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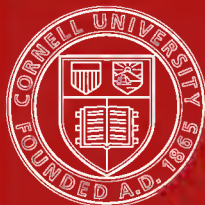
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The elder Pliny's chapters on the histor



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THE
ELDER PLINY'S CHAPTERS
ON THE
HISTORY OF ART



batissimam ipsorum a stasi
 cum qui praesentes erant
 iudicio. cum apparuit eam es
 se qua omnes secundam a sua
 quisq. iudicassent. haec est
 polycliti proxima ab eaphi
 diae. tertia clesilae. quar
 ta erdonis. quinta phrae
 monis. phidias praeter io
 uem olympium quem nemo
 aemulatur. fecit ex aebore
 aequae mineruam athenis.
 quae est in parthenone stans.
 ex aere uero praeter amoso
 nem. supra dicam mineruam
 tam eximiae pulchritudi
 nis. ut formae cognomen
 accepert. fecit & cluducum.
 & aliam mineruam quam
 romae paulus aemilius.
 ad aedem fortunae huiusce
 diei dicauit. Item duo sig
 na. quae catulus in eadem
 aede palliata. & alterum co
 lossi connudum. primusq.
 a stem fore uicem. aperu

isse atque demonstrasse
 merito iudicatur. polycli
 tus sicronius hagela
 dae discipulus diadume
 num fecit molliter iue
 nem. centum talentis no
 bilitatum. idem & dorri
 phorum uiriliter puerum
 fecit. & quem canona
 artifices uocant. linia
 menta artis ex eo peten
 tes uel uti a lege quadam.
 solusque hominum ar
 tem ipsam fecisse artis
 opere iudicatur. fecit &
 destringentem se. & in
 dum talo incessentem.
 duosque. pueros item
 nudos. talis ludentes qui
 uocantur astragalizontes
 & sunt in ciu in p. —
 & trioduo. hoc opere nul
 lum a psoluitus. pleriq.
 iudicant. Item mercuri
 um. qui fuit h. simachaeae.
 herculem qui romae

THE
ELDER PLINY'S CHAPTERS
ON THE
HISTORY OF ART

PLINIUS SECUNDUS, C.

TRANSLATED BY

K. JEX-BLAKE

CLASSICAL LECTURER AT GIRTON COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

WITH COMMENTARY AND HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

BY

E. SELLERS

FORMER STUDENT OF GIRTON COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

AND

ADDITIONAL NOTES CONTRIBUTED BY DR. HEINRICH LUDWIG URLICHS

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PREFACE

THE text printed in the following pages is based upon that of *Detlefsen*, but free use has been made of both earlier and later critical auxiliaries. We differ from *Detlefsen* mainly in adhering more closely to the *Codex Bambergensis*, whose superiority in respect of those parts of the *Historia* now reproduced must be regarded as incontestable. Our short critical apparatus is limited to notices of our deviations from *Detlefsen*, or of readings offering special interest or difficulty. For brevity's sake the name of *Detlefsen* stands in our apparatus not only for his own readings but also for those of the scholars whose views he adopts. In none but a few important cases do we print *Detlefsen's* sources. I have to thank *Mr. Fischer* of Bamberg for kindly verifying a number of readings in the *Bambergensis*, and *Dr. Leitschuh*, Chief Librarian at Bamberg, for permission to reproduce in facsimile a page of the famous codex. The present text has been prepared under the guidance of *Dr. Ludwig Traube*, who, moreover, has generously placed at our disposal a number of his own readings or conjectures.

Out of the many problems which even this short selection from the *Historia Naturalis* offers, the Introduction professes to deal only with the question of *Pliny's* Greek sources for the history of art; it touches upon his Roman authorities only in so far as these were the channel through which the Greek authors reached him. The question is

one which, so far from being, as was supposed, either exhausted or incapable of solution, is still in its infancy. Where an earlier school was content to trace back Pliny's debt to his Roman predecessors, a newer method of inquiry enables the student to work backwards not only from the Roman to the Greek authors, but from one Greek author to another. So it is that, returning to the Introduction after an interval, it became clear to me (see footnotes on p. xliii f.) that in matters of anecdote and biography Antigonos of Karystos was seldom, if ever, to be regarded as an ultimate source, and was to a far greater extent than I had at first supposed the debtor of Duris. Nay, I believe that we may in time recover (to some extent) the authorities which Duris himself had at his command. I am profoundly indebted to *Dr. F. Münzer* for reading and criticizing the proofs of the Introduction up to p. lxxiii, and for allowing me to publish as footnotes and *Addenda* the suggestive remarks made to me in the course of a detailed correspondence.

I have endeavoured to make the notes printed below the text a real commentary to the author's meaning, not a bundle of bibliography. Modern commentators might still lay to heart the criticism passed by Scaliger on the Pliny of his friend Dalecampius: *le bon homme est docte, mais il farcit trop ses annotations de je ne sais quelle fatraïlle d'auteurs . . .* But wherever further revision showed that I had done but scant justice to important though dissentient views I have tried to remedy the omission in the *Addenda*. There too a few notes are printed the necessity for which occurred to me later, and reference given to quite recent literature.

One group of contributions has been made to this book calling for special notice. When my work was already advancing towards completion, I learnt that *Dr. H. L. Ulrichs* was himself engaged upon an edition of the same parts of

Pliny. With ready generosity, however, Dr. Urlichs offered me at once for my own book a number of his notes, which we agreed should be printed in square brackets and marked with his initials H. L. U. Subsequently, however, Dr. Urlichs informed me, to my regret and surprise, that the present edition would block the way for his own; accordingly, since he had given us notes, whose value is undeniable, we acceded to his request that his name should be placed as a third on our title-page. In fairness to Dr. Urlichs, I should add that his contributions and his responsibility begin and end with the notes that bear his initials.

Besides those scholars who have given me constant and special help, I have to thank *Mr. A. S. Murray*, *M. S. Reinach*, and *Professor Wilhelm Klein* for many friendly hints, *Mr. Bernhard Berenson* for helping me to a better understanding of passages concerned with the technique of art, and *Director G. von Laubmann* for the singular privileges accorded to me as a reader in the Royal Library at Munich. Above all am I beholden to my friend *Miss K. Fex-Blake*, not only for undertaking the translation, but for her liberality in allowing certain readings to be printed, of whose soundness she was not fully convinced. She has also found time, amid the arduous tasks imposed by College lecturing, to compile both Indices, and to assist in the revision of the book throughout.

EUGÉNIE SELLERS.

SCHWABING, MUNICH.

July, 1896.

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PLINY THE ELDER

and this too was why he rode in a litter in Rome. I can remember his blaming me for walking; I need not, he said, have lost those hours, for he thought all time lost that was not given to study.

INTRODUCTION

THE *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny was intended not only to embrace the whole of the Natural Sciences, but to consider them in their application to the Arts and Crafts of Civilized Life. Hence it is that in a work, whose title would least suggest it, a short yet complete History of Art finds a logical place within the scheme. To Pliny the arts of chasing in silver and of casting in bronze are simply the indispensable complement of the chapters on metals, while, in the same way, the arts of sculpture, of painting, and of gem-engraving come under the head of kinds of earth and precious stones. Pliny's larger and compacted purpose might thus, on the face of it, seem to condemn this present detachment of the History of Art for separate treatment. But that general commentary on Pliny in the light of modern research, to which the texts of *Sillig* and *L. von Jan* were but to serve as preliminaries¹, seems likely, owing to the multifarious contents of the *Historia*, to remain in the region of unachieved possibilities, if not further away still—in Utopia: *il faut plus d'un homme pour écrire sur le grand Pline*². Meanwhile, from the nature of the subject, the Plinian account of Ancient Art and Artists forms an episode sufficiently complete in itself to be made, without further apology, the subject of a special inquiry.

In the Dedicatory Letter addressed with the *Historia* to the co-Emperor Titus, Pliny has himself announced that the 'twenty thousand matters worthy of attention' contained in the thirty-six volumes of his work were 'gathered from some two thousand books'³; we must therefore regard his work as nothing more than a compilation from other records, in which personal observation plays no part outside the range of contemporary events.

¹ The gigantic scheme had been conceived by Lorenz Okens (1779-1859); see Stark, *Archäologie der*

Kunst, p. 264.

² *Scaligerana* (ed. 1657), p. 189.

³ *Praef.* § 17.

An irreparable accident, however—the total loss of the art-literature which preceded Pliny—has given to the books with which we are here concerned an unique value. It so happens that from his pages only can we now obtain something like a connected impression of the art-literature of the Greeks, as it lay open, if no longer actually to him, at any rate to some of his immediate predecessors. For although Pliny in his Preface makes a great show of acknowledgement to his authorities, and announces his intention, which he duly carried out, of compiling *Indices* of their names¹, a very slight acquaintance with his work is sufficient to show that for no part of it did he ever read a Greek author systematically through², while for the history of the artists we are safe in asserting that not one of these authors was directly consulted. If the names of Apelles, of Melanthios, of the Sikyonian Xenokrates, of biographers such as Antigonos

¹ These lists are suffixed in the MSS. to the table of contents of each book, with which they together make up the first book of the *Historia*, and are also given singly before each book; they contain the names of 146 Roman and 327 foreign authors. For the convenience of the reader I print here the *Indices* to Bks. xxxiv–xxxvi, italicizing the names of the writers upon art:

Libro xxxiv continentur (here follow the contents) . . . *Ex auctoribus*: L. Pisone, Antiatae, Verrio, *M. Varrone*, Cornelio Nepote, Messala Rufo, Marso poeta, Boccho, Iulio Basso qui de medicina Graece scripsit, Sextio Nigro qui item, Fabio Vestale. *Externis*: Democrito, Metrodoro Scepsio, *Menaechmo* qui de toreutice scripsit, *Xenocrate* qui item, *Antigono* qui item, *Duride* qui item, *Heliodoro* qui de Atheniensium anathematis scripsit, *Pasitele* qui de mirabilibus operibus scripsit, Timaeo qui de medicina metallica scripsit, Nymphodoro, Iolla, Apollodoro, Andrea, Heraclide, Diagora, Botrye, Archedemo, Dionysio, Aristogene, Democle, Mneside, Xenocrate Zenonis, Theomnesto.

Lib. xxxv continentur . . . *Ex auc-*

toribus: Messala oratore, Messala sene, Fenestella, Attico, *M. Varrone*, Verrio, *Nepote Cornelio*, Deculone, *Muciano*, Melisso, Vitruvio, Cassio Severo, Longulano, *Fabio Vestale* qui de pictura scripsit. *Externis*: *Pasitele*, *Apelle*, *Melanthio*, *Asclepiodoro*, *Euphranore*, *Parrhasio*, *Heliodoro* qui de anathematis Atheniensium scripsit, Metrodoro qui de architectonice scripsit, Democrito, Theophrasto, Apione grammatico, Timaeo qui de metallica medicina scripsit, Nymphodoro, Iolla, Apollodoro, Andrea, Heraclide, Diagora, Botrye, Archedemo, Dionysio, Aristogene, Democle, Mneside, Xenocrate Zenonis, Theomnesto.

Lib. xxxvi continentur . . . *Ex auctoribus*: *M. Varrone*, C. Galha, Cincio, *Muciano*, Nepote Cornelio, L. Pisone, Q. Tuberone, Fabio Vestale, Annio Fetiale, Fabiano, Seneca, Catone censorio, Vitruvio. *Externis*: Theophrasto, *Pasitele*, Iuba rege, Nicandro, Sotaco, Sudine, Alexandro polyhistoro, Apione Plistonico, Duride, Herodoto, Euhemero, Aristagora, Dionysio, Artemidoro, Butorida, Antisthene, Demetrio, Demotele, Lycea.

² See Teuffel, p. 761.

of Karystos, or Duris of Samos, figure in the *Indices*, rousing the curiosity and ambition of the modern scholar, they are there simply because Pliny had found them quoted by the Roman authors from whom he habitually drew—in this case by Varro, who, in turn, had presumably taken his own information on the subject from a single writer in whose pages the others were already cited. Thus, although the Plinian *Indices* might mislead us into believing that his work was a mosaic, a piecing together of the several statements of all the authors, Greek or Roman, whose names he quotes, we shall find, on the contrary, that it resembles a stratification of which the superimposed layers can still be distinguished at many points, even though at a number of others they have so run together as to baffle analysis.

The result of such an analysis, if complete, would be nothing less than to isolate and restore to each writer his own contribution; nothing proves so well the difficulty of the task as the great amount of labour already expended in this direction. And this brings me to record the debt which every student of the Plinian art-books owes to the scholars by whose undaunted industry Pliny and his authors have gradually been brought into right relation: to *Otto Jahn*, who by detecting the homogeneous character of a number of scattered art-criticisms, and pointing out their immediate Varronian authorship and ultimate Greek origin, laid a solid basis for all future research in this field¹; to *A. Brieger*, who made the first attempt to determine the names of the Greek writers whose views Varro had latinized²; to *Heinrich Brunn*, who first tried to restore Pliny's system of quotation from his authors³; to the scholars—among them *Theodor Schreiber*⁴, *Adolf Furtwängler*⁵, *Gustav Oehmichen*⁶, *Karl Robert*⁷,

¹ O. Jahn: *Ueber die Kunsturtheile des Plinius in Berichte der Sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften*, 1850, pp. 105-142.

² A. Brieger: *De Fontibus Librorum*, xxxiii-xxxvi, *Nat. Hist. Plin. quatenus ad artem plasticam pertinent*. Dissert. Greifswald, 1856.

³ H. Brunn: *De Auctorum Indicibus Plinianis*. Disp. Inaug. Bonn, 1856.

⁴ Th. Schreiber: *Quaestionum de Artificio Aetatibus in Plin. Nat.*

Hist. Lib. relatis Specimen. Dissert. Leipzig, 1872.

⁵ A. Furtwängler: *Plinius u. seine Quellen über die Bildenden Künste* in *Supplebd. ix der Jahrb. f. Klass. Phil.* Leipzig, 1877.

⁶ G. Oehmichen: *Plinianische Studien zur geographischen und kunsthistorischen Literatur*. Erlangen, 1880.

⁷ C. Robert: *Archäologische Märchen aus alter u. neuer Zeit*, Berlin, 1886 (ch. i-iv and vi-viii).

*L. von Urlichs*¹, and his son *H. L. Urlichs*²,—who, following in the steps of these pioneers, developed or corrected their views; and last, but not least, to *F. Münzer*, who only the other day³, when the question had begun to show signs of exhaustion, gave it a new stimulus through his vigorous attempt to ascertain the Greek element in Pliny by a minute comparison of those parts suspected to be Greek with the extant fragments of certain authors mentioned in the *Indices*. In what follows, I propose to bring together, in a survey of the gradual growth of the Plinian history of the artists, such results as have been attained, carrying forward by the way the task of identifying and disengaging the Greek writers upon art mentioned by Pliny.

§ 1. *Xenokrates of Sikyon* (fl. about 280 B. C.).

In the criticisms or verdicts upon celebrated artists, now disjointedly scattered throughout the Plinian narrative, but recognized by Otto Jahn (*op. cit.*) as vitally interdependent, we touch at once upon the original groundwork. These criticisms have it in common that they all culminate in a broad statement of the special services rendered to art by the artist in question; they are presented for the most part as the effect produced by the artist's works upon the critic; and they are all consistently free from anecdote or epigram, in contrast to the phraseological character of so much of the ancient art-criticism. Their principle is most readily grasped in the judgements passed upon the five most famous statuaries—Pheidias, Myron, Polykleitos, Pythagoras, and Lysippos—in xxxiv, 54–65. It is instructive minutely to analyze these criticisms when freed so far as may be from the additions made to them by later writers⁴. In the following scheme I have indicated, within square brackets, the nature of these additions.

¹ L. Urlichs: *Die Quellenregister zu Plinius letzten Büchern*. Progr. Würzburg, 1878.

² H. L. Urlichs: *Über Griechische Kunstschriftsteller*. Dissert. Würzburg, 1887.

Besides the works cited as of leading importance, mention may also be made of the two following dissertations: J. Dalstein, *Quibus Fontibus*

Plinius in Artificum Historia usus sit, Metz, 1885; and H. Voigt, *De Fontibus earum quae ad artes pertinent partium Nat. Hist. Plin. quaestiones*. Halle, 1887.

³ F. Münzer: *Zur Kunstgeschichte des Plinius* in *Hermes*, vol. xxx, 1895.

⁴ In doing this I have been guided almost entirely by the analysis of Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 502 ff.

I. Pheidias.

Pheidias praeter Iovem Olympium . . . fecit ex ebore . . . Minervam Athenis, quae est in Parthenone stans, ex aere vero [*follows allusion to 'Amazon' in § 53*] . . . Minervam tam eximiae pulchritudinis ut formae cognomen acceperit. fecit et cliduchum [*follows mention of an Athena in Rome, of two draped figures and a nude colossos, all from Rom. Museogr. p. xci*] primusque artem toreuticen aperuisse atque demonstrasse merito iudicatur.

II. Polykleitos.

Polyclitus Sicyonius Hageladae discipulus diadumenum fecit [*follows epigrammatic qualification, p. lxxviii, and price paid for the Diadumenum, p. lxxxiv*], idem et doryphorum [*follows epigrammatic qualification; second mention under the name 'canon' of the doryphoros, p. xli*] fecit et destringentem se et nudum telo incessentem [*follows mention of knucklebone players, at Rome, in Hall of Titus, p. xcii; of a Hermes at Lysimacheia, on authority of Mucianus, p. xc; of a Herakles at Rome*] haetera arma sumentem [*follows from an anecdotic source, the mention of Artemon surnamed 'periphoretos'—Add. p. 235*] hic consummasse hanc scientiam iudicatur et toreuticen sic erudisse ut Pheidias aperuisse. proprium eius est uno crure ut insisterent signa excogitasse, quadrata tamen esse ea ait Varro et paene ad exemplum.

III. Myron.

Myronem Eleutheris natum Hageladae et ipsum discipulum bucula maxime nobilitavit [*follows allusion to epigrams upon the heifer*], fecit et canem et discobolon et Perseum et pristas et Satyrum admirantem tibias et Minervam, Delphicos pentathlos, pancratiastas [*follows mention (a) of a Herakles in Rome, (b) of the grave of a grasshopper and locust, see Comm. p. 46, l. 4, (c) of an Apollo restored to Ephesos by Augustus, p. lxxxix*]. primus hic multiplicasse veritatem videtur, numerosior in arte quam Polyclitus et in symmetria diligentior, et ipse tamen corporum tenuis curiosus animi sensus non expressisse, capillum quoque et pubem non emendatius fecisse quam rudis antiquitas instituisset.

IV. Pythagoras.

Vicit eum Pythagoras Reginus ex Italia pancratiaste Delphis posito; eodem vicit et Leontiscum; fecit et stadiodromon Astylon qui Olympiae ostenditur et Libyu puerum tenentem tabellam eodem loco et mala ferentem nudum [*follows mention, from an epigram, of the Philoktetes at Syracuse, p. lxi*], item Apollinem serpentemque eius sagittis configi [*follows mention, from an anecdotic source, of the 'Citharoedus' at Thebes, Münzer op. cit. p. 525*], hic primus nervos et venas expressit capillumque diligentius. (πρῶτον δοκοῦντα Πυθαγόραν βυθμοῦ καὶ συμμετρίας ἐστοχάσθαι—Diogenes Laertius, viii, 46.)

V. Lysippos.

[*The account of Lysippos opens with an anecdote given on the authority of Duris, p. xlvi.*]

(Lysippos) fecit . . . destringentem se [*follows its dedication at Rome*;

anecdote of Tiberius's passion for the statue], nobilitatur Lysippus et temulenta tibicina et canibus ac venatione [mention, on authority of Mucianus (p. lxxxvii), of the chariot of the Sun at Rhodes]. fecit et Alexandrum Magnum multis operibus a pueritia eius orsus [follows Nero's maltreatment of the statue]. idem fecit Hephaestionem Alexandri Magni amicum [its ascription by other authorities to Polykleitos; Pliny's own comment, p. xciii], item Alexandri venationem quae Delphis sacrata est, Athenis Satyrum, turmam Alexandri in qua amicorum eius imagines summa omnium similitudine expressit [mention of removal of the group to Rome], fecit et quadrigas multorum generum. statuariae arti plurimum traditur contulisse capillum exprimendo, capita minima faciendo quam antiqui, corpora graciliora siccioraque, per quae proceritas signorum maior videretur. non habet Latinum nomen symmetria quam diligentissime custodit nova intactaque ratione quadratas veterum staturas permutando [follows apothegm quoted from Duris, p. lxii f.]. propriae huius videntur esse argutiae operum custoditae in minimis quoque rebus.

To which may be added :

VI. Pupils of Lysippos, and Telephanes of Phokaia.

Filios et discipulos reliquit laudatos artifices Laippum, Boedan, sed ante omnes Euthrycraten, quamquam is constantiam potius imitatus patris quam elegantiam austero maluit genere quam iucundo placere. itaque optime expressit Herculem Delphis et Alexandrum Thespiis venatorem et Thespiadas, proelium equestre, simulacrum ipsum Trophonii ad oraculum, quadrigas complures, equum cum fuscinis, canes venantium. huius porro discipulus fuit Tisicrates et ipse Sicyonius, sed Lysippi sectae propior, ut vix discernantur complura signa, ceu senex Thebanus et Demetrius rex, Peucestes Alexandri Magni servator, dignus tanta gloria. artifices qui compositis voluminibus condidere haec miris laudibus celebrant Telephanes Phocaeum ignotum alias, quoniam in Thessalia habitaverit, et ibi opera eius latuerint, alioqui suffragiis ipsorum aequatur Polyclito, Myroni, Pythagorae. laudant eius Larisam et Spintharum pentathlum et Apollinem [follows, from a different source, a variant explanation of the obscurity of Telephanes].

It is now a commonplace of archaeology that these closely connected criticisms were designed to establish a comparison of the five principal artists (*insignes*), based upon their gradual conquest of the problems of symmetry and proportion, and of certain minor technical details such as the rendering of the hair, of the sinews, or the veins: Pheidias discovers the possibilities of statuary; Polykleitos perfects it and makes his statues rest their weight on one leg, yet he fails because his figures are too square and monotonous; Myron surpasses him by attaining not only to symmetry but to variety, yet he fails in the rendering of the hair; Pythagoras is more successful with hair and moreover learns how to express the sinews and the muscles;—at this point we are brought up short by finding that, in Pliny,

nothing is said of the relation of Pythagoras to symmetry. This is however an omission for which the Roman author, Pliny or Varro, is responsible; for the record of that artist's contribution to symmetry is preserved in the passage quoted above from Diogenes Laertios¹ (cf. Comm. p. 48). There we learn that Pythagoras was considered the first artist to aim not only at symmetry but also at rhythm—in other words at the correct rendering of proportion, not only in figures at rest, but also in figures in motion. Lysippos, finally, achieves the perfect proportion, by modifying in a manner peculiar to himself the ancient canons, and solves by the way the minor technical difficulties in the rendering of the hair. The guiding thought is analogous to that which prompted Dionysios to classify the orators into inventors of their art—*εὑρεταί*, and its perfectors—*τελειωταί*².

The mention of Varro in § 56 certainly proves, as Jahn saw, that he was Pliny's immediate authority for the whole series of the criticisms; but it is equally certain that they did not originate with him. So rigid a scheme of artistic development would be a most unlikely product of the varied and miscellaneous literary activity of that compiler. It is moreover strongly coloured by the partisanship of a school and obviously devised to the honour of the Sikyonian Lysippos, the greatest artists falling into place as his precursors. Besides, the words *non habet latinum nomen symmetria* . . . in § 65 show sufficiently that Varro had only been translating from the Greek. He appears here as the intermediary between Pliny and the Greeks precisely as, in the earlier books of the *Historia*, Trogus or Nigidius Figulus are named as authorities for facts or observations drawn by these writers from Aristotle³.

The Greek author whose views on the gradual development of art passed, through Varro, into the pages of Pliny was not only a warm admirer of the Sikyonians, but, to judge from the exclusive

¹ Furtwängler, *Plinius u. seine Quellen*, p. 70.

² Dionysios Halik. *De Dinarcho iud.*: Περὶ Δεινάρχου τοῦ βήτορος οὐδὲν εἰρηκῶς ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων γραφεῖσιν, διὰ τὸ μήτε εὑρετὴν ἰδίου γεγονέναι χαρακτηριστὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὥσπερ τὸν Δυσίαν, καὶ τὸν Ἰσοκράτην, καὶ τὸν Ἰσαῖον· μήτε τῶν εὑρημένων ἑτέροις τελειωτὴν, ὥσπερ τὸν Δημοσθένην, καὶ

τὸν Αἰσχίνην, καὶ Ὑπερείδην ἡμεῖς κρίνομεν.

³ Nigidius is quoted for Aristotle in ix, 185, Trogus in xi, 275, 276; see F. Aly, *Zur Quellenkritik des älteren Plinius*, p. 10 f.; Montigny, *Quaestiones in Plin. Nat. Hist. de Animalibus Libros*. Bonn, 1844; Teuffel, p. 761.

stress which he lays upon certain sides of technical progress, an artist judging from the standpoints which he had himself been trained to esteem most highly. We have not far to go to fix upon his name. He must be, as Robert first definitely pointed out¹, that Xenokrates, himself a pupil of two distinguished Sikyonians, Teisikrates and Euthykrates, who is cited in the Index to Bk. xxxiv and in § 83 as having written on bronze statuary, and in xxxv, 68 upon painting². In the latter passage he is named conjointly with Antigonos, another art-writer, who, as we shall presently see, is in great measure responsible for the additions of epigrammatic or anecdotic character made to the earlier history by Xenokrates.

✓ But the scheme of development propounded in the famous five criticisms involves a curious anachronism: Myron is made posterior to Polykleitos, Pythagoras posterior to both. That this anachronism cannot be due to mere negligence appears from the carefully thought-out nature of the context. I think it is clear from the remark preserved in Diogenes, concerning the *rhythm* contributed to statuary by Pythagoras, that, alongside considerations of symmetry and proportion, the idea of an evolution from figures at rest to figures in motion influenced the chronological order adopted by the author of the criticisms. After the stately seated or standing gods, goddesses, and temple-attendants of Pheidias come first the quiet athletes of Polykleitos, just shifting the weight of the body to one leg as in the act of walking, then

¹ *Archäologische Märchen aus alter und neuer Zeit*, pp. 28 ff. A. Brieger, *De Fontibus*, p. 46, had first pointed out that the verdicts on the bronze statuary could be traced beyond Varro back to Antigonos and Xenokrates; cf. also Th. Schreiber, *Quaestionum de Artif. Aetat.*, p. 27 ff., and Furtwängler, *op. cit.* p. 68; but it was Robert who first disentangled the special contribution of Xenokrates.

² His identification with the Athenian Xenokrates, son of Ergophilos, of the inscriptions from Oropos and Elateia (Loewy, *Inschriften der Griechischen Bildhauer*, 135 a, b, c) appears to me, on the other hand, doubtful (see Comm.). The strongest argument in its favour is that Loewy,

135 a, b, are from Oropos, a region for which both Teisikrates, the master of Xenokrates, and Thoinias, son of Teisikrates, were at one time active (*J. G. B.* 120-122 a). But it is strange that an Athenian, who in inscribing his name was careful in at least two cases (*J. G. B.* 135 a, and the new inscription—also from Oropos—*Εφημ. ἀρχ.* 1892, 51, cf. Diels, *Anzeiger*, 1893, p. 138 f.) to record the country of his birth, should have come so completely to identify himself with the Sikyonians as did the Plinian writer, or have so often entirely passed over, or dismissed with only a passing allusion, the famous artists of his own country.

the works—athletes also for the greater part—of Myron and Pythagoras. Now, if we place the Myronian ‘Diskobolos’ with its audacious movement next to the Polykleitan ‘Diadumenos’ or ‘Doryphoros,’ and adopt the recent conjecture¹, which attributes to Pythagoras the fine boxer in the Louvre², and the athlete in violent motion of the Boboli gardens³—two statues which surpass even the Diskobolos in movement and animation—we shall at least understand how, at a time when art-criticism in our modern sense was scarcely existent, such statues would give rise to the perverse chronology of §§ 55–59.

The account of the pupils of Lysippos is obviously inseparable from the account of Lysippos himself. To Telephanes we shall return presently. Before we proceed to track out Xenokrates further, we should, however, note the significant fact that wherever, in the passages just discussed, the locality of a work of art is either given or can be recovered from other sources, it lies within a restricted geographical beat, comprised by Olympia (§§ 54, 59), Delphoi (§§ 57, 59, 64, 66), Lebadeia, Thespiæ, and Thebes (§§ 66, 67), and finally Athens (§§ 54, 64)⁴. From this we may gather that Xenokrates (who probably had little opportunity for distant travel) confined himself to the mention of monuments of which he had personal knowledge.

A glance at the chronological tables of §§ 49–52 shows them to be by the author of the criticisms; in the one as in the other Pheidias opens the series—Lysippos with the brilliant attendance of sons and pupils closes it. If the Xenokratic authorship of the chronology needed confirmation, we should find it in the fact that Polykleitos, Myron, Pythagoras, are placed in the same curious order as in the verdicts. The activity of Xenokrates cannot have extended much beyond Ol. 121, the date he assigns to the pupils of Lysippos, and it is noteworthy that, although his treatise was extensively enlarged by later writers, yet the period with which it closed was adopted as representing the close of art in Greece. *Cessavit deinde* (after Ol. 121) *ars*, writes Pliny, *ac rursus Olympiade CLVI revixit*, the *revixit* not so much

¹ Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 171 f; cf. E. Reisch, *Weihgeschenke*, p. 44.

² Phot. Giraudon, 1207.

³ Phot. Arndt-Bruckmann (*Einzelverkauf*), 96.

⁴ Cf. Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 505. Of the works whose locality is not indicated, the Athena *tam eximie pulchritudinis* of Pheidias (see Comm. to xxxiv, 54, l. 2), the cow of Myron, and his Perseus were at Athens.

marking a real revival as affording a convenient formula to introduce the Greek artists who decorated at Rome the famous monuments erected by Q. Metellus Macedonicus¹.

It is evident that the chronological and narrative parts of the Xenokratic treatise had originally formed one consistent whole, which some later writer afterwards subdivided into a chronology and alphabetical lists (cf. p. lxxx). The five most famous artists, however, and the pupils of Lysippos were left, owing to their great reputation, in the original Greek order, though sundered from the chronology. Moreover, Telephanes of Phokaia (§ 68) and Praxiteles (§§ 69-71) were assigned places—in no sort of chronological order—between the pupils of Lysippos and the first alphabetical list. The reasons for the exception made in their favour are sufficiently instructive. The Xenokratic character of the account of Telephanes comes out in the comparison instituted to Polykleitos, Myron, and Pythagoras, whose names are given in the same order as in the verdicts; since, however, Xenokrates had not deemed Telephanes worthy of comparison with the two greatest names—with either Pheidias, the founder, or Lysippos the perfecter of the art—he had also not accredited him with any distinct contribution to the progress of statuary. Now the comparison of Telephanes to Polykleitos, Myron, and Pythagoras on the one hand, and the absence of any precise estimate of his merits on the other, were explained by some later Greek writer in a rationalizing anecdotic manner, alien to Xenokratic practice: Telephanes was excellent, the reasoning seems to be, or he could not be compared to great names, but he must have been obscure or we should hear more about him; and as Xenokrates had given a list of works, some, or all, of which were in Thessaly², their remoteness was made the reason for the artist's want of fame: *quoniam in Thessalia habitaverit et ibi opera eius latuerint*. These additions are so nicely welded into the Xenokratic account that they must have been made at a quite early date, as we shall see by Antigonos (p. xxxvi). Puzzled by the mention of this excellent yet unknown artist, the Roman authors next introduced him under cover of their Greek authorities: *artifices qui haec condidere* (i.e. Xenokrates and Antigonos) *miris laudibus celebrant*

¹ The *cessavit* and *revixit* first explained by Brunn, *K. G.* i. p. 504 f. Cf H. L. Ulrichs, *Griechische Kunst-schriftsteller*, p. 31 f.

² A region to which Xenokrates might easily have extended his researches northwards from Phokis and Boeotia.

Telephanem Phocaeum, and placed him outside the *insignes*, but yet in a more distinguished place than the alphabetical lists. Practically the same happened in the case of Praxiteles (§§ 69–71). This artist appears to have been only summarily discussed by Xenokrates¹, who, like the rest of his school and Lysippos himself, was exclusively a worker in bronze, and therefore only wrote concerning works in bronze, entirely ignoring the marble sculpture wherein lay the chief strength of Praxiteles and the new Attic school. Yet Praxiteles was much too great a favourite of the Romans for a Roman writer to be content with assigning to him a place among the artists of the alphabetical lists, so he linked him on to Telephanes with a *quoque*, adducing as an apology for not placing Praxiteles among the *insignes* that he was *marmore felicior ideo et clarior*. The argument practically comes to: Praxiteles also, like Telephanes, has an excuse for the place assigned to him—in his case not want of fame, but the fact that he is better known as a worker in marble than as a worker in bronze².

An analysis of the first alphabetical list (§§ 74–83) will reveal further traces of Xenokrates. In the subjoined tables I have marked with an X those artists the account of whom seems Xenokratic, and placed within square brackets the names of artists or works manifestly introduced from other sources.

X. *Alcamenes: encrinomenos*³.

X. *Aristides: quadrigae bigaeque*.

[*Amphicrates: Leaena*, periegetic, see Comm. and p. lxxxvi.]

X. *Bryaxis: Aesculapius, Seleucus*.

X. *Boedas: adorans*.

[*Baton: Apollo, Iuno*, Roman museography, cf. p. xci f.]

[*Cresilas: volneratus, Pericles*, both from epigrams, see Comm. and p. lxxix.]

[*Cephisodotus: ara*, on authority of Heliodoros, p. lxxxv.]

X. *Canachus: [Apollo, anecdotic, see Comm. and p. lxxxviii] celerizantes pueri*.

X. *Chaereas: Alexander, Philippus*.

X. *Ctesilaus: doryphorus, Amazon*.

[*Demetrius: Lysimache* (inscrip., p. lxxxvi), *Minerva mus.* (periegetic), *Simon* (literary source, p. lxxv, note 1).]

¹ Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 507, considers the Xenokratic material to be somewhat as follows: *Praxiteles . . . fecit ex aere . . . Proserpinae raptum item catagusam, et Liberum patrem et Ebrietatem nobilemque una Satyrum, quem Graeci periboeton cognominant . . . item stephanusam, pseliumenen,*

Oporan (where M. wrongly retains *canephoram*).

² I am indebted to Dr. H. L. Ulrichs for giving me what I believe to be the correct explanation of the passage.

³ The list is based on that of Oehmichen, *Plin. Studien*, p. 163 f.

- X. *Daedalus*: *destringentes se*.
 X. *Dinomenes*: *Protesilaus, Pythodemos*.
 X. *Euphranor*: [*Alexander Paris* (epigr. p. lxxix), *Minerva, Latona* (Roman museogr.)], *quadrigae bigaeque, cliduchus. Virtus et Graecia; mulier adm. et ador.; Alex. et Philippus*.
 [*Eutyichides*: *Eurotas* (epigr. p. lxxix f.).]
 X. *Hegias*: *Minerva, Pyrrhus, celetizontes*.
 [*Hagesias*: *Hercules in Pario colonia* (Mucianus, p. xc).]
 X. *Isidotus*: *buthytes*.
 [*Lycius*: *puer sufflans* (epigr. p. lxx)], *Argonautae*.
 [*Leochares*: *Ganymedes* (epigr. p. lxx), *Autolytus* (literary source, p. xlv, note 1), *Jupiter, Apollo* (Rom. museogr.), *Lyciscus* (epigr. p. lxxiii, note 2).]
 X. *Lycius*: *puer suffitor*.
 [*Menaechmus*: *vitulus* (epigr. p. lxxiii, note 2).]
 X. *Naucydes*: *Mercurius, discobolus, immolans arietem*.
 X. *Naucerus*: *luctator anhelans*.
 [*Niceratus*: *Aesculapius et Hygia* (Roman museogr.).]
 X. *Pyromachus*: *quadriga cum Alcibiade*.
 X. *Polycles*: *Hermaphroditus*.
 X. *Pyrrhus*: *Hygia et Minerva*.
 X. *Phanis*: *epithyusa*.
 [*Styppax*: *splanchnoptes* (periegetic and epigr. p. lxx).]
 [*Silanion*: *Apollodorus, Achilles, epistates* (epigr. p. lxx).]
 [*Strongylion*: *Amazon* (Roman anecdote, cf. p. xcii).]
 [*Theodorus*: *se ipse fudit* (anecdotic).]
 [*Xenocrates*: *copia signorum* (Antigonos).]

Reference to the text of Pliny will show that the works of the nineteen artists marked X are enumerated with a simple directness which contrasts as forcibly as possible with the literary allusions, anecdotic tags, and epigrammatic descriptions attaching to the notices of the names placed in brackets. This same directness characterized the lists of works of the *insignes*, and is a clear mark of Xenokratik authorship. Ten of these names, moreover, still retain their place in the Xenokratik chronology (*Alcámenes, Aristides, Canachus, Daedalus, Dinomenes, Euphranor, Hegias, Naucydes, Pyromachus, Polycles*).

An attentive study shows how a second, a third, and perhaps even a fourth hand worked over or added to the Xenokratik material, sometimes to its suppression. *Cephisodotus, Eutyichides, Leochares*, all appear in the Xenokratik chronology, but, if any of their works were mentioned, these have been omitted to make way for others which brought the added interest of anecdote or epigram; in the case of Euphranor (§ 77) the mention of the 'Paris,' derived from an epigram, was prefixed to the arid Xeno-

kratic lists. This method of introducing new material from other sources has led to the double mention of *Lycius* (§ 79) and of *Hegias* (§ 78), the latter of whom appears the second time, under the alternative form of his name, *Hagesias*. As to the mention of Xenokrates himself (§ 83), it is probable that if it had come from him its wording would be at once more modest and less vague. I therefore adopt Münzer's suggestion (*op. cit.* p. 509) that it is due to the reverence ('Pietät') of the later writer, who worked the Xenokratic treatise into his own, namely Antigonos. A number of other additions, made from evident Roman sources, or concerning works to be seen at Rome, in Varro's or Pliny's day, need no comment here. In the same way certain additions came to be made also to the chronology. The most obvious is the notice of Seilanion (see p. xlix, note 2, and Add. to Comm. on xxxiv, 51), who is tacked on to the artists of Ol. 113.

The Plinian account of the bronze-workers from § 49 to § 83 represents roughly, then, the original compass of that portion of the treatise of Xenokrates which treated of the period from the great revival after the Persian wars down to the sons and pupils of Lysippos, in Olympiads CXIII and CXXI. But it would be an error to suppose that this history of statuary took no notice of the earlier phases of the art. Through some accident which we are now no longer in a position to determine, the whole earlier part seems however to have been suppressed, with the exception of one unmistakable fragment, which oddly enough has found its way to the beginning of Pliny's account of the sculptors in marble (xxxvi, 9-10). The passage, as it now stands, is a little mosaic of most diverse materials, but the original Xenokratic conception is still evident from the stress laid upon the early fame of the Sikyonian workshops, from the fact that Dipoinos and Skyllis, the scene of whose labours lay chiefly in Sikyon and adjacent or dependent regions, are chosen among all archaic craftsmen to represent the beginnings of their art¹. Their works had been of wood (note on xxxvi, 10) and could thus fall within the range of a writer upon bronze statuary, describing the gradual evolution from wood or wood gilt to metal. To the Xenokratic

¹ The Xenokratic kernel of the passage has been rightly detected by Münzer (*op. cit.* p. 523), whom it is therefore surprising to find support-

ing the view that Xenokrates left the whole of the archaic period unnoticed (*ib.* p. 505).

contention that the art of sculpture in bronze was elaborated by Daidalid artists on the mainland of Greece, a later writer—presumably Antigonos (p. xliii f)—adjusted the account of the rise of sculpture in marble in the islands of the Aegean, under the auspices of Chian sculptors. Thus it was that the Xenokratik account of Dipoinos and Skyllis came in time to be placed at the opening of a history of sculpture in marble, where it has long proved a crux to archaeologists¹. We have learnt, then, that Xenokrates, in treating of the bronze-workers, began with the earliest beginnings. The current notion that he took no account of archaic bronze statuary is as false as it is arbitrary². It is not improbable that, if the Xenokratik account of the statuaries, as we have it in Pliny's thirty-fourth book, opens with Pheidias, this is somehow due to a very ancient misunderstanding of the statement that 'Pheidias first revealed the capabilities of sculpture and indicated its methods.' We shall immediately see how a similar expression, in the case of the painter Apollodoros, misled both ancient and modern critics into the erroneous supposition that the Greek writers—Xenokrates *in primis*—had ignored the early painters.

The Xenokratik history of the painters, preserved in Pliny's thirty-fifth book, can be recovered far more completely than that of the bronze-workers. Since in xxxv the alphabetical principle does not make its appearance till § 138, where it is employed to group together artists of comparatively minor importance, the original scheme is, in parts at least, still sufficiently clear.

Xenokrates is quoted by name, along with Antigonos, as the authority for the verdict upon Parrhasios (§ 68). The judgement in its essence is so indubitably his, as a comparison with the judgement passed upon Lysippos and his son Euthykrates (xxxiv, 66) proves, that if the later writer's name appears it can only

¹ Münzer, *loc. cit.*

² Cf. among others Robert, *Arch. Märchen*, pp. 36, 41, where the post-dating of Kritios and Nesiotes (§ 49) is explained by supposing that the fame of their 'Tyrant-Slayers' would attract the attention of the compiler of the chronology, who, since he ignored the archaic period, made them into contemporaries of Pheidias, the earliest bronze-worker

known to him. I take it rather that Xenokrates, having but very few dates at his command (see Comm. on xxxiv, 49), grouped about Pheidias, as their representative, a number of other artists who had been engaged upon the restoration of Athenian monuments after the Persian sack. The anachronism at any rate affords no proof that Xenokrates had neglected the archaic period.

be in his character of compiler, or 'editor,' of the Xenokratic history.

(Lysippos) statuarie arti plurimum traditur *contulisse* capillum exprimendo, capita minora faciendo quam antiqui, corpora graciliora siccioraque, per quae proceritas signorum maior videretur. non habet Latinum nomen *symmetria* quam diligentissime custodit nova intactaque ratione quadratas veterum staturas permutando, vulgoque dicebat ab illis factos quales essent homines, a se quales viderentur esse. propriae huius videntur esse *argutiae* operum custoditae in minimis quoque rebus. filios et discipulos reliquit laudatos artifices Laippum, Boedan, sed ante omnes Euthrycraten, quamquam is constantiam potius imitatus patris quam *elegantiam* austero maluit genere quam iucundo placere.

Parrhasius Ephesi natus et ipse multa *contulit*. *primus* *symmetriam picturae dedit*, primus *argutias* voltus, *elegantiam* capilli, venustatem oris, confessione artificum in lineis extremis palmam adeptus. haec est picturae summa suptilitas. corpora enim pingere et media rerum est quidem magni operis sed in quo multi gloriam tulerint, extrema corporum facere et desinentis picturae modum includere rarum in successu artis invenitur. ambire enim se ipsa debet extremitas et sic desinere ut promittat alias pone se ostendatque etiam quae occultat. hanc ei gloriam concessere Antigonus et Xenocrates qui de pictura scripsere, praedicantes quoque, non solum contentes¹.

But the criticism of Parrhasios is closely linked with a row of similar criticisms, not only interconnected, but dictated by the same spirit as the judgements passed upon the statuaries². Robert has pointed out that identical standards were set up in each case, while the final appreciations were similarly formulated; as Pheidias (xxxiv, 54) discloses the possibilities of statuary, so Apollodoros (xxxv, 60) discloses those of painting. The initiative of either master was carried further in the one art by Polykleitos (xxxiv, 56), by Zeuxis (xxxv, 64) in the other. Both these artists, however, fail in the rendering of proportion, a point in which Myron (xxxiv, 57) and Parrhasios (xxxv, 68) surpass them. The former is *symmetria diligentior* than Polykleitos; of the other it is said that *primus symmetriam picturae dedit*. Pythagoras (xxxiv, 59) and Euphranor (xxxv, 128) each progress towards the attainment of symmetry; of the one the critics said *πρώτον . . . συμμετρίας δοκοῦντα ἐστοχάζεσθαι*, of the other *primus videtur . . . usur-*

¹ I have chosen these two passages for comparison, because of the marked verbal similarities, but of course the real counterpart, among the painters, of Lysippos, among the statuaries, was Apelles.

² Robert, *Arch. Märch.* p. 67 ff., conveniently prints the passages side by side. After the detailed analysis of the verdicts upon the bronze-workers, it seems sufficient to refer to the text.

passé symmetrian. The highest mastery, finally, is embodied in Lysippos (xxxiv, 65) and in Apelles (xxxv, 79).

We may now proceed to recover traces of Xenokrates in the earlier sections of xxxv. It has been noted above that the contribution to symmetry, made respectively by Pythagoras and Euphranor, was couched in almost identical terms. But the statement that Pythagoras was the first to mark the sinews and the muscles, *primus nervos et venas expressit*, recalls the improvements attributed in an early part of the History of the Painters to Kimon of Kleonai: *articulis membra distinxit, venas protulit* (§ 56)¹. That both are from the same hand is indubitable.

Again, the criticism of Kimon is inseparable from a whole series of similar passages, in which the earlier stages of painting were discussed. These began at § 16, and, after sundry excursus on paintings in Rome and on colours (§ 18 ff.), were resumed again at § 56. When exhibited together, the original coherence of the passages is self-evident².

§ 16. Inventam liniarem a Philocle Aegyptio vel Cleanthe Corinthio primi exercuere Aridices Corinthius et Telephanes Sicyonius, sine ullo etiamnum hi colore, iam tamen spargentes linias intus. ideo et quos pingerent adscribere institutum. primus invenit eas colore testae, ut ferunt, tritae, Ecphantus Corinthius.

§ 56. . . . eosque qui monochromatis pinxerint, quorum aetas non traditur, . . . fuisse, Hygiaenontem, Dinian, Charmadan et qui primus in pictura marem a femina discreverit Eumarum Atheniensem figuras omnis imitari ausum, quique inventa eius excoluerit Cimonem Cleonaeum. hic catagrapha invenit, hoc est obliquas imagines, et varie formare voltus, respicientes suspicientesve vel despicientes. articulis membra distinxit, venas protulit, praeterque in vestibus rugas et sinus invenit.

§ 57. Panaenus quidem frater Phidiae etiam proelium Atheniensium adversus Persas apud Marathonam factum pinxit. adeo iam colorum usus increbuerat, adeoque ars perfecta erat ut in eo proelio iconicos duces pinxisse tradatur, Atheniensium Miltiaden, Callimachum, Cynaegirum, barbarorum Datim, Artaphernem.

§ 58. . . . Polygnotus Thasius qui primus mulieres tralucida veste pinxit, capita eorum mitris versicoloribus operuit plurimumque picturae primus contulit, siquidem instituit os adaperire, dentes ostendere, voltum ab antiquo rigore variare. [*follows mention of a picture in Rome*] hic Delphis aedem pinxit, hic et Athenis porticum quae Poecile vocatur . . . cum partem eius Micon . . . pingeret.

These primitives are represented as not yet sufficiently ad-

¹ The parallelism of the two passages is noted—but in a different context—by Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, p. 165.

² I here follow Münzer entirely (*op. cit.* p. 514), who gives the passages freed, so far as possible, from later additions.

vanced to grapple with problems of harmony and symmetry; it is sufficient for them to attempt to conquer step by step, first a knowledge of their materials, then by slow degrees the correct presentment of objects. Philokles, Kleantes, and the earliest painters, are scarcely painters at all; they practise mere outline. Then Ekphantos fills up this outline with red colour. Hygiainon and his fellows (§ 56) continue to use only one colour till it occurs to Eumaros to distinguish in painting between the sexes; this he doubtless does by introducing white for the flesh of the women¹ and thus marks the first stage in the progress from monochrome to polychrome painting. So far, however, figures have only been drawn in full face or in profile (though Pliny nowhere states this, it can be supplied from what follows); but now Kimon of Kleonai invents foreshortening, *κατάγραφα*². He further correctly marks the articulations and the muscles, and 'discovers the wrinkles and the windings of drapery.' Artists, having now learnt to distinguish between the sexes, to articulate their figures, and to present them in various attitudes, are able to turn their attention to distinguishing between individuals. Panainos, accordingly, in his Battle of Marathon, introduces *portraiture*. But mere draughtsmanship—outline simply filled in with colour—was susceptible of still further improvements. Thus Polygnotos of Thasos first permits the draperies to reveal the bodies beneath them, and shows at the same time how to give movement not only to the body, as Kimon had done, but also to the face. Then, the capacities of this limited technique being exhausted, there appeared on the scenes the great painter Apollodoros (§ 90 above, p. xxvii), who by discovering 'the fusion and management of shade'³—we should rather say of light—first gave to objects their real semblance (*primus species instituit*): thus he contributed to painting its most important factor, and thereby, as an epigrammatist pointedly said, he 'opened the gates of art' to the great masters of Greek painting—to Zeuxis and Parrhasios and their illustrious contemporaries. The coherence of the whole history of the development and perfection of painting—the consistent logic which underlies it, of an evolution from the simpler to the more complex—is so patent that it is incomprehensible how so many

¹ Eumaros's innovation is generally so explained, but I am not aware that the significance of the introduction of this white colour has ever been

accurately grasped.

² See note on xxxv, 56.

³ ἔξευρῶν φθορῶν καὶ ἀπόχρωσιν σκιῶν, Plutarch, *De Glor. Athen.* 2.

scholars—at least in the period between Jahn's Essay and Münzer's—entirely failed to apprehend it.

It remains, however, to ask how in face of this consecutive Treatise by a Greek writer there could ever arise the complaint in xxxv, 54: *non constat sibi in hac parte* (sc. *historia pictorum*) *Graecorum diligentia multas post olympiadas celebrando pictores quam statuarios ac toreutas, primumque olympiade LXXXX*. The question involves a difficult problem. One can only imagine that the complaint, in its present form, is the result of a misunderstanding; it is not impossible that some later writer, intermediate between the earlier Greek art-writers and the Roman, had found fault with the Greeks for failing to appreciate the naïve charm and simple methods of the painters who lived previous to the innovations of Apollodoros. Such a criticism, combined with the words used by Xenokrates of Apollodoros, *hic primus species instituit*, might lead in time to the supposition that the Greek art-writers had completely failed even to mention pre-Apollodorian painters. The Roman compilers, drawing from books (Pasiteles? p. lxxix) where the names of Xenokrates and Antigonos as authorities for the history of the early painters had long dropped out, piled up as proofs of the supposed inaccuracy of these writers¹ a number of facts² for which their Treatises were in reality the chief sources. Theophrastos, also, had been misrepresented in precisely the same manner. According to Pliny (vii, 205) he had attributed the invention of painting to Polygnotos, whereas Theophrastos can have intended nothing more than that Polygnotos was the first painter who could be properly so called; writing doubtless under the influence of Aristotle's admiration for the ethical qualities of this artist (*Poet.* 1450a). Theophrastos had assigned to him the place which the Plinian authors, intent rather upon technical progress, gave to Apollodoros. In truth Pliny's statement as regards Theophrastos, and his or Varro's complaint of the Greek inaccuracy, are, I believe, but the distorted reflection of the old controversy whether draughtsmanship or colouring was the more powerful means of expression. The opinion of Aristotle may be

¹ It is universally acknowledged that the Greeks alluded to in the words *Graecorum diligentia* are the main authorities, i.e. Xenokrates and Antigonos (perhaps also Duris); cf. Robert, *Arch. Märchen*, p. 25.

² E.g. the activity of Pheidias and

Panainos as painters (cf. p. li); the whole list of painters and their works from the early monochromatics down to Polygnotos. The account of Boularchos (§ 55) may have been derived by Varro (cf. p. lxxxiv and Comm. on xxxv, 55) from some independent source.

guessed from his predilection for the pre-Apollodorian Polygnotos¹. The testimony of Dionysios to the value which a school of criticism, practically unrepresented in Pliny, attached to the pre-Apollodorian paintings is of importance :

'In ancient paintings the scheme of colouring was simple and presented no variety in the tones ; but the line was rendered with exquisite perfection, thus lending to these early works a singular grace. This purity of draughtsmanship was gradually lost ; its place was taken by a learned technique, by the differentiation of light and shade, by the full resources of the rich colouring to which the works of the later artists owe their strength².'

We learn from this passage that the methods of the later painters were practically looked upon as hostile to those of the earlier, and Xenokrates, a hot partisan of the post-Apollodorians, may well have expressed himself in language which would eventually lead to the erroneous supposition that he had ignored all earlier paintings, from Polygnotos and Panainos up to the early monochromatics.

As we have it in Pliny, the argument against the Greeks is presented with skill and vigour (Comm. on xxxv, 54) ; the theme was evidently congenial to the Roman authors, who doubtless felt for the archaic the enthusiasm—common to all decadent periods—which was to rouse the subtle satire of Quintilian³.

After § 70 it becomes more difficult to follow Xenokrates (cf. Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 516), and scarcely any sentence can be picked out as bearing the indubitable signs of his method. Later writers, as shown by the Plinian *indices*, had, when it came to the artists

¹ Bertrand, *Études sur la Peinture*, p. 17, singularly misapprehends Aristotle when he assumes that A. definitely stated his preference for drawing over painting, and translates *Poet.* 1450 b, 'en étalant les plus belles couleurs on ne fera pas le même plaisir que par le simple trait d'une figure.' What A. says is that colours laid on *confusedly* or *indiscriminately* will not produce as much pleasure as simple outline: εἰ γὰρ τις ἐναλείψει τοῖς καλλίστοις φαρμάκοις χύδην, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως εὐφράνειεν καὶ λευκογραφήσας εἰκόνα.

² Dionys. Halik. *de Isaeo iudic.* 4 εἰσὶ δὴ τινες ἀρχαῖαι γραφαί, χρώμασι μὲν εἰρηγασμένοι ἀπλῶς, καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἐν

τοῖς μίγμασιν ἔχουσαι ποικιλίαν, ἀκριβεῖς δὲ τοῖς γραμμαῖς, καὶ πολλὸν τὸ χαρίεν ἐν ταύταις ἔχουσαι· αἱ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνας, εὐγραμμοὶ μὲν ἦττον, ἐξειρηγασμένοι δὲ μᾶλλον, σκιᾷ τε καὶ φωτὶ ποικιλλόμεναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν μιγμάτων τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχουσαι.

³ *Primi, quorum quidem opera non vetustatis modo gratia visenda sunt, clari pictores fuisse dicuntur Polygnotus atque Aglaophon, quorum simplex color tam sui studiosos adhuc habet, ut illa prope rudia ac velut futurae mox artis primordia maximis, qui post eos exstiterunt, auctoribus praeferant, proprio quodam intelligendi, ut mea opinio fert, ambitu.* Quinct. xii, 10.

of the fourth century, a large mass of literature to draw from. Moreover popular anecdotes concerning the painters now take in great measure the place of more serious criticism.

The next clear trace of Xenokrates is in the special emphasis laid (§ 76) upon the fame of the Sikyonian painters. Sikyon, the cradle of art-painting (§ 16), is now shown to be the home also of its splendid maturity; as she had produced Lysippos, the greatest master of statuary, so she produces Apelles, the greatest master of the rival art of painting, whose contributions to his art are appraised (§ 79) according to the canons applied to Lysippos in xxxiv, 65. Though Apelles was probably already an artist of established renown when he left his native Ephesos to study in the schools of Sikyon, the claims of his obscurer early masters must fade entirely before the glorious reputation of Eupompos and Pamphilos.

The Theban-Attic school, which branched off from the Sikyonian, with Aristeides I—brother-pupil of Eupompos—also claimed the attention of Xenokrates. We must recognize with Robert¹ that the account of Aristeides II in § 98 originates with him; we note the Xenokratic intent to connect the name of a great artist with some definite progress or contribution. In this case the progress accomplished is of ethical rather than of technical import; Aristeides discovers how to render not only character but transient emotions², and in this there is a vague reminiscence of the criticism passed upon Myron, that he had failed to express 'the sensations of the mind.'

Between the two Aristeides must naturally have intervened the account of Nikomachos, son of Aristeides I, and his pupils, which in Pliny appears in §§ 108-110, away from its original context.

After a long digression in §§ 112-121, due, as we shall see, in part to Varro (p. lxxxiv), in part to Pliny himself (cf. p. xcii), we again come upon clear traces of Xenokrates in the History of the Painters in Encaustic³. In § 122 we find it stated first that, according to certain authorities, Aristeides was the *inventor* of encaustic;

¹ *Archäologische Märchen*, p. 69; cf. Münzer, p. 516.

² i.e. *perturbationes*: Furtwängler, *Plinius u. s. Quellen*, p. 65 f., points out that this Ciceronian translation of the Greek *πάθη* (see Comm.) is presum-

ably due to Varro. It affords one of the many proofs of the passage of the Greek Treatises upon Art through Varro's hands.

³ Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 517 ff.

immediately after it is asserted that there existed pictures in this technique older than the time of Aristeides, namely those by Polygnotos, by the Parians Nikanor and Mnasilaos, and by Elapidos. In a word, the claims of the island-schools to priority of invention are opposed to the claims of the artists of the mainland, precisely as in xxxvi, 9-12 the Xenokratic contention that statuary was invented by the Daidalids Dipoinos and Skyllis was confronted by Antigonos with the assertion that long before their time sculpture in marble had flourished in the islands of the Aegean (p. xxvi)¹. Thus it seems safe to conclude that the tradition attaching the invention of Encaustic to the name of Aristeides goes back to Xenokrates, and that Antigonos, faithful to his programme of exhibiting the various sources at his command, appended to it the account now represented in Pliny by the words *aliquanto vetustiores encaustae picturae extitere . . . nisi encaustica inventa*.

The school partisanship of Xenokrates at once betrays itself in § 123 in the preeminence assigned to the Sikyonian Pausias, pupil of the Sikyonian Pamphilos (§ 75), and accordingly brother-pupil of Apelles. Pausias is not only praised as the *first* to achieve fame in the wax technique, but is also credited in true Xenokratic fashion with two distinct contributions: he is the *first* to paint the panels of ceilings, the *first* also to decorate the vaults of roofs. It may be noted at this point that the Plinian division into painters in the ordinary tempera and painters in encaustic was probably no part of the original Greek treatise. Pausias must have been discussed in connexion with Pamphilos and the artists of § 75, while the discussion of Euphranor must have followed upon that of his master Aristeides I. That the pupils of Pausias, Aristolaos (§ 137) and Nikophanes, had also originally been discussed by Xenokrates is almost certain²; but the criticism passed upon Euphranor in § 130 is to my mind the last passage in the Plinian narrative of the painters where Xenokratic authorship can be pointed to with certainty. Students, however, will read with interest Münzer's attempts (*op. cit.* p. 518) to disengage further Xenokratic threads.

¹ The parallelism has been kindly pointed out to me by Münzer in a private letter; see note 3 on p. xlv.

² The epithet *elegans* applied to

Nikophanes in xxxv, 111, recalls the *elegantia* attributed to Lysippos, xxxiv, 66, the *elegantia* in rendering of hair attributed to Parrhasios, xxxv, 67.

Before dismissing the history of the painters we still have to note a few scattered passages which afford proof that Xenokrates had not only summed up but analyzed the problems which the great artists in turn had set themselves to solve. The appreciation of Parrhasios (xxxv, 67), with the appended analysis of his special artistic achievement, contained in the words *haec est picturae summa subtilitas . . . occultat*, is a striking instance. That highest and hardest aim of the painter to produce about his figures the illusion of ambient space, of enveloping light and air, could not be more vigorously or happily expressed than in the phrase: *corpora enim pingere et media rerum est quidem magni operis sed in quo multi gloriam tulerint, extrema corporum facere et desinentis picturae modum includere rarum in successu artis invenitur. Ambire enim se ipsa debet extremitas, et sic desinere ut promittat alia post se ostendatque etiam quae occultat* (see Comm.). Again we can, I think, trace the hand of Xenokrates in xxxv, 29, in the analysis of the various effects attempted by painting; with subtle understanding of artistic procedure it is told how painting after shaking off its early monotony discovered first light and shade, then the effects attainable by the juxtaposition of colours; finally, how it discovered glow and the passage from the more lit-up to the less lit-up parts of a picture, in a word what the moderns call 'values' (see Comm.) Such observations had doubtless formed part of the history of the development of painting from the early monochromatics to the successors of Apollodoros, and became detached from their original context, perhaps at the time when the Xenokratic Treatise was schematized as noted on p. xxii. Furthermore it is possible that the Treatise had originally included, besides statements of the personal contribution made to the progress of art by the principal artists, and aesthetic analysis of special problems, a discussion of the materials employed. Perhaps therefore we should follow Münzer (*op. cit.* p. 512; p. 499 ff.) in crediting Xenokrates with the chapters on colours (xxxv, 29 ff.)¹ and consequently also with the notice of the various kinds of bronze (xxxiv, 9 ff.) employed by the statuaries.

The short account of modelling² in clay in xxxv, 151-153, con-

¹ After considerable hesitation, we decided on omitting these chapters from the present edition, which is concerned only with those portions of the *Historia* that treat of artists

and actual works of art.

² Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 509 f.; cf. Furtwängler, *Plinius u. s. Quellen*, p. 59 f.

tains the last marked traces of Xenokrates that we come across in Pliny. Boutades, a potter (*figulus*), and of course a Sikyonian, invents the fashioning of portraits in clay (*figere ex argilla similitudines*). To this statement is now attached from another source an anecdote which represented this Sikyonian workman as active in Corinth (p. xxxvii). In § 152 a variant version of the discovery of modelling is given. Then with the words *Butadis inventum* we get back to our Sikyonian potter, who, having learnt to fashion a face in clay, is now the first (*primus*) to adapt faces to tile ends, whence arose in time the whole decoration of the eaves of temples. Further, he invents (*invenit*) how to take moulds off the clay models for statues (*de signis effigies exprimere*), and is thus the discoverer of the preliminary indispensable process of casting statues in bronze. Hundreds of years later another Sikyonian, Lysistratos, the brother of Xenokrates's special hero Lysippos, first discovers (*primus . . . instituit*) how to take a mould off the living face. Hence the last and crowning progress of art, the advent of realistic portraiture. Münzer is certainly right in his conjecture that the account of modelling was originally prefixed to the history of bronze-statuary, since bronze-casting presupposed the clay model (see Comm. on xxxiv, 35, and xxxv, 153), and therefore modelling passed as the older art: *etenim prior quam statuaria fuit* (xxxiv, 35). The place which Pliny assigns to modelling in his *History* is an obvious necessity of his scheme; clay being the material of modelling, he is forced to bring the discussion of this art under 'kinds of earth.'

This closes the list of passages that can be traced back with any certainty to Xenokrates. It is a proof of the vigour of his conceptions that they could so impose themselves upon subsequent writers as never entirely to lose their original character, which still asserts itself throughout the whole of the Plinian account of the bronze statuaries and the painters. Nowhere do we grasp so readily what Pliny's history of art owed to Xenokrates as in the account of sculpture, given in Bk. xxxvi, where, failing the strong thread which bound together—at least in considerable parts—the narrative of the preceding books, we get little more than a loose patch-work of facts brought together without guiding thought or dominating interest. Meagre as are the fragments that we have disengaged, they point back to a critic of other calibre than the mere maker of anecdote and epigram—to

a critic who, conscientiously endeavouring to judge of works of art on their own merits, fails, not from garrulous digression or the desire to make a witty point, but rather from preconceived theory and love of schematizing. Xenokrates allows nothing for the fantastic freaks of artistic growth; in his rigidly constructed system monochrome is made to precede colour, artists may not attack the problems of drapery till they have solved the rendering of muscle, and the gracious advent of perfect harmony and proportion is presented as the inevitable sum to which each of five artists had contributed his measured share. Besides, in common with most artists who have also been art-critics, he insists upon fixing the measure of artistic achievement in the successful solution of the problems which chiefly interested the school of which he showed himself the jealous partisan. Yet, crude as the scheme must appear to our modern world with its deeper sense of the complexity of things, it should win respect and sympathy as a first genuine attempt to tell the still unfinished tale of the rise and growth of art. And there is even to be traced, at a distance great enough from the modern method of comparison, that same purpose which distinguishes the modern critic—to let the actual monuments tell the tale.

§ 2. *Antigonos of Karystos (born about 295 B. C.).*

When a writer aims, like Xenokrates, at formulating his criticism of an artist as the unbiassed impression received from a series of that artist's works, he will be anxious not to impair the strength of this impression by digressive criticism of single works; above all, he will jealously guard the integrity of his judgement against anything that might look like borrowed appreciation. A writer who appraises an artist in the words applied by Xenokrates to Polykleitos will be the last to introduce material so foreign to the final judgement as that which describes how the boy binding a fillet about his head was 'a boy yet a man,' or his companion athlete 'a man yet a boy'—words written, moreover, with a view to rhetorical antithesis rather than to criticism of artistic qualities.

Yet little epigrammatic or anecdotic tags are plentiful even in those parts of the Plinian account which have been shown to be essentially Xenokratic. Such, for instance, are the legends inter-

woven in xxxv, 9 with the account of the early Sikyonian artists Dipoinos and Skyllis (see Comm.); the rationalizing statements in xxxv, 16 and 151, intended to reconcile the conflicting claims to greater antiquity of the art centres of Sikyon and Corinth; the additions made in xxxv, 59 to the Xenokratic account of Polygnotos and Mikon, to the effect that the former took no payment for his paintings in the *Stoa Poikile*, while the latter did; the anecdotic flavour given to the account of Telephanes of Phokaia (xxxiv, 68), the epigrammatic touch added in xxxv, 61 to express the connexion between Apollodoros and Zeuxis. These additions are generally so closely compacted with the original fabric that it is only recent criticism, the growing recognition of the whole tendency of the Xenokratic methods, which has detected them as extraneous. They differ totally, in this respect, from the loose and not unfrequently awkward additions to the Greek Treatises made at a later date by Varro or Pliny himself in order to introduce the mention of works in Rome or allusions to contemporary events.

It becomes evident that the Xenokratic treatise was minutely worked over by a writer, who used it not simply to quote from, but as a solid framework into which to fit new material of his own. This writer, who appears almost as close collaborator of Xenokrates, must be one of the writers included in xxxiv, 68 in the words *Artifices qui compositis voluminibus condidere haec*, where the *haec* refers (see p. xxii) to the previous account of the *insignes*, which, as we have seen, is Xenokratic in the main. Now in xxxv, 67, in the discussion of Parrhasios, writers upon art are referred to in similar manner: *confessione artificum in liniis extremis palmam adeptus (Parrhasius)*. Immediately below, the names of these *artifices* are given; the one is, as we expected, *Xenocrates*, the other is *Antigonos*.

Antigonos is no longer a mere name. The brilliant essay in which Wilamowitz proved his identity with the Antigonos of Karystos¹, author of a book of *Marvels* or *Ἱστοριῶν παραδόξων*

¹ v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Antigonos von Karystos*, in *Philologische Untersuchungen*, iv, Berlin, 1881; see Susemihl, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur in der Alexandriner Zeit*, i. p. 519 ff. I consider it superfluous to discuss the question of identity. It was questioned by Diels in

his review of Wilamowitz's book, *Deutsche Lit.-Zeitung*, 1882, p. 604 (cf. also Voigt, *De Fontibus Plinianis* p. 24), and disputed by H. L. Urlichs, *Griechische Kunstschriftsteller*, p. 34. Since then it has been accepted without reserve by Susemihl, and quite lately by Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 521 ff.

συναγωγή, and of certain Biographies of the Philosophers, from which Diogenes Laertios drew extensively¹, has made almost familiar the artist who was likewise pupil of the philosopher Menedemos of Eretria, who contributed to the revival of Attic sculpture under Attalos and Eumenes of Pergamon, and was at the same time a versatile *littérateur*, equally at home in the poems of Euripides or Philoxenos and in the technical treatises of the painters. Scarcely a strong individuality, perhaps, but a highly finished type of his age in its wide culture and many-sided curiosities. In addition to the passages already referred to (xxxiv, 68; xxxv, 66–68), Antigonos is quoted by Pliny in the *Indices* of Books xxxiii and xxxiv as a writer *de toreutice*, and in xxxiv, 84 as one of the sculptors in the service of the Court of Pergamon. Diogenes mentions the sculptors Anaxagoras (ii, 45) and Demokritos (ix, 49) on his authority, and recounts (vii, 7, 187) of a namesake of the philosopher Chrysippos, the physician Chrysippos of Knidos, that he had invented concerning Zeus and Hera certain intolerable obscenities not described by the writers upon painting: ‘they are found neither in Polemon, nor in Xenokrates, nor yet in Antigonos².’

It further appears from the two following passages that, in his Lives of the Philosophers, Antigonos had allusions to the history and literature of art:

Diogenes ix, 11, 62: Antigonos of Karystos says in his account of Pyrrhon that he began life in obscurity and poverty, and was at first a painter, and that a picture by him—of very moderate execution—representing torch-bearers, is in the Gymnasium of Elis³.

Diogenes iv, 3, 4: On the whole he (Polemon) was the sort of man described by Melanthios in his Book upon Painting, who says that a certain self-reliance and austerity should make itself felt in portraiture, precisely as in character⁴.

¹ The fragments of Diogenes referable to Antigonos will be found conveniently put together by Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*

² Diog. vii, 7, 187: οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς περὶ πινάκων γράψασι κατακεχωρισμένην (sc. *historiam*). μήτε γὰρ παρὰ Πολέμωνι μήτε παρὰ Ξενοκράτει (Wilam. *op. cit.* p. 8; Köpke, *De Antigonos Carystio*, p. 25 note; the MSS. have παρ’ Ὑψικράτει), ἀλλὰ μηδὲ παρ’ Ἀντιγόμφῳ εἶναι.

³ Ἀντίγονος δὲ φησιν ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Πύρρωνος τάδε περὶ αὐτοῦ,

ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδοξός τ’ ἦν καὶ πένης καὶ ζωγράφος· σώζεσθαι τ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἑλιδι ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ λαμπαδιστὰς μετρίως ἔχοντας.

⁴ Καὶ ὅπως ἦν τοιοῦτος οἶόν φησι Μελάνθιος ὁ ζωγράφος ἐν τοῖς περὶ ζωγραφικῆς· φησὶ γὰρ δεῖν αὐθάδειάν τινα καὶ σκληρότητα τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιτρέχειν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ (so Wilam. p. 64; the MSS. have δὲ κἄν) τοῖς ἦθεσιν. I am not able to apprehend the precise meaning which the words ὁμοίως . . . ἦθεσιν are intended to convey. The sense of the rest of the

Lastly, the learned traveller and antiquary, Polemon of Ilios (contemporary of Ptolemaios V. Epiphanes, 202-131 B.C.), who wrote against Antigonos a controversial work in at least six books¹, gives, in order to combat it, a verbatim quotation from Antigonos. The Polemonic fragment, which is of incomparable interest as affording an insight into the methods of these ancient controversialists, has found its way into the collection of Proverbs of the sophist Zenobios (age of Hadrian); it runs as follows:—

Zen. v. 82: At Rhamnous is an image of Nemesis ten cubits high, made wholly of marble, the work of Pheidias, holding an apple branch in her hand. From this branch, according to Antigonos of Karystos, hangs a little tablet bearing the inscription 'Agorakritos the Parian made me.' But this is no proof (οὐ θαυμαστὸν δέ), for many also have inscribed another's name upon their own works, a complacency which Pheidias probably showed to Agorakritos, whom he loved...²

These accredited fragments prove the varied experience of Antigonos in the province of art-history: we find him appealing to the testimony of inscriptions as carefully as his rival Polemon, whose industry in this respect won for him the nickname of ὁ στηλοκόπας³; he is ready to apply a phrase in a Treatise upon Portraiture to his characterization of a philosopher; he had himself written a statistical book upon pictures, containing minute descriptions of their subjects⁴; nor had he neglected to note the apocryphal tale which connected a certain mediocre picture at Elis with the name of the philosopher Pyrrhon.

The miscellaneous character of his information, and the passage is finely indicated by Wilamowitz, p. 147; cf. also H. L. Urlichs, *Griech. Kunstschrift*, p. 18 ff.

¹ The work bore the title πρὸς Ἀδαίων καὶ Ἀντίγονον; of Adaios of Mitylene, who appears to have written upon sculptors, *περὶ ἀγαλατοποιῶν* (Athenaios, xiii, 606 a), very little is known, cf. Susemihl, *op. cit.* i, p. 518; for Polemon, see Susemihl, i, p. 665 ff.; for the fragments of his treatise against Antigonos, Preller, *Polemonis periegetae fragmenta*, Leipzig, 1838, p. 97 ff.; Müller, *F. H. G.* iii, p. 132, fr. 56-69; for the nature of the controversy, see especially H. L. Urlichs, *op. cit.* p. 33 ff.

² Ῥαμνουσία Νέμεσις: ἐν Ῥαμνουῦντι

Νεμέσεως ἴδρυται ἀγαλμα δεκάπηχυν, ὀλόλιθον, ἔργον Φειδίου, ἔχει δὲ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μηλέας κλάδον. ἐξ οὗ φησιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος πτύχιόν τι μικρὸν ἐξηρητῆσθαι τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον "Ἀγοράκριτος Πάριος ἐποίησεν." οὐ θαυμαστὸν δέ· καὶ ἄλλοι γὰρ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἔργων ἕτερον ἐπιγεγράφασιν ὄνομα· εἰκὸς οὖν καὶ τὸν Φειδίαν τῷ Ἀγορακρίτῳ συγκεχωρημέναι, ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐρώμενος, καὶ ἄλλως ἐπτόητο περὶ τὰ παιδικά. It was first conjectured by Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* p. 13 f., that the whole passage goes back to Polemon; the view has been accepted without reserve by H. L. Urlichs *loc. cit.*

³ Herodikos, *op. cit.* Athen. vi, 234 d.

⁴ Cf. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* p. 8.

varying trustworthiness of the quarters whence he obtained it, prove at once that Antigonos, unlike Xenokrates, belonged to the class of people who are curious of facts rather than critical of their significance.

Xenokrates had been guided in his selection of material by a strongly marked principle, whence the comparative ease in recovering and closing up the dis severed members of his treatise. The treatise of Antigonos on the other hand, with its looser method of synthesis, is more difficult to retrace. We cannot point to this or that fragment of the Plinian history as bearing his individual stamp. But we can distinguish certain elements in Pliny which go back to those general sources—art-historical, epigrammatic, anecdotic, &c.—whence we know Antigonos to have drawn, and, on examining these, we shall find the majority of cases to afford such strong proof of his handling that, failing contrary evidence, it will not be unfair to assume the remainder also to have come into Pliny through his medium.

From the fact that Antigonos incorporated the Treatise of Xenokrates into his own work, and from his allusion in his life of Polemon (above, p. xxxviii) to a Treatise upon Portraiture by the painter Melanthios, we may infer that it was he who introduced references to a number of artists as having also written upon their art. These are the bronze-worker Menaichmos (xxxiv, Index and § 80)¹, the painter Apelles (xxxv, Ind. and § 79, § 111), Melanthios, Asklepiodoros and Parrhasios (*ib.* Ind.), and Euphranor (*ib.* Ind. and § 128). Apelles as a writer upon art is fortunately more than a mere name. One trace of the work or works in which he expounded—presumably for the use of his pupils (cf. xxxv, § 111)—the theories of his art has survived, as Robert justly points out², in § 107 in the words *Asclepiodoros, quem in symmetria mirabatur Apelles*, which at the close of § 80 had been rendered by *Asclepiodoro de mensuris (cedebat Ap.)*. If the conjecture be correct for Asklepiodoros it follows that Apelles's appreciation of Melanthios in the grouping of figures was also expressed in the same work. There, likewise, it must have been that he discussed the art of Protogenes (§ 80) and criticized his laborious finish. In fact, from the words *quorum opera cum admiraretur omnibus conlaudatis*, it is fair to assume that besides original theories the Apellian treatise contained criticisms—for the

¹ He is otherwise unknown either as artist or writer; see Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 520, note 1; cf. Susemihl, i, p. 113, note 2. ² *Arch. Märchen*, p. 70.

most part favourable—of contemporary artists¹. The statement as to his own *venustas*, like the *quod manum de tabula sciret tollere*, is the later concrete expression, practically thrown into proverbial formula, of the aims and theories expounded by Apelles as being those of himself and his school.

Antigonos, too, may be responsible for a few more Plinian passages which are faintly coloured by reminiscences of other technical treatises by artists, though these are not definitely alluded to. I have already indicated in the notes that in the words *solusque hominum artem ipsam fecisse artis opere* (*Polyclitus*) *iudicatur* in xxxiv, 55, there appears to lurk an allusion to the book, the *Κάνων*², in which, as we learn more fully from Galenos, Polykleitos had laid down his theories on the proportions of the human body³; we have accordingly translated the passage 'he is the only man who is held to have embodied his theory of art in a work of art,' the work being the famous Spear-Bearer, which is here introduced, quite irrespectively of its first mention in § 55, as a separate work under its alternative name of the *Canon*⁴.

¹ Schubert, *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.*, Supplementband ix, p. 716, detects a reference to the work of Apelles in Plut. *Dem.* 22 καί φησιν ὁ Ἀπέλλης αὐτως ἐκπλαγῆναι θεασάμενος τὸ ἔργον ὥστε καὶ φωνῆν ἐκλιπεῖν αὐτόν. ὄψῃ δὲ εἰπεῖν, μέγας δὲ πόνος καὶ θαυμαστόν τὸ ἔργον, αὐτὸ μὴν ἔχειν χάριτας, δι' ἃς ὄραναὺ ψάθειν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γραφόμενα.

² The passage was first so explained by Otto Jahn, *Rhein. Mus.* ix, 1854, p. 315 f. ('Das Kunstwerk war ein Inbegriff der Regeln der Symmetrie, ein Compendium derselben'), who argued that here *ars* = the theories of art, a compendium of the rules of art, by extension of the meaning common in the rhetors and grammarians; Cic. *Brut.* 12, 46 *Aristoteles ait . . . artem et praecepta Siculos Coracem et Tisiam conscripsisse.* 12, 48, *similiter Isocratem . . . orationes aliis destitisse scribere, totumque se ad artis componendas transtulisse.* Cf. Quinct. x. 1, 15 (where see Spalding's note); Servius on *Aen.* vii, 787, *legitur in arte.* The Greek *τέχνη* was commonly used in the same manner, *Life of*

Ten Orators, Isokrates, ii, p. 838 (= Bernardakis, v, p. 164), εἰσὶ δ' αἱ καὶ τέχνας αὐτῶν (sc. *Isocr.*) λέγουσι συγγεγραφέναι. At a later period Jahn abandoned his earlier opinion and saw a latent epigram in the words *solus hominum . . . iudicatur* (*Kunsturtheile*, p. 120); he is followed by Münzer, *op. cit.* 530, note 1.

³ The few extant fragments of this incomparably interesting work, in which Polykleitos reveals himself as an ancient Leonardo or Albrecht Dürer, have been carefully collected and commented on by H. L. Ulrichs, *Griechische Kunstschriftsteller*, p. 1 ff. See also Diels, in *Arch. Anz.*, 1889, p. 10.

⁴ It is quite possible that Antigonos, who had added to the Xenokratik mention of Doryphoros and Diadumenos the epigrammatic description which placed the two statues in pointed relation to one another (above, p. xxxvi), now introduced from his acquaintance with the literature of art a second account of the statue in its relation, not to the other works

If the proposed interpretation of the words *artem ipsam fecisse artis opere iudicatur* be correct, it follows that we have traces in xxxv, 74 of another such compendium of art by the painter Timanthes: *pinxit et heroa absolutissimi operis artem ipsam complexus viros pingendi*; i. e., like the Doryphoros of Polykleitos, the 'hero' of Timanthes was to serve as a 'Canon,' as the embodiment of theories which had been expounded in an *ars* or τέχνη.

Finally in § 76 it is said of Pamphilos that he was especially learned in arithmetic and geometry, without which sciences, he used to declare, art could make no progress. H. L. Urlichs¹ has pointed out that these words are distinguished from the ordinary floating apothegm by a precise character such as we should expect from an opinion recorded in a written Treatise; and indeed an opinion emanating doubtless from the whole artistic personality of Pamphilos could nowhere have been preserved intact so well as in a technical treatise, written, like the work of Apelles, for the guidance of his pupils.

The Zenobian gloss showed that Antigonos had maintained the Agorakritan authorship of the Nemesis at Rhamnous on the ground of the inscription,—an argument against which Polemon, supporting the current attribution to Pheidias, retorts that Pheidias had doubtless permitted his own work to be inscribed with the name of the pupil he loved. Now, since Pliny ascribed the Nemesis quite simply to Agorakritos, without any reference to its attribution to Pheidias by other authorities, or to the Polemonic compromise, there can be little doubt that his ultimate source was Antigonos. Pliny gives the statement, however, in close connexion with the story of a competition between Agora-

of the master, but to his theories. This second mention, made with no precise reference to the first, was afterwards understood by the Roman authors to concern a distinct work. In the commentary I have given Furtwängler's explanation that the *Canon* appears in Pliny as a separate work to the *doryphorus*, owing to the introduction of a fresh authority at the words *fecit et quem*. I would differ only in so far that, while F. supposes Pliny to have been the first to combine the two notices, my own opinion is that the combination was already

effected by the Greek authors. It is possible, of course, though scarcely probable, that a Greek writer had already been guilty of assuming the *canon* and *doryphorus* to be separate works.

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 14 ff., where it is shown that the Pamphilos who wrote a work *περὶ γραφικῆς καὶ ζωγράφων ἐνδόξων* is a distinct person to the painter, and is presumably identical with the Alexandrian grammarian, first century B. C.; see Urlichs, *Rhein. Mus.* xvi, 1861, pp. 247-258, and Susemihl, i, p. 903 f.

kritos and Alkamenes, and this again follows in natural sequence upon the mention of these artists in their common relation, as pupils, to Pheidias. The various episodes are so indissolubly linked¹ that the passage as a whole must be referred to Antigonos. Indeed, that he is Pliny's ultimate authority for the information concerning Agorakritos is confirmed by the closing attribution (§ 18, *s. f.*) to Agorakritos of the 'Mother of the Gods' at Athens: another vindication for that artist—doubtless, this time also, on the evidence of the inscription—of a work popularly ascribed to Pheidias (*Schriftqu.* 831–833), of which popular ascription Polemon, whose version is represented in Pausanias, would not be slow to avail himself. It is noteworthy that by retailing, though quite generally and in no relation to any one work, the scandal about Pheidias and Agorakritos (*eiusdem*—*sc. Phidiae—discipulus fuit Ag. Parius et aetate gratus, itaque e suis operibus pleraque nomini eius donasse fertur*) Antigonos may have supplied to Polemon, as Münzer acutely suggests (*op. cit.* p. 522), the weapon wherewith to combat the Agorakritan authorship of the Nemesis².

We have seen how the Xenokratic accounts of the beginning of painting in encaustic (xxxv, 121; see above, p. xxxii) and of the beginning of statuary (xxxvi, 9; above, p. xxv f.) were combined by a later writer, surmised to be Antigonos, with variant traditions that proclaimed the priority of invention of the island-schools over the schools of the mainland. The theory that these combinations or contrasts of traditions were effected at an early date by Antigonos is now confirmed by the fact that in both cases appeal is made to the testimony of inscriptions in xxxv, 121; the *ἐνέκαεν* in an artist's signature is quoted in proof of the antiquity of encaustic, while in xxxvi, 11–13, the genealogy of the Chian sculptors 'Melas,' Mikkiades, and Archermos, and the

¹ See on this point Furtwängler, *Plinius u. s. Quellen*, p. 72, who however does not trace the passage further back than Varro. That Varro was the intermediary source is obvious from the words *quod M. Varro omnibus signis praetulit*; to the account of the Nemesis which he found in his handbook he appended, according to the wont of travellers, remarks of his own.

² The impression has grown upon

me, since I wrote the above, that Antigonos drew from Duris the main part, if not the whole, of his account of Alkamenes and Agorakritos: the stress laid upon relations of pupilship, the supposed competition (p. lxiv), the hint thrown out of a scandalous story (see below, p. lx)—above all, the imaginative element in the tale of how the discomfited Agorakritos turned his Aphrodite into a Nemesis—are so many Duridian traits. Addenda.

mention of works by Boupalos and Athenis, sons of Archermos¹, at Delos, and of works by Archermos at both Delos and Lesbos, are all based upon inscriptional evidence² (Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 524 f.). Further, as Münzer indicates (*loc. cit.*), Antigonos went so far in the latter instance as to quarrel with his sources; he corrected the legend according to which Hipponax had driven Boupalos and Athenis to hang themselves in despair³ by adducing proofs

¹ The genealogy of Boupalos and Athenis is mentioned only once again in literature—in the Scholia to Ar. *Birds*, 574: 'Αρχερμων (MSS. 'Αρχενων) γάρ φασι, τὸν Βουπάλου καὶ 'Αθήνιδος πατέρα, οἱ δὲ 'Αγλαοφῶντα τὸν Θάσιον ζωγράφον, πτηνὴν ἐργάσασθαι τὴν Νίκην, ὡς οἱ περὶ Καρύστιον τὸν Περγαμηνὸν φασι. There is much to commend Münzer's suggestion (*loc. cit.*) that Karystios of Pergamon (end of second century, Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iv, p. 356) appears here by confusion for our Karystian Antigonos, sometime resident in Pergamon. (The words οἱ δὲ . . . ζωγράφον are in any case introduced from a source other than that cited for B. and A.) We should thus obtain important confirmation of Antigonos's authorship of the Plinian passage.

² The Zenobian gloss alone shows that Susemihl (i, p. 672) does Antigonos an injustice when he credits Polemon with the 'epoch-making' idea of basing researches in the province of art-history and periegesis upon a study of inscriptions. In this connexion we may recall as illustrative of the method employed by Antigonos, without on that account proposing to refer them definitely to him, the notices, derived from the inscriptions on their bases, of the group of Alkibiades and 'Demarate' of Nikeratos (xxxiv, 89), and of the trainer of athletes by Apollodoros (*ib.* 89); for the portrait statue of Lysimache by Demetrius (*ib.* 76), see below, p. lxxvi.

³ Repeated study of the passage xxxvi, 11-13, convinces me that Anti-

gonos borrowed from Duris of Samos the genealogy of the Chian sculptors and the whole story of Hipponax; especially Duridian is the adjustment to a new set of personages of the story of Archilochos and Lycambes (see Comm.). I am glad to receive on this point confirmation from Münzer, who (in a private letter) explains Antigonos as having corrected Duris somewhat as follows: 'It is true that the Chians were already practising the art of sculpture (i. e. at the time when, according to the Xenocratic theory, the Daidalids were inventing statuary), but it is not true that the verses of Hipponax (as probably maintained by Duris) drove Boupalos and Athenis to death, for works by these artists exist which were created after the portrait of the poet, as, for example, the Delian statue bearing the inscription *non vitibus tantum, &c.*' Moreover, in another note, the gist of which he also allows me to publish, Münzer observes that Antigonos seems likewise to have borrowed from Duris that notice of the existence of paintings in encaustic older than Aristeides which he confronted with the Xenocratic account: 'The appeal to the signature of the otherwise totally unknown Elasisippos would be characteristic of Duris (cf. below, p. liii). Equally unknown are Nikanor and Mnasilaos, and it is not clear whether the ethnic *Pariorum* applies also to Polygnotos, and whether this Polygnotos should accordingly be distinguished from the celebrated Thasian artist.' In the

to the contrary, again borrowed from inscriptions: *quod falsum est, complura enim in finitimis insulis simulacra postea fecere sicut in Delo quibus subiecerunt carmen non vitibus tantum censeri Chion sed et operibus Archermi filiorum.*

It is reasonable to suppose that Antigonos, who diligently studied the inscriptions carved on the actual monuments, did not neglect so fruitful a source as the literary epigram. He is almost certainly to be credited, as we have seen (p. xxxvi), with the epigrammatic qualification attached to the Xenokratic mention of the Diadumenos and the Doryphoros of Polykleitos, while the ascertained fragments of his writings display a wide-ranging familiarity, not only with the greater poets, but also with the poetasters and epigrammatists of his day¹. Since, however, the actual extent of his responsibility for the epigrammatic element in Pliny cannot be precisely determined, it will be best to reserve for separate consideration (p. lxxviii) material which plays a considerable part in the Plinian descriptions of works of art.

The Lives of the Philosophers reveal Antigonos as a lover of personal anecdote and characteristic *bons mots*². Hence we are naturally disposed to credit him with the anecdotic material which forms so large a bulk of the Plinian narrative, and, as a fact, there are frequent proofs of its passage through his hands. The preservation, however, in the case of one highly distinctive anecdote, of the name of Duris of Samos (xxxiv, 61) enables us to penetrate further—to the very source whence Antigonos drew the larger part of his anecdotes³.

text I have adopted the reading *Mnasilai* as beyond dispute, but Münzer provides me with a satisfactory proof that the *Arkesilai* of the inferior codices is impossible; were this reading correct, we should expect to find that Antigonos in his biography of the Akademik Arkesilaos had mentioned this namesake of the philosopher (Antig. Kar. *ap.* Diog. Laert. iv, 45; cf. Wilamowitz, p. 70 ff.); but he only notes the sculptor Arkesilaos of Paros on the evidence of an epigram of Semonides.

¹ Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 529. Münzer, I may note here, lays considerable

stress on the learning of Antigonos, in searching for traces of his art-treatise in Pliny; he accordingly inclines to trace back to him certain passages which evince literary interest: e. g. the allusions to the 'Banquet' of Xenophon (xxxiv, 79) and to his Treatise on Horsemanship (*ib.* 76).

² See on this point Wilamowitz, *Antigonos*, p. 33.

³ That Antigonos drew from Duris for his Treatise upon art, and was thus the 'first intermediary' through which Duridian material found its way into Pliny, was first suggested by Susemihl, i, note 325, p. 588.

3. *Duris of Samos (born about 340 B. C.); the anecdotic element in Pliny.*

Duris, historian and tyrant of Samos, is one of the most striking figures among those older Greek writers whom German scholarship—the researches of Roesiger¹ and Schubert², the brilliant sketch by Wachsmuth³, call for grateful mention—has succeeded in calling back to a new life. The facts we know about his career are few, but the scanty fragments⁴ of his writings suffice to prove the strength of his literary personality. Together with his brother Lynkeus he had been a pupil of Theophrastos⁵, and, like the later Peripatetics, he became a curious inquirer into personal anecdote, which he freely used for purposes of history. His imagination was stimulated by his studies of the tragedians⁶ till he developed into an accomplished master of dramatic anecdote, where heroes and heroines, dressed in appropriate costume, play on a stage whose properties seem inexhaustible. It is to Duris that Plutarch owes some of his most picturesque descriptions—such as the gorgeous pageantry of the return of Alkibiades, and the picture of the admiral's galley entering the harbour with purple sails 'as if some maske had come into a man's house after some great banquet made'.⁷ Yet Plutarch more than once casts severe doubts on the historical trustworthiness of Duris⁸, and the censure has been confirmed by Grote⁹.

From Diogenes, who mentions a painter Thales on the authority of Duris (Diog. i, 1, 39 = Duris fragm. 78), we learn that he wrote Lives of the Painters (*περὶ ζωγράφων*), and, as we shall

¹ A. F. Roesiger: (1) *De Duride Samio Diodori Siculi et Plutarchi auctore Diss.*, Göttingen, 1874; (2) *Die Bedeutung der Tyche bei den späteren Griechischen Historikern*, Konstanz, 1880. For Duris, see especially p. 20 f.

² Rudolf Schubert: (1) *Die Quellen Plutarchs in d. Lebensbeschreibungen des Eumenes, Demetrios und Pyrrhos*, in Supplementband ix of the *Jahrbücher für Philologie*, pp. 648–833; (2) *Geschichte des Agathokles*, Breslau, 1887, p. 13 ff.; and (3) *Geschichte des Pyrrhus*, Königsberg, 1894, pp. 11–24, give a full and vivid account of Duris.

³ Curt Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 543–546; see also Susemihl, i, p. 585 ff.

⁴ To the collected fragments in Müller, *F. H. G.* ii, pp. 466–468, must be added the new fragments noted by Schnbert, *Pyrrhus*, p. 12.

⁵ Athen. iv, 128 a.

⁶ Fr. 69, Fr. 70, and the remarks of Schubert, *Pyrrhus*, p. 15.

⁷ *Alcib.* xxxii, tr. North, ed. Wyndham, ii, p. 133.

⁸ Plut. *loc. cit.*; *Perikl.* 28, &c.

⁹ In reference to the story of Alkibiades' return, *Hist.* vi, p. 368.

presently see (cf. p. xlix), that he also wrote Lives of the Sculptors. Pliny mentions him in the Index to Book XXXIV as having written *de toreutice*. In the same book (§ 61) he appears as the authority for the statement that Lysippos of Sikyon had no master, but that he was originally a coppersmith and ventured upon a higher profession at a word of the painter Eupompos, who in presence of the young craftsman had enounced the dictum that 'nature and not any artist should be imitated.' The story will repay careful analysis. The meeting between the young Lysippos and Eupompos, though not chronologically impossible, belongs to a class of anecdote devised in order to bring the celebrity of one generation into pointed contact with the rising genius of the next. The story of Lysippos and Eupompos reminds one of nothing so much as of those legends invented by the Italian art-historians, on a hint afforded by two famous lines in Dante¹, in order to bring the young Giotto into connexion with Cimabue—legends which represent Giotto neglecting his clothmaker's trade to watch Cimabue at his work, or Cimabue opportunely passing along the road 'da Fiorenza a Vespignano'² precisely at the moment that the boy Giotto, while tending his flock, had drawn a sheep with such surprising fidelity that the delighted Cimabue begged Giotto's father to let him have the boy as pupil. But antiquity was rich in similar examples; the young Thukydidēs was said to have burst into tears of emotion on hearing Herodotos recite his History at Olympia, so that the elder historian was moved to congratulate the father of so gifted a son³. The undoubted pupilship of Xenophon to Sokrates was invested, by the later biographers of the philosophers, with the additional interest of that first meeting 'in a narrow lane' where Sokrates, barring the way with his stick, had refused to let the young man pass till he should have answered the question 'where men were made good and virtuous'⁴. So, too, an exquisite legend had been spun to connect

¹ *Purgat.* xi, 94-96 :

'Credette Cimabue nella pittura
Tener lo campo, ed ora ha Giotto
il grido

Si che la fama di colui oscura.'

The entirely apocryphal character of the Cimabue-Giotto legend has been thoroughly exhibited by Franz Wickhoff, *Ueber die Zeit des Guido von Siena* (Mitth. des Inst. f. Oesterr.

Geschichtsforschung, Bd. x, pp. 244 ff.).

² Vasari ed. Milanese, p. 370.

³ Soudias, s. v. *Thuc.*

⁴ Diog. Laert. ii, 6, 2; the analogy to the Lysippos-Eupompos story is pointed out by H. L. Ulrichs, *Griechische Kuntschriftsteller*, p. 27. For further instances of such relationships cf. Diels, *Rhein. Mus.* xxxi, p. 13 ff.

the greatest of the Sokratic disciples with the master already from the hour of birth: not only was Plato born the day after one of Sokrates' birthdays, but on the eve Sokrates had dreamed of a swan flying from the altar of Eros in the Academy, to take refuge in his bosom, and lo! as the philosopher was recounting the vision Ariston brought in the new-born babe, in whom Sokrates at once divined the swan of his dream¹. In the case of Eupompos and Lysippos there was no pupilship to emphasize, nor could pupilship be invented, since they practised different arts; yet there remained the temptation to link the most brilliant of the Sikyonian statuaries, the chosen portraitist of Alexander, to the celebrity of the passing generation, that greatest of Sikyonian painters, whose fame had occasioned, in order to comprise him, a redivision of the schools (xxxv, 75).

The statement that Lysippos had no master arose in great measure, I take it, out of the good advice put into the mouth of Eupompos 'to imitate nature and not any artist'—advice which amounted to an aphorism expressing the naturalistic tendencies of the Lysippian school. But from saying that Lysippos followed nature and no special master it was but a step to concluding that he never had a master at all. Then, once the master's name suppressed or forgotten, legend and the art-historians might fill up the gap as they pleased, and the theory of self-taught genius was the readiest to hand. But here was an opportunity for further elaboration: the self-taught boy, the poor coppersmith, is destined to become the leading artist of Sikyon, at that time the acknowledged head of the Greek schools. Not only so, but he achieves great wealth, as we learn from another Duridian fragment preserved in Pliny (xxxiv, 37), but now separated from its original context². So that the information as to the early career of Lysippos, which has been accepted with the utmost gravity by archaeologists and historians of art, is found to resolve itself into three apocryphal stories: (1) the *autodidaktia* assumed to account for the artist's master being unknown; (2) the meeting with Eupompos, intended to bring into presence Sikyon's greatest painter and her greatest sculptor; (3) the rise from obscurity to fame and riches. Armed with these observations, we shall have

¹ Apuleius, *de Platone* I.

² The authorship of Duris for this passage had been pointed out by Brieger, *De Fontibus*, p. 61; I cannot

understand on what grounds it is doubted by Susemihl, I, p. 587, note 325. (See also Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 542.)

no difficulty in detecting the Duridian authorship of a number of other anecdotes preserved in Pliny. We can at once follow Münzer¹ in attributing to him the story which tells how Protogenes, whose master, like that of Lysippos, was unknown (*quis eum docuerit non putant constare*, § 101), began his career in abject poverty (*summa paupertas*) as a ship-painter, yet lived to decorate the most celebrated spot in the world, even the Gateway of the Athenian Akropolis; the story of Erigonos (xxxv, 145), the slave who rubbed in the colours for the painter Nealkes, who yet lived to be a great master himself, and to leave in Pasiás a pupil of distinction; further, the kindred story of how the sculptor Seilanon (xxxiv, 51)² became famous *nullo doctore*, and yet, like Erigonos, formed a pupil of his own, Zeuxiades. The kinship of the whole group is self-evident, and even if the name of Duris in xxxiv, 61 were not there to reveal the author we should be led to fix upon him, because of the precise parallelism of these stories to that recounted by Plutarch, on the authority of Duris, of how, through the unexpected favour of Philip, Eumenes of Kardia rose from being the son of a poor carrier, who earned a scanty living in the Chersonese, to wealth and position³. Such anecdotes seem in measure prompted by the desire to illustrate the changes of Fortune, of that Τύχη whose caprices were so favourite a theme of the Peripatetics⁴.

Duris was the author of yet one more anecdote of an artist's rise from obscurity to fame, which has been preserved in two scattered fragments in Pliny and in Diogenes. In Plin. xxxvi, 22 we read: *non postferuntur et Charites in propulo Atheniensium*

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 534.

² The Duridian authorship is detected by H. L. Urlichs, *op. cit.* p. 28. The notice of Seilanon appears in the chronological table, awkwardly tacked on to the artists of the 113th Olympiad, where it is evidently out of place; Add. to Comm. on xxxiv, 51, 1.

³ Plut. *Eum.* 1 Εὐμένη δὲ τὸν Καρδιανὸν ἱστορεῖ Δούρις πατρὸς μὲν ἀμαφεύοντος ἐν Χερρονήσῳ διὰ πένιαν γενέσθαι, τραφῆναι δὲ ἐλευθερίως ἐν γράμμασι καὶ περὶ παλαίστραν· ἔτι δὲ παιδὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον παρεπιδημοῦντα καὶ σχολὴν ἀγοντα τὰ τῶν Καρδιανῶν θεάσασθαι παγκράτια μειρα-

κίων καὶ παλαίσματα παίδων, ἐν οἷς εὐημερήσαντα τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ φανέντα συνετόν καὶ ἀνδρείον ἀρέσαι τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ ἀναληφθῆναι. The analogy is pointed out by Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 534, who also refers to Duris all the stories discussed above of artists rising to fame from humble beginnings. The Duridian authorship had become evident to me since analysing the anecdotic material in Pliny in the light of the hints thrown out by H. L. Urlichs, *op. cit.* p. 21 ff. Addenda.

⁴ See especially Roesiger, *Bedeutung der Tyche*, passim. Susemihl, 1, p. 592.

quas Socrates fecit, alius ille quam pictor, idem ut aliqui putant. In his Life of Sokrates, Diogenes (ii, 5, 4) has the story on the authority of Duris that a Sokrates had begun life in slavery, and as a stone mason¹. Now, although Diogenes applies this story to the philosopher, there is nothing in the fragment as it stands to show that Duris had this Sokrates in his mind. Indeed, since nothing is known of the slavery of the philosopher², there is every reason to suppose that Duris was speaking of the sculptor, and was recounting of him the same tale of modest beginnings as in the cases of Lysippos, of Protogenes, and of Erigonos. Like Erigonos he had been a slave, and in this capacity had practised an inferior branch of the art in which he was afterwards to excel. Like Protogenes, moreover, this man rose from the humblest circumstances to see his works—the famous Charites—in *propylon Atheniensium!* Further, the peculiar use in both passages of *propylon* for the gateway of the Akropolis, instead of the invariable *propylaion* or *propylaia*, affords satisfactory corroborative evidence of their common origin³. We get an interesting trace of the story's passage through the hands of Antigonos in the words *alius ille quam pictor, idem ut aliqui putant.* The identity of

¹ Diog. Laert. ii, 5, 4 Δούρις καὶ δουλεῦσαι αὐτὸν (Σωκράτῃ) καὶ ἐργάσασθαι λίθους. The statement which immediately follows, concerning the Charites on the Akropolis, which some said (ἐνιοὶ φασιν) to be by Sokrates, does not concern us; H. L. Ulrichs (*Griechische Kunstschriftst.* p. 43) is certainly right in referring it to another source than Duris.

² Duris was quite capable of inventing the story had it suited him; but in the first place there is nothing to show that he wrote concerning the philosophic Sokrates or any philosophers; in the second, it is odd that so striking a circumstance as that of the philosopher's slavery, once invented, should not have found its way to any authors besides Diogenes.—As to the legend that the philosopher had been the sculptor of the Charites (Paus. i, 22, 8; ix, 35, 3; Schol. Aristoph. *νεφέλαι*, 773; Soudas, s. v. *Sokrates*: Pliny, it should be noted, knows

nothing about it), it was inevitable that it should arise in face of the said Charites by a namesake, combined with the fact that the father of Sokrates, Sophroniskos, was a sculptor. That the *contaminatio* of philosopher and sculptor occurred at an early period is proved by some Attic coins of Hellenic date bearing the name of an official Sokrates who, in evident allusion to his famous namesake, had the group of the Charites from the Akropolis stamped on the Reverse. (See Furtwängler, *ap.* Roscher, i, p. 881.) The celebrity of the relief, owing to the supposed authorship of Sokrates, accounts for its numerous copies. See note on xxxvi, 32, and Furtwängler, *Statuenkopien im Alterthum*, p. 532 f. (where the writer modifies his earlier view as to the date of the extant Charites reliefs).

³ Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, i, p. 36, note 2; cf. also B. Keil in *Hermes*, xxx, 1895, p. 227.

Sokrates the sculptor with the painter of the same name was maintained against a previous writer who had disputed it. The nature of the controversy recalls at once Antigonos and his hostile critic Polemon¹. (See Addenda.)

We have seen that one factor in these stories is the desire to account for the absence of any record concerning the masters of certain celebrated artists. We may therefore suspect that a second little group of Plinian anecdotes of sculptors who were *initio pictores* and who exchanged painting for sculpture may be traced back to the same workings². The case of Pheidias (xxxv, 52) is specially deserving of analysis. The ambiguous character of the information concerning the painted shield, upon which his reputation as a painter rests, has been detected by H. L. Ulrichs (see Commentary). We may now carry the argument further and recognize in the statement that Pheidias was *initio pictor* an attempt to solve a problem which greatly exercised the ancient art-historian, namely the problem who was the real master of Pheidias.

Three answers to this question may be distinguished in ancient criticism. According to one tradition, Pheidias had, like Myron and Polykleitos, been the pupil of Hagelaidas of Argos³, a view which has long been shown—by Klein⁴, Robert, and others—to be improbable, if not as impossible as it apparently is in the case of Polykleitos⁵. The tradition has all the apocryphal air of those stories, common to all times and countries, which group great names together without regard to temporal probabilities⁶. In certain circles, however, the real fact, as recent morphological study reveals it⁷, that Pheidias was the pupil of Hegias, had

¹ So H. L. Ulrichs, *Gr. Kunst-schriftsteller*, p. 43.

² Cf. Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 533.

³ Schol. to Aristoph., *Frogs*, 504, whence the information was copied by Tzetzes and Soudas.

⁴ Klein, *Arch.-Ep. Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, vii, p. 64; cf. Robert, *Arch. Märchen*, p. 93 f.; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 53.

⁵ Robert, *l. c.*

⁶ Lately Ernest Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpt.* i, p. 193, has attempted, by straining the dates to the utmost, to defend the tradition for all three sculptors. Failing, however, sufficient evidence for its truth, a

sound criticism requires us rather to lay it aside, if not absolutely to reject it. The chronological difficulties have been hinted at above. Moreover, by exhibiting Hagelaidas as the master of the three most representative artists of the fifth century, the tradition betrays that tendency which is, to quote a modern writer, 'so easily explained psychologically, but so fatal to criticism, of making one great name stand for a whole epoch or style.' (Bernhard Berenson, *Lorenzo Lotto, an Essay in Constructive Criticism*, p. 26.) Add.

⁷ Furtwängler, *loc. cit.* The Hegias tradition is preserved by Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lv, περὶ Ὁμοῦ καὶ Σωκρ. ι.

either remained unforgotten or, as is more probable, had been recovered from the monuments. Neither tradition, however, can have been widely current, for had it been generally reported that Pheidias was the pupil of either artist some mention of the fact, or at least some argument disputing it, would surely have filtered into Pliny, who mentions Hegias twice (xxxiv, 49, 78) and Hagelaidas three times (*ib.* 49, 55, 57), noting, moreover, that the latter artist was the master of Myron and of Polykleitos. The Plinian authors were on a totally different track, and their solution of the problem reveals the existence of a third class of critics, who, ignorant of the Hagelaidas and Hegias theories, filled up the gap in tradition by declaring that the early training of Pheidias was that of a painter. To this theory some writer of the stamp of Duris would give more point by the opportune discovery of a shield reputed to be painted by Pheidias, though, strange to say, unable to fix the whereabouts of so weighty a piece of evidence more precisely than by saying it *had* been at Athens.

But if Duris of Samos is to be held responsible for the story that Pheidias had begun life as a painter it follows that we must likewise trace back to him the similar story concerning Pythagoras of Samos, and hence the whole ridiculous splitting into two of an artist who happened to sign sometimes Σάμιος from the home of his birth, sometimes Ῥηγίνος from that of his adoption (see Comm.). Πυθάγορας Σάμιος would have a triple interest for Duris: as a native of Samos; as a namesake of the philosopher Pythagoras, also a Samian celebrity, whom Duris had mentioned in his second Book of the History of Samos (fr. 56); and as a famous portraitist of athletes, for Duris, who had himself as a boy won a victory at Olympia (Paus. vi, 13, 5¹), appears in later life to have written a book on athletic games, *περὶ ἀγώνων*², the material for which he would doubtless derive in great measure from the inscriptions on the bases of the athlete statues. It was perhaps thus that, coming upon the alternative ethnic of Pythagoras, he jumped at the conclusion that there were two artists of the name. Then, having discovered a Πυθάγορας Σάμιος, it became necessary to find out his master. Klearchos—himself a Rhegine—must be left for Pythagoras of Rhegion (Paus. vi, 4, 3), and so Duris, instead of involving

¹ See the reading proposed by Susemihl, i, p. 586, note 323. Schubarth's emendation of the corrupt passage seems entirely erroneous.

² Susemihl, i, p. 587 f.

himself in false school genealogies, simply filled up the gap by declaring the Samian Pythagoras to have, like Pheidias, begun life as a painter. Finally, since a sentimental harping upon family relationships has been acutely detected by Münzer (*op. cit.* p. 533) as a characteristic of Duridian anecdotes, we may trace back to Duris the mention of Sostratos, the pupil and nephew—*filius sororis*—of Pythagoras of Rhegion. I have noted in the Commentary that there is nothing to lead us to identify this Sostratos with any of the other sculptors of the name, and Duris was nothing loth to provide his heroes with pupils, with children or other near relations, of whom history has otherwise no record. So the Arimnestos (Duris, fr. 56), son of the philosopher Pythagoras, and himself master of the philosopher Demokritos, appears a pure creation of Duris, as, for the rest, do the pupils of Seilanion and of Erigonos.

The whole group of stories we have been considering were precisely of the kind to attract Antigonos of Karystos, who in his *Life of Pyrrhon* (above, p. xxxviii) had especially noted the poverty and obscurity of the philosopher's early days, adding that he had begun as a painter¹. In the case of Pythagoras there is a further interesting little proof that the story was handled by Antigonos. The words in § 61, *hic (Pyth. Samius) supra dicto (Pyth. Rhegino) facie quoque indiscreta similis fuisse traditur*, contain a sharp criticism, which has amusingly escaped Pliny and before him Varro, upon the statement that the Rhegine and Samian Pythagoras were different persons. The fact of the criticism turning upon a question of identity of artists, no less than the manner in which the criticism is passed, at once betray Polemon of Ilion, the indefatigable assailant of Antigonos, whose error, as regards Pythagoras, Polemon now corrects. 'Your second Pythagoras, my friend Antigonos,' wrote the amused Polemon, 'looks to me suspiciously like your first².' 'Polemon's whole book was merely the comprehensive criticism, the improvement and enlargement of that of Antigonos' (Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 526), and it was characteristic of its controversial parts, as H. L. Ulrichs was

¹ The analogy between the anecdotes is pointed out by Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 533.

² Polemon's authorship of the criticism was rightly detected by H. L. Ulrichs, *Griechische Kunstschrift-*

steller, p. 39 ff., but I owe it to Prof. W. Klein to have explained to me, as I believe correctly, the whole satirical force of the words *hic supra dicto*, &c. . . .

the first correctly to apprehend, that, while Antigonos had inclined to multiply names and attributions, Polemon on the contrary wished to reduce them¹. He was wrong in the case of the Agorakritan Nemesis; in that of Pythagoras of Samos and Rhegion he was—as it happens—quite right.

Having thus detected in Pliny a number of anecdotes betraying the Peripatetic, and more especially Duridian, delight in dwelling upon unexpected turns of fortune or upon paradoxical changes of profession, we now turn to another class of story, intended primarily to give point to striking traits of character. In xxxiv, 71 it is recounted of the painter Parrhasios that he made an insolent use of his success, taking to himself the surname of the 'Lover of Luxury' (*ἀβροδίατρος*), boasting moreover of his descent from Apollo, and that he had painted Herakles even as the hero had appeared to him in a dream. Finally the artist's intolerable pride finds its highest expression in the insult flung at his rival Timanthes. The story recurs in an amplified form, though with the Apolline descent omitted, in Athenaios, who has the first part of it on the authority of the Peripatetic Klearchos of Soloi.

Athen. xii, p. 543 c²: 'Among the ancients ostentation and extravagance were so great that the painter Parrhasios was clothed in purple and wore a golden wreath upon his head, as Klearchos says in his Lives. Parrhasios,

¹ Zenobios, v, 82 (above, p. xxxix); with Athenagoras, *Προσβεία*, 17 (=our App. X1), cf. Paus. ii. 27, 2; see also Paus. i, 24, 8 and the remarks of Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 412, on the artist of the *Apollo Parnopios*. With the statement preserved in Pliny xxxv, 54, to the effect that the gold-ivory Athena at Elis was the work of Kolotes, it is interesting to compare Paus. vi, 26, 3, where the words *εἶναι μὲν δὴ Φειδίου φασὶν αὐτὴν* (i. e. the Eleian Athena) seem to imply, as Münzer kindly points out to me in an unpublished note, that the authorship of the statue was a controverted point—in other words, the phrase of Pausanias is the echo of a Polemonic criticism such as that surviving in the Zenobian gloss, and that which doubtless attached to the question of the authorship of

the 'Mother of the Gods.'

² The alternative account in Athenaios (xv, 687 b) should be compared (lack of space compels omission of the Greek):—

'Though Parrhasios the painter was vain beyond the measure of his art, and had, as the saying goes, drunk deep of the cup of liberty that his pencil gave, yet he had pretensions to virtue, writing on all his paintings at Lindos,

"One who lived in luxury . . . (*ἀβροδίατρος*)."

But a wit, who was, I imagine, angry with him for defiling the delicacy and beauty of virtue by diverting to vulgar luxury the fortune given to him by chance, wrote at the side,

"One worthy of the stick . . . (*βαβροδίατρος*)."

In spite of all, however, he must be

while arrogant beyond what his art warranted, yet laid claim to virtue, and would write on his paintings

One who lived in luxury (*ἀβροδίαυτος*) and honoured virtue painted this.

‘And some person who was stung by the words wrote at the side :—

One worthy of the stick (*δαβδοδίαυτος*), &c.

‘He further wrote these lines on many of his works :—

A man who lived in luxury and honoured virtue painted this, Parrhasios born in famous Ephesos. Nor have I forgotten my father Evenor, who begat me as his lawful son, first in my art among all Greeks ¹.

‘And he spoke a vaunt with no offence in the lines :—

Though they that hear believe not, I say this. For I aver that now have the clear limits of this art been discovered by my hand, and a bound is set that none may overpass. Yet is nothing faultless among mortals ².

‘Once at Samos, when competing with his Aias against an inferior picture, he was defeated; and when his friends condoled with him he said that, for himself, he cared little, but he was grieved for Aias, who was worsted a second time.

‘As signs of his luxurious living he wore a purple cloak and had a white fillet upon his head, and leaned upon a staff with golden coils about it, and fastened the strings of his shoes with golden latches.

‘Nor was the practice of his art toilsome to him, but light, so that he would sing at his work, as Theophrastos in his treatise on Happiness tells us. And he uttered marvels when he was painting the Herakles at Lindos, saying that the god appeared to him in a dream and posed himself (*rd. αὐτόν*) as was fitting for the picture. Hence he wrote upon the painting :—

As many a time in nightly visits he appeared unto Parrhasios, such is he here to look upon ³.’

Jahn has pointed out, in his discussion of the passage ⁴, that Klearchos had only the story of the artist’s effeminacy. That Athenaios derived the rest of his information concerning Parrhasios from another source is manifest from the clumsy repetition of the

pardoned, because he said that he loved virtue. This is the story of Klearchos.

¹ ἀβροδίαυτος ἀνὴρ ἀρετὴν τε σέβων
τόδ’ ἔγραψα

Παρράσιος, κλεινῆς πατρίδος ἐξ
Ἐφέσου.

οὐδὲ πατρὸς λαθόμεν Εὐήνορας, ὅς
ῥά μ’ ἔφυσε
γνήσιον, Ἑλλήνων πρῶτα φέραν-
τα τέχνης.

² εἰ καὶ ἅπιστα κλύουσι, λέγω τάδε·
φημί γὰρ ἦδη

τέχνης εὐρῆσθαι τέρματα τῆσδε
σαφῆ
χειρὸς ὑφ’ ἡμετέρης· ἀνυπέβλητος
δὲ πέπηγεν
οὔρος· ἀμώμηταν δ’ αὐδὲν ἔγεντο
βραταῖς.

³ Οἷος δ’ ἐννύχιας φαντάζετα παλλάκι
φαιτῶν

Παρρασίῳ δι’ ὕπνου, τοῖος ὤδ’
ἔστιν ὄραν.

⁴ *Kleine Beiträge z. Geschichte d. alien Literatur* (in *Sächsische Berichte* for 1857), p. 285, note 1.

epigram ἀβροδίατος ἀνήρ, as also from the variant details respecting the artist's headgear—a gold crown in the first passage, a white fillet in the second. If we analyze the stories in Pliny and in Athenaios we obtain the following elements :

(1) The story of the artist's effeminacy and luxury, given in Athenaios, first on the authority of Klearchos, and repeated from an unnamed author ; in Pliny it occurs combined with that of the artist's arrogance : *fecundus artifex, sed quo nemo insolentius usus sit gloria artis habrodiaetum se appellando*.

(2) The boast recorded both in Athenaios and Pliny that Herakles often appeared to the artist in dreams while he was engaged upon the hero's picture.

(3) The story, given also by both writers, of the competition at Samos, and the insult to Timanthes.

(4) The story, preserved *only in Pliny*, of the artist's boasted descent from Apollo.

It is evident that these *membra disiecta* must all have been found united in some older writer, from whom they found their way through different channels into Pliny and Athenaios respectively. Now Klearchos of Soloi was himself a pupil of Aristotle¹; and, although Athenaios does not name his authority for the rest of the story, it is evident from its character, and from the mention moreover of Theophrastos for the parenthetical anecdote that Parrhasios was in the habit of singing at his work, that we are full among the Peripatetics. Therefore, as H. L. Ulrichs has pointed out, the original authority must be a Peripatetic who had written upon the painters; in a word, it must be Duris of Samos². This conjecture finds confirmation in the comments respectively made by Schubert³ and Münzer⁴ on the especial delight which Duris takes in describing details of dress (above, p. xlvi). It is significant that out of eighty-four fragments in Müller no less than ten⁵ are concerned with elaborate descriptions of costume. Parrhasios the effeminate, with his purple robe and his golden crown, is reminiscent of the effeminate Demetrios, with his yellow hair and painted face, of frag. 27; of the regal Demetrios, with the gold-embroidered robes and the hair-band shot with gold (μίτρα χρυσόσπαστος), of frag. 31.

¹ Athen. xv, p. 701 c.

² *Griechische Kunstschriftsteller*, p. 25.

³ *Pyrrhus*, p. 15.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 536.

⁵ Fr. 14, 20, 22, 24, 27, 29, 31, 47, 50, and 64.

But Parrhasios was not the only painter who delighted in gorgeous apparel. According to Pliny (xxxv, 62), his rival Zeuxis carried the same taste so far as to make his appearance at Olympia displaying his own name woven in letters of gold into the embroideries of his garments—*aureis litteris in palliorum tesseriis intextum nomen*—a detail which recalls the description of the chlamys of Demetrios, into which was inwoven the vault of heaven with its golden stars and twelve signs of the zodiac¹. Robert² had already pointed out that the similarity of the stories narrated by Athenaios of the costume of Parrhasios, and by Pliny of that of Zeuxis, showed them to be derived from the same author. Since in the case of Parrhasios this author was Duris of Samos, it follows that it is to him also we must refer the Plinian anecdote of the luxury of Zeuxis³.

A word remains to be said about the epigrams out of which the stories concerning Parrhasios are in great measure elaborated. It was the opinion of Jahn that all the epigrams purporting to have been written by Parrhasios upon himself, and inscribed upon his pictures—with the exception perhaps of the one celebrating the nocturnal apparitions of Herakles—were apocryphal⁴. Jahn included in the same category the self-laudatory epigrams placed in the mouth of the painter Apollodoros by one Nikomachos⁵, and the epigram which, according to the orator Aristeides (Or. xlix, vol. ii, p. 521 Dindorf), had been elicited from Zeuxis in answer to the boasts of Parrhasios.

‘Listen now,’ writes Aristeides, ‘to another swaggering painter,’ and quotes the following epigram of Zeuxis :

‘Herakleia my Fatherland, Zeuxis my name ; if any among men pretend to have attained the limits of my art, let him come forward and be proclaimed conqueror. . . . Yet methinks that mine is not the second place⁶.’

¹ Duris *ap.* Athen. xii, 535 f (= fr. 31) : αἱ δὲ χλαμίδες αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ὄρφνινον ἔχουσαι τὸ φέγγος τῆς χρῶας, τὸ δὲ πᾶν [*verba suspecta*, Keil] ὁ πόλος ἐνούφαντο χρυσοῦς ἀστέρας ἔχων καὶ τὰ δώδεκα ζῴδια. Cf. Plut. *Demetrios*, 41.

² *Arch. Märchen*, p. 80.

³ The remarks made above will show sufficiently why I have thought it unnecessary to refer either here or in the Comm. to the witty explanation of the *pallia* of Zeuxis as the curtains

hung in front of pictures which he exhibited at Olympia (see *Arch. Ep. Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, xii, 1888, p. 106f., and the article *Pictura* in Smith's *Dict. of Ant.* vol. ii, p. 410).

⁴ *Kleine Beiträge*, p. 286 ff.

⁵ *Apud* Hephaistion *περὶ μέτρων καὶ ποιημ.* iv, 7 :

Οὗτος δὴ σοι ὁ κλεωνὸς ἄν' Ἑλλάδα
πᾶσαν Ἀπολλό-
δαρος· γιγνώσκεις τοῦνομα τοῦτο
κλύων.

⁶ Ἡράκλεια πατρίς, Ζεύξις δ' ὄνομ'.

These poetical criticisms, passed in similar vocabulary by three great contemporary painters upon their own or one another's achievements, seemed suspicious to Jahn. Bergk, however, saw no reason to dispute their authenticity¹, and in the case of Zeuxis at least it has lately been pointed out that his epigram has a parallel in the acrostic inscribed upon the grave of the rhetor and sophist Thrasymachos of Chalkedon, a younger contemporary of Sokrates: Τοῦνομα Θῆτα Ῥῶ Ἄλφα Σὰν ὕ Μῦ Ἄλφα Χεῖ Οὐ Σάν, | πατρὶς Χαλκηδών ἣ δὲ τέχνη σοφίη (Athen. x, 454 f = *Anth. App.* 359)². We may gather from the observation that Zeuxis stood, as probably also Polykleitos, in close relation to the Sophists³. And the same is possibly true also of Parrhasios.

But to return to Duris. We have seen that those episodes of the Zeuxis-Parrhasios legends, designed to point the ethical qualities of the artists, might with certainty be referred to him. Now it has been finely discerned by Robert that the amiable Apelles and Protogenes are conceived as a pendant, so to speak, to the haughty and arrogant Zeuxis and Parrhasios, 'the faults of the older couple serving as a foil to the virtues of the younger. As a contrast to the productive and luxurious Parrhasios, we get Protogenes, struggling with the bitterest poverty, working with the most painstaking care, and accordingly producing but little: *summa paupertas initio artisque summa intentio et ideo minor fertilitas*. The portrait of Apelles is drawn with an even more loving hand; his *simplicitas*, which manifests itself in his ungrudging recognition of the superiority of masters who surpassed him in special points; his *comitas*, to which he owed the intimacy of Alexander; his *benignitas* displayed towards Protogenes—are dwelt upon with admiration, and instances are adduced in their support⁴.

The intercoherence of the two sets of anecdotes is so patent

εἰ δέ τις ἀνδρῶν ἡμετέρης τέχνης
πείρατά φησιν ἔχειν δείξας νικάτω·
δοκῶ δέ, φησὶν, ἡμᾶς οὐχὶ τὰ δεύτερ'
ἔχειν.

The resemblance to the second epigram of Parrhasios, quoted by Athenaios, is striking.

¹ *Lyrici Graeci*, ed. 4, vol. ii, p. 316f.

