AN INTRODUCTION

TO

GREEK SCULPTURE

UPCOTT

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HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

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AN INTRODUCTION

TO

GREEK SCULPTURE

BY

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PREFACE

IN the preface to the first edition of this book (1886) I noted that the germ of it was a pamphlet written still earlier to serve as an extended guide to a small school collection of casts and photographs. Although all has been revised and much rewritten, the plan of the book still follows the same lines. Selected examples illustrating each period of the development of art are treated in independent sections, and connected by a sketch of the general history, an account of the most notable artists, and a short notice of other contemporary works. Chapter II, on archaic art, is curtailed, because the aim of the book is less to study origins than to exhibit the matured product. Chapters III–V follow parallel lines of development, so that the chronological sequence gives way to convenience of grouping.

All students of the subject will be aware that archaeological study in the past twelve years has been fruitful in results, which have either necessitated a change in views formerly held or demanded a more careful restatement

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and examination of them. The labour of revision of even so small a book has consequently been great, and I hope it has resulted in making it more accurate and useful.

No illustrations are given, but references are added to illustrated books for the sake of identification. The references to these and other books also serve as an acknowledgement of indebtedness for abundant and constant help. It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge the obligation I am under to foreign scholars, and not less pleasant to express gratitude to the number of English scholars who have devoted judgement, taste, and erudition to this and kindred archaeological subjects since the first inception of this book.

L. E. UPCOTT.

MARLBOROUGH,
November, 1898.

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AUTHORITIES

(*a*) Histories of Greek Sculpture:—

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PERRY, *Popular History of Greek and Roman Sculpture.*

MITCHELL, *History of Ancient Sculpture.*

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GARDNER, E. A., *Handbook of Greek Sculpture.*

(*b*) Manuals of Art and Archaeology:—

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REDFORD, *Ancient Sculpture.*

COLLIGNON, *L'Archéologie grecque.*

" *Mythologie figurée de la Grèce.* (English edition by J. E. Harrison.

TARBELL, *History of Greek Art.*

MURRAY, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology.*

GARDNER AND JEVONS, *Manual of Greek Antiquities.*

GENTILE, *Arte Greca* (a small manual of illustrations).

(*c*) Ancient Authorities:—

FRAZER, *Pausanias*, Translation and Commentary.

JEX-BLAKE AND SELLERS, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art.*

JONES, H. Stuart, *Select Passages from Ancient Writers illustrative of the History of Greek Sculpture.*

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" *Die antiken Schriftquellen.* (Extracts from ancient authors dealing with art subjects arranged chronologically.)

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FRIEDERICHS-WOLTERS, *Bausteine zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Plastik.* (Descriptive catalogue of the Berlin Gallery of Casts.)

(*d*) Books of Reference :—

BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums.*

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MÜLLER, *Archaeologie der Kunst.*

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Journal of Hellenic Studies, and several foreign Archaeological Journals.

RAYET, *Monuments de l'Art antique.*

WELCKER, *Alte Denkmäler.*

ARTICLE 'Archaeology' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and others.

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Marbles of the British Museum.

Specimens of Ancient Sculpture (Dilettanti Society).

STUART AND REVETT, *Antiquities of Athens.*

CLARAC, *Musée de Sculpture.*

Catalogue of Sculptures (British Museum).

Guide to the Mausoleum Room (British Museum).

Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculpture (British Museum).

(*e*) Books dealing with special parts of the subject :—

NEWTON, *Essays in Art and Archaeology.*

WALDSTEIN, *Essays on the Art of Pheidias.*

BOETTICHER, *Olympia.*

DIE FUNDE VON OLYMPIA. (Illustrations issued by the Royal Museum, Berlin.)

HARRISON, *Introductory Studies in Greek Art.*

HAMDY-BEY AND T. REINACH, *Nécropole royale à Sidon.*

CONZE, *Die attischen Grabreliefs.*

GARDNER, P., *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas.*

MURRAY, *Greek Bronzes.*

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GALLERIES OF CASTS

The best in England are that in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, that in the South Kensington Museum, and that in the Taylor Buildings at Oxford. There are also many casts in the Crystal Palace, but not historically arranged.

Casts of the British Museum Marbles and the chief foreign Antiques can be obtained from the firm of the late D. Brucciani, 40 Russell Street, Covent Garden.

Casts of other Antiques mentioned in this book can be had at—

Malpieri, Via di Corso, Rome.
Martinelli, Athens.
Musée des Moulages, au Palais du Louvre, Paris.
Die Formerei der Königl. Museen, Berlin.
G. Eichler, 27 Behrenstr., Berlin.

PHOTOGRAPHS

If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining photographs through local agents, application may be made to the Teachers' Guild Museum, 74 Gower Street, London, where may be seen selected specimens of the principal publications (Brückmann, Gräser, &c.) of photographic and photo-engraved teaching series; also complete catalogues of such series, and of the principal series of casts and miniature copies. The Hellenic Society has a classified collection of photographs, accessible to members, in the Society's rooms at 22 Albemarle Street, and a large collection of negatives, from which members can order prints at reduced prices. There is a catalogue in the Society's rooms, not yet printed. A very complete Catalogue of photographs of Ancient Sculpture (*Verzeichnis zum Museum der Antiken Skulptur in Original-Photographien*) can be obtained from A. Gutbier, Dresden.

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Principal Museums, with a List of the Chief Monuments illustrating the History of Greek Sculpture.

Note.—The numbers prefixed indicate the corresponding chapter of this book. An asterisk (*) prefixed indicates that the work is a Roman copy of a Greek original. A doubtful original is marked (?).

British Museum:

Assyrian and Egyptian Sculptures.
(2) 'Apollo' from Orchomenus.
'Strangford' Apollo.
Statues from Branchidae.
Archaic Frieze from Xanthus in Lycia.
'Harpy' Tomb from Xanthus in Lycia.
Sculptures from the first temple of Ephesus.
*'Choiseul-Gouffier' Apollo.
Archaic Terracotta Reliefs.
Casts of Selinus Metopes.
,, Aeginetan Marbles.
,, 'Leucothea' Relief (Villa Albani).
*Bronze Statuette, Apollo of Canachus (Miletus).
(3) *Diadoumenos of Polycleitus.
Phigalian Marbles.
Cast of Heracles Slab from Temple of Olympian Zeus.
,, Nike of Paeonius.
(4) Parthenon Sculptures.
(5) Slabs from frieze of Nike Apteros.
Caryatid from Erechtheum.
Casts from Theseum Metopes.
,, ,, Parapet of Nike Apteros.
*Bronze Statuette, Marsyas of Myron.
*Diskobolos of Myron.
*Standing Diskobolos.
(6) Sculptures from Mausoleum.
Nereid Sculptures from Xanthus.

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Friezes from Xanthus.
Sculptured bases of columns from Ephesus.
Dionysus from Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus.
Cast of Hermes of Olympia.
,, Frieze of Monument of Lysicrates.
(8) Demeter from Cnidos.
'Elgin' Eros.
Head of Asklepius (or Zeus).
Draped Torso of Asklepius.
Bronze Head of Artemis.
,, Shoulder-plates from Siris.
,, Head of Hypnos.
,, Hermes from France.
,, Zeus from Paramythia.
*'Spinario' or Thorn-Extractor.
*'Farnese' Hermes.
Lion from Cnidos.
*Bust of Pericles.
* ,, Aeschines.
* ,, Euripides.
Statuette of Persephone from Cnidos.
Various fragments from Cyrene, Cnidos, and Halicarnassus, &c.
Various Grave Monuments.
(9) Roman Portraits, especially busts of young Augustus, Julius Caesar, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, statue of Hadrian, bust of Antinous.
'Townley' Venus.
'Giustiniani' Apollo (Pourtalès).
Apotheosis of Homer.
Head of Heracles resembling Naples Statue.
Statue of Thalia.
Various sarcophagi.

PARIS, LOUVRE :

(2) Assus, Sculptured Architrave of a Temple.
Statue of Hera from Samos.
Samothracian Relief (Agamemnon, Talthybius, &c.).
Relief called 'L'élévation de la fleur.'
Thasian Tomb.
(3) Fragments from the first exploration of Olympia.
(4) One slab from Parthenon frieze and one Metope; head of Lapith.
(5) *Orpheus Relief (inscribed Zethus, &c., in Roman letters).
(6) *Bust of Alexander, and various busts and statues supposed to be of Lysippean type; one anciently called 'Jason.'

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*Apollo Sauroctonos.
*Figure from Niobe Group.
*Torso of Satyr of Praxiteles.
(7) Victory (Nike) of Samothrace.
(8) Vénus de Milo.
*'Velletri' Statue of Athena.
*Diane à la Biche.
*Bust of Demosthenes.
(9) 'Borghese' or Fighting Gladiator.
Portrait statue called Germanicus.
Centaur Statue.
Augustus in civic dress.
Fine collection of Roman Imperial portrait busts.
Group called 'Orestes and Pylades.'

BERLIN:

(2) Laconian tombstone (from Collection Sabouroff).
(3) *Statue of an Amazon.
(7) Pergamene Marbles.

DRESDEN:

(8) Statues of Athena.

MUNICH:

(2) Apollo from Tenea.
Aeginetan Marbles.
(6) *Eirene and Ploutos.
*Cnidian Aphrodite.
Relief of Poseidon and Amphitrite.
(8) 'Barberini' Faun.

VIENNA:

Reliefs representing scenes from Trojan War from Lycia.
Amazon Sarcophagus.

ROME:

Vatican, Capitol, Lateran, Villa Albani, Museo Boncompagni, Museo Nazionale.
(2) *Seated Penelope (V.).
Slab called Leucothea (V.A.).
*Hestia (Torlonia Museum).
(3) *Doryphoros restored as Diskobolos (V.).
*Amazon (V. and C.).
(5) *Myron's Diskobolos (V.).
*Standing Diskobolos (V.).

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(6) *Apoxyomenos of Lysippus (V.).
*Apollo Sauroctonos (V.).
*Satyr of Praxiteles (C.).
*Cnidian Aphrodite (V.).
Ganymede of Leochares.

(7) Laocoon (V.).
? Dying Gaul (C.).
? Gaul killing wife (M.B.).
*Alexander (C.).

(8) *'Otricoli' Zeus (V.).
*Ariadne (V.).
*Meleager (V.).
*Silenus and Bacchus (V.).
*'Belvedere' Apollo.
*'Belvedere' Hermes (V.).
*Menander and Poseidippus (V.).
*Euripides (V.).
*Demosthenes (V.).
*Spinario (C.).
*Sophocles (L.).
*Colossa Head of Hera (M.B.).

(9) Most of the treasures at Rome are in this category. A few of the chief are:
Augustus (V.).
Bust of young Augustus (V.).
Belvedere Torso (V.).
Bronze seated Gladiator (Mus. Naz.).
Bacchic Sarcophagus (V.).
Centaur Statues (C.).
Orestes and Electra (M.B.).
Equestrian Bronze Statue of M. Aurelius (C.).
Stucco Reliefs (Mus. Naz.).
Reliefs on arches and columns, as the Arch of Titus, Column of Trajan, &c.
Series of Roman imperial portrait statues and busts.
Statues of Vestals.

NAPLES:

Possesses a fine collection of antique bronzes, chiefly derived from excavations in Herculaneum and Pompeii, and besides these:

(2) *Harmodius and Aristogeiton.
(3) *Doryphoros of Polycleitus.
Stele resembling that of Alxenor.
(5) *Orpheus Relief, inscribed in Greek letters.

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(7) Toro 'Farnese' (group of Dirce).
Dead Giant and Amazon, Pergamene School.
(8) 'Farnese' bust of Hera.
(9) Heracles of Glycon.

FLORENCE:

(6) Niobe Group.
Apollino.
(9) Venus de' Medici.
Thusnelda.

BOLOGNA:

(8) Head of Athena.

VENICE:

(7) Gallic Statues, Pergamene School.

PALERMO:

(2) (3) Metopes from temples at Selinus.

MADRID:

(3) *Diadoumenos of Polycleitus.
(8) *Statue of Hypnos.
(9) Bust of Cicero, inscribed.
Group called 'San Ildefonso.'

ATHENS:

Winged figure from Delos.
'Apollo' statues from Naxos, &c.
Statues found on the Acropolis, including pediments from old temple of Athena, draped female statues, man bearing calf, head of Ephebus, and many others.
(2) Stele of Aristion.
Stele by Alxenor (from Boeotia).
Stele from Orchomenos.
(3) Sculptures still *in situ*, Parthenon, Theseum, &c.
Parapet of Nike Apteros.
(6) Lysicrates Monument.
Marbles from Tegea, Mantinea, Epidaurus, and other places recently excavated.
(8) Marbles from Lycosura.
A long series of Grave Monuments extending from the fifth century onwards.

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OLYMPIA:

(2) Archaic head of Hera.
Pediment of Megarian Treasury.
(3) Pediments and Metopes of Temple of Olympian Zeus.
Nike of Paeonius.
(6) Hermes of Praxiteles.

DELPHI:

Series of Archaic Reliefs, Treasury of Siphnians (or Siphnos).
Bronze Charioteer.

CONSTANTINOPLE:

(6) Sarcophagi from Sidon.

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GREEK SCULPTURE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. **History of Greek Sculpture.** The word History is applicable to anything which is capable of growth, anything which does not reach perfection at a single stroke, but passes through a series of changes, receiving gradual development and successive improvement till it reaches maturity, and either declines or becomes the starting-point for some new creation. Greek sculpture has such a history. It is a part of a larger development, the development of Greek art, which, besides sculpture, includes painting, architecture, and many industrial and decorative arts, vase-modelling, gem-engraving, the designing of coin-types, the work of the goldsmith and the silversmith, and the like. In Greek sculpture the process of development must be considered both in its technical and in its ideal aspect. The artist has to acquire skill in working his material, and such a mastery over it that it becomes an adequate medium for the expression of his ideas. Then the evolution of this idea may be traced. This implies that each succeeding artist or generation of artists takes up the traditional forms of art as they are handed down, and works upon these lines. The artist inherits not only the technical skill, but also the intellectual

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conceptions of his master. This is true of all art which has a living and growing principle. The improvements of each age become conventions in the next, and are in their turn discarded or brought into closer relation to nature or to the sentiment of the age. In the study of the earliest development of Greek sculpture, the question of technical skill is most prominent. Such ideas as the artist has are crudely and inadequately expressed. Then comes a time when the craftsman's hand begins first to work freely, and its creations, invested with something of the freshness and vigour of hopeful youth, have often a charm of suggested beauty or majesty denied to the productions of a more refined age. After that, the question of the ideas to be expressed becomes all-important. All art aims either at the expression of ideas in beautiful form, or at beauty in and for itself, in which case its object is purely decorative. The highest forms of art are reached when a nation or age is inspired with great creative ideas, and produces the individual genius capable of giving them soul and form.

§ 2. **Greek Sculpture and Greek Religion.** The impulse which created Greek art was the natural love of beauty inherent in the race. It had already sought and attained literary expression before it began, through art, to appeal to the outward senses. The medium through which Greek art attained its highest expression known to us was sculpture; its aim was primarily to give expression to its religious ideas, and then to those national and social conceptions which were connected in their origin with their religion, and found readiest utterance through the symbolism of religious ideas. Like other polytheistic peoples, the Greeks began by building temples to their gods and placing their images in them. These images were at first rude forms, often invested with rude symbolism. Tradition and superstition lent reverence to these uncouth creations. The gradually awakening artistic sense was then employed upon the decoration of the god's temple, and the production of dedicatory

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gifts. Mythology, a floating and shifting mass of stories about the gods, came by degrees in the hands of poets to assume a poetical and picturesque and fairly fixed form. As such, it lent itself to treatment in art. The worship of dead ancestors, a prominent feature in Greek social religion, gave the impulse to the erection and adornment of grave-monuments. Athletic exercises, which were from the first connected with religious functions, gave a great stimulus to art; successful competitors desired to dedicate memorials of their achievements, and they themselves furnished the artists with the best natural models for observation and imitation. By the latter half of the sixth century B.C. the art of the sculptor had attained a degree of ability in execution which enabled it to exercise a powerful influence upon the minds of the people. Among the various nationalities into which the Greek people were divided there arose art-centres, partly independent, partly reacting upon each other. In the fifth and fourth centuries the art of sculpture took rank as a genuinely national art, still pursued, owing to the divisions of the political world of Greece, in separate centres, but having in the main fairly common aims and tendencies.

§ 3. **Local Cults.** We must understand, when we speak of the religion of the Greeks, that there was not in point of fact any one defined national state-religion. Politically, the whole country was, throughout all its history, cut up into small independent communities, and every community held different divinities in varying degrees of honour. This becomes partly obvious in studying the history of sculpture; it is far more obvious to the student of coins, for the coin-types preserve clear record of different cults predominant in separate localities. The truth is obscured to us in the study of literature for two reasons; first, because of the great preponderance of Attic influence in our extant literature; and secondly, because the greatest poets appealed rather to national than to local sentiment. Chiefly through the influence of the poets, certain greater

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gods were in time universally regarded with special honour and invested with national attributes, till finally twelve divinities—not always the same twelve—came to be regarded as the Olympian gods. But the local cults held their ground; Zeus, for example, was the patron god of the Eleans, Athena of the Athenians, Hera of the Argives; Aphrodite had the centres of her original worship in Cyprus and Cythera, Apollo his at Delphi and Delos. Round the greater deities clustered a number of more obscure and less powerful deities, and there were some, as Dionysus, whose worship was introduced at a comparatively late date from foreign sources. These local cults are of importance in the history of sculpture, since they contributed to determine the special types of each god, or the different types of the same god as worshipped in different places.

§ 4. **Ideal Types.** We know that the primitive image of the god placed in his temple was sometimes of a rude and uncouth form, and we may conjecture that this was always the case. Religious reverence, the most conservative of instincts, would not at first allow any deviation from this form, until the growing skill of the sculptor, by working upon subsidiary forms of art, on the dedicatory statues, the ornamentation of the building, and so on, had awakened in the people a higher consciousness of beauty, and a desire for a more adequate representation of the object of their worship. From this time it became the aim of the greater sculptors to realize in outward and visible form the highest and noblest ideas about the gods, as already enshrined in the creations of poetry and in the national consciousness. Thus came, for at all events the greater gods, the desire, and with it the genius, to create type-forms, forms which fixed once and for all the highest conceptions. These in their turn became the objects of such reverence, that later sculptors were required to work upon the same lines, only modifying the type-form so far as to preserve the ground-idea, or only so far varying it as to combine with it the newer con-

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ceptions of their own time. The history of these ideal types belongs rather to the history of Greek religion than to the history of sculpture [1].

§ 5. **General Characteristics of Greek Sculpture—Idealization.** In studying the monuments of the archaic period, we are conscious on the one hand of a struggle to overcome the mechanical difficulties of imitation in wood and stone, and on the other, of a struggle to break down the barriers of convention, that is, of traditional methods of representing objects and ideas. That which enabled the Greeks to overcome these difficulties, was their conscientious effort to be like nature, to reproduce as faithfully as they could what they actually saw, subject to their paramount desire to obey the laws of beauty as they conceived them. Greek sculpture never followed nature to the extent of becoming frankly realistic. To the end it retained a certain element of convention, which showed itself even in their portrait-statuary. We must understand what is meant by the truth that their best sculpture was always ideal. It means that out of the manifold variety of natural forms, they selected such forms as seemed to them the most expressive of their conceptions of beauty, and most fitting for permanent exhibition in fixed and unchanging pose. This limitation, the subservience of the truth of nature to the truth of beauty as conceived by the artist, and this selection of typical forms and modes of expression best adapted to this purpose, give Greek sculpture its ideal character. When the selection is the work of an individual genius, obeying an instinct of beauty dominant in his own mind, this is idealization in its highest sense, and in that sense the finest creations of Greek sculpture are truly ideal. When the selection of types is due to the following of the traditions of a school, or the overwhelming influence of a past master, this is convention. The glory of the Pheidian epoch of sculpture is that its work is so truly ideal as well as faithful; the drawback

[1] See Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* (Clar. Press, 1896).

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of the latest developments of the art is that they are so largely conventional.

What these laws of beauty were to which the Greeks held fast in all their imitations of nature, is better apprehended from the monuments than learnt from books. We may, however, indicate three leading characteristics which may be looked for in their best work. First, they aimed at simplicity. They sought to produce their effect by the simplest possible means; they avoided over-abundant ornament, and put what ornament they allowed in the places where it would be most effective. They conceived their subject in bold and broad lines, and omitted details which would detract from the wholeness of the scheme. Next, they sought unity and harmony. The subject must be one, with one central idea, and the lines of the composition must all lead up to this; all the parts of a figure, or all the figures in a group of figures, must be disposed symmetrically and form a just balance, a whole from which nothing can be taken without marring the feeling of completeness, and to which nothing can be added without spoiling the effect. A third characteristic is repose. They did not shrink from the representation of movement, nor even at times of violent movement, but they chose such moments for representation as would least suggest suddenly arrested action, and they arranged the lines of the figures in such a way that though the subject may indicate action, the aesthetic effect, the effect upon the feeling, is reposeful and satisfactory, not jarring and, so to speak, angular and uncomfortable. This is characteristic of their noblest work. There is much in Greek sculpture that is strongly dramatic, passionate, and even violent in its tendency; but it is not in this line that the Greek artists were most successful or produced their finest work.

§ 6. **Architectural and Athletic Sculpture.** The impulse to a closer study of nature came from the application of sculpture to purposes which, being only indirectly connected

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with religion, did not demand so strict an adherence to a fixed type as the temple image. These were chiefly (1) the sculptures employed in the ornamentation of the temple itself; (2) dedications or thank-offerings to temples which took the form of single or grouped statues; here the legends of mythological prowess served, by an allusive manner familiar to every Greek, to celebrate the glories of contemporary heroism; (3) and especially the dedication of statues by athletes who won victories in the great games. The importance of the last class in encouraging direct study of nature can scarcely be over-estimated. All victors at the sacred games were accustomed to offer statues, and though the earliest dedicated statues were probably not real portraits [2], yet it is easy to see that in all cases an effort would be made to render the dedicated image, which was usually of bronze, an appropriate offering for an athlete, and so an impulse was given to the production of statues idealizing some aspect of the games, as quoit-throwing, and emphasizing the physical attributes of the typical athlete. Moreover, the Greek palaestra, where the athletes were accustomed to contend with naked bodies rubbed with oil for protection against the sun, formed the very best place of study for the sculptor. Then came the inevitable reaction upon religious art, and men used their new-found skill in further and further modifications of the types of the divine images, until they succeeded in investing them with all the beauty which they were capable of conceiving and realizing.

§ 7. Sculpture as a National Art. This was the stage arrived at when the great outburst of Hellenic national life, in

[2] Plin. N. H. 34, § 16, says that 'it was the custom for statues of all who had conquered in the sacred, and especially the Olympic, games to be offered, but of those who had conquered three times, portrait statues, which men call *iconic*.' Later (35, § 153) he says that Lysistratus, brother of Lysippus, was the first to make true, not idealized portraits. Probably the latter is the truer statement; true portrait statuary was a late development. (See Jex-Blake and Sellers, *Pliny*, note ad loc.)

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the fifth century before Christ, carried the art through many stages of progress in an extraordinarily rapid time, till it culminated in the wonderful creations of Pheidias. From this time sculpture enters into every phase of public life, and becomes the instrument for expressing the sense of national greatness. Then more and more it is regarded as something which can lend refined enjoyment to men's ordinary life. Public places, such as gardens and market-places, are decorated in this way; animal as well as human life is made the object of imitation. But still, in the fifth century, the religious and national aims predominate.

§ 8. **Character-studies, Portraits, Historical Sculpture, Tombs.** With the decay of Greek national life in the fourth and following centuries, there comes a change in the motive of sculpture. Though mythological subjects are still the rule, they are treated as exhibitions of character, sentiment, or situation, rather than as awakening any religious ideas. This is still more true of Roman times, when sculpture depended very largely upon private patronage. Portrait-statuary, less cultivated in earlier times, is in the later periods eagerly pursued. After the rise of Alexander, great national undertakings must be looked for in the young neighbouring states struggling into power rather than in Greece itself. In one of these, Pergamus, we meet with a new phenomenon, historical sculpture dealing with contemporary events.

Lastly, through all periods of Greek sculpture we find it employed to adorn the tombs of the dead.

§ 9. **Summary.** The monuments of Greek sculpture may be roughly classified as follows:

1. Temple images (*βρέτη, ξόανα, ἀγάλματα*).

2. Decorative sculptures connected with Temples and similar buildings.

3. Commemorative or Dedicatory Statues and Groups of Statues (*ἀναθήματα*).

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4. Athletic Statues and other Statues of Honour (*ἀνδριάντες*).
5. Tombs.
6. Portraits.
7. Historical Sculpture.
8. Character-studies from mythology.

§ 10. **Material.** It does not fall within the compass of this book to deal with the technique of sculpture; but some general acquaintance with the processes and materials employed is necessary for a right understanding of the history.

1. The earliest material was wood[3]. Wooden statues were draped with real drapery, such as the *peplos* which the Trojan matrons in Homer carry to the goddess Athena in the sixth Iliad[4]. They were doubtless painted also. The Greek term for these is *ξόανον* or *βρέτας*; the general name for a statue is *ἄγαλμα*.

2. When parts of the figure were replaced in stone, such statues were called *akroliths* (*ξόανα ἀκρόλιθα*). The parts so treated were usually the face, hands, and feet[5].

3. Instead of stone, more costly material was sometimes used, as ivory; and the place of real drapery was supplied by sheets of gold-foil, enamelled and decorated in various ways. Such were the *χρυσελεφάντινα ἀγάλματα*, constructed with a hollow framework of wood, of which more will be said in connexion with Pheidias.

4. The potter's art early suggested the imitation of the human figure in clay. An immense number of terra-cotta

[3] The earliest stone statues were simple pillars, emblems of the presence of the god; thus Pausanias (9. 27. 1) says that the earliest statue of Eros at Thespiae was *ἀργὸς λίθος*, 'an unwrought stone'; and, 9. 38. 1, he says the Charities were worshipped at Orchomenus under the form of stones believed to have fallen from heaven. The Street-god Apollo (*Ἀγυιεύς*) was at first represented by a conical pillar, which is shown on early coins (*Denkm. d. alt. Kunst*, 1, 2). These pillars suggested the 'Hermes,' a square pillar with a head, which was commonly adopted in later times for portrait statuary.

[4] Il. 6. 286 foll.

[5] Paus. 2. 4. 1, &c.

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figurines[6] remains, owing to the practice of the Greeks of putting them in tombs. In modern sculpture both the marble and the bronze statue presuppose the clay model, and with the Greeks also such a model must necessarily have preceded casting in bronze. Whether the ancient workers in marble were ever so clever with their chisels as to be able to carve from drawings on the stone or from small models, as Michel Angelo is said to have done sometimes, is not certain[7].

5. Sculpture in marble is of two kinds.

(1) Statues which stand free, so that they are visible from all sides, are said to be sculptured 'in the round.' These must of course be finished on all sides, but sometimes when they were made to stand in a niche or against a wall, they were not so carefully finished at the back. Thus the Hermes of Praxiteles shows the marks of the chisel in the back.

(2) Slabs with figures upon them raised above the surface are called reliefs. If less than half the figure is detached, the relief is called low or flat relief; if half, half or middle relief; if more than half, high relief. In the last case, some parts may be made to stand quite free from the background by undercutting, as in some of the Parthenon metopes.

6. Metal was in the earliest times hammered out in pieces, afterwards fastened together[8] and built into a statue. When the casting of bronze was discovered, the first statues were cast solid—a method only possible on a small scale. Then, by an invention attributed to Theodorus and Rhoecus, early Samian

[6] *Figurine*, a term borrowed from the French, properly meaning any small figure, is specially applied to small figures in burnt clay, such as are found all over the world where Grecian influence extended—Magna Graecia, Etruria, Sicily, Asia Minor, South Russia; the finest came from Tanagra in Boeotia.

[7] Plin. N. H. 35, §§ 151–153, speaks of the use of the clay model, and according to the latest and simplest interpretation of the passage, the invention is ascribed to Butades (seventh century B. C.). See Jex-Blake and Sellers, *Pliny*, note ad loc. For the statement touching Michel Angelo see the *Life* by J. A. Symonds.

[8] *σφυρήλατα*: cp. Paus. 10. 16. 1; Aesch. S. c. T. 541 foll.

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bronze-workers, the method of casting hollow statues was found out[9]. The ancients brought the art of bronze-casting to wonderful perfection. By the employment of different alloys in different proportions, they were able to produce bronzes of different tones, and even, so it is said, to colour various parts of the same statue differently. The hollow of the eyes was almost always left blank, and afterwards filled in with precious stones or pastes. The largest complete bronzes we possess were until recently those discovered in Italy, especially at Rome and Herculaneum; more lately fine bronze heads have been discovered at Olympia, Athens, and elsewhere; the French excavators at Delphi found a large bronze charioteer; excavations on the banks of the Tiber have brought to light some striking specimens. Small bronzes are much commoner, and, being often copies of larger productions, are frequently a very useful guide to the proper restoration of mutilated statues[10].

§ 11. **Difference between Bronze and Marble.** Since several ancient bronzes are now known to us only in the form of marble copies, it is well to note the main points of difference. Bronze statues are lighter, and consequently if a bronze is translated into marble, the new statue may require supports, with which the freer and bolder attitudes possible in bronze could dispense. Bronze thus admits a freer outline and slenderer attachments, both of the statue to the base and of details to the statue. Different technical processes were used, especially for details, such as the hair, and if the technique proper to bronze is imitated in marble, it is an evidence that the statuary was copying a bronze original. Bronze reflects light; white marble, unless very highly polished, absorbs it. Thus there is more high light and shade and less of half-tone in bronze;

[9] Paus. 8. 14. 8, and 10. 38. 5 *ἐχώνευσαν οὗτοι πρῶτοι.*

[10] For the technical processes see Müller, *Handbuch*, § 306, with the notes and references. See also Murray, *Greek Bronzes*, for an account of some notable bronzes in the British Museum.

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marble lends itself to softer and subtler gradations of surface and curvature.

§ 12. **Literary Sources for the History of Sculpture.** Many of the ancient artists wrote treatises upon their art, such as Polycleitus, but these have all perished, together with the writings of professed art-historians. Our existing sources are meagre; the following are the most noteworthy: (1) The 'Description of Greece' by Pausanias, a traveller in the age of the Antonine emperors, belonging to the class called *periegetae* (περιηγηταί, 'ciceroni'). His office is simply to enumerate and describe, not to pass judgement; his work is the precursor of the modern guide-book, varied by long digressions. Though a careful inquirer, he shows little taste or feeling for art. (2) The descriptions of rhetoricians, such as Philostratus and Dion Chrysostom; more remarkable for florid word-painting than accuracy of description. With these may be classed notices of art in the versatile Lucian, brought up as a sculptor, who seldom alludes to a work of art without showing that he could really appreciate its merit, so that his judgements are correspondingly valuable; and the Epigrams in the Anthologia Graeca, the aim of which is rather to make a point than to express a critical judgement. (3) Pliny the Elder devotes two books and part of a third in his 'Natural History' to the subject of art. He supplies us with much valuable information about the technical processes of the ancient artists, and a sketch of the history, both of bronze and marble statuary[11]. (4) Incidental allusions are gleaned from the pages of historians and orators, especially in Roman times. Thus Cicero and Quintilian supply a good many acute and sensible judgements upon individual artists.

But after all these have been laboriously collected and pain-

[11] Book 34 deals with bronze work; book 35 contains an account of painting and modelling; book 36 treats of sculpture in marble.

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fully weighed, the main source of our information must be the actual remains which have been happily preserved to us [12].

§ 13. **Colour.** In the earliest times when statues were carved of wood, or from coarse kinds of stone, or modelled in terra-cotta, colour was certainly applied over the whole surface. In the terra-cotta statuettes ('figurines') from Tanagra and elsewhere, we find colour often very delicately and harmoniously employed. It is applied in a conventional way, as, for instance, in the hair, which is usually a dark red. The background of sculptured reliefs was certainly coloured. When marble took the place of rougher stone, the practice of colouring the whole statue was gradually modified, though it seems from Vitruvius and Pliny that the marble surface in the nude parts of statues was toned by a particular process of rubbing in heated wax (γάνωσις). Colour was now employed on certain parts only, and especially to pick out bands of ornamentation, as in the female figures found on the Acropolis (p. 21). This is apparently what Pliny (35, § 133) calls *circumlitio*, and he says that Praxiteles employed Nicias, a celebrated painter, in work of this kind [13]. The best examples which illustrate the Greek use of colour are the sarcophagi found at Sidon; these will be described later.

