined than that between these men of intelligence and perception and the ordinary mortals represented in the pediments: Pelops' two grooms (B and C), Sterope's maid (O), the Lapith youths and girls of the west pediment, "theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do or die." Represented with a level-headed naturalism that expertly catches their momentary postures and attitudes—but no more—they have no pretensions to be other than what they are, ordinary folk. In the east pediment, with heads bowed, awaiting

26. Loc. cit.
27. Aesch. *Sept*. 622.
28. Ibid., 610–13: trans. P. Vellacott, slightly adapted.
29. Cf. W. Jaeger, *Paideia* 1 (Oxford, 1939) pp. 248, 263.

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the next order from their betters, they show no signs of *dianoia*, of understanding the implications of the event they are witnessing. On the west they fight and if necessary die for the honor of the house of Peirithoos, pawns in the titanic struggle against bestiality run amok.

The beasts themselves are the epitome of the bestial, either immoral like the Centaurs (sensual, intemperate, and wholly ruled by momentary appetite, unable to control even their facial expressions) or amoral like most of the monsters tamed or killed by Heracles, mindless threats to civilization and order. Looking in particular at the Centaurs (fig. 8), one may profitably compare the sculptor's basically denigratory ("low mimetic")[30] mode of address with contemporary developments in drama and its production. Aeschylus' satyr-play *Spectators or Isthmiasts*, in which satyr-masks become terrifying re-creations (*mimēmata*) of the satyrs' real features, is an obvious parallel, and not simply a literary one: fifth-century vases show that masks like these were actually used on-stage.[31]

At Olympia, though, the sculptor's involvement with the physical attributes of bestiality is startling not merely because of the extreme repulsiveness of the Centaurs' features themselves, but because of the sheer unexpectedness of such brutal realism in the supposedly elevated context of heroic myth. Indeed, if anything were needed to demonstrate the falsity of the now-outmoded interpretation of Aristotle whereby the *ēthos* of Polygnotos and certain fourth-century painters was held to mean "elevation of character" alone, this is it.[32] The sculptor's intention in arranging such a violent juxtapositon of different *ēthē* is precisely to demonstrate that such "elevation" comes hard and is inaccessible to many, even to *sōphrones*, self-aware and so temperate in thought and action; these beasts are *āphrones*, mindless, with the qualification that those among them who rape brides at weddings are of course *hybristai* as well. This is a quality they share with heroes turned sour, like Oenomaos—himself a preventer of weddings—on the other pediment.

To this sculptor, then, each class of being has its own generic *ēthos*, which in part determines its fate; the higher one moves up the scale, the more the individual begins to come to the fore, the more he has scope to develop his specific character, to climb to his own particular peak of *aretē*—or not, according to his choice. As Aristotle was to say a century and a half later, "*ēthos* is that which reveals choice, shows what sort of things a man chooses or avoids in circumstances where the choice is not obvious."[33] The gods, Pelops, Oenomaos, and

30. My thinking here (and throughout this article) owes much to N. Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton 1957) chap. 1; cf. A. Fletcher in M. Krieger, ed., *Northrop Frye in Modern Criticism* (New York 1966) 34–35.

31. H. Weir Smyth and H. Lloyd-Jones, *Aeschylus* 2, Loeb Classical Library (London 1971) 541–56, fr. 276, lines 1–22; cf., e.g., T. B. L. Webster, *Greek Theater Production* (London 1956) 38–41; idem, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr-Play*, *BICS* Suppl. 20 (1967) 10–11, 44–49.

32. Cf. Pollitt (supra n.14); for a formal definition of bestiality see Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 7.1 and 6, 1145a15 ff., 1149b27–50a8.

33. *Poetics* 6.1450b8–10.

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Heracles all display their respective *ēthē* by revealing their choices in difficult situations, either through anticipatory gesture or through enactment. In this way the *ēthē* and *aretai* of the respective participants are actually built into the particulars of the rendering, into the hierarchy of what one might call the modes of address proper to Olympians, heroes, and so on, themselves. The presentation of this hierarchy is unashamedly elitist, an emphatic and manifest apologia for the qualities of a heroic and aristocratic society "under god," as it were. This brings us to the heart of the meaning of the entire complex, which is to my mind contained in the word *dikē*.