² Imitated as late as the second half of the sixth cent. A. D. by Agathias (pp. 8, 18, ed. Niebuhr), who intro-

duces himself to the reader as: ἐμοὶ Ἀγαθίας μὲν ὄνομα, Μύρινα δὲ πατρὶς (Μεμνόνιος δὲ πατήρ), τέχνη δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων νόμιμα καὶ οἱ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀγῶνες. See Reitzenstein, *Hermes*, xxiv, 1894, p. 238.

³ Robert, *Votivgemälde eines Apobaten*, p. 20; Diels, *Deutsche Liter.-Ztg.* May 29, 1886, p. 784, and *Arch. Anz.* 1889, p. 10.

⁴ *Arch. Märchen*, p. 81.

as of itself to justify us in assuming Duris, to whom we owe the one set, to be the author also of the other. This assumption is confirmed when we look more clearly into the details.

Most of the anecdotes recounted of Apelles and Protogenes are intended, as Robert has already remarked, to give concrete expression, above all, to the moral qualities of the artists, and at times also to their technical excellencies. The famous story of the 'splitting of the line' (xxxv, 80-82), like that of the circle traced by Giotto in presence of the Pope's envoy¹, is merely a comment on the delicate draughtsmanship of Apelles. Protogenes is made to split the line which Apelles divides once more, that the latter's superiority may be only the more triumphantly established by a great rival's acknowledged discomfiture. The setting of this particular anecdote moreover—the description of the studio with the solitary old woman (see Comm.) guarding in the master's absence the large easel with the panel ready to be worked upon—is specially Duridian in its picturesque detail.

The two proverbs attributed to Apelles, 'No day without a stroke' (§ 84), and 'Cobbler, stick to thy last' (§ 85), were intended to bring out his industry, and his respect for the opinion of others, though naturally only in so far as they speak of what they understand. The moralizing tone of the Peripatetic is heard in both the anecdotes elaborated out of the proverbs; nor is it superfluous to note that Duris seems to have had a strong leaning to proverbial sayings, possibly actually to have collected them².

The anecdote recounted in §§ 85, 86 of Alexander the Great's visit to Apelles illustrates another of the artist's qualities, his *comitas* or amiability. The kindly snub administered by Apelles to the king is evidently apocryphal, belonging to that class of anecdotes which, as Freeman would say, 'go about the world with blanks for the names³,' for Ailianos (see Comm.) has it of Zeuxis and a *Megabyzos* or Priest of Kybele. The story of Pankaspe, which, on the other hand, is a comment on the monarch's generosity and self-control, is not only practically inseparable from the first, but Alexander's detection of his artist friend's trouble, and the magnanimous self-denial with which he gives up

¹ Vasari, ed. Milanese, vol. i, p. 383. id. ii, 28; fr. 65 = Plut. *Lysander*, 18.

³ Freeman, *Methods of Historical*

² See fr. 49 = Zenob. v, 64; fr. 68 = *Study*, p. 134.

to him the most beloved of his mistresses, bear an extraordinary resemblance to the tale recounted by Plutarch (*Demetr.* xxxviii) of how King Seleukos gave up his wife Stratonike to his sick son Antiochos, whose love to his step-mother had been discovered by the physician Erasistratos as the cause of the young man's disease. The Plutarchian story has been traced back to Duris¹, whose partiality for erotic subjects, moreover, is abundantly proved by the extant fragments².

The story told in § 87 emphasizes the *benignitas* of Apelles towards all rivals, by singling out for our admiration his conduct in the case of Protogenes. The episode was evidently originally of a piece with the visit recounted in §§ 81, 82. To the story of the horses in § 95 we shall return later (p. lxiv); it may, however, be noted here that it shows the amiable and good-tempered artist losing patience, as in the case of the cobbler, with people pretending to know more about art than himself.

The Duridian character of the story of the rise of Protogenes from poverty to fame (§ 101) has already been noted in another connexion. His homely fare of soaked lupins gives point to his poverty and sobriety. The story in § 103, telling how the froth at the dog's mouth in the picture of 'Ialysos' was rendered by a lucky accident, when all the artist's efforts had failed, is eminently Peripatetic and Duridian in its delighted insistence upon the miracle of chance (*canis . . . quem pariter et casus pinxerit; fecitque in pictura fortuna naturam*)³. It is almost the anecdotic

¹ Schubert, *Pyrrhus*, p. 21.

² Cf. fragm. 2, 3, 19, 27, 35, 37, 42, 43, 58, 63. Thus he might possibly be responsible for the story of Pausias and Glykera (xxxv, 125), and for the anecdote recounted in xxxv, 140, of a Queen Stratonike, who may be identical with the Stratonike mentioned above. Perhaps too he had the stories of the lovers of the Knidian Aphrodite (xxxvi, 21) and of the Eros at Parion (*ib.* § 22); the stories, it is true, were derived by Pliny from Mucianus (p. xc), but the latter may quite well have had access to Duris (cf. p. xci) or to art-literature based upon Duris; at any rate we find a similar anecdote recounted by Klearchos of Soloi (fragm. 46 *ap.* Athen.

xiii, p. 605 E), who not impossibly had himself got it from Duris, the statue in question having been at Samos. We learn, moreover, from Athenaios (xiii, p. 606 A), on the authority of Adaios of Mitylene, that it was the work of one Ktesikles (cf. Brunn, *K. G.* i, p. 424): he is otherwise unknown, and the name happens to be identical with that of the painter of 'Stratonike and the Fisherman.'

³ The similar story recounted of Nealkes (xxxv, 104) is probably a mere *doublette* of that of Protogenes; but there is nothing in the date of Nealkes, as now established by Münzer (see Comm.), to prevent its having originated with Duris.

illustration of a line of Agathon quoted by Aristotle : τέχνη τύχην ἔστρεψε, καὶ τύχη τέχνην¹. (Addenda.)

The story of the protection accorded by Demetrios (who by the way is a favourite hero of Duris) to Protogenes², and of the friendly intercourse between the warrior and the artist (§§ 104, 105), recalls the intercourse of Alexander and Apelles. Moreover, the scenic setting, the description of the artist living *in hortulo suo* (see Comm.), must be by the hand which had described the *anus una* keeping watch in the empty studio. Of the Satyr upon which Protogenes was at work when Demetrios besieged Rhodes, Strabo (xiv, p. 652) tells an anecdote characteristic of Duris. The Satyr was represented leaning against a column upon which perched a partridge; now so greatly was the painting of the bird admired that it detracted from the attention due to the central figure; the painter, accordingly, vexed because his main theme had become subsidiary (τὸ ἔργον πάρεργον γεγονός), erased the bird. The story is identical in spirit and intention with that of the boy and grapes painted by Zeuxis, and recounted by Pliny (xxxv, 66) and Seneca Rhetor (see Comm.). I incline to credit the Samian historian with the authorship of both. Lastly, the story of Aristotle's advice to Protogenes to paint the feats of Alexander is obviously more likely to proceed from the Peripatetic Duris than from any other of the Plinian authors.

We have thus recovered considerable fragments of as many as four of Duris's Lives of the Painters. There still remain scattered up and down the Plinian narrative a number of Duridian passages, which I propose to examine in conclusion.

Closely connected with the anecdotes illustrative of character comes another series, designed to give concrete form to certain art-problems which had at different times exercised different schools. A striking instance is the story told in xxxv, 64, of how Zeuxis combined the beauty of his Helen painted for Kroton (the Agrigentum of Pliny is a mistake, see Comm.) from the best features of the five fairest maidens of that city. The anecdote embodies the axiom that since 'there is no excellent *Beauty*, that hath not some strangeness in the proportions,' the artist, striving for the ideal perfection, must needs 'take the best Parts out of Divers Faces to make one Excellent'³. Both the problem and

¹ *Ethics*, vi. 4. See *Addenda*.

² The story is also told with only slight discrepancies by Plutarch in the

Demetrios, for which Duris is one of the main sources.

³ Bacon, *Essays*, xliii.

its solution had been discussed by Sokrates in the studio of Parrhasios¹. Cicero, recounting the story of Zeuxis and the maidens as an illustration of the method he had himself followed in his study of rhetoric, had naturally combined it with the axiom it was originally intended to illustrate. The long passage (*de Invent. Rhet.* ii, 1, 1) is too well known to need full quotation, but the closing words are significant for our purpose, as showing how the anecdote had its rise in philosophic speculations:—

‘... he (Zeuxis) did not believe that all the excellencies he needed for his beauteous image could be found in one body, for this reason, that nature never puts the perfect finishing touch to all the parts of any one object. Therefore, precisely as though by bestowing everything on the one she would have nothing left for the rest, she confers some benefit, now here now there, which is always inseparable from some defect².’

Dionysios (τῶν ἀρχ. κρίσις I), by using the anecdote to prove that we may, out of a varied erudition (πολυμάθεια), combine and inform the indestructible image of Art, shows his thorough appreciation of the philosophic lesson it was intended to convey. To a genial inventor like Duris, trained moreover in philosophic doctrine, may well be attributed the shaping of a story so much more apt to clothe an aesthetic problem than to convey an actual artistic practice. The fable of the five maidens of Kroton is of perennial interest; it haunted the imagination of Raphael, who, writing of his Galatea to Baldassare Castiglione, says that ‘per dipingere una bella, mi bisognerei veder più belle,’ and at a later date we find it astutely criticized by Bernini³ (see Add.).

Duris may also be credited, I think, with the expression of another problem of kindred nature, conveyed this time, however, not as an anecdote but as an apothegm. The judgement which Lysippos had passed upon his predecessors (xxxiv, 61), saying that, while *they* represented men as they are, *he* strove to represent them as they appeared to be, expresses, as I have pointed out in the notes, a dominant problem of art, the

¹ Xenophon, *Memorab.* iii, 10, 1 :
... ἐπειδὴ οὐ βῆδιον ἐνὶ ἀνθρώπῳ περι-
τυχεῖν ἀμεμπτα πάντα ἔχοντι, ἐκ πολ-
λῶν συνάγοντες τὰ ἐξ ἑκάστου κάλλισ-
τα οὕτως ὅλα τὰ σώματα καλὰ ποιεῖτε
φαίνεσθαι; ποιοῦμεν γάρ, ἔφη, οὕτως.

² *Neque enim putavit omnia, quae
quaereret ad venustatem, uno se in
corpore reperire posse ideo, quod nihil*

*simplici in genere omnibus ex partibus
perfectum natura exsolivit. Itaque,
tanquam ceteris non sit habitura
quod largiatur, si uni cuncta conces-
serit, aliud alii commodi, aliquo
adiuncto incommodo muneratur.*

³ See Baldinucci, *Notizie dei Pro-
fessori del Disegno da Cimabue in
qua* (Firenze, ed. 1847), p. 661.

problem of impressionism *versus* realism. Münzer¹ has lately referred the passage to Antigonos, who records a somewhat similar judgement passed by the philosopher Menedemos upon his predecessors². This, however, only proves the later hand of Antigonos. So illuminating an aphorism could only have arisen in the brain of a far more powerful writer. The Lysippian judgement recalls, as has often been noticed³, that which Aristotle makes Sophokles pass on himself and Euripides (Arist. *Poetics*, 1460 b⁴)—is, in fact, but the application to a new problem of a phrase traditional in Aristotelian circles⁵. It is evident that Duris, who moreover is expressly named by Pliny as the authority for the early career of Lysippos, is far the likeliest of the Plinian authors to be responsible for the Lysippian apothegm⁶. The attribution is corroborated, moreover, by his partiality for such sayings, which he possibly collected systematically in emulation of the ἀποφθέγματα or ἀπαμνημονεύματα of his brother Lynkeus⁷.

He was an adept at deducing apothegms out of well-known lines of the poets and dramatists, even at the cost of occasional misapplication (Plutarch, *Demetr.* 14, 35, 45, 46; with Athen. vi, 249 c, cf. *Odyss.* xi, 122; Schubert, *Pyrrhus*, p. 20 f.); and I would therefore likewise refer to him the apothegm of Euphranor to the effect that 'his Theseus was fed on meat, but that of Parrhasios on roses' (xxxv, 128). Münzer has detected in the words the latent reminiscence of an Aristophanic line preserved in Diogenes on the authority of Antigonos⁸ (see Comm.), but this

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 527.

² Antig. Kar. *ap.* Diog. ii, 134 (= Wilam. p. 98): τῶν δὲ διδασκάλων τῶν περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ξενοκράτην ἔτι δὲ Παραβάτην τὸν Κυρηναῖον κατεφρόνει, Στίλπωνα δ' ἔτεθναμάκει· καὶ ποτε ἐρωτηθεὶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἄλλα μὲν οὐδὲν εἶπε πλὴν ὅτι ἐλευθέριος. The resemblance to the Lysippian phrase is little more than formal and verbal.

³ Among others by Vahlen in the notes to his ed. of the *Poetics* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 265.

⁴ 'Further, if it be objected that the description is not true to fact, the poet may perhaps reply,—"But the objects are as they ought to be": just as Sophokles said that he drew men as they ought to be drawn; Euripides as they are.' Tr. S. H. Butcher,

p. 95 (for Greek. see Comm.).

⁵ To say this, however, is far from admitting the theory of Ottfried Müller (*Kunst-Archäol. Werke*, II. p. 165 ff.), lately revived by Kékulé (*Arch. Jahrb.* viii, 1893, p. 39 ff.), that the original Greek of the Lysippian saying was a slavish imitation of the Sophoklean (Kékulé, p. 45)—and the *quales viderentur esse* of Pliny a clumsy misunderstanding of something like οἶους ἔοικεν εἶναι. On the contrary, the *viderentur* is the very pith of the apothegm, which conveys a problem totally different to the Sophoklean.

⁶ Duridian authorship seems hinted at by Diels, *Arch. Anz.* 1893, p. 11.

⁷ Ath. vi, 245; viii, 337.

⁸ I trust I am not misapprehending

is no proof that Antigonos is also responsible for the new turn given to the phrase in the mouth of Euphranor.

There remains to note, with H. L. Urlichs¹ and Münzer², that Duris was presumably the source for sundry stories of art-competitions preserved in Pliny. Their authenticity is suspicious, as Jahn long ago maintained³, because in all of them the competition itself offered no interest whatsoever to the writer, but was merely used—we may at once say invented—in order to bring great artists of the same or adjoining epochs into presence, and often to point some saying supposed to have been uttered on the occasion. The animating idea is the same as in the story which represented the young Lysippos venturing upon the higher paths of art at the bidding of Eupompos. Such is the contest between Parrhasios and Timanthes, already discussed in another connexion (above, p. liv), where we are not even told the subject of the picture by the latter artist; the competition between Zeuxis and Parrhasios with the curtain and the grapes (*ib.* 65); and the kindred anecdote of Apelles' appeal from the verdict of human judges to that of beasts (*ib.* 95).

The story of the four statues of Amazons made in competition by four great artists for the Temple of Ephesos belongs to the same series. The garb it borrows from the legend of the award of the prize of valour after Salamis (see Comm.) sufficiently betrays its apocryphal character, even though it have a groundwork of truth. There is the undoubted existence of four distinct types of Amazons, similar in size and pose; and Furtwängler has lately made the acute suggestion that the anecdote of the evaluation grew out of the order in which four statues of Amazons by the said four masters were exhibited in the Ephesian Artemision (see Comm.). Certainly such an order of exhibition⁴, could it be proved, would

the *rapprochements* attempted on p. 527 f. of Münzer's article.

¹ *Griechische Kunstschriftsteller*, p. 28 f.

² *Op. cit.* p. 534.

³ *Kleine Beiträge*, p. 289 f.

* It may be worth pointing out here that the story of the Four Amazons has a curious parallel, not, I believe, observed before, in Augustine's explanation of the origin of the number of the Muses; it is quoted on the authority of Varro, who of course had

it from Greek art-writers: Aug., *De Doctrina Christiana*, ii, 8: *Non enim audiendi sunt errores gentilium superstitionum qui novem Musas Iovis et Memoriae filias esse finxerunt. Refellit eos Varro, quo nescio utrum apud eos quisquam talium rerum doctior vel curiosior esse possit. Dicit enim civitatem nescio quam, non enim nomen recolo, locasse apud tres artifices terna simulachra musarum, quae in templo Apollinis dono poneret, et quisquis artificum pulchriora for-*

be a fine opportunity for imagining the rivalry of the four artists, precisely as a joint inscription of (the Elder) Praxiteles and Kalamis had given rise to some popular explanation, afterwards elaborated by Duris or a writer of his stamp into the anecdote recorded in xxxiv, 71, of the kind consideration of Praxiteles for the artistic reputation of Kalamis—an anecdote, by the way, that recalls the kindness of Apelles to Protogenes. Finally, the competition between Panainos and a totally unknown Timagoras (xxxv, 58), on the testimony of a *carmen vetustum*, of whose content, however, no hint is given, looks suspiciously like fiction.

There is still one passage in conclusion where Münzer (p. 535) detects, I believe rightly, the influence or authorship of Duris. This is the account of the women painters in xxxv, 147, 'woman' being one of the most favourite Duridian themes¹. Münzer further remarks that the painter Olympias is a namesake of the mother of Alexander the Great, for whom Duris evinced a lively interest,² as for every one connected with Alexander; that Aristarete is the daughter of Nearchos, who, as the namesake of one of Alexander's generals³, would likewise interest Duris; and that the three women Timarete (xxxv, 59), Irene, and Aristarete, at once daughters and pupils of their respective fathers, Mikon, Kratinos, and Nearchos, are conceived too manifestly on the same pattern to be above suspicion. Finally, the dancer Alkisthenes and the juggler Theodoros, painted by Kalypso, are evident Duridian personages; they recall the *θαυματοποιοί*, Xenophon and Nymphodoros, of fragm. 44 (= Ath. i, p. 19, f.), where the clever tricks of Xenophon's pupil Kratisthenes of Phlious are described. The analogous formation of the names Alkisthenes—Kratisthenes, Theodoros—Nymphodoros, is certainly significant.

This closes the list of passages that may be attributed with any certainty to Duris. It is most improbable that either Varro or Pliny had direct access to his writings; he seems so certainly the authority of Antigonos for the statement concerning Pythagoras of Samos (above, p. liii), and so many of the passages traced back to

masset ab illo potissimum electa emeret. Itaque contigisse ut opera sua quoque illi artifices aequè pulchra explicarent, et placuisse civitati omnes novem atque omnes emptas esse, ut in Apollinis templo dedicarentur. Quibus postea dicit Hesiodum poetam im-

posuisse vocabula. Non ergo Iupiter novem Musas genuit, sed tres fabri ternas creaverunt.

¹ Cf. fragm. 2, 3, 19, 24, 35, 42, 58, 63.

² Fr. 24.

³ Plut. *Alex.* 66, 73 and often.

Duris were likely to interest Antigonos from their purely anecdotic character, that it is not unreasonable to assume that all the Duridian stories we meet with in Pliny were brought in by Antigonos, who had drawn largely from Duris for his Book of Marvels (Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 531). Antigonos presumably did not always give the name of his authority; like Pliny and most ancient writers, he would be willing enough to assume the credit of the greater part of his information, and would only mention his authorities by name in cases where the statements seemed to him to outpass belief. So, too, Varro quoted the *artifices qui condidere haec*, in xxxiv, 68, and again in xxxv, 68 (giving them here a second mention by name), in cases where he felt he needed an excuse for a weak explanation, or a warrant for an over-bold criticism. Thus it was that, after passing through many different hands, the name of Duris of Samos, preserved in xxxiv, 61 in testimony of the incredible story that the great Lysippos of Sikyon had been wholly a self-taught artist, has given us a clue leading us to assign, as I believe, to their right author no inconsiderable portion of the Plinian anecdotes.

At the same time the vindication of these tales for the Samian historian throws considerable light on the nature of his art-writings. They reveal him as above all a biographer in spirit and not only in form. He seeks to bring before his readers the individuality of the man rather than the technical or aesthetic quality of his work. For this purpose he employs popular traditions, giving to these *voces populi* the literary form which was to secure them from oblivion. In the attention he bestowed upon character-drawing, real and fictitious, he was a true product of his age in its newly awakened desire to ascertain the features of great men present or past. The words of Pliny were as true of the third century as of his own: *pariunt . . . desideria non traditos vultus, sicut in Homero evenit*: sculptors were not content to portray contemporaries—a Menander or a Poseidippos—but must needs discover and fix for a late posterity the likeness of Aisop, Archilochos, Epimenides, nay of Homer himself¹. In many cases the monuments are still there to show how nearly a deep intuition of the genius peculiar to each personage portrayed might help to restore the image which no contemporary hand had traced. The same occurred in literature: the Peripatetics, Chamaileon of Herakleia,

¹ See the remarks of Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos*, p. 149 ff.

or Dikaiarchos of Messana—to quote two out of a host—had attempted to reconstruct the lives of Alkman, of Alkaios, or of Semonides. Duris himself had written a biography of Euripides¹, of which recent criticism has recovered at least one characteristic fragment, which tells how Sophokles on receiving the news of the death of Euripides clad himself in robes of mourning. When Duris wrote his biographies of the artists he determined they should be ‘Lives’ in the most realistic sense of the word, refusing to discuss the works divorced from the artists’ personalities. It is little wonder if in essaying to breathe back life into the persons of Lysippos, of Apelles, or Protogenes, his vivid imagination and strong powers of presentment led him, when historic facts failed, to offer telling anecdote in their place.

We may feel impelled from the side of historical verity to echo the complaint of Plutarch that Duris shows, even where not misled by interest, an habitual disregard of truth², but we are none the less indebted to him for what is perhaps the most enduring charm in the history of the ancient artists. The stories we have been studying, like those countless others which enliven the pages of Greek history, have their rise in a profoundly popular instinct, in the desire to find expression, at once simple and striking, for distinguishing qualities of temperament or of workmanship. And in their graphic force, that ‘power,’ if we may borrow from the words which Dionysios applies to the oratory of Lysias, of ‘driving home to the senses the subject of discourse³,’ they have entered into the very substance of our thought. While every schoolboy is familiar with the tale of Zeuxis and the grapes, a scholar such as August Boeckh could express his ideal of the learned life in the words *dies diem docet ut perdidderis quam sine linea transmiseris*, or the orator Burke sum up the qualities of that masterly state-paper, ‘whose every stroke had been justified by historic fact,’ in the telling phrase *Thus painters sign their names at Co.*⁴

¹ Printed at the commencement of Kirchhoff’s ed. Berlin, 1867, vol. i, p. viii. Cf. Schubert, *Pyrrhus*, p. 16.

² *Pericl.* xxviii: Δούρις μὲν οὖν οὐδ’ ὅπου μηδὲν αὐτῷ πρόσσεστιν ἴδιον πάθος εἰωθὸς κρατεῖν τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας. . . . Cicero, however, in his

one allusion to Duris (*Att.* vi, 1, 18) judges him more leniently.

³ Dion. Hal. *de Lys.* vii δυνάμεις τις ὑπὸ τὰς αἰσθησεις ἀγούσα τὰ λεγόμενα.

⁴ Burke, *Works* (ed. 1823), vol. viii, p. 129 (Letters on a Regicide Peace).

IV. *Literary Epigrams.*

The literary epigram, at once descriptive of a work of art and embodying its criticism or eulogy, was among the most fruitful sources of information at the disposal of ancient writers upon art¹. It plays accordingly, as Otto Jahn first perceived², a considerable part in Pliny's descriptions of pictures or statues, where it becomes of the highest importance to the critic to detect it: for, as it strongly coloured the Plinian narrative, so it has gone on to this day, colouring our appreciation of ancient works of art, nay, predisposing us in many cases to read into them intentions, which are within the expressive range of poetry rather than of the plastic arts. Pliny's own phrase describing what the Apellian Aphrodite owed to the verses written in her praise remains true in greater or less degree of all works extolled in epigrams: *versibus Graecis tali opere, dum laudatur, victo sed illustrato*.

A first list of the Plinian passages based upon epigrams was drawn up by Otto Jahn (*loc. cit.*), and afterwards supplemented by Benndorf³. The subjoined list is compiled from theirs, but with some few additions indicated by an asterisk.

- 1.—xxxiii, 156 Antipater (sc. Diodoros, see note)—*qui Satyrum in phiala gravatum somno conlocavisse verius quam caelasse dictus est.*

Cf. *Anth. Plan.* 248:

τὸν Σάτυρον Διόδωρος ἐκόμισεν, οὐκ ἐτόρευσεν
ἦν νύξης, ἐγερεῖς ἄργυρος ὕπνον ἔχει⁴.

- 2.—xxxiv, 55 Polyclitus . . . *diadumenum fecit molliter iuvenem . . . et doryphorum viriliter puerum.*

(The epigrammatic qualification is so finely knitted to the mention of the works that it must have been brought in at a very early date⁵.)

- 3.—xxxiv, 59 Pythagoras—*fecit—claudicantem, cuius ulceris dolorem sentire etiam spectantes VIDENTUR.*

¹ See in connexion with the epigrams of the *Anthology* which deal with works of art the admirable essay of J. W. Mackail, *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, p. 47 ff.; cf. P. Vitry, *Étude sur les Épigr. de l'Anthol. Pal. qui contiennent la description d'une œuvre d'Art*, in *Rev. Arch.* xxiv. 1894, p. 315 ff.

² *Kunsturtheile des Plinius*, p. 118 ff.

³ *De Anthologiae Graecae Epigrammatis quae ad artes spectant*; diss. Leipzig, 1862.

⁴ 'This Satyr Diodorus engraved not, but laid to rest; your touch will wake him; the silver is asleep.' Tr. J. W. Mackail, *op. cit.* p. 179.

⁵ Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 529. Dilthey, *Rhein. Mus.* xxvi, 290, first pointed out the epigrammatic juxtaposition of the two works.

Cf. *Anth. Plan.* iv, 113; ll. 1-2 :

οἶδα Φιλοκτῆτην ὄρωαν, ὅτι πᾶσι φαίνεται
ἄλγος ἔδν καὶ τοῖς τηλόθι δερκομένοις¹.

*4.—xxxiv, 70 (Praxiteles) fecit et *puberem Apollinem subreptenti lacertae comminus sagitta insidiantem quem sauroctonon vocant.*

Cf. the same or perhaps identical epigram as adopted by Martial, xiv, 172 :

*Ad te reptanti, puer insidiose, lacertae
Parce; cupit digitis illa perire tuis².*

5.—xxxiv, 70 (Praxitelis) spectantur et *duo signa eius diversos adfectus exprimentia, flentis matronae et meretricis gaudentis. hanc putant Phrynen fuisse deprehenduntque in ea amorem artificis et mercedem in voltu meretricis.*

The juxtaposition of the statues is purely epigrammatic ; in the description of Phryne's portrait lurks perhaps a reminiscence of *Anth. Plan.* iv, 204 (see Comm.).

*6.—xxxiv, 71 Ipse Calamis et alias *quadrigas bigasque fecit se impari, equis sine aemulo expressis.*

The rhetorical point betrays the underlying epigram ; the Propertian *Exactis Calamis se mihi iactat equis* (Prop. iii, 9, 10) is doubtless from the same source, for where should Kalamis boast of his horses so well as in some epigram purporting to be written by the artist himself?

7.—xxxiv, 74 Cresilas *volneratum deficientem, in quo possit intellegi quantum restet animae,*
et *Olympium Periclen dignum cognomine, mirumque in hac arte est quod nobiles viros nobiliores fecit.*

8.—*ib.* 77 Euphranoris *Alexander Paris est, in quo laudatur quod omnia simul intellegantur, iudex dearum, amator Helenae et tamen Achillis intersector.*

9.—*ib.* 78 Eutyichides *Eurotam, in quo artem ipso amne liquidiorum plurimi dixere.*

¹ ' I behold Philoktetes. His agony is made manifest, even to those who look on from afar.' The analogy to the Plinian description is pointed out by Münzer, *l. c.* In the notes I have followed Brunn in quoting *Anth. Plan.* 112 (where the omission of the name of Philoktetes is perhaps the cause of its unusual omission in Pliny) : ' More

hateful than the Greeks was my maker, a second Odysseus, who brought back to me my woeful dire disease. The rock, my rags and blood and wound and grief, were not enough, but he has even wrought my pain in bronze.'

² Pointed out by Münzer *op. cit.* p. 527, note 1.

Cf. *Anth. Pal.* ix, 709:

Εὐρώταν ὡς ἄρτι διάβροχον, ἐν τε βέεθροις
 εἶλκυσ' ὁ τεχνίτης ἐν πυρὶ λουσάμενον·
 πᾶσι γὰρ ἐν κώλοις ὕδατούμενος ἀμφινένευκεν
 ἐκ κορυφῆς ἐς ἄκρους ὑγρορατῶν ὄνυχας
 ἃ δὲ τέχνα ποταμῶ συνέπήρικεν· ἃ τίς ὁ πείσας
 χαλκὸν κωμάζειν ὕδατος ὑγρότερον¹;

*10.—xxxiv, 79 Lycius . . . *fecit dignum praeceptore puerum sufflantem languidos ignes.*

The description of the 'dying fire,' which was of course not represented in bronze, betrays the epigram.

11.—xxxiv, 79 Leochares *aquilam sentientem quid rapiat in Ganymede et cui ferat parcentemque unguibus etiam per vestem puero.*

Cf. *Anth. Pal.* xii, 221:

Στεῖχε πρὸς αἰθέρα δῖον, ἀπέρχο παῖδα κομίζων
 αἰετέ, τὰς διφυεῖς ἐκπετάσας πτέρυγας·
 στεῖχε τὸν ἄβρον ἔχων Γανυμήδεα, μηδὲ μεθείης
 τὸν Διὸς ἤδιστον οἶνοχόον κυλίκων·
 φείδω δ' αἰμάζαι κούρον γαμψώνυχι ταρσῶ,
 μὴ Ζεὺς ἀλγήσῃ, τοῦτο βαρυνόμενος².

12.—xxxiv, 80 Naucerus (*censetur*) *luctatore anhelante.*

The analogy to xxxv, 71, makes it probable that the *anhelante* is from an epigram; cf. Benndorf, *op. cit.*

xxxiv, 81 Stypax uno celebratur signo, splanchnopte—*Periclis Olympi vernula hic fuit exta torrens ignemque oris pleni spiritu accendens.*

The last words, the insistence on the swelling cheeks of the boy as he blows the fire, clearly point to an epigram. How far removed the real 'Entrail Roaster' would be from the Plinian description may be seen at a glance by studying the boy's statue from the Olympieion at Athens, which has lately been brought, with much probability, into relation with the statue by Stypax (see *Comm.* on passage).

13.—xxxiv, 81 Silanion Apollodorum fudit . . . *nec hominem ex aere fecit, sed iracundiam.*

(See *Add.* to the *Comm.* on the passage.)

¹ 'Dragged by the artist through a bath of fire, the Enrotas seems fresh from the water and amidst his streams. He bends to either side while water pours from all his limbs, and the drops fall from his head even to his feet. Art too hath joined in contest with the river; ah, who hath taught the bronze to burst into waves more

flowing than the floods?'

² 'Speed on to the heaven divine, go thy way, eagle, with the boy, spreading either pinion wide. Speed on with beauteous Ganymedes, nor suffer the boy to fall who poureth sweetest cups for Zeus. Yet spare to wound the boy with thy crooked talon, lest Zeus sorrow in grief thereat.'

- 14.—xxxiv, 88 Epigonus . . . praecessit in . . . *matri interfectae infante miserabiliter blandiente.*

(From an epigram similar to the one on the 'dying mother' by Aristeides in xxxv, 98.)

- 15.—xxxiv, 141 *Ferreus Hercules, quem fecit Alcon laborum dei patientia inductus.*
- 16.—xxxv, 59 (Zeuxis) fecit et *Penelopen, in qua pinxisse mores videtur.*
- 17.—*ib.* 69 (Parrhasius) pinxit demon Atheniensium argumento quoque ingenioso. ostendebat namque *varium, iracundum iniustum inconstantem, eundem exorabilem clementem misericordem, gloriosum, excelsum humilem, ferocem fugacemque et omnia pariter.*
- 18.—*ib.* 70 (Parrhasius) *pueros duos, in quibus spectatur securitas et aetatis simplicitas.*
- 19.—*ib.* 71 (Parrhasi) *duae picturae nobilissimae, hoplites in certamine ita decurrens ut sudare videatur, alter arma deponens ut anhelare sentiat.*
- 20.—*ib.* 94 (Apelles) pinxit et *heroa nudum, eaque pictura naturam ipsam provocavit.*
- 21.—*ib.* 98 (Aristides) *oppido capto ad matris morientis ex vulnere mammam adrepens infans, intellegiturque sentire mater et timere ne emortuo lacte sanguinem lambat.*

Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii, 623 :

Ἐλκε, τάλαν, παρὰ μητρὸς δὴ οὐκέτι μαστὸν ἀμέλξεις,
ἔλκυσσον ὑστάτιον νᾶμα καταφθιμένης
ἦδη γὰρ ξιφέεσσι λιπόπνοος· ἀλλὰ τὰ μητρὸς
φίλτρα καὶ εἰν Ἄϊδη παιδοκομεῖν ἔμαθεν¹.

- 22.—xxxv, 99 (Aristides pinxit) *supplicantem paene cum voce.*

*23.—*ib.* 99 (Aristides pinxit) *anapanomenen propter fratris amorem.*

(Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii, 183, 184, and see H. L. Ulrichs' note in the Comm. on the passage.)

- 24.—xxxv, 106 (Protogenis) *Satyrus—est, quem anapanomenon vocant, ne quid desit temporis eius securitati, tenentem tibias.*

(Cf. *Anth. Plan.* 244.)

- *25.—xxxv, 138 Antiphilus *puero ignem constante laudatur ac pulchra alias domo splendet ipsiusque pueri ore.*

I suspect an epigram from the forced point made in the description of the room 'which is in itself beautiful.'

- 26.—xxxvi, 21 (Praxitelis Veneris) *effigies dea favente ipsa, ut creditur, facta.*

(Cf. *Anth. Plan.* 159—170.)

- 27.—xxxvi, 24 Cephisodotus . . . *cuius laudatum est Pergami symplegma nobile digitis corpori verius quam marmoris impressis.*

¹ 'Drink, poor babe, from thy mother, whose breast thou shalt suck no more; drink thy last draught from her in death. Now has the sword

taken her life, yet a mother's love knows, even in Hades, how to care for her child.'

Cf. Herondas iv, 59 f.¹, quoted in the Comm. on the passage.

Besides the epigrams descriptive of works of art, we may note, for the sake of completeness, the allusion to the epigrams on Myron's cow (xxxiv, 57) and on the *Anadyomene* of Apelles (xxxv, 92); the epigram upon Zeuxis which lurks in the words *ab hoc (Apollodoro) artis fores apertas, Zeuxis . . . intravit* in xxxv, 61 (see Comm.); the epigram in which Apollodoros reproached Zeuxis with having not learnt—but stolen the art of his masters (*ib.* § 62); finally the reference to the laudatory verses composed by Parrhasios upon himself, discussed above (p. liv f.). In all these descriptive passages it is evident that the writer has been concerned to outstrip rather than to explain the artistic aim. We are confronted by a series of pointed sayings, inspired indeed, or they would miss their effect, by some quality actually existent in the work of art, but using this quality as a theme to be expanded freely into the fluidity of language, whereas the artist had been forced to compress his conceptions within the limits imposed by visible form. Whatever Euphranor's ethical conception of the separate or conflicting traits in the character of Paris, he must perforce combine and fuse them in the portrayal of one single personage. The versifier, on the other hand, remains within the limits of his art if he picks out the qualities suggested rather than definitely indicated by the Paris of Euphranor, and embodies these in a series of consecutive images: thus the Paris of the sculptor will be converted by the epigrammatist from a unit into a triad; the compacted whole is resolved into the judge of the goddesses, the lover of Helen, the murderer of Achilles—each trait calling up in the mind of the reader a distinct sensuous image, whereas the statue, however complex, called up only one. Or, again, the epigram may catch at a purely accidental detail—accidental so far as regards any ethical import—such as the drapery which Leochares gave as a background to his Ganymede, and interpret it to mean what it lay entirely outside the power of the formative arts to express,—the eagle's care to avoid wounding the boy. The achievement of artist and of epigrammatist is bound to be different, because of the dissimilarity of the material with which each clothes his thought. The question touches one of the

¹ 'Pray look at this naked child; if I pinch him can you not fancy I shall really hurt him Kynno? For the

flesh palpitates in the picture like a warm spring'—(*ut fontes calidi*, v. Crusius, *ad loc.*).

most difficult of all the problems suggested by the study of art, the problem how far the language of form can be translated into that of words, and *vice versa*. It could only be adequately treated in context with the written Greek epigrams of the same class as those we have been considering, and with the various descriptions in ancient literature, outside Pliny, based upon such epigrams; and this, after all, would be only one chapter of a vast discussion that should embrace the literature, whether ancient or modern, that aims at the analysis of works of art. But I have touched upon it here only as a passing protest against the practice, still too common, of searching in what were often but plays of fancy for definite evidence concerning the intention to be conveyed by a work of art. The modern scholar shows himself scarcely less credulous in this respect than Pliny himself, who introduced most of his epigrammatic descriptions by the *intelligere*, which, as we learn from Cicero, was the special term used of the insight and criticism of the man who knows ¹.

These descriptive epigrams were doubtless interwoven with the original Xenokratic fabric that underlies the Plinian account at different times. We have seen that some—perhaps even a large number—were certainly due to Antigonos of Karystos. Others may be due to the Greek artist and writer upon art, Pasiteles of Naples (p. lxxvii ff.); Varro or Mucianus may have brought in others; nor need we decide whether Varro, or Pliny, or another Roman, was first guilty of the comic blunder arising from the attribution in xxxiv, 57 to the sculptor Myron of the little monument, sung by two poets of the Anthology, which the girl Myro had raised to her pets, a cricket and a grasshopper ².

¹ *Brutus*, 184 etenim necesse est, qui ita dicat, ut a multitudine probetur, eundem doctis probari; nam quid in dicendo rectum sit aut pravum, ego iudicabo, si modo is sum, qui id possim aut sciam iudicare: *qualis vero sit orator ex eo, quod is dicendo efficiet poterit intelligi*. See O. Jahn, *loc. cit.* p. 120.

² The list of works whose description is based upon literary epigrams should further include the notice in xxxiv, 79 of the group by Leochares of the slave-dealer Lykiskos and a boy 'on whose face may be read the

wily craft of the servile character.' Possibly the notice in xxxiv, 88 of Nikeratos' group of Alkibiades and his mother 'Demarate sacrificing by torchlight' belongs to the same class (cf. note 2 on p. xlv). The description in xxxiv, 93 of the Hercules 'wearing the tunic,' considered by Benndorf (p. 55) as epigrammatic, seems inseparable from the notice of the three *tituli* on the statue, and is presumably an observation of Pliny's own, not borrowed from any special source.

V. *Heliodoros of Athens* (fl. 150 B. C.).

Heliodorus qui de Atheniensium anathematis scripsit is cited in the Indices of authors to Books xxxiv and xxxv; the mention of his name in the Index to Book xxxiii, which contains no material that could be derived from him, must be looked upon as an interpolation. Till recently the literary personality of Heliodoros remained so shadowy¹ that all attempts to recover traces of him in Pliny had proved ineffectual². Now, however, that Bruno Keil³ has succeeded in proving Heliodoros to be the source for the periegetic portions in the Pseudo-Plutarchian *Lives of the Ten Orators*, it has become possible to ascertain also the extent of Pliny's debt—and it remains very small—to the Athenian periegete.

The interest of the results attained by Keil lies almost entirely outside Pliny; it will suffice to indicate them briefly. The passage in the Life of Hypereides (849 c) concerning the burial-place of the orator *πρὸ τῶν Ἰππάδων πυλῶν, ὡς φησιν Ἡλιόδωρος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ περὶ Μνημάτων* forms the basis of the inquiry. The reading of the MSS. *Ἡλιόδωρος*, which Ruhnken had unnecessarily altered to *Διόδωρος*, has been rightly retained in this place by both Keil (*l.c.*) and by Bernadakis in the new edition of the *Moralia* (vol. v, p. 193). For not only does the date of Heliodoros⁴ accord precisely with the date required by certain other statements of periegetic nature contained in the *Lives* (cf. in particular Lyk. 842e=fr. 5^a Keil⁵), but the information conveyed in these dateable fragments and in the remaining periegetic passages scattered through the *Lives* is of a strictly homogeneous character, which Keil defines as follows (*op. cit.* p. 237, cf. p. 201): 'The first interest of Heliodoros is for extant monuments; he gives details concerning the nature of the monument, its material, its locality and present condition; then follow in natural sequence statements of an historical character, such as the original condition, change of locality, occasional details concerning cost,

¹ Seven fragments are collected by Müller, *F. H. G.* iv, p. 425. See also Susemihl, *Geschichte d. Al. Lit.* i, p. 692 f.

² E. g. the attempts of Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, i, p. 36, note 2; on the difficulty of the Heliodoran question see Brieger, *De Fontibus*, p. 33.

³ *Hermes*, xxx, 1895, pp. 199–240.

⁴ After Antiochos Epiphaneas (B. C. 175–164), cf. Athen. II, p. 45 c.

⁵ Καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῶν (Lyknrg. and his children) τὰ μνήματα ἀντικρὺ τῆς Παιωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν τῷ Μελανθίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου κήπῳ (date of Melanthis circ. B. C. 150, Keil, *l.c.*).

artists, or donors. These statements are corroborated by the epigrams and inscriptions . . . relative to the monument described¹.

Now if we turn to Pliny we shall find some four passages which bear this peculiar Heliodoran stamp. Three occur in Book xxxiv, in the first alphabetical list of the bronze-workers; one in Book xxxv, towards the close of the main account of the painters. In xxxiv, § 74, the passage *Cephisodorus Minervam mirabilem in portu Atheniensium et aram ad templum Iovis Servatoris in eodem portu, cui pauca comparantur* (sc. fecit) has long been admitted by a number of authorities², though on different grounds, to be from a source other than that of the main account. It will repay careful analysis. We know from Pausanias (i, 1, 3) that the 'Minerva' and the 'Jupiter' belonged to the same temple, namely to the Δισωτήριον, where Zeus and Athena were worshipped respectively as Σωτήρ and Σώτειρα³. Now, if we examine the Plinian passage we note at once a certain looseness of construction, a certain hesitancy in the wording; it is as if Pliny, or the author from whom he quotes, were not fully conscious—or at least fully persuaded—that the 'wondrous Athena' which was to be seen 'in the harbour of Athens' were really in the same place as the altar, which was in the same city, 'in the temple of Zeus the Saviour.' I accordingly believe that we have here the juxtaposition of two statements derived from separate sources. The words *Cephisodorus Minervam mirabilem in portu Atheniensium* would belong to the main account—the mention of the Athena, which was bronze (χαλκοῦ μὲν ἀμφότερα τὰ ἀγάλματα), being in place in a history of bronze-sculpture—while a later hand introduced from another source the mention of the *ara*, another work by Kephisodoros. Now this altar, which would naturally be marble and be decorated with reliefs, is obviously out of place in a history which was only concerned with works in the round and in bronze; this discrepancy, however, was unnoticed by the art-writer (Pasiteles (?), p. lxxx) who made the addition.

¹ Cf., in particular, Isokr. 838^a (= Keil, fr. 4^b), the inscription from the statue of Isokrates by Leochares, which Timotheos put up at Eleusis.

² Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, i, p. 36, note 2; Furtwängler, *Master-*

pieces, p. 145; Oehmichen, *Plin. Studien*, p. 151.

³ See Comm. p. 60; cf. Liv. xxxi, 30, 9. The whole literature on the passage, both ancient and modern, given by Hitzig and Blümner, *Pausanias*, p. 120 f.

The connecting link was afforded by the name of Kephisodoros. Nor was any special attention bestowed upon the fact that the *ara* which was now mentioned stood not only *in eodem portu*, but actually in the same temple as the Athena. That the addition itself is Heliodoran seems probable from the precision with which the locality of the altar is noted (*ad templum Iovis Servatoris*), whereas the Minerva was simply cited as being *in portu Atheniensium*. The altar moreover—doubtless itself an *ἀνάθημα*—was a likely object to be included in a work *de anathematis*.

Close by the notice of Kephisodoros occurs the second passage detected as Heliodoran by Keil. The statement in xxxiv, 76 that 'Demetrios made a statue of Lysimache, who was priestess of Athena for sixty-four years,' has a precision of detail, due to the fact that the years of Lysimache's priesthood were taken from the inscription on her statue (see Comm.), unlike anything that meets us in the main account, where such detail is alien to the nature of the inquiry.

With these two passages recognized as Heliodoran by both Keil and Münzer¹ I incline to associate a third, claimed for Heliodoros by Wachsmuth², but rejected by Keil (*l. c.*). The passage (xxxiv, 72) concerning the 'Lioness' of Amphikrates, whose name was doubtless taken from the inscribed basis, belongs essentially to a book *de anathematis*, and accordingly to Heliodoros, one of whose works specially described the monuments of the Athenian Akropolis (*περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν ἀκροπόλεως*, fr. 1–3 Müller). At the same time, it must be admitted that the story related in connexion with the monument has, in its Plinian form, a more imaginative flavour than we find in any of the accredited Heliodoran fragments or in those more recently recovered by Keil. It is possible, therefore, that only the kernel of the passage is Heliodoran, and that the anecdote itself was expanded under the influence of other sources³.

¹ *op. cit.* p. 541.

² *loc. cit.* The Heliodoran authorship seems admitted by Gurlitt, *Pausanias*, p. 96.

³ It is noteworthy that the name of Amphikrates is preserved only in Pliny. As regards the mention of the statue and the anecdote attached thereto, Plut., *Garrul.* 8, and Polyainos, *Strategem.* viii, 45, appear to draw

from the same source as Pliny, while the words of Pausanias (i, 23, 2), λέγω δὲ οὐκ ἔς συγγραφὴν πρότερον ἤκουσα, seem to indicate that Pausanias had the story merely from hearsay; moreover, he has no allusion to the animal's tonguelessness. The story, without mention of the statue, recurs once again in Pliny (vii, 87), and is told by Athen., xiii, 596 f.

We return to safer ground in the passage in Book xxxv, claimed for Heliodoros by Keil. He argues that the sentence (§ 134) *pinxit* (i. e. *Athenion*) *in templo Eleusine Phylarchum et Athenis frequentiam quam vocavere syngenicon* is marked off from the rest of the account of Athenion's pictures by the careful notice of locality, a special Heliodoran characteristic, while the rest of the enumeration, being resumed with *item*, points to the juxtaposition of different sources. Both the 'Phylarchos' and the 'syngenicon,' moreover, being votive offerings, fall within the range of the *de anathematis*.

As already hinted, it seems probable that these additions from Heliodoros to the older text-books of Xenokrates and Antigonos were made by Pasiteles, the Plinian author whom we pass to consider next.

VI. *Pasiteles of Naples.*

This curiously many-sided man¹, at once worker in marble, in ivory, and in bronze, who was a careful student of animal life, who modelled and chiselled, who could raise a chryselephantine statue or make the design for a silver mirror, and who was the master of a considerable school, is known to us only from Pliny and from one mention in Cicero (*de Div.* i, 36, 79). His date is given by the former (xxxiii, 156) as *circa Pompei Magni* (b. 108 B. C., murd. 48 B. C.) *aetatem*. He received the right of Roman citizenship in 88 B. C. (xxxvi, 40, where see Comm.), at a time when he had presumably attained to manhood², if not yet to fame. Of his five volumes concerning famous works of art (*quinque volumina scripsit nobilium operum in toto orbe*, xxxvi, 40) we may expect to find traces in Pliny's work, where a distinguished place is assigned to him in the Indices of authors: in the Indices to xxxiii and xxxv he heads the list of Greek writers, in the Index to xxxiv he closes it; for xxxvi he appears as sole Greek authority. Brunn's researches have proved that a writer appearing in so prominent a position must be a main

See Jacobi, *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* 1873, p. 367 f.; Gurlitt, *loc. cit.*; Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget*, p. 52, note 1; Reisch, *Weihgeschenke*, p. 13, note 1. Grote (*Hist.* iii, p. 332) inclined to accept the story of Leaina, but took no notice of the monument.

¹ The fullest account of Pasiteles is still that of Kékulé, *Die Gruppe des Künstlers Menelaos*, 1870, p. 11 ff.; see also Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei*, p. 10 f.; Wickhoff, *Wiener Genesis*, p. 26 f.

² Kékulé, *op. cit.*, p. 11 f.

authority—yet there is no writer so difficult to lay a definite hold on as Pasiteles, when we come to analyze the Plinian text. The only passage (xxxvi, 40) where he was thought to be cited by name for an expression of opinion has fallen away before Furtwängler's criticism: the reading *admirator et Pasitelis* must be restored in place of the unsatisfactory *admiratur et Pasiteles* of the editions¹. The attempt of Brieger² to detect Pasitelean authorship in passages betraying periegetic interests or points of view, and that of Otto Jahn³ to detect it wherever a work of art was qualified by the epithet *nobilis*, have likewise been disposed of by Furtwängler, whose own association of Pasiteles, however, with all the more properly artistic criticism in Pliny is inadequately based upon the fact that Pasiteles was an artist, since, as we have seen, he only shared that qualification with Xenokrates, Antigonos, and others. Nor are there any accredited fragments of his writings which could serve as clues. We are left, in order to account for his singular position in the Indices, with the sole alternative, already indicated by Brunn⁴, of accrediting him with a final and wholesale working up of the old Greek Treatises upon art into his own five volumes. That Pasiteles should thus have elected to return to the Treatises of Xenokrates and Antigonos, rather than apply himself to formulate fresh theories and judgments, accords admirably with his artistic leanings: he created no style of his own, but turned back to Greek models—at times simply copying them, at others adapting or combining them for the presentment of a new subject⁵. Even as we doubtless owe to him and his school⁶ not a few of those copies which have rescued Greek statues from complete oblivion, so we may owe it to his reverence for the art-literature of the Greeks that some part of it has filtered down to us through the subsequent medium of the Roman authors. Thus Varro, and Pliny after him, would quote, as their manner was, the names of Xenokrates,

¹ Furtwängler, *Plinius und seine Quellen*, p. 40 f.

² *De Fontibus*, p. 36.

³ *Kunsturtheile*, p. 124.

⁴ *Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie* (phil.-hist. Classe), 1875, p. 313.

⁵ On this point see especially Furtwängler, *Eine argivische Bronze* (50, Winkelmannsprogramm, Berlin,

1890), p. 134 f.; Hauser, *Die neuattischen Reliefs*, p. 182; cf. the interesting summary of Wolters, *Jahrb.* xi, 1896, p. 3 f, and now Furtwängler, *Statuenkopien im Alterthum*, p. 544 f.

⁶ For Stephanos, pupil of Pasiteles, and Menelaos, pupil of Stephanos, see Commentary on xxxvi, 33.

of Antigonos, and other Greek writers, at second or third hand¹. And that Pasiteles himself should chance not to be quoted in the actual text, for any of the additions which he made, is natural enough if we suppose that he gave merely an uncoloured enumeration of new material, unaccompanied by striking or disputable comment. For it is clear, if we inspect the cases in which authorities are cited in the Plinian text (xxxiv, 61, 68, &c.), that the mention is in no wise determined by the modern conscientiousness in such matters—not even by a sentiment of honour among thieves—but by the occasional wish to disclaim responsibility (cf. p. lxvi). Pliny, at any rate, thought it sufficient to acknowledge the debt which he owed indirectly to Pasiteles, whom he found cited as main Greek authority in Varro, by assigning him the leading place in the Indices, a place corresponding to that which he doubtless occupied in the Varronian lists of Greek authors². Varro seems to have marked his debt to Pasiteles by a general complimentary allusion to his productiveness both as writer and artist (xxxvi, 40). The *quae fecisse nominatim non refertur* is an addition by Pliny, who, not seizing the precise intention of the passage, expected to find the works of Pasiteles enumerated singly in this particular connexion. He forgets that just above he has mentioned on Varro's authority the gold-ivory Jupiter in the temple of Metellus; Varro himself, who was a contemporary and possibly a friend of Pasiteles³, must have known his works well.

To Pasiteles, moreover, may be traced almost certainly one important extension of the original Greek treatises. These terminated, as we have seen (p. xxi), with Ol. 121, a date which, though purely accidental, was accepted by subsequent writers

¹ That the name of Antigonos reached Pliny only through Pasiteles has been suggested by Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos*, p. 7.

² For Pliny's method of compiling long lists of authors from Varro see in especial the Index to Book viii; it contains the names of twenty-nine Greek authors, not one of which is cited in the text of the work; they appear to have been taken bodily over from Varro, *Re Rust.* i. 1, 8, Pliny even adopting for a long stretch the same order of enumeration; cp. *Amphilocho Athe-*

naeo—Menandris Prieneo et Heracleote with the Varronian *item Amphilocho Atheniensis . . . Menandri duo unus Prieneus alter Heracleotes*. Brunn (*de Indicibus*, p. 48) conjectures that the nine Greek writers *περὶ μελιουργικά*, Index to Book xi, were taken straight over by Pliny from the lost work of Hyginus; cf. also Brunn, p. 50, and F. Aly, *Zur Quellenkritik des älteren Plinius*, 1885, p. 7 ff.

³ Kékulé, p. 17.

as the close of a period of art. It was probably Pasiteles who, while preserving this date as the lower chronological limit for Greek art, brought in the mention of the revival in Ol. 156 (xxxiv, 52)¹. This revival seems connected with the works of art and decorations executed for the buildings of Metellus, for which at a later date Pasiteles himself had made a Jupiter in ivory and gold. But if Pasiteles be the author of the additions to the chronology of the statuary he must also be credited with the similar extension of the history of the painters, to include those who flourished from Ol. 156 onwards (xxxv, 135)².

To the actual contents of the five volumes *nobilium operum* we have no clue, but from their number a certain width of range may reasonably be argued. The design of Pasiteles was, we may conjecture, to give a general survey of all the arts of antiquity, rather than, like Xenokrates, to develop a definite scheme in relation to the department of art in which he was himself engaged, or which came within the sphere of his personal interest. We may therefore tentatively attribute to him—at any rate without violating any ascertained principle upon which he worked—the otherwise unallotted information in the early parts of xxxiv concerning bronze as used (*a*) for furniture, (*b*) for temple ornaments, (*c*) for statues of the gods, (*d*) for statues of mortals; each category is linked to the following by the purely artificial conception of progress from the less to the more noble. Under these headings the Roman authors afterwards fitted in, as best they could, fresh material concerning Roman art, committing themselves in the process to singular contradictions³. Statuary proper, moreover, was further divided into colossal images and lesser images (§ 49). These artificial categories seem likely enough to have been adopted by Pasiteles as a convenient mode of tabulating his vast material. Thus he would further break up the old Greek Treatises into a chronological table and an alphabetical list (above, p. xxii), into which new names or works of special merit were introduced from Heliodoros⁴ or other sources, only the *insignes* being reserved for separate treatment. New lists were appended; of these it is significant that the first comprises almost solely the names of artists who were also distinguished for their silver-chasing, a branch of

¹ Münzer, *op. cit.*, p. 538; cf. *Märch.* p. 135, note 1.
Comm. on xxxiv, 52, l. 4.

² Cf. Münzer, p. 501.

³ Münzer, *l. c.*; Robert, *Arch.* ⁴ Cf. B. Keil, *Hermes* xxx, 1895, p. 226.

art in which Pasiteles himself specially excelled. Indeed, with regard to the account of the silver-chasers themselves in xxxiii, 154-157, failing information concerning the unknown writers Menaichmos¹ and Menander², who appear as authorities in the Index to Bk. xxxiii, or any clue to guide us here to Antigonos, Pasiteles must, for the present, be accepted as authority for the whole passage, with the sole exception of the subsequent interpolations and additions commented upon in the notes.

In Bk. xxxv, again, it may be Pasiteles who divided the painters into two classes, according as they painted in tempera (53-111) or in wax by the process called encaustic (122-149), and who elaborated the curiously artificial theories (§ 149) as to its development. The latter recall the conventional notions of artistic progress unfolded at the commencement of Bk. xxxiv; they are equally devoid of that apprehension of a living growth within a living organism which, in spite of all blunderings, never seems to have deserted Xenokrates. In his written works, as in many of the copies of Greek statuary attributed to him, Pasiteles had caught the sense but not the spirit of the masters he so zealously emulated. Lastly, he arranged the painters of second rank (§§ 138-145), those of third rank (§ 146), and the women painters (§ 148) in three closing alphabetical lists.

That the account of modelling (xxxv, § 151 f.) went through his hands is clear from the exceeding stress he laid upon the indispensable function of modelling in every branch of the plastic arts; his opinion on this subject, quoted by Varro, was probably the main addition Pasiteles made to the original Greek Treatise. That Pasiteles would leave the account of the modellers prefixed to that of the statuaries in bronze is evident from the connexion he established between the two, *plasticen matrem caelaturae et statuariae sculpturaeque dixit*. It has already been noted (p. xxxv) that the exigencies of his plan compelled Pliny to transfer the account to its present awkward position.

Pasiteles is the last writer upon art, properly so called, whose name meets us in the pages of Pliny. His comprehensive work proved not only a rich but a convenient store for the Roman encyclopaedists. Above all does he seem to have been excerpted

¹ Above, p. xl, note 1.

² Only known through Pliny; cf. Susemihl, i, p. 524, note 47.

by Varro, whose extracts from Pasiteles, altered and re-adapted to his own purposes by Pliny, have thus survived down to our own day.

VII. *Varro* (116–28 B. C.)—*Cornelius Nepos* (circ. 99–24 B. C.)—*Fabius Vestalis*.

The first step in Plinian criticism went from Pliny back to Varro as authority for the bulk of the history upon art. In the light of a clearer analysis, Varro has fallen again into a subordinate place, overshadowed no longer indeed by his debtor Pliny, but by those earlier authorities to whom he was in his turn indebted. By the emergence now into a certain definiteness of the Greek authorities: of Xenokrates and Duris, with their very distinctive histories, the one of art, the other of the artists; of Antigonos in whom this uncongenial and even antagonistic material was worked up into a singular union; and of Pasiteles, who yet further manipulated, rearranged, and amplified it, the Roman Varro is reduced from his position as authority to the humbler office of final intermediary. Though he is undoubtedly the author whom Pliny quotes most frequently in his account of the Artists¹, as generally throughout the *Historia Naturalis*, yet any discussion of his literary or scientific personality would be foreign to the present enquiry². It is perhaps fortunate for his great reputation that so few of his voluminous writings have survived: the criticism of their comparatively meagre fragments will, for the world at large, always be outmatched by that picture of his learning which we owe to the genius of Cicero (*Acad. Post.* i, 3, 9), who as a fact neither loved nor admired him, but who, in order to secure by a counter-compliment the gratification of his own vanity, was ready to flatter the πολυγραφέτατος homo³. Neither in the great list of his works preserved by Jerome, nor outside it, do we come upon traces of any work exclusively devoted to the history of art. The probability is that in the case of Varro, as in that of Pliny, this history formed but

¹ xxxiv, 56; xxxv, 113, 136, 154, 155 ff.; xxxvi, 14, 17, 39, 41; cf. Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 56 ff.

² For Varro, see especially Teuffel, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, §§ 164–169, and the sketch in Momms-

sen, vol. III, p. 602 ff. On Varro's compilatory methods see the just estimate of G. Boissier, *Étude sur la vie et les ouvrages de Varron*, p. 27 ff.

³ Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* xiii, 18.

an episode of a larger work, such for instance as the section on 'Human Affairs' in the 'Antiquities.' Further, we know from extant fragments¹ that various notices of artists were scattered up and down a number of Varro's lesser works.

It only remains to indicate the few and comparatively insignificant passages which we know, in most cases from Pliny's express mention of him, to be in a more special sense Varronian, for which Varro is, so far as we know, the final and sole authority. Even these I shall be content to summarize very briefly, apologizing for a brevity that may seem disproportioned by reminding the reader that till lately the disproportion has been all to the score of Varro, and that as a fact the value of the Plinian sources increases in the order, not of their nearness to Pliny, but of their approach to the distant fountain-head.

Varro seems occasionally, as in the passage (xxxiv, 69) on Praxiteles, to have modified and doctored the Greek account (above, p. xxii) so as to suit the Roman taste. Occasionally also he brought in parenthetical scraps of interesting or curious information; for instance, to the statement in xxxvi, § 14, that the archaic sculptors worked in marble he tacked on the truly Varronian etymology of the word *lychnites* (see Comm.). For the rest, his additions mostly express his personal opinion, or retail his personal knowledge, in many cases, of contemporaries. Thus from Pliny's paraphrase we learn that to the account he borrowed from his Greek authors of the Nemesis at Rhamnous (xxxvi, 17) he added a sentence expressive of his own admiration of the statue, which he had doubtless seen during his stay at Athens. Thus too his mention of the lady artist Iaia of Kyzikos, a friend of his youth, is adjoined to the lists of women painters (xxxv, 147). In like manner he praises the marvellously naturalistic modelling of fruits by another acquaintance, Possis (*ib.* 155); this is followed (*ib.* 155) by the laudatory notice of the friend of Lucullus, the Athenian Arkesilaos—who may well have been known to Varro—and of Pasiteles (above, p. lxxix). Further, it appears from § 154 that he had combined the Greek account of modelling, as he took it from Pasiteles, with some account of the art in Rome, and in this same connexion of modelling, though scarcely in its present context, he had given yet another reminiscence of his Athenian

¹ When the whole of the Varronian fragments dealing with art-questions are collected and analyzed, con-

siderable traces of lost Greek writings are certain to be revealed; see e.g. *Ling. Lat.* ix, 6, 12; *ib.* ix, 18.

visit in his explanation of the term *Ceramicus*. Two statements are still more closely personal: he mentioned that he had once possessed (*habuisse*) a bronze figure by the silver-chaser Mentor (xxxiii, 154), and a marble group of a Lioness and Cupids by Arkesilaos (xxxvi, 41). From his use of the past tense it has been justly surmised that Varro had lost these treasures at the time of the proscriptions of B. C. 43.