Smaller bronze accessories to marble statues, which could not be conveniently cut in marble, were frequently added, and fastened with small nails.

§ 14. **Structure of a Greek Temple** [14]. As many of the examples of Greek sculpture formed part of the ornamentation

[12] All notices in ancient authors bearing upon the history of ancient art have been collected and arranged by Overbeck in his *Antike Schriftquellen*. Pausanias has been translated and annotated by J. G. Frazer (6 vols.: London, 1898); Pliny's Chapters on Art by K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers (1 vol.: London, 1896).

[13] See, for this subject, Gardner, *Handbook*, i. p. 28 foll.; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, art. *Polychromie*; Collignon, *La Polychromie dans la Sculpture Grecque*; Müller, *Arch. d. K.* § 310, notes.

[14] Baumeister, art. *Baukunst*; Guhl and Koner, p. 7 foll. Schreiber, *Atlas*, pl. x, al. *Arte Greca*, tav. 10 foll.

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of temples, a few words are necessary to explain what parts of the architecture were commonly ornamented with sculpture. The Greek temple was raised upon a basement, and the ground-plan was usually an oblong, with the ends of the long sides projecting a little; the interior, *ναός* (*νεώς*) or cella, was divided into two unequal portions. The projecting ends were finished off as pilasters with capitals, two columns placed between them, and a corresponding row of columns placed in front, forming a porch. This kind of temple was called *amphiprostyle*[15]. If, as in all large temples, the colonnade was carried completely round, the temple was called *peripteral*[16].

Its elevation, seen from the outside, consisted of three parts, columns, entablature, and roof. The columns support the architrave, that is, the horizontal stone courses which span the space from pillar to pillar; above the architrave is the frieze, above the frieze the cornice. Architrave, frieze, and cornice are together called the entablature. On the long sides of a temple the sloping roof rises above the cornice, which is in fact its termination. The terminating lines of the roof form gables at each end; such gable-ends are called pediments (Latin *fastigium*, Greek *αἰετός* or *αἰέτωμα*), and the triangular recess between the horizontal cornice and the terminating lines of the roof, technically called the *tympanum* or drum, was often filled with a sculptured group, called a pedimental composition. The next place upon which sculpture might be employed was the frieze (called by the Greeks *ζωφόρος* or *ζῳοφόρος*). In temples of the Ionic order this was a continuous flat surface over the architrave, which might have on it sculptures in relief; in the earlier Doric temple there was not this continuous surface, but an alternation of *triglyph* and *metope*. The triglyph was originally a stone slab serving to cover the ends of the cross-rafters, which lay upon the architrave and carried the roof; its

[15] As the temple of Nikê Apteros.
[16] As the Parthenon, the Theseum, &c.

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name is derived from the grooves or flutings which ornamented it. As therefore the triglyphs occurred at regular intervals along the architrave, there was an open space between each one and the next following, which was filled by a stone slab called a metope[17]. These metopes could be ornamented by painting or sculpture; they originally did not serve any architectural purpose, but that of ornament. In the Parthenon there was the further addition of a frieze placed upon the outside of the wall of the cella or *ναός*, and visible to the spectator standing in the colonnade; this ran round the enclosing wall of the building like a band. A Doric temple might also have a system of columns of the Ionic order in the interior, which would have a continuous frieze above them; this was the case with the temple of Apollo at Bassae near Phigalia. Statues, called *akroteria*, were often placed on the roof, at the four angles, and at the ends of the roof-ridge.

It will be noticed that, as a guiding principle, the portions of the building which the tact of the Greeks selected for ornamentation were vacant spaces and not carrying parts. This is strictly true with regard to the pediments and the metopes, and the principle is the same with regard to the continuous frieze, which in the Ionic system was substituted for alternating triglyph and metope. There are, however, instances of departure from this principle; in Lycian temples the architrave sometimes bears sculptured ornament; in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the lowest drums of the columns were sculptured; in a porch of the Erechtheum female figures (Caryatids) were substituted for columns. It is important, however, to notice the general principle, which shows that the choice of parts to be ornamented was not made at random.

[17] In Greek *μετόπη* (Lat. *intertigniuni*), properly 'alternate holes' (*ὀπαί*) between the beam-ends.

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CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS AND FIRST DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK SCULPTURE

§ 1. **Mycenaean and Prehistoric. Decorative Art. Foreign Influences. The Lion Gate of Mycenae.** The history of Greek Sculpture begins about the year B.C. 600. Recent investigations in the soil of Greece, and especially the excavations of Dr. Schliemann at Mycenae, have revealed to us the existence of an early decorative art, with some features of great beauty of design, especially in geometric patterns and animal forms, showing a power of technical skill far beyond what we should expect from the rude remains of the early seventh-century work[1]. This art was the product of the civilization of the time of the great Achaean princes, who built their palaces at Mycenae, Tiryns, and elsewhere. There was certainly at that time intercourse between the Greeks and Egyptians, and some forms of this early art, as the lotos-flower, were derived from Egypt. This prehistoric art forms an independent province of study. As the power of the Achaean princes declined, so the art fostered by them declined. Although archaeologists can trace a few of the forms and types of early Greek sculpture (seventh century) back to the gold and bronze ornaments of this still earlier time, the links of tradition are slight, and there is not that unbroken continuity of development which we might expect to find. From Mycenaean art only one specimen of really fine sculpture in stone has been preserved, and that is

[1] Specimens, Baumeister, art. *Mycenae*; Gardner, *Handbook*, ch. i; P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, ch. iii; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i. bk. i; Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. bk. i; *Arte Greca*, tav. 5, 6, 7.

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the magnificent Lion Gate. These lions are carved upon a triangular slab set over the lintel of the great doorway leading to the Mycenaean fortress, occupying the space between the lintel and the contracting sides of the primitive arch made by the overlapping courses of enormous stones forming the wall. Their forefeet stand on the basis of a column of peculiar shape which divides them; the heads, which were carved of separate pieces, and no doubt turned outwards towards the approaching spectator, are now lost. The design is thus heraldic in form; the lions are the supporters of the column. Monuments, adorned in a strikingly similar way, but with less art, are found in the rock-cut tombs of Phrygia[2]. We do not know the date of this monument, nor does it stand in any assignable relation to later Greek sculpture. It remains an impressive relic of a pre-historic civilization.

§ 2. **The Archaic Period of Greek Sculpture.** The first period of Greek sculpture may be reckoned from about B.C. 600, and goes down to the time of the defeat of the Persians at Salamis, or a little later, that is, to the time when it is reasonably supposed that the Aeginetan marbles (p. 30) were executed. The literary account of the beginnings of the art is little more than a list of names, compiled from the confused, and sometimes contradictory, accounts of Pliny, compared with the statements of Pausanias and others. Recent explorations and excavations have resulted in the discovery of a large number of archaic statues, which cannot as a rule be assigned to individual artists whose names are preserved in literary record, but serve to show in a general way what their style was like. To trace the progress of the art in its infancy and its first struggles after form is the province of archaeology rather than of art-history; in the following sections we shall discuss a few typical examples of early work,

[2] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. 25; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i. fig. 18; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. 65; *Arte Greca*, tav. 4; Schreiber, *Atlas*, pl. xlviii. 8; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 1188. For the Phrygian monuments see Ramsay, *Journal of Hellenic Soc.*, vol. iii, and plates.

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which will bring us down to the concluding period of archaism, rich with all the promise of matured splendour [3].

§ 3. **Examples of the earliest Greek Sculpture.** In the British Museum [4] may be seen casts of several slabs from a ruined temple at Selinus, near the western end of Sicily, now preserved at Palermo. The slabs formed the metopes of a temple (p. 14). The probable date of the earliest of these is about B.C. 600, and the best-known slab is that which shows Perseus cutting off the head of the Gorgon Medusa, while Athena stands by to aid him. The heads of the figures are enormously large and out of proportion to the bodies, and they are seen in full face while the lower limbs are in profile. Great care is bestowed on the exact rendering of bones and muscles, with the result that they appear exaggerated. The countenance of Medusa, with her curious rows of curls and plaited locks falling down the shoulders, her projecting tusks and lolling tongue, as she kneels and grasps Pegasus in her arms, offers a curious study of grotesque ugliness. What did the sculptor mean by this laughable figure? He meant to inspire terror, not laughter. The early artist, in this rude manner, tries to express the horrible by making the object hideous, and easily falls into the grotesque. The gargoyles on our churches and the mediaeval representations of devils supply familiar illustrations of this tendency. The same Medusa-type appears stamped upon early coins, but in later art a quite different conception appears, and Medusa becomes the image of expiring voluptuous beauty [5]. Another

[3] For a detailed account of the archaic period see Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. book ii; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i. book ii; Gardner, *Handbook*, chap. ii.

[4] Brit. Mus., *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture*, 135–139; Overb. ib. i. p. 132; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. 100; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 344; Gardner, ib. fig. 21; *Arte Greca*, tav. 33.

[5] For the coins *Denk. d. a. Kunst*, xvi. 68; Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 305, 306; Brit. Mus., *Coins of the Ancients*, pl. 5. 25; the later type in the celebrated Munich mask (Baum. ib. fig. 985; Seyffert, *Dict. of Class. Antiq.* s. v. *Gorgo*), and on many gems.

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slab from the same place represents Heracles carrying off the captured Cercopes, who hang head downwards with their legs tied to a yoke across his shoulders. The flat border at the top of the metope is decorated with the meander, the characteristic Greek border-pattern. A third slab has a chariot shown in full face[6].

In the British Museum are also preserved several large seated figures, brought from the Sacred Way leading to the temple of Apollo at Branchidae, near Miletus[7]. These are simply large blocks of stone, hewn into general resemblance to the human figure, seated in a chair, while drapery is indicated by very shallow carving, hardly breaking the smooth surface of the whole mass. One of these seated figures has an inscription, written backwards and forwards (*boustrophedon*), which shows that it is meant for a portrait: 'I am Chares, son of Cleisis, ruler of Teichiussa; an offering to Apollo.' From the characters of the inscription the date is assigned as B.C. 580–520.

§ 4. **Early Statues commonly named 'Apollo.'** There exists a remarkable series of archaic statues, bearing a strong family likeness to one another, known—though without any sure foundation for the name—as statues of Apollo, with the addition of the name of the place where they were found. Several of these, brought from Greece, are in the British Museum[8]; several, from various places in Greece, are at Athens; the most perfectly preserved and the latest in point of artistic development came from Tenea, and is now to be seen at Munich. Their common characteristics are: an erect pillar-like attitude; the rectangular contour of the whole design, the legs being set near to one another and the arms held touching or nearly touching the sides; the division of the

[6] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 345; *Arte Greca*, tav. 33. 1. Two other sets of metopes, belonging to a later period of archaism, were found at Selinus. A fourth set belongs to the fifth century (Baum. ib. fig. 367, 368).

[7] Brit. Mus., *Cat.* i. Nos. 7 foll.; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 8; Baum. ib. fig. 337; *Arte Greca* tav. 35.

[8] Brit. Mus., *Cat.* i. Nos. 200 foll.; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. 108, pl. ii.

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body into parts by geometrically regular lines; an almost exact correspondence between the two sides; faulty proportions, especially a waist too narrow and a chest too broad and deep; yet everywhere evidence of anxious care to copy each part of the frame correctly; and, lastly, an expressionless countenance, hair arranged with formal ringlets, flat eyes near the plane of the cheeks and set obliquely, and a mouth with a set stiff smile. Most of these statues have suffered the loss of their legs, but some appear to have had the left leg put forward a little.

One of the statues in the British Museum[9], rather more than three feet in height, is called the 'Strangford' Apollo. This statue, although recalling in general aspect some of the characteristics of the more archaic figures, represents a very great advance upon them both in design and execution. Here we seem to reach the limit of the period when interest in Greek sculpture ceases to be purely archaeological and becomes artistic; a point when such a degree of skill had been attained by the artist that his natural instinct for beauty of form had power to display itself, and he was able in a measure, however imperfectly, to realize his ideal. Only the head and trunk and part of the legs remain; the arms have been broken short off, and the legs are gone below the knee. Like the earlier statues it is symmetrical in design, and this symmetry appears now even greater from the loss of the arms, which may have been differently employed. It is plain they were not held close to the sides as in the earliest statues; probably they were bent at the elbow and held forward some object which would make the personality of the statue clearer, whether a god or hero or athlete was intended. The left leg is a little advanced; the knee very knotty; there is still a great spareness in the waist and an over-development of chest. The face is round and regular, with rather high and prominent cheek-bones; formal

[9] Brit. Mus., *Cat.* i. 206. Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. 61; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. 108.

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curls mark the contour of the brow, and there is a smile that is now almost pleasing; the eyes are rather more deeply sunk than formerly; the ears very carefully carved. What chiefly distinguishes the execution of this statue from the earlier statues mentioned is that almost everywhere we find softer undulations of surface, instead of angles uniting the various planes of the bodily frame.

This is a genuine piece of archaic work, though it is not known where it was found; side by side with it may be put for comparison a small bronze statuette, also from the British Museum [10], probably copied from a larger work. There is a deer in the outstretched right hand; and the figure may therefore have been copied from a statue of Apollo made by Canachus (about B.C. 480) for the Milesians, which bore a stag [11] in one hand and a bow in the other, as it is represented in miniature upon a Milesian coin. The attitude of the god is similar to that of the statue we have been describing. A fillet is bound round the head, and below this the hair descends in ringlets. There is a fine head in the British Museum, from the Townley Gallery [12], either belonging to the early period or a very excellent imitation, which shows this manner of dressing the hair very clearly.

§ 5. **Statues found on the Acropolis of Athens** [13]. A systematic excavation of the surface of the Acropolis of Athens, undertaken in 1880 and the following year by the Greek Archaeological Society, resulted in the discovery of a large number of archaic statues, all of great interest, and some of very

[10] Bronze Room, Case B; *Guide to Bronze Room*, p. 12.

[11] Plin. N. H. 34. 75, Apollo called *Philesius*. He says, however, that the stag was movable by machinery, and the description does not suit the statuette.

[12] Brit. Mus., *Cat.* i. 208.

[13] The best illustrations of these statues are the phototypes in *Les Musées d'Athènes* (Athens, K. Wilberg; London, H. Grevel). See also Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i. pl. 1 and fig. 170 foll.; Gardner, *Handbook*, i. fig. 28 foll.; Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 25.

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remarkable artistic merit. These are now preserved in a small Museum on the Acropolis. History enables us to fix a lower limit of date for these sculptures. We know that the Persians in B.C. 480–479 twice occupied Athens, and burnt, destroyed, and levelled all the buildings, statues, and altars on the Acropolis. On their reoccupation of the city the Athenians determined to rebuild their temples on a more magnificent scale than before, and we now know that they began by rebuilding the wall of enclosure and levelling the rocky surface, which is ridged up towards the centre. The space between the ridge and the wall they filled up with the rubble of the destroyed walls and buildings, and here they deposited a quantity of fallen and broken statues, laying them carefully in and covering them up, as though to save them from further desecration. Thus, by the irony of fate, the very havoc wrought by the Persians resulted in the preservation to us of much which they tried to destroy for ever.

Many of these statues, broken into fragments and in part pieced together by the ingenuity of archaeologists, formed the pedimental decoration of temples. Some are extraordinarily grotesque, as the figure of a triple-headed Typhon ending in snaky coils which run into the angle of the pediment. Another, representing a fight between the goddess Athena, armed with her *aegis*, and a giant whom she has hurled to the ground, is a masterly work that approaches the Aeginetan marbles (p. 30) in style.

Most noteworthy of all is a series of female statues. Whether they represent Athena herself, in pacific guise, or priestesses of Athena, or are idealized images of her votaries, is still a debatable question. Each member of the series has the same general pose, and each follows a fairly similar conventional type in the arrangement of hair and drapery. The figures stand erect, clothed in the *chiton*, and the *himation* or *peplos* thrown over it. The zigzag folds of these garments are arranged with infinite care for symmetry. One hand, the right, projects from the elbow,

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the other holds up a fold of the dress. The type of face is also generally similar throughout, but in the modelling of the features the series show a remarkable progress of delicacy and refinement, until in the latest heads[14] the soft and delicate oval curves of the cheeks and chin, the quality of expression in the eyes and lips, are really lifelike and nearly beautiful. Here we stand upon the last limit of archaism, and feel that it requires but another step to reach perfection. Another point of unique interest in these figures is their colouring, which still remains fairly fresh. It is not applied over all the figure, but details are carefully picked out; the seams and borders of the dress in stripes and meander pattern are touched with red and green; the hair is a dull red; the eyes are painted, except in one statue, which has eyes of a crystalline substance inserted. The marble used is Parian. On a basis, probably belonging to one statue, is carved the name of Antenor, son of Eumaros. We could desire no better evidence of the grace which was the note of the Attic school of sculpture than is afforded by these figures.

§ 6. **Stêlê**[15] **or Grave Monument of Aristion** (probable date about B.C. 500). This slab was discovered on the east coast of Attica, near Marathon, and is similar in style to some of the statues found on the Acropolis. It bears the inscription 'Work of Aristokles' on its lower border, and 'of Aristion' on the plinth below. On this slab we have a picture of an Athenian of the Marathonian days, or the times immediately preceding, as Aristophanes draws him for us; a man somewhat stiff and pedantic, not over-refined, but making up for all his faults

[14] *Musées d'Athènes*, pl. xiii, xiv.

[15] *Stêlê* (στήλη) is used of any sepulchral slab, though strictly it means one of the narrow upright kind, as in this example. When the slab was sculptured in the form of a niche or little temple it was technically called ἡρῷον. Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 45; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. 193; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 33; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i. fig. 201; *Arte Greca*, tav. 46.

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by his inborn bravery and the simplicity of his life. He is here a warrior, clothed in close-fitting morion, linen tunic, cuirass, and greaves, and resting his left hand upon his spear. The armour is not carved throughout with equal skill. The greaves indeed follow the natural shape of the leg, but the cuirass is stiff, not yielding to the form, as a more skilled hand, such as that which carved the Vatican Augustus (p. 149), would have made it. The two feet are placed one before the other in a line, each with the sole flat on the ground—an attitude unnatural in reality; the legs are disproportionately long; the hands and feet also too long; the waist small in comparison with the breadth of chest and width across the hips. All these are marks of archaism constantly recurring in early sculpture, and a similar inference may be drawn from a study of the head and face, the evenly arranged and regular locks, the curls over the forehead, the pointed beard drawn in parallel wavy lines, the oblong almond-shaped eye, seen nearly in its full length, not showing the eye-ball in profile as in nature. In this slab subordinate effects and minor details were produced by colour; the ground of the relief was red, the shoulder-strap and other ornaments red also, the breast-plate and helmet blue. Many traces of these colours still remain. Memorial slabs (*stêlai*) have been found in which the outline only was carved, and all the rest added in colour on the flat surface.

§ 7. **Copy of a group of the Tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogeiton**[16]. In tracing the history of sculpture the student has sometimes to rely upon copies of celebrated works made in Italy by late Greek sculptors for their Roman patrons. In such cases, all deductions must be regarded as more or less open to suspicion, since we cannot be sure how far the copies

[16] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 28 (with conjectural restoration); Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i. fig. 189; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. 175; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 35, 36; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 357; *Arte Greca*, tav. 39.

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reproduce the true spirit or even the accurate form of the originals. A further difficulty arises when, as here, the copy itself, broken and incomplete when first found, has been carelessly restored by men ignorant of the true design.

Harmodius and Aristogeiton were the popular heroes of the Athenian democracy, and after the expulsion of the Peisistratidae in B.C. 510, statues of them were set up in the *agora* of Athens[17]. The first group, the work of Antenor, was carried away by Xerxes and restored after Alexander's conquest of Persia. In B.C. 476 a new group was set up, the work of Critius, with whom Nesiotes is constantly found associated, and it is in all probability of this second group that the present is a copy. The group stands in the National Museum at Naples; formerly the two figures were separated and taken for gladiators. The head of Aristogeiton (the figure on the left of the spectator), though antique, belonging to a Meleager in the style of Scopas, does not properly belong to the body; the right leg of Harmodius, the left leg below the knee, and both arms, are also the work of the restorer. In the main the restorations are correct, except that the upraised arm of Harmodius should have been straighter, to form the apex of the group, and the sword-handle in the left hand is an obvious mistake. Across the body of Harmodius is a white streak in the marble, left by the bronze sword-belt which once adorned him. The two friends are here ideally presented as heroes, not in the dress of Athenian citizens, but in the natural beauty of the naked body, as a Meleager or a Heracles might have been presented. Harmodius strides forward with uplifted sword; his friend steps by his side with his sword-hand held back, and the left arm, wrapped in the *chlamys* or mantle, thrust forward ready to ward off any stroke aimed by a foe. In many reliefs representing battle-scenes, the *chlamys* may be seen used in this way, and the action had this advantage for the sculptor, that the folds of the garment form a more pleasing object for the eye than the even circle and continuous surface

[17] Paus. I. 8. 5; Plin. N. H. 34. 70 (names Praxiteles, in error).

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of a shield[18]. It is a powerfully conceived and effective group, though the individual figures are wanting in grace; there is a rigidness in the pose which is evidence that the sculptor has not yet attained complete ease in dealing with his material. The head of Harmodius is covered with close spirally-formed ringlets; the planes of the face and the surface of the body are united by hard angles rather than flowing curves. Later sculptors learnt how to round off these angles, and in the face they got more expression by deepening the hollows of the eye, giving breath, as it were, to the nostrils, and slightly parting the lips. A head characterized like that of Harmodius must in imagination be placed upon the neck of Aristogeiton. The originals were probably of bronze, and would not require the trunks which now support the marble. If these are removed, the united action of the group becomes clearer and the design more harmonious.

§ 8. **Statue of Apollo** ('Choiseul-Gouffier'[19]). In the Early Hellenic Room in the British Museum there stands a statue, commonly called 'Apollo,' obtained from the collection of Count Choiseul-Gouffier, formerly French ambassador at the Porte. The work belongs to the fifth century, but is placed here because it represents the culmination, in artistic development, of the types alluded to above (§ 4). The statue is that of a young man, entirely nude, standing still in a restful attitude. Most early statues of single figures in attitudes of rest have the weight poised equally on both legs; this produces an almost exact correspondence on each side of the body. To advance one leg a little was an obvious improvement; here a further step is reached. The weight is thrown upon the right leg, and

[18] So Bertram in Scott's *Rokeby*:

'Round his left arm his mantle trussed
Received and foiled three lances' thrust.'

[19] Brit. Mus., *Catalogue*, i. 209; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i. fig. 208; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. 190, pl. viii (with the replica at Athens); *Journal of Hellenic Soc.* vol. i.

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while this consequently curves outwards, the body bends slightly the opposite way, and a pleasant variety in the lines of the figure is the result. The waist is spare; the chest very strongly developed and powerfully thrown forward. It may be that this is a survival of the tendency of early sculptors to exaggerate contrasts, to make what is broad too broad, what is narrow too narrow. The arms, the extremities of which are broken, hang downward; the left bends slightly, and certainly held some object, of which there is an indication on the left leg. On the shoulder and upper arms are strongly marked veins. The legs are long and sinewy; the feet are also long, as in Aristion's *stélé*. The head, set very erect upon the finely developed neck and throat, is small in proportion, and the face has a melancholy expression, due to the downward turn of the corners of the mouth and the drooping eyelids. A similar expression recurs frequently on the frieze of the Parthenon; it may be that no particular effect of pleasure or pain was exactly intended, but an expression of some kind, some feeling of life and mobility. The hair is tied in a band made by a plait of hair drawn across the top of the forehead; below this cincture fall ringlets artistically disposed. This mode of head-dress, called *krobylos* (κρωβύλος), is that which Thucydides (I. 6) says was still customary with old people before his time.

A sense of severe dignity pervades this figure, and in spite of faults of proportion and a want of suppleness and grace in the attitude, it is strikingly suggestive of reserved power in rest. To those in whose eyes strength forms a considerable element in beauty it will always be a pleasing object of contemplation. Several copies of the statue exist (especially one at Athens, erroneously called 'Apollo on the Omphalos'), proving that the design probably goes back to a celebrated original. The British Museum also possesses two heads which are replicas; one was found in a temple of Apollo at Cyrene.

§ 9. **Other noteworthy Archaic Monuments.** To pursue the subject of archaic art, the student should turn to the

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so-called 'Harpy tomb' in the British Museum, a monument of extreme interest from its connexion with the problem of ancient religious beliefs[20]. Another beautiful example is the so-called 'Leucothea' relief in the Villa Albani[21]. The Louvre possesses some fine specimens of archaic relief from Thasos. The museums at Athens are rich in examples, and much fresh light will be thrown upon the subject when the results of the French excavations at Delphi are fully published[22].

[20] Brit. Mus., *Catalogue*, i. 94; P. Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, p. 69.

[21] Cast in British Museum, *Catalogue*, i. 156.

[22] For specimens see Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v. p. 272 foll. (frieze from the treasury of the Siphnians).

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CHAPTER III

THE FIFTH CENTURY. DORIC SCULPTURE. POLYCLEITUS

§ 1. **Introduction.** With the rebuilding of their city, after its destruction by the Persians in B.C. 480, the art of the Athenians entered on a new phase; it took a fresh start of life; the movement was organized and controlled by the great plastic genius of Pheidias and fostered by the care of Pericles, the greatest of the few statesmen of the world who have made the encouragement of art and letters a systematic part of national policy. The Athenians rapidly founded an empire; they were inspired with ideas of imperial magnificence, and they controlled funds equal to the largeness of their schemes. Fifth-century Athenian sculpture is a new birth; it reaches at a bound a splendour and perfection that retain only traces of the archaic mannerisms, which serve to reveal its parentage, while tempering new-found grace with old severity.

Contemporary Doric art likewise passed into a new phase of greatness, but it never attained the height reached by the Athenian; its course of development was less speedy and more uniform; there was no complete break with the past; in many respects the progress was due not so much to any inborn possibilities and power of growth as to the overmastering outside influence of the Attic genius.

We shall begin by tracing the slower course of the more rigid Doric style, which runs parallel, but at a lesser rate, with the Attic.

The monuments which we shall consider are the Aeginetan sculptures, which are still archaic in character, the sculptures

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from the temple of Olympian Zeus, those from the later temples of Selinus, and the Phigalian marbles; lastly we shall give some account of Polycleitus, who impersonates the culmination of Doric, as Pheidias of Attic art.

§ 2. **Pedimental Sculptures from the Temple of Athena in Aegina**[1]. The remains of these sculptures were discovered early in the present century by a party of Danish, English, and German archaeologists; and were subsequently bought by the King of Bavaria and taken to Munich, where they were restored under the direction of the Danish sculptor Thorwaldsen. The figures of the western pediment were the best preserved, and from their remains Thorwaldsen was able to reconstruct an entire group. Of the eastern pediment separate figures have been restored; they are more finely executed than the western figures; the archer kneeling and drawing a bow is worth especial note[2]; but the existing statues do not form an entire group. The subjects of the two groups were very similar; in each Athena formed the centre, and warriors contending over the body of a wounded man the main subject. Each composition is supposed to have contained the same number of figures, and these in the same order of arrangement, though differing in detail. Each is a scene from the legend of Troy, which was twice captured; in the eastern composition the *protagonists* are thought to be Heracles and Laomedon, in the western Ajax and Hector. The sculptures of the eastern pediment are superior in point of artistic merit, but our description will be confined to the more complete group, that of the western pediment. Casts of all the sculptures are to be seen in the British Museum, arranged in pedimental form. There has been much discussion about the proper arrangement of the statues, and recent archaeo-

[1] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. 164; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, fig. 143–9; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. 152, pl. vii; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 40 foll.; *Arte Greca*, tav. 40; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 349–351.

[2] See Rayet, *Monuments*, pl. 25.

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logists, from a close examination of the existing fragments, have thought that the number of figures in each pediment was considerably greater than Thorwaldsen supposed. The following description follows the old arrangement and the commonly received interpretation. The fallen warrior is Patroclus, over whose body stands Athena as arbitress of the fight, forming the central figure of the group; on either side are Ajax, son of Telamon, on the left (of the spectator), and Hector, on the right, levelling their spears; behind Ajax is Teucer, the skilled archer; behind Hector an archer in a Phrygian cap, perhaps Paris. Next to the archers are kneeling spearmen, armed with shield and spear (a dagger was erroneously placed in the hand of one by the restorer); the corners are occupied by wounded men lying upon the ground. By placing upright figures in the centre, kneeling figures next to them, and recumbent figures in the angles, the artist has obtained the diminution of height necessitated by the form of the pediment. The motive of the kneeling spearmen, however, remains a matter of doubt, and it is an ingenious suggestion that they should be placed in front of, not behind, the archers; they would then be imagined as protecting the archers who shoot their arrows from behind the shelter thus afforded, just as Teucer in the Iliad shoots his arrows from behind the shield of Ajax (Il. 8. 267 foll.). This arrangement would also produce a more harmonious flow of line, and a wave-like progression from the corners to the apex. Another suggestion, adopted by all archaeologists and reproduced in most sketches, is that the figure of a stooping man without armour, belonging to the east pediment, should also be introduced in the west, coming out from behind Hector as if to lay hold of the fallen hero. He will thus serve to balance the recumbent Patroclus, and there will be the same number of figures on either side of Athena. It is evident that the designer of the group sought after exact parallelism and correspondence in the two sides of his group; each figure must have its antitype, in similar attitude. This is a trait which

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marks the younger stages of art, ever anxious for exact symmetry. The tendency comes out in details, as in the studied arrangement of Athena's dress, where line corresponds with line and fold with fold. The goddess wears a *peplos* reaching to the feet, with a lappet hanging over the girdle; over her shoulders is thrown the *aegis*, on which doubtless a Gorgon's head was painted; she wears a helmet and carries shield and spear; an end of her robe hanging from the right arm serves to balance the shield. Her left foot is oddly turned sideways, though the figure is presented in full face. The warriors, with the exception of the archers, who wear cuirasses, have only helmet, spear, and shield. Many small holes drilled in the marble indicate that bronze ornaments of some kind were attached to the figures, but they were not clothed completely in armour. In this matter the Greek artist sacrificed historical to artistic truth. The natural body, with its capacity for exhibiting life and movement, undisguised by stiff armour, seemed to him most worthy to be sculptured, and he indicated by attributes that which in its completeness would have hampered his artistic design; thus helmet and shield do duty for the entire armour. The hair of the warriors is dressed in the ancient manner, with formal curls round the forehead. The figures themselves are under life-size, and their proportions exhibit bodies somewhat short in relation to the length of leg; the limbs are remarkably fine, and all the muscular development is studied with the most scrupulous care; nothing is toned down or rounded off; all is sharply delineated with an evident desire for the utmost degree of attainable truthfulness in anatomical details. In the pose, both of the standing and recumbent men, there is a kind of angularity which corresponds with the want of softness in the bodily forms. The lack of repose exhibited by much early Greek art is due to a preference for subjects such as battle-scenes and others requiring violent action, and is moreover characteristic of the Peloponnesian schools of sculpture,

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which, in opposition to the Attic schools, aimed at vigorous energy more than ideal grace. The faces of these sculptured heroes all present the same fixed type of expression, the same rigid smile, whether it is the face of the armed warrior whose frame is a model of animated gesture and muscular power, or that of the wounded man whose relaxed limbs betoken the feebleness with which he tries to support himself as he draws the arrow from his breast. The faces are, in fact, conventional representations, types developed from constant repetition in the sculptor's studio, not due to independent study of nature. The smile is not meant as an indication of pleasurable feeling; it is an attempt to give some kind of animated look which should convey the impression of life. When the Greeks had first learnt to give a natural form to the body, the outward framework, they gradually came to render with greater truth those features by which the inward spirit is revealed.

These marbles are thought to have been sculptured after B. C. 480, the year of the battle of Salamis, and probably in commemoration of the heroism then displayed by the Aeginetans. Herodotus tells us that just before the battle of Salamis the Greek army sent for the heroes Telamon and Ajax to help them in the contest, as Theseus had helped the Athenians at Marathon. The Aeginetans won the first prize for valour in that memorable sea-fight, and the mythical exploits of the children of their forefather Aeacus against the barbarian symbolized in a modest manner their own achievements against the same foe. Such a mode of commemoration was more suited to the spirit of the age than the treatment of contemporaneous subjects; the 'Persae' of Aeschylus and the Parthenon frieze are exceptional, and both of these are removed as far as possible from the sphere of ordinary life by their ideal handling.

Aegina boasted several eminent sculptors during the early part of the fifth century, as Callon, Onatas, and Glaucias[3], of

[3] Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 416–438.