Dikē in simple Greek means "custom" or "usage," thence often what is right, or "justice." Yet it needs no reminder to reflect that then, as now, justice meant all things to all men. Fortunately, we do know fairly well what *dikē* meant to the world of the early-fifth-century Peloponnesus, since here once again we have the odes of Pindar to help us. Since it appears that at Olympia and the other three pan-Hellenic sanctuaries Pindar was by far the most successful poet of his generation (itself exactly the period of these sculptures), the ethical system he presents with such clarity and vigor can hardly have been much, if at all, at variance with his audience's own attitudes and prejudices. The Olympia master, working under contract to the elite of that audience and certainly no less in command of his art, was probably as responsive to their needs and feelings as was the poet. This is not, of course, to assert that these marbles are merely petrified poems, only that contemporaries from the same cultural milieu and serving the same market tend to react similarly when presented with similar problems in similar situations.

To Pindar, as apparently to the Olympia master, *dikē*, *aretē* and *sōphrosynē* have a class meaning and are interpreted from a conservative, aristocratic, and Dorian bias: *dikē*, in particular, is "a place for everyone and everyone in his place." Their ideal is a pious, stable, and resilient society based on the principle that:

> Excellence in all things (*aretē*) comes only to those fitted for it by their nature, the special aptitude that descends to those sprung from divine ancestors: those who lack this may try hard to learn it, but will never attain success. Upon the privileged few, in whose veins a particle of their own blood flows, the gods may for a brief moment cause the divine radiance to shine.[34]

In general, the concept of Zeus as a champion of justice, so we are reminded, developed in Greece from the notion that a god is affronted by an infringement of his rights within a particular sphere. And with Zeus, his children Apollo and Athena in particular are regularly and emphatically identified by the poets (espe-

34. H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* (Berkeley 1971) 51; cf. C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964) chap. 2, esp. pp. 97–98.

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cially Pindar and Aeschylus) with the forces of order, peace, and harmony. Thus on the east pediment, Zeus' rights have been infringed by kingly injustice, *adikia*, which has brought dishonor and pollution to Olympia and Elis. Oenomaos, arrogant, overbearing, and cruel, has betrayed Zeus' gift of his kingly scepter and the guardianship of the customary laws or *themistes* that accompanied it. Here, he has spurned and degraded the sacred institution of marriage, constituted by Zeus as the foundation of the social order (and thus of *dikē* itself), to guarantee its stability and permanency as generation succeeds generation.

In consequence, Oenomaos must fall and his house with him, as Zeus passes judgment:

> Great Zeus, our ancestor and theirs
> Sets up his finely balanced scale,
> Looks on both sides, and truly deals
> Evil to the evil, blessings to the just.[35]

Meanwhile, on the west pediment, Apollo's rights as a god of wisdom and restraint are likewise infringed by the *aphrōn hybris*, the unthinking violence of the Centaurs (directed, one might add, at yet another son of Zeus, Peirithoos). Totally ruled by momentary appetite, violators like Oenomaos of the sacred laws of hospitality and marriage, they affront the god of "wise lawgiving," who, as in Pindar's ninth *Paean*, inspired his protégés with "prudent courage" (the adjective is *sōphrōn* in both phrases) against them. The end, revealed in a striking image whose visual directness is heavily reminiscent of the attitude of the Olympia Apollo, cannot be in doubt:

> Law, that is master of everything,
> Of mortals and immortals,
> Drives on and, with arm held high,
> Makes just the most violent act.[36]

Like Geryon and the flesh-eating mares of Diomedes, whom Pindar cites as examples in the next few lines of this fragment, the Centaurs know no *dikē* and no *themistes*: beyond the pale of civilization, they live by violence and by violence shall they perish.

35. Aesch., *Supp.* 402–405, trans. C. M. Bowra. Cf. *Iliad* 1.237–38, 9.98–99 on the *themistes*.

36. Pind. *P.* 1.10, 9.46; fr. 152 Bo. (169 Sn.). Trans. C. M. Bowra, slightly adapted. The exact status of *nomos* in this passage is much disputed (though its general meaning is hardly in doubt). For a judicious discussion see W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, vol. 3 (Cambridge 1969) 131–36. On the pointing gesture of Apollo see C. Blinkenberg, "Apollo Hyperdexios," in *Mélanges Bidex (Universitaire Libre de Bruxelles: Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 2 (1934) 27–33. I owe this reference to Nancy Tersini, who has recently shown beyond doubt that by this gesture Apollo "expresses Zeus's will to mankind in the form of directions to others: the Pythia and the law courts in historical time, and heroes such as Orestes in the legendary past. In the west pediment, Theseus and Peirithoos carry out his commands." (*Archaeological Institute of America: Abstracts* vol. 6 (1981): 83rd General Meeting, San Francisco, pp. 40–41.)