It is evident that Varro is the authority for both the genre pictures by Peiraikos and the huge pictures by Serapion, as well as for the portraits by Dionysios (xxxv, 113, 114). All three artists are placed antithetically to one another, and moreover, as we learn from § 148, they were evidently all three contemporaries of Varro. Upon these follows the mention of Kalates, a painter only once again mentioned in literature, namely in Varro's *Life of the Roman People* (fr. 1 Keil). Lastly, it is at least a significant coincidence that, while the pictures of Antiphilos mentioned by Pliny (*ib.* § 114) were either inside or in the neighbourhood of the Gallery of Pompeius, the same painter is mentioned in Varro's *Treatise on Rustic Affairs* (iii, 2, 5), in that part of the dialogue which is supposed to take place B. C. 54, a few months after the dedication of the theatre and the Gallery of Pompeius in the Field of Mars¹. It shows, at any rate, that Varro, writing after his eightieth year, was still interested in the pictures of the Egyptian painter, whom he may have discussed in a previous work.

To Varro likewise Pliny owes, as appears from xxxv, 136, a number of notices of the high prices paid for works of art—mostly pictures. Varro had apparently collected together from his Greek authors a number of these instances, and had at the same time given, for the benefit of Roman readers, the Roman equivalent of the Greek talent: hence the *talentum Atticum XVI taxat M. Varro* (*loc. cit.*) of Pliny. Three of the works of art which obtained specially high prices are mentioned together in vii, 126 (where, however, there is no reference to Varro's evaluation of the talent), and again separately at different parts of the account of the painters: thus the price paid by Attalos for the 'Dionysos' of Aristeides of Thebes is given again twice in xxxv, 24 and 100; the price, 'its weight in gold,' of the picture by Boularchos, *ib.* 55; lastly, the price paid by Caesar for the 'Aias' and the 'Medeia' of Timomachos, *ib.* 136². To these

¹ Münzer, p. 541.

² Münzer, *l. c.*

undoubted instances of Varronian authorship I incline to add as a fourth the notice of the price paid for the 'Diadumenos' of Polykleitos (xxxiv, 55).

Cornelius Nepos, who at one time (e. g. Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 25) was credited with the anecdotic portions in Pliny, which recent criticism has gradually but surely traced back to Duris, is mentioned in xxxv, 16 as Pliny's authority for the existence of an early Greek painter Ekphantos, who accompanied the Corinthian Damaratos in his flight to Italy. Presumably, therefore, Pliny also obtained from him the mention of the Corinthian potters, also companions of Damaratos (*ib.* 152). These extracts may be from the same work of Nepos, dealing apparently with Roman customs, from which Pliny has citations in other parts of the *Historia* (ix, 61, 136; x, 60, &c.)¹.

For Fabius Vestalis, *qui de pictura scripsit* (Index, xxxv), and who possibly had also written on statuary and sculpture, since he figures in the Indices to xxxiv and xxxvi, not even the acuteness of Münzer has been able to recover one single fragment out of the Plinian history. He is entirely unknown², save for the references in Pliny³ (see Addenda).

VIII. *G. Licinius Mucianus* (date of birth unknown; died before B. C. 77, cf. Plin. xxxii, 62).

To the History of the Artists which he borrowed from Varro, Pliny made one notable group of additions from the work in which his contemporary G. Licinius Mucianus, *ter consul*⁴, had published the more or less trustworthy observations compiled during a prolonged sojourn in the East. These additions concern the works of art of the coast cities of Asia-Minor and the adjacent islands, a region that had practically lain outside the ken of the Greek art-writers Xenokrates (cf. p. xxi) and Antigonos⁵, and after them of Pasiteles⁶.

¹ Münzer, p. 542 f.

² Teuffel, § 267, II.

³ Indices, vii, xxxiv-xxxvi; cf. vii, 213.

⁴ Cited Indices to xxxi, xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvi, and repeatedly in the body of the *Historia* (see Detlefsen's Index).

⁵ We must except, of course, the traditions derived by Antigonos from Duris concerning the island-schools of the Aegean.

⁶ Pasiteles, so far as we can tell, seems not to have enlarged the geographical range of his predecessor, except for the notice of the Greek artists in

Mucianus, coming from the South¹, would first encounter the civilization of the Aegean in Rhodes (v, 132; xix, 12; xxxiv, 36); of the islands which he visited, Delos (iv, 66), Syros (*ib.* 67), and Andros (ii, 231) lay furthest to the West, Samothrake (xi, 167) to the North; along the coast proper he came at least as far as Kyzikos (xxxi, 19). Pliny not unfrequently introduces the notices of works of art extant within this geographical district by such words as *hodie* or *nunc*, showing that he is quoting from a contemporary or recent authority. Finally, we have also to guide us, in our search for the information borrowed by Pliny from Mucianus, our knowledge of the man's superstitious credulousness, of his keen interest for everything marvellous or miraculous². The greater number of the additions to be traced back to Mucianus have been detected by Leopold Brunn in an exhaustive dissertation³, and accepted as Mucianian by the later commentators of Pliny⁴. The following list of the passages derived from Mucianus in the art-books follows a geographical order from south to north.

1. *Rhodes.*

LINDOS. That Mucianus visited its temple of Athena and noted its treasures and curiosities in detail, appears from xix, 12, where Pliny, specially using the word *nuperrime*, describes on the authority of Mucianus the cuirass of the Egyptian king Amasis, there preserved; each thread in this cuirass was composed of three hundred and sixty-five strands; Pliny adds that Mucianus, who had *verified* the fact, had remarked that 'almost nothing was left of the cuirass owing to these frequent verifications⁵.' Hence the following descriptions of works of art in the same temple of Lindos have been justly referred to him⁶.

1. xxxiii, 81: a cup, with the strange story attached to it that

Rome employed on the buildings of Metellus.

¹ Münzer, *op. cit.*, p. 544.

² E. g. he was in the habit of wearing round his neck a fly tied up in a linen rag as a remedy against ophthalmia, Plin. xxviii, 5. I am not concerned here to reconcile such statements with the glowing tributes paid to Mucianus by Tacitus (*Hist.* i, 10; ii, 5, &c.). For an estimate of Mucianus see especially Teuffel, § 314.

³ *De C. Licinio Muciano*, Diss., Leipzig, 1870.

⁴ Cf. Furtwängler, *Plinius und seine Quellen*, pp. 52-56; Oehmichen, *Plinianische Studien*, pp. 141-149.

⁵ . . . *Quod se expertum nuperrime prodidit Mucianus ter cos., parvasque iam reliquias eius superesse hac experientium iniuria.*

⁶ First by Brieger, *de Fontibus*, p. 59 ff.

it was dedicated by Helena, who had moulded it on her breasts. (L. Brunn, 43.)

2. xxxiii, 155: silver cups chased by Boëthos, the *hodie* showing that Pliny was quoting from a contemporary authority. (L. Brunn, 44.)

RHODES (city): 3. xxxiii, 155: silver cups chased by Akragas and Mys. (L. Brunn, 44.)

4. xxxiv, 36: *Rhodi etiamnum LXXIII signorum esse Mucianus ter cos. prodidit.* (L. Brunn, 12.)

5. *Ib.* 41, 42: the description of the colossus of Rhodes (L. Brunn, 45); it evidently rests on the testimony of an eye-witness, and the delighted insistence on the marvellous appearance (*miraculo est*) of the fallen colossus, and its size and its cost, betrays the special bent of Mucianus¹.

6. *Ib.* § 42: *Sunt alii centum numero in eadem urbe colossi minores* (L. Brunn, 45); the words are inseparable from the notices of the large colossus, and moreover recall xxxvi, 37.

7. xxxv, 69: the picture by Parrhasios of Meleager, Herakles, and Perseus, thrice struck by lightning and yet not effaced—*hoc ipso miraculum auget*—(L. Brunn, 46), the insistence upon the miracle being thoroughly after the manner of Mucianus.

8. To the seven passages on Rhodian works of art, which critics agree in tracing back to Mucianus, should be added the mention in xxxiv, 63, of the chariot of the Sun by Lysippos, *in primis vero quadriga cum Sole Rhodiorum*².

II. Knidos.

9. xxxvi, 20, 21: description of the Aphrodite of Knidos; it is that of an eye-witness, who is interested neither in the motive nor technique of the statue, but whose tourist's curiosity was roused by the story of King Nikomedes, by the tradition that the artist had made two rival statues, the one draped, the other not, and finally by the anecdote of the statue's lover³.

10. *Ib.*: *Sunt in Cnido et alia signa marmorea inlustrium artificum*—inseparable from the preceding notice of the Aphrodite; cf. above, 6 and 5².

¹ Brieger, *l. c.*

² Münzer (p. 504) correctly omits it from the original Xenokratik list of Lysippian works, but makes no further suggestion as to its authorship.

³ The passage first referred to Mucianus by Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, p. 53 f.; cf. Oehmichen, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

⁴ Furtwängler, *l. c.*

III. *Halikarnassos.*

11. xxxvi, 30, 31 : description of the Mausoleion ; it resembles in character that of the Knidian Aphrodite ; the size, the beauty, and the labour expended upon the monument are described, but nothing is said of the subject presented ; the words *hodieque certant manus* point to a contemporary authority¹.

IV. *Miletos.*

12. xxxiv, 75 : Apollo of Kanachos, with the wonderful stag. That this is an addition to the original Greek account of the artist has already been pointed out (above, p. xxii) ; the periegetic character of the description, and the insistence upon trivial peculiarities which were perhaps only the result of accident², are characteristic of Mucianus³.

V. *Samos.*

13. xxxv, 93 : portrait of Habron by Apelles⁴.

VI. *Ephesos.*

14. xxxvi, 95 : description of Temple of Artemis ; it is evidently from the same hand as xvi, 213 (= App. IV), where Mucianus is quoted by name. Besides, the description bears the same character as that of the Mausoleion (No. 11) : the interest of the describer centred in the wonder of the foundations, in the size and number of the columns, and in the apparition of the goddess to the tired artist.

15. *Ib.* 32 : the Hekate, against whose radiance the guardians of the temple advised visitors to shade their eyes. (L. Brunn, 51.)

16. xxxv, 92 : the portrait of Alexander by Apelles ; the description seems by Mucianus ; the price of the work is dwelt upon, and the motive of the thunderbolt mentioned only because *digiti eminere videntur et fulmen extra tabulam esse*. (L. Brunn, 53.)

17. xxxv, 93 : picture of the procession of a Megabyzos by Apelles. (L. Brunn, 53.)

¹ First attributed to Mucianus by Furtwängler, *l. c.*

² See note on passage. Ernest Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 194, note 1, hints at the same possibility. If my memory serves me right, it was Mr. A. S. Murray who, some years ago, in the course of

conversation, first suggested to me that the puzzling Plinian description of the stag was a periegetic fable invented out of some trivial failure in the casting.

³ Oehmichen, *Plin. Studien*, p. 142 f.

⁴ Oehmichen, p. 146.

18. *Ib.* 129 : picture of the Madness of Odysseus by Euphranor ; Mucianus interpreted the action of Palamedes differently to other authorities¹ (see Comm.).

19. *Ib.* 131 : grave picture of a priest of Artemis by Nikias. (L. Brunn, 54.)

20. xxxiv, 58 : Apollo by Myron, taken away by Antonius and restored to the Ephesians by Augustus, in obedience to a dream. Münzer (p. 544) has astutely detected the apocryphal character of a story invented by a jealous priesthood in emulation of their Samian neighbours. (See Comm. on pass.)

VII. *Smyrna.*

21. xxxvi, 32 : the drunken old woman by Myron (for the epithet *ebria*, see Comm.)².

VIII. *Iasos.*

22. xxxvi, 12 : Artemis, by the sons of Archermos³ ; evidently from the same writer as following fragment⁴.

IX. *Chios.*

23. *Ib.* 13 : mask of Artemis by the same artists ; the Mucianian character patent in the description of the face, which appears sad to those who enter the temple, gay to those who leave it.

X. *Pergamon.*

From xxxvi, 131 we learn that Mucianus was in that region ; accordingly we should perhaps refer to him the notices concerning Pergamene art. These are foreign to the original treatises (above, p. xxi) : Xenokrates lived too early to take Pergamon into account ; Antigonos, although himself one of the artists employed by the Pergamene kings (xxxiv, 84), accepted the chronological limit of the Xenokratic Treatises. Pasiteles did the same, marking his only addition to the chronology as a 'Revival' (above, p. lxxix f.). It only remains to conjecture that Pliny took from Mucianus his descriptions of Pergamene works⁵.

¹ Rightly attributed to Mucianus by Oehmichen, *l.c.*, as against Furtwängler (p. 44), who gave the passage to Pasiteles.

² Cf. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

³ Oehmichen, p. 147 ; cf. Münzer, *op. cit.*, p. 525, note 1.

⁴ That Mucianus visited Iasos appears from ix, 33.

⁵ Cf. Münzer, *op. cit.*, p. 544.

24. xxxiv, 84: *Plures artifices . . . Antigonus*; the words *qui volumina condidit de sua arte* may be an addition of Pliny's own.

25. xxxv, 60: *Ajax fulmine incensus* by Apollodoros, the *hodie* pointing clearly to a contemporary authority¹. (Oehmichen, 71.)

26. xxxvi, 24: the 'symplegma' by Kephisodotos, with the epigram attached thereto. (Oehmichen, 81.)

xI. *Samothrake.*

From xi, 167 it appears that Mucianus visited this island; hence we may refer to him:

27. xxxvi, 25: an Aphrodite and Pothos by Skopas; the words *sanctissimis caerimoniis coluntur* are characteristic of the pious and superstitious Mucianus. (Oehmichen, 78.)

xII. *Parion.*

28. xxxiv, 78: Herakles by Hagesias (Oehmichen, 67). That this is an addition to the early Greek account was pointed out above, p. xxiv. Parion, moreover, only became a *colonia* under Augustus (see Comm.). It was not known as such to Varro, who only refers to it as Parion (cf. vii, 13, in *Hellesponto circa Parium*, on the authority of Varro); thus Mucianus remains the only one of the Plinian authors known to have visited this region at a time when it would be generally described as *P. colonia*.

29. xxxvi, 22: nude Eros by Praxiteles in *Pario colonia*, with the story of its lover Alketas of Rhodes, closely resembling the story of the lover of the Knidian Aphrodite. (Oehmichen, 68.)

xIII. *Lysimacheia.*

30. xxxiv, 56: a Hermes by Polykleitos, no longer extant when Mucianus visited the city².

This bald list serves to indicate the immediate indebtedness of Pliny to Mucianus, but there arises the further question whence Mucianus derived his own information. That he relied in great measure, perhaps mainly, on the tales of ciceroni, is evident from the nature of what he relates. Yet in some cases, e.g. in the description of the Mausoleion, or of the colossus of Rhodes, he

¹ Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 53.

² First attributed to Mucianus by Münzer, *op. cit.*, p. 525. In a private note Münzer further points out to me that the description of the temple of Erythreia (xi, 111, and xxxv, 161)—a

city which lay in the route of Mucianus—must be referred to this author: 'it has all the characteristic signs: personal observation and interest in the miraculous.'

doubtless had handbooks which informed him of such details as price and size, or gave the names of the artists employed. To ascertain what these handbooks may have been, and whether fragments of Greek writings other than those of the Xenokrates-Antigonos-Pasiteles group reached Pliny through Mucianus, is a task which lies outside the compass of the present essay.

IX. *Pliny's own additions.—Roman Museography.*
Retrospect.

Besides the Varronian additions to the material derived from the Greek art-treatises, and besides the material which he derived independently from Varro, Pliny enriched his account of the artists by notices concerning the locality in Rome of a number of Greek works. It is well known that in the days of Pliny, and already long before his time, Rome displayed within her galleries, her temples, and her public places an unrivalled collection of works of art, gathered together from every part of the Hellenic world. From the day when Marcellus had first induced the Romans to admiration of Greek art by displaying the spoils of Syracuse¹, down to that crowning day of a triple triumph when Caesar Augustus celebrated his victory over the last of the Hellenic powers², statues and other works of art had come to be as much a part of the pageantry of triumphs as captives or military booty³. The solemn dedication of these objects in some public building was the natural sequel of the triumphal procession. The great generals of the Republic⁴, and after them the Emperors⁵, had shown themselves zealous for the preservation and arrangement of these collections. Only a short while before Pliny compiled

¹ Liv. xxv, 40; see Comm. on xxxv, 24, l. 16.

² In 23 B. C.; for the works of art brought to Rome from Alexandria, see Wunderer, *Manibiae Alexandrinae*.

³ So much so that works of art were even displayed in triumphs over barbaric and Western nations; the art booty acquired from Macedonia by Aemilius Paullus, for instance, seems to have formed an inexhaustible mine whence other conquerors could draw;

cf. Comm. on xxxiv, 54, the statues dedicated by Catulus in the temple of the Fortune of the Day, and on xxxiv, 77, the Minerva dedicated by Q. Lutatius Catulus below the Capitol.

⁴ E. g. Gallery of Octavius, xxxiv, 13; Gallery of Pompeius, xxxv, 114, 126, 132.

⁵ E. g. Gallery of Octavia, xxxiv, 31; xxxv, 139; xxxvi, 24, 35, &c.; and consult the Museographic Index (ii).

his history of the artists, his patron Vespasian had opened the great Temple of Peace, destined with its surrounding Forum¹ to receive, alongside the treasures of the Temple of Jerusalem, those Greek masterpieces which the greed of Nero had gathered within the Golden House². The pages of Pliny are certainly the richest mine of information concerning the art treasures of Rome. Owing, moreover, to his preference for books over personal observation of actual fact, Pliny not unfrequently records the locality of works of art which had disappeared in his day³. Yet a discussion of the sources whence Pliny obtained his museographic information, though of matchless interest for the study of Roman history and topography, lies entirely outside an inquiry concerned with the Greek element in Pliny. It suffices to point out that Pliny doubtless had straight from Varro (p. lxxxiii f.) most of the Roman notices relating to events up to the close of the Republic; that for the Early Empire, up to the reign of Nero, he may have borrowed from authors such as Deculo⁴ or Fenestella⁵; while his allusions to Nero⁶, and his eulogies of the Flavian Emperors, and of the works of art in their possession⁷, were probably part of the material he had himself compiled for his own *History of Rome*, a work embracing the period from the accession of Nero to the Judaic triumph of Vespasian and Titus⁸.

It is little or nothing, then, of intrinsic importance from our point of view, that Pliny added to the Greek Treatises as he found them excerpted in Varro. At most does he bring the information thus derived from the Greeks into consonance with the taste of his day by occasional flashes of rhetoric, such as the repeated lament over the decay of art⁹; his outburst of admiration at the power of art, which 'could turn the eyes of the Senate of the Roman people for so many years upon Glaukion and his

¹ xxxiv, 84.

² *ib.*

³ This remark applies to a great portion of the Roman statues mentioned in the earlier part of xxxiv. Cf. also xxxiv, 69 (statues by Praxiteles which had stood in front of the Temple of Felicity); xxxv, 99, the Dionysos and Ariadne of Aristides.

⁴ From whom he had the anecdote of Tiberius' passion for the *Apoxyomenos* of Lysippos, xxxiv, 62; it is

evidently from the same source as the mention of the 'Archigallus' loved by Tiberius, in xxxv, 70; see Oehmichen, *Plin. Studien*, p. 123.

⁵ Cf. Oehmichen, *op. cit.* p. 125.

⁶ xxxiv, 45, 48, 63, 84; xxxv, 51, 91, 120, &c.

⁷ See especially xxxiv, 84; the appreciation of the *astragalizontes* belonging to Titus in xxxiv, 55, and of the *Laocoon* in xxxvi, 37.

⁸ *Praef. Hist. Nat.* 20.

⁹ Cf. xxxiv, 5 ff.; xxxv, 4, 29.

son Aristippos, persons otherwise quite obscure¹; his simulated indignation at the cruelty of Phalaris²; and his allusion to the present merited dishonour of that Carthaginian Hercules to whom human victims had once been offered up³.

In estimating Pliny's account of the artists we must never forget that it was inserted into the *Historia Naturalis* as a digression, which was artificially linked to the history of mineralogy on the pretext of the materials employed. In doing this Pliny was responding rather to the curiosity of his time in artistic matters⁴ than following any special inclination of his own. If Pliny cared for art at all, it was only for its most realistic and imitative aspects. He admires the brutal realism of the dog licking her wounds⁵, and in the workshop of Zenodoros his enthusiasm is roused by the colossal model which, even when covered with its wax tubings, betrayed an extraordinary likeness to Nero⁶. Occasionally too—and we may pay this tribute to our author as we take our leave of him—we seem to detect that, if he appears too often as an indiscriminating compiler, this is not so much through total lack of the critical faculty as through lack of time. At least he does not omit to rail at those critics who ascribed to Polykleitos (the elder namesake being the only Polykleitos known to him) the statue of Hephaestion, the friend of Alexander, although Hephaestion had lived nearly one hundred years after the artist⁷, while in xxxiv, 79 he expresses by a vigorous turn of phrase his astonishment at finding Daidalos, whom in his hurry he confuses with the old Homeric craftsman, figuring among the artists of the historic age⁸. Yet the critical note is rare, and, in the larger inquiry concerning the sources whence Pliny drew, his own estimate of these sources appears but as a trivial accident.

Thus the tendency of modern research is to lessen more and more the importance of Pliny's personal contribution in his account of the artists, as indeed in the whole of his great work. Yet, by a singular irony, the fundamental faults of his work have bestowed upon it a permanent value. He has given us what is better than any original criticism which his century could have produced—a short compilation which is, to borrow the word he

¹ xxxv, 28.

² xxxiv, 89.

³ xxxvi, 39.

⁴ Cf. Bertrand, *Études*, p. 329 ff., and his remarks, *ib.*, on the passages

in Plutarch treating of art.

⁵ xxxiv, 38.

⁶ *ib.* 45-46.

⁷ *ib.* 64.

⁸ *ib.* 76.

applies to the whole *Historia*, the 'storehouse' or *thesaurus* wherein are consigned fragments from the lost text-books of Xenokrates, from the Biographies of Duris and Antigonos, nay, priceless sayings that had filtered through the ages from the very writings of Apelles and Pamphilos¹.

¹ A short but admirably just estimate of the precise value of Pliny's work is given by J. W. Mackail, *Latin Literature*, 1895, p. 197.

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MANUSCRIPTS REFERRED TO.

Bamb. = the *Codex Bambergensis* M. V. 10, of the ninth to tenth century (see our plate); in the Royal Library at Bamberg (it contains only the last six books of the *Hist. Nat.*).

Ricc. = the *Codex Riccardianus* M. II. ii. 488, written about the year 1100 according to Detlefsen, but probably older; in the *Bibliotheca Riccardiana* at Florence.

Voss. = the *Codex Vossianus Latinus* 6r in folio, of the ninth century (cf. Chatelain, *Paléographie des Classiques Latins*, pl. cxli); in the University Library at Leiden.

Lips. = the *Codex Lipsii* 7 (see Geel, *Cat.* n. 465), copied from the *Vossianus* when this codex was more complete than it is now, and before it had been corrected (cf. Chatelain, pl. cxlii); in the University Library at Leiden.

e corr. = *e correctione* and refers to the corrections introduced into a MS. by a later hand.

reliqui = the remaining codices save the particular codex or codices anywhere quoted.

** = a corrupt reading which has not yet been satisfactorily restored.

† printed before an artist's name in the English translation signifies that the artist is so far known only from Pliny.

C. PLINII SECUNDI
NATURALIS HISTORIAE

LIBER XXXIII §§ 154-157

LIBER XXXIV §§ 5-93; 140-141

(*CAELATURA ET STATUARIA*)

I. CAELATURA.

- 154 MIRUM auro caelando neminem inclaruisse, argento multos. maxime tamen laudatus est Mentor de quo supra diximus. quattuor paria ab eo omnino facta sunt, ac iam nullum extare dicitur Ephesiae Dianae templi aut Capitolini incendiis. Varro se et aereum signum eius habuisse scribit. 5
- 155 proximi ab eo in admiratione Acragas et Boethus et Mys

§ 154. 2. maxime . . . laudatus: the silver chasers are arranged in order of merit in four groups (a) *max. laudatus*, (b) *proximi ab eo*, (c) *post hos celebrati*, (d) *item laudantur*. Within each of these groups the names are arranged alphabetically, Benndorf, *de Anthol. Graec. Epigramm. quae ad artes spectant*, p. 52, note 1. The main account, derived, through a Roman source, from some Greek writer, is interrupted (1) by the mention of Varro's statue; (2) by a description (*extant . . . habuit*) of chased works in Rhodes, drawn presumably from Mucianus (Brieger, *de Fontibus Plin.* p. 60), *Introd.* p. lxxxvi; (3) by the quotation of an epigram.

de quo supra diximus: the reference is to vii, 127, where the cups of Mentor are again alluded to as being in the Ephesian and Capitoline temples. The reader, however, would naturally think of (xxxiii, 147) *Lucius uero Crassus orator duos scyphos Mentoris artificis manu caelatos* HS. c̄ (sc. *emptos habuit*); but this statement being at variance with the present one, they must have been made indepen-

dently and at different times; the present passage seems a later addition, taken straight from vii, 127 (Furtwängler, *Plinius u. s. Quellen*, p. 57, note 1).

3. quattuor paria: cups are mentioned in pairs, xxxiii, 147 (quoted above); xxxiv, 47 (*duo pocula Calamidis manu*); below § 156 (*in duobus scyphis*). It was apparently customary to decorate the pair with one continuous subject, as is expressly stated in the case of the cups by Zopyros (cf. Furtwängler, *Dornauszieher*, p. 96, note 63) and known from extant instances, e.g. the superb pairs of cups from Bernay, Schreiber, *Alex. Toreutik*, 54*, 55* (= Babelon, *Cab. des Antiques*, pl. 51 and 14, with Kentaurs and Kentaresses); *ib.* 67*, 68*; *ib.* 63*, 64* (at Naples) = *Mus. Borb.* xiii, pl. 49.

4. Ephesiae . . . incendiis: vii, 127. The fire, which occurred in B.C. 356, gives us a lower limit for the date of Mentor. For the numerous passages in ancient authors referring to this, the most celebrated silver chaser of antiquity, see Overbeck's

I. SILVER CHASING.

Book
XXXIII.

CURIOSLY enough, none have become famous as gold chasers, 154
many as chasers of silver. Of these the most esteemed is that
Mentor, whom I have already mentioned. He made four pairs
of cups in all, none of which, it is said, are extant; they perished
when the temples of Artemis at Ephesos and of Jupiter on the
Capitol were burnt down. Varro speaks of a bronze statue in his
possession also from the hand of Mentor. Next to him †*Akragas*, 155
Boethos, and *Mys* were had in great admiration. Works by these

Schriftquellen, 2169–2181. The Capito-
line fire occurred B. C. 83, during the
Civil War, Appian, 'Εμφ. i, 83.

5. **Varro**: cf. xxxvi, 41, where Varro
is likewise cited both as author and
owner.—Like a number of other *caela-*
tores (so Kalamis, Ariston, Eunikos)
Mentor was also a sculptor in bronze.

§ 155. 6. **Acragas**: the name, which
is that of the eponymous river-god
of Agrigentum (Ailian, Που. 'Ιστ. ii,
33), shows him to have been a native
of that city, whose early connexion
with Rhodes (cf. T. Reinach, *Rev.*
Arch. xxiv, 1894, p. 178), would ac-
count for the artist seeking a field for
his activity in the brilliant and art-
loving city of Rhodes (cf. Museogr.
Index) founded B. C. 408; at present,
however, we have no nearer clue to
his date. Against the theory of Th.
Reinach, *op. cit.* pp. 170–180, that a
chaser Akragas never existed, but was
merely assumed owing to a misunder-
standing of the legend ΑΚΡΑΓΑΣ on
coins inserted as the *umbilici* of silver
cups, Hans Dragendorff in *Terra*

Sigillata, p. 58, maintains that when
a coin impression decorates the
interior of a cup, it is always the
only ornament and therefore inad-
missible for cups decorated in relief,
like those of Akragas. For names
derived from river-gods cf. Αἰσηνος,
as early as the sixth century (see
Fick, *Gr. Personennamen*, p. 347,
where a further list of such names
is given). That the chaser Akragas
appears only in Pliny need not
astonish us: to mention only Epi-
gonos (xxxiv, 88), this apparently
very famous artist was up to the date
of the Pergamene finds known from
Pliny alone.

Boethus: xxxiv, 84. Cic. *Verr.*
II, iv, 14, § 32 . . . *hydriam Boethi*
manu factam. A gem representing the
wounded Philoktetes, signed ΒΟΗΘΟΥ
is probably to be referred to him
(Furtwängler, *Gemmen m. Künstler-*
inschriften, Jahrb. iii, pl. VIII, 21 and
p. 216).

Mys: he was a contemporary
of Parrhasios (xxxv, 65, 68–73), from

fuere. exstant omnium opera hodie in insula Rhodiorum, Boethi apud Lindiam Minervam, Acragantis in templo Liberi patris in ipsa Rhodo Centauros Bacchasque caelati scyphi, Myos in eadem aede Silenos et Cupidines. Acragantis et venatio in scyphis magnam famam habuit. post 5
156 hos celebratus est Calamis. et Antipater quoque Satyrum in phiala gravatum somno conlocavisse verius quam caelasse dictus est. Stratonicus mox Cyzicenus, Tauriscus, item Ariston et Eunicus Mitylenaei laudantur et Hecataeus et circa Pompei Magni aetatem Pasiteles, Posidonius Ephesius, 10
Hedys, Thrakides qui proelia armatosque caelavit, Zopyrus qui Areopagitas et iudicium Orestis in duobus scyphis HS [XII] aestimatis. fuit et Pytheas cuius duae unciae X X venierunt. Ulixes et Diomedes erant in phialae 157
emblemate Palladium subripietes. fecit idem et cocos 15
magiriscia appellatos parvulis potoriis, e quibus ne exem-

11. Hedys, Thrakides] *Furtwängler, Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* v, xxii, 1876, p. 507; *hedystrachides Bamb.*; *iedis thracides reliqui*; *Hedystrachides Sillig, Detlefsen*; *Telesarchides coni. Dillthey ap. Benndorf, de Epigr.* p. 53.

whose designs he executed the Kentauromachia on the shield of the Athena Promachos (Paus. i, 28, 2). The epigram, from a cup at Herakleia (Athen. xi, p. 782 B), beginning Γραμμαὶ Παπασίοιο, τέχνα Μυός . . . must however, owing to the expression τέχνα τινός, which does not occur in pre-Imperial times, be a later forgery; Preger, *Inscript. Graec. Metr.* p. 142, note 185.

1. exstant . . . Cupidines: while the introduction of the word *hodie* points to a recent authority, the repetition of the artists' names in a different order, marks the sentence as an interpolation (Intro. p. lxxxvii).

3. Centauros: for the subject cf. the cups in the Biblioth. Nationale and in Naples mentioned above.

5. venatio: Dragendorff (*loc. cit.*) suggests that the hunting scene on the silvered terra-cotta cups, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871 Pl. Q, and kindred compositions may be derived from the *venatio* of

Akragas. in scyphis—the plural as usual because two cups or perhaps a set were decorated with one continuous subject.

6. Calamis: xxxiv, 47, 71.

§ 156. 6. Antipater: the name of the writer of an epigram has been substituted for Diodoros, the real name of the artist, and moreover that required by the alphabetical arrangement; cf. *Anth. Plan.* 248

Τὸν Σάτυρον Διόδωρος ἐκοίμωσεν, οὐκ ἐτόρευσεν.

ἦν νόξης, ἐγερῆς ἄργυρος ὕπνον ἔχει.
an epigram similar to the one quoted in the words *gravatum . . . caelasse*. Intro. p. lxxviii.

8. Stratonicus: xxxiv, 85; he is mentioned Athen. xi, p. 782 B, among the ἔνδοξοι τορνευαί.

Tauriscus: in xxxvi, 33 Pliny expressly distinguishes him from the sculptor of the same name.

9. Ariston, Eunicus . . . Hecataeus: xxxiv, 85.

three are still to be seen in the island of Rhodes: by Boethos in the temple of Athena at Lindos, by Akragas cups with figures of Kentauris and Bacchantes in the temple of Dionysos in the city of Rhodes, and in the same temple cups by Mys, with figures of Seilenoi and Eroses. Cups decorated round the interior with hunting scenes by Akragas were also well known. Next in merit to these chasers came *Kalamis*, †*Antipater*—whose sleeping Satyr 156 was said to have been not chased but laid to rest within the cup—, *Stratonikos* of Kyzikos, and †*Tauriskos*. Other famous chasers are †*Ariston* and †*Eunikos* of Mitylene, †*Hekataios*, *Pasiteles*, a contemporary of the Great Pompeius, †*Poseidonios* of Ephesos, *Hedys*, †*Thrakides*, whose favourite subjects were battles and warriors, and †*Zopyros*, who represented the court of the Areiopagos and the trial of Orestes on a pair of cups valued at 1,200,000 sesterces [£10,500 circ.]. †*Pytheas* too made a cup weighing two ounces which sold for 10,000 denarii [£350 circ.]; the design on the interior represented Odysseus and Diomedes stealing the Palladion. He further made small drinking cups in the shape of 157 cooks, called *μαγειρσκία*, the delicate chasing of which was so liable

10. *Pasiteles*: xxxv, 156; xxxvi, 39 f. and above § 130. *Cic. de Div.* i, 36, 79 mentions a toreutic work by him representing the infant Roscius wrapped in the coils of a serpent. Possibly *Pasiteles* was influenced in the presentation of the subject by the 'infant Herakles strangling the snakes' of Zeuxis (xxxv, 63).

Posidonius: xxxiv, 91.

11. *Thrakides*: for the name cf. *Fick, op. cit.* p. 141. The corrupt *Hedys* conceals a name whose initial letter lies between P—T.

12. *Areopagitas* . . . *Orestis*: i, c. Orestes undergoing his trial before the Areiopagos, the subject being spread over both cups. Cf. *Winckelmann, Mon. Ined.* pl. 151 for a silver cup in the Corsini coll. representing this subject; better reproduced by Michaelis, *Das Corsinische Silbergefäß*, Leipzig, 1859.

13. *fuit et*: like the *habuit et* below, introduces a new artist who had no place in the canonical lists quoted in

Pliny's main authority. *Pytheas* and *Teuker*, therefore, lived presumably in the period subsequent to *Pasiteles*. The continuance of silver chasing at least as late as the reign of Nero is proved by the case of *Zenodoros* (xxxiv, 47). The decay of which Pliny complains only applies to his own time; nor need we attach too precise a meaning to this, or the similar complaint on the decay of painting in xxxv, 4, both being evidently rhetorical, cf. *Oehmichen, Plinianische Studien*, p. 161 f.; *Furtwängler in Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.*, 1895, p. 814.

14. *Ulixes et Diomedes*: for the subject cf. the celebrated Spada relief, *Schreiber, Hell. Reliefbilder*, pl. VII, the gem, signed *Calpurnius Felix*, *Jahrbuch* iii, 1888, Pl. x, 7; cf. *Furtwängler, ib.* p. 312; and the relief on the neck of one of the Bernay oinochoai, *Babelon, Cab. des Ant.* pl. 41.

§ 157. 15. *cocos*: [i.e. silver cups in the shape of figurines.—H. L. U.]

16. *magiriscia*: from *μάγειρος*, a

plaria quidem liceret exprimere, tam opportuna iniuria subtilitas erat. habuit et Teucer crustarius famam, subitoque ars haec ita exolevit ut sola iam vetustate censeatur, usque attritis caelaturis, si nec figura discerni possit, auctoritas constet.

5

II. STATUARIA.

LIB.
XXXIV.

5 QUONDAM aes confusum auro argentoque miscebatur, et tamen ars pretiosior erat, nunc incertum est peior haec sit an materia, mirumque, cum ad infinitum operum pretia creverint, auctoritas artis extincta est. quaestus enim causa ut omnia exerceri coepta est quae gloriae solebat—ideo 10 autem etiam deorum adscripta operi, cum proceres gentium claritatem et hac via quaererent—adeoque exolevit fundendi aeris pretiosi ratio ut iamdiu ne fortuna quidem in ea re ius 6 artis habeat. ex illa autem antiqua gloria Corinthium maxime laudatur. hoc casus miscuit Corintho, cum cape- 15 retur, incensa, mireque circa id multorum adfectatio fuit, quippe cum tradatur non alia de causa Verrem quem A.U.C. 711. M. Cicero damnaverat proscriptum cum eo ab Antonio, quoniam Corinthiis cessurum se ei negavisset. ac mihi maior pars eorum simulare eam scientiam videtur ad segre- 20 gandos sese a ceteris magis quam intellegere aliquid ibi 7 subtilius, et hoc paucis docebo. Corinthus capta est olym-

4. si nec] *Urlichs in Chrestom.* p. 301; sine *Bamb.*; ne *reliqui, Detlefsen.*

11. autem] *om. omnes praeter Bamb., Detlefsen.*

cook. [The subject influenced perhaps by the Middle or New Comedy.—H. L. U.]

2. Teucer: possibly identical with the gem engraver *Τεύκρος* (cf. *Jahrb.* iii, p. 323).

crustarius: this shows him to have been especially a worker of *ἐμβλήματα* or *crustae*, i. e. of figures in relief, wrought separately and attached to the object to be decorated; cf. *Cic. Verr.* II, iv, 22, § 49 *duo pocula non magna, verum tamen cum emblemate*: also *Juv.* i, 76. Add.

§ 5. 6. auro argentoque: up to

now the amount of precious metals yielded by the analysis of ancient bronzes is so small as scarcely to warrant Pliny's statement that gold and silver were regularly employed in the most ancient Greek alloys; cf. *Blümner, Technol. u. Terminol.* vol. iv, p. 178 ff.; O. Müller, *Handbuch* 306, *Daremberg and Saglio, s. v. aes.*

§ 6. 15. hoc casus miscuit: cf. *Florus*, ii, 16; this and several other anecdotes (see in especial *Paus.* ii, 3, 3, and *Plut. De Pyth. Or.* 2, p. 395 B) were invented to account for the origin of Corinthian bronze when the secret

to injury that it was impossible to take a cast of them. *Teuker* also enjoyed some reputation for his embossed work. The whole art then suddenly disappeared so completely that nowadays we only value wrought silver for its age, and reckon its merit established when the chasing is so worn that the very design can no longer be made out.

II. BRONZE STATUARY.

BRONZE was formerly alloyed with both gold and silver, and yet the workmanship used to be more valuable than the metal; now it is hard to say which is worse. It is extraordinary that when the price given for works of art has risen so enormously, art itself should have lost its claim to our respect. The truth is that the aim of the artist, as of every one else in our times, is to gain money, not fame as in the old days, when the noblest of their nation thought art one of the paths to glory, and ascribed it even to the gods. The process of founding valuable bronze is so completely lost that for generations even fortune has not been able to secure the results formerly ensured by skill.

Of the bronzes renowned in antiquity, the Corinthian is the most esteemed. An accident first produced this alloy in the fire which followed on the sack of Corinth and the rage for it is marvellously widespread. For instance, there is a story that when Antony proscribed Cicero he also proscribed Verres (whose condemnation Cicero had once procured), simply because Verres had refused to give up to him his Corinthian bronzes. In my own opinion, however, most people affect a knowledge of the subject solely to exalt themselves above the common herd, without having any real insight into it; this I can prove in a few words. Corinth was taken in the third year of the hundred and

of its mixture had been lost. Pliny sees the impossibility of reconciling the story of the Corinthian alloy and the dates of famous statues, but instead of questioning the truth of the story, he proceeds to deny *in toto* the existence of Corinthian bronzes, though it is excellently and repeatedly attested: e.g. Martial, xiv, 172, 177, and often. The reader will feel reminded of the

witty satire in Petronius, *Sat.* 50, on Corinthian bronze and its wonderful alloy.

18. **proscriptum ab Antonio**: cf. Seneca Rhetor, *Suas.* vi, vii, *passim*. For the use to which Augustus put the proscriptions, in order to obtain Cor. bronzes, see Suet. *Aug.* 70; cf. Plin. xxxvii, 81, where Nonius is proscribed by Antonius for the sake of a fine opal.

BOOK
XXXIV.

5
*Decay of
bronze
work.*

6
*Corinthian
bronze.*

43 B. C.

piadis CLVIII anno tertio, nostrae urbis DCVIII, cum ante saecula fictores nobiles esse desissent, quorum isti omnia signa hodie Corinthia appellant. quapropter ad coar- guendos eos ponemus artificum aetates. nam urbis nostrae annos ex supra dicta comparatione olympiadum colligere facile erit. sunt ergo vasa tantum Corinthia quae isti elegantiores modo ad esculenta transferunt, modo in lu- cernas aut trulleos nullo munditiarum dispectu. eius tria genera: candidum argento nitore quam proxime accedens in quo illa mixtura praevaluit, alterum in quo auri fulva natura, tertium in quo aequalis omnium temperies fuit. praeter haec est cuius ratio non potest reddi, quamquam hominis manu sed ad fortunam temperatur in simulacris signisque, illud suo colore pretiosum ad iocineris imaginem vergens, quod ideo hepatizon appellant, procul a Corinthio, longe tamen ante Aegineticum atque Deliacum, quae diu optinere principatum.

9 Antiquissima aeris gloria Deliaci fuit mercatus in Delo celebrante toto orbe, et ideo cura officinis. tricliniorum pedibus fulcrisque ibi prima aeris nobilitas, pervenit deinde et ad deum simulacra effigiemque hominum et aliorum animalium.

10 Proxima laus Aeginetico fuit. insula et ipsa est, nec quod ibi gigneretur, sed officinarum temperatura nobilitata. bos aereus inde captus in foro boario est Romae. hoc erit exemplar Aeginetici aeris, Deliaci autem Iuppiter in Capitolio in Iovis Tonantis aede. illo aere Myron usus

§ 7. 2. *fictores*: from meaning literally a modeller in clay, the word *fictor* is extended to workers in bronze; see note on xxxv, 153.

4. *ponemus . . . aetates*: in §§ 49-52.

nam: elliptical 'for of course, as I shall draw from a Greek source, I shall give them only in Olympiads,' Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 19; for the ellipse cf. xxxv, 137 (*nam Socrates*); xxxvi, 32 (*nam Myronis illius*), where see note.

7. *lucernas*: the familiar oval oil lamp with flat top.

8. *trulleos*: apparently identical with the *pelvis*, a basin to wash hands or feet. For a *pelvis* of bronze cf. Juv. x, 64; for one of Corinthian bronze, Orelli, 3838.

§ 8. 9. *candidum argento*: for some bronze objects found at Suessula, really containing small quantities of gold and silver, see Blümner *op. cit.* p. 184, note 5.

§ 9. 18. *Deliaco*: mentioned three times, along with Corinthian bronze by Cicero, *pro Sext. Rosc. Am.* 46, 133; *Verr.* II, ii, 34, § 83; *ib.* 72, § 176.

mercatus in Delo: i.e. the fair

fifty-eighth Olympiad, that is, the year of Rome 608 [146 B.C.], centuries later than the celebrated workers, whose statues our amateurs still assume to be all of Corinthian bronze. I shall prove that they are wrong by giving the dates of the artists, for it will be easy to turn the Olympiads into years of Rome by referring to the two corresponding dates given above. It follows that the only vessels of Corinthian bronze are those which these connoisseurs use as dishes or lamps or basins, with no regard for their workmanship.

There were three varieties of Corinthian bronze—a white bronze, that shone almost like silver, and contained a very large proportion of that metal; a second, in which a reddish tinge of gold prevailed; and a third, in which the three metals were blended in equal proportions. There is also a fourth alloy, of which no scientific account can be given; it is employed for images and statues, and though it is produced by the hand of man, yet fortune partly determines the result. It is known as *ἡπάριζον* from the peculiar tint, verging on liver colour, which is its chief merit. It is inferior to the bronze of Corinth, but superior to those of Aigina and Delos, though these were long thought the best.

The bronze most celebrated in early times was that of Delos, for as all nations resorted to the market of the island, great care was bestowed on the manufacture of bronze. It was first employed there for the feet and framework (Add.) of couches, and afterwards its use was extended to images of the gods, and figures of men and animals.

Aiginetan bronze was the next to become celebrated. Aigina also is an island; it had no mines, but owed its reputation to the admirable alloys produced in its foundries. A bronze bull, taken from Aigina, and now in the Cattle Market at Rome, may stand for an example of Aiginetan bronze, and the Jupiter in the temple of Jupiter the Thunderer on the Capitol for an example of

*Delian
bronze.*

*Aiginetan
bronze.
Bull in
Cattle
Market.
Statue of
Jupiter the
Thunderer.*

held in connexion with the quinquennial festival of Apollo and Artemis.

21. *ad deum simulacra*: cf. § 15 *transit deinde ars vulgo ubique ad effigies deorum*: the imagined progress of art from furniture to images of gods and hence to images of men and animals is purely conventional; see Münzer, *Hermes* xxx, 1895, p. 501.

§10. 23. *Aeginetico*: the alloy was renowned because of the famous artists who employed it. For a vivid picture of the Aiginetan School, see Collignon, *Sculpt. Grecque*, i, 280–307.

25. *in foro boario*: Tac. *Ann.* xii, 24.

27. *Iovis Tonantis aede*. Cf. xxxvi, 50. A small temple built (B.C.

est, hoc Polycletus, aequales atque condiscipuli, sed aemulatio et in materia fuit.

- 11 Privatim Aegina candelabrorum superficiem dumtaxat elaboravit, sicut Tarentum scapos. in his ergo iuncta commendatio officinarum est. nec pudet tribunorum militarium 5 salariis emere, cum ipsum nomen a candelarum lumine inpositum appareat. accessio candelabri talis fuit Theonis iussu praeconis Clesippus fullo gibber et praeterea et alio 12 foedus aspectu, emente id Gegania HS \bar{L} . eadem ostentante in convivio empta ludibrii causa nudatus atque 10 inprudencia libidinis receptus in torum, mox in testamentum, praedives numinum vice illud candelabrum coluit et hanc Corinthiis fabulam adiecit, vindicatis tamen moribus nobili sepulchro per quod aeterna supra terras Geganiae dedecoris memoria duraret. sed cum esse nulla Corinthia candelabra 15 constet, nomen id praecipue in his celebratur, quoniam Mummi victoria Corinthum quidem diruit, sed e compluribus Aethiopiae oppidis simul aera dispersit.

- 13 Prisci limina etiam ac valvas in templis ex aere facti-
A.U.C. 587. taver. invenio et a Cn. Octavio qui de Perseo rege nava- 20 lem triumphum egit factam porticum duplicem ad circum Flaminium quae Corinthia sit appellata a capitulis aereis columnarum, Vestae quoque aedem ipsam Syracusana superficie tegi placuisse. Syracusana sunt in Pantheo capita

22) by Augustus near the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus to commemorate his miraculous escape from death by lightning (Suet. *Aug.* 29); *Mon. Ancyrae*, xix, 4, 5; Mommsen, *Res Gestae*, p. 81. The temple appears on coins of Augustus, Cohen, *Aug.* 178-180; 184-186. For the bronze statue by Leochares, see below § 79.

Myron . . . Polycletus, §§ 55-58.

§ 11. 5. tribunorum . . . salariis: cf. *Juv.* iii, 132.

6. a candelarum lumine: the etymology is Varronian; cf. Varro, *ap.* Servius on *Aen.* ii, 225 . . . *ut in quo figunt candelam candelabrum appellant, sic in quo deum ponunt*

delubrum dicunt; and Macrobius, *Satur.* iii, 4, 2; cf. Martial, xiv, 43.

8. Clesippus: the slave was of course a Greek (Κλησιππος). The story is attested by an inscription (close of Republic) *C. I. L.* i, 805, *Clesippus-Geganius mag. Capit[ol]-mag. luperc. viat. tr.* apparently belonging to the sepulchre mentioned in § 12.

§ 13. 19. limina etiam ac valvas: either of massive bronze or plated, Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, p. 223 ff.

20. Cn. Octavio: the portico (built B.C. 167) stood in the Campus Martius near the Circus Flaminius and the theatre of Pompeius. It was burnt down and rebuilt by Augustus

Delian bronze. Aiginetan bronze was employed by Myron, and Delian by Polykleitos. These two artists were contemporaries and fellow-pupils, who carried their rivalry even into their choice of a material. *Bronzes used by Myron and Polykleitos.*

At Aigina it was the trays, at Tarentum the stems of candelabra which were specially elaborated, so that the efforts of several workshops combine to recommend these utensils. They are things without even a name except the one which they borrow from the light of their own candles, and yet we are not ashamed to give as much for them as the year's pay of a military tribune. Theon, the auctioneer, once included in the same lot as one of these candelabra a slave, a fuller named Clesippus, who was humpbacked and altogether hideous. The lot was bought for 50,000 sesterces (£440 circ.) by Gegania, who displayed her purchase at a banquet, and exposed Clesippus naked to the ridicule of the company, yet afterwards, through sheer wantonness, made him her lover, and at last her heir. Thus enriched, he worshipped the candelabrum as a deity, providing yet another story about Corinthian bronzes. Morality, however, was avenged in the magnificent tomb that he built only to keep the remembrance of Gegania's infamy alive upon the earth. Although none of these candelabra are really Corinthian, yet they are called so because Mummius destroyed Corinth; people forget that his victory also scattered the bronzes of various other Greek cities. *Candelabra.*

In early times the thresholds and folding-doors in temples were commonly made of bronze. I find, too, that Gnaeus Octavius, who was granted a triumph for his naval victory over King Perseus, built a gallery with double colonnade by the Circus of Flaminius, called the Corinthian Gallery, from the small bronze capitals of its columns. A decree was also passed that the temple of Vesta should be roofed with plates of Syracusan bronze. *Story of Clesippus and Gegania.*

(Festus, p. 178; *Mon. Anc.* xix, 4, 2-4. Mommsen, *Res Gestae*, p. 80), after the Dalmatian Triumph, B. C. 33. It must be distinguished from the *porticus Octaviae*, § 31. *Invenio* shows that Pliny is quoting from an ancient authority; either the building no longer existed in his day, or the outer colonnade had not been restored after the fire, so that the remarks as to the columns apply to the pre-Augustan building. (See O. Gilbert, *Gesch. u.*

Top. der Stadt Rom iii, p. 250, n. 2.)
 23. *Vestae* . . . *tegi*: cf. xxxiii, 57.
 24. *placuisse*: probably after the great fire of B. C. 241, cf. vii, 141.
 in *Pantheo*: built (B. C. 27) by Agrippa in his third consulate. This earlier building was altered to its present shape in the reign of Hadrian. For recent discoveries and literature, cf. C. Hülsen in *T. J. B.* iv, p. 305 (*Röm. Mitth.* viii, 1893) and Gardthausen *Augustus* ii, p. 430 f.

- columnarum a M. Agrippa posita. quin etiam privata opulentia eo modo usurpata est. Camillo inter crimina obiecit
 A.U.C. 363. Spurius Carvilius quaestor ostia quod aerata haberet in domo.
- 14 Nam triclinia aerata abacosque et monopodia Cn. 5
 Manlium Asia devicta primum invexisse triumpho suo quem duxit anno urbis DLXVII L. Piso auctor est, Antias quidem heredes L. Crassi oratoris multa etiam triclinia aerata vendidisse. ex aere factitavere et cortinas tripodum nomine Delphicas, quoniam donis maxime Apollini Delphico dicantur. placuere et lychnuchi pensiles in delubris aut arborum mala ferentium modo lucentes, quale est in templo Apollinis Palatini quod Alexander Magnus Thebarum ex
 A.U.C. 419. pugnatione captum in Cyme dicaverat eidem deo.
- 15 Transiit deinde ars vulgo ubique ad effigies deorum. 15
 Romae simulacrum ex aere factum Cereri primum reperio
 A.U.C. 270. ex peculio Spuri Cassi quem regnum adfectantem pater ipsius interemerit. transit et a diis ad hominum statuas

9. nomine] nomine ac *Bamb.*; nomine a *Voss.*

3. Spurius Carvilius: his part in the trial is mentioned only by Pliny.

ostia quod aerata: καὶ δῆτα καὶ θύραι τινὲς ἐλέγοντο χαλκαὶ παρ' αὐτῶ φανῆναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. *Plut. Camill.* xii.

§ 14. 5. abacosque: the use of *abaci* as sideboards appears really to date from the conquest of Asia, Marquardt, *Privatleben*, p. 319.

Cn. Manlium: *Liv.* xxxix, 6, 7 *ii primum lectos aeratos . . . et quae tum magnificae suppellectilis habebantur monopodia et abacos Romam advexerunt.*

6. Asia devicta: cf. xxxiii, 148.

7. L. Piso: Lucius Calpurnius Piso, surnamed Frugi; cos. B.C. 133; frequently quoted by Pliny, Teuffel, *G. R. L.* § 132, 4.

• Antias, Valerius, fl. ab. 45 B.C.; frequently quoted by Pliny; Teuffel, § 155, 2.

9. nomine: cf. Diodoros, xvi, 26. The corrupt *ac* of the MSS. must

arise from a copyist's misunderstanding of *Delphicas* as a separate object.

11. lychnuchi: originally lampstands (λυχνούχοι), whence the name was transferred to the whole candelabrum, Marquardt, *op. cit.* p. 711; Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. *candelabrum*.

pensiles: *Verg. Aen.* i, 726; *Petron. Sat.* 30 et *lucerna bilychnis de camera pendebat.*

12. quale: sc. *candelabrum*, to be supplied from § 12.

templo Apollinis: dedicated by Augustus B.C. 27, cf. xxxvi, 32.

§ 15. 15. Transiit . . . ars: note on § 9.

16. simulacrum: restricted as usual to images of the gods, while *statua* is more particularly used for mortals. The notion that the Cassian *simulacrum* was the first of its kind at Rome is in flagrant contradiction to the mention in § 33 of a Hercules, consecrated by Evander and of Numa's Janus; moreover since in

Syracusan bronze was also employed by Marcus Agrippa for the capitals of the columns in his Pantheon. Wealthy individuals even adopted this fashion for their private houses. The quaestor Spurius Carvilius accused Camillus among other things of having had bronze plated doors to his house. 391 B.C.
Plated
doors.

The practice of using bronze for couches, side-boards and tables supported on a single foot, was first introduced, according to Lucius Piso, by Gnaeus Manlius, after the conquest of Asia, when he triumphed in the year of Rome 567 [187 B.C.]. Antias adds that the heirs of Lucius Crassus, the orator, sold a number of bronze couches. The cauldrons of tripods were also made of bronze; they were called *Delphicae*, because they were the gift most frequently dedicated to the Delphic Apollo. Hanging lamps in shrines were also made of bronze, and lamps with the lights fixed like apples on trees, as for instance, the lamp now in the temple of Apollo of the Palatine, which Alexander the Great carried off when he took Thebes, and dedicated, also to Apollo, 14
Household
furniture. Delphic
tripods. Hanging
lamps. 335 B.C.

Later on bronze was universally employed for statues of the gods. I find that at Rome the first bronze image was made in honour of Ceres out of the confiscated property of Spurius Cassius, who was put to death by his father because he aimed at becoming king. From figures of the gods, bronze came to be used in various ways for statues and images of men. The 15
Statues of
gods and
of mortals. 484 B.C.

§§ 21, 29, a whole series of portraits from the period of the Kings and early Republic are mentioned, it is irreconcilable with the theory that art progressed from the statues of gods to those of men. Pliny is quoting from a variety of sources, without even attempting to harmonize them.

Cereri: in her temple near the Great Circus, vowed by Aulus Postumius the victor at Regillus, B. C. 493; for its paintings and plastic decorations see xxxv, 154.

17. *pater ipsius*: cf. Liv. ii, 41, 10 *sunt, qui patrem auctorem eius supplicii ferant: eum cognita domi causa verberasse ac necasse, peculiumque filii Cereri consecravisse; signum inde factum esse et inscriptum 'ex Cassia familia datum.'* Dionysios (viii, 79),

on the other hand, speaks of several statues. The story involves a complicated problem. There is much to commend the view of Gilbert, *Rom* ii, p. 243, note 2 s. f. that the consecration to Ceres, the special patroness of the plebeians, of the private property of Cassius was an extension—more accurately an ironic application (*Verhöhnung*) of the *lex sacrata* for the protection of the Trib. Pl. (cf. Liv. iii, 55) *ut qui trib. pl. nocuisset eius caput Ioui sacrum esset, familia ad aedem Cereris Liberi Liberaeque venum iret*; Dionys. x, 42 where the Patricians who offend against the assembly of the people convened under the Tribunes are punished by confiscation of their property to Ceres (*τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἱερὰς εἶναι Δήμητρος*).

atque imagines multis modis. bitumine antiqui tinguebant eas, quo magis mirum est placuisse auro integere. hoc nescio an Romanum fuerit inventum, certe etiam Romae
 16 non habet vetustatem. effigies hominum non solebant ex-
 primi nisi aliqua inlustri causa perpetuitatem merentium, 5
 primo sacrorum certaminum victoria maximeque Olympiae,
 ubi omnium qui vicissent statuas dicari mos erat, eorum
 vero qui ter ibi superavissent ex membris ipsorum simili-
 17 tudine expressa, quas iconicas vocant. Athenienses nescio
 an primis omnium Harmodio et Aristogitoni tyrannicidis 10
 publice posuerint statuas. hoc actum est eodem anno quo
 A.U.C. 245. et Romae reges pulsus. excepta deinde res est a toto orbe
 terrarum humanissima ambitione, et in omnium municipiorum
 foris statuac ornamentum esse coepere prorogarique memoria
 hominum et honores legendi aevo basibus inscribi, ne in 15
 sepulcris tantum legerentur. mox forum et in domibus
 privatis factum atque in atris honos clientium instituit sic
 colere patronos.
 18 Togatae effigies antiquitus ita dicabantur. placuere et
 nudae tenentes hastam ab epheborum e gymnasiis exem- 20
 plaribus, quas Achilleas vocant. Graeca res nihil velare,

19. ita] ista *Riccard.*, *Voss.* (e corr.); sta *Voss.*

1. bitumine: in order to give a patina to the new bronze.

2. auro: xxxiii, 61, 82; xxxiv, 63. The custom of gilding statues was known in Greece, cf. the gilt statue of Gorgias of Leontinoi, Paus. x, 18, 7 (Plin. xxxiii, 83, where, however, it is stated that the Gorgias was of solid gold), and the gilt Phryne by Praxiteles, Pans. x, 15, 1; cf. Blümner, *Technol.* iv, p. 308 ff.

4. non habet vetustatem: the oldest recorded Roman instance of a *statua aurata* is to M'. Acilius Glabrio (B. C. 131), Liv. xl, 34, 5 *quae prima omnium in Italia est statua aurata.*

§ 16. 6. Olympiae: the long list of athlete statues began with the ancient cypress wood statue of Praxidamas of Aigina, who won the prize

for boxing, Ol. 59 (= B. C. 544). Pans. vi, 18, 7.

7. ubi omnium . . . iconicas vocant: Lessing has made these words the text for a famous passage in the *Laokoon* (ii, § 13). Visconti (*Iconographie Grecque*, Discours prélim. p. viii, n. 4) arguing from Lucian, *ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰκόνων* xi, takes *iconicas* to mean 'grand comme nature'; Prof. Klein, however, in a note which he kindly allows me to publish, points out that Pliny's statement bears an apocryphal character, which has escaped every one save perhaps Blümner in his Comm. on Lessing's *Laokoon*, p. 503. It is evident that the discrepancies between ideal and iconic statues were explained by Pliny, or his author, as the result of an

ancients tinted the figures with bitumen, which makes the later practice of gilding them the more curious. This may very well be a Roman invention, and certainly even at Rome it is not of great antiquity. The ancients did not make any statues of individuals unless they deserved immortality by some distinction, originally by a victory at some sacred games, especially those of Olympia, where it was the custom to dedicate statues of all those who had conquered, and portrait statues if they had conquered three times. These are called *iconic*. (See Addenda.)

The Athenians were, I believe, introducing a new custom when they set up statues at the public expense in honour of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who killed the tyrants. This occurred in the very year in which the kings were expelled from Rome. A refined ambition led to the universal adoption of the custom, and statues began to adorn the public places of every town; the memories of men were immortalized, and their honours were no longer merely graven on their tombstones, but handed down for posterity to read on the pedestals of statues. Later on the rooms and halls of private houses became so many public places, and clients began to honour their patrons in this way.

Formerly statues were dedicated wearing the toga. Nude statues holding a spear were also in favour, modelled after young men in the gymnasia; these were called Achillean. The Greek

improbable rule, simply because the ancients had no habit of applying historical criticism to art, and consequently of discriminating between the works of a time when only the type was aimed at, from those of periods when art had advanced to individual portraiture. It is instructive to compare with Pliny's words a passage in Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xxi, 1 *περὶ κάλλους*, where he attempts to explain the difference between the statues of an earlier and a later date by alleging physical degeneration. The difference observable in the Olympic statues generally, distinguished *pre-* from *post-* Lysippian portraiture; as it is very well said in xxxv, 153 *hic* (Lysistratos) *et similitudines reddere instituit, ante eum quam pulcherrimas facere studebatur.*

§ 17. 10. Harmodio et Aristogi-

toni: below § 70.

§ 18. 19. *togatæ effigies*: such as the statues of the kings, § 23.

20. *tenentes hastam*: statues of athletes in the scheme of the Polykleitan Doryphoros, or leaning on their spear. *Achilleas* (from Achilles, the typical hero of the ephebes) a convenient generic term under which to group such portraits, Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 47, note 11. The custom of portraying mortals other than athletes in heroic nudity *during their lifetime*, seems to have been introduced by Alexander and his successors; cf. the bronze portrait of a Hellenistic ruler in the Museo delle Terme (Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 1052).