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whom the most famous was Onatas; and to him or to his school some archaeologists have proposed to assign the sculptures under consideration.

§ 3. **The Temple of Zeus at Olympia**[4]. This Doric temple, built of local limestone, coated with stucco and freely adorned with colour, stood in the Altis, or sacred enclosure of Olympia. It was shaken down by an earthquake in the sixth century, and eventually completely covered with gradual deposit and the silt of the rivers Alpheus and Cladeus, which enclose the site. A French expedition of 1829 partially cleared the ground and brought away fragments of sculpture, now in the Louvre; from 1875 to 1881 an expedition organized and subsidized by the German government laid bare the entire site, including this temple. In the course of the excavations an immense quantity of sculptures was discovered, which are now preserved in the Museum of Olympia. Our present subject is the pediments and metopes of the largest temple, that of Olympian Zeus, in which stood the chryselephantine statue of Zeus, wrought by Pheidias. The temple was finished about B.C. 450, by which time the sculptures were in all probability completed. Pausanias[5] gives a short description of the pedimental compositions, and tells us that the eastern was the work of Paeonius of Mende, and the western of Alcamenes the Athenian. The first represented the preliminaries for the chariot-race between Pelops, suitor of Hippodameia, and Oenomaus, king of Elis, her father. The second had for its subject the contest between Centaurs and Lapiths at the marriage-feast of Peirithous and Deïdameia. The existing remains are sorely battered and broken, but several figures and groups are fairly complete, and

[4] *Die Funde von Olympia* (E. Wasmuth, 6, Werder Street, Berlin); Boetticher, *Olympia*, p. 274; Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 77–90; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i. pl. vii–x, fig. 221–238; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. pl. xii and xiii; Rayet, *Monuments*, livr. 1; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 44, 45 foll.; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, s. v. *Olympia*.

[5] Paus. 5. 10. 6–8.

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enough remains to allow of a reconstruction of the main designs of the two pediments[6]. They cannot vie with the compositions of Pheidias in grandeur of design, far less in beauty of execution.

The design of the eastern pediment is stationary; the figures stand erect, sit or lie upon the ground, and there is no interaction and grouping, and little variation of upright by transverse and crossing lines. In the centre stands Zeus, next to him on either side come Pelops and Oenomaus, the rival competitors in the legendary chariot-race; next to them Hippodameia, the prize of the race, and Sterope, her mother, to balance her; next the four-horse teams with their charioteers, Myrtilos on one side and Killos on the other; then a pair of seated or crouching figures on either side; finally, in the angles, the river-gods Cladeus and Alpheus. Thus six figures with a four-horse team on one hand of Zeus balance six figures and a similar team on the other hand. The most remarkable figures are the old man, apparently a seer, who sits behind Oenomaus' chariot, to the right, and the river-god Cladeus.

If the eastern pediment is monotonous in its symmetry and parallelism, the western errs by the violence and exaggeration of the action displayed. Nevertheless vigour is the more generous error. The subject is the favourite one of the contest between Centaurs and Lapiths at the marriage-feast of Peirithous. In the centre is the god Apollo (Pausanias calls him Peirithous by a certain blunder); on either side is a group of three figures, a Centaur with his horse-body seen in side-view, carrying off a woman, and attacked by a Lapith; next Centaurs seen in front view only are dragging away boys; then follow groups of Centaurs clutching women, but dragged to their knees by Lapiths; one of these holds his prey by the hair and presses her with his hoof while he struggles with his man-foe; lastly, in either angle, two reclining women, the foremost being

[6] Suggested reconstructions differ in several details; the most probable is that of Dr. Treu.

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raised upon a slab. They seem to be terrified spectators; the figures in the corners may be meant for local nymphs. Here the central figure of Apollo is balanced by corresponding groups of three, two, three, and two, arranged so as to suit the descending lines of the cornice, but there is great variety and vigour in the grouping. The beholder is struck at once by the splendidly commanding pose of Apollo, who quells the tumult with outstretched arm; the features, though archaic in type, are sternly majestic.

The execution is similar in both pediments; sometimes there is a piece of finished detail, but mostly the carving is broad without finish; many parts of many figures are only blocked out. Standing before these designs, and remembering that they were placed sixty feet above the spectator's eye, one is conscious that the sculptors aimed at a general massive effect; they certainly employed colour largely, and used the stone as material for a large scheme of colour and line. The heads have all a peculiar facial type, with strongly-pronounced under-lips and very square jaws; the facial canon of the Doric style was plainly different from that evolved by the Attic masters.

It is extremely doubtful whether Pausanias' guides were right when they named Paeonius and Alcamenes as the sculptors of the pedimental groups. The acknowledged and certain work of Paeonius, the winged victory at Olympia (see § 8, p. 43), is utterly unlike in style; Alcamenes is known as a pupil of Pheidias, so that neither his style nor his age suits this assignment. The inscription Paeonius put upon the pedestal of his Victory says that he made the *akroteria* for the temple, and makes no mention of the pediments.

The metopes occupied the inner frieze of the colonnade above the doorway, not the external frieze. There were six at either end, representing the twelve labours of Heracles. The finest are the taming of the Cretan Bull, and the fetching of the apples of the Hesperides. The Bull slab is in the Louvre, except the bull's head, which was found later. In the other slab Heracles

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has taken the place of Atlas while the latter has gone to fetch the apples from the garden of the Hesperides, which was the hero's appointed task. The sky which Atlas was doomed to carry is imagined to rise from the upper edge of the slab; Heracles has provided himself with a cushion to ease his shoulders, and a female—it may be Athena, or a Hesperid—lends her aid. Atlas, returning with the apples, offers them to the hero, who is obviously embarrassed with the situation, as he cannot take them without letting the sky drop. There are several other touches of broad humour in these designs.

Here again a broad and striking effect, with exclusion of all elaboration of detail, is aimed at. The hand of Heracles, for instance, is quite formless; the hair and beard of Atlas and the beard of Heracles are carved according to the general shape of the mass, the rest being left to the painter's art. But as it is, placed at a considerable height and thrown out with the necessary colour, the slab would certainly make an effective architectural picture. It is not intended to be looked at closely.

§ 4. **Metopes from a Temple at Selinus**[1]. From a temple at Selinus come some sculptured slabs of fifth-century work, which are kept at Palermo, with the archaic slabs discussed in the last chapter. The subjects are these: (1) The Spousal of Zeus and Hera. Zeus is seated on a rock, and with his extended right hand he holds the wrist of Hera's left hand, which lifts the veil from her face. Over her right arm the drapery falls in opposite zigzags, point meeting point in the regular archaic manner. (2) Heracles and an Amazon. The hero grasps with his left hand the Amazon by her Phrygian cap, and seizes her foot with the prehensile toes of his own foot; she is sinking helplessly. Heracles is nude, except for the lion-skin knotted by the paws round his neck; as this floats

[1] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 133; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, fig. 213, 214; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 367, 368.

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behind him it makes an agreeable set-off to his figure and helps to fill the space of the slab. The Amazon wears a cuirass, and carries shield and quiver. (3) Actaeon attacked by his dogs. Actaeon strikes with a club at two dogs which seize him by the flank and leg; one he has grasped by the throat, while it clings to his arm. Artemis stands by hounding them on.

These slabs, like the Olympian metopes, are remarkable for the picturesque way in which the subjects are treated. Though they retain characteristic notes of archaism, they are well composed and fill the given space with harmonious lines. No doubt the effect was enhanced by colour. They have this unique point in their technique—the women's faces are made of finer marble and let into the slab. Similarly in painted vases, women's faces are rendered in white, while men's are brown.

§ 5. **The Phigalian Marbles from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae**[8]. In the mountainous district south of the Olympian plain lies the modern town of Andritsaena, and a little to the south of this the site of the temple at Bassae (*βῆσσαι*, 'glens'), built by the people of the neighbouring town Phigalia, and dedicated to Apollo Epicurius, the 'Helper.' Pausanias[9] says it was built by the Phigalians as a thank-offering for their deliverance from the plague, and this, if it can be accepted, would fix the date of the temple at a little later than B.C. 430. He tells us that it was reckoned one of the most beautiful in the Peloponnese, second only to the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. The modern traveller still makes his pilgrimage thither from Andritsaena; the romantic beauty of its mountainous site makes it one of the most picturesque monuments of antiquity.

[8] Specimens: Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. 547; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 77–80; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. pl. xiv and xv; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 73; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, art. *Phigalia*; *Arte Greca*, tav. 86, 89.

[9] Paus. 8. 41. 8.

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Its architect was Ictinus the Athenian, who was also employed on the Parthenon. It was of the Doric order externally, but inside there was a court flanked with Ionic columns, and one of the Corinthian order; over these was a sculptured frieze [10]. Twenty-three slabs of this frieze were found by a party of English and German explorers, and are now in the British Museum [11]. The sculptured subject of the frieze falls into two main divisions, one representing the fight between Athenians and Amazons, the other the battle between Lapiths and Centaurs. Apollo and Artemis hasten to the rescue in a chariot drawn by stags. The battle is pourtrayed in a series of groups, designed with much fancy and variety; the main groups are linked by intermediate figures and groups. The best preserved group shows Heracles, recognizable by his lion-skin, striking at an Amazon; on the right a Greek is pulling an Amazon by the foot off her fallen horse. In another a Greek seizes an Amazon by the head and drags her from an altar whose base is seen below. There is much life and movement in the design; sometimes the action is violent and even grotesque, as where a wild Centaur has seized his adversary in front by his teeth and kicks with his hind-legs against a foe behind him. Some of the groups, as that of the Lapith Caeneus being crushed under a mass of rock let fall by two Centaurs, are variations of similar scenes on the frieze of the Theseum. This indication, coupled with the fact that the architect was an Athenian, is some warrant for supposing that the designs were at all events partly furnished by Athenian sculptors. In execution the marbles do not approach the standard of the Parthenon, though superior in many respects to the Olympian sculptures. The individual figures are thick-set, though usually anatomically correct, and the faces are devoid of expression. Generally the impression made on the beholder is one of force

[10] For plan and description see the *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th edit., s. v. *Phigalia*; Frazer, *Pausanias*, iv. 393.

[11] A copy of the frieze may be seen in the Taylor Building at Oxford, which was designed by one of the discoverers, the architect C. R. Cockerell.

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rather than of beauty and grace. Here again we find notes of the Doric style, vigour and broad picturesqueness of effect.

§ 6. **The Argive School. Polycleitus.** Some years after Pheidias had completed his master-work at Elis, described in the following chapter, Polycleitus, his younger Peloponnesian contemporary, wrought his celebrated statue of Hera, the white-armed spouse of Zeus. This statue, of gold and ivory, like the Pheidian Zeus, was placed in the temple of Hera near Argos, when it was rebuilt after the burning recorded by Thucydides in the year B.C. 422 [12]. Though smaller in size and less costly than the Zeus or Athena Parthenos, it is frequently mentioned by ancient writers as an object of great admiration. The site of the temple has been several times explored and architectural remains and fragments of sculpture discovered, but of course the chryselephantine statue has utterly perished, and there remains nothing to help us to a reconstruction in imagination of the statue beyond a notice in Pausanias [13], who tells us that the goddess was seated on her throne with Hebe (the work of Naucydes, a pupil of Polycleitus) standing at her feet, and that she held a pomegranate-fruit in one hand and a sceptre, on which sat a cuckoo, in the other, while her head was bound with a *stephanos*, adorned with representations of the Hours and the Graces. It was long supposed that the colossal head of Hera in the Museo Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Rome, which is the most beautiful Hera-head in existence, was copied from the Hera of Polycleitus, although the ascription was nothing but a guess. Other archaeologists, in searching for the ideal of Polycleitus, have thought to find it in the 'Farnese' bust at Naples [14]. But this is again mere guesswork. The much-broken fragments of sculpture from the Heraeum are preserved at Athens; among them is a perfect female head of great

[12] Bk. 4. 133.

[13] Paus. 2. 17. 4.

[14] Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i. fig. 264; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. 268 and 269; *Arte Greca*, tav. 90, 91.

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beauty [15], and the severe type thought to be characteristic of the Argive school.

Except in his statue of Hera, Polycleitus does not appear to have excelled in representations of divinities; his special merit lay in the perfection he attained in his statues of men in the prime of youth and manhood [16], in regard to fineness of execution and justness of proportion. He wrote a book [17], now lost, about the right proportions of the human figure, and one of his statues, a *Doryphoros* [18] ('spear-bearer'), was called the 'canon,' because it was the embodiment of his doctrine [19]. There are copies of this, which, however, vary so much that they do not allow the determination of the exact scale of proportions adopted by Polycleitus; one is at Naples, found in Pompeii, another is in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican, wrongly restored as a *diskobolos*. As a kind of pendant to this statue, the model of athletic manhood, he made a youth of lighter frame binding a diadem round his head, called his *Diadoumenos* [20]. There is a statue in the British Museum brought from Vaison [21] in France, and a bronze statuette in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, which are thought to be copies. If it is fair to judge from these copies, we should say that the Polycleitean type lacked grace and aimed rather at solidity and strength. They all exhibit a characteristic manner which the ancients noted in this sculptor, the resting of the weight on one leg. Pliny quotes from Varro the criticism that Polycleitus'

[15] Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 82; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 79; Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii. 170.

[16] Cp. Quint. Inst. 12. 10. 7.

[17] According to Galen; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 559.

[18] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 127 a; Collignon, ib. i. pl. xii; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. pl. xi; Gardner, ib. fig. 74.

[19] Pliny, N. H. 35. 55, has 'fecit *et* quem canona artifices vocant,' but this is doubtless identical with the *Doryphoros* mentioned before.

[20] Plin. ib. 34. 55.

[21] Overbeck, ib. fig. 1276; Collignon, ib. fig. 253; Murray, ib. pl. ix, x; Gardner, ib. fig. 75.

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statues were square (*quadrata* = τετράγωνα), and almost exactly after the same pattern. The existing examples show this squareness of form and uniformity of motive; they contrast with the slenderer proportions afterwards introduced by Lysippus. Polycleitus would appear to have employed the same model almost universally, and this implies a certain lack of versatility in him.

§ 7. **Statues of Amazons.** There is a story in Pliny[22] that Pheidias, Polycleitus, Cresilas and Phradmon contended against each other with statues of Amazons to be placed in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. 'It was determined to select the statue which the artists themselves, who were present at the decision, most approved, when it was evident that this was the one which each declared second-best after his own; this was the Amazon of Polycleitus, and next to it was that of Pheidias, the third that of Cresilas.' There are extant a great many antique statues of Amazons, bearing a general resemblance to one another; all are clothed in a short tunic, girdled at the waist, leaving the breast partly exposed; they stand resting the weight upon one foot, with one arm raised, the other sunk. The variations upon this general theme fall into three groups, the original of the first of which can be attributed with much probability to Polycleitus. The first group is represented by a statue at Berlin; there is a replica in the Lansdowne collection. The Amazon leans her left arm upon a pillar; the right arm is thrown over the head with a gesture of pain or weariness; the weight falls upon the right foot, the left being drawn back. The attitude is characteristic of Polycleitus; the squareness of form recalls his canon; the face, with its expression of fine melancholy, has the severe grace of the type associated with his name.

[22] N. H. 34. 53. In the 'Portfolio' for 1881 Prof. Colvin collected and distinguished the various types of Amazons in Greek Art. See also Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 128; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i. fig. 256–259; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. 277; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 76–78.

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The identification of the other groups is less easy. In the second group, represented by a statue in the Capitol, the weight is thrown on the left foot; the upraised arm (restored) probably rested on a spear; the left hand draws the dress away from the wounded breast. The third type, of which the best example is a statue in the Vatican called the 'Mattei' Amazon, is of slenderer proportions, indicating a period later than Lysippus. The warrior-maid is here armed with quiver and spear hung at her side; the hands, as now restored, hold the ends of a bow; but the attitude seems to indicate that she was grasping a spear in the act of mounting her horse [23].

§ 8. **Paeonius. Statue of Victory** [24]. This statue is described here, not because it belongs properly to the Peloponnesian school, but because it was set up in Olympia, while the exact place of Paeonius in the development of the art cannot be said to be accurately determined. He was a native of Mende in Thrace, and therefore belonged to northern colonial Hellas. The greatest painter of the age, Polygnotus of Thasos, was also a native of the north, and since his influence must have been considerable, it is supposed that the sculptors of the north, of whom Paeonius was a representative, were inclined to adopt a more picturesque manner of treatment than the solid material in which they worked would in strictness warrant. This, however, is only a conjecture.

Pausanias [25] relates that 'those of the Messenians who once received Naupactus from the Athenians, offered a statue of Nike in Olympia upon a pillar. It is the work of Paeonius, of Mende,

[23] Xen. de Re Equest. vii. 1 'The rider must be careful in mounting to hold the bridle loose and not pull the horse, "whether he intends to mount by taking hold of the mane and pulling himself up, or whether he *leaps from the spear*."' Stirrups were not then used.

[24] Boetticher, *Olympia*; Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 130; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i. fig. 239; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. pl. xix; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 80; *Arte Greca*, tav. 85 (imperfect).

[25] Paus. 5. 26. 1.

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and was offered for a victory over their enemies, when they fought, I think, with the Acarnanes of Oeniadae. But the Messenians themselves say that their offering was made for their affair in the island of Sphacteria with the Athenians, and that they did not inscribe the name of their enemies through fear of the Lacedaemonians, since of the Acarnanes they had no fear.' This is chiefly important because the first supposition implies an earlier date than the latter. The statue is preserved at Olympia, where it was found, together with its triangular pedestal, about nineteen feet high. On the front face of the pedestal is the inscription, 'The Messenians and Naupactians dedicated a tenth from the spoils of their enemies to Olympian Zeus. Paeonius the Mendean wrought it, who also won the victory for making the *akroteria*[26] for the temple.' The statue is complete with the loss of the face and part of the neck, the wings, both fore-arms, and some of the drapery. The goddess is imagined as descending through the air; her Doric *chiton* (like that of Iris in the Parthenon pediment) being partly open at the side, is blown back by the wind, and the outstretched left leg, thus bared of drapery, rests on a small support, scarcely visible from below; the right foot is attached to, but does not rest on, the smooth upper surface of the pillar. Below the feet projects the much mutilated head of a bird, an imaginative device for enhancing the sensation of floating in the air. The wind, acting on the thin dress, clearly defines the contour of the natural forms; the loose masses of drapery behind swell into a wave-like curve with a swirl at the free end. From a front view nothing can be more graceful and pleasing than this composition; with its flowing lines suggestive of breezy movement. It is not equally satisfactory from a side view, where it looks inclined to fall over, but then the loss of the wings and the uncertainty of the

[26] The *akroteria* are the ornaments placed at the ends of the roof-ridge, and above the angles of the gables. In this case it is conjectured that these ornaments were likewise figures of Victories.

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arrangement of the counterbalancing drapery may account for this. If, as some suppose, the goddess held in her hands the ends of a robe which passed behind her in a wide arch, the balance would be restored. From the remains in the marble it is evident that the wings must have risen erect from the top of the shoulders. There is behind her a piece of rock over which hangs a garment connected with the waist in some way difficult to explain from its mutilation. It seems to have been devised as a support.

The Victory is an embodiment of the grace of free movement and lightness on a grand scale, just as the 'Maiden' of the Erechtheum is the ideal of grace and strength united in restfulness.

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CHAPTER IV

THE EPOCH OF PHEIDIAS AND THE PARTHENON

§ 1. Introduction. The monuments described at the end of the second chapter mark the close of one period and the beginning of a new. After a comparatively slow development up to this point the art of sculpture suddenly blossoms into a most exuberant life. This extremely rapid progress of the art was only one phase of a general forward movement which affected nearly every branch of human knowledge and activity, and was felt throughout nearly all the Hellenic world; a movement which radiated from Athens as its centre, and to which the first impulse was given by the successes gained in the national contest with Persia. Politics, oratory, dramatic and historical composition, scientific knowledge, and philosophy were pursued with the utmost vigour, as well as the arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting, and a high level in every branch was reached with a rapidity of intellectual and technical development which has few parallels in the world's history. The fifth century witnessed the rise of Athens to a height of imperial power never attained by any other purely Hellenic state. During this period she so far outstripped other Greek states in literary and artistic culture that she became, according to the proud boast of Pericles, 'the school of Greece'[1]. The results of this second and nobler empire which she established over men's minds were more permanent than the brief dominion she exercised over their lives

[1] Thuc. 2. 41.

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and liberties. The historical importance of Athens as a first-rate power dwindles after B.C. 404, although some shadow of her former greatness did occasionally return. But her importance as leader in all branches of literary and artistic activity remained for at least another century.

The middle and close of the fifth century form the period when the influence of Pheidias made itself widely felt, and the whole may be named the Pheidian epoch, though the great artist himself died about B.C. 432.

§ 2. **Remarks on the Chief Sculptures of the Period.** The remains of this period are very numerous, and of first-rate importance for determining the high point of artistic excellence to which Greece then attained. Yet in truth hardly a vestige remains of the master-works recorded and extolled above all others by contemporary and subsequent writers. The greater part of the sculptures we now possess were regarded by the ancients as accessories, not belonging to the highest class of art; and they are only casually and cursorily mentioned by professed antiquaries like Pausanias. They consist mainly of the external decorations of temples, the pedimental sculptures and the friezes. The temple-images themselves, upon which the sculptors of that age lavished all the resources of their skill, and which excited the admiration of their own and succeeding ages, have perished. The great works which they set up in temples or public places to commemorate great events have likewise perished; only here and there do we possess in Roman copies of renowned originals some standard by which to measure the worth of what has been lost. The reason for this lies partly in the material used. Groups of honour and independent statues of ornamental design were most frequently of bronze, and therefore broken up or melted down during the ages of barbarism, when men thought more of the use of material than its artistic value. For temple-images other methods were employed, characteristic of the period, though not confined to it exclu-

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sively[2]. They were often *chryselephantine*, that is, made of gold and ivory overlaid upon wood. We have seen that the earliest figures of the gods were of wood; the first modification of these was the addition of stone in parts where flesh was visible. Thus arose what was called *akroliths*, images in which the face, arms, and feet were of marble, while the rest of the body was of wood, either coloured in imitation of drapery, or adorned with actual drapery. Later they were sometimes overlaid with gold-foil, and were of a colossal size. The next step was to substitute ivory for marble in the white parts. The ivory was of course not solid, but overlaid in thin plates upon a core of wood, much as the skin covers the human body. The drapery was of gold-foil, also overlaid on a core of wood, and often enamelled. It is evident that the construction of such figures on a large scale must have called for great technical skill in the workmanship. In fact the union of high imaginative power, which could conceive colossal figures or plan out a broadly designed scheme of ornamentation, with minute technical skill in the manipulation of delicate material, such as gold and ivory, is a striking characteristic of the age of Pheidias. Our only knowledge of these statues is derived from description. Even if there had been no plunderers to covet the rich adornment, the materials of the frame-work were such as could not resist the ravages of time.

But sculptures employed in the decoration of temples were preserved, both because their position put them out of reach and because of their less valuable and more durable material.

§ 3. Chief Existing Remains of Attic Sculpture of the Middle and End of the Fifth Century. 1. The grandest

[2] Paus. 5. 17. 1–3 describes a series of very archaic statues in the Heraeum of Olympia, by Dorycleidas and others, which, he says, were chryselephantine. Canachus (Paus. 2. 10. 4) made a chryselephantine Aphrodite for her temple at Sicyon. Coming to later times, we find Leochares (Paus. 5. 20. 9) making chryselephantine portrait-statues of the family of Alexander, and mention is made of the art as late as Hadrian's time, indicating a Roman revival.

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of all these temple-sculptures are those from the Parthenon, the best of which are preserved in the British Museum; most of the rest are at Athens, while there are also some scattered fragments in various continental galleries.

2. Remains of the Erechtheum.

3. Remains of the temple of Nike Apteros (Wingless Victory). Four slabs of the frieze are in the British Museum; the other remains are at Athens, some still *in situ* on the temple.

4. Remains of the temple commonly known as the Theseum, still in their places.

There are casts in the British Museum of the most important of the sculptures still at Athens.

It cannot be certainly proved that any of the great sculptors of the time were actually engaged upon the temple-sculptures which remain. An inscription is preserved, recording the names of the workmen who carved the frieze of the Erechtheum, and they appear to have been handicraftsmen. Now the Parthenon marbles exhibit examples of the very highest excellence of the sculptor's art, both in grandeur of conception and finish of execution; and this fact, coupled with the historically attested co-operation of Pheidias with Pericles in the monumental decoration of the Acropolis, leads to the natural and indeed inevitable inference that in them we possess direct products of the school of the greatest sculptor of antiquity; if he did not labour at them with his own hands, the compositions must have been designed by him, and he must have been the master who trained the hands of his fellow-workers to execute his conceptions.

§ 4. Pheidias. Statue of Olympian Zeus. Statues of Athena. The Parthenon sculptures illustrate the grandeur and versatility of the sculptors of the Pheidian epoch. We can feel that in them the spirit of Pheidias is present, though we cannot say that his handiwork is there. His masterpieces in gold and ivory are gone for ever; but in the presence of so great a genius

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it is worth while to reconstruct from what materials exist some picture of the man and of the creations which dominated the imagination of his own and later times.

What is known of his life makes a brief story, ending, if true, in a melancholy and even tragical way. He was born somewhere near the beginning of the century. Pliny records the tradition [3] that he was at first a painter. This is not unlikely. The arts in the vigour of their youth are not so sharply defined or specialized as they afterwards tend to become; the genius of Pheidias was active in many directions and creative of manifold forms. As sculptor he had as his master, we are told, the Argive Ageladas. In this way the simplicity of plan, the squareness and strength of form, the severity of outline, typical of the best Doric work, would be potent influences upon his youth, tempered by his native Attic feeling for grace and love of exquisite finish. The exact date of most of the works attributed to him cannot be fixed with any certainty. A bronze group at Delphi set up to commemorate the victory of Marathon, which Pausanias [4] records, would probably be an early work. There were two statues of Athena in bronze, both of which Pausanias [5] saw on the Acropolis, between the Propylaea and the Erechtheum. One was known as 'the bronze Athena,' and by later writers the 'Promachos' ('Champion'); another was called the 'Lemnian,' from the name of the dedicators. The first is usually put down to the earlier, the second to the later years of the master, but there is no real evidence in either case. This much is certain, that the period of his greatest activity coincides with the time when Pericles came to be the director of the policy of Athens, when the artistic embellishment of the city was conceived as a sign and justification of her imperial

[3] Plin. N. H. 35. 54.

[4] Paus. 10. 10. 1–2. Group of Miltiades with the eponymous heroes of the tribes. Apparently Pausanias saw only the pedestal with the inscription; the date of Marathon makes it doubtful whether Pheidias was really the sculptor.

[5] Paus. 1. 28. 2. For the Lemnian Athena, see chap. viii. § 1.

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mission. For some years during this period we must conceive him as the right hand of Pericles, superintending, and no doubt in part designing, the mighty scheme of public works then set on foot. His own chief individual work was the gold and ivory image of Athena 'Parthenos' for the new Parthenon. Whether the great Olympian Zeus, which he made for the Eleans, also of gold and ivory, was finished before or after the Parthenos it is impossible to say; but it seems more reasonable to suppose that the Eleans gave him the commission after his notable success in his own city. About this part of his life and his death there are two irreconcileable traditions. One account says that after the dedication of the Parthenon the enemies of Pericles, fearing to strike a direct blow at the great statesman, and seeking to injure him by ruining his ministers, accused Pheidias of misappropriation of the gold given him for the statue of Athena. Although the gold drapery of Athena was so made that it could be taken off and weighed, so that the charge could be easily rebutted, they trumped up other charges, accusing him of putting his own and Pericles' likeness upon the relief of Athena's shield, so that he was thrown into prison and died. This is Plutarch's account[6]. The other story said that he fled from Athens in consequence of these charges, went to Elis, where he made the Zeus for the Eleans, was there charged again with peculation, and died a violent death[7]. Against this version of the story we must weigh the statements of Pausanias[8], that Pheidias' memory was in his day still cherished in high honour at Olympia, and the workshop in which he worked still preserved and shown to visitors, and that his descendants were entrusted with the care of the image.

The bronze Athena, called by one late author Athena 'Promachos,' stood on a column on the Acropolis, in the open space between the sites of the Propylaea, Erechtheum, and Parthenon. A rough notion of it may be gathered from rude representations

[6] Plut. Pericl. 31.

[7] Schol. Arist. Pax, 605.

[8] Paus. 5. 14. 5 and 15. 1.

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on some late Athenian coins[9]. It stood on a pedestal; Pausanias says that the crest of the helmet and the point of the spear could be seen by mariners sailing to Athens from Cape Sunium. The statue, according to popular belief, was erected as a trophy of Athenian valour in the Persian war[10].

Pheidias enjoyed the highest renown of all the sculptors of the ancient world, and the consenting testimony of his own and subsequent generations fixed upon the Zeus which he wrought for the temple of that god at Olympia in Elis as his masterpiece, the work in which he most truly incorporated in human form the noblest conception of the divine being. Pheidias was pre-eminent above all other ancient sculptors as a creator of ideal forms. Each god had special qualities and characteristics recognized by all the Hellenes. The artist's first aim was to present these qualities and characteristics in visible shape so that the sight of his statue would lead the spectator to associate them with the particular form conceived by him. He had certain traditions to guide him, which he could not wholly depart from, and his highest aim was realized if the conception of the god expressed by him appealed to the national consciousness, if he compelled all his countrymen to recognize his presentation of this or that divinity in bodily form as the truest possible, so that, having once seen his, they could conceive no other but his alone. This is what Pheidias did with his Zeus at Elis and his Athena Parthenos at Athens. These statues became types to the ground idea of which subsequent artists had to conform, because all Hellenes confessed that no truer embodiments of their thoughts about Zeus and Athena could anywhere be found[11].

The praises of the Zeus are hymned by many ancient writers, though their testimony does not help us much to re-

[9] See Frazer, *Paus.* ii. p. 351.

[10] Dem. F. L. § 272.

[11] The ideal types of the Greek divinities are discussed by Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States.*

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construct the actual image. Thus Livy[12] tells us that the Roman general Aemilius Paullus declared, as he looked upon the figure, that he seemed to see Jove in visible presence. The Greek rhetorician, Dion Chrysostom, who died A.D. 117, says, 'If there were a man utterly overburdened in spirit, who had endured many misfortunes and pains in his lifetime, and could not enjoy sweet sleep, even he, methinks, as he stood before this statue, would forget all the painful things human life is destined to undergo; so hast thou, Pheidias, in very truth discovered and wrought a wonder

> Which so cures heart-ache and the inward stings
> That men forget all sorrows wherein they pine[13];

such a light and such grace flow from thy work.'

Our means for reconstructing the statue are lamentably meagre. It was, as well as the Athena, of gold and ivory, and after it had undergone repair at the hands of Damophon[14], it seems to have remained substantially uninjured until, under the Emperor Theodosius II (A.D. 407–450), the temple was burnt and the Olympian games put an end to. Pausanias describes the attitude[15] of the figure and gives a catalogue of the accessory decorations. Hence we learn that Zeus was seated on a throne; a wreath of olive leaves was about his head; his right hand supported a Victory, also chryselephantine; his left held an inlaid sceptre, with an eagle on the top. The sandals and robe were of gold, and on the robe were wrought lilies and figures of animals. The throne, worked out in gold, precious stones, ebony, and ivory, was a wonder of decorative design, with figures both in the round and in relief—dancing Victories at the feet, Graces and Hours on the high back behind the head, sphinxes under the arm-rests, sculptured bands along the seat

[12] Liv. 45. 28.

[13] Odys. 4. 221, Worsley's translation. The line of the original refers to the soothing draught prepared by Helen.

[14] Paus. 4. 31. 6. Damophon's date is disputed. See later, p. 139.

[15] Id. 5. 11. 1 foll.

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and cross-bars. The footstool stood on lions and was sculptured. There was a screen to bar the passage under the throne, which was painted with mythological subjects by Panaenus, brother of Pheidias. On the basement supporting the throne were figures of gold, a notable composition, Aphrodite rising from the sea, received by Love, and crowned by Persuasion, with witnessing gods grouped on either side, while at one end was the Sun mounting his chariot, at the other the Moon riding a horse.