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This mention of Heracles' foes in his eighth and ninth labors returns us, finally, to the metopes, where we can now understand the choice of subject-matter that has puzzled some in the past. Heracles, it is true, is a son of Zeus and founder of the Olympics, but these are not the sole (or perhaps even the prime) reasons for his appearance here. Above all, he is at once *the* Dorian hero and the paradigm of attainment of god-given *aretē*, and is represented here quite literally as growing into his rightful heritage. In the labors he cleanses the earth of various threats to civilization, order, and *dikē*, fulfilling his potential in *aretē* the while. And since "no one can achieve *aretē* without the gods, neither man or city,"[37] Athena is there at his side, growing with him. Her rights as goddess of civilization are under threat too, this time by those monsters and beasts whom the seer Teiresias foretold that Heracles would slay, being *aidrodikai*, "ignorant of justice."[38]

At Olympia, then, the gods develop and work through the *aretai* of their children and others to restore the true balance of society. The justice they promote is not only expounded in the choice of themes but evidenced in the very fabric of the rendering itself, where it is acted out with all the force, mimetic vividness, and flexibility of mode familiar from contemporary drama. It is at once both universal and intersocial. It is seen to operate *horizontally*, across society, in that whether the action is located in Elis, Thessaly (the Centauromachy), Lerna (the Hydra), or Nemea (the Lion),[39] the gods are either present or immanent as *sōphronistai*, to ensure its continuance. It operates *vertically*, through society, in that all responsible participants (that is to say, all except the *adikoi* and *aidrodikai*) know their places and are absolutely at ease in them.

Of course, so structured an order did not come about all at once. Like Athena and Heracles, one may grow to *aretē*, but only if one is born to it first; those who have no such divine blood in their veins can only look on, knowing that such attainments are not for them. Thus in the fullest sense, one's character, the inherited *ēthos* of one's class and station, when placed under the stimulus of testing in crisis situations, indeed becomes one's destiny.

University of California, Berkeley.

37. Simonides fr. 21 Page.
38. Pind. *N.* 1.62–63.
39. Cf. R. Ross Holloway, "Panhellenism in the Sculptures of the Zeus Temple at Olympia," *GRBS* 8 (1967) 93–102.

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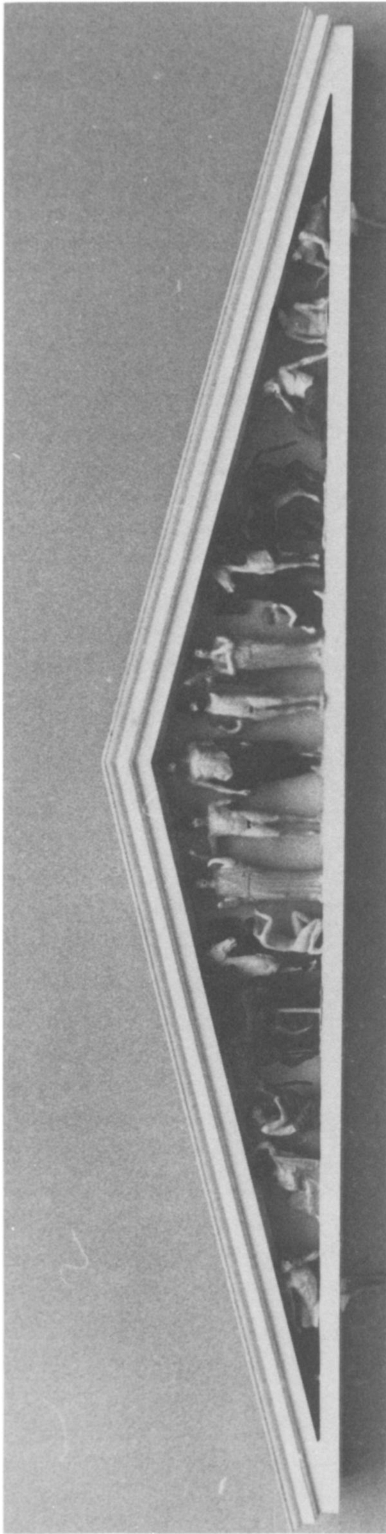

FIG. 1.