21. *Græca . . . addere*: no precise historical information can be drawn from these words, which merely contain a broad comparison between

at contra Romana ac militaris thoraces addere. Caesar quidem dictator loricatedam sibi dicari in foro suo passus est. nam Lupercorum habitu tam noviciae sunt quam quae
 A.U.C. 617. nuper prodire paenulis indutae. Mancinus eo habitu sibi
 19 statuit quo deditus fuerat. notatum ab auctoribus et 5
 L. Accium poetam in Camenarum aede maxima forma statuam sibi posuisse, cum brevis admodum fuisset. equestres utique statuae Romanam celebrationem habent orto sine dubio a Graecis exemplo, sed illi celetas tantum dicabant in sacris victores, postea vero et qui bigis vel quadrigis 10 vicissent. unde et nostri currus nati in iis qui triumphavissent. serum hoc, et in his non nisi a divo Augusto seiuges, aut elephanti.
 20 Non vetus et bigarum celebratio in iis qui praetura functi curru vecti essent per circum, antiquior columnarum, 15 sicuti C. Maenio qui devicerat priscos Latinos, quibus ex

13. aut] *E. Sellers*; sicut *codd., Detlefsen.*

the typical Greek athlete statues and the numerous Roman portraits of late Republican and Imperial times.

1. thoraces: the statue of Augustus in the Vatican, Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 4, well illustrates the combination of the military element with the nude athletic type. As a reminiscence of the athlete statues the legs are left bare, but the Emperor wears the cuirass, with the mantle rolled round below the waist.

2. loricatedam, sc. effigiem: belonging to the class of statues just mentioned, of which there are numerous examples, see Rohden in *Bonner Studien*, pp. 1-80. Very little is known about this particular statue of Caesar or the spot in his Forum where it stood. Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* viii, 6, 14) says that a decree of the Senate in favour of Pallas, the freedman of Claudius, was put up *ad statuam loricatedam divi Iulii*.

* 3. Lupercorum, i.e. with only a goatskin about the loins, like the priests of Lupercus at the festival of the Lupercalia (*Ov. Fast.* v. 101).

5. quo deditus fuerat: *nudus ac*

post tergum religatis manibus Vell. Paterc. II, i, 5.

not. ab auctoribus: probably the statue was no longer extant when Pliny wrote.

§ 19. 6. L. Accium: the tragic poet, B. C. 170-103. There is no reliable copy of the statue, Bernoulli, *Röm. Iconographie*, i, p. 289.

Camenarum = Musarum, in the first region, *Porta Capena*.

10. postea vero: the notion that art progressed from the representations of statues of horsemen to chariot-groups, is in harmony with the formalizing theories of the growth of art, hinted in § 9 and § 15, but it is the inverse of fact (cf. Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 502): the race with four-horsed chariots was introduced at Olympia, Ol. 25 (B. C. 680), the race on horseback (*ἵππος κέλης*), Ol. 33 (B. C. 648), and the race with two-horsed chariots, Ol. 93 (B. C. 408). The earliest monument of a victor on his four-horsed chariot was that of Kleosthenes of Epidamnos by Hagelaidas, Ol. 66 (B. C. 516), Paus. vi, 10, 2.

custom was to leave the body quite nude ; but the Roman and military custom was to add a breastplate, while Caesar, when Dictator, allowed a statue of himself wearing a cuirass to be set up in his forum. Statues in the dress of the Lupercals are as recent an innovation as those lately introduced wearing short cloaks. Mancinus set up a statue in his own honour, wearing the dress in which he had been given up to the enemy. I find it mentioned by some authors that Lucius Accius the poet set up in his own honour in the temple of the Camenae a statue, which was of great size, although he was a very small man.

Equestrian statues, which are so common at Rome, were undoubtedly first borrowed from Greece. The Greeks, however, only dedicated equestrian statues of those who had been victors on horseback at the sacred games ; later on we find statues of the victors in the two and four-horse chariot races. From this arose our custom of setting up chariots in honour of those who had triumphed. Until recent times this was unknown, and chariots drawn by six horses or by elephants were only introduced by the god Augustus.

The erection of two-horse chariots in honour of those who as praetors have led the procession round the Circus is also of late date. The custom of erecting statues on columns is more ancient, witness the column in honour of Gaius Maenius, conqueror of the Ancient Latins, a people to whom the Romans were

II. *currus*: Juv. viii, 3, mentions the statue of a *triumphator* standing erect in his triumphal car in the *vestibulum*.

13. *seiuges*: a gilt chariot, drawn by six horses, had already been dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus in B. C. 169, by the Consul P. Cornelius (*seiuges in Capitolio aurati* Liv. xxxviii, 35, 4). Pliny's meaning must be that under Augustus the team of six horses was first used for other than religious purposes. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i, 3rd ed. p. 395, n. 1, points out that, according to Dio Cassius, lix, 7, Caligula was the first to drive in the circus with six horses: τὸ ἄρμα τὸ πομπικόν . . . ἐξ ἵπποι εἴκλυσαν· ὁ μὴ πώποτε ἐγεγόνει.

elephanti: from Pliny's words

it might be inferred that *triumphal* chariots were drawn by elephants as early as Augustus, whereas this occurred for the first time in the reign of Alexander Severus, cf. Aelius Lampridius, *Vita Al. Sev.* 57, 4. The chariots drawn by elephants on early imperial coins refer to the *Pompa circensis*, Marquardt, *Staatsverw.* ii, p. 586, note 7. Addenda.

§ 20. 15. *per circum*, sc. *Maximum*, on the occasion of the *Ludi Apollinares*, instituted B. C. 212. For the praetorial *biga*, cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i, 3rd ed., p. 394, note 4; pp. 412, 447.

columnarum: from § 26 it is evident that the *columnae* were statues placed on high pedestals.

16. *C. Maenio*: cf. vii, 212. He

- foedere tertias praedae populus R. praestabat, eodemque in consulatu in suggestu rostra devictis Antiatribus fixerat anno urbis CCCCXVI, item C. Duillio qui primus navalem triumphum egit de Poenis, quae est etiam nunc in foro, **21** item L. Minucio praefecto annonae extra portam Trigeminae minam unciaria stipe collata—nescio an primo honore tali a populo, antea enim a senatu erat—praeclara res, nisi frivolis coepisset initiis. namque et Atti Navi statua fuit ante curiam—basis eius conflavit curia incensa P. Clodii funere—fuit et Hermodori Ephesii in comitio, legum quas **22** decemviri scribebant interpretis, publice dicata. alia causa, alia auctoritas M. Horati Coclitis statuae, quae durat hodieque, cum hostes a ponte sublicio solus arcuisset. equidem et Sibyllae iuxta rostra esse non miror, tres sint licet: una quam Sextus Pacuius Taurus aed. pl. restituit, duae quas **15** M. Messalla. primas putarem has et Atti Navi, positas

had conquered the Latins with Furius Camillus; *additus triumpho honos, ut statuae equestres eis, rara illa aetate res, in foro ponerentur* Liv. viii, 13, 9. The statue of Camillus had stood on the old Rostra (§ 23), and was apparently still extant in the days of Pliny the Younger (see *Paneg.* 55, 6). The exact site of the statue of Maenius is unknown, cf. Jacobi, *Museographie*, p. 60.

1. ex foedere, i. e. the treaty concluded by Sp. Cassius in B. C. 493, cf. *Röm. Forsch.* ii, p. 163, note 22.

2. Antiatribus: the orator's platform was from that time called the *rostra* (Liv. viii, 14, 12). For its statues, see Gilbert, *Röm.*, p. 153, note 3.

3. C. Duillio: a portion of the inscribed basis, restored in antiquity, belonging to the *columna Duilia*, was found in 1565 (Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 543; *C. I. L.* i, 195).

4. de Poenis. After the battle of Mylac, B. C. 260.

§ 21. 5. L. Minucio: his column, surmounted by the statue, is shown on the reverse of a denarius of B. C. 129 of C. Minucius Angurinus (Babelon,

Monn. de la Rép. Rom., ii, p. 228; Mommsen, *Röm. Münzw.* p. 550, no. 265). Livy, iv, 16, 2, mentions only a gilt ox erected in honour of Minucius.

praefecto annonae: Liv. iv, 12, 8, cf. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsgeschichte*, p. 134.

6. unciaria stipe collata: according to Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii, p. 1185, note 3, this possibly means that the expenses were met by voluntary contributions, whereas they otherwise fell to the *Aerarium*.

8. frivolis, because the statue was set up in honour of the supposed miracles of the whet-stone (Liv. i, 36) and of the *Ficus ruminalis*. For Pliny's scepticism in these matters see xv, 77.

Atti Navi: he was represented as under average height, and wearing the priestly fillet (Dionysios iii, 71, 5). The statue stood on the left of the steps leading up to the curia (Livy, *loc. cit.*). The mention of this statue, in confirmation of the statement *antea enim a senatu*, brings with it a long digression, thoroughly

bound by treaty to give one third of the spoils taken in war. In the same consulship, in the year of Rome 416 [338 B.C.], he defeated the people of Antium, and fixed the beaks of their ships upon the platform in the forum. Another column, in honour of Gaius Duillius, who enjoyed the first naval triumph for his victory over the Carthaginians, is still standing in the forum. Another was set up outside the Porta Trigemina, in honour of Lucius Minucius, chief commissioner of the corn supply, and for it a rate of one twelfth of an *as* was levied. This was, I believe, the first time this honour was conferred by the people, for previously it had been left in the hands of the Senate. Certainly the distinction were an honourable one save for the slight grounds for which it was first conferred. For instance, there was in front of the Senate House a statue of Attus Navius, the base of which was destroyed when the Senate House was burnt down at the funeral of Publius Clodius, and in the comitium there was another, dedicated at the public expense, of Hermodoros, the Ephesian, who expounded the laws drawn up by the Decemvirs. Very different were the reasons which entitled Horatius Cocles to the statue which is still standing: single-handed he had held the Sublician bridge against the foe. Nor am I astonished that a statue, or even three statues, of the Sibyl should stand near the Rostra. One of these was replaced by Sextus Pacuvius Taurus, when plebeian aedile, and the two others by Marcus Messala. I should consider these statues and that of Attus Navius, which date from the reign of Tarquin the Ancient, to be the earliest we have, were it not that on the Capitol

The
'Rostra.'

C. Duil-
lius;
260 B.C.
21

Lucius
Minucius.
439 B.C.

Statue of
Attus
Navius.
52 B.C.

Hermo-
doros;
450 B.C.
22

Horatius
Cocles.
508 B.C.

The three
Sibyls.

in Pliny's manner, on ancient statues in Rome; the subject of the statues raised on columns is not resumed till § 27.

fruit, i.e. the statue had disappeared when Pliny wrote.

10. *Hermodori*: cf. Strabo xiv, p. 642; Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* v, 36, 105. The statue presumably stood in front of the old rostra, by the Twelve Tables upon which the laws were inscribed. It had been removed in Pliny's day, cf. Jacobi, *Museographie*, p. 50.

§ 22. 12. *Horati Coclitis*: below § 29. The statue stood *in comitio* Liv. ii, 10, 12; afterwards removed to

the *area Volcani* Anl. Gell. iv, 5, 1. Cocles was represented full-armed, with perhaps an indication of his lameness, Dionysios v, 25; Plut. *Publ.* xvi.

14. *iuxta rostra*, i.e. the old rostra. These new Sibyls are probably identical with the *τρία φάρα* mentioned by Procop. *De Bell. Goth.* i, 25, p. 122, as standing between the curia and the temple of Janus (O. Gilbert, *Rom*, iii, p. 228, note 2).

15. *Sextus Pacuvius Taurus*, probably identical with the trib. pl., B. C. 27.

aetate Tarquini Prisci, ni regum antecedentium essent in
 23 Capitolio. ex his Romuli et Tatii sine tunica, sicut et
 Camilli in rostris. et ante aedem Castorum fuit Q. Marci
 Tremuli equestris togata, qui Samnites bis devicerat capta-
 A.U.C. 448. que Anagnia populum stipendio liberaverat. inter anti- 5
 quissimas sunt et Tulli Cloeli, L. Rosci, Spuri Nauti,
 A.U.C. 316. C. Fulcini in rostris, a Fidenatibus in legatione interfectorum.
 24 hoc a re p. tribui solebat iniuria caesis, sicut aliis et P. Iunio,
 A.U.C. 524. Ti. Coruncanio, qui ab Teuta Illyriorum regina interfecti
 erant. non omittendum videtur quod annales adnotavere 10
 tripedaneas iis statuas in foro statutas. haec videlicet men-
 sura honorata tunc erat. non praeteribo et Cn. Octavium
 ob unum SC. verbum. hic regem Antiochum daturum se
 responsum dicentem virga quam tenebat forte circum-
 scripsit priusque quam egrederetur circulo illo responsum 15
 A.U.C. 592. dare coegit. in qua legatione interfecto senatus statuam
 poni iussit quam oculatissimo loco, eaque est in rostris.
 25 invenitur statua decreta et Taraciae Gaiae sive Fufetiae
 virgini Vestali, ut poneretur ubi vellet, quod adiectum
 non minus honoris habet quam feminae esse decretam. 20
 meritum eius ipsis ponam annalium verbis : quod campum
 Tiberinum gratificata esset ea populo.

1. regum. Cf. xxxiii, 9, 10, 24.

in Capitolio: cf. Appian, Ἐμφ. i, 16, where Tib. Gracchus is killed by the doors of the temple of Capitoline Jupiter near the statues of the kings.

§ 23. 2. sine tunica, i. e. wrapped in the toga alone, cf. Anl. Gell. vi, 12; Asconius (on Cic. *pro Scaur.* 30) says that the younger Cato as praetor used to lay aside the tunic *ex vetere consuetudine, secundum quam et Romuli et Tatii statuae in Capitolio et in rostris Camilli fuerunt togatae sine tunicis*. The difference of costume shows that the statues of the kings were put up at different dates. Pliny's information seems derived from Verrius, cf. xxxiii, 63 *tunica aurea triumphasse Tarquinius Priscum Verrius docet*.

et Camilli: see the passage from Asconius quoted above.

3. Q. Marci Tremuli: Liv. ix, 43, 22 *statua equestris in foro decreta est quae ante templum Castoris posita est*; cf. Cic. *Phil.* vi, 5, 13. For a possible echo of the statue see Mommsen, *Röm. Münzw.* p. 549, n. 263.

qui . . . liberaverat: these words appear to come from an inscription in Saturnine verse, qui bis devicit Samni | -teis Anagniamque || cepit populū stipendi | ó liberavit (Ulrichs in *Chrestom.* p. 307).

5. stipendio: according to the treaty concluded by Sp. Cassius in B. C. 486, the Hernicans had been entitled to a third of the war booty; on this clause see Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* ii, p. 163, n. 22.

inter antiquissimas sunt: the use of the present shows that Pliny is transcribing direct from his

we have the statues of Tarquin's predecessors. Among these the figures of Romulus and Tatius are without the tunic, and so is that of Camillus on the Rostra. In front of the temple of Castor there also stood an equestrian statue of Quintus Marcius Tremulus wearing the toga. He had conquered the Samnites in two battles, and by taking Anagnina had freed Rome from payment of the war tax. The statues on the Rostra to Tullus Cloelius, Lucius Roscius, Spurius Nautius, and Gaius Fulcinus, ambassadors killed by the people of Fidenae, are also among the earliest. This honour was usually paid by the state to those who had been killed in violation of the law of nations; it was done in many cases, notably that of Publius Junius and Tiberius Coruncanius, who were put to death by Teuta, queen of Illyricum. It is worth noticing that according to the annals the statues set up in the forum on these occasions were three feet high; apparently this was the height in vogue in those days. I shall mention the statue of Gnaeus Octavius, on account of one clause in the decree of the Senate. King Antiochos had wished to delay an answer, whereupon Octavius drew a circle round him with a rod which he chanced to have in his hand, and compelled the king to give an answer before he stepped outside the circle. Octavius was killed while on this embassy, and the Senate ordered a statue to be set up in his honour 'in as visible a place as possible': the statue accordingly stands on the Rostra. I find a decree giving a statue to Taracia Gaia or Fufetia, a Vestal virgin, 'to be placed where she pleased,' a clause no less to her honour than the actual dedication of a statue to a woman. According to the words of the annals, which I will quote, she received these honours 'because she had presented to the people the field by the Tiber.'

23
Ancient
kings.

Q. M.
Tremulus.
306 B.C.

Roman
ambassa-
dors killed
by the
Fidenates.
438 B.C.

24
230 B.C.
Publius
Junius and
Tiberius
Corun-
canius.

Cn.
Octavius.
162 B.C.

25
Taracia
Gaia.

author; the statues had already disappeared in Cicero's time: *Lars Tolumnius rex Veientium quattuor legatos populi Romani Fidenis interemit, quorum statuae steterunt usque ad meam memoriam in rostris.* *Phil.* ix, 2, 4.

§ 24. 8. P. Iunio, Ti. Coruncanio. Polybios, ii, p. 131 (ed. Büttner-Wobst), calls them Γάϊος and Λεύκιος (Κορονγκάνιοι). They had been sent to put down piracy on the Illyrian coast.

11. tripedaneas refers not only to

the last-mentioned statues, but also to those of the ambassadors to the Fidenates.

12. Cn. Octavius, § 13, murdered at Laodicea in B. C. 162; cf. *Cic. Phil.* ix, 2, 4 *statuam videmus in rostris.* By a confusion Pliny attributes to Octavius an act performed by C. Popilius Laenas, on the occasion of his embassy to Antiochus IV Epiphanes in B. C. 168, *Cic. Phil.* viii, 8, 23; *Liv.* xlv, 12.

§ 25. 18. Taraciae Gaiae sive Fufetiae . . . populo: this curious

- 26 Invenio et Pythagorae et Alcibiadi in cornibus comitii
 A.U.C. 411. positas, cum bello Samniti Apollo Pythius iussisset
 fortissimo Graiae gentis et alteri sapientissimo simulacra
 A.U.C. 666. celebri loco dicari. eae stetero donec Sulla dictator ibi
 curiam faceret. mirumque est illos patres Socrati cunctis 5
 ab eodem deo sapientia praelato Pythagoran praetulisse
 aut tot aliis virtute Alcibiaden et quemquam utroque
 27 Themistocli. columnarum ratio erat attolli super ceteros
 mortales, quod et arcus significant novicio invento. primus
 tamen honos coepit a Graecis, nullique arbitror plures 10
 statuas dicatas quam Phalereo Demetrio Athenis, siquidem
 CCCLX statuere nondum anno hunc numerum dierum
 A.U.C. 670. excedente, quas mox laceravere. statuerunt et Romae in

8. tolli omnes praeter Bamb., Detlefsen.

statement is best examined in the light of a passage from Aulus Gellius, vii, 7, 1-4 *Accae Larentiae et Gaiæ Taraciae, sive illa Fufetia est, nomina in antiquis annalibus celebria sunt. earum alterae post mortem, Taraciae autem vivae amplissimi honores a populo Romano habiti. et Taraciam quidem virginem Vestalem fuisse lex Horatia testis est, quae super ea ad populum lata. qua lege ei plurimi honores fiunt, inter quos ius quoque testimonii dicendi tribuitur 'testabilis'que una omnium feminarum ut sit datur. id verbum est legis ipsius Horatiae; contrarium est in duodecim tabulis scriptum: improbus intestabilisque esto. praeterea si quadraginta annos nata sacerdotio abire ac nubere voluisset, ius ei potestasque exaugurandi atque nubendi facta est munificentiae et beneficii gratia, quod campum Tiberinum sive Martium populo condonasset.* Though the personality of Taracia is clearly defined in this passage, it cannot be supposed that the region of the Campus Martius had been so late as republican times in the possession of a single person, and that a Vestal virgin; close examination shows the aitiological nature of the whole story.

The privileges granted to Taracia are simply the common privileges of all the Vestals; in order to account for these the story of the gift of the land was adapted from the myth of Acca Larentia. Taracia is in fact a mere double of Larentia; her name betrays an evident connexion with Tarutius, the Tuscan husband of Acca Larentia, to whom he leaves the Ager Turax, i. e. the Campus Tiberinus (Plut. *Rom. v.*), which Larentia in turn bequeaths to the Roman people; a genuine myth which has for kernel the fact that the region of the Campus Martius had once been Etruscan (see Plut. *Publ. viii.*, where the story of the gift and the privileges is substantially the same, but the name of the heroine is Ταρκυρία; cf. Liv. ii, 5, 2 *ager Tarquiniorum*). A statue was possibly put up to the mythical Vestal, benefactress of the Romans, but as no statue is mentioned either by Gellius or Plutarch (see Detlefsen, *De Art. Rom. Ant.* ii, p. 13), and as Pliny does not say he saw the statue, but merely that the annals stated that one was decreed, it is probable that the statue only existed in the anecdote, and that its mention represented what was

I find that statues of Pythagoras and Alkibiades were erected 26 at the corners of the comitium, after an oracle of the Pythian *Pythagoras and Alkibiades.* Apollo, delivered in the course of the Samnite war, had ordered that a statue in honour of the bravest man of Hellenic birth, 343 B.C. and another in honour of the wisest should be dedicated in a much frequented place. These statues remained until the dictator Sulla built the Council Chamber there. It is strange 88 B.C. that the Senate of the day chose Pythagoras in preference to Sokrates, whom Apollo had declared to be wiser than all men, or that they chose Alkibiades before many other brave men, and in fact that they selected any one for either quality in preference to Themistokles.

The use of the columns was to raise the statues above 27 ordinary men, and this is also the purpose of the arches which *Origin of statues raised on columns and on arches.* have been recently introduced. The Greeks, however, were the first who conferred statues as a mark of honour, and I imagine that no man has had so many statues dedicated to him as Demetrios of Phaleron at Athens, inasmuch as three hundred *Demetrios of Phaleron; Gaius Marius Gracidianus.* and sixty were set up at a time when the year only contained that number of days. All these statues were afterwards broken up. At Rome too the tribes put up statues in every street in 84 B.C.

most likely another clause of the *lex Horatia*, namely, the right of the Vestals to have their portrait-statues erected. O. Gilbert, *Rom*, ii, p. 112, note 3.

(§ 21), and rebuilt by Faustus Sulla, son of the dictator.

§ 27. 8. *columnarum*: resumes the subject of § 21.

The praenomen *Gaia* was given to *Taracia* in order to latinize her; cf. Tanaquil, who also bore the Latin names of *Gaia Cecilia*. The alternative name *Fufetia* is according to Gilbert *loc. cit.* probably Etruscan. For the masculine *Fufetius* cf. the famous Alban dictator Metius Fufetius, Liv. i, 23, 4 &c.

9. *arcus*: on which stood statues and chariots. The oldest known instance is the arch or *fornix* of Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus (B.C. 120) of which remains are to be seen close to the temple of Faustina. The simpler *fornix* developed into the elaborate triumphal arches of the Emperors.

12. *nondum*, i. e. before the reform of the calendar by Julius Caesar. Add.

§ 26. 1. *Pythagoræ et Alcib. in cornibus, ἐν τῆς ἀγορᾶς* Plut. *Num.* viii.

5. *curiam*: altered and enlarged by Sulla (B. C. 88), who caused many of the statues in or in front of the curia to be removed. This new curia was burnt in B. C. 52, on the occasion of the riots at the funeral of Clodius

13. *laceravere*: on the entrance of Demetrios Poliorketes into the city, Strabo ix, p. 398; Diogenes Laertios v, 5, 75 f. Pliny evidently has this statement as to the number of statues put up to Demetrios from Varro (see *Imagines*, ap. Nonius, p. 528 M.); cf. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, p. 611, note 1. Addenda.

omnibus vicis tribus Mario Gratidiano, ut diximus, eadem-
A.U.C. 671. que subvertere Sullae introitu.

28 Pedestres sine dubio Romae fuere in auctoritate longo tempore, et equestrium tamen origo perquam vetus est cum feminis etiam honore communicato Cloeliae statua 5 equestri, ceu parum esset toga eam cingi, cum Lucretiae ac Bruto, qui expulerant reges propter quos Cloelia inter 29 obsides fuerat, non decernerentur. hanc primam cum

A.U.C. 246. Coclitis publice dicatam crediderim—Atto enim ac Sibyllae Tarquinium ac reges sibi ipsos posuisse verisimile est—nisi 10 Cloeliae quoque Piso traderet ab iis positam qui una opsides fuissent, redditis a Porsina in honorem eius, e diverso Annius Fetialis equestrem, quae fuerit contra Iovis Statoris aedem in vestibulo Superbi domus, Valeriae fuisse Publicolae consulis filiae, eamque solam refugisse Tiberimque transnata- 15 visse ceteris opsidibus qui Porsinae mittebantur interemptis Tarquinii insidiis.

30 L. Piso prodidit M. Aemilio C. Popilio iterum cos.
A.U.C. 596. a censoribus P. Cornelio Scipione M. Popilio statuas circa forum eorum qui magistratum gesserant sublatas omnis 20 praeter eas quae populi aut senatus sententia statutae essent, eam vero quam apud aedem Telluris statuisset sibi Sp. Cassius qui regnum adfectaverat etiam conflata a censori-

1. Mario Gratidiano, ut diximus: xxxiii, 132; he introduced a method of testing the *denarii* issued by the mint (cf. Cic. *de Off.* iii, 20, 80). According to Mommsen (*Röm. Münzw.* p. 388) this would be insufficient to account for the almost divine honours paid to him; it seems more than probable that he also withdrew the plated coins from circulation.

§ 28. 6. Lucretiae ac Bruto: of the statue of Lucretia nothing more is known. The statue of Brutus stood near those of the kings (§ 23) on the Capitol; see Plut. *Brutus*, i, where the statue is described as holding a drawn sword.

§ 29. 11. ab iis qui . . . fuissent: Livy (*loc. cit.*) says simply that the

Romans awarded the statue; see Nitzsch, *Röm. Annalistik*, p. 52.

12. e diverso . . . Valeriae: cf. Plutarch, *Publ.* xix. The doubt as to the name shows that the statue bore no inscription. Neither Pliny nor Livy could probably have seen it, since Dionysios (v, 35) speaks of it as having disappeared in his day. From Seneca (*Consol. ad Marciam*, 16) and Plutarch *loc. cit.*, it appears that it was restored at a later date (cf. Urlichs, *Quellen-Register*, p. 5).

Annius Fetialis: only known from Pliny (*Indices* to xvi, xxxiii, xxxvi).

13. Iovis Statoris, ii, 140. The temple stood on the Sacred Way, at the commencement of the *Clivus*

honour of Gaius Marius Gratidianus, as I have said, and overthrew them again when Sulla entered the city.

83 B.C.

It is certain that standing statues were customary in Rome at a very early date. Still the first equestrian statues are extremely old, and women shared the honour of them with men when Cloelia, as if it were not enough that she should be represented wearing the toga, was granted such a statue, though none were given to Lucretia and Brutus, and yet they had expelled that royal family for whose interests Cloelia was a hostage. I should readily believe this statue and that of Cocles to be the first dedicated by the state (for it is probable that Tarquinius set up those to Attus and the Sibyl, and that the kings each set up their own), were it not for Piso's statement that the statue to Cloelia was raised by her fellow-hostages, who were sent back by Porsenna in honour of her. Annius Fetalis on the other hand says that the equestrian statue which stood opposite the temple of Jupiter the Upholder in the vestibule of the house of Tarquin the Proud was that of Valeria, the daughter of the consul Publicola. She alone, he says, escaped and swam across the Tiber, while the other hostages sent to Porsenna were treacherously killed by Tarquinius. Lucius Piso states that in the second consulship of Marcus Aemilius and Gaius Popilius all the statues of magistrates standing round the forum, except those which had been set up in accordance with a decree of the people or of the Senate, were removed by the censors Publius Cornelius Scipio and Marcus Popilius. The one near the temple of Earth, set up in his own honour by Spurius Cassius, who aimed at the kingship, was further melted down by the censors; thus even in the matter of a statue

28
Comparative
antiquity
of standing
and of
equestrian
statues.
Cloelia.

29
508 B.C.

Valeria.

30
158 B.C.
Removal of
statues of
magistrates
not erected
by a decree
of the
people or
the Senate.

Palatinus, near the arch of Titus; the house of Tarquin was close to it (Liv. i, 41, 4), cf. Liv. ii, 13, 11 *in summa sacra via fuit posita virgo insidens equo*, without any closer definition of the spot.

§ 30. 21. *praeter eas*: the measure would be intended to prevent the crowding of public places by statues put up by private individuals (*loca tuere*); Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii, p. 437, cf. Liv. xl, 51, 3.

23. *conflatam a censoribus*: not of course by the censors mentioned above, or the sentence would have

ended at *conflatam*. For the duties of censors as regards the removing of statues, cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 443. As there were, however, no censors in the days of Spurius Cassius (office created B. C. 445), we must conclude that Pliny's account is incorrect. According to Mommsen (*Röm. Forschungen*, ii, p. 167, note 28) Piso, in recounting the events of A. U. C. 596, may have stated that Sp. Cassius had set up a statue in his own honour on the spot where at a later date stood the temple of Tellus (vowed B. C. 268 and ded. B. C. 252 by P. Sempronius

- bus. nimirum in ea quoque re ambitionem providebant
 31 illi viri. exstant Catonis in censura vociferationes mulieribus
 A.U.C. 570. statuas Romanis in provinciis poni. nec tamen potuit in-
 hibere quo minus Romae quoque ponerentur, sicuti Corneliae
 Gracchorum matri, quae fuit Africani prioris filia. sedens 5
 huic posita soleisque sine ammento insignis in Metelli publica
 porticu, quae statua nunc est in Octaviae operibus.
- 32 Publice autem ab exteris posita est Romae C. Aelio
 A.U.C. 469. tr. pl. lege perlata in Sthennium Stallium Lucanum qui
 Thurinos bis infestaverat. ob id Aelium Thurini statua et 10
 corona aurea donarunt. idem postea Fabricium donavere
 A.U.C. 472. statua liberati obsidione, passimque gentes in clientelas ita
 receptae, et adeo discrimen omne sublatum ut Hannibalis
 etiam staturae tribus locis visantur in ea urbe cuius intra
 A.U.C. 543. muros solus hostium emisit hastam. 15
- 33 Fuisse autem statuariam artem familiarem Italiae quo-
 que et vetustam indicant Hercules ab Evandro sacratus,
 ut produnt, in foro boario, qui triumphalis vocatur atque
 per triumphos vestitur habitu triumphali, praeterea Ianus
 geminus a Numa rege dicatus, qui pacis bellique argumento 20
 colitur digitis ita figuratis ut CCCLXV dierum nota per

3. Romanis statuas omnes praeter Bamb., Detlefsen.

Sophus), and that this statue was melted down when he was condemned—some such statement misleading Pliny into the double error of supposing (1) that the statue stood in the temple of Tellus, (2) that the second measure recounted above was, like the first, carried out by censors, whom he was naturally at a loss to name.

2. illi viri; used by Pliny to cover his ignorance of the censor's names.

§ 31. mulieribus: cf. Cato's speech on the *Lex Oppia*, as narrated by Livy, xxxiv, 2-4; for his dislike of statues in general cf. the anecdote told by Plutarch, *Fraec. Gerend. Reip.* xxvii, B (Bernardakis, v, p. 115).

4. Corneliae: vii, 57; Plutarch *C. Gracchus*, iv. The rectangular basis of this statue was found in 1878

on the site of the porticus Octaviae; it is inscribed (a) *Opus Tisicratis*, (b) *Cornelia Africani f(ilia) Gracchorum* (sc. *mater*). (b) is the earlier inscription; it is probable that the statue of Cornelia was destroyed in the great fire of A.D. 80, after which the basis was used a second time for some copy of a work of Teisikrates (§ 67), Löwy, *I. G. B.* 493. Cf. Bernoulli, *Röm. Iconogr.* i, p. 72 ff. From the shape of the basis, Cornelia appears to have been represented seated, in the scheme familiar from the so-called statues of Agrippina.

6. Metelli . . . porticu: erected by Q. Metellus Macedonicus after his triumph B.C. 146. On its site Augustus built in honour of his sister the famous *porticus Octaviae*.

§ 32. g. lege perlata: this measure

they provided against possible ambition. We know the protests of Cato, in his censorship, against the statues set up to Roman women in the provinces, and yet he could not prevent their being set up in Rome itself, for example to Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi and daughter of the elder Africanus. It is a seated figure, remarkable as having shoes without thongs, which was formerly in the public colonnade of Metellus and is now in the galleries of Octavia.

The first statue set up at Rome at the cost of a foreign nation was to Gaius Aelius, tribune of the people. He had carried a law against Sthenius Stallius Lucanus, who had on two occasions molested the people of Thurii. They in return presented Aelius with a statue and a golden crown, and later on also gave a statue to Fabricius, who had delivered them from a siege. This method of receiving a people into clientship became very general, and all distinction was so completely lost that statues of Hannibal can be seen in three places in a city within whose walls he, alone among its enemies, has hurled his spear.

That there was an ancient art of statuary, native to Italy, is proved by the tradition which assigns to Evander the consecration of the Hercules in the Cattle Market, which is known as the triumphal Hercules and draped at every triumph in a triumphal robe. There is moreover the two-headed Janus dedicated by King Numa, which is honoured as marking peace or war; his fingers are bent to form 365, which is the number of

is mentioned only in this passage; nothing further is known of this statue or that of Fabricius.

13. *Hannibalis*: brought either from Carthage or from Asia Minor.

§ 33. 16. *statuariam*: see on *toreuticen* in § 54.

17. *Hercules*: in the ancient shrine (Tac. *Ann.* xv, 41: *magna ara fanumque, quae praesenti Herculi Arcas Evander sacraverat*) near to which, at a later date, was built the round temple of Hercules, which contained the paintings of Pacuvius; Peter *ap.* Roscher, i, 2911 ff.; cf. note on xxxv, 19), and below on § 33.

19. *Ianus geminus*: in his temple

near the curia at the N.E. end of the Forum. The head of the statue appears on the oldest Roman libral asses (Roscher s. v. *Janus*, Mommsen, *Röm. Münzw.* p. 175). One of the faces looked towards the West and the Great Forum, the other towards the East and the Forum Julium (cf. Procop. *Bell. Goth.* i, 25).

20. *pacis bellique arg.*: *indicem pacis bellique fecit* Liv. i, 19, 2.

21. *digitis ita figuratis*: this curious statement is confirmed by Macrobius, *Sat.* i, 9, 10, and John Lydos, *περὶ μνηῶν*, i, 4. A number of ingenious explanations are quoted in Hardouin's note on the passage.

31
184 B.C.
Protests of Cato the Censor against statues of women.

32
Statues erected by foreign cities.
285 B.C.

282 B.C.

Statues of Hannibal in Rome.
211 B.C.

33
Native Italian statuary.
Hercules.
Two-headed Janus.

significationem anni temporis et aevi esse deum indicent.

34 signa quoque Tuscanica per terras dispersa quin in Etruria factitata sint non est dubium. deorum tantum putarem ea fuisse, ni Metrodorus Scepsius cui cognomen a Romani

A.U.C. 489. nominis odio inditum est propter M M statuarum Volsinios 5 expugnatos obiceret. mirumque mihi videtur, cum statu-
tuarum origo tam vetus Italiae sit, lignea potius aut fictilia

35 deorum simulacra in delubris dicata usque ad devictam Asiam, unde luxuria. similitudines exprimendi quae prima fuerit origo, in ea quam plasticen Graeci vocant dici con- 10
venientius erit, etenim prior quam statuaria fuit. sed haec ad infinitum effloruit multorum voluminum operi, si quis plura persequi velit, omnia enim quis possit?

36 M. Scauri aedilitate signorum M M M in scaena tan-
A.U.C. 695. tum fuere temporario theatro. Mummius Achaia devicta 15

A.U.C. 608. replevit urbem non relicturus filiae dotem. cur enim non cum excusatione ponatur? multa et Luculli invexere. Rhodi etiamnum LXXIII signorum esse Mucianus ter cos. prodidit, nec pauciora Athenis, Olympiae, Delphis

37 superesse creduntur. quis ista mortalium persequi possit 20
aut quis usus noscendi intellegatur? insignia maxime et aliqua de causa notata voluptarium sit attigisse artificesque celebratos nominavisse, singulorum quoque inexplicabili multitudine, cum Lysippus MD opera fecisse prodatur, tantae omnia artis ut claritatem possent dare vel singula, 25
numerum apparuisse defuncto eo, cum thensaurum effregisset heres, solitum enim ex manipretio cuiusque signi

12. operi *Bamb.*; opere *reliqui, Detlefsen.* 18. LXXIII] *Bamb. Ricc.*; LXXIII *Voss. (teste Detlefsen)*; numerus aperte corruptus.

1. aevi esse deum: *ὡσεὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος πατέρα*, John Lydos, *loc. cit.*

§ 34. 4. Metrodorus Scepsius: born about B.C. 145; Müller, *F. H. G.* iii, pp. 202-205; Susemihl, *Griech. Lit. in der Alexandr. Zeit*, ii, p. 352 ff.

7. lignea: in Italy, as in Greece, statuary began with the wooden idols which not unfrequently remained objects of worship even in the greatest periods of art, e. g. the Athene Polias

of olive wood in the Erechtheion at Athens, Paus. i, 26, 6; 27, 1; ii, 25, 1, &c.

fictilia: xxxv, 157.

§ 35. 11. prior quam statuaria: since a bronze statue presupposed a clay model, note on xxxv, 153.

§ 36. 14. M. Scauri aedilitate: viii, 64, xxxv, 127. For the theatre see xxxvi, 5, 50, 113-115, 189; it was erected in the Campus Martius, but the exact spot is unknown.

days in the year, and by thus indicating the year they mark him as the god of time and the age. We also find, scattered in 34 different countries, statues in the Tuscan style, which must certainly have been made in Etruria. I should incline to think that these were only figures of the gods, did not Metrodoros of Skepsis, whose other name of *μισορωμαίος* or Roman-Hater was given him from his hatred of Rome, accuse us of having taken Volsinii for the sake of its two thousand statues. To me it seems 265 B.C. strange that, though statuary in Italy has so ancient an origin, *Images of wood or terra-cotta preferred in the temples.* the images of the gods dedicated in the shrines were by preference made of wood or of terra-cotta until the conquest of Asia introduced luxury. It will be better to speak of the origin of the modelling of portraits when we treat of the art which the Greeks call 35 *πλαστική*, as it is earlier than statuary. The latter art has been infinitely developed; a fuller discussion would require many volumes, an exhaustive treatise is scarcely possible.

Marcus Scaurus in his aedileship adorned the stage of a mere 36 temporary theatre with three thousand statues. Mummius filled all Rome with sculpture after his conquest of Achaia, and yet 58 B.C. I must add in his favour that he eventually died too poor to *Statues in Theatre of Marcus Scaurus.* leave his daughter a dowry. The Luculli too brought over a 146 B.C. number of statues; seventy-three thousand are still to be seen at Rhodes, according to Mucianus, who was three times consul, and it is supposed that at least as many still remain at Athens, 72. Olympia and Delphoi. A detailed knowledge of all these is 37 unattainable and would moreover serve no purpose; still I should like to touch on the most famous, and those which any particular circumstance has made noteworthy, and to name the illustrious artists. Even the works of individual sculptors are too numerous to be catalogued; Lysippos, for example, is said to 1500 have made fifteen hundred pieces of statuary, all of such merit *statues by Lysippos.* that any one alone would bring him fame. Their number was

15. Achaia devicta: xxxiii, 149.

16. dotem: cf. Frontinus, *Strateg.* iv, 3, 15.

17. et Luculli: i. e. L. Licinius, the conqueror of Mithridates, cos. B. C. 74 (xxxv, 125, 155), and his brother Marcus, below § 39; cos. B. C. 73; triumphed B. C. 71.

18. Rhodi etiamnum: Jerome (see Addenda) *Chron.* Ol. 184, 4,

ed. Schoene, p. 139: *templa Rhodiorum depopulatus est Cassius*, but from Pliny it appears that the plundering cannot have been so thorough as set forth either by Appian *ἐμφυλ.* iv, 81, Val. Max. i, 5, 8, or Orosius, vi, 18, 3.

Mucianus: see Introd. p. lxxxv.

§ 37. 24. Lysippus: the anecdote of the money-box may be traced

- 38 denarios seponere aureos singulos. e vecta supra humanam fidem ars est successu, mox et audacia. in argumentum successus unum exemplum adferam, nec deorum hominumve similitudinis expressae. aetas nostra vidit in Capitolio, A.U.C. 822. priusquam id novissime conflagraret a Vitellianis incensum, 5 in cella Iunonis canem ex aere volnus suum lambentem, cuius eximium miraculum et indiscreta veri similitudo non eo solum intellegitur quod ibi dicata fuerat, verum et satisfactione, nam quoniam summa nulla par videbatur, capite tutclarios cavere pro ea institutum publice fuit. 10
- 39 Audaciae innumera sunt exempla. moles quippe excogitatas videmus statuarum, quas colossaeas vocant, turribus pares. talis est in Capitolio Apollo tralatus a A.U.C. 681. M. Lucullo ex Apollonia Ponti urbe, XXX cubitorum, 40 D talentis factus, talis in campo Martio Iuppiter a Claudio 15 Caesare dicatus. qui devoratur Pompeiani theatri vicinitate, talis et Tarenti factus a Lysippo XL cubitorum. mirum in eo quod manu, ut ferunt, mobilis—ea ratio libramenti est—nullis convellatur procellis. id quidem providisse et artifex dicitur modico intervallo, unde maxime flatum opus erat 20 frangi, opposita columna. itaque magnitudinem propter difficultatemque moliendi non attigit eum Fabius Verru- A.U.C. 545. cosus, cum Herculem qui est in Capitolio inde transferret. 41 ante omnis autem in admiratione fuit Solis colossus Rhodi,

back to Duris, below § 51; Introd. p. xlviii.

1. denarios: the Roman golden denarius was worth about £1, but the reference here must be to the *στατήρ* = 16s. nearly. Introd. p. lxxxiv.

§ 38. 4. in Capitolio: after the temple had been burnt down in B.C. 83, Sulla undertook its reconstruction, which was eventually carried out by Q. Lutatius Catulus, who dedicated the new temple in B. C. 69. It was burnt again a *Vitellianis*, Tac. *Hist.* iii, 71.

6. in cella Iunonis; on the right of the central cella of Jupiter; the cella on the left was dedicated to Minerva.

9. capite: cf. xxxvi, 29 . . . *capitoli satisfatione fama iudicet dignos* (i. e. two statuary groups).

§ 39. 13. Apollo: *Καλάμδος ἔργον*. Strab. vii, p. 319.

§ 40. 15. a Cl. Caesare. Claudius restored the theatre of Pompeius after a fire, and probably dedicated the Jupiter on the same occasion. Tac. *Ann.* iii, 72.

16. Pompeiani theatri; near the Great Circus.

17. factus a Lysippo: it represented Zeus, and according to Strabo, p. 278, was the tallest colossus after that of Rhodes.

discovered when his heir broke open his money-box after his death, for it was his custom to lay by a piece of gold out of the price he received for each statue.

Art has made extraordinary progress, in technique first and afterwards in audacity. As an example of successful technique I shall mention a figure representing neither god nor man. Before the last fire on the Capitol, caused by the soldiers of Vitellius, our own generation could see in the temple of Juno a bronze dog licking its wound: the wonderful workmanship and absolutely life-like treatment are sufficiently proved not only by the sacred spot where the work was dedicated, but also by the unusual guarantee demanded for it. No sum of money was considered equivalent: it was a public ordinance that the curators should pledge their lives for its safety.

Of audacity countless instances can be given. For example artists have conceived the idea of gigantic statues called *colossi*, as tall as towers. Of this class is the Apollo in the Capitol, brought from Apollonia in Pontos by Marcus Lucullus; it is forty-five feet high, and cost five hundred talents [£120,000]. Another is the Jupiter dedicated in the Field of Mars by Claudius Caesar, which, however, is dwarfed by its proximity to the theatre of Pompeius. Yet another is the Zeus at Tarentum by Lysippos, which is 40 cubits [58 ft.] in height and is noteworthy because the weight is so nicely balanced that the colossus can, they say, be turned round by a touch of the hand, and yet cannot be overthrown by the wind. The artist is said to have provided against this by placing a column a little way off, on the side where it was most necessary to break the violence of the wind. The size of the statue and the difficulty of transporting it prevented Fabius Verrucosus from touching it, although he brought the Herakles in the Capitol from Tarentum. The most marvellous of all, however, is the statue

38
Technical progress.

Bronze dog.

39
Colossi.
(a) *Apollo in the Capitol.*
B.C. 73.
(b) *Jupiter in the Field of Mars.*

40
(c) *Zeus by Lysippos, at Tarentum.*

B.C. 209.
(d) *Herakles in the Capitol.*

mirum . . . procellis: periegetic explanation.

22. *non attigit Fabius*: cf. Liv. xxvii, 16, 8.

23. *Herculem*: *Αυαίννου ἔργον*, Strabo, *loc. cit.* The hero was represented without weapons and seated, resting his head on his left hand; cf. Niketas Akominatos *de signis Constantinop.*, p. 859. Near the Hercules stood a bronze equestrian statue of

Fabius himself (Plut. *Fab. Max.* xxii), which he doubtless set up in imitation of Carvilius.

§ 41. 24. *ante omnis . . . in admiratione*: cf. Luc. *Jup. Trag.* 11. It was even reckoned among the Seven Wonders of the world. The notion that it stood with one foot on each of the moles which formed the entrance to the harbour while ships passed full sail between its legs was unknown to

- A.U.C. 527. quem fecerat Chares Lindius, Lysippi supra dicti discipulus. LXX cubitorum altitudinis fuit. hoc simulacrum post LVI annum terrae motu prostratum, sed iacens quoque miraculo est. pauci pollicem eius amplectuntur, maiores sunt digiti quam pleraeque statuae. vasti specus hiant defractis membris, spectantur intus magnae molis saxa quorum pondere stabiliverat eum constituens. duodecimi annis tradunt effectum CCC talentis quae contigerant ex apparatu regis
- 42 Demetrii relicto morae taedio opsessa Rhodo. sunt alii centum numero in eadem urbe colossi minores hoc, sed ubicumque singuli fuissent, nobilitaturi locum, praeterque
- 43 hos deorum quinque quos fecit Bryaxis. factitavit colossos et Italia. videmus certe Tuscanicum Apollinem in bibliotheca templi Augusti quinquaginta pedum a pollice, dubium aere mirabiliorem an pulchritudine. fecit et Sp. Carvilius
- A.U.C. 461. Iovem qui est in Capitolio victis Samnitibus sacrata lege pugnantis e pectoralibus eorum ocreisque et galeis. amplitudo tanta est ut conspiciatur a Latiari Iove. e reliquiis limae suam statuam fecit quae est ante pedes simulacri eius.
- 44 habent in eodem Capitolio admirationem et capita duo quae
- A.U.C. 697. P. Lentulus cos. dicavit, alterum a Charete supra dicto factum, alterum fecit. . . dicus conparatione in tantum victus
- 45 ut artificum minime probabilis videatur. verum omnem amplitudinem statuarum eius generis vicit aetate nostra Zenodorus Mercurio facto in civitate Galliae Arvernensis per

the ancients, and arose in the Middle Ages. See Cecil Torr, *Rhodes in Ancient Times*, p. 96 f.

2. LXX cub. altitudinis: presumably from Varro, the measurement being practically identical with that given by Vibius Sequester (*Colossus Rhodi altus pedes CV*), who is known to have drawn from Varro, Ulrichs, *Quellen-Reg.* p. 11.

hoc simulacrum . . . Bryaxis: the picturesque description of the prostrate colossus, and the mention of the hundred other colossal statues in Rhodes, have been rightly referred to Mucianus by Brieger, *de Font. Plin.*

p. 60. *Introd.* p. lxxxvii.

8. ex apparatu: Plut. *Demetr.* 20.

9. opsessa Rhodo: vii, 126; xxxv, 104, 105.

§ 42. 12. Bryaxis: below, § 73.

§ 43. 13. Tuscanicum Apollinem: from what we know of Etruscan workmanship, Pliny's admiration must be prompted by patriotism.

in bibliotheca: belonging to the temple of Augustus (xii, 94), built by Tiberius and Livia in B.C. 14, Dio Cassius, lvi, 46; cf. Suet. *Tib.* 74 in *bibliotheca templi novi*. Gilbert, *Rom.* iii, p. 121, n. 3; it also contained, besides the customary busts

of the Sun at Rhodes, made by Chares of Lindos, a pupil of the (e) *Colossus of Rhodes by Chares of Lindos.* Lysippos already mentioned. It was seventy cubits [102 feet] in height, and after standing for fifty-six years was overthrown by an earthquake, but even as it lies on the ground it arouses wonder. B.C. 227.

Few men can clasp their arms about its thumb, its fingers are taller than most statues and wide caverns gape within its broken limbs, while inside can be seen huge fragments of rock, originally used as weights to steady it. According to tradition, its construction lasted twelve years, and cost 300 talents [£72,000], contributed by the Rhodians out of the siege-train left with them by King 42

Demetrios when he wearied of the siege of Rhodes. There are *Other colossal statues at Rhodes.* a hundred smaller colossal statues in this city, any one of which would have made famous the place it adorned, besides five *Five by Bryaxis.* representing gods, made by Bryaxis. In Italy too colossal statues have been made; we have before our eyes the Tuscan 43

Apollo, in the library of the temple of Augustus, which measures 50 feet from its toe. It is not easy to say whether the *Tuscan Apollo.* beauty of the statue or of the bronze is the more worthy of *Colossal statues in Italy.* wonder. After the victory over the Samnites, who fought B.C. 293.

bound by a solemn vow, Spurius Carvilius made from their breastplates, greaves, and helmets the Jupiter in the Capitol, *Jupiter.* a statue large enough to be visible from the temple of Jupiter Latiaris. From the filings he made a statue of himself, to 44

stand at the feet of the other. Two heads, also placed on the *Colossal heads.* Capitol, deserve to be admired. They were dedicated by Publius Lentulus: one is the work of the Chares mentioned above, the other is by . . . dikos, who however suffers by 45

the comparison so as to seem a most unattractive artist. In our own times however Zenodoros exceeded the proportions *Zenodoros.* of all other statues of this class. His Mercury was made in *His Mercury.* Gaul, in the state of the Arverni; he spent ten years upon

of illustrious men, a statue of Minerva, Plin. vii, 210.

16. *victis Samnitibus*: cf. Liv. x, 38-46. It is at least curious that Livy in his elaborate account of the triumph of B.C. 293 should only mention the temple of *Fors Fortuna* (x, 46, 14) as erected out of the booty. A. Schaeffer (*Comm. phil. in hon. Momms.* p. 7) accordingly supposes the statue to have been set up at a

later date, and that Pliny, or his author, confused the first and second consulship of Carvilius.

18. *Latiari Iove*: on the Mons Albanus (Monte Cavo).

§ 44. 21. *Charete supra dicto*: in § 41. Pliny is the only author who mentions any work of Chares besides the *Colossus*.

§ 45. 25. *Zenodoros*: perhaps an Alexandrian established in Gaul, see S.

- annos decem, HS [CCCC] manipreti, postquam satis artem
 ibi adprobaverat, Romam accitus a Nerone, ubi destinatum
 illius principis simulacro colossus fecit CXIXS pedum
 longitudine, qui dicatus Soli venerationi est damnatis sceleri-
 46 bus illius principis. mirabamur in officina non modo ex 5
 argilla similitudinem insignem, verum et de parvis admodum
 surculis quod primum operis instaurati fuit. ea statua
 indicavit interisse fundendi aeris scientiam, cum et Nero
 largiri aurum argentumque paratus esset et Zenodorus
 scientia fingendi caelandique nulli veterum postponeretur. 10
 47 statuam Arvernorum cum faceret provinciae Dubio Avito
 praesidente, duo pocula Calamidis manu caelata, quae Cassio
 Salano avonculo eius praeceptoris suo Germanicus Caesar
 adamata donaverat, aemulatus est ut vix ulla differentia
 esset artis. quanto maior Zenodoro praestantia fuit, tanto 15
 magis deprehenditur aeris obliteratio.
- 48 Signis quae vocant Corinthia plerique in tantum capiuntur
 ut secum circumferant, sicut Hortensius orator sphingem
 Verri reo ablatam, propter quam Cicero illo iudicio in
 altercatione neganti ei aenigmata se intellegere respondit 20
 debere, quoniam sphingem domi haberet. circumtulit et
 Nero princeps Amazonem, de qua dicemus, et paulo ante
3. CXIXS] *Urlichs in Chrestom. Plin.*; *CVIS Dellefsen*; qui nonaginta
Bamb.

Reinach, *Bronzes Figurés de la Gaule Romaine*, p. 12, who shows that the name is met with principally in Syria and Egypt.

Arvernus: where Mercury had a celebrated ritual in his temple on the Puy de Dôme; see *Addenda*.

3. colossus: in the vestibule of the Golden House, *Suet. Nero*, 31.

4. dicatus Soli venerationi: i. e. by Vespasian, *Suet. Vesp.* 18, who set up the colossus on the Sacred Way, *Dio Cassius*, 66, 15; *Martial, Spect.* 2, 1, 71, 6. The basis may still be seen *in situ* between the temple of Venus and Rome and the Colosseum. *Commodus* replaced the head by a portrait head of himself (*Herodian*, 1, 5, 9), and gave to the statue attributes of

Hercules, which were afterwards removed (*Aelian Lamprid. Commod.* 17, 10). The size of the Neronian colossus became proverbial, *C. I. L.* viii, 1, 212, p. 36, l. 82. Cf. in xxxv, 51, the colossal painted portrait of Nero.

§ 46. 5. mirabamur: practically the only instance where Pliny speaks from personal observation.

in officina: sc. *aeraria*, cf. below, § 134; xvi, 23; xviii, 89; *C. I. L.* vi, 8455, &c. *Addenda*.

6. argilla: i. e. the *πρόπλασμα*, cf. xxxv, 155.

7. surculis: the *surculi* must, I think, be the *τροπήματα* or wax tubes with which the wax model was covered previous to its being cased in loam; these tubes were intended

it and received in payment forty million sesterces [£350,000 circ.]. After he had won his reputation in Gaul, Nero summoned him to Rome, where he made a colossal statue 119½ feet in height. It was originally intended to represent the Emperor, but after Nero's crimes had met with their punishment, it was dedicated to the worship of the Sun. In his workshop our wonder was excited not only by the extraordinary likeness in the clay model, but by the slender tubing which was the first stage towards the completion of the work. This statue proved that the secret of the composition of bronze was lost, since Nero had been ready to provide the gold and silver, and in modelling and chasing Zenodoros was the equal of any ancient artist. When he made the statue for the Arverni, during the governorship of Dubius Avitus, he imitated two cups, chased by the hand of Kalamis, which Germanicus Caesar had prized very highly, and had given to Cassius Silanus his tutor, the uncle of Dubius, with such nicety that scarcely any difference can be detected between the original and the copy. Thus the artistic cunning of Zenodoros only strengthens the proof that the art of alloying bronze was forgotten.

The figures known as Corinthian are often so much prized that the owners carry them about with them, as the orator Hortensius did the figure of a sphinx which he had taken from his client Verres. The image was mentioned in the course of the trial, for when Hortensius declared that he could not guess riddles, Cicero replied that he should be able to do so since he kept a sphinx in his house. Nero when Emperor also took about with him an Amazon

His colossal Nero.

47 He copies two cups by Kalamis.

48 Great value of Corinthian bronzes. Sphinx of Hortensius.

Nero's Amazon.

to produce in the loam-coating holes for the pouring in of the bronze, and the letting out of the air. The colossal wax cast of a horse covered with tubings, Clarac, *Musée de Sc.* i, pl. v, figs. 5, 6, p. 101 ff., exactly illustrates what I imagine would be the appearance which the Neronian colossus presented when Pliny saw it. Oddly enough neither Clarac nor Blümner (cf. *Technol.* iv, p. 325) comment, so far as I am aware, on this interesting passage.

8. *indicavit interisse*: cf. § 5.

§ 47. 11. *Dubio Avito*. Tac. *Ann.* xiii, 54.

12. *Calamidis*: xxxiii, 156; xxxvi, 36.

13. *praeceptor*: in oratory. Ovid addressed the *Pontic Ep.* ii, 5, to Salanus.

§ 48. 18. *Hortensius*: the celebrated orator and art amateur, repeatedly mentioned by Pliny, viii, 211; ix, 170; xxxv, 130, &c.

21. *sphingem*: according to Plut. *Apophthegm. Rom. Cic.* ii. it was silver, but according to the same author, *Cic. vii*, 2, it was of ivory. See *Addenda*.

22. *de qua dicemus*: below, § 82.

C. Cestius consularis signum, quod secum etiam in proelio habuit. Alexandri quoque Magni tabernaculum sustinere traduntur solitae statuae, ex quibus duae ante Martis Ultoris aedem dicatae sunt, totidem ante regiam.

49 Minoribus simulacris signisque innumera prope artificum 5
multitudo nobilitata est, ante omnis tamen Phidias Atheniensis Iove Olympio facto ex ebore quidem et auro, sed et ex aere signa fecit. floruit autem olympiade LXXXIII, circiter CCC urbis nostrae annum, quo eodem tempore aemuli eius fuere Alcamenes, Critias, Nesiotes, Hegias, et deinde 10
olympiade LXXXVII Hagelades, Callon, Gorgias Lacon, rursus LXXXX Polyclitus, Phradmon, Myron, Pythagoras, 50
Scopas, Perellus. ex his Polyclitus discipulos habuit

7. Olympiae omnes praeter Bamb., Detlefsen.

1. C. Cestius. Tac. *Hist.* v, 10.

consularis signum: where Fröhner (*Rhein. Mus.*, 1892, p. 292) proposes *consularis* <*laris*> *signum*. But Pliny is concerned merely with proving what store was laid by Corinthian bronzes, and not with their subjects. If he specifies Nero's Amazon, it is only because it had become a familiar object.

2. tabernaculum: Pliny has here misunderstood the Greek word *σκηπή* = tent or canopy. The description in the original can only have been of the golden Nikai, which according to Diodoros (xviii, 26) supported at each of its corners the canopy of the chariot upon which Alexander's corpse was borne to Alexandria; Urlichs, *Chrest.* p. 314.

3. Martis Ultoris: in the forum of Augustus, dedicated B.C. 2. *Mon. Anc.* (iv) xxi, 21-22; Mommsen, *Res Gestae*, p. 88.

4. regiam: close to the temple of Vesta.

§ 49. 5. Minoribus, i.e. *colossis supradictis*.

7. Iove Olympio, § 54; xxxvi, 18.

8. floruit = *ἤμαρτε*.

olymp. LXXXIII: probably date of commencement of Parthenon. Then about Pheidias as representative are grouped—failing more precise historical information—other artists connected with the restoration of Athens after the Persian wars and its subsequent embellishment. The group of the Tyrant-slayers, made by Kritios and Nesiotes (archonship of Adeimantos B.C. 477, *Marm. Par.*), replaced the older group by Antenor, which had been carried away by Xerxes (§ 70). Hegias appears as contemporary of K. and N. (cf. Lucian, *Rhet. Praec.* 9); Alkamenes worked chiefly for Athens (*Schriftquell.* 812-822). The following groups likewise, when they can be determined at all, seem the result of similar uncritical combinations. As a rule the given Olympiad strictly refers only to the first artist in each group.

circiter: i. e. more accurately, 306.

9. aemuli: the epithet is applied quite loosely, and means little more than 'of rival merit': so in xxxvi, 30, the fellow-workers of Scopas on the Mausoleion are called his *aemuli*; in

which will be mentioned later on, and a little earlier Gaius Sestius, a consular, had a statue which he even took into battle. It is said too that the tent of Alexander the Great was always supported by statues, of which two have been dedicated in front of the temple of Mars the Avenger, and two in front of the Regia.

*Tent of
Alexander.*

The number of artists whose reputation rests on images and statues of smaller size can hardly be counted. *Pheidias* of Athens, however, stands first of all with his Olympian Zeus. This was of ivory and gold, but he also worked in bronze. He flourished in the eighty-third Olympiad [448-445 B.C.], about three hundred years after the foundation of Rome. Of the same date were his rivals, *Alkamenes*, *Kritios*, *Nesiotes*, and *Hegias*. In the eighty-seventh Olympiad [432-429 B.C.] came *Hagelaidas*, *Kallon* and the Laconian *Gorgias*, and in the ninetieth [420-417 B.C.] *Polykleitos*, *Phradmon*, *Myron*, *Pythagoras*, *Skopas*, †*Perellos*.

*Chronology
of the
principal
artists.*

xxxv, 64, illustrious contemporaries of Zeuxis figure as his *aequales et aemuli*; cf. also xxxv, 124.

11. *Hagelades*: a contemporary of the Elder Kanachos; flourished circ. B. C. 515-485, Robert, *Arch. Märch.* pp. 39, 93. He is placed in Ol. 87, because his Herakles, 'Αλεξικακος (in Melite, Schol. Aristoph. Βάρραχοι, 504), like the Apollo Alexikakos of Kalamis, Paus. i, 3, 4 (cf. Brunn, *K. G.* i, p. 126), was connected in the popular imagination with the staying of the great Plague in the third year of the Peloponnesian war—the association arising of course from the epithet (Brunn, i, p. 68). The real occasion for the dedication of the Herakles remains obscure; cf. Robert, *loc. cit.*; Studniczka, *Röm. Mitth.* ii, 1887, p. 99, note 27; Wolters, *Ath. Mitth.* xvi, 1891, p. 160. The mention of Hagelaidas brings with it that of his contemporaries, Gorgias and Kallon. See Addenda.