An Elean coin struck in Hadrian's time supplies us with a general notion of the attitude [16]. Another, of the same date, is commonly held to be a copy of the head in profile. It is more proper to look for the type of the Pheidian Zeus in Roman coins than in Elean coins of the period of Greek independence; for the Romans frequently copied statues on their coins, while the Greek die-sinker, being an original artist, preferred the free exercise of his own fancy. The type exhibited on the coin in question is unlike that of any extant bust; the countenance wears an expression of serene benevolence; the long hair, banded by a wreath, falls straight down the shoulders. Pheidias is averred to have taken the suggestion of his ideal of Zeus from the lines of Homer—'He spoke and nodded assent with his dark eyebrows, and the ambrosial locks of the king streamed from his immortal head, and he made mighty Olympus tremble [17].'

The existing busts of Zeus are variations by later sculptors upon the type of Pheidias. The finest is the 'Otricoli' bust in the Vatican. Of sitting statues, the largest example is the 'Verospi' statue in the Vatican. A poor Roman variation of the Pheidian type, it is yet interesting to artists as the

[16] For an accurate representation see P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, plate xv; Frazer, *Paus.* iii. p. 532; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 54, 65.

[17] Strabo, 8, p. 353; *Schriftquellen*, 698; Iliad, 1. 528

ἦ, καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων·
ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος
κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο· μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον.

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type followed by Flaxman in his outline illustrations of Homer. A remarkable bronze statuette[18] in the British Museum, found in Hungary, shows Zeus seated crowned with a laurel wreath, and holding a thunderbolt and a sceptre.

Of the Athena Parthenos we are fortunate in possessing two reduced copies[19]. One, called the 'Lenormant' statuette, from the name of its finder, is unfinished, but gives the general pose and indications of the reliefs on the shield and basis. The other, called the 'Varvakion' copy, from the place of its discovery in 1880, is quite perfect, except for the loss of the Victory's head and some details; in this the reliefs were not given; when first found it showed traces of colour. Comparing these with the text of Pausanias and Pliny to supplement details, we see that the goddess stood upright; her extended right hand bore a Victory; her left rested on her shield, which stood on the ground; in its hollow was coiled a snake, symbol of Erichthonios, guardian of the Acropolis; its inner and outer surfaces had reliefs carved on them. She wore a helmet with a high crest supported by a sphynx and flanked with winged horses and raised cheek-plates. Over her breast was thrown the *aegis*, with the Gorgon's head on the front of it, and little snakes for fringe and tassels. Her robe is a sleeveless tunic doubled over the breast, the under part reaching to the feet; its open sides are gathered and fastened under the right arm, whence they fall in broad zigzags; the folded lappet hangs over the breast, and is confined by a girdle round the waist. The folds of this heavy garment fall perpendicularly, making deep hollows like the flutings of a massive column; these are interrupted and varied by the bending of the left knee, the left foot being slightly drawn back. The feet have thick sandal-soles, leaving the toes bare. In the reliefs of the outer surface

[18] *Guide to Bronze Room*, Case E, 5; Rayet, *Monuments*, livr. 6, No. 10; Murray, *Greek Bronzes*, fig. 25.

[19] Both are in the National Museum at Athens. Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 5[2], 53; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, 1455, 1457, 1458; Frazer, *Paus.* ii. p. 314; *Arte Greca*, tav. 78. The 'Strangford' shield is in the Brit. Mus.

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of the shield, a design of fighting Greeks and Amazons round a Gorgon's head, Pheidias is said to have placed the likeness of Pericles and his own as 'a bald-headed old man'; a fragment of a marble shield in the British Museum has this design, and one bald-headed figure may possibly preserve a faint semblance of the original portrait. Below the hand of Athena which held the Victory, the 'Varvakion' copy shows a column with a clumsy capital, on which the hand rests. This mechanical support may have been required in the original, but perhaps it was found necessary to add it later. This copy is of Roman workmanship: the face is rather expressionless, the general effect somewhat heavy. It is certain that a figure designed on the great scale of the Parthenos, with the necessary allowance for perspective foreshortenings, would have to be judiciously modified in its proportions if reduced to a diminutive scale, in order to preserve to the eye the relative balance of its parts[20].

§ 5. **The Parthenon.** The Parthenon, built by the architect Ictinus, was dedicated in B.C. 438, six years before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. With all its rich ornament of sculpture, its pedimental groups, metopes, and frieze, it was a monument of the greatness of imperial Athens, and no unworthy shrine for the statue of her protecting goddess Athena. For more than two thousand years, although the building was more than once remodelled, and became first a Christian church and afterwards a Mohammedan mosque, the sculptures seem to have remained substantially uninjured, except from the ravages of time and the loss of the central group of the east pediment. In A.D. 1674 a French artist, Jacques Carrey,

[20] The discovery of these copies has enabled archaeologists to detect copies of the Parthenos among the Graeco-Roman works preserved in many European museums. One of the best is the 'Minerve au collier' of the Louvre. It is interesting to follow the later variations from the Pheidian type, when the robe is disposed in transverse instead of perpendicular lines, as in the 'Velletri' Pallas (Louvre), the 'Giustiniani' (Vatican), and the 'Farnese' (Naples).

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travelling in the suite of the ambassador of Louis XIV, made a series of drawings of the sculptures as then existing. These are preserved in the Louvre. They show that at that time the group of statues adorning the west pediment was tolerably complete, except for the loss of one chariot-group and several heads and arms; while in the eastern composition the central group, already alluded to, was missing. Thirteen years later, in A.D. 1687, during the siege of the Acropolis by the Venetians under Morosini, a bomb fell through the roof of the Parthenon, ignited the powder which the Turks had stored there, and thus threw down all the centre of the building. After the capture of the height the conquerors attempted to carry away some of the pedimental groups, and broke them in the process. In the years 1801–3 the chief part of the Parthenon sculptures, some taken from the temple itself, others obtained by excavating in the ruins and buildings then clustered round it, were carried to England by Lord Elgin; they were afterwards bought for the nation, and now form the principal treasure of the British Museum.

§ 6. **The Parthenon. The Metopes.** Metopes, it will be remembered, are rectangular slabs placed at regular intervals along the top of the architrave, and alternating with the triglyphs, which are a survival of the beam-ends of the roof. The metopes of the Parthenon are sculptured in very high relief, so that many parts of the figures stand out wholly detached from the background. The composition upon such slabs may be regarded from two points of view. From one point of view each metope must be a complete whole in itself, a separate picture or scene, carrying with it its own interpretation. On the other hand, the close proximity of the several metopes called for a certain unity of design; and from this point of view each metope may be looked upon as a single incident or scene in an action whose representation is extended, by a series of groups, along the whole frieze. Thus each metope must bear a certain

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relation of connexion to its neighbour. In the metopes of the Theseum, and those of the temple of Olympian Zeus, the separate designs are united by the fact that the same hero appears in successive slabs; they represent scenes from the labours of Heracles and the heroic deeds of Theseus. In those of the Parthenon metopes, in which the design is sufficiently well preserved to be made out with certainty, the scene presented is the contest between the Centaurs and Lapithae at the marriage-feast of Peirithous, and each metope shows us a separate pair of combatants, in some of which the Lapith is victorious, in others the Centaur, while in others the issue yet hangs doubtful; or else a Centaur is carrying off a female figure. The legend of this battle was an exceedingly favourite subject with Greek artists, and it occurs over and over again with a constancy that would become monotonous if all the resources of design were not called forth to furnish novel and striking combinations. One of the most remarkable of these many designs is the western pedimental group of the temple of Olympian Zeus. It is also the subject of a part of the Phigalian frieze. Peirithous, king of the Lapiths, had, according to the legend, summoned his friend Theseus to celebrate his marriage with Deïdameia, to which festivity came also the Centaurs from the Thessalian mountains. During the feast these wild, ungovernable natures, half-man, half-horse, became inflamed with wine, and attempted to carry off the women from the banquet. Whereupon a battle arose between the ravishers and the men of Peirithous, which ended in a victory for the latter. To the Greek mind the legend seemed to bear an allegorical import, as the earliest contest between civilization and brute barbarism. In some of the Parthenon metopes the Centaurs have low, animal faces, like satyrs; in others they wear a nobler aspect. Such a variation was found also in the literary myth, which among these semi-beasts recognized nobler types; such as was Cheiron, the cunning physician, skilled in the lyre, the tutor of Jason and Achilles. To the Athenian the story appealed with a double

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interest, since no small part in the struggle was played by their national hero, Theseus. Two metopes are especially noteworthy. They are the 27th and the 28th of the original series [21], and are numbered 12 and 13 in the British Museum.

In the first, the Lapith has already wounded the Centaur in the back, and while he stems his foe's course by grasping him by the head with the left hand, setting his foot against the ground, and throwing his weight backwards, he presses his leg against his enemy's flank, and with the right hand (which held a sword or spear, now broken off) prepares to deal another and final blow. The Centaur, with an instinctive movement of pain, clutches at the wound in his back, and rears. Behind the Lapith is spread a broad mantle, with the ends falling over each arm. It is a good example of the very bold and purely decorative use of drapery, since if we choose to regard it from a realistic point of view, nothing could sustain it in its position. But the flowing curves of its folds form an effective set-off to the strongly-knit, muscular frame of the youth, and as a decorative element essential to the lines of the composition, it is felt to be an artistic necessity. The group is an admirable example of perfect balance, in its unity of dramatic motive, in its just equipoise of movement, in the general correspondence of mass combined with contrast of form and variety of pose and detail, and in its carefully studied yet apparently easy arrangement of harmonious line.

The other example is perhaps finer still. In its composition it is as harmonious as the former metope, and it is yet more dramatic. The feeling of wild triumph animating the Centaur as he brandishes his weapon with one hand and lion-skin with the other, and prances over his fallen adversary, is so keenly apparent that the loss of his head, fore-legs, and part of the hind-legs seems scarcely to mar our sense of the vigour

[21] *Guide to Sculptures of Parthenon*, i, Nos. 12 and 13, p. 41; *Catalogue*, 316, 317; Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 111, 112; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 4; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 56, 57.

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of the action. To this triumphant figure, the type of the wild glee of savage nature, full of pulsing life, the figure of the Lapith below offers the most complete contrast. He lies helpless and unconscious; to use an Homeric phrase, 'his knees are loosened,' all his limbs are relaxed in the feebleness of death; his head falls back, and the arm that wielded his weapon lies helpless across his body. It is an admirably conceived antithesis between life and death, exultation and defeat.

It should be noted that the style of some of the metopes approaches the later archaic style, and it is concluded that the metopes were the first part of the ornamentation finished.

§ 7. **The Parthenon. Pedimental Groups**[22]. The sole reference to the sculptures of the Parthenon in ancient authors is the curt notice of Pausanias[23]—'At the entrance of the temple called the Parthenon, the sculptures in the so-called *pediments* all refer to the birth of Athena; those at the back are the contest for the land between Poseidon and Athena.'

The eastern composition is that to which most of the extant figures belong. How the central scene, the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, was here presented cannot now be determined, as it was lost before Carrey made his drawings. The figures which remain belong to the side-groups, and the general sentiment expressed seems to be astonishment and admiration, more intensified towards the centre and gradually communicating itself to the corners. Taking the remains as they now exist we have in the corners those figures which, according to the Greek practice, indicate the scene of the action. This, in the present instance, is the space traversed by the sun and moon. On the left (of the spectator) the Sun-god,

[22] Carrey's drawings in Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. 401; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 14 (west pediment); Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 58, 59; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, art. *Parthenon*. Detached groups in Brit. Mus., *Guide*, &c.

[23] Bk. 1. 24. 5.

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Helios, is appearing above the horizon, the heads and necks of the horses and the head and arms of the god alone being visible. The head of Helios has been broken off and the horses are much injured; yet still, with their heads and ears thrown back and their powerful chests arched forward, the horses seem to rear and tug at the reins—

> The horse that guide the golden eye of heaven
> And blow the morning from their nosterils,
> Making their fiery gait above the clouds[24].

In the opposite corner the Moon-goddess, Selene, is sinking below the level of the pediment. One of the four horses' heads is in the British Museum, a marvellous union of natural truth with idealization in the grand style; the others are still on the pediment. This head, inclined downwards, forms[25] a striking contrast with the up-springing heads of the opposite group. There the sun comes forth 'like a giant to run his course'; here the yet panting steed seems eager to reach the goal of rest. It is marvellous that with such simple means, heads and nothing more, the designer should be able to stimulate imagination so powerfully. On the right of Helios, proceeding towards the centre of the pediment, follow four figures; first, a reclining male figure, next two seated females, and the last, a female moving rapidly towards the left. The man has been called Theseus, Heracles, Dionysus, and a mountain-god[26]. He

[24] Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*. Cp. Virgil, Aen. 12. 115.

[25] In the *Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* will be found a detailed treatment of every separate fragment of the pediments as well as an exhaustive statement of the many theories which have been put forth concerning their interpretation.

[26] Dr. Waldstein in his *Essays on the Art of Pheidias* elaborates his views on the nomenclature of the figures in the pedimental groups of the Parthenon. Following a suggestion of Prof. Brunn of Munich, he regards the Western Pediment as containing the representations of local divinities having their cults in or near Athens. The scene is laid on the earth and is bounded by the rivers Cephisus and Ilissus. The scene of the Eastern Pediment is laid on Olympus, the Homeric abode of the gods, spoken of now as Heaven and now as a real mountain. As the Sun-god and Moon-

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reclines upon a panther-skin stretched over a boulder of rock; his raised right hand probably held some object now broken off. The two women sit upon stools, the arm of one resting upon the shoulder of the next with loving grace; they are dressed in the light *chiton*, with the heavier upper garment, the *himation* or *chlaina*, thrown across their knees, the difference in the folds forming a skilfully designed contrast. They may be Demeter and Persephone. Next to them is Iris, moving swiftly towards them, so that her drapery is blown by the wind against her limbs and her robe arches out behind in the form of a bow. Turning to the right side, we have, first, next to Selene, a group of three sisterly figures, one reclining in the lap of the second, and a third seated near, upon pieces of rock hollowed out into seats. This group forms the most perfect example of the artistic treatment of drapery, with its harmonious flow of line and pleasant interchange of light and shade. There is a more refined luxuriance, a more lavish display of exquisitely wrought folds than in the corresponding group of Demeter and Persephone, which is sculptured in broader style, more with a view to distant effect. The sisters have been called the Horai, or Hours, the Moirai, or Fates, and the three daughters of Cecrops. Beyond them, nearest the centre, will be seen in the Museum the torso of a moving figure corresponding to Iris. She is missing in Carrey's drawings and her place cannot therefore be positively identified,

goddess who mark the limits of the scene are personifications of natural powers, so are the other figures in the angles, which are all that now remain. The so-called Theseus is the mountain-god himself, symbolizing Olympus; in the group next him are the Hours who have charge of the gates of Heaven and Olympus (Il. 5. 749). On the other side, the detached female figure is Hestia; the group is Thalassa ('Sea') lying in the lap of Gaia ('Land'). The more luxuriant drapery of this group as compared with the one in the opposite corner he takes to be symbolical of the flowing nature of the sea.

In the same work will be found an account of the restoration of one of the finest metopes (No. 6), by the author's discovery of the head belonging to the Lapith in the Louvre, and a full discussion of the group of seated gods in the eastern part of the frieze.

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but it is supposed that she is Nike, moving towards Athena to set a crown upon her head.

The composition of the western pediment appears nearly complete in Carrey's drawings, but has suffered more, so that the extant remains are few. Besides the nearly perfect Cephisus (or Ilissus), a much battered group of a man and a woman which is still *in situ*, there remain the torsos of Athena, Poseidon, and some of the attendant figures, all in a sorely mutilated condition. From the drawing, however, we can gather something of the original group. The scene of the action is the Acropolis, marked by the encompassing river-deities, Cephisus and Ilissus, with the nymph Callirrhoe, who occupy the corners. In the central group Athena is on the left, raising her arm with a gesture of triumph; probably the olive-tree which she caused to spring from the earth was represented. Poseidon starts back in anger at his defeat. Behind Athena is her chariot, with four horses, driven by Nike, while Ares (?) is in attendance, and there follow other deities who take part with her. Behind Poseidon was doubtless a corresponding chariot-group; then follows Amphitrite as driver, with another attendant marine goddess and other deities whose names can only be conjectured.

Carrey's drawing enables us to study the design as a whole. The effect which the artist aimed at in his grouping was to break the main architectural lines, the vertical lines of the columns and the horizontal and diagonal lines of architrave and cornice, by every variety of curve; there is a wave-like progression from the corners to the centre, swelling upwards with alternate rise and fall, and a similar gradation of movement and excitement, which are strongest in the centre, and cease altogether in the reclining figures in the angles; in the centre all the interest reaches its climax, and the key is given by which to read the motive of the attitude of each individual figure. If the similarity of the motives of various groups and figures be noticed and their different treatment compared, e.g. Theseus with Cephisus, or Demeter and Persephone with the

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balancing group of sisters, an idea is gained of the artist's richness of resource and manifold play of fancy. The central figures are necessarily on a larger scale than those which follow, but in the west pediment, by the interposition of chariot-groups, the transition is broken and the discrepancy is hardly apparent.

The careful comparison of different figures will emphasize our sense of the skill with which the opposite ideas of movement and rest are conveyed. Theseus on the one side, and the sisterly Fates on the other, express the very ideal of serene rest such as gods enjoy; their forms are robust and strongly developed, greater and more noble than human, yet true to the highest type of humanity. There are gradations from recumbent to sitting postures, and some figures, with one or both feet drawn under them, seem on the point of rising. In the figure of Iris, where every line indicates movement, not violent, but a swift gliding through the air, we see the impersonation of a breeze.

It has always been a matter for astonishment that the parts of the statues which were set against the wall of the tympanum, and which could never be seen by any human eye, are almost as carefully finished as the visible portions; this apparently unnecessary prodigality of labour seemed to the German sculptor Rietschel to prove that the artist possessed 'a creative impulse truly divine, to give to the work which was to be its own completeness for its own sake, a completeness like that of the flower which blooms in deserts devoid of man and beast.' In the pedimental sculptures of the temple of Olympian Zeus the back parts are left unfinished, or merely blocked out.

§ 8. **The Parthenon. The Frieze**[27]. Round the top outer fringe of the long walls of the cella, returning over the

[27] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 117, 118; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. pl. i, ii, &c. See Brit. Mus. *Catalogue*, p. 147 note, for a vivid description of a Delphic procession, nearly resembling the Panathenaic, by the novelist Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, bk. 3. ch. 1–3.

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architrave of the inner peristyle at the two ends of the Parthenon, there ran a frieze like a continuous band of sculpture all round the building. It was so placed as to be visible only to a spectator looking up between the columns of the encircling colonnade at the opposite wall. Running, as it did, close under the roof of the colonnade, it could receive no light falling upon it directly, but only such diminished light as was reflected upwards. It was necessarily carved in low relief. The metopes, exposed to the full light of day, and visible from a distance, could derive advantage from the high lights and deep shadows of high relief; the scantily lighted frieze, which could only be viewed from below, was necessarily flat. No doubt it derived much of its effect from the colour employed to set off the figures from the background, and to bring out details of dress, armour, and so on. And there were other accessories besides colour. Bronze work was freely employed; the holes drilled for the purpose of fastening the bronze bits and bridles of the horses may still be observed in the marble.

This frieze, which formed a long band of sculpture, is conceived as a whole, and one subject embraces the whole design. This subject is a procession. As to what that procession was we are left to guess from the evidence of the design itself, since our ancient authorities pass it by unnoticed. It is generally agreed that it is the Panathenaic procession, which used to be conducted from the outer parts of the city (Cerameicus) up to the Acropolis every year, and with more than usual splendour every fourth year, in honour of the great goddess Athena. In this procession all classes of the Athenian people took part, headed by their magistrates and other leaders and directors; and with them were associated maidens carrying instruments for sacrifice, delegates from the Athenian *Klerouchiai*, or colonies retaining Athenian citizenship, delegates from other colonies, *metics* (μέτοικοι) or resident foreigners, cattle for victims, musicians, water-carriers, chariots with drivers and fighting-men, knights

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(ἱππεῖς) on horseback—representatives, in short, of all who could do honour to the goddess of the imperial city. On the occasion of the Greater Panathenaic Festival there occurred a ceremony called the delivery of the *peplos*, a robe made by certain Athenian maidens to be placed upon the old statue of Athena Polias, which stood in the Erechtheum.

The procession was represented as starting from the south-west angle. The west side exhibits preparations for the procession, which is continued along the north and south sides, and culminates in the middle of the east side, where is the central group at the halting-point; between the two ends of the procession and this central group are figured the seated deities who are conceived as watching the ceremony.

The continuity of the whole composition is most striking. The eye is carried on from group to group in perpetual advance till it reaches the east front, where, in front of a row of Athenian maidens, groups of magistrates stand waiting, disposed in the most harmonious attitudes. The two groups of seated gods have been the subject of much controversy, and no one has succeeded in certainly identifying them all. They are much disfigured; the features in most cases are worn away so as to be unrecognizable, but the skill of the grouping is sufficiently evident in the graceful contour-lines of the composition. Zeus is distinguishable by his more elaborate chair, and Hera by her position next him; Athena and Hermes are also known from their dress, the fringed breast-lappet (*aegis*) and the broad-brimmed travelling hat (*petasos*). The best preserved slab, found since Lord Elgin brought away the marbles and therefore still at Athens, shows Poseidon with possibly Dionysius and Demeter. The faces exhibit the somewhat conventional type exhibited elsewhere in the frieze[28]. Between these gracefully ordered

[28] This idea of seated gods, conceived as onlookers, is found also in earlier sculpture. See Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 27, for the slab from the frieze of the Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi, excavated by the French in 1894.

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groups of gods comes the central group, in which a man and a boy hold a folded garment (perhaps the *peplos*) between them, while a woman, probably a priestess, and two girls carrying stools, stand by. The exact interpretation of this group is a yet unsolved riddle.

The finest part of the procession of horsemen is that at the western end of the northern side. Whereas on the western side there is considerable space between the horsemen and each horse is seen almost complete, those of the northern frieze are crowded closely together and overlap, so that almost the whole surface of the marble is occupied. From this density arises an animation, a feeling of life and perpetual movement, and the eye is carried on as it were by a flowing stream. The artist has arranged his riders in irregular ranks, not in single column, but the strict laws of perspective which would require diminution in the size of figures seen one behind the other are necessarily violated, perspective being out of place in this kind of relief; all the heads are on the same level, both of standing and mounted figures, though the eye is not conscious of any violation of truth. The number in each rank varies from four to eight, and each new rank is marked by a complete figure (the left-hand man) whose whole outline is seen. There are also outriders and officers, and every possible variety of attitude and costume is introduced; some riders wear a helmet, some have a *petasos* hanging from the neck, some are bareheaded; some are nude, others have a *chlamys* over the arm, others are completely dressed, some turn their backs to the spectator, others front half round.

Other reliefs may possess life and variety to a degree which equals the spirit and animation of this composition. But none exhibit so fully the balanced, rhythmical movement which is here displayed, so that the eye is never disturbed with a sense of distortion or unrest.

The exceedingly careful finish of the work can only be appreciated in the presence of the actual marbles. Flaxman

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points out how in the horses the hardness and decision of bony forms can be distinguished from the elasticity of tendon and the softness of flesh. 'The beholder is charmed with the deer-like lightness and elegance of the horses' make, and although the relief is not above an inch from the background, and they are so much smaller than nature, we can scarcely suffer reason to persuade us that they are not alive.'

Another point of excellence in these reliefs is the just proportion observed between the parts sculptured and the background, so that the space is always adequately and harmoniously filled. Whether the lines of the composition are more open, as with the central group and the seated gods and at the western side, or again closer and more intricate, as with the galloping horsemen, the proportions of the unfilled spaces and their relative positions on the surface of the slab are always such as preserve a just balance and produce a feeling of a complete and well-rounded design.

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CHAPTER V

OTHER ATTIC MONUMENTS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

§ 1. **Myron. The Diskobolos or Quoit-Thrower**[1]. Myron was a native of Eleutherae, a hill fortress of Mount Cithaeron, a town which, like Plataea, preferred alliance with Athens to the Theban hegemony. He was probably therefore a Boeotian by birth, but the sphere of his chief activity was at Athens, and he ranks as an Attic sculptor. Pliny says he 'flourished' in the 90th Olympiad (B.C. 420–417), but since an inscription recording the name of his son Lycius is extant, and belongs to the latter half of the fifth century, it is certain that Myron properly belongs to the first half. We may assume, then, that he was older than Pheidias, and that his work belongs to an earlier tradition. It is believed that some of the metopes of the Parthenon and the Theseum which are more archaic than the rest were executed by sculptors trained in Myron's school. While the genius of Pheidias was pre-eminent in the field of ideal creations requiring sublime imagination, the genius of Myron displayed itself in a less exalted sphere. Myron has more affinities with the Dorian schools; he seems to have devoted himself almost exclusively to athletic statues, statues in which the dominant motive is the forcible realization of a situation, and animal statues. His bronze cow is the subject of innumerable epigrams[2], as being so like a living animal that the cowherd tries to drive it off, or that it must be a real cow

[1] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 74; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i. pl. xi; Gardner, *Handbook*, i. fig. 50; Brit. Mus. replica, *Catalogue*, 250.

[2] *Schriftquellen*, 553, 591.

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with a bronze skin, or a bronze cow with a living soul, and others similarly pointed. An epigram [3] on his celebrated statue of Ladas, the runner, hits off this power of vivid and realistic presentation of life—the sculptor has 'graved in the whole body the hope of the crown.' There is a bronze statuette of Marsyas in the British Museum, believed to be copied from a group of his representing Athena with Marsyas; a marble replica is in the Lateran Museum at Rome [4]. But the most familiar of Myron's works is the Quoit-Thrower, of which many copies remain which correspond generally with one another, and with the description of Lucian [5]—'the quoit-player, who is stooping forward in attitude to throw, twisting his body round toward the hand that holds the quoit, half-crouching on one leg, and looking ready to spring up as he makes his cast'—except that in the majority of the marble copies (British Museum and Vatican, Rome) the head is turned to the ground before him, whereas in a replica in the Lancelotti Palace at Rome the head is rightly turned round towards the quoit-hand.

The sculptor cannot represent movement, but only suggest it. Since he can only render permanent a single instant of time, the skilful artist will choose that moment which is most pregnant, that which in itself partakes in as small a degree as possible of violent action, while it is most suggestive of the action which is over and that which is to follow. This is not, as a rule, the culminating point of the action, but an instant of rest immediately before, or immediately after, the crisis. Here

[3] *Schriftquellen*, 542 ἐπὶ παντὶ χαράξας
σώματι Πισαίου προσδοκίην στεφάνου.

[4] Rayet, *Monuments*, livr. 5; Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 73; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i. fig. 244; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 51. The group was on the Acropolis, if it is right to assume that the words of Pliny, 'fecit Satyrum admirantem tibias et Minervam,' refer to the group described, without Myron's name, by Pausanias, 1. 24. 1. See Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. 408; Frazer, *Paus.* ii. p. 289 foll. For the Brit. Mus. bronze see Murray, *Greek Bronzes*, fig. 20.

[5] Philopseud. 18; *Schriftquellen*, 544.

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the sculptor has chosen the moment of preparatory balance, the slight pause between the backward swing of the mass of stone and the forward sweep of the tensely-stretched arm. Thus the youth rests all his weight on his *right* foot, the toes of which clutch the ground for firmer hold; as the arm swings round, the left foot, now balanced, will be thrust forward and receive all the weight of the body as the missile leaves the hand. In another moment the imagination sees the left foot planted and the quoit whirled into the air. Like the Homeric Cyclops, the *diskobolos* puts 'measureless strength' into his cast. The object of the game was to throw the quoit, a mass of stone or metal, as far as possible; not, as with us, at a mark.

Pliny[6] tells us that Myron was the first among ancients to 'multiply truth.' This strange phrase appears to mean that he studied truth in variety, and sought out daring situations, even strained and violent actions, which his accurate knowledge of nature enabled him to invest with the appearance of ease essential to artistic effect. Pliny likewise calls him 'more rhythmical in art than Polycleitus.' The difficult word rhythm (*ῥυθμός, numerus*) perhaps implies measured or balanced movement. When Pliny further remarks that Myron cared chiefly for bodily form and did not express the feelings of the soul, he is apparently contrasting him with the later Attic school of Scopas and Praxiteles. The feeling which he did express was simple delight in physical action, not the more subtle emotions of mental pleasure or pain. Quintilian[7], seeming at first to condemn the statue by applying to it the epithets 'irregular and laboured' (*distortum atque elaboratum*), is really pointing out how the novelty of the conception and the difficulty of its realization constitute the chief merit of the artist.

It is probable that the original bronze statue was so balanced as to stand without those props which are necessary to the marble copies.

[6] Plin. N. H. 34. 58. Sellers and Jex-Blake translate *numerosior* simply 'more productive.'

[7] Inst. 2. 13. 8.

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§ 2. The Theseum and the Erechtheum. The Maidens. The temple commonly called the Theseum stands on a hill north of the Areopagus, and north-west of the Acropolis. It is the best preserved of all ancient temples in Greece. Though the roof has gone, and the interior walls of the cella have been in part pulled down or remodelled, its surrounding colonnade still gives it an appearance of completeness which is unhappily lacking to the larger and more magnificent Parthenon. Whether the traditional name of the temple is the correct one has been the subject of much discussion; the latest authorities believe it to be a temple of Hephaestus[8]. No remains of pedimental sculptures exist, but there are traces of fastenings showing that there were such. There are, still in their place on the temple, eighteen sculptured metopes, and two bands of frieze over the inside fronts of the temple within the peristyle at either end. The metopes contain scenes from the labours of Heracles and the labours of Theseus; the frieze represents battle scenes; that of the west end is the combat between Centaurs and Lapiths; the meaning of the other is not clear. All these sculptures are greatly injured; casts of the best preserved portions are in the British Museum. From the style of the architecture and the sculptures the temple is judged to be of nearly the same date as the Parthenon, but a little older.

The Erechtheum, which stands on the north side of the Acropolis, is a temple of the Ionic order, and is certainly later than the Parthenon. Very interesting inscriptions relative to this 'temple on the citadel in which is the ancient image,' that is, the old wooden statue of Athena Polias, have been found. One shows us that the building was still unfinished in B.C. 408, when it was taken in hand again, and an inventory made for the overseers. Another gives a list of the workmen employed on the sculptures and their pay. They were paid by the piece, and were plainly a band of workmen employed to execute the designs of a master sculptor whose name is not recorded. The

[8] Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. 113 seqq.

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temple is of unique form. It has a portico at the east end, but none at the west end; instead there is, at the western end of the north side, a large portico on a lower level, and opposite, on the south side, a smaller one, forming a kind of chapel. In this chapel the architrave is supported by six female figures in place of columns. In the inscription these supporters are called 'the maidens'; later writers used the term Caryatides. One of them is in the British Museum[9].

This maiden is clothed in a long robe reaching to her feet, one side of which falls in straight folds resembling the flutings of a column, while on the other the slightly-bent knee affords the contrast of a smooth surface. Down to the girdle, which creates rich folds below it, hangs the overlapping fold called *diploïdion*. The plaited locks of hair which fall down the nape of the neck strengthen the column without materially increasing its size to the eye; above is a basket-shaped capital, set upon a roll of hair. The sculptor has had well in view the architectural purpose of his statue; while making it look strong enough to bear the burden of the incumbent architrave, he has invested it with an air of ease. The use of such columnar figures became common afterwards in Italy, and it is remarkable to observe how often later sculptors, in striving after an additional grace, as a forward inclination of the head, have missed the strength of the present design. At Delphi more archaic Caryatides have been found, showing that the Attic artists borrowed and improved upon an earlier type.

The frieze of the Ionic order in this temple has this peculiarity, that the figures were sculptured separately and fastened upon the surface of the stone course above the architrave by cramps of lead. An inscription, as we have said, records the payments made for these carvings and the names of the carvers. A few fragments remain, but in a much mutilated condition.

[9] Brit. Mus. *Catalogue*, 407; Rayet, *Monuments*, livr. 4; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. 194; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 69; *Arte Greca*, tav. 83.