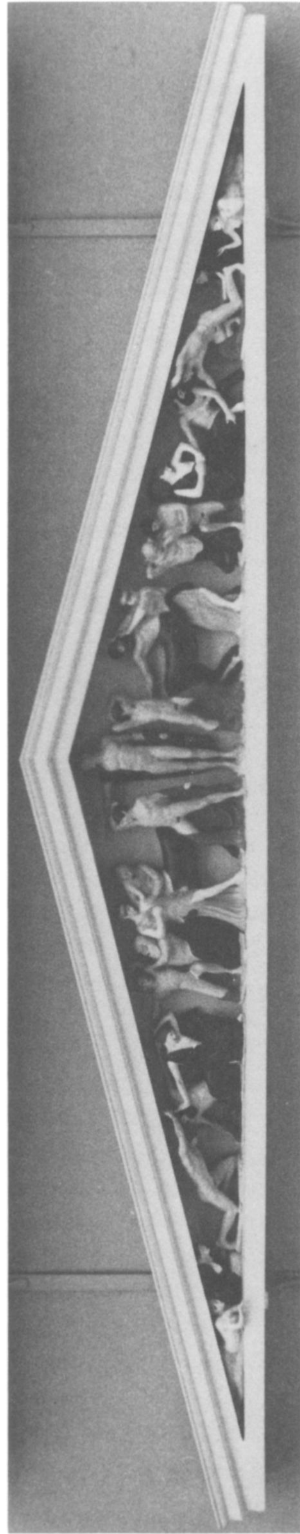

FIG. 2.

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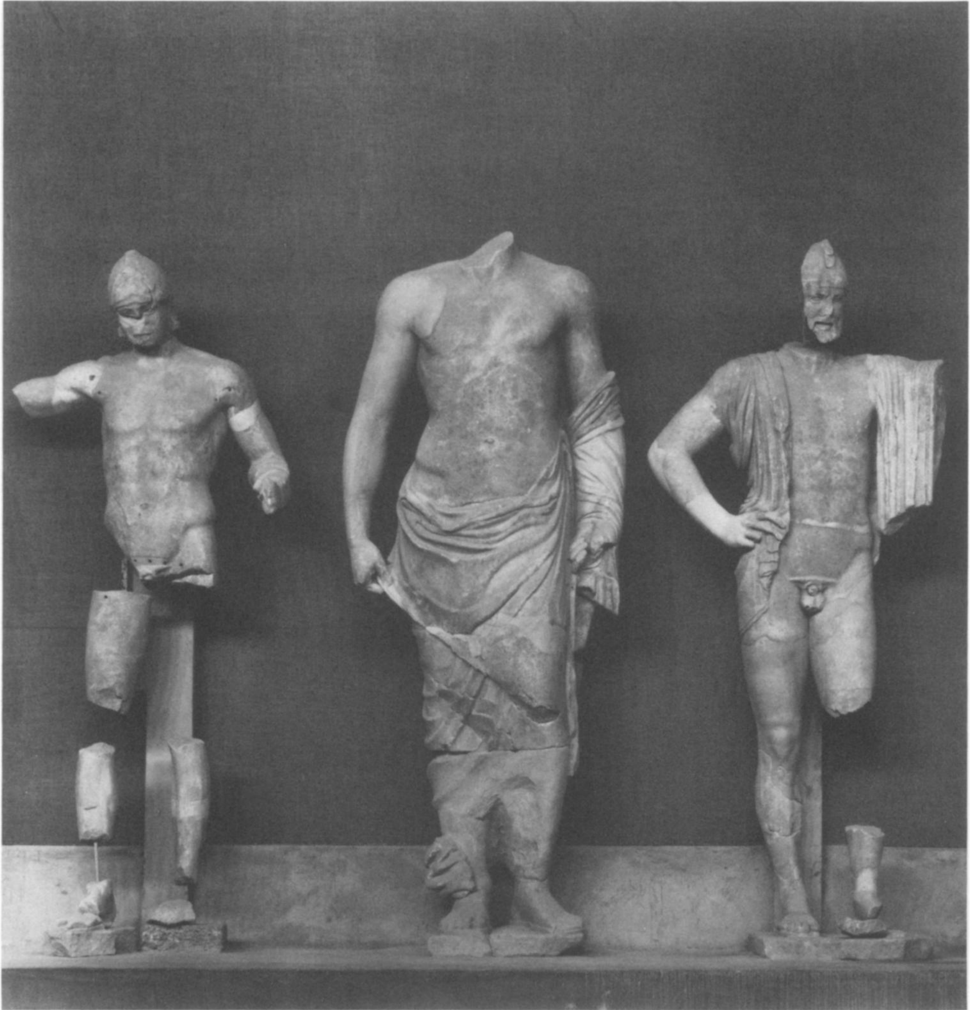