Kallon: it is uncertain whether the Eleian Kallon (Paus. v, 25, 4; 27, 8 = *I. G. B.* 33), or his more celebrated Aiginetan namesake (*I. G. B.* 27; Paus. ii, 32, 5; iii, 18, 8).

Gorgias: *I. G. B.* 36 = *C. I. A.* iv, 373 (214).

12. *Polyclitus*: § 55, possibly dated by the gold and ivory Hera, which he made for the new Heraion at Argos, after the fire of B. C. 424. Together with Polykleitos are grouped, besides Phradmon (probably a real contemporary, Paus. vi, 8, 1, below, § 53), Myron and Pythagoras, for no other reason, I imagine, than that, all three masters being celebrated for their statues of athletes, they fitted in better with him than with any other fifth-century artist for whom a date could be found. As a fact the best activity of Myron falls within the first half of the century (Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 182), while Pythagoras, as we know from his statues of athletes whose victories ranged from B. C. 488-480, was considerably the older artist.

13. *Skopas*: he appears here by a singular anachronism: in xxxvi, 30, he is correctly dated from the Mansoleion at Halikarnassos. The error is however insufficient reason for assuming (with Klein and Robert cf. *Arch. Märchen*, p. 46) an elder Skopas.

Argium, Asopodorum, Alexim, Aristidem, Phrynonem, Dinonem, Athenodorum, Demean Clitorium, Myron Lycium. LXXXXV olympiade florere Naucydes, Dinomenes, Canachus, Patroclus, centesima secunda Polycles, Cephisodotus, Leuchares, Hypatodorus, CIII Praxiteles, Eu-
51 phranor, centesima septima Aetion, Therimachus. CXIII Lysippus fuit, cum et Alexander Magnus, item Lysistratus frater eius, Sthenis, Euphron, Sofocles, Sostratus, Ion,

1. Argium Asopodorum *Dettefsen*. Phrynonem Dinonem omnes *praeter Bamb.*, [Dinonem] *Dettefsen*. 8. Sofocles] *coni. Loewy in Inscr. Gr. Bildh.* 103^a p. 384; fucles *Ricc.*, *Voss.*; Eucles *Jan, Dettefsen*.

§ 50. 1. **Asopodorum**: a later artist than the Asopodores who worked on the bathron of Praxiteles of Kamarina at Olympia (*J.G.B.* 30). See Add.

Alexim: if identical with the father of Kantharos of Sikyon in § 85 (the pupil of Eutyichides; Paus. vi, 3, 6), he must have been a pupil of Polykleitos II. His insertion here would be due to an error of Pliny.

2. **Athenodorum, Demean**: mentioned together, Paus. x, 9, 7, as employed on the Lakedaimonian votive offering set up at Delphoi in commemoration of Aigospotamoi (B. C. 405).

Lycium: as his father appears in the same Olympiad with Polykleitos, he is placed in the Ol. of the sons of Polykleitos; but he was already a flourishing artist in B. C. 446, if Lolling (*Δελτιον*, 1889, p. 181 ff.) is right in referring the statues of horsemen (Paus. i, 22, 4), on whose basis his signature occurs, to the expedition of Perikles to Euboa.

3. **Naucydes**: § 80, son of Patrokles (*J. G. B.* 86), and brother of Daidalos of Sikyon, Paus. vi, 34; *J. G. B.* 88-89. On his relation to the older Polykleitos, next to whose statue of Hera at Argos had stood a Hebe by Naukydes, Paus. ii.^o 17, 4 (the two statues on coins of Argos, P. Gardner, *Num. Comm.* I, xv), see Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 226, and cf. Robert, *Arch. Märch.* p. 104 ff.

Dinomenes: below, § 76.

4. **Canachus**, i. e. the younger: a Sikyonian and a pupil of Polykleitos (Paus. vi, 13, 7). His chronology, like that of Patrokles, is determined by the fact that he worked on the votive offering of Aigospotamoi (Paus. x, 9, 7).

Polycles: § 80.

Cephisodotus: father of Praxiteles? (Brunn, *K. G.* i. p. 269) or elder brother? (Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 295). His chronology seems determined by his Eirene holding the infant Ploutos, which should probably be dated shortly after B. C. 375 'to correspond with the institution of the annual offering to Eirene consequent on the victories of Timotheus' (Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*).

5. **Leuchares** = Leochares. Cf. Leutyichides = Leotyichides in Herodotos. For his works, see below, 79 and xxxvi, 30. The extant dates for his activity are comprised between (a) a period previous to the banishment of Timotheus in B. C. 355, for whom he made a statue of Isokrates (Heliodoros *ap. Ps. Plut. Vita X Orat. Isocr.* 27), and (b) the year in the reign of Alexander, when, in conjunction with Lysippos, he made Alexander's Lion Hunt (below on § 64).

Hypatodorus: he is possibly identical with the H. who, in conjunction with another artist Sostratos,

The following were pupils of Polykleitos, *Argeios*, *Asopodoros*, 50 *Alexis*, *Aristeides*, †*Phrynon*, †*Deinon*, *Athenodoros*, and *Demeas* of Kleitor. Myron was the master of *Lykios*. In the ninety-fifth Olympiad [400–397 B.C.] *Naukydes* flourished, with *Deinomenes*, *Kanachos*, and *Patroklos*; in the hundred and second [372–369 B.C.], *Polykles*, *Kephisodotos*, *Leuchares*, *Hypatodoros*; in the hundred and fourth [364–361 B.C.], *Praxiteles* and *Euphranor*; in the hundred and seventh [352–349 B.C.], *Action* and †*Therimachos*. *Lysippos* lived in the hundred and thirteenth [328–325 B.C.], in 51 the days of Alexander the Great; so also did his brother *Lysistratos*, as well as *Sthenis*, †*Euphron*, *Sophokles*, *Sostratos*, †*Ion*,

made for the Arkadian Aliphera (previous to B.C. 372, see Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 295) a bronze Athena, Paus. viii, 26, 5; Polyb. iv, 78. He must however be a distinct personality from the Hypatodoros who, with his colleague Aristogeiton, made for a certain Orchomenian the monument of which the inscribed basis is still extant (*I. G. B.* 101). The archaic style of the epigraphy (Kirchhoff, *Studien*, 4th ed., p. 142, note 1) compels us to follow Robert (*Hermes*, xxv, 1890, p. 412 ff., and *Hall. Winckelmannspr.* xviii, 1895, p. 4 ff.) in referring the artists to the early part of the fifth century. To this date accordingly we must also refer their group set up at Delphoi by the Argives, whatever view we may take of the date of the Attico-Argive victory at Oinoë which the group commemorated, or was supposed to commemorate Paus. x, 10, 3 (see especially Robert, *ll. cc.*, and Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 41).

Praxiteles: dated with reference to his activity in Mantinea (Paus. viii, 9, 1), the third year of Ol. 104 (B. C. 462) being the date of the great battle (Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 21).

Euphranor: although he appears here as a sculptor (§ 77), the clue to his date is afforded by his painting, in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios at Athens (Pans. i. 3, 4), of the cavalry engagement that preceded the battle

of Mantinea (*equestre proelium*, xxxv, 129).

6. **Action, Ther.**: Action being only known as a painter (xxxv, 78), and Therimachos being unknown except for this passage and xxxv, 78, it is reasonable to suppose with Furtwängler (*loc. cit.*) that the whole passage, *centesima . . . Therimachus*, has been interpolated from xxxv, 78.

§ 51. 7. **Lysippus**: his ἀρχή is determined by the central Olympiad of the reign of Alexander. (Loewy, *Untersuch.* p. 64.)

Lysistratus, xxxv, 153.

8. **Sthenis** of Olynthos, *inf.* § 90. From *I. G. B.* 83 we learn that he was a fellow-worker of Leochares; and from *I. G. B.* 103^a (cf. on *I. G. B.* 541, p. 370) that he was still active in the reign of Lysimachos (B. C. 306–281).

Sofocles: Loewy's reading is made practically certain by Bulle's observation (*Olympia*, Bd. ii, p. 156) that the bases from the statues of riders by Sophokles at Olympia (*I. G. B.* 123–125) closely resemble, in form and profile, the basis (*I. G. B.* 103^a) of Sthenis from the Amphiarion at Oropos. This near connexion of the two artists explains the place assigned to them in the Plinian chronology.

Sostratus: probably identical with the Sostratos, son of Euphranor, *I. G. B.* 105.

Silanion—in hoc mirabile quod nullo doctore nobilis fuit, ipse discipulum habuit Zeuxiaden—CXXI Eutyichides, Euthycrates, Laippus, Cephisodotus, Timarchus, Pyromachus. 52 cessavit deinde ars, ac rursus olympiade CLVI revixit, cum fuere longe quidem infra praedictos, probati tamen, Antaeus, 5 Callistratus, Polycles Athenaeus, Callixenus, Pythocles, 53 Pythias, Timocles. ita distinctis celeberrimorum aetatibus insignes raptim transcurram reliqua multitudine passim dispersa. venere autem et in certamen laudatissimi, quamquam diversis aetatibus geniti, quoniam fecerant Amazonas, 10 quae cum in templo Dianae Ephesiae dicarentur, placuit eligi probatissimam ipsorum artificum qui praesentes erant iudicio, cum apparuit eam esse quam omnes secundam a sua quisque iudicassent. haec est Polycliti, proxima ab ea Phidiae, 54 tertia Cresilae, quarta Cydonis, quinta Phradmonis. Phidias 15

1. Silanion: from Paus. vi, 4, 5 we learn that he made a statue of Satyros of Elis, who appears as winner of a double victory in a catalogue of the Amphiaraiia (*C. I. G. S.* 414). According to a conjecture of J. Delamarre (*Rev. de Phil.* xviii, p. 162 sqq.) this catalogue belongs to the same period as *C. I. G. S.* 4253 (under archonship of Niketas B. C. 332-1), and *C. I. G. S.* 4254 (archonship of Kephsophon B. C. 329-8). It would thus appear that the date assigned by Pliny to Seilanion is correct. For his works, cf. below, § 81. See Addenda.

nullo doctore, i. e. his school diadochy had been lost; cf. the similar case of Lysippos. *Introd.* p. xlvi ff.

2. Zeuxiaden: known from one of the Mattei inscriptions (*I. G. B.* 483-485) as sculptor of a statue of Hypereides (d. B. C. 322). See Addenda.

Eutyichides: below, § 78; xxxv, 141. The date assigned to him by Pliny coincides approximately with the restoration of Antiocheia by Seleukos, Ol. 119, 3 = B. C. 302. For the new city E. made an allegorical figure of Tyche supported on the river-god Orontes—a work of which a copy has

survived in the exquisite statue in the Vatican, Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 376.

3. Euthycrates: § 66. *Laippus* (*ibid.*) = the Daippos of Paus. vi, 12, 6; 16, 5. The name is correctly given below, § 87. Either Pliny in transcribing from the Greek mistook Δ for Λ, or he is quoting from a Latin author who had already been guilty of the blunder.

Cephisodotus, Timarchus: sons of Praxiteles, *Vit. X Orat. Lykurg.* 38. The fact that they made a statue of Menander (Paus. i, 21, 1, *I. G. B.* 108 = *C. I. A.* ii. 1370), who died B. C. 291, shows that they were older than the sons of Lysippos. After the great masters, their pupils are lumped together without any strict chronological order (cf. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 309).

Pyromachus: there appear to have been several artists of that name, see below on § 80, § 84; xxxv, 146.

§ 52. 4. cessavit deinde ars: marks the end, not of a period of art, but of Pliny's main Greek authority (cf. the similar break in the account of the Painters, xxxv, 135), Brunn, *K. G.* i, p. 504 f. Between B. C. 296

and *Seilanion*. It is remarkable that *Seilanion* owed nothing to the instruction of any master; his own pupil was *Zeuxiades*. In the hundred and twenty-first Olympiad [B. C. 296-293] came *Eutychides*, *Euthykrates*, *Laippos*, *Kephisodotos*, *Timarchos*, and *Pyromachos*. A period of stagnation followed, and again a revival ⁵² in the hundred and fifty-sixth Olympiad [B. C. 156-153], the age of †*Antaios*, *Kallistratos*, *Polykles* of Athens, †*Kallixenos*, †*Pythokles*, †*Pythias* and *Timokles*, artists of merit, but still far below those already mentioned.

Having given the dates of the most celebrated artists, I shall ⁵³ touch briefly on the great names, and group the others under various heads. The most famous artists, although born at some distance of time from each other, still came into competition, since each had made a statue of an Amazon, to be dedicated in the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, when it was decided that the prize should be awarded to the one which the artists themselves, who were on the spot, declared to be the best. This proved to be the statue which each artist placed second to his own, namely that of Polykleitos; the statue of Pheidias was second, that of Kresilas third, Kydon's fourth, and Phradmon's fifth.

The five most famous make Amazons for a competition.

Besides his Olympian Zeus, a work which has no rival, Pheidias ⁵⁴

and the 'revival' in B. C. 156 came the great school of Pergamon, which Pliny omits in his chronological table, but which he mentions below, § 84. The *revixit* in B. C. 156 appears connected with the family of Polykles, father of Timokles and Timarchides (below, § 92; xxxvi, 35), and grandfather of Polykles II and of Dionysios, who made the statues for the temples of Juno and Jupiter erected by Q. Metellus Macedonicus, B. C. 149, cf. Gurliit, *Pausanias*, p. 361 ff.; Loewy, *I. G. B.* p. 177.

6. *Callistratus*: perhaps identical with the artist mentioned, Tatian p. 36, 14, ed. Schwartz (Brunn, *K. G.* i, p. 535).

§ 53. 9. *quamquam . . . geniti*: by which Pliny attempts to reconcile his chronology (where Polykleitos is placed twenty-eight years after Pheidias) with the story of the competition.

10. *Amazonas*: since four Amazon

types, distinct in conception, but with external resemblances of type and dress have been identified (Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 128 ff.), the story of the competition contains a kernel of truth. Two of the extant statuary types can be traced back to Kresilas and Polykleitos respectively.

11. *placuit . . . iudicassent*: we have here in another garb the identical anecdote told by Herodotos, viii, 123, Plut. *Themist.* xvii, of the allotting of the prize of valour after Salamis.

15. *Cresilae . . . Cydonis*. In three out of the four extant inscriptions of his name, Kresilas calls himself *Kυδωνιάρης* (*I. G. B.* 45-47; for the inscription recently found at Delphoi cf. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 116); it is evident that Pliny's Latin author in transcribing from the Greek forged out of a form *Kύδων*, the name of a fifth artist (cf. O. Jahn, *Sächs. Ber.* 1850, p. 37).

praeter Iovem Olympium quem nemo aemulatur fecit ex ebore aequae Minervam Athenis, quae est in Parthenone stans, ex aere vero praeter Amazonem supra dictam Minervam tam eximiae pulchritudinis ut formae cognomen acceperit. fecit et cliduchum et aliam Minervam quam Romae Paulus 5 Aemilius ad aedem Fortunae Huiusce Diei dicavit, item duo signa quae Catulus in eadem aede palliata et alterum colossicon nudum, primusque artem toreuticen aperuisse 55 atque demonstrasse merito iudicatur. Polyclitus Sicyonius Hageladae discipulus diadumenum fecit molliter 10 iuvenem centum talentis nobilitatum, idem et doryphorum viriliter puerum. fecit et quem canona artifices vocant linamenta artis ex eo petentes veluti a lege quadam, solusque hominum artem ipsam fecisse artis opere iudicatur. fecit

§ 54. 1. Iovem Olympium: xxxvi, 18, where the gold-ivory *Minerva* is also described.

3. *Minervam . . . pulchr.*: i. e. the bronze Athena surnamed the 'Lemnia,' Paus. i, 28, 2; Lucian, *εἰκόβες* 4; for extant copies of the statue, Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 4 ff.; see Add.

5. *cliduchum*: votive portrait statue of a priestess, same subject by Euphranor, below § 78. See Add.

P. Aemilius: probably on the occasion of his triumph after Pydna (B. C. 168). For the magnificent statues and works of art which he brought from Macedonia see Liv. xlv, 33; they filled 250 chariots which graced his triumph. Plut. *Aem. Paull.* 32; cf. Vell. Pater. i, 9.

6. *Fortunae Huiusce Diei*: on the Palatine where was a *Vicus huiusce diei* (Gilbert, iii, p. 422); there was another temple of *Fortuna H. D. in campo* (see R. Peter *ap. Roscher*, i, 1514. *C. I. L.* i, p. 298 f.).

7. *Catulus*: i. e. the Elder, who on the day of the battle against the Cimbri *εἰξάτο . . . ἀνασχῶν τὰς χεῖρας καθιερῶσαι τὴν τύχην ἡμέρας ἐκείνης*. Plut. *Marius*, 26; Plin. xvii, 2. Whence Catulus obtained these Pheidian works

remains uncertain. Cf. Urlichs, *Gr. Statuen in Rep. Rom.*, p. 9 f.

palliata: i. e. portraits (cf. the *palliati*, xxxv, 136), while the *colossus nudus* presumably represented a hero or local god; cf. H. L. Urlichs in *Woch. f. Klass. Philol.* 1894, 488.

alterum: the *duo palliata* are to be considered as one group, in apposition to *alterum*, by an extension of the construction of xix, 34; xxi, 128; xx, 9; xxxv, 71. H. L. Urlichs *loc. cit.* See Addenda to p. 38, 5.

8. *primusque aperuisse*: this criticism forms, together with the similar criticisms attached to Myron, Polykleitos, Pythagoras and Lysippos, a consecutive *canon* or series of axioms intended to link with definite great names the successive steps in the development of bronze-casting. After Pheidias, the reputed discoverer of the possibilities of the art, each artist is appraised in his relation to symmetry, the highest award falling to Lysippos, Otto Jahn, *Kunsturtheile des Pl.* p. 128 ff.; C. Robert, *Arch. Märch.* p. 28 ff. For the author of the verdicts cf. below on § 56. *Introd.* p. xvi ff.

toreuticen; a term applied by Pliny to the whole of statuary as opposed to *pictura* (cf. xxxv, 77),

made in ivory the Athena at Athens, which stands erect in the Parthenon. In bronze, besides the Amazon already mentioned, he made an Athena of such passing beauty that she was sur-named the Fair. He also made a Key-Bearer, or κλειδοῦχος, another Athena which Aemilius Paullus dedicated at Rome in front of the temple of the Fortune of the Day, two draped statues dedicated by Catulus in the same temple, and a nude colossal statue. He is rightly held to have first revealed the capabilities of sculpture and indicated its methods.

Polykleitos of Sikyon was a pupil of Hagelaidas. He made an athlete binding the diadem about his head, which was famous for the sum of one hundred talents [£21,000 circ.] which it realized. This διαδούμενος has been described as 'a man, yet a boy': the δορυφόρος or spear-bearer as 'a boy, yet a man.' He also made the statue which sculptors call the 'canon,' referring to it as to a standard from which they can learn the first rules of their art. He is the only man who is held to have embodied the principles of his art in a single work. He also made

while *Statuaria ars* is, according to Latin usage, reserved for bronze statuary; cf. § 35; § 65; xxxv, 156; xxxvi, 15, 37.

§ 55. 9. Sicyonius: by Plato (*Protag.* p. 311 C) Pol. is called Ἀργεῖος; cf. also *I. G. B.* 91; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 255 ff. It is natural that a confusion as to the exact place of his birth should have arisen, as his family appear to have migrated from Argos to Sikyon (*I. G. B.* 89).

10. Hag. discipulus: this is chronologically impossible—the activity of Hagelaidas reaching back as far as Ol. 65 = B. C. 520, that of Polykleitos as low down as Ol. 90 = B. C. 420 (above, § 49), Robert, *Arch. Märchen*, p. 92 ff. By a loose juxtaposition the greatest Argive master in the fifth century is made into the pupil of the greatest Argive master in the sixth.

diadumenum . . . puerum: the neat antithesis points to an epigram as the source of this statement; Dillthey, *Rhein. Mus.* xxvi, p. 290.

The Doryphoros represented an athlete carrying his palæstric javelin. The most complete copy of the Diadoumenos is the Vaison statue (*Br. Mus. Cat.* i, 500); of the Doryphoros the statue in Naples (Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i, pl. xii). See Addenda.

11. centum talentis; cf. vii, 126, where the same price is paid by Attalos for a picture by Aristeides of Thebes. Introd. p. lxxxiv.

12. et quem canona: the 'canon' was, however, identical with the Doryphoros (see the passages *Schrift-quell.* 953 ff.). It erroneously appears here as a separate statue, the comment on the Doryphoros *qua* canon being, as Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 229, note 4, detected, taken from a different source to what precedes; cf. Münzer, *Hermes*, xxx, 1895, p. 530, note 1.

14. artem ipsam fecisse: apparently an allusion to the treatise on art by Polykleitos, called the *Canon*. What Pliny states in epigrammatic form is told more plainly by Galenos περὶ τῶν Ἴπποκρ.

Artists of
first rank.
Pheidias.

55
Polykleitos
of Sikyon.

et destringentem se et nudum telo incessentem duosque pueros item nudos talis ludentes qui vocantur astragalizontes et sunt in Titi imperatoris atrio—hoc opere nullum absolutius plerique iudicant—item Mercurium qui fuit Lysimacheae, Herculem qui Romae, hagereta arma sumentem, Artemona qui periphoretos appellatus est. hic consummasse hanc scientiam iudicatur et toreuticen sic erudisse ut Phidias aperuisse. proprium eius est uno crure ut insisterent signa excogitasse, quadrata tamen esse ea ait Varro et paene ad unum exemplum. Myronem Eleutheris natum Hageladae et ipsum discipulum bucula maxime nobilitavit celebratis versibus laudata, quando alieno plerique ingenio magis quam suo commendantur. fecit et canem et discobolon et Perseum

1. telo] *Benndorf in Gesammelte Stud. zur Kunstgesch. Festschr. für A. Springer, 1885, pag. 260; talo codd. Dellefsen.* 3. vide Addenda.

καὶ Πλατ. δογμ. 5: ἔργῳ τὸν λόγον ἐκβεβαίωσε, δημιουργήσας ἀνδριάντα κατὰ τὰ τοῦ λόγου προστάγματα καὶ καλέσας δὴ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀνδριάντα καθάπερ καὶ τὸ σύγγραμμα, κανόνα; cf. xxxv, 74 (Timanthes) *pinxit et heroa . . . artem ipsam complexus viros pingendi.* Introd. p. xli.

1. destringentem se: i. e. an ἀποξυόμενος.

telo incessentem: Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 249) compares Ovid, *Metam.* 14, 402 *saevisque parant incessere telis.* See also Woelfflin, in *Archiv für Lat. Lexicogr.* ix, 1894, p. 119 ff. Addenda.

2. astragalizontes: [possibly for a votive or grave monument, *Woch. f. Klass. Phil.* 1895, 548. For a kindred subject on a Roman sarkophagos, see Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 97.—H. L. U.] See Add. to p. 42, 5.

3. et sunt . . . atrio: this addition concerning the Roman locality of the *astragalizontes* is loosely co-ordinated to the main account; cf. Oehmichen, *Plin. Studien*, p. 119. Introd. p. xxxvii.

§ 56. 4. fuit: before the destruction of Lysimachea by the Thracians in Ol. 145, 4 = B.C. 197 (Liv. xxxiii, 38, 11).

Lysimacheae: built B.C. 309 by

Lysimachos in the Thracian Chersonnese. Where the statue had previously stood is not known.

5. hagereta: the Doric form points to a metrical epigram which was doubtless inscribed on the basis of the statue; cf. H. L. Ulrichs in *Woch. f. Klass. Phil.* 1894, p. 1299 ff.

6. Artemona: according to Ephoros (*ap. Plut. Per.* 27), A. was an engineer who directed the blockading works during the siege of Samos by Perikles. Owing to his lameness, he was carried about in a litter, whence he received the surname Periphoretos. Plutarch adds, however, that the story was confuted by Herakleides of Pontos, who showed from Anakreon (cf. Bergk, *Poetae Lyr.* iii, p. 261, Fr. 21-46, where see note), that Art. Periphoretos lived long before the Samian war. It is evident that there was *contaminatio* between the two namesakes, the engineer becoming credited with the surname of the notorious voluptuary, while the story of the lameness was invented to account for it. Addenda.

7. hanc scientiam: harks back to § 54 *Phidias . . . primus artem toreuticem aperuisse.*

an athlete scraping himself, a nude figure advancing with a weapon, and two boys, also nude, playing with knucklebones, who are known as the ἀστραγαλίζοντες [dice-players], and are now in the Hall of the Emperor Titus. Many people think that the faultless execution of this work has never been surpassed. Other works of his are 56 a Hermes, which was at Lysimacheia; a Herakles at Rome; a captain or ἀγητῆρ putting on his armour; and finally a portrait of Artemon, known by the name of περιφόρητος or 'Man in the litter.' He is considered to have brought the scientific knowledge of statuary to perfection, and to have systematized the art of which Pheidias had revealed the possibilities. It was his peculiar characteristic to represent his figures resting their weight on one leg; Varro however says that they are square and almost exactly after the same type.

Myron was born at Eleutherai, and was also a pupil of 57 Hagelaidas. He is best known by his heifer, thanks to the well-known verses written upon it, for people very generally owe their reputation to the talent of others, rather than their own. He also made a dog, and a δισκοβόλος, or athlete hurling the disk, a Perseus, sawyers, a Satyr gazing with wonder at the

*Myron of
Eleutherai.*

8. uno crure ut insisterent: implies a shifting of the weight from one leg to the other in the act of walking, and therefore accurately describes the favourite Polykleitan attitude of 'arrested motion.' Had the figure been represented at rest with its whole weight on one leg, the expression used must have been *uni cruri insist.*, Michaelis, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1878, p. 29 (cf. J. Lange, *Fremstilling*, p. 466).

9. quadrata . . . ait Varro: the mention of Varro shows that the criticism of Polykleitos and consequently the kindred criticisms of the remaining four artists were derived from him, though Varro himself was of course drawing directly or indirectly from a Greek author, whom we now know to have been Xenokrates of Sikyon (§ 83), *Introd.* p. xvi ff.

quadrata = τετράγωνα, cf. Plato, *Protag.* 344 a.

§ 57. 10. Myronem . . . Hage-

ladæ: the pupilship can neither be proved nor disproved; possibly, however, the tradition only arose from a general likeness between the early works of Myron and those of Hagelaidas. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 196. *Introd.* p. li, note 6.

Eleutheris: on the frontier between Boeotia and Attica (cf. *I. G. B.* 417).

11. bucula: the heifer (doubtless a votive offering) had originally stood in Athens, *Cic. Verr.* II, iv, 60, § 135. Later it was transferred to Rome, where Prokopios (*Bell. Goth.* iv, 21) saw it in the *Forum Pacis*.—No less than thirty-eight of the epigrams alluded to are extant (collected in Overbeck, *Schriftquell.* 550–588).

13. canem: votive-offering, cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi, 175; 176. The list of works down to *Delph. pentathlon* is alphabetic (Petersen, *A. Z.* xxxviii, 1880, p. 25).

discobolon: the best copy is

et pristas et Satyrum admirantem tibus et Minervam, Delphicos pentathlos, pancratiastas, Herculem qui est apud circum maximum in aede Pompei Magni. fecisse et cicadae monumentum ac locustae carminibus suis Erinna significat. 58 fecit et Apollinem quem ab triumviro Antonio sublatum 5 restituit Ephesiis divus Augustus admonitus in quiete. primus hic multiplicasse veritatem videtur, numerosior in arte quam Polyclitus et in symmetria diligentior, et ipse tamen corporum tenuis curiosus animi sensus non expressisse, capillum quoque et pubem non emendatius fecisse quam 10 59 rudis antiquitas instituisset. vicit eum Pythagoras Reginus ex Italia pancratiaste Delphis posito; eodem vicit et Leontiscum; fecit et stadiodromon Astylon qui Olympiae ostenditur et Libyn, puerum tenentem tabellam eodem loco et mala ferentem nudum, Syracusis autem claudicantem, 15

14. loco, et *Detlefsen*.

in Palazzo Lancellotti (Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i, pl. xi).

Perseum: presumably identical with the Perseus by Myron on the Akropolis (Pans. i, 23, 7).

1. **pristas**: Dalecampius was the first to give the true meaning of the word; Furtwängler, *Dornauszieher*, p. 89, note 30, correctly explained the curious subject as a votive offering; cf. H. L. Ulrichs in *Woch. f. Klass. Phil.* 1893, p. 220 f. See Addenda.

Satyrum . . . et Minervam = Pans. i, 24, 1; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i, p. 465 f. Petersen, *loc. cit.*, showed that the two must be considered as one group owing to the alphabetical enumeration noted above.

3. **in aede Pompei Magni**: this new temple of H. was presumably near to the *ara maxima* in the *foro boario*, the chief centre of the hero's worship (Gilbert iii, p. 434; cf. H. Peter *op. cit.* Roscher i, 2918; cf. above on § 33; xxxv, 19). Pompeius had probably dedicated it on the occasion of his last triumph in B.C. 61, and brought the Herakles from Asia Minor (cf. Ulrichs, *Chrest.* p. 139).

Vitr. 3, 2, 5: *aedes . . . Herculis Pompeiani*.

4. **Erinna**: Hardonin (1685) had already detected that this ridiculous statement arose from a confusion between *Μυρών* and the maiden *Μυρώ*, for whom the poetess Erinna must have written an elegy similar to the extant one by Anyte (*Anth.* vii, 190).

'Ακρίδι τῆ κατ' ἄρουραν ἀηδόνι καὶ ἄρνοκοίτῃ
τέττιγι ξυδὸν τύμβον ἔτευξα Μυρώ.

§ 58. 5. **sublatum restituit**: cf. *Mon. Anc.* (xxiv) iv, 49-51: *In templis omnium civitatum provinciae Asiae victor ornamenta reposui, quae spoliatis templis is cum quo bellum gesseram privatim possederat*. Mommsen, *Res Gestae*, p. 95 f. Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 545, suspects the Ephesian story of being a *doublette* of Augustus' restoration of Myronian works to Samos, recounted Strabo xiv, 1, 14.

7. **multiplicasse veritatem**: explained by Brunn (*K. G.* i, p. 151) to mean that Myron 'widened the range of representation in art, inasmuch as he laid hold on moments disclosed by attentive observation of nature, but not

pipes and Athena, winners in the five contests at Delphoi, pankratiasts, and the Herakles which is near the great Circus in the temple of the great Pompeius. A poem by Erinna also tells us that he made the monument of a cicada and a locust; he also 58 made the Apollo which was taken from the Ephesians by the triumvir Antonius, and restored to them by the god Augustus, in obedience to a dream. He was apparently the first to multiply truth; he was more productive than Polykleitos, and a more diligent observer of symmetry. Still he too only cared for the physical form, and did not express the sensations of the mind, and his treatment of the hair of the head and of the pubes continued to betray an archaic want of skill.

Pythagoras of Rhegion in Italy surpassed Myron with the 59 pankratiast placed at Delphoi; with the same statue he also surpassed Leontiskos. He further made the statues of the runner Astylos and of a Libyan, which are to be seen at Olympia; for the same place he made the boy holding a tablet, and a nude male figure bearing apples. At Syracuse is a statue by him of a man

*Pythagoras
of Rhegion.*

utilized before.' A striking example of course is the Diskobolos, represented in the act of hurling the disk.

numerosior: cf. xxxv, 130, *diligentior quam numerosior*; ibid. § 138 *numerosaque tabula* [numerosus in Pliny always of number; cf. vii, 101, 143; x, 176 *numerosiora in fetu*; xv, 8, and often.—H. L. U.]

9. *animi sensus*: the translation given above is from Pater, *Greek Studies*, p. 301.

§ 59. 12. *eodem . . . Leontiscum*: Leontiskos was a winner both in the Pythian and Olympic games, whose portrait was made by Pythagoras (Paus. vi, 4, 3). He figures here as an artist, doubtless through misunderstanding of some Greek sentence such as *ἐνίκη καὶ τοῦτον ποιῶν καὶ Λεοντίσκον*, i. e. 'he conquered, both when he made the pankratiast and when he made the Leontiskos' (Urlichs, *Rhein. Mus.* 1889, p. 261).

13. *Astylos*: Paus. vi, 13, 1.

qui Olympiae ostenditur: belongs to *Libyn* as well as to

Astylos. In the following sentence, likewise, *eodem loco* belongs to both *puerum* and *mala ferentem nudum*; cf. the analogous construction in xxxiii, 5 *murrina ex eadem tellure et crystallina effodimus*. (H. L. Urlichs in *Görlitz. Verhandl.* p. 330.)

14. *Libyn*, i. e. Mnaseas of Kyrene. Paus. vi, 13, 7; 18, 1.

puerum . . . tabellam: probably an iconic *πυλάκιον*, Reisch, *Weihgeschenke*, p. 44. The statue may be identical with that of the boy victor Protolaos, Paus. vi, 6, 1; cf. H. L. Urlichs, *loc. cit.* See Addenda.

15. *mala ferentem*: cf. the statue of Theognetos, who carried *πίτυος τῆς γ' ἡμέρου καὶ βοιάς καρπὸν*, Paus. vi, 9, 1. Pythagoras's statue of Euthymos (*I. G. B.* 29, Paus. vi, 6, 4-6) is mentioned in Bk. vii, 152.

claudicantem: the identification of this statue with a wounded Philoktetes is due to Gronovius (Blümler, *Comm. to Lessing's Laokoon*, p. 508 f.). The following words *cuius . . . videntur* are evidently epi-

cuius ulceris dolorem sentire etiam spectantes videntur, item Apollinem serpentemque eius sagittis configi, citharoedum, qui Dicaeus appellatus est, quod, cum Thebae ab Alexandro caperentur, aurum a fugiente conditum sinu eius celatum esset. hic primus nervos et venas expressit capillumque
 60 diligentius. fuit et alius Pythagoras Samius, initio pictor, cuius signa ad aedem Fortunae Huiusce Diei septem nuda et senis unum laudata sunt. hic supra dicto facie quoque indiscreta similis fuisse traditur, Regini autem
 61 discipulus et filius sororis fuisse Sostratus. Lysippum 10 Sicyonium Duris negat ullius fuisse discipulum, sed primo aerarium fabrum audendi rationem cepisse pictoris Eupompi responso. eum enim interrogatum, quem sequeretur antecedentium, dixisse monstrata hominum multitudine naturam
 62 ipsam imitandam esse, non artificem. plurima ex omnibus 15 signa fecit, ut diximus, fecundissimae artis, inter quae destringentem se quem M. Agrippa ante Thermas suas dicavit mire gratum Tiberio principi. non quivit temperare sibi in eo, quamquam imperiosus sui inter initia principatus, trans-

grammatic; *Anth. Plan.* iv, 112, of a bronze Philoktetes, seems to refer to the work of Pythagoras, the unusual omission of the name of the hero portrayed accounting for its omission by Pliny (cf. Brunn, *K. G.* i, p. 134).

2. configi: for the construction cf. xxxv, 144 (*pinxit*) *ab Oreste matrem et Aegisthum interfici*.

citharoedum: a Theban poet named Kleon. The inscription on his statue is quoted by Athenaios, i, p. 19 b, who adds the story of the gold on the authority of Polemon; cf. Preger, *Inscriptiones*, 140.

5. hic primus nervos: his relation to *symmetry* is not given by Pliny. It is preserved however, by Diogenes Laërtios viii, 46: οἱ δὲ καὶ . . . ἀνδριαντοποιὸν Ῥηγίνον γεγονέναι φασὶ Πυθ. πρῶτον δοκοῦντα βυθμοῦ καὶ συμμετρίας ἐστοχάζεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλον ἀνδριαντοποιὸν Σάμιον (*Furtwängler, Plinius*, p. 70).

§ 60. 6. fuit et alius: in Paus. vi, 4, 3, Pythagoras is called Ῥηγίνος, and immediately after (vi, 6, 4) he is named as the artist of the statue of Euthymos. Now on the basis of the Euthymos (*I. G. B.* 23). Pythagoras signs himself Σάμιος; it is clear therefore that the *Samius* and the *Rheginus* were one and the same person. He was probably among the Samians who migrated to Italy in Ol. 71 (Herod. vi, 23) and became subjects of Anaxilas of Rhegion (Loewy on *I. G. B.* 23). He evidently signed sometimes with the one sometimes with the other ethnic, a fact which misled some art historian into dividing him into two persons. A critic corrected this blunder and stated his belief that the two were identical, a remark which would afford the clue to Pliny's ridiculous statement about the likeness. It is noteworthy that Diogenes (*loc. cit.*) is likewise guilty of dividing the sculptor into two.

limping, the pain of whose ulcer even the spectators seem to feel. He also made an Apollo piercing a serpent with his arrows, and a man with a cithara, which bears the name of *δικαιος* [the Just], because when Thebes was taken by Alexander, a fugitive concealed some money in its bosom, where it remained safely hidden. He was the first to make the sinews and veins duly prominent, and to bestow greater pains on the hair. A second Pythagoras, 60 a Samian, was a painter in early life. Near the temple of the Fortune of the Day are seven nude figures by him, and an old man, which are praised. According to tradition his personal resemblance to the other Pythagoras was so strong that the two could be mistaken; it was the Rhegine Pythagoras, however, of whom Sostratos was the pupil and nephew.

Duris declares that Lysippos of Sikyon was no man's pupil; 61 that he was originally a coppersmith, and was encouraged to venture on a higher path by the words of Eupompos. That painter when asked which of the earlier artists he followed, pointed to a crowd of people, and replied that nature should be imitated and not any artist. Lysippos produced more works than any 62 other artist, possessing, as I have said, a most prolific genius. Among them is the man scraping himself, which Marcus Agrippa dedicated in front of his baths. In this statue the Emperor Tiberius took a marvellous delight, and though capable of self-

*Lysippos
of Sikyon.*

6. *initio pictor*: so of Pheidias xxxv, 54.

7. *ad aedem Fortunæ H. D.*: above § 54; it seems to have contained a real Museum; the *septem signa* need not have formed a group, but were seven athlete statues, collected together into one place for the first time at Rome. To these was added the portrait of an old man by the same artist (cf. H. L. Ulrichs in *Woch. f. Klass. Phil.* 1894, p. 488, and Sauer, *Anfänge d. Stat. Gruppe*, p. 20, note 73).

8. *facie quoque indiscreta*: cf. the similar expressions above § 38; vii, 53; xxxv, 88 *similitudinibus indiscretas, &c.*

10. *Sostratus*: his identity with Sostratos, sixth in artistic descent from Aristokles of Sikyon (Paus. vi, 9, 3), is quite doubtful. On this

Sostratus see Münzer, *Hermes*, 1895, p. 533.

§ 61. 11. *negatullius fuisse discipulum*: in other words the name of his master was lost, cf. Seilanian above § 51, Protogenes in xxxv, 101.

12. *pictoris Eupompi*: xxxv, 75, among the *aequales et aemuli* of Zeuxis. On chronological grounds there is nothing to prevent Eupompos as an old man from having known the young Lysippos. The anecdote, however, was probably concocted in order to bring into connexion the greatest painter and the greatest sculptor of Sikyon; cf. *Introd.* p. xlvii f.

14. *naturam . . . non artificem*: a hit at the schools which worked according to a fixed *canon*. *Introd.* p. xlviij.

§ 62. 16. *ut diximus*: above, § 37.

17. *thermas*: at the back of the Pantheon. See *Addenda*.

tulitque in cubiculum alio signo substituto, cum quidem tanta populi Romani contumacia fuit ut theatri clamoribus reponi apoxyomenon flagitaverit princepsque quamquam adamatum
 63 reposuerit. nobilitatur Lysippos et temulenta tibicina et canibus ac venatione, in primis vero quadriga cum Sole 5 Rhodiorum. fecit et Alexandrum Magnum multis operibus a pueritia eius orsus. quam statuam inaurari iussit Nero princeps delectatus admodum illa, dein, cum pretio perisset gratia artis, detractum est aurum, pretiosiorque talis existimabatur etiam cicatricibus operis atque concisuris in quibus 10
 64 aurum haeserat remanentibus. idem fecit Hephaestionem Alexandri Magni amicum, quem quidam Polyclito adscribunt, cum is centum prope annis ante fuerit, item Alexandri venationem quae Delphis sacrata est, Athenis Satyrum, turmam Alexandri in qua amicorum eius imagines 15
 A.U.C. 608. summa omnium similitudine expressit—hanc Metellus Macedonia subacta transtulit Romam—fecit et quadrigas multo-
 65 rum generum. statuariae arti plurimum traditur contulisse

§ 63. 4. *temulenta tibicina*: a votive or grave statue, cf. the *anus ebria* of Myron, xxxvi, 32; the *psaltria* by the painter Leontiskos, xxxv, 141, &c.

5. *canibus ac venatione*: cf. the *Alexandri ven.* below, § 64. Large hunting groups came largely into vogue from Alexander onwards; cf. Kuhnert, *Statue und Ort*, p. 331. Ulrichs (*Skopas*, p. 196) believes that the fine fragment of a rider from the Mausoleion (Brit. Mus.) had formed part of such a group.

Sole Rhodiorum: for a head of Helios with Lysippian characteristics, found in Rhodes, cf. Hartwig, 'Testa di Helios,' *Röm. Mitth.* ii, pp. 159–166.

6. *Alexandr. Magni*: the most famous was the Alexander with the spear (Plut. *περὶ τῆς Ἀλ. τύχης* ii, 2); the motive seems reproduced in the nude bronze portrait in the Terme Mus. (Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 1052; *Ant. Denkm.* i, 5; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 364, n. 1). For

portraits of Alexander see Koepp, *Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1892. The story told in Bk. vii, 125 (cf. Plut. *Alex.* iv), that Lysippos alone was privileged to make bronze statues of Alexander, must like the similar stories of Apelles (xxxv, 85) and Pyrgoteles (xxxvii, 8) be accepted *cum grano*.

§ 64. 13. *cum is centum prope annis*: Pliny's difficulty arises from his only knowing of the Elder and more famous Polykleitos, whereas a younger P. is known from Paus. vi, 6, 2 (also *J. G. B.* 92). Since the greater artists often become credited with the works of their less illustrious *confères*, it is probable that, as Loeschcke (*A. Z.* 1878, p. 10 ff.) has already pointed out, the Hephaestion really was by the younger Polykleitos. So too a number of the works by the pupils of Pheidias came to be reckoned as by the master himself. *Introd.* p. xciii.

14. *venationem . . . Delphis*: dedicated by Krateros on the occasion narrated by Plutarch (*Alex.* 40), who

control in the first years of his reign, he could not refrain from having the statue removed into his private chamber, substituting another in its place. The populace of Rome resented this so deeply that they raised an outcry in the theatre, demanding the restitution of the ἀποξυόμενος, to which the emperor was fain to yield, in spite of the passion he had conceived for the statue. Lysippos has also won fame by his drunken flute-player, his dogs 63 and huntsmen, and above all by the four-horse chariot and the figure of the Sun made for the Rhodians. He also made a number of portraits of Alexander the Great, beginning with one of him as a boy, which the Emperor Nero, who was greatly charmed with the statue, ordered to be gilded. Then, as this costly addition spoiled the beauty of the work, the gold was removed, and the statue was considered more valuable without it, in spite of the scars upon it and the incisions for fixing the gold. Further he made a statue 64 of Hephaestion, the friend of Alexander the Great, which some ascribe to Polykleitos, although that artist lived almost a hundred years earlier. We have also from his hand an Alexander in a hunting group, which is consecrated at Delphoi, a Satyr at Athens and a troop of Alexander's bodyguard, in which all his friends' portraits are rendered with great fidelity. This group was transported to Rome by Metellus after the conquest of 146 B.C. Makedonia. By Lysippos also are various four-horse chariots. His 65 chief contributions to the art of sculpture are said to consist

states that the work was executed conjointly with Leochares. According to Loeschke (*Jahrb.* iii, 1888, p. 139 f.) an echo of this work has survived on a relief from Messene in the Louvre (*loc. cit.* pl. vii), cf. also Hans Dragendorff, *Terra Sigillata*, p. 57.

15. *turmam Alexandri*: i. e. the twenty-five officers who had fallen in the first attack at the Granikos. A statue of Alexander formed the centre of the group, Vell. Pat. i, 11, 3.

amicorum . . . imagines: this assertion has been supposed to clash with the statement that the dead were buried on the battle-field (Arrian i, 16, 5). But seeing how extensively portraiture was encouraged in the circle of Alexander, there doubtless were extant portraits of the officers,

which would serve Lysippos as guide; cf. the undoubted portraits on the 'Alexander' sarkophagos from Sidon, where, however, we can hardly suppose the persons represented to have given the artist sittings.

16. *Macedonia subacta*: the group had stood in Dion, probably in the *temenos* of Zeus, where were the statues of the Makedonian kings (Henzey, *Mont Olympe*, p. 118). Arrian, writing A. D. 124, mentions it as still at Dion, probably because he is quoting from some life of Alexander written previous to the Roman conquest.

17. *Romam*: first in the *porticus Metelli*, which was afterwards absorbed into the *porticus Octaviae* (Vell. Pat. *loc. cit.*). The statues were on the *area* (cf. Varro *ap.* Macrob. iii,

capillum exprimendo, capita minora faciendo quam antiqui, corpora graciliora siccioraque, per quae proceritas signorum maior videretur. non habet Latinum nomen symmetria quam diligentissime custodit nova intactaque ratione quadratas veterum staturas permutando, vulgoque dicebat ab illis factos quales essent homines, a se quales viderentur esse. propriae huius videntur esse argutiae operum custoditae in minimis quoque rebus. filios et discipulos reliquit laudatos artifices Laippum, Boedan, sed ante omnes Euthycraten, quamquam is constantiam potius imitatus patris quam elegantiam austero maluit genere quam iucundo placere. itaque optime expressit Herculem Delphis et Alexandrum Thespias venatorem et Thespiadas, proelium equestre, simulacrum ipsum Trophonii ad oraculum, quadrigas complures, equum cum fuscinis, canes venantium. huius porro discipulus fuit Tisicrates et ipse Sicyonius, sed Lysippi sectae propior, ut vix discernantur complura signa, ceu senex Thebanus et Demetrius rex, Peucestes Alexandri

13. Thespiadas] *om. Bamb., Detlefsen.*

15. fuscinis *Bamb., Detlefsen.*

4, 2) in front of the temples—Jupiter and Juno (*frontem aedium spectant Velleius loc. cit.*), cf. xxxvi, 35, 40.

§ 65. 3. *symmetria*: so in xxxv, 67, 128 Pliny retains the Greek word, although, as Otto Jahn has pointed out (*Kunsturtheile*, p. 131) *proportio* or *commensus* afforded an adequate Latin equivalent. For a like reluctance to translate a Greek word which had come to have a precise meaning cf. xxxv, 98 *quae vocant Graeci ethe.*

6. *quales viderentur esse*: Pliny, or his authority, is here finding a formula for the conflict between the desire to represent things as they are known to be, and that of presenting them as they appear to be. The form of the aphorism seems influenced by the words Aristotle puts into the mouth of Sophokles, *Poet.* 1460 b: *Σοφοκλῆς ἔφη αἰτὸς μὲν οἷος δεῖ ποιεῖν, Εὐριπίδην δὲ οἷοι εἶναι* (cf. also in *Poet.* 1448, ff. the judgement passed on Polygnotos, Pausan and Dionysios), *Introd.* p. lxii f.

7. *argutiae operum*: cf. xxxv, 67 *Parrhasius . . . dedit primus argutias voltus*; Cic. *Brutus*, 45, 167 and O. Jahn's note.

§ 66. 8. *filios et discipulos*: the notice of the sons of Lysippos is from the same author as the preceding five appreciations. *Introd.* p. xxi.

9. *Laippum*: above § 51; cf. § 87. — *Boedan*: below § 73. — *Euthycraten*: § 83.

10. *quamquam . . . maluit*: points to a reaction within the Lysippian school to the older and severer Argive manner.

constantiam: cf. Petron. 88 *Lysippum, statuae unius lineamentis inhaerentem, inopia extinxit.*

12. *itaque optime*: explanatory, not of the preceding *quamquam*, but of the general excellence of E. (Blümmner, *Rhein. Mus.* xxxii, p. 610).

13. *Thespiadas*: a Praxitelean subject, xxxvi, 39; so his father made for the same Thespias an Eros, as

in his vivid rendering of the hair, in making the heads smaller than older artists had done, and the bodies slimmer and with less flesh, thus increasing the apparent height of his figures. There is no word in Latin for the canon of symmetry [*συμμετρία*] which he was so careful to preserve, bringing innovations which had never been thought of before into the square canon of the older artists, and he often said that the difference between himself and them was that they represented men as they were, and he as they appeared to be. His chief characteristic is extreme delicacy of execution even in the smallest details.

He left artists of high reputation in his sons and pupils, Laippos, † Boedas, and above all Euthykrates; the latter however imitated not so much the refinement as the perseverance of his father, choosing to win approval by an austere rather than a lighter style of execution. In this manner he made for Delphoi an admirable statue of Herakles, for Thespiæ an Alexander hunting, a group of the Thespiades and a combat between horsemen, a statue of Trophonios within his oracular cave, several chariots with four horses, a horse carrying hunting prongs, and hunting dogs.

His pupil was Teisikrates, also a native of Sikyon, who followed more closely the school of Lysippos, so that many of his works can hardly be distinguished from those of the master: witness his portrait of an old man at Thebes, of king Demetrios and of Peukestes, who saved Alexander's life and well deserves the honour of a statue.

Praxiteles before him. It may be that the Thespians owed to the bounty of Alexander (whose allies they had become in B. C. 335) these Lysippian bronzes, rivals of the celebrated Praxitelean marbles. (So Klein, *Jahrb.* ix, 1894, p. 166.)

proelium equestre: a votive offering like the *turram Alexandri*, § 64, cf. Kuhnert, *Statue u. Ort*, p. 331. [From *simulacrum* to *canes* we have an inverted alphabetical list.—H.L.U.]

14. **ad oraculum**: the actual cave as distinct from the temple, which contained a statue of the god by Daidalos (Paus. ix, 39, 8), and another by Praxiteles (*ib.* § 4).

15. **fuscinis**: two-pronged spears, such as are used by Meleager and

Mopsos on the cylix by Glaukytes and Archikles in Munich (Klein, *Meistersign.* p. 77 = Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, iv, 235). Further, on an archaic cylix from Kameiros (mentioned, *A. Z.* xxiv, 1866, p. 296), Bellerophon, riding Pegasos, is represented with a similar pronged fork; also in hands of one of the huntsman on two amphoras in Berlin (Furtwängler, *Cat.* 1705, 1706), otherwise the pronged fork is known only as a fishing implement. The horse, the *quadrigae* just mentioned, and the following *canes* (cf. note on *canem* in § 57) all belong to the usual class of votive offerings.

§ 67. 16. **Tisicrates**: § 83.

18. **senex Thebanus**: not Pindar

- 68 Magni servator, dignus tanta gloria. artifices qui compositis voluminibus condidere haec miris laudibus celebrant Telephanen Phocaeum ignotum alias, quoniam in Thessalia habitaverit, et ibi opera eius latuerint, alioqui suffragiis ipsorum aequatur Polyclito, Myroni, Pythagorae. 5 laudant eius Larisam et Spintharum pentathlum et Apollinem. alii non hanc ignobilitatis fuisse causam, sed quod se regum Xerxis atque Darei officinis dediderit, existimant.
- 69 Praxiteles quoque marmore felicior, ideo et clarior fuit. fecit tamen et ex aere pulcherrima opera: Proserpinae 10 raptum, item catagusam, et Liberum patrem, et Ebrietatem nobilemque una Satyrum quem Graeci periboeton cognominant, et signa quae ante Felicitatis aedem fuere, Veneremque quae ipsa aedis incendio cremata est Claudii principatu,
- 70 marmoreae illi suae per terras inclutae parem, item stepha- 15

as some have supposed—or the name would almost certainly have been preserved, but merely a portrait. Furtwängler, *Dornausszieher*, p. 92.

Demetrius: i. e. Poliorketes, became king B. C. 307, died B. C. 283.

Peucestes: *tribus iaculis confossus, non se tamen scuto, sed regem tuebatur* Q. Curtius ix, ch. 5, 21; the episode occurred during a siege in the territory of the Oxydrakai, or according to Arrian vi, 10, and Plutarch, *Alex.* lxiii, in that of the Malloi.

§ 68. 1. **artifices qui**: i. e. Xenokrates and Antigonos, see *Introd.* p. xxii. **haec**, i. e. everything mentioned §§ 49–68.

3. **Phocaeum**: from the Ionian Phokaia, Φωκαῖος; cf. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 57. It is unnecessary to look upon the word as a variant for *Phocensis*.

6. **Larisam**: it is worth noting in this connexion the beautiful head of the nymph Larissa on the coin, P. Gardner, *Types*, pl. vii, 17; *Rev.* horse and horseman treated in a style reminiscent of Parthenon frieze.

7. **alii non**: see *Introd. loc. cit.* The names of Xerxes (B. C. 485–465)

and of Dareios (the First B. C. 521–485, the Second B. C. 425–405) are apparently only introduced to attach the statement to well-known names. The dates are plainly irreconcilable.

§ 69. 10. **Proserpinae raptum**: the extant representations of the Rape of Persephone have been carefully collected by Förster, *Raub u. Rückkehr d. Perseph.* in *Philologus*, Supplementband iv. A number are reproduced by Overbeck, *Atlas d. Kunst Myth.* Taf. 17, 18; none however can be referred with any certainty, or even probability, to the group by Praxiteles. Förster hesitatingly suggests that the coin of Kasa (Overb. *K. M. Münztafel*, ix, 12) reproduces the group of Praxiteles. The subject of the Rape was treated by the painter Nikomachos, xxxv, 108.

11. **item**: introduces a new subject, **catagusa**: the true meaning was given as early as by Dalecampius, τὴν κατάγουσαν quae pensa nendo ducet unde et κατάγμα; so independently Loeschke, *A. Z.* 38 (1880), p. 102 f. The meaning of κατάγειν is further discussed by Förster, *loc. cit.* p. 719; H. L. Ulrichs (*Woch. f. Klass. Phil.*

Those sculptors who have written treatises on the subject give 68
high praise to Telephanes of Phokaia, who is otherwise unknown, *Telephanes*
since, they say, he lived in Thessaly, where his works remained *of Phokaia.*
unnoticed. These writers however adjudge him a place beside
Polykleitos, Myron and Pythagoras, praising his statues of Larissa,
of Spintharos, a winner in the five contests, and of Apollo.
Others give a different reason for his comparative obscurity,
saying that he passed into the service of king Xerxes and of
Dareios.

Praxiteles also, though more successful and consequently 69
better known as a worker in marble, created admirable works *Praxiteles.*
in bronze: a rape of Persephone, the *κατάγουσα* or Girl Spinning,
a Dionysos, a figure of Intoxication grouped with an admirable
Satyr known among the Greeks as the *περιβόητος* or Renowned,
and also the statues which stood in front of the temple of
Felicity, and an Aphrodite which was also destroyed when the
temple was burned down in the reign of Claudius, the worthy
peer of his famous marble Aphrodite. Other works of his are 70
the *στεφανούσα*, or woman presenting a wreath, the *ψελιουμένη*, or

1894, p. 227 f.) compares for the
motive the spinning maiden, Furt-
wängler, *Samml. Sabouroff*, Pl. xix;
and the bronze statue, Munich, *Glyph.*
314. I take the *κατάγουσα* to have
been a grave statue; for spinning and
similar motives on graves, see Weiss-
hänpl, *Grabgedichte der Gr. Anthol.*
p. 77, note 3.

Liberum patrem: [it is usual to
understand the Dionysos as forming
a group with the two following statues,
but the fact that up to *Veneremque*
the enumeration of single works is
given by *et*, shows that Pliny, at any
rate, understood the Dionysos as a
separate statue, and the figure of In-
toxication and the Satyr only (their
close connexion being indicated by
the use of *-que*) as forming a group
together; the second *et* is omitted in
Cod. Bamb., but in cases of omission
of syllables or even words, little faith
can be put in this otherwise excellent
MS.—H. L. U.]. This observation
disposes of a recent conjecture *Liberum*

ebriolatum (*Mus. Ital. d. Antich.*
Class. iii, p. 787); not only is it ir-
reconcilable with the evidence of the
MSS., but the use of the word *ebriol-*
lare, only known from a fragment
of the *Hetaera* of Laberius (*ap. Nonius*,
108, 6), is quite unproved for prose
writers.

13. *Felicitatis aedem*: on the
Triumphal Street (Dio Cassius 43,
21) built by L. Lucullus, B. C. 151;
see note on xxxvi, 39. The *signa*
being bronze are of course distinct
from the marble *Thespiades* of xxxvi,
39; a number of Praxitelean works had
been gathered together in the precinct
of Felicitas, just as the temple of the
Fortune of The Day contained works
by Pheidias and Pythagoras (above,
§§ 54, 60).

15. *marmoreae illi*: xxxvi, 20.

§ 70. *stephanusam*: probably in
a group with an athlete, in which
case the *στεφανούσα* would be the
personification of the festal city where
the athletic victory had been won;

nusam, pseliumenen, oporan, Harmodium et Aristogitonem tyrannicidas, quos a Xerxe Persarum rege captos victa Perside Atheniensibus remisit Magnus Alexander. fecit et puberem Apollinem subrepenti lacertae comminus sagitta insidiantem quem sauroctonon vocant. spectantur et duo 5 signa eius diversos adfectus exprimentia, flentis matronae et meretricis gaudentis. hanc putant Phrynen fuisse deprehenduntque in ea amorem artificis et mercedem in vultu 71 meretricis. habet simulacrum et benignitas eius, Calamidis enim quadrigae aurigam suum inposuit, ne melior in 10 equorum effigie defecisse in homine crederetur. ipse Calamis et alias quadrigas bigasque fecit se impari, equis sine aemulo expressis. sed, ne videatur in hominum effigie inferior,

1. oporan] *Ricc.*; operan *Voss.*; ephoram *Bamb.*; canephoram *Urlichs in Chrest., Detlefsen.* 12. seim pari equis *Bamb., corr. Traube*; equis semper *reliqui, Detlefsen.*

cf. Athen. xii, 534 D: ὁ μὲν (sc. πίναξ) εἶχεν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ Πυθιάδα στεφανούσας αὐτὸν (Ἀλκιβιάδην). For the artistic motive cf. the relief in the Akrop. Mus., *A. Z.* 1869, 24 = Friedrichs-Wolters, 1188. [From *Stephan.* to *Harmod. et Arist.* we have an inverted alphabetical list (cf. § 66); this confirms the MS. reading *oporan*. —H. L. U.]

1. pseliumenen: for an analogous motive see the little bronze, *Jahrb.* ix 1894, pl. xi; its connexion with Praxiteles cannot however be pressed further.

oporan: [for a personification of autumn cf. *Ar. Eirḗnē* 523 ff., where ὄπαρα is brought in to wed Trygaios; thus the subject, which fits excellently into the Praxitelean series, is also proved to have been a conception familiar in the fifth and fourth centuries, H. L. U.]

2. quos a Xerxe . . . Alexander: since this statement is true only of the group by Antenor, Paus. i, 8, 5, it seems probable that the mention of Praxitelean Tyrant-Slayers is due to a confusion. Urlichs, *A. Z.* 1861,

p. 144, supposes the displacement of a heading *Antenor*, belonging probably to the alphabetical list which begins in § 72.

3. Magnus Alexander: so also Arrian, *Anab.* iii, 7, 8; Antiochos according to Paus. *loc. cit.*; Seleukos according to Val. Max. ii, 10, *ext.* 1.

4. subrepenti lacertae: from a descriptive epigram; cf. Martial, xiv, 172.

5. sauroctonon: finest replica in Louvre, phot. Giraudon 1200.

6. flentis . . . gaudentis: epigrammatic antithesis, cf. the *molliter iuvenis* and *viriliter puer* of § 55. The statues were certainly only juxtaposed in the epigram. The *flens matrona*, like the similar figures by Sthennis (below § 90) was a portrait statue for a grave; Praxiteles is known to have made at least two grave monuments; (a) the warrior and his horse, Paus. i, 2, 3; (b) the monument to which *C. I. G.* 1604 belonged; cf. Furtwängler, *Dornauszieher*, p. 91, note 43; above note on *catagusa*. For the artistic motive see the fine statue in the Louvre, phot. Giraudon 1174.

woman clasping a bracelet on her arm, *δῶρα* or Autumn, and statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the Slayers of the Tyrant. These were carried off by Xerxes, king of the Persians, and restored to Athens by Alexander the Great after his conquest of Persia. He also made a young Apollo with an arrow watching a lizard as it creeps up with intent to slay it close at hand; this is known as the *σαυροκτόνος* or Lizard-slayer. There are two statues by him expressing contrary emotions, a mourning matron and a rejoicing courtesan. The latter is believed to be Phryne. The sculptor's love may be read in the whole statue, and Phryne's satisfaction is depicted on her face.

There is also a statue which testifies to the kindness of Praxiteles, for he made a charioteer for a four-horse chariot by Kalamis, not wishing it to be thought that Kalamis failed in the man after succeeding in the horses. Kalamis made other four and two-horse chariot-groups with varying success, though unrivalled in his horses. And yet, for it must not be thought that

Kindness of
Praxiteles
towards
Kalamis.

7. *putant Phrynen*: doubtless correctly; it should be noted, however, that Pliny mentions neither of the celebrated statues of Phryne at Thespiæ and at Delphoi, Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*

8. *mercedem*: the meaning is not altogether clear; the words may contain an allusion to the *μισθός* given by Praxiteles to Phryne, in the shape of the Eros which she dedicated at Thespiæ, *Anth. Plan.* 204 (cf. Benndorf, *Epigr.* p. 53). Again the *merces* may refer to Phryne's reward in the artist's love; or—in the lower sense of payment—it may contain an allusion to her venality as *meretrix*.