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§ 3. **Sculptures of the Frieze and Parapet of the Temple of Athena Nike or Nike Apteros** (Wingless Victory [10]). This little temple, dedicated to the goddess who never forsakes her votaries, stands on a platform overlooking the steep ascent of the Acropolis, on the south side. It was pulled down by the Turks, and the materials used to form a bastion; but in 1835 German archaeologists and architects collected the scattered members of the building, and it was reconstructed with the exception of the roof and gable-ends and four slabs of the frieze which are in the British Museum. It was a temple of the Ionic order, with columns along the front and back only (amphiprostyle). The narrow frieze represents a battle scene, with gods as onlookers. On one side there are Greeks fighting Persians, recognizable by their dress, their tunics with sleeves and trousers; in another part Greeks meet Greeks. Hence arises the thought that some exploit of the Athenians like that at Plataea is here commemorated. On the outside of the temple, along the edge of the high wall near which it stood, ran a parapet of marble adorned with exquisite sculptures. The originals are at Athens, but there are casts in the British Museum. The specimens which remain, though sorely battered, enable us to recognize winged female figures, Victories, fulfilling various ministrations, as sacrifices, and the erection of trophies. On the largest slab are sculptured two winged maidens leading a calf; one holds it back by a rope attached to the horns, the other moves swiftly forward to avoid them. The latter figure is a perfect study of the swirl of loose drapery in quick movement. Two other fragments show us standing Victories with uplifted arms; they are setting up pieces of armour on a pole, making a trophy after the Greek manner. The most beautiful of all is a Victory [11] who stoops and touches

[10] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 125; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 51–53; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. pl. xvi; Brit. Mus. *Catalogue*, 421–425 (frieze), 426–429 (casts from the parapet).

[11] Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 68.

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her raised right foot with her right hand, either to fasten or unloose her sandal. Her drapery is composed of some thin material, which falls in luxuriant and exquisitely rendered folds, and allows the contour of the natural form to be gracefully suggested. The lines of the drapery are so combined with the curves of the stooping body and the wide wings that they return into themselves and form a composition rounded and complete. Side by side with the beauty of these folds the smooth unadorned surface of the wings strikes the observer as singular; perhaps details of the wings were in the original picked out with colour. It is instructive to compare these exquisitely composed and finished draperies and the fine feeling for the draped form underneath with the group of the three sisters in the east pediment of the Parthenon. Making every allowance for the difference of scale, which required broad treatment in the one case and very fine work in the other, we yet may mark a change of tone. In the Parthenon sculptures the prevailing impression is of grandeur, and gracefulness is absorbed in the larger impression of magnificence. In these Victories gracefulness appears to be the prime motive of the sculptor. It is generally thought that this indication of changed feeling fixes the date of the execution of these sculptures as not earlier than the very end of the fifth century, and they thus form the transition to the age of Praxiteles.

§ 4. **The Eleusinian Relief**[12]. This is a marble slab found at Eleusis, and now preserved at Athens. On it are carved in low relief three figures, two female, with a boy between them. The two are the patron goddesses of that solemn Attic cult which had its centre at Eleusis, Demeter and Persephone. They instruct the youthful Triptolemus in order that he may become under their fostering guidance a civilizer of men. He, standing between these majestic deities, with

[12] Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, vol. ii. bk. 4; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 68; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 71.

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his robe loosely held round him, looks up with trustful confidence into the face of Demeter, and receives from her hand some token; Persephone lifts her hand above his head, as a sign of favour and protection. There is a difference in the style in which the two goddesses are presented. Demeter bears traces of a severer manner of sculpture, the hair descending on the neck in regular parallels, the flat loop below the arm, the straight lines of drapery, and the long feet resting all their length on the ground. Persephone is a picture of grave loveliness; all the curves in her figure are graceful and flowing; her attitude is relieved by the raising of the left foot; her dress shows the favourite contrast between the larger folds of the upper and the finer folds of the inner garment; her wavy hair is gathered up behind in a knot, leaving the ear visible. Demeter's dress and attitude suggest a comparison with the Maiden of the Erechtheum; Persephone anticipates the 'Barberini' Hera of the Vatican [13]. It is a reasonable supposition that the sculptor, in presenting Demeter, was led by piety to preserve a stricter type to which men had become endeared by association, while in the case of Persephone he could allow his artistic instincts and technical skill more free play. We may note that each goddess carries a symbol—Demeter a sceptre, to denote her sovereignty over the earth, Persephone a long pine-torch, indicating her empire over the nether-world. No other ancient monument is more expressive of reverential feeling than this. It seems to breathe the solemn spirit of the Sophoclean lyric:

> O that this were decreed
> My destiny to be,
> To cherish piety
> With purity of word and every deed, &c.

§ 5. **The Orpheus Relief** [14]. The legend of Orpheus, the poet-minstrel of Greek mythology, tells of his tender love for

[13] Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, ii. pl. iv, 56.
[14] Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 69.

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his wife Eurydice, and how when she died, being inconsolable for her loss, he descended to the abode of departed spirits in search of her. Then, overcome by the spell of his music, Hades granted his request, on condition that as they passed back he should go before her, and not look back till the upper world was reached. Virgil shall tell the rest[15]: 'And now he was returning, every danger passed, and Eurydice, granted to his prayers, was passing to the upper air, following behind—such was the law Proserpina had enjoined—when a sudden frenzy seized her unthinking lover, a frenzy that might plead for pardon if the Shades knew how to pardon; he stopped, and when Eurydice was now his own, on the threshold of light, alas! forgetful and losing self-control, he looked back on her. . . . But she cried, "Ah! what madness has undone me and thee, Orpheus? See, the cruel Fates call me back again; sleep shrouds my swimming eyes; farewell! I am borne hence, enveloped in vast night, and stretching weak hands to thee, thine, alas! no longer." Thus she spoke, and like smoke mingling with thin air, vanished out of his sight.' That is the poet's story; the sculptor tells his quite differently, in a way which suits his particular art better. With him the parting is not instantaneous, but husband and wife exchange a last farewell look; he has turned, and moves her veil a little aside from her face; she lays her hand lovingly upon his shoulder. Behind her comes Hermes, the god who conducts the souls of the departed; he has led her thus far, and now, the covenant being broken, he takes her by the hand to lead her back, yet he does so with an expression of pity, as though he would fain have let her proceed.

There are three replicas of this slab, which was therefore presumably copied from a celebrated original. One at Naples has the names inscribed over the figures in Greek letters; the name of Orpheus is written backwards, in a manner corresponding to his relative position. One at Paris, in the Louvre, the

[15] Georg. 4. 485.

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least excellent in workmanship, has the erroneous inscription 'Zethus, Antiopa, Amphion,' in Roman letters, which are certainly modern. The third example, uninscribed, is in the Villa Albani at Rome. It is possible that the slab may have served to adorn a tomb, or it may have been the *ex-voto* of a *choregus*, and so recall a scene from some lost tragedy. There is no evidence, apart from the style, to warrant our assigning the work to this particular period, but the slight traces of archaism observable in the features, as in the length of the eye and nose, taken into connexion with the general character of the workmanship and the sentiment, are tolerably sure indications that the original monument is correctly referred to the fifth century.

§ 6. **Standing Diskobolos**[16]. This statue, a favourite model for art-students, exists in several copies, one of the best of which is in the Vatican at Rome, while a replica of inferior workmanship stands in the British Museum. With the quoit borne for a moment in the left hand so as not to weary the right, the player presses his right foot slightly against the ground, as though to test at once its firmness and the elasticity of his own limbs; the forward inclination of the head and the movement of the right hand are in unison with the simple motive. The graceful pose, the face with its refined and serious features, surrounded by a row of close locks fallen beneath the head-band frequently used by practising athletes, taken in connexion with the scale of proportions, indicate that the statue comes from the Attic school. It contrasts both with the Diskobolos of Myron and the Doryphoros of Polycleitus—with the former from the greater simplicity of its motive, with the latter by its lightness and grace. The statue is attributed to this period from its style; it has been proposed to identify it with the

[16] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 102; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 60; *Arte Greca*, tav. 92.

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'Pentathlos Enkrinomenos' of Alcamenes[17]. Alcamenes was the sculptor of a celebrated Aphrodite, known as 'Aphrodite in the Gardens'[18]; this has been thought to be the prototype of the 'Venus Genetrix' in the Louvre, a graceful statue clothed in clinging, transparent drapery, somewhat in the manner of the Victories of the balustrade of the temple of Wingless Victory. If these statues really represent his style, he certainly cannot have been the sculptor of the group in the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

[17] Plin. N. H. 34. 72. The *pentathlon* was a contest in five 'events'—jumping, running, quoit and javelin throwing, and wrestling. The word ἐγκρινόμενος signifies 'tested,' 'approved,' by the judges who admitted competitors.

[18] Plin. ib. 36. 16; Paus. 1. 19. 2. For the Louvre statue, Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 100; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, ii. p. 692; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 57.

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CHAPTER VI

THE FOURTH CENTURY

§ 1. **Introduction.** The Peloponnesian war had destroyed for ever the hope of a united Hellas. The idea which had floated before the mental vision of Pericles, of a willing subjection of free communities to the leadership of the one State which had proved her right to lead by her moral and intellectual and artistic pre-eminence, was shown to be impracticable. The first half of the fourth century witnesses the political supremacy, first of Sparta, then of Thebes, based upon military force. The last half witnesses the rise of the Macedonian power in the north, which succeeds eventually in extinguishing the real independence of all Greek states alike. In the first half and the middle of the century Athens once more aspired to the imperial position which she won for herself before the Peloponnesian war. But in spite of the heroic efforts of single men and the genius in warfare and statesmanship shown by a few resolute citizens, of whom Demosthenes is incomparably the greatest, we can clearly perceive the decay of true national feeling and the disinclination to submit to the sacrifices demanded by Hellenic policy. Her commerce, however, flourished; the material prosperity of her citizens increased; though there were no longer great public commissions like those which gave the creative genius of Pheidias its splendid opportunity, private wealth and emulation supplied the artist with work enough to call forth great powers. These powers were still great.

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Though modified, the traditions of the past were felt as a stimulating influence, and a new school of sculptors arose who set themselves to rival their predecessors with fresh and original creations. The greatest genius of the age is the Athenian Praxiteles. Side by side with him were other sculptors who followed the traditions of Attic art, as Scopas, Timotheus, Leochares. These men carry their art over all the Hellenic world, and we find them in the service of Asiatic cities and dynasts, decorating temples and setting up dedicatory monuments. The traditions inherited from Polycleitus were still effective at Argos; towards the end of the century we meet with an Argive artist of great original genius, Lysippus, who undertakes commissions for Alexander the Macedonian conqueror.

§ 2. **Existing Remains.** The original works are few in comparison with the previous period, and some of the architectural remains are in so mutilated a condition as to test all the skill of archaeologists to extract from them any results of real importance for the history of art. Some of the chief remains are these:

1. The Hermes of Praxiteles, found and preserved at Olympia (cast in British Museum).

2. Fragments from the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, attributed to Scopas.

3. Remains from the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus. Here Thrasymedes made the statue of Asclepius, and a bas-relief now at Athens probably preserves the type[1]. Timotheus was also employed here on the pediments, and a splendid fragment of a mounted Amazon (at Athens) is doubtless part of his design[2]. Polycleitus the younger built the Rotunda or Tholos there, of which some extremely beautiful fragments remain, a Corinthian capital and part of the cornice[3].

[1] Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 88; Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii. p. 242; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 95.

[2] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 176; Collignon, ib. ii. fig. 92; Gardner, ib. fig. 87.

[3] Collignon, ib. fig. 85.

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4. A basis, sculptured with reliefs of Apollo, Midas, and the Muses, from Mantineia. On this originally stood a group of Leto with her children, Apollo and Artemis[4].

5. Sculptures from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, now in the British Museum.

6. Reliefs from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, now in the British Museum.

7. Frieze of the Choragic monument of Lysicrates, at Athens, still *in situ* (casts in British Museum).

8. Friezes and statues from the so-called Nereid monument of Xanthus, in the British Museum.

9. Sarcophagi from the Necropolis of Sidon, now preserved at Constantinople.

To these must be added some scanty fragments of other temples, as that of Athena Polias at Priene; a statue of Demeter, found by Sir C. T. Newton at Cnidos, the style of which harmonizes with the present period[5]; and many Athenian grave-monuments, the work of ordinary handicraftsmen, yet showing considerable technical skill combined with grace of design and much tender feeling. One of the finest of these, the funeral monument of Dexileos, an Athenian knight, who fell in the Corinthian War (B.C. 394), represents a warrior on horseback spearing a fallen foe.

§ 3. **Copies.** There are, besides, many statues of which the originals can be certainly referred to sculptors of this period. Of these the chief is the row of statues representing Niobe and her children, now at Florence. At Munich is a group of Eirene ('Peace') carrying the infant Ploutos ('Wealth'), by Cephisodotus, father or elder brother of Praxiteles. The 'Apollo Sauroctonos' and 'Faun' of Praxiteles belong to this category, and there are many statues scattered throughout the

[4] Paus. 8. 9. 1 (Frazer, *Paus.* iv. p. 206); Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 160; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 128, 129; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 86.

[5] See page 125.

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galleries of Europe which plainly owe their inspiration to Praxitelean ideas and types. Lysippus is represented by an athlete statue called 'Apoxyomenos' (Vatican, Rome), while certain statues of Alexander are thought to be copies of his work. Works by minor sculptors are the 'Tyche (Fortune) of Antioch' by Eutychides (Vatican), 'Ganymede and the Eagle' by Leochares (Vatican), and possibly the 'Boy with Goose' and 'Boy extracting a thorn' by Boethus (Louvre and elsewhere).

Some very fine portrait-statues, as those of Demosthenes (Vatican) and Sophocles (Lateran Museum, Rome), may be doubtfully assigned here.

§ 4. **Characteristics.** The three leading sculptors of the fourth century are Praxiteles, Scopas, and Lysippus. They are the men in whom the new tendencies of the art find their most adequate expression. We note that in all the work of the school of Pheidias there is largeness of conception and grandeur of style combined with consummate mastery of technical skill. The work is beautiful because it is noble, serious, and strong. Expression in the face is kept within limits defined by well-understood and observed traditions. Gracefulness is tempered by severity. In the style of Praxiteles we shall see more effort after expression, especially in the face; more subtle refinement of beauty; more gracefulness with less of the old severity. The work becomes softer, and, by consequence, a little less serious and strong. In the later imitators of Praxiteles these notes of style become marks of decadence; beauty degenerates into prettiness, and gracefulness into weakness. But in Praxiteles himself the old great manner is still potent; his work is extremely beautiful and at the same time full of dignity; he does not range up to the nobility of the conception of Pheidias, yet on his slightly lower level he is a supreme master. His creations won instant, lasting, and well-deserved popularity.

Sculptors began to attend also more closely to the expression

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of emotions, and chose by preference subjects which lend themselves to the display of feeling. According to the Greek expression, sculpture becomes *pathetic*, and tries to impress the beholder with various emotions, not merely the refined sentiment of tender sorrow (the sense which the word *pathetic* usually bears now) but any *pathos* or affection of the mind—love, joy, anger, fear, and the like. This change of aim finds its parallel in the development of Greek tragedy, only there the stages were passed through in a shorter space of time. Aeschylus conceives tragedy as the struggle between divine or semi-divine powers, or of human passions against superhuman forces; Euripides as the interaction of passions purely human. Thus Euripides,

> The human,
> With his droppings of warm tears,
> And his touches of things common,
> Till they rose to touch the spheres,

is called 'the most tragic' of the poets, because he appeals most directly to our natural sympathies, whereas Aeschylus takes us out of ourselves and lifts us above the level of the common daily life around us by the grandeur of his imagination.

Here Scopas found scope for the exercise of a great talent. He is the first master to attempt the portrayal of manifold emotion in the face.

The third great master was Lysippus. The movement in art which he inaugurated was a movement in the direction of greater refinement of bodily form, superior finish, and a more effective canon of proportion.

§ 5. Praxiteles. Among the names of Greek sculptors that of Praxiteles stood next to that of Pheidias, as the most widely celebrated in antiquity. He was an Athenian, son (or perhaps brother) of Cephisodotus, himself a sculptor of repute, and the period of his activity falls in the middle of the fourth century; it is not possible to fix his date within more certain limits. Ancient authors give us much trivial gossip but few

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attested facts about him. He seems to have lived and worked chiefly at Athens.

Of the more extensive works of Praxiteles, such as the pedimental compositions for a temple of Heracles, at Thebes, we know nothing beyond some not undisputed notices in Pausanias[6]. It is certain that he won his fame by single statues, and two of these, a statue of Aphrodite (Venus) at Cnidos, and a statue of Eros (Cupid) at Thespiae, were exceedingly celebrated in antiquity. His statue of Aphrodite, at Cnidos, drew many visitors to the town in Roman times, and was, in fact, its sole claim to distinction[7]. The design of the statue is known from some rude Cnidian coins[8]; the goddess was nude, holding the end of her robe in her left hand, as though laying it aside before entering the sea, her native element. Another draped Aphrodite, from Praxiteles' hand, at Cos, had been preferred by the Coans to the nude figure, so the story runs, when they were given priority of choice. A statue in the Vatican is held to be the nearest copy of the Praxitelean original[9]. Aphrodite is here dropping her robe over a vase of beautiful shape, and looks down; another smaller copy, with an upward and less harmonious inclination of the head, is at Munich[10].

[6] It has been thought that these and some other statues belong to a conjectural older Praxiteles, contemporary with Pheidias.

[7] Plin. N. H. 36. 20–22; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 1230–1240, gives the allusions in Lucian, and the epigrams from the Anthology.

[8] Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xv. 21; *Denkmäler d. alt. Kunst*, i. pl. 35, No. 146 a.

[9] A cast of it is in the South Kensington Museum of Antiques.

[10] The long-celebrated Venus de' Medici at Florence and the more beautiful Capitoline Venus are variations, probably executed in Roman times, of a type which, under imperial patronage, passed through several stages of degradation. Several very beautiful and graceful Venus statues, as the 'Townley' Venus (*Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculptures*, pt. i, No. 136) of the British Museum, and the 'Capuan' Venus (*Denkmäler d. alt. Kunst*, ii. pl. 25, No. 268) at Naples, differ essentially in type, nor have we any warrant for referring them to Praxitelean inspiration; the imperial, truly divine beauty and commanding aspect of the Venus (ib. No. 270) from

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Next to the statue of Aphrodite in celebrity were certain statues of Eros (Cupid); one especially famed was brought from its place of dedication, Thespiae, to Rome; restored by Claudius, and again stolen by Nero, it perished in a fire at Rome. Another was set up at Parion, on the Propontis, and may be identified in coin-types [11]. Of the numerous Eros statues still extant there is no one which can with absolute certainty be set down as the design of Praxiteles. One well-known Eros statue is that called the 'Centocelle' Cupid, or the 'Genius of the Vatican'; the arms and legs are gone; the head shows a face of singularly soft and melancholy beauty. The 'Genius Borghese' of the Louvre has been thought to be a copy of the Parion type.

In default of any certainly attested copies of these two, three statues are selected as illustrations of the manner of Praxiteles. These are, the Hermes, the sole surviving original work, which must form the only basis of a true estimate of the sculptor's genius; the statue of Apollo, called 'Sauroctonos'; and the 'Faun'; the last two exist only in copies. But many statues in our existing museums show in marked characteristics the influence of the genius of this master, the greatest exponent of the artistic tendencies of the period.

§ 6. **The Hermes of Olympia** [12]. In his account of the temple of Hera, at Olympia, the antiquary Pausanias [13] records how 'they afterwards dedicated other statues in the temple of Hera—Hermes, carrying the babe Dionysus, a work of Praxiteles in stone.' The discovery of this statue in 1877 was one of the happiest results of the enterprise and liberality of the Germans, who excavated the entire site of Olympia between the years

Melos in the Louvre exhibits a more exalted ideal than all the rest; this too cannot be referred to Praxiteles.

[11] Plin. N. H. 36. 22.

[12] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 156; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. pl. v (as now restored); Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 82; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. pl. xx.

[13] Paus. 5. 17. 3.

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1875 and 1881. The statue, especially the head, has since become widely known through casts and photographs. It is preserved in the Museum at Olympia; the missing portions of the legs have been restored in plaster, and the arms of the child. The legend was that after the birth of Dionysus, child of Zeus, and his 'thunder-blasted' bride Semele, daughter of Cadmus, he was committed to the charge of Hermes, to be carried to the nymphs of Nysa, there to be reared under their fostering care. Praxiteles has chosen the moment when the god stops to rest, leaning his left arm, which carries the child, upon a tree-trunk; the child sits upon a robe which hangs from this arm over the trunk, and puts his little hand upon the god's shoulder. The lower part of both legs of Hermes is lost, as well as the upper right arm, and the thumb and forefinger of the left hand; both the arms of the child are broken, while the torso and head are somewhat damaged. The right foot of Hermes is preserved. The leaning position of the god, by which the body is thrown into a graceful, easy curve, appears to have been a favourite manner of Praxiteles, just as the resting of the weight of the body on one leg was a favourite manner of Polycleitus. In the left hand the god doubtless held the *caduceus*, or herald's staff, the breaking away of which caused the loss of the thumb and finger. How the right arm was occupied it is difficult to say; the most simple supposition is that it held a bunch of grapes for the child to look at; others have suggested a thyrsus, a wine-cup, and even a rattle. The head of Hermes is perfect, and the expression wonderfully beautiful. He does not look directly at the child, but past him, as though turning his face towards him from the object he holds in his right hand. He does not smile; the sculptor knew his art too well; a smile would have destroyed that sense of repose which must characterize any object on which the eye is meant to rest a long time with undiminished pleasure; it would have stereotyped that which in nature is momentary and evanescent. And yet we feel that the next moment those lips will break into a smile; such is

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their indefinably subtle expression; in that half-tender, half-playful gaze we seem to read the kindly nature of the 'guileless' god [14], and share the impulse which prompts the child to put his hand on his bearer's shoulder, in full assurance of his loving sympathy and protecting care. This perfect balance, this union of feeling with reserve, of tenderness with force, of the fleeting with the restful, is the supreme achievement of the plastic art, and may help us to understand more completely than any words what is meant by that sense of harmony which it was given to the Greeks to feel and realize more than any other nation which has produced works of art. It is in the calm beauty of the face of Hermes that we shall learn, moreover, to understand the judgement passed by an ancient critic [15], that while Pheidias was admirable above all others for his statues in ivory, the supreme merit of Praxiteles lay in his power of infusing into stone the feelings of the soul.

The statue is the one first-rate original we possess which can certainly be assigned to a known hand. Its study is therefore of the utmost importance, both for the technique of ancient art generally and for a true estimate of Praxitelean style. The surface of the marble is preserved in all its freshness. The exquisite finish of it, and especially the beautiful polish, no doubt obtained by rubbing with wax, can only be truly appreciated in contemplating the original marble. To see this is worth a journey to Olympia. The face is cast in the fine oval which is the characteristically Attic type. A noteworthy feature is the slight swelling of the flesh above the eyebrows and temples, emphasizing the line above, dividing the forehead longitudinally. The hair is treated broadly and picturesquely, without much detail. A sunk line passing behind each ear seems to show that a metal wreath was affixed. The bodily forms are strong, full, and

[14] *Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα*, Od. 24. 10. He is also called *ἐριούνιος*, the 'helper,' Il. 20. 72; Aristophanes, Ran. 1144.

[15] Diodorus Siculus. The words are *Πραξιτέλης ὁ καταμίξας ἄκρως τοῖς λιθίνοις ἔργοις τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη.*

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supple; their natural fineness and noble proportions are clearly evident when we compare them with the more slender forms of the Apollo Belvedere, once so highly praised as a model of grace.

It is certainly a defect that the proportions of the child are not just. A child's head is far larger in proportion to the rest of its frame than a man's, but the real extent of this difference was neglected or not observed by Praxiteles.

The robe is a masterpiece of art; its graceful folds and soft texture are rendered with consummate knowledge and dexterity. The skill with which the texture of flesh is differentiated from the texture of cloth is another feature that strikes the observer of the original marble as evidence of a master's hand.

§ 7. The Apollo Sauroctonos[16]. Pliny[17] tells us that Praxiteles made a bronze statue of 'a youthful Apollo watching with an arrow in his hand a lizard creeping up, with intent to slay it close at hand; this men call the *Lizard-killer* (*quem sauroctonon vocant*).' Martial[18] also alludes to it in an epigram:

> Ad te reptanti, puer insidiose, lacertae
> Parce; cupit digitis illa perire tuis.

Many copies are extant, of which the chief are a marble statue in the Louvre, another in the Vatican, and a bronze statuette in the Villa Albani at Rome. These three differ in detail, especially in the expression of the head and arrangement of the hair, but they agree sufficiently in pose to enable us to form some estimate of the original work of Praxiteles.

Apollo is a slight, boyish figure, leaning his extended arm upon a tree-trunk, the branches of which serve as a support. His right hand originally held an arrow, and his face is turned downwards towards the trunk, watching the motions of the

[16] Rayet, *Monuments*, livr. 2, gives all three copies. Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 155; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 147; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. pl. xxii.

[17] N. H. 34. 70.

[18] Mart. 14. 172 'Spare, cunning boy, the lizard that creeps towards thee; it desires to die by thy hand.'

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lizard which darts about it. The weight of the body is thrown upon the leaning left arm and the right leg, and thus the lines of the form curve away from the tree-trunk, the inconvenient size and clumsiness of which are thus in a measure compensated for. As a study of an exceedingly graceful pose the statue merits admiration, and if we are content to enjoy the contemplation of it solely from that point of view, it seems as if the artist's purpose has been fulfilled. A happy situation is cleverly realized, and that is all. Whether the god is trying, as the name implies, to kill the lizard, or whether he is simply watching with amusement the quick-darting little creature, and holds the arrow as the proper attribute of the Archer god, does not greatly matter. But when we feel that for a Greek the representation of so noble a god as Apollo ought to have inspired some deeper feelings, and seek for some suggestion of divinity in the statue, we are at a loss. It is not even known that the lizard bore any relation to the worship of Apollo, though soothsayers professed to draw conclusions from observing it, so that it had an indirect connexion with the god of prophecy. It is an ingenious thought that the motive is a survival, through gradual elimination of the portentous elements of the story, of that legend which made Apollo the slayer of the dragon Python. But of the grandeur of that myth, so powerfully conceived by our own Turner in his great picture[19], as the contest between the powers of light and darkness, there is here not a trace, and the suggestion consequently fails to supply an adequate explanation of the motive, which remains, so long as we bear the godhead in mind, an enigma. It is instructive to contrast the Praxitelean Apollo with the god as conceived in the west pediment of the temple of Olympian Zeus. As there portrayed, in spite of archaic stiffness and the want of finish in the execution, the massive figure of the god impresses the beholder with a sense of divine power utterly foreign to the conception before us. The 'Hermes,' however, may warrant our assuming that the original work of Praxiteles was more nobly

[19] In the National Gallery.

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planned, and that these Roman copies reflect the taste of a more effeminate age.

§ 8. **The Satyr or Faun**[20]. The best-known example of this statue is in the Capitol at Rome. The reasons for attributing the work to the design of Praxiteles are mainly these: first, the many copies of it existing point to a very celebrated original; secondly, general consent has recognized that the statue is worthy of Praxiteles, and exhibits those characteristics of style which we have learnt to associate with his name.

Praxiteles made several Satyr-statues, one of which, Pausanias[21] tells us, stood in the street of Tripods at Athens, where it probably formed part of the memorial of some successful *choregus*. Pliny[22] likewise mentions a famous Satyr by Praxiteles, which he says was called 'Periboetos' ('famous'), but this seems to have formed part of a group.

The Satyr before us is conceived as a young man, leaning one elbow idly upon the trunk of a tree and resting the other hand upon his hips; across his body lies the panther-skin which he wears as a follower of Dionysus. His pointed ears mark his half-animal nature. A being standing below man in the scale of intellect, yet raised above him by his natural powers and his instinctive sympathy with all forms of natural life—a woodland creature, devoid of men's anxieties, never hearing the 'sad music of humanity,' free from evil because ignorant of it, loving ease because his wants are few and simple, a soul for ever carelessly happy—this is one of the most poetic creations of antiquity. The simple imagination of the ancients peopled the woods and lonely places with these half-human, half-animal beings. 'Such are the places,' says Lucretius[23], rationalizing the belief as a philosopher, yet sympathizing with its beauty as a poet—'Such are the places which dwellers-round feign to be

[20] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 157; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, fig. 148; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 85; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. 252.

[21] Paus. 1. 20. 1.

[22] Plin. N. H. 34. 69.

[23] Lucr. 4. 580 (Munro's translation).

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inhabited by goat-footed satyrs and nymphs, and they tell of fauns by whose night-wandering noise and mirthful sport they say that everywhere the quiet silence is broken and sounds of stringed instruments and sweet laments arise, which the pipe pours forth, struck by the fingers of the players[24].'

This statue was found in Hadrian's villa. A torso of another replica, found in the ruins of the emperor's palace on the Palatine, and now preserved in the Louvre, is of much finer workmanship; the texture of the panther's skin forms an admirable contrast to the delicate texture of the human skin; the copyist has here followed his original faithfully and feelingly[25].

§ 9. **Scopas.** The name of Scopas is often coupled with the name of Praxiteles, and he was reckoned one of the great original geniuses of the fourth century. He was a native of the island of Paros. The time of his activity can be fixed within certain limits. He was employed on the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, rebuilt after destruction by fire in B.C. 395; and he worked on the Mausoleum, which was in building in B.C. 350. We shall probably be right in supposing that he first worked in the Peloponnesus, and later in or about Attica; finally we find him engaged in various places in Asia Minor. Of famous statues attributed to him none are positively known to survive, and though many existing statues are held to be copies of his work the evidence in every case rests upon a criticism of style, and is liable to doubt. An Apollo by him, set up by Augustus in the Palatine, was probably brought from Rhamnus, and it is possible that the Apollo Citharoedus in the Vatican[26], a statue of the god clothed in a long sweeping robe and playing upon the harp, is an echo of this work. A Bacchante, or Maenad, originally at Byzantium, drew much praise for the enthusiastic emotion

[24] A sympathetic description of the Faun may be read in N. Hawthorne's *Transformation*, the opening chapter.

[25] Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 149; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 1549.

[26] *Denkmäler d. alt. Kunst*, pl. 32, No. 141 a; Baum. ib. fig. 104.

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exhibited in it; a figure often recurring in later reliefs may preserve some semblance of the original [27]. An Ares brought from Pergamum to Rome is conjecturally the original of the fine statue called 'Mars Ludovisi' [28]. At Munich is a large and splendid relief which is considered to be a variation or free imitation of his group of 'Poseidon with Thetis and Achilles, Nereids riding on dolphins and sea monsters or on sea horses, and Tritons and the train of Phorcus, with sea beasts and many other marine creatures, the whole by the same hand, a wonderful work, even if it had been the work of a lifetime' [29].

The evidence for this is only presumptive. Far more important are a few fragments preserved from the pedimental sculptures of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, of which Scopas was the architect [30]. Pausanias does not say that Scopas made the pedimental figures, but we may reasonably conclude that they were wrought under his direction, if not by himself. The fragments, now preserved at Athens [31], include a boar's head, and two human heads, much defaced. In spite of much mutilation, the student can trace in these heads new and striking features. The depth of emotional power expressed in the faces is beyond anything hitherto attempted in Greek sculpture. It is attained chiefly by the modelling of the eyes, which are deep set and overarched by massive brows and a deeply furrowed forehead; they thus attain a look of peculiar intensity and pathos. The forms of the head as a whole are massive, and of the square rather than the oval type. This quality of deep emotion corresponds with the literary tradition which represents Scopas as a master of pathos; thus the importance of these fragments in determining the development of the art by this master is very great.

[27] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, art. *Mainaden.*

[28] Baum. ib. fig. 126; *Denkmäler d. alt. Kunst*, ii. pl. 23, No. 250.

[29] Plin. N. H. 36. 26.

[30] Paus. 8. 45. 4.

[31] Baum. ib. fig. 1733, 1734; Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 140, 141; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 118, 119; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 89; Frazer, *Paus.* iv. pp. 427, 428.

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§ 10. **The Mausoleum.** Scopas was likewise one of the sculptors employed upon the Mausoleum. Mausolus, prince of Caria in the middle of the fourth century, figures in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead* as a type of regal magnificence. 'The sepulchre called the Mausoleum,' according to the account of Pliny[32], 'was erected by Artemisia to her husband Mausolus, who died in the second year of the 107th Olympiad (B.C. 350). That this work is reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world is due mainly to these artists,' viz. Scopas and his contemporary rivals Bryaxis, Timotheus[33], and Leochares. 'Scopas wrought the sculptures on the eastern side, Bryaxis on the north, Timotheus on the south, and Leochares on the west. The queen died before they finished, but they did not abandon the work until it was completed, thinking it was a memorial of their own fame and artistic skill, and even to-day their handiwork still contends for the mastery. There was a fifth artist besides; for on the top of the colonnade is a pyramid equal in height to the lower structure, with twenty-four steps running up into the form of a cone; and on the top of this is a marble chariot, made by Pythis.' It is believed that the monument was still standing in the twelfth century A.D., when it was apparently thrown down by an earthquake. In the fourteenth century the Knights of St. John occupied the promontory of Budrum, the site of the ancient Halicarnassus, capital of Caria, and in this and the next century constructed a great castle there, using much of the material of the Mausoleum. The history of the recovery begins in 1846, when Lord Stratford de Redcliffe brought to England some slabs of a frieze which had been built into the castle walls. Subsequently the site of the Mausoleum itself was discovered and excavated by Sir C. T. Newton, when many more slabs of this and other friezes were unearthed,

[32] N. H. 36. 30. The finest restoration of the Mausoleum is that suggested by Mr. E. Oldfield, *Archaeologia*, vol. 54.