FIG. 3. East pediment: Pelops (G), Zeus (H) and Oenomaos (J)

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FIG. 4. East pediment: Hippodameia (K)

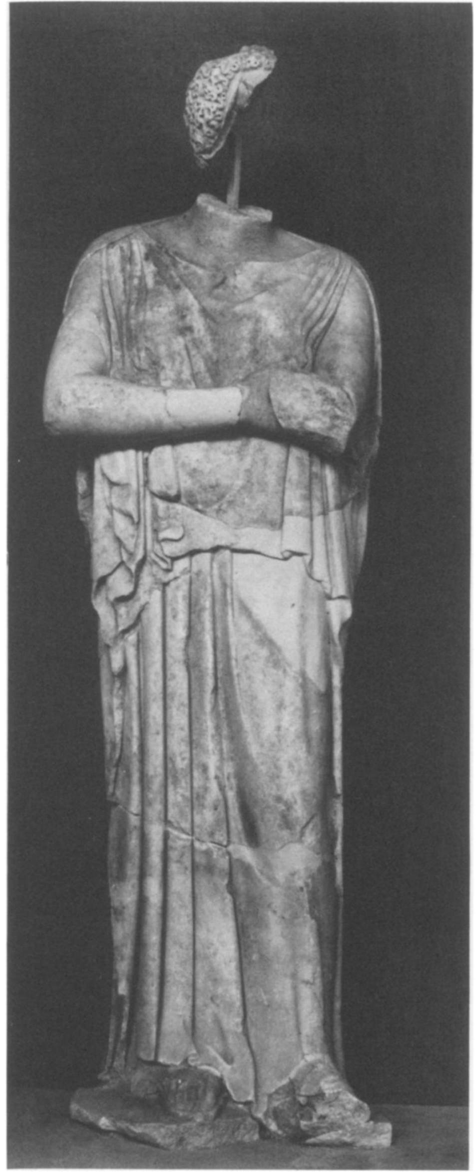

FIG. 5. East pediment: Sterope (F)

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FIG. 6. East pediment: Seer (N), perhaps Amythaon

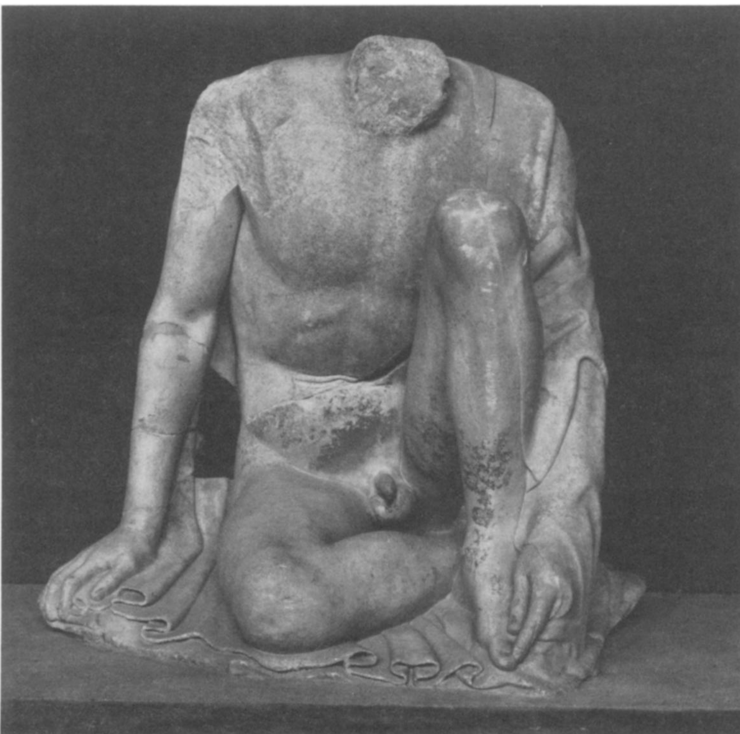

FIG. 7. East pediment: Youth (E), perhaps Melampous

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FIG. 8. West pediment: Centaur (D)

FIG. 9. West metope 1. Heracles and the Nemean Lion

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Fig. 10. West metope 3: Heracles and the Stymphalian Birds

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FIG. 11. East metope 4: Heracles and the Apples of the Hesperides

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FIG. 12. East metope 6: Heracles and the Augeian Stables

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