§ 71. 10. *aurigam suum imposuit*: since Kalamis (above § 47; xxxiii, 156; xxxvi, 36) flourished in the early part of the fifth century, the *auriga* must have been by the Elder Praxiteles (Klein, *Arch. Ep. Mitth.* 1879, p. 8; Benndorf, *Cultusbild der Athena Nike*, p. 47; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 102 ff., &c.). A division of labour in the case of important monuments was quite common, e. g. for Hieron,

Onatas makes the chariot, while Kalamis makes the *κῆλητες ἵπποι* at either side, Paus. vi, 12, 1. [In the case of the Younger (?) Praxiteles it is expressly mentioned as noteworthy, that for a grave monument he made *ἄολκῃ* the horse and the horseman: *καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην* Paus. i, 2, 3.—H. L. U.] The inscription on the *bathron* of the chariot gave the names of both artists, and the juxtaposition was sufficient to give rise to the story of the *benignitas*. The chariot was of course a votive offering, a *ὑπόμνημα τῆς νίκης* (cf. in this hook §§ 64, 86, 88; xxxv, 27, 99, 108, 141, &c.). *Intro.* p. lxxv.

12. *se impari, equis sine aemulo expressis*: the reading, while derived straight from Cod. Bamb., further brings out an epigrammatic antithesis; the full meaning is as follows: 'This same K. failed through his inability to do the human figure, in other chariot-groups as a whole, albeit the horses taken alone were unrivalled'; cf. Prop. iii, 9, 10 *exactis Calamis se mihi iactat equis*. *Intro.* p. lxxix.

72 Alcman poeta nullius est nobilior. Alcámenes Phidiae discipulus et marmorea fecit et aereum pentathlum qui vocatur encrinomenos, at Polycliti discipulus Aristides quadrigas bigasque. Amphicrates Leaena laudatur. scortum haec lyrae cantu familiaris Harmodio et Aristogitoni consilia eorum de tyrannicidio usque in mortem excruciatam a tyrannis non prodidit, quamobrem Athenienses, et honorem habere ei volentes nec tamen scortum celebrasse, animal nominis eius fecere atque, ut intellexeretur causa honoris, in opere linguam addi ab artifice vetuerunt. Bryaxis Aesculapium et Seleucum fecit, Boedas adorantem, Baton Apollinem et Iunonem qui sunt Romae in Concordiae templo, Cresilas volneratum deficientem in quo possit

1. Alcman poeta] *E. Sellers*; alcamen et *Bamb.* (alcame et *e corr.*); alchimena reliqui; Alcmena *Detlefsen*.

I. Aleman poeta: it was pointed out by Benndorf (*op. cit.* p. 47) that the original reading had been corrupted by the neighbouring *Alcámenes*. The readings *Alcimena* or *Alcumena* are unsatisfactory, since the subject could hardly be reckoned among *hominum effigies*. The reading *Alcman poeta* now proposed meets this difficulty, while the subject falls within the range of *Kalamis*. He is known to have worked for Sparta from Paus. x, 16, 4 (cf. Klein, *Arch. Ep. Mitth.* 1881, p. 84), and might well be called upon to execute a statue of its greatest poet. For a statue of Alcman cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii, 709, an epigram which Weisshäupl (*Grabgedichte der Gr. Anth.* p. 45) suggests may have belonged to a statue of the poet at Sparta, cf. also *Anth. Pal.* vii, 18, 19. *Nobilior*—cf. *nobilis* applied below to the portrait of Perikles by Cresilas.

§ 72. Alcámenes: above § 49, xxxvi, 16.

3. encrinomenos: *encrinomenos vocatur, qui athletic adnumeratur, id est qui in eorum numero recipitur*, so Turnebus (*Advers.* p. 486, cf. the note of Dalecampius) explains the

term with reference to the ἔγκρισις ἀθλητῶν. Modern commentators, however, generally refer the epithet to the statue, and explain it as *approved, chosen, classical or canonical* ('classisch' 'mustergiltig,' Ulrichs in *Chrest.* p. 325; cf. O. Jahn, *Kunsturtheile*, p. 125; H. L. Ulrichs, *Blätter f. d. bayr. Gymnasialsch.* 1894, pp. 609-613). But the ἔγκρισις ἀθλ. (Lucian, ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰκόν. 11; cf. Xen. *Hell.* iv, 1, 10), lit. the 'examination' of the athletes (*probatio* Cic. *Off.* i, 144) was too well known as an athletic term for the epithet ἔγκρινόμενος as applied to the portrait of an athlete to be understood in any other sense than the one given to it above. The present participle, instead of the more usual ἔγκριθεῖς (cf. the inscr. Ross. *Griech. Königsreisen*, i, p. 96) shows that the athlete was represented in the act of submitting to the ἔγκρισις. The occurrence of the epithet *Encrinomenus* as a Roman proper name (*C. I. L.* v, 1, 4429), by proving its familiarity, suffices to discredit the old emendation of *Barbarus encrinomenos*, which had lately come again into favour. The proposed identification of the *encrinomenos* with the statue of an athlete holding

he was inferior to others in representing the human figure, no artist has better portrayed the poet Alkman.

Alkamenēs, a pupil of Pheidias, produced works in marble as well as a winner in the five contests in bronze, called the *ἐγκρινόμενος* [undergoing the test]. A pupil of Polykleitos, *Aristeides*, made chariots with four horses and with two. †*Amphikrates* *Monument of Leaina.* is famous for his *λέαινα* or Lioness: this Leaina was a courtesan, intimate through her playing on the lyre with Harmodios and Aristogeiton, whose plot of assassination she refused to betray, although tortured to death by the tyrants. The Athenians were anxious to pay her honour, and yet unwilling to commemorate a courtesan by a statue; they accordingly made a figure of the animal whose name she bore, and to indicate their reason for honouring her, they forbade the artist to give it a tongue. *Bryaxis* made an Asklepios and a Seleukos; †*Boedas* a praying figure, *Baton* the Apollo and Hera which are in the temple of Concord at Rome, *Kresilas*, a wounded man at the point

the disc preparatory to the throw (Brit. Mus. and Vatican; Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 331, where see literature) is, to say the least, open to doubt.

Aristides: possibly identical with the painter, master of Euphranor, xxxv, 75; Kroker, *Gleichnamige Künstler*, p. 25.

4. *Leaena*: vii, 87; the story, told also Plut. *de Garrul.* 8; Paus. i, 23, 1; Polyainos, *Στρατηγήμ.* viii, 45; cf. Cicero, *Glor.* ii, fr. 12 (all without mention of artist's name), is an obvious invention. Had the 'Lioness' been originally connected with the Tyrant-Slayers her monument must have stood by theirs *ἐν Κεραμεικῷ* (Arrian, *Anab.* iii, 16, 8), instead of at the entrance to the Akropolis (Paus. *loc. cit.*). Further, since the oldest authorities, Herodotos and Thukydides, in their account of the murder of the Tyrants, know nothing of this Leaina, it is probable that she was an ordinary votive-offering; the fact that the artist had failed to give the animal a tongue, or that in the course of time the tongue had got broken away, having given rise to the anecdote

(cf. also Athen. xiii, 596 f.) Introd. p. lxxvi, note 3.

§ 73. 10. *Bryaxis*: above § 42; xxxvi, 30.

11. *Aesculapium*: for Megara he made an Asklepios grouped with Hygieia, Pans. i, 40, 6.

Seleucum: i.e. Nikator, reigned B. C. 312-280; cf. below § 86; for his portraits see Wolters, *Röm. Mitth.* iv, 1889, pp. 32-40.

Boedas: above § 56.

adorantem: in the scheme doubtless of the 'Praying Boy' (Berlin, *Cat.* 2), cf. *Jahrb.* i, 1886, p. 1 ff. (Conze); for the type of the *adorans* on coins *Jahrb.* iii, 1886, p. 286 ff. (Imhoof-Blumer), on a gem *ib.* I. p. 217 (Furtwängler).

Baton: below § 91; known from *I. G. B.* 61, as a native of Herakleia.

12. *Concordiae templo*: at the base of the Capitol, vowed B. C. 367 by Camillus, and built after his death by the State; restored by Tiberius (ded. A. D. 9). It was the most usual meeting place of the Senate.

§ 74. 13. *Cresilas*: above § 53.

vulneratum: apparently identical

intellegi quantum restet animae et Olympium Periclen dignum cognomine, mirumque in hac arte est quod nobiles viros nobiliores fecit. Cephisodorus Minervam mirabilem in portu Atheniensium et aram ad templum Iovis Servatoris
 75 in eodem portu, cui pauca comparantur, Canachus Apollinem 5 nudum qui Philesius cognominatur in Didymaeo Aeginetica aeris temperatura, cervumque una ita vestigiis suspendit ut *linum* subter pedes trahatur alterno morsu calce digitisque retinentibus solum, ita vertebrato dente utrisque in partibus ut a repulso per vices resiliat. idem et celetizontas pueros, 10
 Chaereas Alexandrum Magnum et Philippum patrem eius

3. Cephisodorus] *Bamb.*; Cephissidorus *reliqui.*
 trahantur *Bamb.*

8. inlitum *Bamb.*

with the statue of Dieitrephes pierced by arrows, Paus. i, 23, 3 (where the artist is not named); the extant inscription ('Ερμόλυκος Διειτρέφης ἄπαρχεν' Κρεσίλας ἐπέσειεν *I. G. B.* 46) should place this beyond a doubt, were it not that the epigraphy is too early for the date of Dieitrephes, who according to Pausanias was identical with the Athenian general mentioned Thuc. vii, 29 (B. C. 414); cf. Kirchhoff on *C. I. A.* i, 402. Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 122) accordingly proposes to identify the Dieitrephes of the statue with an older namesake, father of the Nikostratos, who was a general at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. iii, 75; iv, 119, 129). For possible reproductions of the statue see Furtwängler, *op. cit.* figs. 48, 49, 50 (against his views cf. C. Robert, *Hall. Winkelmannspr.* 1895, p. 21 f.).

1. Periclen: for the portrait (without name of artist), cf. Paus. i, 25, 1. Its inscribed basis was discovered in 1888, see Δελτίον, 1889, p. 36 ff. (Lolling). A terminal portrait of Perikles, extant in several replicas (*Br. Mus. Cat.* i, 549; Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 281, where see literature) has been identified as a copy of the Kresilaian portrait. Addenda.

3. Minervam mirabilem . . . et aram: cf. Paus. i, 1, 3: θεάς δὲ ἄριον τῶν ἐν Πειραιεὶ μάλιστα Ἀθηναῖς ἔστι καὶ Διὸς τέμενος· χαλκοῦ μὲν ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἔχει δὲ ὁ μὲν σκῆπτρον καὶ νίκημ, ἣ δὲ Ἀθηναῖς δόρυ. The τέμενος has been shown to be probably contemporary with the restoration of the Peiraios by the architect Hippodamos of Miletos (Arist. *Pol.* ii, 8, 1), under Perikles (so Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, ii, p. 141 f.). Thus, if the monuments mentioned by Pliny and Pausanias are, as seems reasonable to suppose, identical, Kephisodoros would be an artist of the Perikleian age.— I see no reason for following Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 145 f.) in assuming a displacement of Pliny's notes, and giving the works mentioned to Kresilas (cf. B. Keil in *Hermes*, xxxi, 1895, p. 225). Introd. p. lxxv; Add.

§ 75. 5. Apollinem: it was the exact replica of the same artist's Apollo at Thebes, except that the latter was of wood, cf. Paus. ix, 10, 2; ii, 10, 4; the type is reproduced both on the autonomous and Imperial coinage of Miletos, *A. Z.* 18, ix, pl. vii, and page 90 (= Collignon, *Sculpt. Grecque*, fig. 153) and in the 'Payne-Knight bronze' (*Br. Mus.*); cf. Furtwängler, *op. Roscher* i, 451: the god, nude,

of death, whose face betrays how fast his life is ebbing, and also an Olympian Perikles, worthy of the epithet. The marvel of his art is that it made famous men yet more famous. †*Kephisodoros* made a wondrous Athena in the harbour of Athens, and in the same city, in the temple of Zeus the Saviour, an altar to which few are comparable. *Kanachos* made the nude Apollo, 75 which is named the Lover and is in the temple at Didyma, of Aeginetan bronze, and with it a stag so poised upon its feet, that a thread can be drawn beneath them while the heel and toe alternately catch the ground, both parts working with a jointed mechanism in such a way that the impact suffices to make them spring backwards and forwards. He also made boys on race-horses. †*Chaireas* made an Alexander the Great and his father

Perikles.

Apollo and Stag.

stands erect, holding a small stag on the palm of his R. hand, and the bow in his L. The work was executed previous to Ol. 71, 3 (= B. C. 494), in which year Dareios (Herod. vi, 19; Paus. viii, 46, 3, erroneously says Xerxes) sacked Miletos and took away the statue. The Apollo was restored by Selenkos Nikator, Paus. *loc. cit.* and i, 16, 3.

either that the animal was on the ground, or, according to a scheme familiar from statues of Artemis (also for Apollo in the gem *Cades, Impronte*, iv, 19, 20) that its hind feet were on the ground while its front feet were held in the hand of the god. It is evident that in the *inlitum* of cod. *Bamb.* we have a corruption, while the *linum* of the later codices is a mere interpolation intended to get an ordinary Latin word out of the corrupt reading; the original word must have given the instrument provided with the *dens vertebratus*. Whether the stag was in reality provided with some curious mechanism, or whether the fact that it had been cast separate and did not accurately fit on to the god's palm had given rise to an explanation which has a flavour of concoction, it is now impossible to tell (cf. however the ingenious article of Petersen, *A. Z.* xxxviii, 1880, pp. 22, 192).

6. *Philesius*: aitiology sought to explain the epithet by allusion to Apollo's love for Branchos (Strabo, xiv, p. 634), so Varro, *p. schol.* to Statius, *Thebais*, viii, 198 (ed. Lindenberg, p. 282 f.); Macrobius (*Sat.* i, 17, 2) gives a symbolic explanation.

Aeginetica temp.: above § 8.
7. *suspendit*: for the meaning given above cf. xxxvi, 117 *theatra iuxta duo fecit amblissima ligno, cardinum singulorum versatili suspensa libramento*. From the word *solum* it is evident that Pliny conceived the stag to have its feet on the ground, an arrangement however which is in irreconcilable contradiction to the testimony of the coins, which show the stag resting on the god's hand. We must suppose, therefore, that the exact place of the stag was not described in the original account, and that Pliny, unacquainted with the statue, assumed, naturally enough,

10. *repulsu*: cf. xi, 164 *pare eodem praegnas veneno impresso dentium repulsu virus fundit in morsus* (Petersen).

celetizontas pueros: cf. on the Akropolis the bronze statue of Isokrates as *παῖς κελητίζων*. Lives of Ten Orators, *Isokr.* 42; at Olympia Aisypos, son of Timon, Paus. vi, 2, 8; cf. *id.* vi, 12, 1. *A κελητίζων* on the

76 fecit, Ctesilaus doryphoron et Amazonem vulneratam, Demetrius Lysimachen quae sacerdos Minervae fuit LXIII annis, idem et Minervam quae *musica* appellatur, quoniam dracones in Gorgone eius ad ictus citharae tinnitu resonant, idem equitem Simonem qui primus de equitatu scripsit. 5 Daedalus et ipse inter fictores laudatus pueros duos destringentes se fecit, Dinomenes Protesilaum et Pythodemum 77 luctatorem. Euphranoris Alexander Paris est, in quo laudatur quod omnia simul intellegantur, iudex dearum, amator Helenae et tamen Achillis interfector. huius est 10 Minerva Romae quae dicitur Catuliana, infra Capitolium A.U.C. 676. a Q. Lutatio dicata, et simulacrum Boni Eventus, dextra pateram, sinistra spicam ac papavera tenens, item Latona

1. Ctesilaus] *Sillig, Detlefsen*; G. tesilaus *Bamb.*; desilaus *reliqui*.
3. myetica *Bamb.*

coin of Tarentum, Head, *Guide*, pl. 24, 7. Addenda.

§ 76. 1. Ctesilaus: the name, though uncommon, is a good Greek formation (cf. the formations ending -λεως, -λαος in Fick, *Gr. Personennamen*, pp. 186 ff.), so that I see no grounds for altering the reading to Kresilas as proposed by Bergk (*Zeitschr. d. Alterth. Wissensch.* 1845, p. 962), who is followed by most archaeologists. The argument derived from the Amazon (§ 53), though strong, is scarcely sufficient.

2. Demetrius: the famous ἀρωποποιός, Lucian, *The Liars*, 18.

Lysimachen = Paus. i, 27, 4: πρὸς δὲ ναῶν τῶν τῆς Ἀθηνῶν, the following information is derived from the inscription on the basis of the statue, Töpffer, *Att. Geneal.* 128; for a similar inscr. from the Akropolis (but belonging to a larger statue) of a priestess who had served (?) [ἐξῆ]κοντα ὄ' ἔτη [καὶ τέσσαρ[α], see *I. G. B.* 64; Hitzig and Blümner, *Paus.* p. 295.

3. musica: the reading is an obvious interpolation, to make sense out of the corrupt *myetica*; the epithet is not found of Athena or any other

god. Fröhner in *Rhein. Mus.* 1892, p. 292, proposes to read *mystica* for *myetica*, adding that 'the mysterious resonance of the aegis recalled the music of the Eleusinian mysteries when the Hierophant struck the ἡχείων.' Dr. Traube suggests that the reading might possibly be *mycetica*, i. e. 'the Roarer'—μυκητικός as an epithet of Poseidon occurs *ap.* Cornutus, *Nat. Deor.* ch. 22, p. 42, Lang—it is quite possible that an aitiological explanation, derived from the resonance of the bronze aegis, had been found for an epithet of which the original meaning had been forgotten.

5. de equitatu: περὶ ἵππικῆς Xen. *de Re Eq.* i, 3.

6. Daedalus: son of Patrokles (*I. G. B.* 88, 89; Paus. vi, 3, 9, cf. above § 50). D. signs Σικυώνιος (*I. G. B.* 89) and seems to be the first member of the family who migrated to Sikyon; cf. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 225.

et ipse: marks Pliny's astonishment at the appearance of Daedalus among the bronze-workers (rightly explained by Oehmichen, *Plin. Studien*, p. 192), perhaps because the only

Philip. † *Ktesilaos* made a *δορυφόρος*, or Spear-bearer, and 76 a wounded Amazon; *Demetrios* a statue of Lysimache, who was priestess of Athena for sixty-four years. He also made the Athena called the Musical because the snakes of her Gorgon resound to the notes of the cithara, and an equestrian statue of Simon, the first writer on horsemanship. *Daidalos*, who appears here among the famous statuaries, made two boys scraping themselves, *Deinomenes* a Protesilaos and a portrait of Pythodemos the wrestler. A statue of Alexander Paris by *Euphranor* is 77 said to display every phase of the Trojan's character: he is *Statue of Paris in his triple aspect.* at once the judge of the goddesses, the lover of Helen, and yet the slayer of Achilles. The Athena at Rome known as the Minerva of Catulus, which was dedicated below the Capitol by Quintus Lutatius, is by Euphranor; so is the statue of Good Luck holding in the right hand a bowl, and in the left an ear of corn and a poppy. He also made a Leto with the new-

B.C. 78.

personage of the name with whom he is familiar is the mythical Daidalos (vii, 198, 209; xxxvi, 85, cf. vii, 205).

destringentes se: for the motive cf. §§ 55, 62.

7. *Dinomenes*. above § 50; distinct from the artist of the first century who made the statues of Io and Kallisto (Paus. i. 25, 1; *I. G. B.* 233), cf. Gurlitt, *Pausanias*, p. 267 ff.

§ 77. 8. *Euphranoris*: above § 50; xxxv, 128. His activity ranges from B. C. 375-330.

Alexander Paris: the second name is added to distinguish him from the king. The statue has not yet been identified among our copies, Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 357 ff. and Robert, *Hall. Winkelmannsprog.* xix, 1895, p. 20 ff. arrive at surprisingly different results. Addenda.

11. *infra Capitolium*: Urlichs (*Griechische Statuen im Rep. Rom*, p. 11) suggests on the open space afterwards occupied by the temple of Vespasian.

12. **Q. Lutatio**, i. e. *Catulo*: after the fire of B. C. 85, the restoration of the Capitoline temple and adjacent buildings was entrusted to him; cf.

Tacit. *Hist.* iii, 72; Plutarch, *Popl.* 15; above xxxiii, 57, &c. It is not known whence he obtained Greek works of art; possibly from the inexhaustible booty of Aemilius Paulus; cf. Urlichs, *loc. cit.*

Boni Eventus: from the description it is evident that the statue originally represented the Greek Tripolemos (Urlichs, *Chrestom.* p. 326), and was re-christened as a Roman agrarian divinity. Fröhner (*Méd. de l'Empire Romain*, p. 35) was the first to recognize the type on the obverse of a bronze medal of Hadrian: youth, holding in one hand two ears of corn and two poppies, and in the other a libation cup, is sacrificing at an altar. For a still better reproduction on a gem (*Br. Mus. Cat.* 929) cf. Furtwängler, *op. cit.* p. 350, where the gem is made the starting-point for a suggestive reconstruction of the works of Euphranor.

13. **Latona . . . sustinens**: the work is still unknown; cf. E. Reisch, 'Ein vermeintliches Werk des Euphranor' in *Festgruss aus Innsbruck an die Phil. Versamml. in Wien*, 1893.

puerpera Apollinem et Dianam infantis sustinens in aede
 78 Concordiae. fecit et quadrigas bigasque et cliduchon eximia
 forma, et Virtutem et Graeciam, utrasque colossaeas, muli-
 erem admirantem et adorantem, item Alexandrum et
 Philippum in quadrigis, Eutychedes Eurotam, in quo artem 5
 ipso amne liquidiorum plurimi dixere. Hegiae Minerva
 Pyrrhusque rex laudatur, et celetizontes pueri, et Castor ac
 Pollux ante aedem Iovis tonantis, Hagesiae in Pario colonia
 79 Hercules, Isodoti buthytes. Lycius Myronis discipulus fuit,
 qui fecit dignum praeceptore puerum sufflantem languidos 10
 ignes et Argonautas, Leochares aquilam sentientem quid
 rapiat in Ganymede et cui ferat parcentemque unguibus
 etiam per vestem puero, Autolycum pancrati victorem propter
 quem Xenophon symposium scripsit, Iovemque illum to-
 nantem in Capitolio ante cuncta laudabilem, item Apollinem 15
 diadematum, Lyciscum mangonem, puerum subdolae ac

2. cliduchon] *Barbarus*; cliticon *Bamb., Dellefsen*; cliticum *reliqui*.

16. Inciscus langonem *reliqui*.

1. aede Concordiae: above § 73.
 § 78. 2. cliduchon: a subject also
 treated by Pheidias, § 54.

4. admirantem et adorantem =
ἀποβλέπουσαν 'looking up with awe
 at the image of the divinity,' Furt-
 wängler, *Plinius*, p. 46, cf. *Dornaus-*
zieher, p. 87, note 19.

Alexandrum et Philippum: a
 suitable occasion for these statues
 would be the battle of Chaironeia,
 where Al. had distinguished himself
 by the side of Philip.

5. Eutychedes: above § 51; dis-
 tinct from his two later namesakes
 (a) *I. G. B.* 143; (b) *I. G. B.* 244-249,
 and recently Homolle in *Bull. Corr.*
Hell. 1894, p. 336 f. To the pupil
 of Lysippos, Studniczka (*Jahrb.* ix,
 1894, p. 211) inclines to attribute the
 superb sarkophagos 'of Alexander'
 from Sidon.

Eurotam: cf. the Orontes that
 supports the city of Antioch by the
 same artist; above note on § 51.

6. plurimi: i. e. the writers of
 epigrams, Benndorf, *Epigr.* p. 54; cf.

Anth. Pal. ix, 709 (Introd. p. lxx).

Hegiae: for an older namesake,
 master of Pheidias, see § 49; for a
 Hegias in the reign of Claudius see
I. G. B. 332.

7. Pyrrhusque rex: for portraits
 of this king (born B. C. 319, died
 272), see Six, *Röm. Mitth.* vi, p. 279;
 Helbig in *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.*
 xiii, 1893, pl. i, ii, pp. 377 ff.
 The addition of *rex* gives such pre-
 cision to Pliny's statement that it is
 unnecessary to suppose that we have
 in the words *Hegiae* . . . *laudatur* a
 confused repetition of the *Pyrrhus*
Hygiam et Minervam of § 80 (cf.
 Wolters, *Ath. Mitth.* xvi, 1891, p.
 155, note 2).

8. Iovis tonantis: above § 10;
 below § 79.

Hagesiae: 'Ἡγσίας instead of
 the more familiar diminutive 'Ἡγίας,
 so Ζεύκιππος for Ζεύξιος Plat. *Prot.*
 318 B (cf. Fick, *Gr. Personennamen*,
 p. 35).

Pario colonia: v, 141, founded
 by the Parians, Milesians, and Ery-

born Apollo and Artemis in her arms, now in the temple of Concord, and chariots with four and two horses, a κλειδοῦχος or 78 Key-bearer, of great beauty, a statue of Valour, and one of Hellas, both of colossal size, a woman in wonder praying, and Alexander and Philip in four-horse chariots. *Eutychides* made an image of the Eurotas of which many have said that the artist's skill is clearer than the stream itself.

The Athena and the king Pyrrhos by *Hegias* are praised, so are his boys riding on racehorses, the Kastor and Polydeukes which stand in front of the temple of Jupiter the Thunderer, and also the Herakles of *Hegesias* in the colony of Parion, and the βουβόρτης, or Slayer of the Ox, by *Isodotos*. *Lykios* was a pupil of Myron; in 79 the boy blowing a dying fire he created a work worthy of his master; he also made statues of the Argonauts. The eagle of *Leochares* appears to know how precious a burden it is ravishing in Ganymede and to what master it bears him, and its talons hold the boy tenderly though his dress protects him. He also made a statue of Autolykos, who was victorious in the pankration and in whose honour Xenophon wrote the Banquet; the celebrated Zeus with the thunderbolt in the Capitol, a work of supreme excellence; an Apollo wearing the diadem; the slave-dealer Lykiskos and a boy, on whose face may be read the wily

*Eagle
ravishing
Ganymede.*

thraians, Strabo, xiii, p. 588, 14; it was made into a Roman colony by Augustus (*Colonia Pariana Julia Augusta*).

§ 79. 9. *Lycius Myronis*: § 50.

10. *puerum suffiantem*: same subject treated by the painter Antiphilos xxxv, 138. The work is of course distinct from the *puer suffitor* below, and from the boy, also by *Lykios*, holding the holy water basin on the Akropolis, Paus. i, 23, 7, but the kinship of the subjects shows where the artistic strength of *Lykios* lay (cf. Wolters, *Ath. Mitth.* xvi, 1891, p. 153 ff. and Mayer, *Arch. Jahrb.* viii, 1893, p. 218 f.).

11. *Leochares*: § 50. [His works are enumerated in two alphabetical groups: from *aquilam* to *Iovem*, and after *item* from *Apollinem* to *puerum*.—H. L. U.]

aquilam . . . *Ganymede*: a copy

of this work has been recognized in the statuette, Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 400.

13. *Autolykum*: winner in the Pankration at the greater Panathenaia Ol. 89, 3 = B.C. 422 (the fictitious date of the 'Banquet,' Athen. v, p. 216 d), murdered B.C. 404 by the Thirty Tyrants. Since *Leochares* lived into the reign of Alexander, there can be no question of his having made a portrait of Autolykos, but the latter was sufficiently celebrated to have—like *Miltiades* and other heroes of Athenian history—statues raised to him after death (cf. Klein, *Arch. Ep. Mittheil.* vii, 1883. p. 72).

14. *Iovemque illum tonantem*: the motive of the statue may be recovered from coins; Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, 2nd ed. i, p. 88; Roscher, ii, 748. Above § 10.

16. *Lyciseum mangonem*: Ur-

80 fucatae vernilitatis, Lycius et ipse puerum suffitorem. Menaechni vitulus genu premitur replicata cervice. ipse Menaechnus scripsit de sua arte. Naucydes Mercurio et discobolo et immolante arietem censetur, Naucerus luctatore anhelante, Niceratus Aesculapium et Hygiam . . . qui 5 sunt in Concordiae templo Romae. Pyromachi quadriga ab Alcibiade regitur. Polycles Hermaphroditum nobilem fecit, Pyrrhus Hygiam et Minervam, Phanis Lysippi 81 discipulus epithyusan. Styppax Cyprius uno celebratur signo, splachnopte—Periclis Olympii vernula hic fuit exta 10 torrens ignemque oris pleni spiritu accendens—Silanion Apollodorum fudit, fictorem et ipsum, sed inter cunctos diligentissimum artis et iniquom sui iudicem, crebro perfecta

5. Hygiam] Hygiam fecit *Detlefsen*.

lich (Chrestom. p. 328) refers the subject to the influence of the Middle Comedy. *Αυτίσκος*, as title of a play by Alexis, is preserved by Athen. xiii, p. 595 d; the *puer* must have formed a group with the *mango*; but Pliny, who is here giving an asyndetic enumeration of single works, seems to have understood them to be separate statues, cf. Furtwängler, *Dornauszieher*, p. 91, note 44 (against the reading *Lyciscus langonem*, which has lately again come into favour, see Friedländer's note to Martial, ix, 50).

1. *suffitorem*: presumably holding a censor suspended by chains; cf. Mayer, *op. cit.* p. 222.

§ 80. 2. *replicata cervice*: i.e. in the scheme known from the Nike sacrificing an ox on the balustrade of the Temple of Athena Nike, cf. Cecil Smith in *J. H. S.* vii, 1886, pp. 275 ff.

3. *scripsit de sua arte*: *Introd.* p. xl.

Naucydes: above § 50. His *immolans arietem* has been identified, but on purely fanciful reasons, with the Phrixos burning the thigh of a ram on the Akropolis, Paus. i, 24, 2 (cf. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 231).

4. *luctatore anhelante*: epigram-

matic, cf. xxxv, 71, *ut anhelare sentiat*; Reisch, *Weihgeschenke*, p. 45.

5. *Niceratus*: *Νικίρατος Ἐδκή-μνος Ἀθηναίος*, Fränkel, *Inscr. aus Perg.* 132; also *I. G. B.* 147, 496; works conjointly with *Phyromachos*, *ib.* 118 (from Delos).

Aesculapium et H.: Fränkel (*loc. cit.*) suggests that the group was originally made for the *Asklepieion* at Pergamon, in which case it was presumably transferred to Rome when the Romans inherited the Pergamene treasures by the will of Attalos II, 133 B. C.

6. *Pyromachi*: note on *Niceratus* above; for an older namesake cf. § 51.

quadriga: possibly as a pendant to the group by *Nikeratos* of Alkibiades and his mother sacrificing, § 88 (Fränkel, *loc. cit.*).

7. *Polycles*: not identical with the artist of § 50, while his identity with the Polykles of § 52 (= xxxvi, 35) is uncertain. Nothing is known of his *Hermaphrodite*; it cannot of course have been the marble recumbent figure, extant in so many replicas; it should perhaps be sought for among the standing types of the *Hermaphrodite*

craft of the servile character. *Lykios* too made a boy burning perfumes.

By *Menaichmos* we have a calf on which a man is setting 80 his knee as he bends its neck back; *Menaichmos* also wrote a book on his art. The fame of *Naukydes* rests on his *Hermes*, his *δισκοβόλος* or Disk-thrower, and his man sacrificing a ram; that of †*Naukeros* on his panting wrestler. *Nikeratos* (made) the *Asklepios* and *Hygieia* now in the temple of Concord at Rome. By *Pyromachos* we have a four-horse chariot driven by *Alkibiades*. *Polykles* made a famous *Hermaphrodite*, *Pyrrhos* a *Hygieia* and an *Athena*, †*Phanis*, the pupil of *Lysippos*, an *ἐπιθύουσα*, or woman sacrificing.

†*Styppax* of Cyprus is known by one statue only, the *σπλαγχνόπ-* 81
της, or Roaster of Entrails. This was a slave of *Perikles* the *Olympian*; he is roasting entrails and blowing hard on the fire to kindle it till his cheeks swell. *Seilanion* cast a portrait of *Apollo-*
doros, who was also a statuary, and among the most painstaking, a severe critic of his own work, who often broke up a finished

The
'Roaster of
Entrails.'

(e. g. *Berlin Cat.* 193; see *Herrmann ap. Roscher*, i, pp. 2324 ff.). Addenda.

8. *Hygiam et Minervam*: from the extant inscription ('*Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Ὑγιείᾳ || Πύρρος ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖος I. G. B.* 53) it appears that *Pliny* made one work into two. The statue is mentioned *Paus.* i, 23, 4 (without name of artist), *Plutarch*, *Per.* 13, who says it was dedicated by *Perikles* to commemorate the miraculous cure of a favourite workman employed on the *Propylaia* (see note on *vernula* below). *Wolters*, however, has shown on technical evidence (*Ath. Mitth.* xvi, 1891, p. 153 ff.) that the statue must have been dedicated at a period subsequent to the commencement of the *Peloponnesian* war, and that *Plutarch's* narrative must consequently be a mere invention.

§ 81. 9. *Styppax* Cyprius: I see no reason for the doubts with regard to this name expressed by *Loewy Untersuch.* p. 30, against which see also *Wolters*, *Ath. Mitth.* xvi, 1891, p. 156, note 1.

10. *splanchnopte*: the motive of the statue and a probable copy are fully discussed by *M. Mayer*, *Jahrb.* viii, 1893, p. 224 and pl. iv.

Periclis OL. vernula: the story is told fully, xxii, 44; in spite of discrepancies it is apparently identical with the one narrated by *Plutarch* of the *Athena Hygieia*. The cause for the dedication of a statue by so important a personage as *Perikles* would naturally be eagerly sought for; the vicinity of the *splanchnoptes* to that of *Athena* in her character of 'Healer' suggested a connexion between the two, and accounts for the legends told by *Pliny* and *Plutarch*. Cf. *Wolters*, *loc. cit.*; *Kuhnerdt*, *Stat. u. Ort*, p. 274.

12. *Apollodorum*: the date proved for *Seilanion* (§ 51) makes it impossible to identify the *Apollodoros* either with the *Socratic* philosopher (fl. b. c. 430-360) or with the artist of *I. G. B.* 55 (in *Pre-Eukleidan* characters). *I. G. B.* 218 records a third of the name. For the painter *A.* see xxxv, 60.

signa frangentem, dum satiari cupiditate artis non quit,
 82 ideoque insanum cognominatum; hoc in eo expressit, nec
 hominem ex aere fecit, sed iracundiam, et Achillem nobilem,
 item epistaten exercentem athletas, Strongylion Amazonem
 quam ab excellentia crurum eucnemon appellant, ob id in 5
 comitatu Neronis principis circumlatam. idem fecit puerum
 quem amando Brutus Philippensis cognomine suo inlustravit.
 83 Theodorus, qui labyrinthum fecit Sami, ipse se ex aere
 fudit, praeter similitudinis mirabilem famam magna sup-
 tilitate celebratus. dextra limam tenet, laeva tribus digitis 10
 quadrigulam tenuit translata Praeneste, tantae parvitas
 ut—mirum dictu—eam currumque et aurigam integeret alis
 simul facta musca. Xenocrates Tisicratis discipulus, ut alii
 Euthycratis, vicit utrosque copia signorum. et de sua

8. fecit Sami, ipse] *editores ante Sillig*; fecit, Sami ipse *Detlefsen*. 12.
 mirum dictu] *coni. Traube*; miraculo pictam *Bamb.*; totam *reliqui, Detlefsen*.

§ 82. 2. nec hominem . . . sed
 irac.: O. Jahn (*Kunsturtheile*, p.
 112) detected in these words a latent
 epigram; the phraseology, however,
 which was originally confined to collo-
 quial language and used as a rule
 in a disparaging sense, had become
 universal in Pliny's day; cf. Quinct.
 x, 1, 112 *non iam hominis nomen sed*
eloquentiae habeatur; H. S. Jones,
Class. Rev. 1893, p. 224, cf. Baehrens,
Catullus, p. 608. See Addenda.

4. epistaten . . . athletas: votive
 statue, put up presumably by the
 athletes of a gymnasium; thus the
 gymnasiarchs Menas and Metodoros
 at Sestos and Pergamon receive statues
 for honourable discharge of their
 duties, likewise the *Κοσμητής* Nym-
 phodotos at Athens receives a statue
 in the palaistra *C. I. A.* iii, 1104, see
 Kuhnert, *Statue u. Ort*, p. 308 [the
 words *exercentem athletas* were prob-
 ably taken from the descriptive
 epigram on the statue.—H. L. U.]

Strongylion: *I. G. B.* 52 gives the
 inscr. belonging to his *δούριος Ἴππος*
 (Paus. i, 23, 8), which from the allu-
 sion in Aristoph. *Ὀπιδες*, 1128, must

have been erected shortly before that
 play was produced in B. C. 414.

Amazonem: we possibly have its
 copy in the charming equestrian statu-
 ette in Naples (Friederichs-Wolters,
 1781; the opinion first expressed by
 Hoffman in Overbeck's *Plastik*, ed. 4,
 i, p. 506, note 14). By representing
 the Amazon on horseback, S. could
 not only display her legs, but likewise
 find scope for his talent as a sculptor
 of animals (Paus. ix, 30, 1).

6. circumlatam: above § 48; we
 may conclude from this fact that the
 Amazon was a statuette.

7. cognomine suo: *Bruti puer*,
 Martial, ii, 77; ix, 50; xiv, 171.

§ 83. 8. Theodorus: his date
 may be approximately determined by
 the fact that he worked for Kroisos
 (B. C. 560–546), Herod. i, 51, and
 for Polykrates, Herod. iii, 41 (B. C.
 532?–521), cf. xxxvii, 3. That there
 was only one artist of the name has
 now been admitted even by Overbeck
 (*Plastik*, 4th ed. 1893, p. 78).

labyrinthum . . . Sami: i. e. the
 Heraion, of which his father Rhoikos
 (Herod. iii, 60) was the first archi-

statue, being unable to reach the ideal he aimed at; from this he was called 'the madman.' This characteristic Seilanian rendered, and made his bronze not a portrait of an individual, but a figure of Vexation itself. He also made a famous Achilles, and a trainer exercising his athletes. *Strongylion* made the Amazon surnamed the *εὐκνημος* from the beauty of her legs; it was because of this special feature that the Emperor Nero carried the statue about in his train. He also made the boy which Brutus of Philippi loved, and made illustrious by his name. *Theodoros*, the maker of the labyrinth at Samos, also cast a portrait of himself in bronze, famed as a wondrous likeness, and also celebrated for the extreme delicacy of the workmanship. The right hand holds a file, while three fingers of the left hand support a tiny team of four horses, which is now at Praeneste, so small that the team, marvellous to relate, with chariot and charioteer could be covered by the wings of a fly which the artist made to accompany it. *Xenokrates* was a pupil of Teisikrates, or, according to some authorities, of Euthykrates; he outdid both in

*Tiny
chariot and
team by
Theodoros.*

tect; cf. xxxvi, 90, where the purely mythical *labyrinthus Lemnius* is a mistake of Pliny for *lab. Samius* (Ulrichs, *Anfänge*, 1871, p. 3, cf. Klein in *Arch. Ep. Mitth.* ix, 1885, p. 184); of Rhoikos and Theodoros at least we know that they were *indigenae* not of Lemnos but of Samos (Σάμιοι, Paus. viii, 14, 8; Ροῖκος ἐπιχώριος, sc. of Samos, Herod. *loc. cit.*

ipse se: cf. the portrait of the Kretan Cheirisophos, presumably by himself, next to his gilt statue of Apollo at Tegea, Paus. viii, 53, 7.

10. *laeva . . . quadrigulam*: it is generally supposed that the little chariot was engraved on the base of a scarab (see e.g. the scarab, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gems*, pl. D, 254); Benndorf, *Zts. für Oesterr. Gymnasien*, 1873, p. 406. Theodoros was a famous gem-graver; yet the extant marvels of *μικροτεχνία* accomplished in the goldsmith's art show that the execution in the round of a microscopic chariot was no technical impossibility; see note on *Mymercides*, xxxvi, 43.

11. **Praeneste**: where the celebrated temple of *Fortuna Primigenia*, like so many of the temples in Rome (cf. Friedländer, *Darstellungen*, ii, pp. 154 ff.), must have contained all sorts of curiosities (see R. Peter *ap. Roscher*, i, 1545).

12. *mirum dictu*: xviii, 160, so *facile dictu*, xxviii, 20; *rarum dictu*, xiv, 132; *incredibile dictu*, xxxv, 88.

eam: i. e. the team proper as distinct from the *currus* and the *auriga*, likewise in xxxvi, 36 *quadriga currusque*.

13. **Xenocrates**: his identity with the Xenokrates of Athens, son of Ergophilos of *I. G. B.* 135 a and b (from Oropos), of *I. G. B.* 135 c (from Elateia), and of Ἐφήμ. ἀρχαιολ. 1892, 52 (from Oropos), though usually accepted, is nothing less than proven. See *Introd.* p. xx, note 2.

Tisicratis: *I. G. B.* 120, from Oropos.

14. **Euthycratis**: above § 67 [from the fact that this and the two

- 84 arte composuit volumina. plures artifices fecere Attali et Eumenis adversus Gallos proelia, Isigonus, Pyromachus, Stratonicus, Antigonus qui volumina condidit de sua arte. Boethi, quamquam argento melioris, infans amplexando anserem strangulat. atque ex omnibus quae rettuli clarissima 5 quaeque iam sunt dicata a Vespasiano principe in templo Pacis aliisque eius operibus, violentia Neronis in urbem con-
- 85 vecta et in sellariis domus aureae disposita. praeterea sunt aequalitate celebrati artifices, sed nullis operum suorum praecipui, Ariston qui et argentum caelare solitus est, Cal- 10 lides, Ctesias, Cantharus Sicyonius, Dionysodorus Critiae discipulus, Deliades, Euphorion, Eunicus et Hecataeus argenti caelatores, Lesbocles, Prodorus, Pythodicus, Polygnotus idem pictor e nobilissimis, item e caelatoribus
- 86 Stratonicus, Scymnus Critiae discipulus. nunc percensebo 15

4. amplexando] *Traube*; sex anno *Bamb.* (sex annis *e corr.*); eximiae *Voss.*; eximie *Ricc., Detlefsen*; annosum *coni. Buecheler in Herondas*, p. 25; vi annosum *coni. R. Meister in Mimiamben des Herondas*, p. 708. 11. Dionysius, Diodorus *Detlefsen*; Diodorus *Bamb.*; dionysiodorus *Ricc., Voss.*

preceding names contain the common element *-κρατης* it would appear that the bearers all belonged to the same family, cf. *Fick, Griech. Personennamen*, p. xi.—H. L. U.]

1. volumina: *Introd.* p. xvi.

§ 84. Attali: i. e. Attalos I, B. C. 241–197.

2. Eumenis: i. e. II, B. C. 197–159.

Gallos: *Attalus eos rex saepe fudit fugavitque*, Liv. xxxviii, 17, 15, the dates however are obscure (see *Loewy on I. G. B.* 154, pp. 117 f.); the other victories commemorated in the Pergamene inscriptions are those of Attalos I over Antiochos Hierax in 228 B. C.

Isigonus: neither his name nor those of Stratonikos (below § 90) or Antigonos, have turned up among the Pergamene inscriptions; Michaelis (*Jahrb.* viii, 1893, p. 131) accordingly proposes to alter the *Isigonus* of Pliny to *Epigonus*, but on grounds which are insufficient.

Pyromachus: above § 80.

3. volumina: *Introd.* p. xxxvi.

4. Boethi: of Chalkedon (*Paus.* v, 17, 4, where *Schubart*, however, reads *Καρχηδόσιος*); identical with the silver-chaser of xxxiii, 155. In the Heraion of Olympia Pausanias saw the gilt statue of a boy by him. quamquam elliptical, i. e. 'although more renowned as a silver chaser, yet I may mention . . .' The artist of the portrait of Antiochos Epiphanes (*I. G. B.* 210) belongs to a later period, while a third Boëthos, belonging to the first quarter of the first century B. C., is known from *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.* xi, p. 263.

infans: preserved in a number of replicas, *Munnich, Glypt.* 140; *Capitol, Helbig, Class. Ant.* 518. The same subject (without the artist's name) is mentioned *Herond.* iv, 31 *τὴν χηναλώπεκα ὡς τὸ παιδίον πνίγει | πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν γούν εἴ τι μὴ λίθος τοῦργον | ἐρεῖς λαλήσειε* (ed. O. Cru-

the number of statues that he produced, and he also wrote books on his art.

The battles of Attalos and Eumenes against the Gauls were represented by several artists, †*Isigonos*, *Pyromachos*, *Stratonikos* and *Antigonos* who also wrote books on his art.

Boëthos, though greater as a worker in silver, made a child hugging a goose till he throttles it.

The best of all the works I have mentioned have now been dedicated at Rome by the emperor Vespasian in the temple of Peace and in his other galleries, Nero having first brought them by the strong hand to Rome, and placed them in the apartments of the Golden House.

I add a list of artists whose works are of equal excellence, though no single one is of supreme merit. Such are *Ariston*, who also worked in silver, †*Kallides*, †*Ktesias*, *Kantharos* of Sikyon, *Dionysodoros* the pupil of Kritios, †*Deliaides*, †*Euphorion*, *Eunikos* and *Hekataios*, the silver chasers; †*Lesbokles*, †*Prodoros*, †*Pythodikos*, and *Polygnotos*, who was also among the most famous painters. Others who were also silver chasers were *Stratonikos* and †*Skymnos* the pupil of Kritios.

sins, who suggests the basis alone to have been of marble—cf. *Anth. Pal.* ix, 719—and accordingly assumes identity with the Plinian group, cf. *Untersuchungen zur Mimiamben des Herondas* 1892, p. 82). Identity likewise assumed by Buecheler and Meister (above text notes). The action of the child, who is really squeezing the goose in his embrace, is exactly described by the word *amplexando*, as now restored from the reading of Cod. Bamb. Addenda.

5. *ex omnibus . . . clarissima*: rhetorical flattery intended to please Pliny's patron Vespasian, cf. xxxvi, 102; so too Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vii, 5, 7 (Niese, vol. vi, p. 591) says: πάντα . . . εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν νεῶ (sc. *Templ. Pac.*) συνήχθη καὶ κατετέθη, δι' ἧν τὴν θεὰν ἄνθρωποι πρότερον περὶ πᾶσαν ἐπλανῶντο τὴν οἰκουμένην. The *templum Pacis* was ded. A. D. 75, after the conquest of Judaea; full literature Gilbert, *Rom* iii, p. 135, note 3.

7. *violentia Neronis*: for hatred of Nero, cf. above § 45, xxxv, 51, 120. Introd. p. xcii.

§ 85. 9. *aequalitate*: i.e. of merit, Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 11.

10. *Ariston*: xxxiii, 156; a painter of the name, xxxv, 110-111; cf. on *I. G. B.* 275 a.

Callides: a painter of the name in Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* viii, 3, cf. Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 311.

11. *Cantharus*: son of Alexis, pupil of Eutychides (above § 78), Paus. vi, 3, 6; 17, 7.

Dionysodoros: an artist of the name, *I. G. B.* 243 (from Delos, B. C. 110); a painter, xxxv, 146.

Critiaë: perhaps identical with the Kritios in § 49.

12. *Eunicus* εὐνικός: xxxiii, 156.

13. *Polygnotos*: xxxv, 58; known as a sculptor only from Pliny.

15. *Stratonikus*: presumably identical with the Str. of § 84 and of § 90.

84
Works
commemo-
rating the
victories of
Attalos and
Eumenes.
Boëthos.

85
Artists of
second
rank.

eos qui eiusdem generis opera fecerunt, ut Apollodorus, Androbulus, Asclepiodorus, Aleuas philosophos, Apellas et adornantes se feminas, Antignotus et luctatores, perixyomenum tyrannicidasque supra dictos, Antimachus, Athenodorus feminas nobiles, Aristodemus et luctatores bigasque 5 cum auriga, philosophos, anas, Seleucum regem. habet 87 gratiam suam huius quoque doryphorus. Cephisodoti duo fuere: prioris est Mercurius Liberum patrem in infantia nutriens, fecit et contionantem manu elata, persona in incerto est. sequens philosophos fecit. Colotes qui cum 10 Phidia Iovem Olympium fecerat philosophos, item Cleon et Cenchramis et Callicles et Cepis, Chalcothenes et comoedos et athletas, Daippus perixyomenon, Daiphron et Damo-

§ 86. 1. qui eiusdem generis: for the practice of classifying works of art according to the artistic motive cf. Furtwängler, *Dornauszueher*, pp. 20 f.

Apollodorus: above § 81.

2. Asclepiodorus: a painter of the name, xxxv, 107.

philosophos: Furtwängler, *Dornauszueher*, pp. 24 f., has pointed out that under this rubric must be understood not only philosophers in a restricted sense, but in general portraits of distinguished personages.

Apellas: son of Kallikles, makes for Olympia the chariot of Kyniska (*I. G. B.* 99 = Paus. vi, 1, 6), sister of Agesilaos (died B. C. 360) of Sparta. Cf. note on Callicles in § 87. Add.

3. adornantes se: cf. the *pselimumene* in § 70.

Antignotus: an artist of the name, *I. G. B.* 314-316 (Augustan).

4. supra dictos: descriptive of the actual personages portrayed; unnecessary difficulty has been caused (cf. Loewy on *I. G. B.* 314) by assuming that they referred to the group mentioned in § 70.

Athenodorus: xxxvi, 37.

5. Aristodemus: according to Taitian, p. 36, 9 (ed. Schwartz), makes a statue of Aisop, i. e. a work which

would fall under the heading of *philosophi*.

6. anas: votive portraits of priestesses, such as that of Lysimache, above § 76. Furtwängler, *Dornauszueher*, p. 26.

Seleucum regem: above § 73.

7. quoque: [i. e. as well as the more celebrated Doryphoros of Polykleitos in § 55.—H. L. U.]

§ 87. Cephisodoti duo: (a) the artist of the Eirene, Paus. ix, 16, 1, possibly father or brother of the great Praxiteles (cf. note on § 50); (b) a son of Praxiteles, xxxvi, 24.

8. Mercurius . . . nutriens: the motive is identical with that of the Praxitelean Hermes. Addenda.

9. manu elata: the raised hand not being an action of Greek oratory (where even to allow the hand to protrude much from the cloak was thought unseemly, Aischines c. *Tim.* 25), it is probable that the statue belonged to the class *adorantes*, and that its gesture was misinterpreted by a Roman writer as being the familiar *manus elata* of the Roman orators (Milchhöffer, *Arch. Studien H. Brunn dargeb.* 1892, p. 39). A recent conjecture *manu velata* as the equivalent of the ἐντὸς τῆν χεῖρα ἔχων of Aisch. *loc. cit.* has met with little favour, cf. S. Reinach in *Chron. d'Orient*, 1893,

I will now enumerate those who made statues of the same class, as *Apollodoros*, †*Androboulos*, *Asklepiodoros* and †*Aleuas*, who made philosophers; *Apellas*, who also made women adorning themselves, *Antignotos*, who also made wrestlers, a *περιξυόμενος* or athlete scraping himself, and statues of the tyrant-slayers whom I have mentioned, and †*Antimachos* and *Athenodoros*, who made statues of renowned women. *Aristodemos* also made wrestlers, two-horse chariots with charioteer, and figures of philosophers, of old women, and of king Seleukos; his Spear-bearer too has a charm of its own. There were two artists of the name of *Kephisodotos*; 87 by the first we have a *Hermes* nursing the infant *Dionysos*. He also made a statue of a man haranguing with uplifted hand; the person represented is not known. The younger *Kephisodotos* made statues of philosophers, and so did *Kolotes*, who had worked with *Pheidias* on his Olympian *Zeus*, *Kleon*, *Kenchramos*, *Kallikles*, and †*Kepis*; *Chalkosthenes* also made statues of comic actors and athletes. *Daïppos* made a *περιξυόμενος* or athlete scraping himself, †*Daïphron*, *Damokritos*, and †*Daimon* philosophers

86
Artists
who made
statues of
the same
class.

p. 9; W. Gurlitt in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1895, p. 1230.

persona in incerto: [i. e. the inscription was effaced, or no longer extant.—H. L. U.] So *Pausanias*, vi, 15, 7, speaks of the statue of an unknown individual as ἀνὴρ ὄριστος δῆ.

10. *Colotes*: xxxv, 54.

11. *Cleon*: of *Sikyon*, pupil of *Antiphanes*, himself pupil of *Polykleitos*, *Paus.* v, 17, 4, where a bronze *Aphrodite* by him is mentioned; *ib.* 21, 3 (two bronze *Zanes*, *I. G. B.* 95, 96); the remaining four statues by him (vi, 1, 5; 3, 10; 8, 5; 9, 2; 10, 9) all belong to the class *athletae*. For his school cf. *Furtwängler*, *Masterpieces*, p. 278.

12. *Cenchramis*: *I. G. B.* 70, 71 (both from Athens), where he is named with *Polymnestos* (*I. G. B.* 72). Add.

Callicles: son of *Theokosmos* of *Megara*, *Paus.* vi, 7, 1 (where his statue of the illustrious *περιοδονίκτης* *Diagoras* of *Rhodes* is mentioned); father of *Apellas* (above § 86). *F. Hauser* (*Röm. Mittheil.* x, 1895, pp. 97-119) would see in him the artist

of the lovely bronze head of the boy-pugilist, Munich, *Glypt.* 302, and of the original of the basalt statue of another pugilist in the *Terme Mus.* (*ib.* pl. 1).

Chalkosthenes: apparently an error for *Chaeosthenes* (Καῖκοσθένης), brother of *Dies* and son of *Apollonides*, *I. G. B.* 113-117, 220, see note on xxxv, 155. In connexion with the votive-statues of *comoedi* mentioned here, it is interesting to note that *I. G. B.* 220 is from the theatre of *Dionysos* at Athens; cf. *Δελτιόν*, 1891, p. 84, 1. Like *Epigonos* (§ 88) he is known only from *Pliny* and the inscriptions.

13. *Daïppus*: above § 51; for athlete statues by him cf. *Paus.* vi, 12, 6; 16, 5.

Damocritus: From *Paus.* vi, 3, 5 we learn that he was a *Sikyonian*, a pupil of *Pison* of *Kalaureia* (*Paus.* x, 9, 8), and fifth in school descent from the Attic artist *Kritios*. His identity with the *Δημόκριτος* of *I. G. B.* 484 and *Diogenes Laertios*, ix, 49 is doubtful.

88 critus et Daemon philosophos. Epigonus omnia fere prae-
 dicta imitatus praecessit in tubicine et matri interfectae
 infante miserabiliter blandiente. Eubuli mulier admirans
 laudatur, Ebulidis digitis computans. Micon athletic spectatur,
 Menogenes quadrigis. nec minus Niceratus omnia quae 5
 ceteri adgressus repraesentavit Alcibiaden lampadumque
 89 accensu matrem eius Demaraten sacrificantem. Tisicratis
 bigae Piston mulierem inposuit, idem fecit Martem et Mer-
 curium qui sunt in Concordiae templo Romae. Perillum
 nemo laudet saeviozem Phalaride tyranno, cui taurum fecit 10
 mugitus hominis pollicitus igni subdito, et primus expertus
 cruciatum eum iustiore saevitia. huc a simulacris deorum

11. et] *Bamb.*; ex reliqui; exprimere *Detlefsen.*

§ 88. 1. Epigonus: known from a series of Pergamene inscriptions. Fränkel, *Inscripfien aus Pergamon*, 12; 21-28; 29; 31 (= *I. G. B.* 157); 32 (= *I. G. B.* 157 a). The great bathron to which 21-28 belongs commemorates the close of the war in B. C. 228, against Antiochos and the Galatai.

omnia fere: rhetorical; cf. *clarissima quaeque* in § 84; *omnibus fere quae fecit*, xxxvi, 13.

2. tubicine: since Epigonus worked for the Pergamene kings, it has been suggested that his *tubicen* represented a Gaul with his war trumpet such as the famous 'dying Gaul' of the Capitol (Helbig, *Class. Ant.* p. 398, where see literature). [The statue, however, may, as Winckelmann suggested, have been simply the votive-portrait of the winner in the contest of heralds, such as that of Archias of Hybla at Delphoi, cf. Pollux, iv, 92, Preger, *Inscr.* 143, or that of Phorystas at Olympia, *I. G. B.* 119. For a *tubicen* by the painter Antidotus see xxxv, 130.—H. L. U.] Add.

matri interfectae: for the motive cf. xxxv, 98; S. Reinach (*Rev. des Études Grecques*, 1894, p. 41 ff.) suggests that the group was of a

Gaulish mother and her child, and belonged to the same series as the 'Dying Gaul' and the so-called 'Arrius and Paeta' of the Villa Ludovisi, Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 884. Add.

3. Eubuli: his name has been suggested in *I. G. B.* 235. For his *mulier admirans* cf. above § 78.

4. Ebulidis: his name alternates with that of Eucheiros (below § 91) on a series of inscriptions (*I. G. B.* 223-229, 544) belonging apparently to one family of artists; dates uncertain.

digitis computans: [the gesture which is expressive of pondering or meditation might be given to any number of portraits of *philosophi*; cf. Lucian, *Timon*, 122, *συνεσπαικῶς τοὺς δακτύλους πρὸς τὸ ἔθος τῶν λογισμῶν*; Plin. *Ep.* ii, 20, 3: *composuit vultum, intendit oculos, movet labra, agit digitos, computat*. This observation, coupled with the fact that, had the *digitis computans* been the portrait of a celebrated man, the name would not have been forgotten, disposes of Milchhöffer's theory (*Arch. Studien H. Brunn dargebr.* pp. 37 ff.) that the personage represented was Chrysippos.—H. L. U.]

Micon: identical with the painter,

Epigonos produced examples of almost all the subjects I have 88 mentioned, and surpassed them in his trumpeter and his infant ^{Dead} piteously caressing its dead mother. †*Euboulos* is praised for ^{mother and child by} his woman in amazement, and *Euboulides* for his man reckoning ^{Epigonos.} on his fingers. *Mikon's* athletes are admired, and the four-horse chariots of *Menogenes*. *Nikeratos* too attempted the same subjects as these artists, and also made statues of Alkibiades and his mother Demarate sacrificing by torchlight. *Piston* made a 89 woman, to be placed in a two-horse chariot by *Teisikrates*, also the statues of Ares and of Hermes which stand in the temple of Concord at Rome. *Perillos* it is impossible to praise: he showed ^{Bull of} a cruelty greater than that of the tyrant Phalaris, for whom he ^{Phalaris.} made a bull, promising that if a fire were lighted under it the cries of the man inside would sound like the animal's bellowing, a torture which cruelty for once righteous made him the first to suffer. From representations of gods and men he had dragged

xxxv, 59. The fact that he made statues of athletes has been confirmed by *I. G. B.* 41, from the statue of the *περιοδονίης* Kallias (Ol. 77 = B. C. 472); and *I. G. B.* 42.

5. *Niceratus*: above § 80, where see note on his Alkibiades.

6. *lampadum accensu*: i. e. she held a torch, possibly in each hand; the word *accensu*, however, makes me suspect a latent epigram, *Introd.* p. xliv, note 2.

7. *Demaraten*. her name was however *Δεωμάχη*, *Plat. Alc.* 105, d, &c. [The name Demarate may have crept into Pliny's authority through an error in transcribing the inscription on the group.—H. L. U.]

§ 80. *Tisicratis*: above § 83; *mulierem inposuit*, cf. § 71 on Kalamis and the Elder Praxiteles; the *mulier* was possibly a Nike.

9. *Perillum*: the Latin form. He also appears as *Perilaos* in Lucian, according to whom (*Phal.* i, 11) he was a native of Akragas; for the late notion that he was an Athenian, see Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, ii, p. 75, note 2.

10. *Phalaride*: vii, 200; B. C. 570-

564 is now generally accepted as the date of his *τύραννος*, Bentley, *Diss. on the Epistles of Phalaris* (ed. 1699), pp. 27 ff.; Freeman, *Sicily*, ii, pp. 458 f.

taurum fecit: the earliest mention of the brazen bull is by Pindar, *Pyth.* i, 184; its mechanism is fully described by Polybios, xii, 25. The bull was reputed to have been taken to Carthage on the sack of Akragas by the Carthaginians, B. C. 403; it was brought back and restored to the Carthaginians by the Younger Scipio, *Cic. Verr.* II, iv, 34, § 73. See Freeman, *op. cit.* Appendix, vii, where the story of the bull is fully discussed. It early became a *locus communis* of rhetoric (cf. Kalkmann in *Rhein. Mus.* xlii, 1887, pp. 513 ff.), which accounts for the high colouring of Pliny's language. *Introd.* p. xciii.

11. *mugitus hominis*: *Mugiet, et veri vox erit illa bovis*, Ovid, *Trist.* iii, 11, 48.

primus expertus: cf. Diodoros, ix, 19; Ovid, *loc. cit.*; and *Ars Amat.* i, 653; Lucian, *Phalaris*, i, 12.

hominumque devocaverat humanissimam artem. ideo tot conditores eius laboraverant ut ex ea tormenta fierent! itaque una de causa servantur opera eius, ut quisquis illa
 90 videat oderit manus. Sthennis Cererem, Iovem, Minervam fecit, qui sunt Romae in Concordiae templo, idem flentes 5 matronas et adorantes sacrificantesque. Simon canem et sagittarium fecit, Stratonicus caelator ille philosophos, 91 Scopas *uterque*, athletas autem et armatos et venatores sacrificantesque Baton, Euchir, Glaucides, Heliodorus, Hicanus, *Iophon*, Lyson, Leon, Menodorus, Myagrus, Poly- 10 crates, Polyidus, Pythocritus, Protogenes idem pictor e clarissimis, ut dicemus, Patrocles, Pollis, Posidonius qui et argentum caelavit nobiliter, natione Ephesius, Periclymenus, Philon, Symenus, Timotheus, Theomnestus, Timarchides, Timon, Tisias, Thrason. ex omnibus autem 15

8. scopas] *codd.*; copas *Gerhard, Dellefsen.* 10. Iophon] *Urlichs in Chrest.* p. 91; Iophon *Bamb.*; Iophon *reliqui.*

§ 90. 4. Sthennis: above § 51.