[33] Timotheus is also known from inscriptions as the sculptor who furnished models (*τύποι*) for the decoration of the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus: see § 3. For Leochares see § 3.

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together with the statue of Mausolus himself, a female statue, perhaps Artemisia, or the charioteer of Mausolus, a piece of the chariot-wheel, fragments, large and small, of a team of colossal horses, the torso of an equestrian figure in Persian costume, many lions, and a great many smaller fragments, some of remarkable beauty, all of which may be seen in the British Museum. One more slab of the chief frieze was afterwards recovered from Genoa, where it had probably been carried from the castle at Budrum at some earlier period.

The figures of Mausolus and Artemisia[34] are executed on a grand scale, about nine feet high; it is generally supposed that they stood in the chariot at the top of the pyramid, though this has been disputed. Treated with a breadth and massiveness corresponding to their great size, these figures wear an aspect of simple yet commanding dignity, an effect which is enhanced by heavy drapery disposed in lines of strong contrast, intended to arrest the eye of the distant beholder. The face of the prince, very broad in proportion to its length, the lips and chin covered with short beard, the hair rising in long locks pushed straight back from the broad forehead, has a careworn expression, and is almost rugged in its strength. It is a fine example of ideal portraiture.

There were three bands of sculptured frieze, and one of these, to which most of the extant and best preserved slabs belong, deals with the same subject as part of the Phigalian frieze, a fight between Greeks and Amazons. Some remains of colour were found, which show that the ground was a dark blue, the flesh a dull red, while various colours were employed on the drapery, and probably metal work was added. As compared with the Phigalian reliefs, the present exhibit several marked differences. The figures and groups are here less crowded than in the older composition; each figure is clearly detached, being set

[34] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 168, 169; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 173, 174; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 90. Specimens of the frieze, Overbeck, ib. ii. fig. 171; Collignon, ib. fig. 166–168; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. pl. xxv, xxvi.

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out from the background in bold relief, with free space above and around it; the heads do not reach to the top of the slab. As the figures are less interlaced the lines of the composition are more open and carried forward with more widely sweeping curves, with a horizontal rather than a vertical movement. Great use is made of flying drapery to carry on this wavy progression of line and to fill vacant spaces between the combatants. The bodily forms are finely drawn; the long and spare type of proportion contrasts with the heavier and squarer forms of the earlier relief. The general effect of the grouping is at once animated and graceful; though the effort after novel attitudes and striking combinations and foreshortenings occasionally tends to exaggeration, yet on the whole the limits of statuesque action are observed with due regard to rhythmic balance. Some of the mounted figures of Amazons are particularly noteworthy, the horses being rendered with great truth and beauty. It must be added that the slabs, as they now exist, do not form a continuous series, so that the fulness of the design is partially marred. It is not possible to attribute the design of this frieze to any known sculptor; all that can be asserted is that they represent the tendencies of the younger Attic school.

It seems likely that the great artists employed themselves upon the larger subjects, and left the minor to subordinates. Hence we cannot accept these reliefs as an adequate representation of the work of Scopas and the others, though they may have supplied the designs.

The Genoese slab[35] is one of the best preserved and most dramatically interesting. An Amazon wearing the Phrygian cap has just forced a Greek upon his knee; he supports himself upon his shield while with his right arm he endeavours to ward off her blow. As a counterpart to this group, on the spectator's right, a Greek has seized an Amazon by the hair and is aiming a blow at her breast with his sword. She kneels before him pleading for mercy, with one hand stretched towards

[35] Brit. Mus., *Guide to Mausoleum Room*, No. 17.

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his beard, the other touching his knee, in the attitude of supplication so commonly alluded to by Homer. Behind him, forming the centre of the slab, an Amazon comes to the rescue of her sister and is dealing a blow with a battle-axe.

In another group [36] an Amazon sits upon her horse with her face to his tail, and while her horse gallops forward she seems to be shooting her arrows behind. On the right a helmeted Greek is shrinking back from the impending blow of an Amazon, who has grasped the rim of his shield and thrusts it aside to get a fair stroke. The Amazons, it has been remarked, are veritable Furies in attack, but in defeat their woman-nature prevails, and they beg piteously for their lives.

From a smaller frieze representing a chariot race, there is a remarkable figure of a charioteer [37], dressed in the long *chiton* reaching to the feet which was the usual dress of charioteers, standing in his chariot and leaning forward to meet the rush of air. The sweeping drapery is here carved with the utmost nicety of skill, and the face, though unfortunately damaged, has an intense and eager expression beyond anything in the Amazon frieze.

§ 11. **The Group of Niobe and her Children** [38]. Pliny [39] tells us that the ancients themselves were unable to decide whether the group of Niobe with her dying children, which adorned the temple of Apollo Sosianus in Rome (probably brought thither by C. Sosius, legate of Antonius in Syria and Cilicia, B.C. 38, from some Asiatic town), was the work of Scopas or of Praxiteles. Perhaps the safest conclusion is to suppose that it was the work of some later follower of these masters; some critics prefer to assign the group to the succeeding, or Hellenistic, age. The existing series of statues was discovered

[36] Brit. Mus., *Guide to Mausoleum Room*, No. 10.

[37] Brit. Mus., *Guide to Mausoleum Room*, No. 29; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 92.

[38] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik* ii. fig. 162–164; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. 278–281; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 103–105; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 1746–1761; the Brit. Mus. disk in Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. pl. xxix.

[39] Pliny, N. H. 36. 28.

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in Rome near the Lateran church in 1583, and now stands in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. Other fragments, elsewhere extant, have since been identified by archaeologists as belonging to the group, especially a headless and armless figure of the second daughter of Niobe, in the Vatican, the flowing drapery of which is carved with a depth and precision far superior to the quality of execution shown in the Florentine copy. The proper arrangement of the figures is a matter of doubt; they do not lend themselves to a distribution in pedimental form. There is a marble disk in the British Museum [40] in which the figures, copied from the original group, are carved in relief on a series of terraces representing a hill-side; on the summit are Apollo and Artemis. This arrangement, though more suitable for a relief, may possibly have been applied to a series of figures in the round.

We first meet with the Niobe legend in the twenty-fourth Iliad. Niobe, daughter of Tantalus and wife of Amphion, filled with pride at the sight of her six stalwart sons and six beauteous daughters, dared to challenge comparison with Leto (Latona), goddess-mother of Apollo and Artemis, and openly scorned her as the mother of two only, herself the mother of twelve; Leto's children take a fearful vengeance, and slay her sons and daughters with their arrows—

> So by the two were all the many slain.

Niobe herself is turned to stone and still abides in Sipylus amid the rocks, brooding over the wrongs inflicted by the gods. Pausanias tells of a rocky shape, rudely resembling a weeping woman, on the lonely heights of Sipylus as surviving to localize the legend [41].

The group consists of a row of figures, sons and daughters, falling under the pitiless arrows of the Sun-god and Moon-goddess. On the left of Niobe one daughter, wounded in the

[40] *General Guide to the Galleries*, p. 46.

[41] Modern travellers have failed to identify this. See Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii. p. 552 foll.

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neck, is just sinking helplessly to the ground; a second starts forward to support her; here is a brother who sustains with one arm a dying sister, while with his robe wound round the other he wards off the speeding arrow; one youth still unwounded turns to fly; another kneels and grasps at the arrow in his back. On the right the *paedagogus* is endeavouring to shelter the youngest boy; another is flying down the hill; the next kneels and turns a defiant look upwards; the last is stretched upon the ground.

But the centre and crown of the whole is the figure of Niobe herself. With her right arm thrown round a little daughter who has sunk upon her knees at her feet and clasps her mother with a gesture of terror she stoops forward to shield her. She has caught up her dress to run to the protection of her child, and its flowing folds are still agitated with the speed of her movement [42]. As we gaze upon the upturned face, a study of pathetic expression, in which sorrow and majestic beauty are powerfully blended, we become conscious of the struggle for mastery between contending emotions; we feel how the queen's pride,

> that fixed mind,
> And high disdain from sense of injured merit,

that raised her to contend with the gods, is striving to subdue and keep under the natural anguish of the mother. Her upward glance betrays no weak faltering, no confession of unworthiness, no pleading for pity; yet in the contracting eyebrows and swelling throat, in the eyelids and lips that seem to quiver even in the marble, we read the mental anguish she is enduring. Thus sorrow is tempered by majesty. The statue is an embodiment of the idea of Greek tragedy; the sense of terror at punishment for impiety is chastened by pity for the suffering of a noble nature.

§ 12. **Sculptures from the Temple of Artemis near Ephesus** [43]. In B.C. 356 the old temple of Artemis (Diana)

[42] The finest replica of the head of Niobe is in the possession of Lord Yarborough at Brocklesby Park.

[43] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 179; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 102; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 206.

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near Ephesus was burnt by Herostratus, and works were at once set on foot for restoration. The new temple was nearly finished soon after the accession of Alexander, whose offer to furnish the cost of completion on condition of being permitted to dedicate it was refused. This temple is that which is connected with the episode in St. Paul's life narrated in the Acts. Its site was discovered and excavated by Mr. Wood from 1863 to 1875. One peculiarity of the ancient temple, its *columnae caelatae*—pillars with the lowest drums sculptured in relief—was adhered to in the new foundation, which had a series of Ionic columns, the lowest cylindrical drums of which were decorated with sculpture. They stood upon square bases also sculptured in relief, and are now thus set up in the British Museum.

One of them possesses peculiar interest from its connexion with one of the most pathetic stories of Greek tragedy, the subject of the best known of the plays of Euripides, the story of Alcestis. The sculptor's manner of telling the story naturally differs from the poet's, who makes Heracles recover Alcestis from Thanatos (Death) by force, after she has devoted herself to save the life of her husband Admetus. Of the circular band of this relief one whole figure remains (Hermes), three are nearly entire (Persephone, Alcestis, Thanatos), a fifth is reduced to a half (Hades), and there is a fragmentary trace of a sixth (Heracles). The scene is placed in the lower world. Hades (on the spectator's right) is seated; before him stands Persephone; next comes Hermes Psychopompos, 'conductor of souls,' easily identified by his *caduceus* and the '*petasos* hanging from his neck; next to him is Alcestis, whose head, like that of Persephone, has been broken off; next a symbolical figure wearing large wings and a sword hanging by a belt, commonly believed to be Thanatos. Beyond him must have stood Heracles. The gods of the nether world have yielded to the demand of Heracles, and Hermes, with upturned face already seeking the regions of the air, is about to lead Alcestis thither; she gathers up her robe to follow him; Death moves aside as if

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relinquishing his claim. This last is one of the most striking figures of antiquity, and if he is really Death the explanation of his impersonation must be this. So great was the Greek love of beauty and desire to banish from sight all that was ugly and repulsive that the sculptor has not merely divested Death of his terrors, but even represented him under the form of a beautiful youth. So in the Greek grave-monuments we find an expression of tender sorrow, not of violent grief. Whatever may have been their emotions in the actual presence of Death, their artistic sense required that the permanent expression of them should be calm and reserved.

§ 13. **Lysippus. The Apoxyomenos[44] or Athlete cleaning himself.** Lysippus, a native of Sicyon, connected with the school of sculpture which had its centre at Argos, made the traditions of Polycleitus the point of departure in a new development of art, and was one of the most prolific sculptors of antiquity; the changes which he introduced are known to us rather from the statements of ancient critics and the effects observable in works subsequent to his time; no existing original work can be assigned to him. Some of his most celebrated creations, known to us by report only, may be mentioned. There was a colossal statue of Zeus at Tarentum[45], balanced in an ingenious way, so that, while a child's hand could turn it, it could not be overthrown by the force of any storm. For Tarentum he also made a Heracles[46], sitting in a dejected attitude and lamenting his hard life, afterwards removed to Rome by Fabius Maximus, conqueror of Tarentum, and thence in later years to Constantinople. Another Heracles, called 'Epitrapezios,' is the subject of poems by Martial[47] and Statius from its strange history; it passed from Alexander to Hannibal, from Hannibal to Sulla, to repose at last in the

[44] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 182; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 218; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. pl. xxxi; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 98.

[45] Pliny, N. H. 34. 40.

[46] Plin. ib.; see Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 1468 foll.

[47] Mart. 9. 44; Stat. Silv. 4. 6. 32 foll.

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villa of the Roman Nonius Vindex. A Helios [48] and four-horse chariot were set up at Rhodes; a boy Alexander by him was brought to Rome and there gilded by Nero's command; but the value of the precious metal could not compensate the loss of the beauty of the statue, so the gold was removed, and the restored work, in spite of the injury done to its surface, regained in a measure its former worth [49]. An allegorical representation of Kairos, 'Occasion,' poised on tip-toe, with winged feet, and wearing all his locks in front, furnished another theme for epigrammatists. Finally, Lysippus was chosen by Alexander as his court sculptor [50], and executed many commissions for him. We hear of single portrait-statues of Alexander, and his friend Hephaestion, and of groups, with the monarch as centre, such as the group of the officers who fell at the Granicus, all portraits (this work was brought by Metellus to Rome on the subjugation of Macedonia), and the royal hunting-party, set up at Delphi, and so on [51]. It should be added that Lysippus appears to have worked exclusively in bronze.

One well attested example of his style remains in the statue called 'Apoxyomenos,' or 'Athlete scraping himself with a strigil,' in the Vatican. It is a marble copy of a bronze original, but it is, so far as we can judge, a faithful reproduction. The youthful athlete has just undergone the severe labours of the palaestra, and is in the full enjoyment of the physical satisfaction which hard exercise brings to a healthy and vigorous frame; a momentary pause lets the genial glow of animated vigour course through his elastic and firmly knit limbs. It is a picture of one born to take simple delight in animal health and activity, in the 'joys of mere living,' when 'not a muscle is stopped in its playing nor sinew unbraced.' Those who are fortunate enough to see it where it stands in the Vatican will scarcely fail to be struck by the contrast between it and the 'Demosthenes' [52] close

[48] Pliny, N. H. 34. 63.

[49] Pliny, ib.

[50] Horace, Epist. 2. 1. 240 foll.

[51] Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 1479–1491.

[52] See p. 137.

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by, the type of a great soul in a feeble body. The original bronze was set up by Marcus Agrippa before the public baths he built at Rome. The emperor Tiberius conceived such an admiration for it that he carried it away into his private house, whereupon the populace raised a tumult in the theatre, so that, in spite of his desire to possess it, he was compelled to put it back.

With this statue before us, the critical judgement of Pliny [53] upon Lysippus becomes admirably clear, so much so that it might seem to have been framed upon a contemplation of this very statue [54]. He says that Lysippus contributed much in the rendering of the hair (this may refer to that rather theatrical, mane-like treatment of the hair which may be noticed in busts of Alexander), and by his making the heads smaller than more ancient sculptors, the bodies more slender and elastic, their apparent height was magnified. 'There is no Latin term,' he continues, 'for the *symmetria* which he diligently cultivated, by modifying in an original manner the *square* statures of the ancients. He said that while they made men as they were, he made them as they appear to be. Peculiar to him also appears to be that minuteness of finish observed in the smallest details.' In other words, he invented a new canon of proportion. He 'took the canon of Polycleitus as his master [55],' or rather as a point of departure, and for the naturally just proportions of the human body, formulated according to the investigations of Polycleitus, he substituted new proportions based upon his sense of the effectively beautiful in form. Where Polycleitus had aimed at what was truthful as well as artistic in fact, he aimed at what was effective in appearance. Thus Polycleitus' canon of *squareness*,

[53] Pliny, N. H. 34. 65.

[54] The statue is restored with a die in the right hand, the result of a curious mistranslation of Plin. ib. 34. 55, where he says Polycleitus made two statues—'fecit et destringentem se,' i. e. *ἀποξυόμενον*, 'et nudum talo incessentem.' The statue when found was taken as a work of Polycleitus, Pliny's epithets confounded together and misunderstood, as if they meant 'an *apoxyomenos* walking with a die.'

[55] Cic. Brut. 86. 296.

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based upon actual observation and measurement, with a view of getting at the mean or average type, received a new development at his hands. That he exceeded all his predecessors in finish can hardly be accepted as true by us, with the marbles of the Parthenon before us. It may, however, have been true in regard to bronze-work, his own special study.

The existing portrait-busts of Alexander are numerous, but there is no one which we can definitely set down as the work of Lysippus. The most noticeable are (1) a bust in the Louvre, which is inscribed with Alexander's name, and is chiefly important as enabling us to identify other likenesses; in itself it is formal, without the stamp of individuality; (2) a splendid bust in the Capitol at Rome, long taken for Helios the Sun-god; far superior to the first in artistic merit, it is a fine example of the way in which the features of the deified Alexander were idealized in the generation which followed his death; (3) the bust in the British Museum found at Alexandria[56]; though the unfortunately corroded surface has an unpleasant effect to the eye, it bears an appearance of probable truthfulness, being less cold than the first, less mannered than the second.

§ 14. **Sculptured Sarcophagi from Sidon**[57]. These monuments, discovered in a subterranean funeral vault near Sidon, are now preserved in the Imperial Museum of Constantinople. The earliest of the series are Egyptian in form and character, having a lid of the form of a mummy with a sculptured head; one has an inscription which proves that it was used before being brought to Sidon. Four of later date are of Greek form. First in time is the sarcophagus 'of the Satrap,' shaped like a Greek temple, with sculptured sides of the style of early fifth century Ionic art. Next ranks the 'Lycian' sarcophagus, with an arched lid of well-known Lycian type; the longer sides

[56] Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. pl. xxxii; Gardner, *Handbook*, ii. fig. 107.

[57] Gard., ib. fig. 106; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, fig. 210-217, and coloured plate (viii); Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 215, 216. Published by Hamdy Bey and Th. Reinach, Paris; in course of issue.

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are decorated with scenes of the chase, Amazons in four-horse chariots hunting a lion, and horsemen a boar, with grouped Centaurs on the shorter sides; in this work, the design, execution, and facial type exhibit clear influences of the Parthenon frieze and metopes. A later tomb, known as the 'tomb of the mourners,' has analogies with the Attic grave-monuments of the fourth century; the sides of this are adorned with attached Ionic columns, and between them are women in manifold attitudes betokening sorrow, graceful figures of rather conventional types; a very narrow delicately carved band of low relief runs below; on the cover is a parapet with another relief, more coarsely carved. The last tomb is called the 'tomb of Alexander.' It is decorated with battle-scenes on one long side and the two short sides, and a hunting scene on the remaining long side.

The battle-piece is an exceedingly animated composition. It is crowded with figures, Greeks or Macedonians and Persians, on foot and on horseback, kneeling and stretched upon the ground; some are nude, as in the heroic style, some have body-armour and helmet, some wear the *chlamys*; the Persians wear trowsers and girdled linen tunics with a hood enveloping head and chin, and sometimes also a free hanging mantle with sleeves, fastened by the shoulder; archers kneel or stand and shoot their arrows. There are five interlaced groups; in the centre a mounted Macedonian smites a kneeling Persian; on the extreme left Alexander, mounted, spears a Persian whose horse falls under him; on the right another rider, perhaps Parmenio, transfixes with his lance his mounted Persian foe; warriors fighting hand to hand, and archers, connect these side groups with the centre; five dead lie upon the plain. The grouping, crowded and complicated as it is, is yet excellently arranged in mass and line; splendidly suggestive of the turmoil and fury of a desperate struggle at close quarters, it stands out withal a well-balanced and ordered whole. It is equally excellent in detail; forms of horses and men alike are rendered with exact precision. In expression it is marvellous; every face is a study,

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full of intensity, the ardour of victory, the agony of defeat and death. This intensity of expression is heightened by the use of colour in the eyeballs. Free use of colour upon the dresses at once enhances the realism of the sculptured picture, and sets off the composition with good taste and feeling for artistic effect.

The scheme of the hunting scene, planned on broader and more open lines, is even more successful in its large and well-balanced arrangement. Here the interest culminates in a central group, a mounted Persian spearman and a clubman on foot attacking a lion which has fastened fangs and claws upon the horse; mounted Macedonians, one of whom is recognizable as Alexander, charge with spears on either side; on the left an archer shoots and a spearman hurries up; on the right a Greek and a Persian deal blows at a galloping stag. In this composition clever use is made of flying drapery to suggest the rush of a horse or emphasize the swing of a man's body and arms. Two hunting dogs with pointed ears and sharp muzzles are introduced below the horses.

The fortunate chance that kept this tomb in a chamber inaccessible to light has preserved its original colouring in such measure that here we can fairly estimate what the Greek scheme of coloured relief-work was really like. The colour appears, from the remains, to have been applied with judgement, taste, and excellent effect. The tints, blue, red, pink, purple, and green, are indeed now mostly faded to a delicate harmony, but here and there brilliant touches of blue and scarlet remain as evidence of the strength of the original values. Time, as with many an 'old master,' has taken away some freshness, yet in recompense it has lent a soft and mellow tone to this most beautiful work.

In the face of this extraordinary work many puzzling questions arise. Who was the artist? who was the personage for whom the tomb was destined? Why is Alexander introduced as his comrade or adversary? What battle is here commemorated? Why are Macedonians and Persians in one place

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fighting, in another hunting side by side? No satisfactory answer to these questions has yet been given. The monument clearly belongs from its style to the age or school of Lysippus, and perhaps the simplest assumption is to suppose that it was ordered or acquired by some Sidonian grandee who first fought against Alexander and later became his ally and friend.

The monument is equally fine as a specimen of architecture in reduced scale. The proportions are noble, and the ornament, a beautiful combination of the usual elements of Greek architectural ornament, is rich and effectively disposed.

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CHAPTER VII

HELLENISTIC ART. FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ROMAN SUPREMACY

§ 1. **Introduction.** After Praxiteles and his contemporaries, we meet with no fresh original genius of the first rank. Sculpture doubtless continued to employ many competent artists, working upon the old lines. National enterprise could still furnish a motive for dedicatory offerings; thus the Aetolians set up a group at Delphi to commemorate their victory over the Gauls[1]. But the creative impulse, which makes old tradition a basis for new developments, must be looked for in the new centres of Hellenistic, rather than in the old centres of Hellenic, culture. At Pergamum, the capital of a new Macedonian kingdom in Asia, a victorious struggle against the invading Gauls called forth a desire to put it in record in novel and striking monuments. Rhodes, the most independent and powerful of the old Greek communities, ambitiously pursued the art of sculpture on lines which diverged from the old tradition in a direction which ultimately lowered the ethical standard of the art. Such a change reflects the altered standard of morality which followed the Macedonian conquests, a general lowering of taste and sentiment. Doubtless there were many other centres of Hellenistic culture where art was cultivated, as at Seleucia and Alexandria, but our attention is chiefly directed towards Pergamum and Rhodes.

§ 2. **The Rise of the Art of Pergamum.** The event which in Asia Minor furnished the sovereigns of Pergamum

[1] Paus. 10. 15. 2. See also below, chap. 8, § 8.

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with a motive for the erection of great art-memorials, and its artists with a new subject for the display of their powers, was the defeat of the Gauls. These invaders were the terror and scourge of Thrace and the north of Asia Minor, until a deliverance was wrought by princes of the Attalid dynasty which had erected a kingdom having its capital at Pergamum. Attalus I (B.C. 241–197) and Eumenes II (B.C. 197–159) carried on a series of campaigns against them, and finally confined them to that central district of Asia Minor which thenceforth bore the name of Galatia. These two princes summoned the aid of art, to perpetuate, in new and splendid monuments, the record of their achievements. These monuments fall into two great groups; (1) (*a*) the dedicatory group of Attalus at Pergamum, (*b*) a similar group offered by him at Athens; (2) the great altar of Zeus and Athena, built by the Acropolis of Pergamum by Eumenes II.

§ 3. **Pergamene group dedicated by Attalus. The Dying Gaul**[2]. Pliny[3], in his account of the history of working in bronze, gives the names of certain sculptors 'who wrought the battles of Attalus and Eumenes against the Gauls—Isigonus, Phyromachus, Stratonicus, Antigonus.' A basis was discovered at Pergamum, inscribed with a notice of victories won over the Gauls and neighbouring princes (Prusias and Antiochus), and this appears to have once had bronze figures fastened upon it.

It is now universally acknowledged that the statue in the Capitoline Museum, long known as the 'Dying Gladiator,' is a marble copy of one of these bronzes. The marble used in the statue is of a kind found in or near Asia Minor. The monument was found in the sixteenth century among the ruins of the gardens of Sallust at Rome. The right arm from the shoulder, and the piece of base on which it rests, are restorations.

[2] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 193; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 258; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 111; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, s. v. *Pergamum*.

[3] N. H. 34. 84.

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The nationality of this dying figure seems clearly proved by certain signs which tally with the descriptions of ancient authors. The most easily recognized are, the thick bunches of hair, which are pushed straight back from the forehead [4], the un-Greek features and profile, the moustache worn alone, the *torques* or twisted collar, the large and wrinkled hands and feet, the great shield and circular battle-horn. Not all these are confined to Gallic tribes, but put together they leave no doubt of the nationality.

The fact that the dying man is a Gaul would not in itself preclude the supposition of a Dying Gladiator, the name which was formerly given to the work, since the Romans sometimes compelled gladiators to fight with their national weapons and in national costume. And this view of the situation must be of permanent interest for Englishmen from the poetic rendering Lord Byron has given of it in his *Childe Harold* [5]:

> I see before me the gladiator lie:
> He leans upon his hand—his manly brow
> Consents to death, but conquers agony,
> And his drooped head sinks gradually low—
> And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
> From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
> Like the first of a thunder-shower; and now
> The arena swims around him—he is gone,
> Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the wretch who won.

But a little thought will convince us that the sentiment thus conceived is modern and un-Roman. The Roman would not have tolerated such a rebuke of the cruel pastime he delighted in. If, as seems probable, the monument dates from the period under review, the pathos of the situation lies, not in the revolt of natural sympathy against the cruelties of a Roman holiday, but in the stubborn heroism displayed by a savage, yet brave people, which refuses to accept defeat or to endure slavery. The Gaul

[4] Tac. Germ. 38 'apud Suebos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retorquere suetum.' Juv. Sat. 13. 165 'madido torquentem cornua cirro.'

[5] Canto 4, stanza 140.

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has received his death-wound, or it may be that, as the manner of his nation was, finding himself overpowered he has turned his sword upon himself, and now, stretched upon his shield, hardly supporting himself with his arms, while his body instinctively bends over the wound in such a manner as to ease the sharpness of its pain, he awaits death with grim resolution that conquers the agony expressed in the wrinkled brow, the drooping head, and the hard-drawn labouring breath. The Gaul dies like Saul or Brutus; the pathos of voluntary death is enhanced by the pathos of defeat. Yet it is not this alone which touches us; the dignity of pathos is heightened by the truth and force of expression, which the instinctive judgement sees carried out in every limb and line—the slow ebbing away of life:

> Paulatim exsolvit se corpore, lentaque colla
> Et captum leto posuit caput[6].

A reference to the figures of wounded men in the Aeginetan pediment will bring into prominence the superior realistic power of the Pergamene sculptor.

With the present work must be classed a very remarkable group as probably furnishing another example of the style of Pergamene art. It is the group in the Museo Boncompagni at Rome, formerly called 'Paetus and Arria[7],' now known to represent a Gaul, who has killed his wife in the desperation of defeat, and now turns his sword against his own breast.

§ 4. **The Dedicatory Gift of Attalus to Athens**[8]. The literary evidence for these sculptures is a notice in Pausanias' account of Attica[9]: 'Against the south wall (of the Acropolis of Athens) Attalus dedicated figures representing the legendary war

[6] Virg. Aen. 11. 829.

[7] See the well-known story in the letters of the younger Pliny, 3. 16.

[8] Specimens, Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 189 foll.; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 260–264; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 112, 113; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, s. v. *Pergamum*.

[9] Bk. 1. 25. 2.

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of the giants, who once inhabited the parts about Thrace and the isthmus of Pallene; the battle of the Athenians against the Amazons; their exploit at Marathon against the Medes; and the destruction of the Gauls in Mysia. Each figure is about two cubits.' It will be observed that the sculptures described by Pausanias fall into three divisions: (1) the representations of the actual contemporaneous event, the real struggle between Pergamene civilization and Gallic barbarism; (2) the mythical prototypes of this contest, in two groups; (3) its historical prototype. There is something very singular in this juxtaposition of contemporaneous, historical, and mythical scenes. It shows on the one hand the tenacity of tradition; when first sculpture began to be realistic and represent contemporary battles, the old method, sanctioned by the practice of a great past, of symbolizing modern achievements by mythical analogies, was combined with the new; and thus the real stood side by side with the legendary and allegorical battles as their commentary and interpretation. The introduction of the scene of Marathon was doubtless partly to confer honour upon Athens, but it was also due to the desire of the Asiatic princes to be regarded as members of the Hellenic body and the inheritors of Hellenic renown.

The remains consist of a series of ten detached figures, about three feet high, preserved in various European museums, chiefly at Naples and Venice, representing Gauls, Persians, and Amazons in various attitudes of defeat. No specimen of the victors in each strife has as yet been identified. Stretched lifeless on the ground, hurled backwards, kneeling and continuing the desperate struggle, or attempting a vain defence, these figures dramatize all the manifold forms of death and defeat in battle. It would add greatly to their interest if we could recombine the elements of the composition into an organic whole. We should then possess an example of the manner in which the Greeks disposed a group of figures in the round upon a single basis. One of the finest figures is in the Louvre[10]; a wounded Gaul,

[10] Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 263.

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forced to his knee and sorely wounded, still with resolute upturned face bids defiance to the foe.

§ 5. **Reliefs from the Great Altar of Zeus on the Acropolis of Pergamum** [11]. The discovery by a German engineer of some slabs of a large frieze built into the walls of a Byzantine erection on the site of the ancient Pergamum led eventually to the equipment of a German expedition (1878–1881), and the complete exploration of the Acropolis, which lies above the modern town. For art history the most interesting discovery was the great altar of Zeus and Athena, which was placed in front of the entrance of the Acropolis. A series of sculptured slabs, belonging to two friezes, of extraordinary power and first-rate importance for the history of art, was discovered and conveyed to the Royal Museum of Berlin. The date of the erection of the altar is fixed by an inscription recording the name of Eumenes the son of Attalus as the dedicator. It falls in the early part of the second century B.C. The only literary record is a curt notice by L. Ampelius [12], who says, 'At Pergamum is a great marble altar, forty feet high, with very large figures; it contains a Gigantomachia (battle between gods and giants).'

From the architectural remains discovered it was possible to reconstruct the design of this altar. The frieze, with its cornice and plinth, decorated the sides of a platform, nearly square, erected upon a pyramidal basement of four converging steps; a continuation of the steps leading to the surface of the platform was cut through one side of it, the frieze being continued along the sides of the passage so formed and adjusted to the ascending steps of the staircase. On this platform stood the altar, and round its margin ran a colonnade flanked on the inner side with a wall, likewise decorated with smaller reliefs.

[11] View of reconstructed altar, Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 197. Reliefs, Overb. ib. fig. 198; Collignon, ib. fig. 267–272; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. pl. xxxvi; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 114, 115; Harrison, *Studies in Greek Art*, fig. 9.

[12] Liber Memorialis, cap. 8, on 'Miracula Mundi.' He was a writer of the second century A.D.

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The slabs [13] of the lower frieze, containing the Gigantomachia, are cut in high relief, and the figures are of colossal size, more than seven feet high. In taking the battle of the gods and giants as their subject the Pergamene artists adopted a theme already familiar and treated by generations of artists, and endeavoured to present it in a new and original manner. Hesiod, in his Theogony, had conceived the scene in a passage of sublime imagery, as a strife wherein all the powers of nature were involved, when 'all the earth boiled up and the streams of ocean and the barren sea . . . to the eyes that saw and the ears that heard the cry it seemed as though earth and broad heaven above were mingled together, such was the mighty clang that arose as the earth was heaved up and heaven dashed down from above; such was the uproar when the gods mingled in the strife [14].' To render the impression of this terrific combat the sculptors required a sublime imagination; to carry it on through the 140 yards of space to be filled they needed an infinity of resource and invention in composition; to execute all the details on the great scale of their design they must have perfect knowledge of form and manifold technical skill. The last two qualities the Pergamene artists undoubtedly possessed in a high order. The grouping is never monotonous; the action, though often violent enough, is kept fairly under the restraints imposed by the laws of balance and the nature of the material; the execution shows consummate knowledge of human anatomy and of animal forms. Touching the quality of their imagination there may be more difference of opinion. Throughout the scene there reigns a grandiose and passionate spirit, a constant effort to keep the expression of force at the highest degree of intensity. The tendency is everywhere in the direction of sheer force—a tendency which threatens to overstep the natural limitations of plastic art, if not controlled by

[13] Specimens of the frieze in phototype are published under the direction of the Royal Museum, by Spemann, Berlin.

[14] Hesiod, Theogonia, ll. 695 foll.

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a sense of the harmony of repose. It would be unjust to say that the Pergamene sculptures are simply turgid; the sense of external harmony, of the grace of form and line and proportion was still sufficient to keep the work within the limits which mark off the sublime from the turgid; it is rather in the moral qualities that they are deficient, and the influence upon the mind through the eye of this perpetual passion and unrest is essentially inferior to the calm nobility which is the strength of the creations of the Pheidian age. The effect of the Pergamene sculptures is immediate and overwhelming; we feel at once the full shock of this stupendous force; the effect of the Parthenon sculptures is more gradual but more lasting; familiarity only deepens our sense of the power of genius manifested in them.

The various representations of the Titans form an interesting study. Some are simply human; others are furnished with wings; others have legs metamorphosed into serpents, the heads of which aid in the fight, while their coils are cleverly utilized in the design; another has the head of a lion. These are symbolical of the 'earth-born' powers of savage nature.

The finest groups are that of Zeus and that of Athena[15].

Zeus is defending himself against the attack of three giants, two of whom have a human form, while the third, older and bearded, has the legs of a snake. Zeus has overcome two of his adversaries; one sits on the left, brought down by the thunderbolt which is shown sticking in his left thigh in a manner startlingly realistic. The next has sunk on his knees before Zeus, and grasps at his right shoulder with his left hand; he is weaponless; the upturned face may possibly be meant to indicate terror at the sight of the aegis as the cause of collapse. The third giant, with his finely modelled back towards us, holds out a panther skin in his left hand, and aims a blow with the right arm, which is broken off. The splendid figure of Zeus himself forms the

[15] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, s. v. *Pergamum*, gives illustrations of all the principal groups.

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centre of the group. The upper part of his body is nude, the lower limbs are draped with a heavy mantle. Extending the aegis with his left arm, with legs set well apart, he swings back the right hand, grasping a thunderbolt, in the very act to throw and crush his last opponent. His eagle aids him in confounding this adversary. The head of Zeus is unfortunately broken, but doubtless the idea of conscious strength expressed in the pose and the splendid torso was carried out there also.

In the second group, Athena, moving swiftly towards the left, has seized a youthful giant—vainly beating his wide wings—by the hair, and is dashing him upon the ground. His resistance is already paralyzed by the serpent sacred to her, which has coiled about his left arm and right leg and bites at his breast. There is a strong resemblance between this giant and the Laocoon. In the direction of the extended left arm, as if in answer to its mute appeal, rises from the ground the Earth-Mother, Gê, whose name is inscribed on the slab beside her; her left arm bears the cornucopia, symbol of fruitfulness; her right (broken) was raised towards Athena in supplication for her children. The lower part of her face is broken; the eyebrows and forehead, in their expression of intense sorrow, recall the features of Niobe. On the right, above Gê, a winged Victory floats towards Athena to crown her[16].

The smaller frieze, which presents the life of Telephus in successive scenes, is noteworthy in this respect, that here for the first time in Greek sculpture we find the older scheme of the relief-form, as a single plane surface, abandoned for the newer scheme of pictorial effect, in which the background is treated as a landscape in perspective[17]. This treatment gained great favour in

[16] A detailed examination of the Pergamene Frieze will be found in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (by L. R. Farnell), vols. iii and iv.

[17] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 201; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 273 foll. For a Hellenistic relief in the Brit. Mus. exhibiting the same pictorial tendency see Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 108.

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Roman times, and led to the picturesque bands of sculpture which adorn Trajan's column. Pictorial relief is employed with beautiful effect in Renascence sculpture, as all will admit who have seen the bronze gates of Ghiberti at Florence.

§ 6. **Rhodian Art. The Colossus of the Sun-God.** When the rest of Greece either fell directly under Macedonian sway or wasted itself in perpetual struggles against superior power, the Rhodians maintained a vigorous independence, and gaining wealth by their trade, devoted themselves to the cultivation of art. The extent to which this art was developed is attested by indirect notices gathered from Pliny, and from a long series of bases inscribed with artists' names[18], found in Rhodes itself, and dating from this time; its leading characteristics must be sought in a study of two monuments, one now at Naples, called the 'Farnese Bull' (Toro Farnese), representing the punishment by Zethus and Amphion of their step-mother Dirce, the largest group which has come down to us, though very greatly the work of modern restorers[19]; the other the group of Laocoon and his sons. Before considering this, we will bestow a passing notice upon the celebrated Colossus.

The sculptor, or architect, of the Colossus[20] was Chares, a Rhodian, pupil of Lysippus. It was sixty or seventy cubits high; fifty-six years after its completion it was thrown down by an earthquake, being broken at the knees; 'but even as it lies there,' says Pliny, 'it is a marvel to see; few can embrace its thumb, and its fingers are bigger than most statues; huge caverns gape in the shattered limbs; inside are seen the great blocks of masonry by whose mass he (Chares) had secured it when setting it up. It was made in twelve years and cost 300 talents, the spoil of the Rhodians from the siege-apparatus left by King Demetrius, which fell to them when he got tired of the

[18] Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 2006–2030.

[19] The sculptors were Apollonius and Tauriscus, men of Tralles, but the group was brought to Rome from Rhodes.

[20] Plin. N. H. 34. 41.

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siege and abandoned it.' It was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world. The story that it straddled over the entrance of the harbour, so that ships sailed between its legs, is a pure invention, found in no ancient authority.

§ 7. The group of Laocoon and his sons devoured by serpents. The date of the Laocoon, which Pliny[21] tells us stood in his day in the house of Titus the Emperor—a work, as he thought, 'preferable to all other creations both of pictorial and plastic art,' wrought by the consummate masters Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, Rhodians—has been the subject of infinite dispute, some taking the group as the representative of Rhodian art of the period now under review, and others putting the date of its creation in the lifetime of Titus. But the discovery of the Pergamene marbles, the strong resemblance between them and the Laocoon, and the testimony of Rhodian inscriptions, bearing the names of these artists, set the matter at rest. The works must be the product of the same time, and indeed the Pergamene and Rhodian schools must have been very nearly allied.

The story of the Laocoon may be read in the second book of Virgil's Aeneid; the difference in the treatment of the subject by the poet and the sculptors gave rise to Lessing's celebrated book entitled *Laokoon*, wherein he treated of the limits of plastic art. The sculptors have chosen the moment when the two serpents, sent by Athena to punish Laocoon for his desecration of the sacred Wooden Horse, have already enveloped him and his two sons. The three figures represent three phases in the catastrophe. The elder son, on the spectator's right, is involved in the coils of the serpent, and while seeking to extricate himself, not yet having been bitten, he turns with an expression and gesture of horror towards his father. Laocoon himself has

[21] Plin. N. H. 36. 37. See Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 202; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 285; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. 363; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 116.

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fallen against the altar on which he was about to offer sacrifice. His attitude is a realization of the most frightful physical torture. The serpent, whose head he vainly clutches with the involuntary and convulsive movement of agony, has bitten his side, and the shrinking of the body from that place and the contraction of the muscles of the stomach show that the poison spreads instantly through the frame. His right arm—a restoration—is at present raised, also clutching the snake, but it is probable that in the original the serpent coiled round the arm at the shoulder, while Laocoon clutched his own hair. His open mouth must certainly signify a cry, though Winckelmann thought this would weaken the nobility of our conception of Laocoon, and Lessing that a cry would distort the mouth and mar our sense of beauty. The younger son is past resistance; he feebly pushes at the head of the second snake, whose poison has already penetrated and subdued his body; his limbs are even now collapsing in death and sinking under him.

It is a picture of physical pain such as many sensitive natures cannot bear to look at. Pictures of pain in the world of art are only tolerable in so far as they are redeemed either by some collateral sentiment called up by, but not actually contained in, the work itself—as in mediaeval pictures of St. Sebastian associated with the sanctity of Christian martyrdom—or by the artistic and imaginative qualities of the work, the sublimity of conception and grandeur of realization which raise it above the sphere of ordinary humanity. In the Laocoon our terror is scarcely mitigated, as Lessing thought, by our pity for the suffering of a noble nature; the sense of pain is lost, if lost at all, in the sense of wonder at the extraordinary power of the sculptor's art to conceive and express the scene, just as in a poem a description of horrors may be veiled by the sublime imagery in which that description is conveyed. The important point to observe is that this Rhodian school pushed to extreme limits the tendency first observed in the works of the later Attic school, such as the Niobe, and that their chief power lay in realistic

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presentations of startling and even terrible scenes, redeemed, as far as it was possible for them to be redeemed, by the boldness of their conceptions, by their perfect knowledge of anatomy, and by their skill in execution. The Laocoon is indeed a passionate work; yet the passion is born in the brain rather than the heart; the sculptors calculated the effect they intended to produce as carefully and deliberately as a tragic actor studies his part of simulated emotion.

Darwin, in his *Expression of the Emotions*[22], in reference to the face of Laocoon, remarks that 'the ancient Greek sculptors were familiar with the expression of the grief-muscles in the human face, but they committed the anatomical error of carrying the transverse furrows across the whole breadth of the forehead, instead of giving them the true rectangular form. It is suggested that these wonderfully accurate observers probably did this intentionally, from artistic reasons.'

The Laocoon is adduced by Mr. Ruskin[23] as a conspicuous example of the want of repose in art, and he adds some severe strictures: 'I believe that by comparing the convulsions of the Laocoon with the calmness of the Elgin Theseus we may obtain a general idea of the effect of the influence (of repose), as shown by its absence in one, and presence in the other, of two works which, as far as artistical merit is concerned, are in some measure parallel; not that I believe, even in this respect, the Laocoon is justifiably comparable with the Theseus. I suppose that no group has exercised so pernicious an influence on art as this; a subject ill chosen, meanly conceived, and unnaturally treated, recommended to imitation by subtleties of execution and accumulation of technical knowledge.' In a note on this passage Mr. Ruskin acutely observes that the Rhodian artists show no true knowledge of the habits of serpents, which first seize their prey and then lash their coils round their victim, the object being to hold, not to bite or devour. Virgil's description falls under the same condemnation.

[22] Chap. vii. p. 184. [23] *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. p. 64 (ed. 1848).

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The Group of Dirce ('Toro Farnese')[24] is a colossal work of similar sensational character, the harrowing spectacle of a dreadful punishment inflicted upon a delicate woman, condemned by her revengeful step-sons and their wronged mother to be dragged to death by a wild bull. Zethus and Amphion hold in the restive bull; Dirce lies below holding up her hand in supplication; Antiope stands behind encouraging her sons. The rocky basis is adorned with picturesque pastoral imagery. Although much of the work is modern, the restorations are believed to be in the main correct, and the group exhibits an extraordinary mastery both of composition and execution; as in the case of the Laocoon, if we could eliminate the moral effect, these qualities would entitle it to a high place in the history of sculpture.

§ 8. **The Samothracian Victory**[25]. A colossal draped figure of Nike ('Victory'), put together from many fragments not long ago recovered from the island of Samothrace, now forms one of the chief ornaments of the Louvre Sculpture Gallery. It is finely placed at the top of a broad staircase, on its original pedestal, with adequate space round it from which it may be viewed, both from below and from the same level. The pedestal is formed of huge blocks of stone which appear rather unsightly in their present somewhat shattered condition; the original design was to represent the prow of an ancient *trireme*, or ship of war. On the deck of the ship, near the bow, stands Victory with erect wings outspread behind her. The action of the hands is known from coins: the right hand was uplifted and held a trumpet to the mouth, the left hand a cross of wood for a trophy-stand, the holes for fastening which are seen pierced

[24] Plin. N. H. 36. 33. The sculptors were Apollonius and Tauriscus of Tralles. See Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 204; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. 360; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 117.

[25] Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. pl. x and fig. 243; Gard. ib. fig. 122. Earlier illustrations are imperfect. The statue has been published in autotype by Braun & Cie, Dornach.

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in the drapery. A figure precisely similar occurs on coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes [25], and it is concluded from this that the monument was erected to commemorate a naval victory won by Demetrius over Ptolemy, B. C. 306.

The statue is nearly double life-size, and forms a very noble and striking object. The head and arms indeed are missing, and the feet have been broken off in front, but the broad outspread wings have been skilfully attached, and these, with the exceedingly effective attitude and drapery, give the statue a unique place among monuments of the kind. It is natural to contrast it with the Victory of Paeonius. In the older statue the natural figure stands out prominently, outlined in clearly defined contour against an accessory background of curving lines of floating drapery. All the drapery on that figure is carved somewhat flatly, so as to interfere as little as possible with the human forms. In the Samothracian Victory the drapery is not composed as accessory but as a principal element in the effect. The inner garment is carried across the bosom in two deep curving folds, casting strong shadows; a heavy robe, gathered from behind below the waist, is massed over the lower limbs in two series of deeply-cut folds making a diagonal cross, the outer limb of which is much more strongly marked; the main lines are returned in a grand sweep round the retiring left foot. Between these powerfully accentuated upper and lower shadows the almost transparent drapery round the waist shows the natural body in striking contrast; the waist itself has that bend which is so effective in the Vénus de Milo of the same gallery. The Paeonian Victory is conceived as floating downwards through the air; the Samothracian stands in a striding attitude and meets the rush of air caused by the onward-speeding ship. The earlier design is simpler; the later luxuriates in contrasts of light and shadow, bodily forms and massive drapery.

[25] Rayet, *Monuments*, livr. 2; P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xii. 4; *Coins of the Ancients*, pl. xxxi. no. 17.

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CHAPTER VIII

SELECT MONUMENTS OF VARIOUS DATES

§ 1. **Introduction.** The reader of the foregoing pages will have already drawn the conclusion that the evidence for assigning any monument to a definite date is of various kinds. Sometimes this evidence depends upon literary sources, sometimes upon the known history of the place where the monument was found, sometimes an inscription upon it will enable a skilled epigraphist to determine the date by the form of the letters. But in many cases the style of the monument itself, its treatment and execution, and sometimes the kind of subject chosen for representation are our only guides. Such testimony is obviously only admissible when, through a prolonged study of dated monuments, it has been proved that successive periods and schools of art have different and definitely marked characteristics, and that these can be ascertained and measured.

Some examples of such monuments, assigned to a given period by their style, have been already described in Chapter IV, as the Eleusinian and Orpheus Reliefs, and the Standing Diskobolos. In the present chapter a few more specimens will be given, some of which have enjoyed a long-continued celebrity which gives them special importance.

§ 2. **The Dresden Athena and the Bologna Head; the so-called Lemnian Athena.** Two marble statues of Athena at Dresden, almost exact replicas, have been observed to agree in style and measurement and attitude with a very beautiful

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marble head preserved at Bologna. The heads of the statues were separately made and let into a socket in the torso; the neck of the Bologna head fits the socket of one. Putting them together, Prof. Furtwängler has succeeded in restoring a statue of striking simplicity and beauty, which he claims to be a copy of the bronze 'Lemnian' statue made by Pheidias and set up on the Acropolis as a memorial by the departing Lemnian colonists about B.C. 450. The goddess is bareheaded, having a simple fillet round the hair; the eye-spaces are hollowed for the insertion of separate eyes, as usual in bronzes; she stands, like the Parthenos, on the right leg, drawing the left a little sideways; the fall and the folds of the *peplos* are similarly arranged, though with some added grace and less column-like massiveness; the *aegis* is drawn across the breast and fastened under the girdle made by two snakes knotted. Both arms are broken; the left was raised and probably rested on a spear; the right may have held a helmet. The noble and simple forms of the body and the strong and serious beauty of the face bear all the character of fifth-century work and the inspiration of the genius of Pheidias. The reference to the particular statue known as the 'Lemnia,' seen by Pausanias and highly praised for the beauty of its face by Lucian, is an extremely ingenious hypothesis which does not amount to positive proof[1].

§ 3. **Head of Asklepius** (Aesculapius)[2]. This marble was found in the island of Melos, in a chapel dedicated to Asclepius and Hygieia, together with many votive tablets and inscriptions; it is now in the British Museum. The head, which had in ancient times been broken and partially repaired again with rivets, is a milder modification of the type usually associated

[1] Paus. 1. 28. 2; Lucian, Imagines, § 4; *Schriftquellen*, 758–764. For the statue and the history of the restoration, Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture* (Eng. ed. pp. 1–26).

[2] Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 185; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. pl. xi; Rayet, *Monuments*, livr. 7; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 100. See Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, vol. i. p. 88.

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with Zeus, and it has been conjectured that it originally belonged to a Zeus-statue, and fell into the possession of some one who pretended to work miraculous cures by its means, like the priests of Isis. At all events, the head is of the finest Greek workmanship, and it is interesting to compare it with the Otricoli bust of Zeus. The head of Asklepius is thrown a little back and the wide open eyes look straight forward with a far-reaching gaze, not unlike that of Raphael's Madonna in the Dresden picture; it is as though the thoughts of the god were

> Holding an unremitting interchange
> With the clear universe of things around;

the forms of the massive forehead are modelled with a delicacy which creates an impression of a living and working brain. The expression is one of inspired contemplation; the god is as it were 'self-gathered in his prophet-mind.' The lower part of the face is less happy when seen in profile; the projecting beard gives a heavy look to the lower jaw. Zeus, on the other hand, turns his eyes towards the earth as though beholding the ways of men, and his gaze is full of graciousness, benevolence, and sympathy. The work is the noblest representation of this god that has survived. It should be compared with the relief from Epidaurus (p. 81). The conventional type of the Roman statues of this god represents him as leaning upon a staff, upon which a serpent is coiled.

§ 4. Statue of Demeter[3]. This statue, found by Sir C. Newton at Cnidus in 1858[4], is now in the British Museum. The goddess is seated on a cushion upon a stool without arms; her upper garment is drawn over the back of the head as a hood; thence passed under the right arm it is thrown across the bosom and over the left arm in broad but not heavy masses, and descends to the feet in rich folds, now much broken. The head is of Parian marble, let in by a jointure below the base of the neck to

[3] Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. pl. vii; Rayet, *Monuments*, livr. 5; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. pl. xxiii; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 99.

[4] See Newton, *Travels in the Levant*, vol. ii. pp. 175, 177.

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the body, which is of less costly stone. The back of the statue is only partially worked, from which it may be concluded that it was meant to stand in a niche. The finely wrought hair with the long curls descending on each side of the face may be contrasted with the plain head-dress of the earlier type of this goddess in the Eleusinian relief. The arms are gone, and the nose and chin have suffered injury, yet in spite of its broken condition we may recognize in this statue the most perfect type of all existing statues of the goddess. Demeter is here conceived not merely as the giver of the fruits of the earth, like the Roman Ceres, but as the universal mother, by whose bounty all men are nourished. Moreover the artist has had in his mind the story of her long wanderings in search of Persephone, whom Hades carried off to be his bride in the shades below. The face is of a type more human in its softened beauty than the Greek ideal types usually are. While her features express motherly grace and tenderness, there is imprinted in their chastened melancholy the record of the sorrow the goddess once endured in her search for her lost daughter. Such a study of mild and human beauty would naturally lead us conjecturally to attribute the statue to the school of Praxiteles. A similar veiled head of Demeter appears on a slab pieced together from many fragments, found at Eleusis and preserved in the Museum there. It represents the presentation of Persephone and Triptolemus to Demeter.

§ 5. **Bronze Head**[5], called 'Castellani'; in the British Museum. Little is positively known about this beautiful fragment, which is usually assumed to be a head of Aphrodite, though sometimes called Artemis. It was found in Armenia, and has been conjectured[6] to be the head of a statue of Anaïtis (Anahit), an Armenian divinity, modelled upon the type of the Greek Aphrodite, or a Greek statue carried off by some Armenian king to adorn his native land. Among genuine Greek bronzes

[5] Rayet, *Monuments*, livr. 5; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. frontispiece; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 247.

[6] By M. Rayet.

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of large style this head holds indubitably the foremost place. The eyes, now left hollow, were filled in with some kind of enamelled stone. The slightly parted lips lend such animation to the face that we are tempted to exclaim, like Leontes in *The Winter's Tale*,

> There is an air comes from her: what fine chisel
> Could ever yet cut breath?

The work may be conjecturally assigned to the fourth century B.C.; it cannot well belong to an earlier time, for in the works of the Pheidian period the mouth and chin are always more squarely drawn than in the present head, and the expression is consequently more severe.

§ 6. **Head of Hera**[7]. This head, called the 'Ludovisi' head, is preserved at Rome. Although found in Italy, it is universally agreed that this celebrated work is a Greek original, and a comparison with other busts of Hera leads to the conclusion that it belongs to the period of Praxiteles. In this head the ideal representation of Hera is finally reached and completed. Her majestic countenance marks her as the queen of heaven; her beauty, exceeding earthly loveliness, befits her as the bride of Zeus. The high, smooth forehead, set off by the wavy lines and deep shadows of the hair, the full mouth and chin, indicate strength of character and firmness of will which might approach to sternness were it not relieved by the mild, widely open eyes and the soft oval of the cheeks. She is crowned with the *stephané*, on which are alternating palmettes and lotus-flowers, symbol of fruitfulness; this crown, besides being a type of sovereignty, serves the artistic purpose of heightening and giving a more commanding aspect to the head. Below the *stephané* is a fillet, which may be intended to mark Hera's priest-like functions as the goddess who presides over the sanctity of marriage. From the manner in which the head is set erect

[7] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, i. pl. xii.

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upon the massive neck it may be gathered that it once formed part of a colossal statue.

§ 7. **Statue of Aphrodite called Vénus de Milo**[8]. The statue of Aphrodite in the Louvre, called the 'Melian Venus' (Vénus de Milo), found in 1820 in the island of Melos, is one of the most celebrated and most beautiful of all ancient statues. It is far superior in grandeur of conception to any other representation of the goddess. The commanding attitude and the calm and self-contained mien combine to make the expression singularly noble; the beauty that befits the goddess of love is united with a proud consciousness of divine power. It is this which has gained for the statue the name 'Venus Victrix,' the goddess who compels the homage of men and sways all nature, as she is addressed in the exordium of Lucretius' poem, 'sole mistress of the nature of things, without whom nothing rises up into the divine borders of light, nothing grows to be glad or lovely.' The wonderfully fine modelling of the well-preserved surface has imparted to the stone almost the softness and warmth of life itself, an effect enhanced by the mellow tones of the marble. In the face of the goddess the characteristic features of her type are to be observed and contrasted with those of Hera in the Ludovisi head, as the relatively small eyes and narrower forehead.

The date and reconstruction of the statue, which has lost both arms, are matters of keen dispute, and have given birth to a literature of controversy. It will be seen from what follows that the two questions are intimately connected.

1. *Date.* If we are to judge by the evidence afforded by the statue itself, we must set on one side the dignity of the expression, which points to a period when artists had still the power of conceiving such exalted types, as the fourth century; and on the other, the proportions, especially the small size of the head in relation to the body, which indicate a time later than

[8] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 214; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. pl. xi; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. 271; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 121.

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the new Lysippean canon. The last consideration would seem to carry most weight.

The external evidence is conflicting. With the statue was found a basis, which was said to be slightly higher than the existing plinth of the statue, but to fit it exactly on the left side (of the figure), so that the raised left foot of the goddess rested on it. It was so drawn by a painter, Debay, who also copied an inscription upon it. This drawing is now the only authority for the basis and its inscription, since the block itself has disappeared. The inscription gives the name of the sculptor—'[Ages]andros [9], son of Menides of [Ant]ioch on the Maeander, made it.' This city was founded by Antiochus Soter, who died B.C. 261, while palaeographers fix about B.C. 180 as the earliest possible limit of date for the inscription. Those who accept the enlarged basis as genuine accordingly place the execution of the statue in the middle of the second century B.C.; those who reject its evidence usually incline to an earlier date, and some refer the type to the influence of Scopas.

2. This basis is obviously an important element in the question of restoration. If genuine, it implies that something stood on the goddess' left side, and, since the drawing shows a square hole sunk in the upper surface of the block, this must have been a pillar or *cippus*, on which some object held by the figure rested. And, in fact, a statuette, resembling in general pose the Melian Venus, leaning upon such a *cippus*, is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford (Arundel Marbles). The object held is assumed to be a shield; this shield is the shield of Ares, and Aphrodite's possession of it indicates her triumph over that warlike god. Her left hand, which the stump of the shoulder shows to have been upraised, would thus rest upon the upper rim of the shield; her right hand would be supporting the robe, which is cast loosely round her lower limbs. The bend of the body certainly seems to require some counterbalancing weight on the left side.

[9] The letters in brackets were defaced in the original, which ran . . . *ανδρος Μηνιδου . . . ιοχευς ἀπο Μαιανδρου ἐποιησεν.*

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Another suggestion is that the goddess was grouped with Ares. This is based upon the fact that a variation upon the Melian type is actually found in many extant marbles grouped in this way. Probably all these were copied from some celebrated original and adapted.

Others, who adopt the shield but reject the enlarged basis, suppose that the goddess held the shield in her two hands, the left above and the right lower down, and rested it on her knee. This resembles the probable attitude of the 'Capuan' Venus[10] at Naples, though here too, since the arms were broken, there is the same doubt.

A totally different view is that which supposes the goddess to be elevating in her left hand an apple, her peculiar attribute, symbolizing partly her victory in the well-known contest of beauty, and partly her function as the power of fertile nature. The right hand would support her robe, as in the first scheme. This plan has the advantage of rendering the statue more self-sufficient, and it takes into account some fragments of an arm and a hand holding an apple, which were found in the same niche as the statue itself, though it has been strenuously denied that they belong to the statue. The emblem of the apple (*μῆλον*) might also be appropriate to the name of the island, as the Greek coins frequently exhibit emblems with punning references to the name of the states which issued them (as the rose of Rhodes, the seal of Phocaea, &c.).

The statue was undoubtedly executed as an independent work, and yet was probably not wholly original in conception, since the numerous variations of the fundamental theme (several of which may be seen in the Louvre itself) pre-suppose some well-known statue as the source of inspiration, while the obscurity of Melos in historical times rather precludes the supposition that our existing statue was the archetype.

[10] Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 246; *Denkmäler d. alt. Kunst*, pt. ii, pl. 25, No. 268.

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§ 8. **The Apollo 'Belvedere'.**[11] Although our more extended acquaintance with the great original works of Greek genius has caused this statue to be ranked lower than it was in former times, when the Parthenon sculptures were unknown, its long-continued popularity is well deserved and will always entitle it to a place in the history of the art. It was found at the end of the fifteenth century at Grotta Ferrata, and during the papacy of Julius II it was restored by Montorsoli, a pupil of Michel Angelo, and placed in the Belvedere of the Vatican. The most important restorations are the left hand and the fingers of the right hand. The restorer has placed in the left hand the stump of a bow, assuming, in common with all archaeologists until a recent period, that the god was to be conceived as 'Kallinikos,' the 'victorious,' having just discharged an arrow, either at the dragon Python or, as some suggested, at one of the earth-born giants. The enthusiasm which was felt and expressed for the statue by Winckelmann (A.D. 1717–1768), the father of scientific classical archaeology, finds an echo in the noble lines of Lord Byron:

> Or view the Lord of the unerring bow,
> The God of life, and poesy, and light—
> The Sun in human limbs arrayed, and brow
> All radiant from his triumph in the fight;
> The shaft hath just been shot—the arrow bright
> With an immortal's vengeance; in his eye
> And nostril beautiful disdain and might
> And majesty flash their full lightnings by,
> Developing in that one glance the Deity[12].

The peculiar merit of the statue is that its conception embodies a poetical idea, the charm of which at once captivates and carries

[11] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 211; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 161; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 119.

[12] *Childe Harold*, 4. 161. Milman's Newdigate Prize Poem follows Winckelmann:

> All, all divine—no struggling musele glows,
> Through heaving vein no mantling life-blood flows,
> But animate with Deity alone
> In deathless glory lives the breathing stone.

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away the beholder, as it expresses the easy victory of the bright and joyous god, and a sense of triumph, mingled with scorn for the foe. Its graceful pose and its slender proportions seem studied with a view to this immediately striking effect, no less than the merely ornamental accessories, as the hair gathered in a knot over the forehead, and the elaborate sandals. The absence of any indications of veins and sinews was thought by Winckelmann to be the sculptor's manner of showing the etherealized nature of the godlike form, though we know, from the *torso* of Poseidon in the west pediment of the Parthenon and many other examples, that the Greek sculptors of the best period did not always fashion their divinities so. The scale of proportions, especially the length of the lower limbs in relation to the body, would seem to indicate a date later than the new canon of Lysippus.

The study of a small bronze at St. Petersburg (called the 'Stroganoff' Apollo) in the attitude of the Apollo Belvedere, but holding in the right hand what appeared to be the end of a leathery substance, the lower part of which was broken off, led to a different view of the motive. It was assumed that the god was holding, not a bow, but the *aegis* of Zeus, in the manner described in the fifteenth Iliad[13], where Apollo advances at the head of the Trojans, and affrights the Achaeans by flashing the *aegis* in their faces. In searching for the original of this statue some archaeologists have assigned it to a group of Apollo, Artemis, and Athena, set up by the Aetolians[14] in Delphi, after their defeat of the Gauls (B.C. 279), and it was next proposed that the statue of Artemis[15] in the Louvre (called 'Versailles' Artemis, or 'Diane à la Biche'), which bears some resemblance in workmanship to the Apollo Belvedere, and an Athena in the Capitol Museum, were copies of the statues grouped with Apollo[16]. This assignment, however, is no more than a guess. The object

[13] vv. 306 foll.

[14] Paus. 10. 15. 2.

[15] Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 162; *Denkmäler d. alt. Kunst*, vol. ii. pl. 15, No. 157.

[16] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, vol. ii. p. 369 foll.

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held in the hand of the Stroganoff bronze may be the end of the mantle, not an *aegis*, and the genuineness of the work is disputed. Again, the Pergamene Gigantomachia exhibits the *torso* of Apollo in an attitude very similar to the Apollo Belvedere, and certainly discharging an arrow[17]. Such was probably the motive of the present work. Though the repetition of the type shows that it was drawn from some celebrated statue, we cannot certainly say what that statue was.

§ 9. **Miscellaneous Examples.** The present section deals summarily with a few more examples of the same kind as the preceding, of which space does not allow a full treatment.

In the Belvedere of the Vatican is a statue[18] of *Hermes*, anciently but incorrectly called Antinous. A replica is in the British Museum[19], another in Lansdowne House, another at Athens (from Melos); each of these supplies some details wanting in the others, as the *caduceus*, *talaria* ('winged sandals'), &c. The god is in the attitude of rest, with his right hand placed upon his hip. From the strongly fashioned limbs and powerfully developed chest Visconti supposed the type to be that of Hermes Enagonios, patron of the games of the *palaestra*. A comparison of the proportions and style of this statue with the Hermes of Olympia has led to its being conjecturally attributed to the school of Praxiteles. Another replica at Athens (from Andros) shows the same type utilized as an heroic figure for a grave-monument[20]. Other celebrated statues in which the influence of Praxiteles may be traced are the *Apollo* (called 'Apollino') in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence[21], and the group of *Silenus carrying the infant Dionysus*[22] in the Vatican. The

[17] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, fig. 198 C; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. vi. p. 125.

[18] *Denkmäler d. alt. Kunst*, vol. ii. pl. 28, No. 307.

[19] *Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculpture*, pt. 1, No. 171.

[20] Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 201.

[21] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 105; *Denkmäler d. alt. Kunst*, ii. 126 a.

[22] *Denkmäler d. alt. Kunst*, ii. 406; Collignon, ib. fig. 301 (replica in Louvre).

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former is a type of a whole series of statues which show Apollo resting, with his arm reclined over his head, and the body thrown into the pose noticed above as a favourite manner of Praxiteles. The latter is a work characterized by great tenderness of feeling, and in its subject offers an analogy to the Hermes of this sculptor. A bronze statuette found at Pompeii and now in the Naples Museum, called *Narcissus*, ranks as one of the most graceful and poetic creations of antiquity. 'The delicacy of the forms, and a certain youthful bloom with a slight feminine element; the graceful carelessness of the attitude, the contrast between shoulder and hip, the even curve of the lines from the head to the feet, the free and varied play of the arms; finally, the way the legs are disposed so as to indicate the momentary suspension in equilibrium of a forward pace rather than a position fixed and erect—all this betrays at once the school of Praxiteles, if not the hand of the master[23].' An exquisite bronze, the winged head of *Hypnos* ('Sleep')[24] in the British Museum, with a corresponding marble statue, which is the chief glory of the Gallery of antiques in the Prado at Madrid, is another most Praxitelean conception. The god glides forward with extended right arm (now broken) with easy yet swift motion, shedding the dew of slumber, exactly as in Shelley's invocation:

> Then wander o'er city and sea and land,
> Touching all with thine opiate wand.

In speaking of the Pheidian statue of Zeus we have already noticed that the study of Zeus-heads on coins reveals two contrasted types of Zeus—one with a peaceful expression, slightly archaic in character, and with the hair lying flat; the other, what may be called the leonine type, with masses of mane-like hair; and that the former is generally regarded as nearest the creation of Pheidias. The head called Asklepios (above, § 2) is an

[23] Jules Martha in Rayet, *Monuments*, livr. 5, pl. 7; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 234.

[24] Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, ii. p. 259; Collignon, ib. fig. 181, 182.

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example of this second kind, but the finest is that called the '*Otricoli*' *Zeus*, from the place where it was found; it is now in the Vatican [25]. Although it is of late Roman workmanship, probably executed in Hadrian's time [26], the original must undoubtedly be referred to a Greek marble of a far earlier time, probably the fourth century. The countenance expresses the union of wisdom, betokened by the lofty and massive forehead, with gracious benevolence displayed in the eyes and mouth. The face is set in a frame, composed by the hair which rises straight from the forehead and falls in wavy masses on either side. This style is not earlier than Lysippus. In contrast with the Asklepios head the face has a downward inclination, as though watching the ways of men.

Some statues of boy-figures are sometimes referred to Boethus, a native of Carthage (or perhaps Chalcedon), who lived in the Macedonian period. The best known is that of a *boy struggling with a goose* [27], of which many replicas exist, found, it is said, in one spot, which was therefore probably the workshop of a sculptor who made copies of popular works for sale; one is in the Louvre. Another graceful statue of a boy is the so-called *Spinario* [28], or *a boy pulling a thorn from his foot*, of which also there are several copies. One of these is of bronze, in the Capitol at Rome; it is distinguished by the archaism of the style coupled with defective modelling in the limbs, which indicates either an early date or that the statue dates from a time when archaism was fashionable, as under the influence of the

[25] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 1461; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, i. pl. iv, &c.

[26] This is known from the marble used, that from the Carrara quarries (*marmor lunense*), which Pliny (N. H. 36. 14) speaks of as 'lately' discovered. It is whiter and of a finer grain than the Parian.

[27] Plin. ib. 34. 84. See, on this and similar groups, E. A. Gardner in *Journal of Hellenic Society*, vol. vi, and *Handbook*, fig. 109.

[28] Rayet, *Monuments*, livr. 4, pl. 9, gives illustrations of the copy at Rome and the fragment in the British Museum; Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. 228; Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 186.

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school of Pasiteles (circ. B.C. 80). But a comparison with other copies—a marble fragment of much superior truth and freedom of execution in the British Museum, and a bronze statuette recently found at Sparta and now in the possession of Baron Rothschild—shows that the defects are attributable to the copyist rather than his prototype, and some have been inclined to assign the statue to the fifth century, and the school of Myron [29].

§ 10. **Portraits.** Some kind of portrait-statuary was no doubt practised through all the periods of Greek sculpture, but it did not become universal or widespread until after the periods of highest art. Two causes led to its increased development—one was the desire of cities like Athens to recall the images of the great men who had in former times ennobled their birth-place, and the other was the extension of private patronage to the art, so that it drew its subjects more from private life. One cause of the preservation of ancient portraits to our times was the passion of the Romans for this branch of the art, which under their patronage was carried to a high pitch of perfection, as may be seen from the many fine imperial portraits remaining. Yet really good portrait-statues or busts of celebrated Greeks are, after all, rare [30]. Of full-length statues, among the most noticeable are those of Sophocles, Euripides, Demosthenes, and Aeschines, and there are besides very expressive seated statues thought to be Menander and Poseidippus in the Vatican. The *Sophocles* statue is in the Lateran at Rome; a fillet is bound round his head, which exhibits in its features the full bloom of manhood; he is clothed with the *himation* ('large outer mantle') only, which serves as a rest for the right arm, and, passing behind over the right shoulder, is gathered round him by the left hand and projecting elbow. The attitude is imposing, and is rather suggestive

[29] Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, loc. cit.

[30] Visconti, *Iconographie grecque et romaine*; Brunn and Arndt, *Griechische und Römische Porträts*; Rouse, *Atlas of Classical Portraits* (for schools).

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of a poetical recitation [31]. The statue of *Euripides* is in the Vatican; it has been restored, but apparently correctly [32]; there is also a small seated statue of him in the Louvre, and a fine bust in the British Museum. *Demosthenes* [33] also stands in the Vatican, near the Apoxyomenos of Lysippus; he stands in a somewhat constrained attitude, with his arms held downwards clasping a roll (restored) before him. The face shows us the nervous, anxious statesman, full of thought and care, not the impassioned orator rousing his lethargic countrymen to action; and this contrast between his splendid oratory and somewhat insignificant presence bears out what is said of him in his biographies. The type is believed to go back to the statue by Polyeuctus (B.C. 280) set up in the Agora at Athens. Many busts of Demosthenes are extant; one fine example is in the Louvre. His rival *Aeschines* [34] stands in the Naples Museum in an attitude resembling that of Sophocles; his countenance exhibits easy good-nature. From the allusions by the orators to a statue of Solon with the hand drawn inside the robe it appears that this attitude was characteristic, and that those who used gesture were blamed.

Among busts, besides those of *Alexander*, mentioned before, there are noticeable portraits of *Pericles* and *Thucydides*. The first is in the British Museum [35]; a replica with a more erect head is in the Vatican. It is a *hermes* or terminal bust, a form suggested to the Athenians by the wayside figures of Hermes, square pillars with heads carved on them. The author of the best likeness of Pericles was Cresilas [36], and in reference to it

[31] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, s. v. *Sophocles*; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 178.

[32] Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, vol. i; Brit. Mus. *General Catalogue*, p. 55.

[33] Baum. ib. s. v. *Demosthenes*; Collignon, ib. fig. 239. There is a replica at Knowle Park. There is a good appreciation of the Demosthenes statue by Macaulay in Trevelyan's *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ch. vii.

[34] Aesch. 1. 25; Dem. de Fals. Leg., p. 420, § 251; Baum. ib. s.v. *Aeschines*.

[35] Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 72; Collignon, ib. fig. 63.

[36] See above, p. 42.

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Pliny remarks how art ennobles the nobility of great men. He meant, no doubt, that an imaginative artist, without entirely suppressing individual traits, brings into prominence ideal and representative features; the ancients appear to have allowed considerable licence in this matter. Pericles wears the helmet as the symbol of his authority; his features are cast in the accepted Greek type, noble and dignified. A bust preserved in Holkham House was identified as a Thucydides by Professor Michaelis. It shows us a man of intellectual but somewhat haughty features; the execution is rather conventional, as in a portrait-bust reproduced for trade purposes, and devoid of that delicacy of touch which might be looked for in features modelled from the life by a master of the art. Some terminal busts of *Plato* are thought to go back to the portrait by Silanion (B.C. 360). There is one at Berlin; another in the Vatican [37]. The plain, yet intellectually massive, features of *Socrates* are well-known through many examples; the best is in the Villa Albani at Rome [38]. Common too are the fanciful ideal portraits of *Homer* as a blind old seer [39].

§ 11. **Grave Monuments** [40]. These offer a wide and deeply interesting field for research, and here it is not possible to do more than indicate the line which study may follow. Grave-monuments may be studied (1) for the meaning and interpretation of the scenes depicted on them; (2) as illustrative of art history. The second is the reason of their introduction here. They form a by-current, parallel with the main stream of

[37] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, s. v. *Plato*; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 177 (Berlin example); Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 135 (Vatican).

[38] Baum. ib. s. v. *Sokrates*.

[39] Baum. ib. s. v. *Homer*; Brit. Mus. *Graeco-Roman Sculpt.* 117.

[40] The standard book on this subject is that of Conze, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*. Many examples are published in Furtwängler, *Collection Sabouroff*. The best English work is that of P. Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*. In the Brit. Mus. *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture* (A. H. Smith), vol. i, is an essay on the classification and interpretation of these reliefs; another in P. Gardner's *New Chapters of Greek History*.

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art development; they faithfully reflect all changes of style; they echo new motives, repeat or vary new themes, discard old conventions and adopt new in obedience to the prevailing law of taste.

The centre of the study must be Athens, where these monuments are preserved in greatest abundance and variety, some in the National Museum, and some in their original place along the Street of Tombs outside the Dipylon gate west of Athens.

In the British Museum the study may begin with the remarkable symbolism of the *Harpy Tomb* from Lycia; in these we have Greek workmanship guided by Asiatic influences[41]. An early Greek tomb in which archaic art touches a high level in beautiful design and strong natural pathos is the slab anciently called the *Leucothea* relief[42]. The *stélé* of *Aristion* (p. 23) represents also the work of the early fifth century. The style of the end of the fifth century is illustrated by two beautiful slabs inscribed with the names of *Hegeso* and *Ameinocleia*[43]. From the fourth century onwards the monuments multiply fast; we may cite the *Dexileos* slab mentioned before (p. 82) and the slabs inscribed to *Mynnion*, and to *Demetria and Pamphile*, all at Athens, out of a long series of varying excellence, exhibiting much grace of design and breathing a sentiment of tender and reticent melancholy. For the work of ordinary craftsmen the level of technical excellence maintained is high. The collection of the British Museum possesses a fine example in the *Xanthippos* slab (No. 628); specimens of later Hellenistic work may be seen in the *Jason* (No. 629) and *Exakestes* (No. 704); an example of the type exhibiting a funeral banquet is No. 712[44] of the same collection.

420 § 12. **Sculptures from Lycosura. Damophon of Messene.** Before coming to the period of Roman supremacy

[41] Brit. Mus. *Catalogue*, 94.
[42] Cast in Brit. Mus. *Cat.* 156.
[43] Casts in Brit. Mus. *Cat.* 619, 620.
[44] See P. Gardner, in *Journal of Hellenic Society*, v. p. 105.

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we must briefly allude to the work of a sculptor of distinctly original powers, about whose date there has been much controversy, Damophon of Messene. He has been placed by some in the fourth century, and by others considered as a master of the period of revival under Hadrian. Others would assign him to the time when the Achaean league was still flourishing. Pausanias alone mentions Damophon and records many works of his in different places in the Peloponnese. The fact that he worked largely at Messene and Megalopolis points to an earlier date, when these new towns were still flourishing places in Greece; against this must be set Pliny's omission of his name, and the architectural evidence afforded by the remains of the temple containing the existing sculptures, which is in favour of a Roman origin. It was Damophon who repaired the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias.

The existing remains come from the sanctuary of Despoina ('the Mistress') at Lycosura in Arcadia. Three heads and a piece of sculptured drapery were found here, and from Pausanias' account we know that the largest head is that of Demeter; the others are the heads of Artemis and Anytus. They are now preserved at Athens. The style is large and free, with a distinctly original character, as though Damophon were trying to break away from convention and aiming at a more naturalistic treatment. The goddesses have plainer and more homely features than we find in the commonly accepted ideal types; the Titan Anytus wears an expression of broad, good-natured benevolence. The hair stands up round the face in the manner introduced by Lysippus. The piece of drapery is carved in bands following the folds of the garment. It is an admirable specimen of decorative work; bands of graceful and quaint figures, grouped with much playful fancy, are alternated with exquisite scrolls of leaf design and the meander pattern [45].

[45] For these sculptures see Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 231, 232; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 329, 330; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 96; Frazer, *Pausanias*, iv. p. 372 foll.

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CHAPTER IX

GRAECO-ROMAN AND ROMAN ART

§ 1. **Revival of Greek Sculpture under new conditions.** We have seen that the art of sculpture among the Greeks, religious in its origin and throughout maintaining a formal connexion with religion, was fostered during its prime by the potent influences of political freedom and a vigorous national life, and became the worthy vehicle for the highest permanent expression of these factors of human energy. We have also seen how the Hellenizing states of Asia Minor drew from Greek culture this large view of art, and made it the starting-point for new creations of great force and originality. After the subjugation of Macedonia and Achaea by the battle of Pydna (B. C. 167) and the capture of Corinth (B. C. 145), Greek art fell under the all-absorbing dominion of Rome. From this point there is a great revival of art, but it is a revival under new conditions: art is cultivated *by* the Greeks but not *for* the Greeks; much that is outward remains—great technical skill, beauty of form, delicacy of feeling; but much of the inner inspiration gradually disappears—the play of free fancy, the self-abandonment of truly artistic natures in the creations of their own genius. Art becomes more and more eclectic, and content with more or less free variations upon standard themes.

§ 2. **Graeco-Roman and Roman Art.** The term Graeco-Roman is applied to sculptures wrought by Greek artists working

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under Roman patronage but animated by Greek traditions. Early Roman art appears, from the little that our literary records tell us about it, and from the results of the most recent excavations and discoveries in Rome, to have been strongly Etruscan in its character; but as our present object is to trace the course of Greek art, this field of inquiry must be left unexplored. When the Roman came under the spell of the more highly cultivated Greek, when, as Horace phrases it, 'captured Greece took captive her conqueror,' a new era began. There was a long period of plunder; soon there arose a demand for the reproduction of famous statues; the taste of Roman patrons led to the rise of new schools of art; gradually the art came to put on such new features that it may be regarded as a new development, when the term 'Roman' art becomes properly applicable. The majority of the numerous antique statues in our European galleries belong to this age of revival; yet the number of works which can be assigned to a positive date, or placed within certain limits of time, is comparatively small, and the heterogeneous character of the remains renders the task of discrimination and classification singularly difficult[1]. We must here be content with indicating certain broad and well-ascertained lines of demarcation.

§ 3. **The Era of Plunder.** The robbery of statues by the Romans began with the Italiote and Siceliote cities, as Tarentum, taken by Fabius Maximus (B. C. 209), and Syracuse, by M. Marcellus (212). The generals who subdued Macedonia and Achaea carried in their triumphs long lines of waggons filled with the spoils of Greek genius. The soldiers of Mummius, conqueror of Corinth (B. C. 146), destroyed much of priceless worth in sheer ignorance; the general himself gave the order that if any of the works of art he ordered to be sent to Rome was injured, it

[1] Furtwängler's *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture* is a study of Graeco-Roman copies, and an endeavour to group and assign many of them on the evidence of style to their true originators.

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was to be replaced by the carriers[2]. Strabo asserts, doubtless with much exaggeration, that after the capture of Corinth the 'most part and best' of Greek statues found their way to Rome. Succeeding proconsuls carried on this system of robbery, as the biographies of Sulla and Lucullus and the indictments of such men as Verres abundantly testify; and this in turn gave way to the wholesale deportations instigated by imperial magnificence, and the policy or cupidity of Augustus, Caligula, and Nero. Pliny mentions an immense number of Greek statues existing in Rome in his time.

§ 4. **Trade in Art; Imitation and Reproduction; Antiquarianism.** At the same time arose in private persons of wealth a desire to possess copies of favourite works, and the demand thus created was supplied by a crowd of handicrafts-men possessing excellent technical skill, whose lack of creative genius helped rather than hindered their success. Thus the most part of our existing Graeco-Roman sculptures represent, not a fresh departure, a new epoch, but a new fashion; they show us what the Romans especially admired in Greek art. As in their poetry, they set a high value upon form and finish; they preferred what was immediately taking to the eye, and demanded above all things elegance. They liked the graceful expression of commonplace better than the inspiration of new and noble ideas. Their coarser instincts also led them to seek for merely sensuous charm, and thus a debasing tendency becomes increasingly noticeable in their imitations. When they aimed at sublimity they were apt to mistake mere size for grandeur. On the other hand they were imbued with an anti-quarian spirit, and this led to a curious revival of archaic man-nerisms, but in such sculptures, generically termed *archaistic*, the refinements of later skill always betray themselves through the affectation of antiquity. Many of the statues found at

[2] Vell. P. 1. 13; Strabo, 381; Juv. 11. 100–102.

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Pompeii belong to this class, as a statue of Artemis preserved in the Museum at Naples[3].

As an illustration of the reproduction of Greek types may be cited the 'Otricoli' bust of Zeus in the Vatican[4]. Many also of the statues treated in the foregoing pages, as the Diskobolos of Myron, were due to this impulse of reproduction.

§ 5. **Classification of Graeco-Roman and Roman Sculptures.** But the Romans were too vigorous a people to be mere copyists. They did not indeed naturalize Greek sculpture to the same extent as they naturalized Greek literature; but the genius of Rome stamped itself upon the creations of Greek chisels; the hands were almost always Greek, while the ideas were Roman. The dated or dateable works of this period fall into the following categories:

1. The original or semi-original works of a school of Attic and Asiatic sculptors working under Roman patronage.

2. The inscribed works of the disciples of Pasiteles, who attained wide popularity and was evidently a recognized master.

3. Historical, allegorical, and portrait-statuary, to which a powerful impulse was given by the practical temper of the Romans; also many other works of a purely decorative character. This section may be divided into—

(1) Portrait-statues.

(2) Reliefs on arches and columns.

(3) Reliefs for the decoration of private houses, tombs, &c., and especially the reliefs on the numerous sarcophagi.

[3] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, i. fig. 68. Other examples will be found in the British Museum; see, for instance, the *Relief of Apollo receiving a Libation from Victory* (*Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculptures*, pt. i, No. 169). This *archaistic* style must be distinguished from the *hieratic* style, where the earlier manner is preserved under the influence of religious association. A good example of the *hieratic* style is a little statue of Persephone, found by Mr. Newton at Cnidos, and now in the British Museum.

[4] See p. 135.

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4. Sculptures dedicated to the service of new cults, such as those of Isis and Serapis.

5. In the time of Hadrian there was a great revival of art, in Greece proper as well as in Italy. It was then that the new cult of Antinous arose.

§ 6. New Attic School. Asiatic Sculptors. The existence of these schools is gathered from a certain number of statues found in Italy, upon which the names of artists and their birthplaces are inscribed[5], in characters which epigraphists assign to the end of the republican and the beginning of the imperial age of Roman history. The chief of these statues are:

1. A torso of Heracles, commonly called the 'Belvedere Torso,' now in the Vatican, the work of Apollonius.

2. An ideal portrait-statue of a Roman, presented under the form of Hermes Logios ('god of eloquence'), the so-called 'Germanicus' of the Louvre, the work of Cleomenes, son of Cleomenes, an Athenian.

3. A statue of Heracles resting, in the Naples Museum (called 'Farnese'), the work of Glycon, an Athenian.

4. A statue of a warrior (called the 'Borghese' or 'Fighting Gladiator') in the Louvre, the work of Agasias, son of Dositheos, of Ephesus.

5. Two Centaur statues of hard black marble (*bigio morato*) in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, the work of Aristeas and Papias, of Aphrodisias. These are probably of Hadrian's age. There is a replica of one in the Louvre.

6. The Apotheosis of Homer, a marble slab in the British Museum, inscribed with the name of Archelaus, son of Apollonius, of Priene.

7. The 'Venus de' Medici' at Florence bears the name of Cleomenes, son of Apollodorus, of Athens; but the inscription is of doubtful authenticity.

[5] Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 2214–2234.

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As examples of the tendencies of the school we choose the Heracles of Glycon and the Homeric Relief of Archelaus.

P. 502.

§ 7. **The Resting Heracles of Glycon**[6]. The hero is here resting after his labours, leaning upon his club, which is supported on a rock; a lion-skin is thrown round the club; he holds in his right hand (restored), behind his back, the apples of the Hesperides, the prize of his last exploit. The muscles of his mighty frame stand out in bold masses, swollen with past exercise, though now the tense strain is momentarily relaxed. The eyes of the hero are bent to the ground, and his thoughts seem to revert to the toil of the past; there is no indication of the triumphant sense of approaching apotheosis. In the proportions of the huge frame there is a want of just balance; the head, for example, is remarkably small in comparison with the rest of the body; the forms of the limbs are exaggerated in their hugeness; in the excessive display of muscularity the sculptor has apparently sought to show off his knowledge of anatomy at the expense of probability and artistic sense of just measure. There is a replica of the head in the British Museum[7], wherein may be observed the swollen ears characteristic of the athlete trained in the boxing-school; the pupil of the eye is indicated by a line carved in the eye-ball, a practice first introduced in Roman times. On the whole, the sculptor, who is believed to have followed and modified an original work of Lysippus, has created an impression of force devoid of agility, and strength so developed as to become unwieldy and cumbrous. There is a sense of weariness in the expression which recalls to our minds the Hercules of Horace, who 'learnt that death alone conquers the jealousy of men.'

The statue illustrates the great knowledge of anatomy pos-

[6] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 221; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 222; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 125.

[7] *Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculpture*, pt. i, No. 141. See the description of Amycus in Theocr., id. 22, ll. 45 foll.

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sessed by the sculptors of the time, and their somewhat pedantic and over-wrought use of their science.

§ 8. **The Apotheosis of Homer.** This slab, which is in the British Museum [8], though not distinguished by any remarkable skill in the execution, exhibits a love of pictorial effect and a tendency to reproduce favourite motives, since many of the figures resemble the types of statues elsewhere preserved. It shows us a mountain-side, cut in a series of terraces. On the top sits Zeus, with sceptre and eagle; below, in two rows, the nine Muses, almost all of well-known types; Apollo as Citharoedus, with lyre and flowing robe, stands in a cave before the *omphalos* of Delphi, with the Delphian priestess standing by; the man on a pedestal before a tripod may possibly be meant for Hesiod. Below, Oikoumenê and Chronos (Earth and Time) crown Homer, seated and holding a sceptre and *aplustre* ('ship's stern ornament'); his chair is supported by the Iliad and the Odyssey, while the mice at its foot symbolize the *Batrachomyomachia*. In front is a sacrificial scene with an altar and cow for sacrifice, and Myth, History, Poesy, Tragedy, Comedy, Nature, Virtue, Memory, Faith, and Wisdom, approach with gestures of adoration. The names of all the lower rank are written below.

§ 9. **Pasiteles, Stephanus, and Menelaus. Group of Orestes and Electra** [9]. Pasiteles was an Italian-Greek, who flourished as a sculptor about the time of Pompeius. He is mentioned by Pliny [10] as a historian of the art, besides being himself a sculptor of celebrity. Thus we hear of his reviving the art of chryselephantine statuary in a Jupiter which he made for the portico of Metellus, and Pliny (quoting from Varro)

[8] *Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculpture*, pt. i, No. 159; Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, ii. fig. 226; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 354.

[9] Overbeck, ib. fig. 229, 230; Collignon, ib. fig. 347, 349; Gardner, *Handbook*, fig. 128.

[10] N. H. 35. 156; 36. 39.

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notices the exceeding care which he bestowed upon the clay-model. We possess none of his works, but there is a statue in the Villa Albani inscribed with the name of Stephanus, who calls himself a pupil of Pasiteles; and there are several more or less modified repetitions of the same figure, either treated as an independent statue or grouped with another figure. Of the groups, one, called Orestes and Electra, is at Naples; another, known as Orestes and Pylades, stands in the Louvre. Akin to these is a group which is preserved in the Prado at Madrid, known as the 'San Ildefonso' group[11]. But there is another group of a different style, showing a boyish figure embracing a taller female figure, in the Museo Boncompagni at Rome, signed by Menelaus, who calls himself pupil of Stephanus. The connexion of all these with Pasiteles and with one another presents a curious problem. On the one hand the figure signed by Stephanus, and its variants in the groups, go back to an antique style, and are modifications of the type of the male figure evolved by the older Peloponnesian artists, anterior to Polycleitus. Stephanus thus appears simply as a copyist, and if our notion of the style of Pasiteles be founded upon the work of his pupil, he cannot be ranked as an independent and original master, Yet literary record points to his careful study of nature. On the other hand, the group signed by Menelaus has a higher artistic value. Its exact interpretation is uncertain; it has been called Orestes and Electra, Orestes and Iphigeneia, Aepytus and Merope, Telemachus and Penelope. The comparative size and the protecting demeanour of the female figure incline us to regard the pair as mother and son rather than brother and sister. The group seems to interpret itself most readily as an *ἀναγνώρισις*, one of those 'recognition-scenes' which formed the turning-point of so many a Greek tragedy. Regarding it, then, as an illustration of a dramatic motive, we must admire the entire unconsciousness and self-absorption of the actors, and the tender

[11] Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 352.

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and refined sentiment breathed by the whole. Menelaus shows himself here an artist of considerable originality and power. We have supposed the conception to be based upon a Greek motive; but it is to be observed that the arrangement and execution of the drapery, in both the male and female figures, follow the manner characteristic of Roman statuary.

§ 10. **Portrait-Statues.** Pliny [12] gives us a detailed and interesting account of Roman portrait-statuary. The art, taking rise in Greece, was extended by the natural instinct of ambition over the whole world; from public characters in public places the *iconic* statue passed into private houses and was recognized as a common mark of respect to be paid by clients to their patrons. First the civic dress was adopted in such statues (*togatae effigies*); then 'nude statues holding a spear, imitated from the statues of youths in the Greek gymnasium, and called *effigies Achilleae*, came into fashion.' He adds that nude statues were peculiarly Greek; the Romans, by a military instinct, added the breast-plate. He tells us how the libraries were filled with portrait-busts, either real or fanciful, when 'desire of possession gives birth to unrecorded features.' Such a fanciful creation is the portrait-bust of Homer, of which there is a replica in the British Museum, found at Baiae [13].

The statues of Augustus furnish us with examples both in civic and military dress; there is one of the former kind in the Vatican, and another, admirably draped, in the Louvre; while the second kind is illustrated by the splendid statue found in 1863, and now in the Vatican. Augustus here stands in the attitude of command, with outstretched right arm, while the left holds the sceptre and supports the loose folds of the robe passed round the middle of the body. The statue is a fine impersonation of the imperial idea. The support is a dolphin, signifying descent from the goddess of the sea, Aphrodite; a small Cupid, whose

[12] N. H. 34. 17 foll. and 35. 9.
[13] *Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculpture*, pt. i, No. 117.

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diminutive size detracts from the effect of this commanding presence, rides on the back of the dolphin. The breast-plate is elaborately carved in relief.

Nude statues of emperors or members of the imperial family, in the guise of Greek heroes, are not uncommon; the finest is a statue of M. Agrippa at Venice. It was but a step further to represent the emperor as a god, and even to fashion him after the type of the father of gods himself, as in the Vatican statue of Nerva.

There are also many female statues, some in the guise of divinities, or semi-divine impersonations, as 'Roma'; others more purely *iconic*, of which the grandest is the seated so-called 'Agrippina' in the Capitol at Rome.

§ 11. **Historic and Decorative Sculpture.** Here again the Romans found a field where their genius was at home. The relief-slabs on triumphal arches, as on the arches of Titus and Septimius Severus, and the spiral bands of relief round the columns of Trajan and M. Aurelius, must always awaken the interest of the classical student apart from any question of artistic merit, because they inform us of a number of details connected with Roman customs, and especially their military organization, which we could not otherwise have divined. To exhibit a succession of scenes as nearly like the truth as possible, to minimize the ideal element down to the necessities of an effective grouping of figures, and so place on record actual, historical events—such was the view of the sculptor, calling for taste in design and skill in execution. Commemorative sculpture, beginning with the allusive employment of analogous myths in the fifth century—then admitting realistic figures whose action is still conceived in the old mythical manner, as in the Athenian monument of the Attalid kings—has now reached its final stage, and become wholly realistic.

The strong realistic tendency of the Romans led them to the creation of new types, representative of the barbaric races.

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These sometimes found a place on triumphal arches, as the figures of captive Dacians upon the arch of Trajan, afterwards transferred to the arch of Constantius. Sometimes they appear as independent statues. There is a fine head of a Dacian in the Vatican at Rome, and a head of a German chieftain in the British Museum. Most remarkable of all is the noble statue known as *Thusnelda*, in the Loggia de' Lanzi at Florence, an idealization of *Germania devicta*, mourning for her sons [14].

§ 12. Stucco Reliefs. Sarcophagi. Some stucco-reliefs found in 1879 in a house near the Farnesina at Rome, though properly decorative and not strictly falling under the category of sculpture, are very important as showing what a high pitch of technical excellence modelling retained in the time of Augustus. They are now preserved in the Museo delle Terme, and exhibit two striking points of excellence; first, the delicate feeling with which animal and vegetable forms are utilized for decorative purposes, as ornamental scrolls; secondly, the close and loving observation of nature in small things [15].

Mostly later than these, and serving a decorative purpose of a different kind, are the reliefs on sarcophagi. As burial, partly under the influence of Christianity, began to supersede cremation among the Romans, the use of stone coffins became more and more frequent. The number of them preserved is very great, and they go down to very late times, exhibiting almost all possible grades of excellence or deformity.

The composition of the subjects in these reliefs is often strikingly simple and effective, but as time went on, the attempt to crowd more and more figures into the space resulted in loss of clearness and unity, and the strict laws of relief were violated by the introduction of smaller figures by the side of larger in ill-

[14] Brit. Mus., *Graeco-Roman Sculpture*, No. 43; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, art. *Barbarenbildungen*.

[15] Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, ii. fig. 356.

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regulated perspective [16]. Sometimes single figures or groups will recall well-known types, and thus many a sarcophagus contains an echo of the past in some beautifully drawn figure standing in singular contrast to the general poverty of design. The subjects form a curious study. They are mostly chosen from such myths as have special reference to the world after death, as those of Demeter and Persephone; the legends of Artemis and Endymion, Eros and Psyche, Orpheus and Eurydice, are translated into allegories of the human soul. The Bacchic cycle of legends is often utilized, apparently from no other motive than that it afforded excellent material for design and many popular types which could readily be turned to account; the sarcophagus of Constantia thus bears a scene of Bacchic revel. Such a scene is depicted upon one of the finest of these monuments, a sarcophagus now in the Vatican. Here dancing Fauns and Bacchantes with dishevelled hair and whirling drapery are celebrating their orgies, some girt with skins and wielding the *thyrsus*, others bearing cymbals and drums. Two nobly-executed lions' heads stand out in bold relief at each end of the front of the sarcophagus, with Cupids beneath, riding upon lion-cubs. The whole scene has a magic fascination of movement like the lyrics of Euripides, when in the play of the 'Bacchae' he sounds the cry '*Evoe! evoe!*' and bids Thebe 'put on her ivy coronal and join the wild revel with boughs of oak or fir, with the *thyrsus* in her hand.'

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§ 13. **Antinous.** As an example of the new types created to serve some new cult, in the days of the decline of the national religion, when fresh forms of emotion were eagerly welcomed, the ideal portraits of Antinous are remarkable. Antinous was a favourite of the emperor Hadrian, and, being drowned in the Nile, was lamented by his friend with passionate and extravagant devotion. It was currently reported that he had sacrificed his

[16] Two examples will be found in Sir G. Scharf's Introduction to Wordsworth's *Greece*.

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life to save the Emperor's; at any rate Hadrian decreed his apotheosis, and caused him to be worshipped as a god, and this worship spread with incredible rapidity over the Roman world. Statues and busts of Antinous have been found in many quarters, and he appears under a great variety of forms, sometimes with divine attributes, as Dionysus (in a much-admired statue in the Vatican), and sometimes in heroic guise. There is a fine head of him in the British Museum[17]; another in the Louvre; a relief, showing the head and shoulders of Antinous carrying a crown of lotus in his hand, in the Villa Albani, was greatly admired by Winckelmann, who ranked it as one of the most beautiful products of antiquity. The features of Antinous are peculiar, and may be readily recognized by their soft, somewhat sensuous beauty, with full lips, and their melancholy expression.

§ 14. **Statues of Vestals.** A very remarkable series of portrait-statues was not long ago brought to light during extended excavations of the Roman Forum. These are statues of Vestals, in Parian marble, executed probably during the times of the Antonines and the subsequent period. The likenesses show us Roman types of stern beauty invested with singular dignity; the draperies are simply and yet effectively composed and rendered with sufficient depth, firmness, and fidelity, to prove conclusively that at this period there were sculptors who were masters in their peculiar line. These show that sculpture in the second century after Christ stood still on a high level; and, as their date can be fixed within certain limits, they are an important addition to our knowledge of the history of the art.

[17] *Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculpture*, pt. i, No. 20.

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