5. flentes matronas: grave portrait statues, cf. above on § 70.

6. adorantes sacrificantesque: cf. §§ 73, 78. On these rubrics see the remarks of Furtwängler, *Dornauszieher*, pp. 22 ff.

Simon: his identity with the Aeginetan artist of the name (Paus. v, 27, 2), employed with Dionysios of Argos on the Olympic votive-offerings of Phormis of Mainalos, is uncertain.

canem et sagittarium: i. e. a votive-portrait of a Kretan or Scythian bowman with his dog; cf. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

7. Stratonicus: xxxiii, 156; above §§ 84, 85.

8. Scopas uterque: although the MSS. are unanimous, no satisfactory sense can be got out of the reading. Scopas, as the name of the artist, is quite in place in the alphabetical enumeration, but we cannot follow Klein (*Arch. Ep. Mitth.* iv, p. 22 ff.) in assuming a lacuna after *uterque*, or in seeing in the *uterque* a confirma-

tion of his double Scopas (above note on § 49, l. 13). My own view is that the *uterque* is a very ancient corruption, and conceals the name of the work of art made by Scopas. It has also been suggested that *scopas* is the acc. pl. either of σκόψ (Satyric dancers, see Urlichs's note in *Chrest.* p. 331) or σκόπας (Satyr on the look-out), in which case the *uterque* would refer back to Simon and Stratonikos. ΣΚΟΠΑ^ς is inscribed above a Satyr on a vase with the Apotheosis of Herakles (Munich, *Jahn Cat.* 384 = *Mon. d. Inst.* iv, pl. 41, *Ann.* xi, *Tav. d'Agg.* O); but the fact that the next Satyr is inscribed ΤΒΡΙΣ shows that we have here no generic term, but merely an epithet applied to one particular Satyr (cf. the ἀποσκοπεύων of Antiphilos in xxxv, 138). Finally besides the *copas* (= castanet dancers), of Gerhard, Urlichs in *Pergamen. Inschriften*, p. 23, has suggested *scyphos*. See Addenda.

§ 91. athletas: for this and the following rubrics cf. *adorantes sacrificantesque* above.

down the most humanizing of arts to this level, and the early masters had only laboured to the end that instruments of torture should be created by its means. The works of Perillos, in consequence, are preserved only that whoever sees them may loathe the hand that made them. *Sthennis* made statues of Demeter, 90 Zeus and Athena, which are at Rome in the temple of Concord; also matrons weeping, praying, or sacrificing. *Simon* made a dog and an archer, *Stratonikos*, known also as a silver chaser, made statues of philosophers, and *Skopas* . . .

We have statues of athletes, armed men, hunters, and men 91 sacrificing, by *Baton*, *Euechir*, †*Glaukides*, *Heliodoros*, †*Hikanos*, †*Iophon*, *Lyson*, *Leon*, *Menodoros*, *Myagros*, *Polykrates*, †*Polyeidos*, *Pythokritos*, *Protogenes*, who was also, as will be said later on, a painter of the highest renown, *Patrokles*, †*Pollis*, *Poseidonios*, an Ephesian by nationality, who is also famous for his silver chasing, *Periklymenos*, *Philon*, *Symenos*, *Timotheos*, *Theomnestos*, *Timarchides*, *Timon*, †*Teisias*, and *Thrason*. Artists who made statues of athletes.

Baton : above § 73.

Euechir : note on *Eubulidis* above § 88.

Heliodoros : xxxvi, 35.

10. **Iophon** : the *olophon* of *Bamb.* points to a longer name. Loewy, *Untersuch.* p. 39, note 31 suggests Herophon (*I. G. B.* 280, from a basis found at Olympia).

Lyson : he made a statue of *Demos* which stood in the Bouleuterion at Athens, Paus. i, 3, 5.

Leon : perhaps = *I. G. B.* 148.

Menodoros : an artist of the name made a copy of the Eros of Praxiteles at Thespiæ, Paus. ix, 27, 4.

Myagrus : of Phokaia, Vitruv. iii, *Praef.* 2.

Polykrates : for a doubtful inscription with this name cf. *I. G. B.* 482.

11. **Pythokritos** : son of Timocharis of Rhodes, *I. G. B.* 174-176, *Ath. Mitth.* xvi, 1891, pp. 120 f. = *Jahrb.* ix, 1894, p. 41. It is interesting to note that *I. G. B.* 174 belonged to the statue of a priest, i. e. to the class *sacrificantes* (Brunn, *K. G.* i, p. 461);

while *I. G. B.* 176, from the statue of an Olympic winner, belongs to the class *athletæ*.

12. **Patrokles** : above § 50.

Posidonios : xxxiii, 156.

13. **Periklymenos** : Tatian, p. 35, 28 (ed. Schwartz), *τί μοι διὰ τὸν Περικλύμενον γύμναιον* (Eutychis Plin. vii, 34), *ὅπερ ἐκύησε τριάκοντα παῖδας, ὡς θαυμαστὸν ἠγήσασθε τὸ κατανοεῖν ποίημα*; Brunn, *K. G.* i, p. 473.

14. **Philon** : Tatian, p. 36, 17 (ed. Schwartz), mentions a statue of Hephaistion (cf. above § 64) by him; he would thus belong to the age of Alexander.

Symenos : *I. G. B.* 84 (latter half of sixth century).

Timotheus : xxxvi, 35.

Theomnestus : a painter of the name, xxxv, 107.

Timarchides : xxxvi, 35.

15. **Timon** : probably = *I. G. B.* 234 (from Athens).

Thrason : a figure of Hekate and a fountain, a Penelope and Eurykleia (in a group?) are mentioned, Strabo, xiv, p. 641; cf. Brunn, *K. G.* i, p. 421.

- 92 maxime cognomine insignis est Callimachus semper calumniator sui, nec finem habentis diligentiae, ob id catatexitechnus appellatus, memorabili exemplo adhibendi et curae modum. huius sunt saltantes Lacaenae, emendatum opus sed in quo gratiam omnem diligentia abstulerit. hunc quidem et 5
 A.U.C. 698. tantum Zenonis statuem Cypria expeditione non vendidit Cato, sed quia philosophi erat, ut obiter hoc quoque noscatur
 93 tam inane exemplum. in mentione statuarum est et una non praetereunda, quamquam auctoris incerti, iuxta 10
 rostra, Herculis tunicati, sola eo habitu Romae, torva facie, sentiensque suprema tunicae. in hac tres sunt tituli: L.
 A.U.C. 691. Luculli imperatoris de manubiis, alter: pupillum Luculli filium ex S. C. dedicasse, tertius: T. Septimium Sabinum aed. cur. ex privato in publicum restituisse. tot certaminum 15
 tantaeque dignationis simulacrum id fuit.

12. sentientique reliqui.

tunica reliqui.

§ 92. 1. Callimachus: his date can be approximately fixed at the close of the fifth century, from the fact that he is credited (Vitr. iv, 1, 10) with the 'invention,' i. e. introduction into Greece, of the Corinthian capital, which Skopas (Paus. viii, 45, 5) employed in the temple at Tegea (Ol. 96 = B. C. 396). Addenda.

calumniator sui: cf. Quint. x, 1, 115: *inveni qui Calvum praeferrent omnibus, inveni qui Ciceroni crederent, eum nimia contra se calumnia verum sanguinem perdidisse.*

2. catatexitechnus: Paus. i, 26, 7; Vitruv. loc. cit.: *Call. qui propter elegantiam ac subtilitatem artis marmoreae ab Atheniensibus catatexitechnus fuerat nominatus*; Brunns, K. G. i, p. 254 aptly compares the use of *κατατήκειν* in Dionys. H. de vi Dem. 51: *Ὁ γὰρ δὴ τοι, πλάσται μὲν καὶ γραφεῖς ἐν ὕλῃ φθαρητῇ χειρῶν εὐστοχίας ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοσοῦτους εἰσφέρονται πόνους, ὥστε καὶ φλέβια καὶ πτίλα καὶ χνοὺς καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ὅμοια εἰς ἄκρον ἐξεργάζεσθαι καὶ κατατήκειν εἰς ταῦτα τὰς τέχνας.*

4. saltantes Lacaenae: Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 438; *ib.* fig. 179) inclines to recognize the type in the dancing girls wearing the Kalathiskos so common on later reliefs and gems.

5. gratiam . . . abstulerit: this judgement flatly contradicts the words of Vitruvius quoted above (cf. also Paus. loc. cit.); an interesting evidence of divergence of opinion among ancient critics.

et pictorem fuisse: cf. of Pythagoras, § 60; of Pheidias, xxxv, 54.

7. Zenonis: he was born at Kition. His features are known from the bust at Naples, Schuster, *Ueber die erhaltenen Porträts der Gr. Philosophen*, pl. iv, 1, 1 a.

Cypria expeditione: vii, 113, when Cato went to Cyprus as *Quaestor cum iure praetorio* to confiscate the property of Ptolemy, which was put up to auction.

§ 93. 10. auctoris incerti: this suffices to discredit the proposed identification of this statue with the Herakles of Polykles, mentioned Cic. *ad Att.* vi, 1, 17.

Of all artists, however, *Kallimachos* has received the most distinctive name. He was always too severe a critic of himself, and incessantly laborious; from this he received the surname of *Kαταηξίρεχνος*, or the Niggler—a noteworthy warning that even diligence has its limits. By him we have a group of Spartan girls dancing, a work of faultless technique, which has, however, lost all charm through over elaboration. Some authorities say that *Kallimachos* was also a painter.

The statue of Zeno was the only one which Cato did not sell when commissioner in Cyprus; this, however, was not because he valued the bronze or the workmanship, but because the statue was that of a philosopher, a trivial incident, yet not unworthy of passing notice.

In speaking of statues there is one which ought not to be omitted, although the artist is unknown. It stands close to the Rostra, and represents Herakles wearing the tunic; it is the only one of him in Rome in that dress: the wild expression of the face shows that he is feeling the last agonies of the tunic. There are three inscriptions upon it: one states that it is part of the plunder taken by Lucius Lucullus, the second that the son of Lucullus, while still a minor, dedicated it in pursuance of a decree of the Senate, the third that Titus Septimius Sabinus when curule aedile made it once more a public monument. These inscriptions show the rivalry occasioned by the statue, and the value set on it.

11. *torva facie*: the description shows clearly to what school the Herakles belonged; the hero trying to extricate himself from the burning robe irresistibly recalls the Laokoon tearing away the snakes. That the *tunica* was the fatal robe sent by Deianeira is a suggestion first made by Turnebus, *Advers.* lib. xvi, 487. Though the reading *sentiensque suprema tunicae* is not absolutely beyond suspicion, I see no reason for following Peter (*ap. Roscher*, i, 2941) in denying (cf. Ulrichs in *Chrest.* p. 333) the allusion to the poisoned tunic. The subject seems to have been represented in painting by Aristeides (Polybios, *ap. Strabo*, viii, p. 381).

12. *tres sunt tituli*: showing that the statue had changed place three times; where it stood on its first dedication is unknown. The son of Lucullus re-dedicated it near the (old) Rostra. Then, owing to the numerous changes which took place in the Forum it was removed and fell into private hands; the restoration by T. Septimius Sab. was in virtue of his office as aedile, by which he had charge of public buildings and statues.

13. *de manubiis*: on the occasion of his triumph B. C. 63.

pupillum: he was the ward of Cato (*Cic. de Fin.* iii, 2) and Cicero (*Att.* xiii, 6).

- 140 Aristonidas artifex cum exprimere vellet Athamantis
 furorem Learcho filio praecipitato residentem paenitentia,
 aes ferrumque miscuit ut robigine eius per nitorem aeris
 relucente exprimeretur verecundiae rubor. hoc signum
 141 exstat hodie Rhodi. est in eadem urbe et ferreus Hercules, 5
 quem fecit Alcon laborum dei patientia inductus. vide-
 mus et Romae scyphos e ferro dicatos in templo Martis
 Ultoris.

1. **Aristonidas**: xxxv, 146, where his son Mnasitimos is mentioned among the painters *non ignobiles*; cf. *I. G. B.* 197 (inscr. more completely given by Hiller von Gaertringen, *I. G. Ins.* i, 855), which shows that M. was also a sculptor like his father.

Athamantis furorem: recalls such subjects as Herakles grieving for his madness, xxxv, 141. The Athamas was perhaps inspired by the *Ino* of Euripides, where the murder of Learchos occurred.

4. **verecundiae rubor**: cf. Plu-

The artist *Aristonidas* in a statue representing Athamas after 140 the murder of his son sought to depict fury giving place to ^{Use of} repentance, and mixed copper and iron, that the rust might show ^{iron in} through the metallic lustre of the copper and express the blush of shame; this statue exists to this day at Rhodes, where also is 141 a Herakles which *Alkon* bethought himself to cast in iron, in allusion to the fortitude of the god under his labours. We can also see cups of iron at Rome, dedicated in the temple of Mars the Avenger.

tarch's description of the Iokasta of Seilanion, Συμπ. v, 1, 2, cf. πῶς δέει τὸν νέον ποιημ. ἀκ. iii, 30.

6. *Alcon*: according to Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 402 (cf. i, p. 466) he is

perhaps identical with the chaser *Alkon*, Athen. xi, p. 469 A, the Pseudo-Virgil, *Culex*, 66; Ovid, *Metam.* xiii, 683 ff.

7. *Martis ultoris*: above § 48.

C. PLINII SECUNDI
NATURALIS HISTORIAE

LIBER XXXV, §§ 15-29; 50-149; 151-158

(*PICTURA ET PLASTICE*)

I. PICTURA.

LIB.
XXXV.

15 DE picturae initiis incerta nec instituti operis quaestio est. Aegyptii sex milibus annorum apud ipsos inventam priusquam in Graeciam transiret adfirmant vana praedicatione, ut palam est, Graeci autem alii Sicyone alii apud Corinthios repertam, omnes umbra hominis lineis circumducta, itaque 5 primam talem, secundam singulis coloribus et monochromaton dictam postquam operosior inventa erat, duratque 16 talis etiam nunc. inventam liniarem a Philocle Aegypto vel Cleanthe Corinthio primi exercuere Aridices Corinthius et Telephanes Sicyonius, sine ullo etiamnum hi colore, iam 10 tamen spargentes linias intus. ideo et quos pingerent ad-

§ 15. 1. *incerta*: in vii, 205 Pliny had already given two different versions.

2. *Aegyptii*: their contention was obviously a true one; the *vana praedicatione* is drawn from a Greek writer anxious to claim the invention of painting for Greece.

4. *Sicyone*: for its claims to artistic preeminence cf. below, § 75, xxxvi, 9, and note on xxxiv, 55; it is probable that Corinth was the earlier artistic centre, and that priority was claimed for Sikyon, when, in the latter half of the fifth century, it began to assume the leadership of the Peloponnesian schools. The allusion to Sikyon, and the theoretical character of the following genesis of painting

(Intro. p. xxviii f.) point to Xenokrates as authority.

5. *umbra . . . circumducta*: this theory is purely arbitrary; it rests on the conventional supposition that the simpler method necessarily precedes the more complex—that pictures in outline precede pictures where the contours are filled in, and monochrome painting polychrome. The historical study of the monuments, i. e. of early painted fictile wares, has shown, however, that the operation was reversed in both cases; cf. Robert, *Arch. München*, p. 121 ff. Studniczka (*Jahrb.* ii, 1887, p. 148 ff.) has made a vigorous attempt to reconcile fact with the Plinian tra-

I. PAINTING.

BOOK
XXXV.

THE origin of painting is obscure, and hardly falls within the scope of this work. The claim of the Egyptians to have discovered the art six thousand years before it reached Greece is obviously an idle boast, while among the Greeks some say that it was first discovered at Sikyon, others at Corinth. All, however, agree that painting began with the outlining of a man's shadow; this was the first stage, in the second a single colour was employed, and after the discovery of more elaborate methods this style, which is still in vogue, received the name of monochrome.

The invention of linear drawing is attributed to † *Philokles* of 16 Egypt, or to *Kleanthes* of Corinth. The first to practise it were † *Ardeikes* of Corinth, and † *Telephanes* of Sikyon, who still used no colour, though they had begun to give the inner markings, and from this went on to add the names of the personages they

*Philokles
of Egypt.
Kleanthes
of Corinth.
Ardeikes
of Corinth.
Telephanes
of Sikyon.*

dition; see also Hollwerda in *Jahrb.* v, 1890, p. 256 f. and C. Smith, art. PICTURA in Smith's *Dict. Ant.* p. 400 f., who gives a lucid analysis of the question.

§ 16. 8. *inventam liniarem*: the use of *invenio* like that of *primus* (cf. note on xxxiv, 54) must not be pressed; it arises from the determination, already noted in the case of the bronze statuary, to connect each stage of a progress with one definite name.

Philocle Aegyptio: harks back to the Egyptian tradition; Münzer, *Hermes*, xxx, 1895, p. 512, note 1.

9. *Cleanthe*: known from Strabo, viii, p. 343, as the painter of (a) an Ilioupersis, (b) a Birth of Athena (cf. Athen. viii, 346 C); for the probable style of these paintings cf. Studniczka, *op. cit.* p. 153.

11. *adscribere institutum*: the names of the personages portrayed were used ornamentally to fill up space, as often on black-figured vases.

scribere institutum. primus invenit eas colore testae, ut ferunt, tritae, Ecphantus Corinthius. hunc eodem nomine alium fuisse quam quem tradit Cornelius Nepos secutum in Italiam Damaratum Tarquini Prisci regis Romani patrem fugientem a Corintho tyranni iniurias Cypseli mox docebi-
mus.

- 17 Iam enim absoluta erat pictura etiam in Italia. exstant certe hodieque antiquiores urbe picturae Ardeae in aedibus sacris, quibus ego quidem nullas aequae miror, tam longo aevo durantis in orbitate tecti veluti recentis. similiter
Lanivi, ubi Atalante et Helena comminus pictae sunt nudaae ab eodem artifice, utraque excellentissima forma, sed altera
18 ut virgo, ne ruinis quidem templi concussae. Gaius princeps tollere eas conatus est libidine accensus, si tectori natura permisisset. durant et Caere antiquiores et ipsae. fate-
biturque quisquis eas diligenter aestimaverit nullam artium
celerius consummatam, cum Iliacis temporibus non fuisse eam appareat.

1. invenit] *codd.*; inlevit *Haupt, Detlefsen.*

1. *invenit*: the manuscript reading is defended by Holwerda (*op. cit.* p. 259, note 54) who points out that *invenire eam colore testae tritae* corresponds to *picturam invenire singulis coloribus* above. For *primus invenit* cf. below, §§ 151, 152.

testae tritae: the process, which is known only from this passage, probably died out early, Blümner, *Technol.* iv, p. 478 f.

2. *Ecphantus*: the name is that of a painter inscribed on the *columna Naniana* (*I. G. B.* 5); the identity suggested by Studniczka (*op. cit.* p. 151) is quite uncertain.

3. *alium fuisse quam*: attempts to reconcile two variant traditions—namely the attribution of the invention of painting proper to Ekphantos, and the Italian tradition that painting was perfect in Italy long before the arrival of the Greeks. Cf. § 152, where the *fictores* who followed Damaratos into Italy are mentioned.

4. *Damaratus*: below § 152; Tac. *Ann.* xi, 14; Dionysios H. iii, 46 ff., Strabo v, p. 219, viii, p. 378, &c.

5. *mox docebitur*: Furtwängler (*Plinius*, p. 25 f.; cf. Robert, *Arch. Märchen*, p. 123) has shown that the proof follows immediately: *iam enim . . .*

§ 17. 8. *Ardeae*: iii, 56; for the paintings by M. Plantius in its temple of Juno, below, § 115; for paintings in temple of Castor and Pollux see Servius on *Aen.* i, 44 (Thilo i, p. 31): *nam Ardeae in templo Castoris et Pollucis in laeva intrantibus* (cf. below, § 154) *post forem Capaneos pictus est fulmen per utraque tempora traiectus.*

11. *Lanivi*: iii, 64; viii, 221.

12. *altera ut virgo*: for the ellipse of the first *altera* cf. below, § 71 *hoplites in certamine ita decurrens ut sudare videatur, alter arma deponens ut . . .* and see note on xxxiv, 54, l. 7.

painted. The invention of painting with colour made, it is said, from powdered potsherds, is due to †*Ekphantos* of Corinth. I shall show presently that this *Ekphantos* is distinct from that namesake of his who, according to Cornelius Nepos, followed Damaratos, the father of Tarquin the Ancient, in his flight to Italy from Corinth to escape the insults of the tyrant Kypselos, for by that time painting in Italy also had already reached high perfection. To this day we may see in the temples of Ardea paintings older than the city of Rome, which I admire beyond any others, for though unprotected by a roof they remain fresh after all these years. At Lanuvium again are two nude figures by the same artist, of *Atalanta* and *Helen*, painted side by side. Both are of great beauty, and the one is painted as a virgin; they have sustained no injury though the temple is in ruins. The Emperor Caligula, who was fired by a passion for these figures, would undoubtedly have removed them if the composition of the stucco had allowed of it. Caere possesses some still more ancient paintings. No one can examine these carefully without confessing that painting reached its full development more rapidly than any other art, since it seems clear that it was not yet in existence in Trojan times.

Ekphantos of Corinth.

17
Antiquity of painting in Italy.

Paintings at Ardea.

Atalanta and Helen at Lanuvium.

18
Paintings at Caere.

Rapid development of the art.

13. *ne ruinis quidem concussae*: one may conjecture that the *Atalanta* and *Helena* had once formed part of a larger composition which was partially destroyed in Pliny's time. Engelmann (*ap. Roscher*, i, p. 1964) conjectures that the painting had originally represented a mortal counterpart of the 'Judgement of Paris'—on the analogy of a bronze Etruscan cista at Berlin (Friederichs, *Bronzen*, 542, cf. *Arch. Anz.* 1889, p. 42), where Paris appears in conversation with three nude women *Felena* (*Helen*), *Ateleta* (*Atalanta*) and *Alsir* (?). *Helen* was a favourite subject of the Etruscan artists; cf. Gerhard, *Etr. Spiegel*, iv, 373–382.

§ 18. 14. *libidine accensus*: for similar stories cf. below, § 70; xxxiv, 62.

tectori natura: below, § 173. For the elliptical construction of *si permisisset* cf. Tac. *Ann.* ii, 46; *spera-*

baturque rursum pugna, ni *Mara-boduus castra subduxisset*.

15. *Caere*, iii, 51; an interesting series of paintings from Caere (*Cervetri*) now in the Brit. Mus. has been published by A. S. Murray, *J. H. S.* x, 1889, pl. vii, pp. 243–252, who justly points out their dependence on Greek models. In asserting the independent development of painting in Italy, Pliny has evidently been misled by his patriotism. A similar, but somewhat later, series of paintings from Caere in the Louvre, *Mon. Inst.* vi, vii, pl. 30.

17. *Iliacis temporibus*: the statement is based on the Homeric poems, where, with the exception of the *vῆες μλτοπάροιοι*, and the *ἵππου παρήμιον* (*Il.* iv, 141) which 'a woman of *Faionia* or *Maionia* dyes with purple,' there are no allusions to painting; see O. Müller, *Handbuch*, p. 51.

19 Apud Romanos quoque honos mature huic arti contigit, siquidem cognomina ex ea Pictorum traxerunt Fabii clarissimae gentis, princepsque eius cognominis ipse aedem Salutis pinxit anno urbis conditae CCCCL, quae pictura duravit ad nostram memoriam aede ea Claudii principatu exusta. 5 proxime celebrata est in foro boario aede Herculis Pacuvi poetae pictura. Enni sorore genitus hic fuit, clarioremque 20 artem eam Romae fecit gloria scaenae. postea non est spectata honestis manibus, nisi forte quis Turpiliū equitem Romanum e Venetia nostrae aetatis velit referre pulchris 10 eius operibus hodieque Veronae exstantibus. laeva is manu pinxit, quod de nullo ante memoratur. parvis gloriabatur tabellis extinctus nuper in longa senecta Titedius Labeo praetorius, etiam proconsulatu provinciae Narbonensis functus, 21 sed ea re in risu etiam contumeliae erat. fuit et principum 15 virorum non omittendum de pictura celebre consilium.

A.U.C. 709. cum Q. Pedius nepos Q. Pedii consularis triumphalisque et a Caesare dictatore coheredis Augusto dati natura mutus esset, in eo Messala orator, ex cuius familia pueri avia fuerat, picturam docendum censuit, idque etiam divus 20 Augustus comprobavit, puer magni profectus in ea arte 22 obiit. dignatio autem praecipua Romae increvit, ut existimo,

§ 19. 2. *Fabii clariss. gentis*: *An censemus, si Fabio, nobilissimo homini, laudi datum esset quod pingeret, non multos apud nos futuros Polyclitos et Parrhasios fuisse?* Cic. *Tusc. Disput.* i, 2, 4. The first *Pictor* is of course distinct from the historian (h. about B.C. 254; Teuffel, 116).

3. *aedem Salutis*: since the temple was dedicated by C. Junius Bubulcus, a hero of the second Samnite war, B.C. 311, and consecrated by him as Dictator, B.C. 302 (Liv. ix, 43, 25), the pictures probably related to his exploits in Apulia (Ulrichs, *Malerei in Rom*, p. 7). From Valerius Max. viii, 14, 6 it appears that they were extensive compositions, covering perhaps the two long walls of the cella. Dionysios, xvi, 6, praises the fine drawing, and sharp clean contours

of these wall-paintings. (Against the proposed identification of a wall painting from the Esquiline, *Bull. Comm.* 1889, pl. xi, xii, as 'riproduzione in piccolo' of the pictures in the temple of Salus, see Hülsen, *Röm. Mitth.* 1891, p. 111.)

6. *foro boario aede Herculis*: this temple, which was called *aedes Aemiliana* (according to Scaliger's emendation of Festus, p. 242) was either founded or restored with great splendour by Aemilius Paullus the conqueror of Pydna; cf. H. Peter, *ap. Roscher*, i, p. 2909 f. It was natural, as Ulrichs (*Malerei*, p. 17) points out, that he should employ to decorate it Pacuvius, who had written in his honour the *Praetexta Paulus* (Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.* 326), and whose intimacy with Laelius, the bosom friend

Among the Romans too this art was early had in honour, see-¹⁹
 ing indeed that so distinguished a family as the Fabii drew from
 it the name of Pictor [Painter]; and the first of the name actually
 painted the temple of Safety, in the year of Rome 450 [304 B.C.].
 These paintings lasted until my day, when the temple was burned
 down in the reign of Claudius. Soon afterwards the poet *Pacu- Pacuvius.*
vius won great renown through his paintings in the temple of
 Hercules in the Cattle Market. The mother of Pacuvius was
 a sister of Ennius, whence it came about that the drama lent
 a new lustre to the art of painting at Rome. Since that time.²⁰
 however, the profession of painter has received no honour at the
 hands of men of good birth, unless we except in our own time
Turpilius, a Roman knight from Venetia, whose excellent pictures *Turpilius.*
 are still to be seen at Verona. He painted with his left hand,
 a peculiarity noted of no artist before him. *Titedius Labeo*, who *Titedius*
 died not long ago in extreme old age, was proud of the little *Labeo.*
 pictures that he painted: he was of praetorian rank and had even
 been governor of Narbonensis, yet his art only brought upon him
 ridicule and even scorn. Nor must I omit the famous decision²¹
 with regard to painting arrived at by eminent statesmen. *Quintus Quintus*
Pedius (grandson of that Quintus Pedius who had been consul, *Pedius.*
 had enjoyed a triumph and was named by the dictator Caesar as^{45 B.C.}
 co-heir with Augustus) having been dumb from his birth, it so
 befell that Messala, the orator, to whose family the boy's grand-
 mother belonged, advised that he should be taught to paint. The
 god Augustus approved of the idea, and the boy had made great
 progress in the art when he died. The esteem which the Romans²²

of Aemilius' son Scipio, is known to us from Cicero (*Laelius*, 7, 24).

§ 20. 9. *honestis manibus*: cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp. loc. cit.*, and the ironical words applied to Fabius Pictor by Val. Max. viii, 14, 6.

Turpilius: possibly a descendant of the Turpilius who wrote comedies, and was a contemporary of Terence (Ribbeck, *Com.* 2nd ed. 85).

11. *Veronae*: probably Pliny's birthplace, since in Praef. 1 he speaks of Catullus as his *conterraneus*.

13. *Titedius Labeo*: Tac. *Ann.* ii, 85.

§ 21. 17. *Q. Pedii consularis*: be

was the grandson of Caesar's elder sister; he triumphed Dec. 13, B.C. 45, after his Spanish campaign (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iii, 22, 23, 94-96), was consul with Augustus in B.C. 43, in which year he died.

18. *coheredis dati*: Suet. *Julius*, 83.

19. *Messala orator*: B.C. 64-A.D. 8 (Teuffel, 222), quoted in the indices to Bks. ix, xxxiii, xxxv; restores the ancient Sibyls, xxxiv, 22. Cf. also vii, 90, and above, § 8.

avia: i.e. the wife of Q. Pedius, the legate of Caesar.

§ 22. 22. *dignatio* . . . *increvit*:

a M'. Valerio Maximo Messala, qui princeps tabulam pictam proelii quo Carthaginienses et Hieronem in Sicilia vicerat, proposuit in latere curiae Hostiliae anno ab urbe condita CCCCLXXX.

A.U.C. 565. victoriae suae Asiaticae in Capitolio posuit, idque aegre tulisse fratrem Africanum tradunt haut inmerito, quando

23 filius eius illo proelio captus fuerat. non dissimilem offensionem et Aemiliani subiit L. Hostilius Mancinus qui primus Carthaginem inruperat situm eius oppugnationesque depictas proponendo in foro et ipse adstans populo spectanti singula enarrando, qua comitate proximis comitiis consulatum adeptus est.

A.U.C. 609.
A.U.C. 655.

habuit et scaena ludis Claudii Pulchri magnam admirationem picturae, cum ad tegularum similitudinem corvi decepti imaginem advolarent.

24 Tabulis autem externis auctoritatem Romae publice fecit primus omnium L. Mummius cui cognomen Achaici victoria

A.U.C. 608.

dedit. namque cum in praeda vendenda rex Attalus $\text{X}[\overline{\text{VI}}]$ emisset tabulam Aristidis, Liberum patrem, pretium miratus suspicatusque aliquid in ea virtutis quod ipse

on Roman triumphal pictures generally see the excellent remarks of Raoul-Rochette, *Peint. Ant.* p. 303 f., and recently Wickhoff, *Wiener Genesis*, p. 30 f.

1. M'. Valerio Maximo Messala: cos. B. C. 263; cf. vii, 214.

3. in latere curiae Host.: seeing the numerous changes undergone by the Curia between the date of Messala and that of Cicero, the identity of the picture with the *tabula Valeria* (Cicero *in Vat.* 9, 21; *ad Fam.* xiv, 2, 2) is improbable (it seems accepted by Becker, *Röm. Top.* p. 326, note 99, and recently by Gilbert, *Geschichte u. Top.* iii, p. 165, note 2; Urlichs, *Malerei*, p. 9, suggests that the exhibition was only temporary). The date usually assigned to Messala's victory is A. U. C. 491 = B. C. 263.

4. L. Scipio: he triumphed on the last day of the intercalary month of B. C. 188, but his splendid games were not celebrated till B. C. 186 (cf. xxxiii, 138). It is not known on

which of the two occasions he exhibited the picture of his exploits (cf. Urlichs, *op. cit.* p. 14).

5. aegre tulisse: the injury felt was far-fetched; from Val. Max. ii, 10 2, we learn that Antiochos treated the son with marked courtesy, and sent him back *celeriter*.

§ 23. 8. Aemiliani: the offence presumably consisted in the omission from the picture of any allusion to the timely help of Scipio, Appian, *Διβ.* 113 ff.; cf. *ibid.* 134, where a graphic account is given of the enthusiasm with which the Romans received the news of the fall of Carthage.

12. scaena: i. e. the *scaenae frons* or wall of the stage-buildings, upon which the scenic decorations were hung, cf. § 65.

Claudii Pulchri: aedile B. C. 99; on his games see viii, 19; Val. Max. ii, 4, 6 *C. Pulcher scenam varietate colorum adumbravit vacuis ante pictura tabulis extentam.*

gave to painting was greatly increased (so it seems to me) by the action of Manius Valerius Maximus Messala. He first caused his victory over the Carthaginians and Hiero in Sicily to be painted on wood, and exhibited the picture at the side of the Curia Hostilia in the year of Rome 490 [264 B.C.]. Following his example Lucius Scipio exhibited in the Capitol a picture representing his Asiatic victory, a step which not unnaturally displeased his brother 'the African,' whose son had been taken prisoner in the battle. In the same way Lucius Hostilius Mancinus, who had been the first to enter Carthage, incurred the anger of Scipio Aemilianus by exhibiting in the forum pictures of the site of Carthage and the various attempts to storm it, while he himself stood by, telling the whole story to the crowd of spectators with a geniality which at the next elections won him the consulship. At the games given by Claudius Pulcher, the painting of the scenery excited great wonder, the very crows being deceived by the painted tiles and flying down to settle on them.

M. Val. Max. Messala commemorates his victory by a picture.

L. Scipio Asiaticus.
189 B.C.

23
L. Hostilius Mancinus.

145 B.C.
99 B.C.

Foreign pictures, however, were first publicly brought into vogue at Rome by Lucius Mummius, surnamed the Achaean from his victories. At the auction of the spoils, King Attalos had bid for a picture of Dionysos by Aristides the sum of 600,000 denarii [£21,000 circ.], whereupon Mummius, surprised at the price offered, and suspecting some merit in the picture which escaped

Mummius introduces foreign pictures.
146 B.C.

14. *corvi decepti*: cf. below, §§ 65, 66, and 155.

§ 24. 16. **L. Mummius**: in xxxiii, 149, however, the introduction of foreign pictures into Rome is attributed to Scipio's Asiatic victories; while Liv. xxv, 40, states that the first enthusiasm for Greek pictures at Rome was a result of the capture of Syracuse by Marcellus: *ceterum inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium*; cf. also Cato's speech as given Liv. xxxiv, 4 (below note on § 157), and Plut. *Marcell.* xxi.

17. *in praeda vendenda*: the notion of an auction is inaccurate: according to Paus. vii, 16, 8, Mummius had taken to Rome the most valuable works of art, and handed over to Philopoimen (see next note) the less important objects.

rex Attalus: see vii, 126. As a fact Attalos himself was not present at Corinth (Paus. vii, 16, 1); he had only sent an auxiliary force to the Romans, under the command of Philopoimen. There is a further inaccuracy in the account of the purchase: according to Polybios (*apud* Strabo, viii, p. 381), who was an eye-witness, the Roman soldiers were already using the pictures as dice-boards, when Philopoimen offered a hundred talents to Mummius in case he should feel disposed to assign the picture to Attalos' share of the booty. For the paintings collected by Attalos, see Fränkel, *Jahrb.* vi (1891), pp. 49-60, 'Gemälde-Sammlungen u. Gemälde-Forschung in Pergamon.'

18. *Aristidis*: below, §§ 98-100.
Liberum patrem: below, § 99.

nesciret, revocavit tabulam Attalo multum querente et in Cereris delubro posuit, quam primam arbitror picturam
 25 externam Romae publicatam. deinde video et in foro positas volgo. hinc enim ille Crassi oratoris lepos agentis sub Veteribus, cum testis compellatus instaret: dic ergo, 5 Crasse, qualem me noris? talem, inquit, ostendens in tabula pictum inficetissime Gallum exerentem linguam. in foro fuit et illa pastoris senis cum baculo, de qua Teutonorum legatus respondit interrogatus, quantine eum aestimaret, donari sibi nolle talem vivom verumque. 10

26 Sed praecipuam auctoritatem publice tabulis fecit Caesar dictator Aiace et Media ante Veneris Genetricis aedem dicatis, post eum M. Agrippa vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis. exstat certe eius oratio magna et maximo civium digna de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis, 15 quod fieri satius fuisset quam in villarum exilia pelli. verum eadem illa torvitas tabulas duas Aiace et Veneris mercata est a Cyzicenis HS. [XII]. in thermarum quoque calidissima parte marmoribus incluserat parvas tabellas paulo ante, cum reficerentur, sublatas. 20

1. in Cereris delubro: xxxiv, 15; below, §§ 99, 154. Strabo, *loc. cit.* τὸν δὲ Διόυσσον [sc. 'Ἀριστείδου] ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῷ Δημητρείῳ τῷ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κάλλιστον ἔργον ἐωρῶμεν ἐμπερησθέντος δὲ τοῦ νεῶ συνηφανίσθη καὶ ἡ γραφὴ νεωστί.

§ 25. 4. Crassi oratoris: Cicero (*de Orat.* ii, 66, 266; cf. Quinct. vi, 3, 38, where see Spalding's note) attributes the witticism to the orator, C. Julius Caesar Strabo (Teuffel, 153, 3).

5. sub veteribus: sc. *tabernis*, cf. § 113; these shops, with a colonnade in front of them, stood facing the *Sacra Via*, on the site afterwards occupied by the *Basilica Julia*. The tribunal, where the scene is imagined, may have stood close to the *Regia*; cf. Jordan, *Top.* i, 2, p. 382, note 92. Cicero, *loc. cit.*, has *sub novis*, i. e. on N. side of the Forum.

6. in tabula: Cic. *loc. cit.* in

Mariano scuto Cimbrico. The protruding tongue was probably apotropaic (cf. Ulrichs in *Chrestom.*, p. 343); being misunderstood it gave occasion to the witticisms recorded by Pliny, Cicero and others with Quinctilian, perhaps also to the remark in Liv. vii, 10, 5: (*Gallum*) *linguam etiam ab irrisu exerentem*.

§ 26. 12. Aiace et Media: vii, 126 = App. I; below, §§ 136, 145.

ante V. G. aedem: whereas in § 136 the same pictures are said to be in *V. G. aede*; the latter seems the likeliest; the first variant is probably due to Pliny's carelessness; cf. Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 542. The temple was vowed by Caesar at Pharsalos (B. C. 48), ded. with the Forum, Sept. 24 or 25, B. C. 46 (but see *Mon. Ancyr.* iv, 12; Mommsen, *Res Gestae*, p. 84 f.).

13. M. Agrippa: B. C. 63–A. D. 12; Teuffel, 220, 10–14.

his own eyes, withdrew it, in spite of the protests of Attalos, and afterwards dedicated it in the temple of Ceres. This was, I believe, the first foreign picture publicly dedicated at Rome. Later on I see that they were constantly put up even in the 25 Forum, a custom which gave the orator Crassus an opening for a witticism. He was pleading a case close to the Old Shops, when a witness under examination said to him, 'Pray what do you take me for, Crassus?' 'Just such a man as that,' answered Crassus, pointing to a coarse picture of a Gaul with his tongue out. In the Forum too was the picture of an old shepherd with his staff, of which the envoy of the Teutons said, when asked what he thought it was worth, that he would not take such a man at a gift, even if he were alive and real.

But the highest public tribute to painting was paid by the 26 dictator Caesar when he dedicated the Aias and the Medeia in front of the temple of Venus the Mother, and after him by Marcus Agrippa, whose natural tastes inclined to rustic simplicity rather than to the refinements of luxury; a magnificent speech of his at least is extant, fully worthy of the first citizen in the state, urging that all pictures and statues should be made public property—certainly a wiser plan than to consign them to exile in our country houses. Yet the rude Agrippa bought two pictures—an Aias and an Aphrodite—from the people of Kyzikos for 1,200,000 sesterces [\pounds 10,500 circ.], and further, in the hottest chamber of his baths were some small pictures, let into the marble, which were removed not long ago in the course of a restoration.

Caesar's
patronage.
Aias and
Medeia.
Agrippa.

Aias and
Aphrodite
from Ky-
zikos.

17. *Aiacis et Veneris*: nothing further is known of either picture; the grounds for identifying either or both with the Ajax and Medea purchased by Caesar (Welcker, Helbig, Ulrichs, &c.) are purely fanciful. From the *post eum* we may assume that Agrippa's purchases were later than Caesar's, and the price paid for the pictures was not the same (cf. § 136 where the price paid by Caesar is given). The question is fully discussed by F. Brandstätter, *Timomachos*, p. 16 ff. The occasion for Agrippa's purchases, and the spot where he exhibited them, are unknown. He may have bought the pictures as aedile

in B.C. 33, or to adorn the buildings which several years later were carried out under his direction (the *Septa Julia* in B.C. 26; the *Thermae* and the *Porticus Neptunia* in the following year; cf. Brandstätter, *loc. cit.*).

18. *thermarum*: immediately behind the Pantheon: the *calidissima pars* must be identical with the *cal-darium*.

19. *incluserat*: according to a custom general in Roman times; cf. below the pictures in the Curia Julia (§ 27). The six celebrated monochrome pictures in red on white marble slabs (Naples) had been let into the wall in a similar manner; cf.

27 Super omnis divus Augustus in foro suo celeberrima in parte posuit tabulas duas quae Belli faciem pictam habent et Triumphum, item Castores ac Victoriam. posuit et quas dicemus sub artificum mentione in templo Caesaris patris. A.U.C. 725. idem in curia quoque quam in comitio consecrabat duas 5 tabulas impressit parieti. Nemean sedentem supra leonem palmigeram ipsam adstante cum baculo sene cuius supra caput tabella bigae dependet, Nicias scripsit se inussisse, 28 tali enim usus est verbo. alterius tabulae admiratio est puberem filium seni patri similem esse aetatis salva differentia 10 supervolante aquila draconem complexa. Philochares hoc suum opus esse testatus est. inmensam, vel unam si tantum hanc tabulam aliquis aestimet, potentiam artis, cum propter Philocharen ignobilissimos alioqui Glaucionem filiumque eius Aristippum senatus populi Romani tot saeculis spectet. 15 posuit et Tiberius Caesar minime comis imperator in templo ipsius Augusti quas mox indicabimus.

29 Hactenus dictum sit de dignitate artis morientis. quibus coloribus singulis primi pinxissent diximus, cum de his pigmentis traderemus in metallis: monochromata ea genera 20 picturae vocantur. qui deinde et quae invenerint et quibus temporibus, dicemus in mentione artificum, quoniam indicare naturas colorum prior causa operis instituti est. tandem

6. impressit parieti, Nemean usque ad bigae (bigae Voss., bigere Bamb., palmigere Bamb. e corr.) dependet. Nicias Detlefsen; interpunctionem corr. Traube. 20. metallis: monochromata . . . vocantur] Littré; metallis. qui monochromata—ea genera picturae vocantur—Detlefsen, vid. errata, vol. v pag. 250.

Robert, *Hall. Winckelm. progr.* xix, 1895, p. 5 f.; Raoul-Rochette, *Peintures*, p. 162; Wickhoff, *Wiener Genesis*, p. 70.

§ 27. 1. in foro . . . parte: below, § 93, in *fori sui celeberrimis partibus*.

2. Belli faciem . . . et Triumphum = below, § 93 *Belli imaginem restrictis ad terga manibus, Alexandro in curru triumphante*; ib. *Castorem et Pollucem cum Victoria*.

3. quas dicemus: i. e. the Anadyomene of Apelles in § 91.

5. in curia: sc. *Julia*, ded. by

Augustus B.C. 29: it had been begun by Caesar to replace the *Curia* of Sulla.

6. impressit parieti: cf. note on *incluserat* in § 26.

Nemean . . . Nicias: §§ 130, 131. The *Nemea* was the personification of the festal city; the *senex* with the staff one of the judges in the games; the tablet with the chariot indicated the particular contest of which the picture was the memorial (Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 194); cf. in Paus. i, 22, 7 the picture commemorating

Above all the god Augustus placed in the most frequented part 27
of the Forum which bears his name, two pictures, the one containing *Augustus.*
figures of War and of Triumph, the other Kastor and his twin, *Pictures in*
with Victory. He also dedicated in the temple of his father Caesar *his forum.*
certain pictures which I shall mention when I enumerate the artists. *In temple*
Furthermore he let into the wall of the Council Chamber which *of Caesar.*
he consecrated in the Comitium two pictures. On the one, which *In Curia.*
represents the nymph Nemea holding a palm and seated on a *29 B.C.*
lion, while an old man with a staff stands by, above whose head *1. Nemea*
is suspended a tablet with a two-horse chariot, Nikias has written *by Nikias.*
that he burned in the painting, using that very word [*ἐνέκαεν*]. In 28
the other picture we admire the marked resemblance between *2. Picture*
a young man and his aged father, although the difference of age *by Philo-*
is not lost; an eagle with a snake in its talons is flying over their *chares of*
heads. Philochares lays claim to the painting as his work. *Glaukion*
Marvellous is the power of art, judged by this work alone, since *and Aris-*
Philochares could turn the eyes of the Senate of the Roman *tippos.*
people for so many years upon Glaukion and his son Aristippos, *Tiberius.*
persons otherwise quite obscure. Tiberius Caesar too, rude
prince though he was, dedicated in the temple of Augustus
pictures which I shall name later on.

I have said enough concerning the dignity of a decaying art. 29
When treating of pigments in my account of metals I named the
colours used singly by the early painters; paintings in that style
are called monochromes. Subsequent innovators, together with
the character and date of their inventions, I shall treat of in my
account of the artists, since the scheme of my work obliges me
first to describe the composition of the pigments employed.

the victory of Alkibiades in the Ne-
mean games: ἵππων δὲ οἱ νίκης τῆς ἐν
Νεμέᾳ ἐστὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ γραφῇ; also
the *pinax* with *biga* on the 'Ikaorios'
relief (Br. Mus. = Friederichs-Wolters,
1844).

8. inussisse i. e. ἐνέκαεν: cf. 122.

§ 28. 9. alterius tabulae: since
placed in the open air, presumably
likewise in encaustic. The eagle and
snake, like the *tabella bigae*, must
have referred to the event com-
memorated by the picture. How the
work of Nikias came into the hands
of Augustus is unknown (§ 131); as

to the picture of Philochares, Wun-
derer (*Manubiae Alexandrinae*, p. 23)
suggests that it belonged to Augustus's
Egyptian spoils.

11. Philochares: perhaps identic-
al with the vase-painter, brother of
the orator Aischines, mentioned
derisively (*ἀλαβαστοθήκας γράφων*) by
Demosthenes, *Fals. Leg.* p. 415, 237
(Ol. 109, 2 = B. C. 343).

17. *mox indicabimus*: in § 131.

§ 29. 19. *diximus*: in xxxiii,
117.

20. *monochromata*: *ibid.*; cf.
above, § 15; below, § 56.

se ars ipsa distinxit et invenit lumen atque umbras, differentia colorum alterna vice sese excitante. postea deinde adiectus est splendor, alius hic quam lumen. quod inter haec et umbras esset appellarunt tonon, commissuras vero colorum et transitus harmogen.

5

50 Quattuor coloribus solis immortalia illa opera fecere—ex albis Melino, e silaciis Attico, ex rubris Sinopide Pontica, ex nigris atramento—Apelles, Aetion, Melanthius, Nicomachus, clarissimi pictores, cum tabulae eorum singulae oppidorum venirent opibus. nunc et purpuris in parietes 10 migrantibus et India conferente fluminum suorum limum, draconum elephantorumque saniem nulla nobilis pictura est. omnia ergo meliora tunc fuere, cum minor copia. ita est, quoniam, ut supra diximus, rerum, non animi pretiis excubatur.

15

51 Et nostrae aetatis insaniam in pictura non omittam. Nero princeps iusserat colosseum se pingi CXX pedum linteo, incognitum ad hoc tempus. ea pictura cum peracta esset

1. lumen atque umbras: cf. xxxiii, 160; below, § 131.

2. alterna vice sese excitante: this passage should be studied in connexion with Aristotle's doctrine, in the third book of the *Meteorologica*, of the juxtaposition of colours; cf. with relation to the Plinian words: μέλαν παρὰ μέλαν ποιεῖ τὸ ἤρημα λευκὸν παντελῶς φαίνεσθαι λευκὸν *Meteor.* p. 375 a, 20. See on the whole subject, Bertrand, *Études*, pp. 150–160.

3. splendor: the meaning suggested for this word by Blümner, *Technol.* iv, p. 428 is 'reflexion' (for reflected lights cf. § 138). But reflexion comes simply under the same heading as treatment of light, whereas the words of Pliny, *alius hic quam lumen*, expressly show that *splendor* was a totally different factor to light. In truth it was neither more nor less than the 'glow' which—as distinct from any treatment of light and shade

—is so marked a quality of certain Renaissance and modern artists (e.g. Titian, Turner). Külb rightly translates 'Glanz.' *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

4. tonon: what the modern French would call 'values,' i. e. the passages from the more lit up parts in a picture to the less, the 'value' being the quantity of light in a given colour.

commissuras . . . colorum: the arrangement of colours, resulting in ἀρμογή, or what the moderns would call the general 'tone' of a picture.

§ 50. 6. Quattuor coloribus: cf. Cic. *Brutus* 18, 70 *similis in pictura ratio est, in qua Zeuxin et Polygnotum et Timanthem et eorum qui non sunt usi plus quam quattuor coloribus, formas et lineamenta laudamus; at in Aetione, Nicomacho, Protogene, Apelle iam perfecta sunt omnia.* These words do not necessarily contradict the statement of Pliny or prove that the later painters used more

Art at last differentiated itself and discovered light and shade, the several hues being so employed as to enhance one another by contrast. Later on glow—a different thing to light—was introduced. The transition between light and shade they called *ρόνος*, but the arrangement of hues and the transition from one colour to another harmonization or *ἀρμονγή*.

Four colours only—white from Melos, Attic yellow, red from 50 Sinope on the Black Sea, and the black called ‘atramentum’—*Four colours used by early artists.* were used by Apelles, Aetion, Melanthios and Nikomachos in their immortal works; illustrious artists, a single one of whose pictures the wealth of a city could hardly suffice to buy, while now that even purple clothes our walls, and India contributes the ooze of her rivers and the blood of dragons and of elephants, no famous picture is painted. We must believe that when the painter’s equipment was less complete, the results were in every respect better, for as I have already said, we are alive only to the worth of the material and not to the genius of the artist.

In our own days too painting has known an extravagance which 51 must not be forgotten: the Emperor Nero ordered a colossal portrait of himself, 120 feet in length, to be painted on canvas, a thing *Colossal portrait of Nero on canvas.*

than four colours. The *perfecta omnia* need mean no more than that they had learnt endless combinations of the four colours, whereas the older painters used them pure or knew but of few combinations. The colour effects produced by Apelles and his contemporaries being far more elaborate than anything attempted in the period of Polygnotos, it is natural that the employment of only four colours should, in their case, be dwelt upon with special admiration. As an example of what can be accomplished with only four colours, the student will remember the ‘Christ crowned with thorns’ by Titian in the Munich Pinakothek (1114); cf. Morelli, *Galleries of Munich and Dresden*, p. 58 (Transl. C. J. Ffoulkes). The ‘four colours’ are elaborately discussed by Bertrand, *Études*, pp. 132–144. [The names Apelles—Nicomachus are in alphabetical order. H. L. U.]

8. Apelles: below, § 92 *legentes meminerint omnia ea* (sc. *opera*) *quattuor coloribus facta*.

11. India . . . *limum*: i. e. *indigo*, cf. xxxiii, 163; above, §§ 46, 49.

12. *draconum elephantorumque saniem*: also called *cinnabaris*, ‘dragon’s blood’; in viii, 34, Pliny gives a wonderful account of its production; cf. xxxiii, 116.

14. *ut supra diximus*: xxxv, 4: *honorem non nisi in pretio ducentes*; cf. the similar rhetorical complaint in xxxiv, 5.

§ 51. 17. *colosseum*: a counterpart to the colossal statue by Zenodorus in xxxiv, 45.

18. *incognitum*: if still unknown in Pliny’s day, the practice of painting on canvas soon became general, as is witnessed by the portraits from the Fayoum; cf. Cecil Smith, *Pictura*, p. 329; Berger, *Beiträge*, ii, p. 52 f.

in Maianis hortis, accensa fulmine cum optima hortorum
 52 parte conflagravit. libertus eius cum daret Anti munus
 gladiatorum, publicas porticus occupavit pictura, ut constat,
 gladiatorum ministrorumque omnium veris imaginibus red-
 ditis. hic multis iam saeculis summus animus in pictura, 5
 pingi autem gladiatoria munera atque in publico exponi
 coepta a C. Terentio Lucano. is avo suo a quo adoptatus
 fuerat triginta paria in foro per triduum dedit tabulamque
 pictam in nemore Dianae posuit.

53 Nunc celebres in ea arte quam maxima brevitate per- 10
 curram, neque enim instituti operis est talis executio, itaque
 quosdam vel in transcurso et in aliorum mentione obiter
 nominasse satis erit, exceptis operum claritatibus quae et
 54 ipsa conveniet attingi sive exstant sive intercidere. non
 constat sibi in hac parte Graecorum diligentia multas post 15
 olympiadas celebrando pictores quam statuarios ac toreutas,
 primumque olympiade LXXXX, cum et Phidian ipsum
 initio pictorem fuisse tradatur clipeumque Athenis ab eo
 pictum, praeterea in confesso sit LXXX tertia fuisse fratrem
 eius Panaenum, qui clipeum intus pinxit Elide Minervae 20

1. Maianis hortis: C. I. L. vi, 6152, 8668, where they are mentioned along with the *horti Lamiani*, which as we learn from Phil. Jud. *περὶ ἀρετ. καὶ πρῶσθ.* 2, p. 597, ed. Mangey (cf. Becker, *Röm. Top.* p. 542, note 1142), were close to the gardens of Maecenas on the Esquiline.

§ 52. 2. Anti: iii, 57; it was the birthplace of Nero (Suet. *Nero* 6).

4. gladiatorum . . . imaginibus: numberless representations of gladiators have come down to us in mosaics; such as the mosaic from Trèves (Baumeister, *Denkm.* pl. xci); cf. the great mosaic with portraits of athletes in the Lateran (Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 704).

7. C. Terentio Lucano: possibly identical, according to Mommsen, with the *Terentius Lucanus* on the coin *Röm. Münzw.* p. 554, 164 (and note 278).

9. in nemore Dianae: i.e. the

grove of Nemi; cf. xvi, 242 and Strabo, v, p. 239.

§ 53. 10. Nunc celebres . . . percurram: cf. xxxiv, 53.

13. claritatibus: [xxviii, 87 in *ceteris claritates animalium aut operum sequemur* = for the rest, I shall note remarkable animals . . . H. L. U.]

§ 54. 14. non constat sibi . . . adiutor: the supposed proofs of Greek inaccuracy are skilfully cumulated, (a) *non constat sibi* . . . (b) § 56 *quid quod in confesso* . . . (b) § 57 *quod si recipi necesse est* . . . , the argument culminating in § 58 in the words *chronicorum errore non dubio*, after which the case of Polygnotos is thrown in as a kind of postscript. The complaint was, however, unjust and originally based on a misunderstanding, see Introd. p. xxx.

17. olympiade LXXXX: below, § 60.

previously unheard of. When the picture was finished, it was struck by lightning in the gardens of Maius, and burned together with the greater part of the gardens. A freedman of this emperor 52 gave a gladiatorial show at Antium, at which the public colonnades were adorned by a picture of all the gladiators and attendants, portrayed from the life. Realistic portraiture indeed has for many generations been the highest ambition of art; Gaius Terentius Lucanus, however, was the first to have a picture of a gladiatorial show painted and to exhibit it in public. He showed thirty pairs of gladiators in the Forum for three days, in honour of his grandfather, who had adopted him: moreover he dedicated a picture of them in the grove of Diana. *Portraits of gladiators.*

I now propose to mention the most famous painters as briefly 53 as may be, for a detailed account would be inconsistent with the scheme of my work. It will therefore be enough if I give some artists only a passing notice, or name them in connexion with others; though I must still make a separate mention of the most renowned paintings, whether they be still in existence or whether they have perished. On this point the Greeks have made a mistake in placing the painters many years later than the bronze workers and metal chasers, and in giving the ninetieth Olympiad [420-417 B.C.] as the date of the earliest painter, overlooking the tradition that *Pheidias* himself was originally a painter, and painted a shield at Athens. It is further acknowledged that *Panainos* brother of *Pheidias*, who lived in the eighty-third *Panainos.*

18. *initio pictorem*: cf. xxxiv, 60 *Pythagoras Samius initio pictor* and *Introductio*. p. li.

clipeum: the shield introduced without any further definition has an apocryphal air (cf. Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 553, and *Introductio loc. cit.*). It cannot of course be that of the Athena Parthenos as Urlichs (*Chrest.* p. 346), Robert (*Arch. Märch.* p. 24), and Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 45), would have it, for so important a fact would have been noted; besides, we have the express statement in xxxvi, 18 that the inner side of the shield of the Parthenos was carved in relief, H. L. Urlichs, *Woch. f. klass. Phil.* 1895, p. 548.

tradatur: H. L. Urlichs (*loc. cit.*) points out that the expression is

opposed to *in confesso sit*, i. e. hearsay to ascertained fact.

19. *LXXX tertia*: the date is loosely assumed for *Panainos*, as being that of his brother *Pheidias*, xxxiv, 49; Robert, *op. cit.* p. 25; Furtwängler, *op. cit.* p. 40 f.

20. *Panaenum*: *Panainos* is again mentioned below, in his proper order in the history of the development of painting, without any reference to this first notice, which is from a different source, cf. *Introductio*. p. xxviii f. and p. li f. *Fratrem*, so also Paus. v, 11, 6: ἀδελφίδου's Strabo viii, p. 354.

intus pinxit: with the device of a cock (Paus. vi, 26, 3, where the Athena is simply attributed to *Pheidias*). *Introductio*. p. liv, note 1.

Elide: from xxxvi, 177 (=App.

quam fecerat Colotes discipulus Phidiae et ei in faciendo
 55 love Olympio adiutor. quid quod in confesso perinde est
 Bularchi pictoris tabulam, in qua erat Magnetum proelium,
 a Candaule rege Lydiae Heraclidarum novissimo, qui et
 Myrsilus vocitatus est, repensam auro? tanta iam dignatio 5
 picturae erat. circa Romuli id aetatem acciderit necesse
 est, etenim duodevicensima olympiade interit Candaules
 A.U.C. 37. aut, ut quidam tradunt, eodem anno quo Romulus, nisi
 fallor, manifesta iam tunc claritate artis, adeo absolute.
 58 quod si recipi necesse est, simul apparet multo vetustiora 10
 principia eosque qui monochromatis pinxerint, quorum
 aetas non traditur, aliquanto ante fuisse, Hygiaenontem,
 Dinian, Charmadan et qui primus in pictura marem 5
 a femina discreverit Eumarum Atheniensem figuras omnis
 imitari ausum, quique inventa eius excoluerit Cimonem 15
 Cleonaeum. hic catagrapha invenit, hoc est obliquas
 imagines, et varie formare voltus, respicientes suspicientesve
 vel despicientes. articulis membra distinxit, venas protulit,

VIII) it appears that Panainos also decorated with paintings the walls of the temple of Athena.

1. Colotes: xxxiv, 87. *Love Olympio*: xxxiv, 54; xxxvi, 18.

§ 55. 3. Magnetum proelium: according to vii, 126, a defeat (*excidium*), but the precise event is unknown. S. Reinach (*Rev. des Ét. Grecques*, 1895, p. 175 ff.), justly comments on the strangeness of the tradition that a Greek painter immortalized a Greek defeat, and tries to prove the *excidium* to have crept into Pliny's account by confusion with the celebrated defeat—or rather extermination—of the Magnetes by the Treeres in B. C. 651 (Strabo xiv, p. 647), which gave rise to the proverbial τὰ Μαγνητῶν κακά. R. wishes to refer the picture to some one of the Magnete victories alluded to by Strabo (*loc. cit.*) on the testimony of Kallinos (cf. also Wilamowitz in *Hermes*, xxx (1895), p. 177 ff.). But where so much is uncertain, we shall

hesitate before throwing overboard our only piece of positive information—the *excidium* of vii, 126 (= App. I).

6. circa Romuli aetatem: the synchronism is based on Herod. i, 12, who gives the death year of Kandaules = accession of Gyges = *floruit* of Archilochos, and must be connected with Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* i, 13), who places Archilochos *regnante Romulo*; cf. Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 542; cf. *Introd.* p. lxxxiv.

§ 56. 11. monochromatis: above, §§ 15, 29.

14. discreverit: as in black-figured vases, by painting the flesh parts of the women white (*Introd.* p. xxix). Indeed a conventional difference between the colouring of the sexes seems to have been observed down to the latest time. Thus albeit Alexander was remarkable for his fair skin, Apelles in his portrait of the king οὐκ ἐμμήσατο τὴν χροάν, ἀλλὰ φαϊότερον καὶ πεπιωμένον ἐποίησεν Plut. *Al.* iv, 120.

Eumarum: the name is still known

Olympiad [448–445 B.C.], painted at Elis the inner surface of the shield belonging to an Athena by Kolotes, a pupil of Pheidias and his assistant in executing the Olympian Zeus. Again, is it not an undisputed fact that a picture of the defeat of the Magnes by the painter *Boularchos* was bought by Kandaules, also called *Boularchos*. Myrsilos, the last Lydian king of the line of the Heraklids, for its weight in gold, a proof of the honour already paid to painting? This must have taken place in the days of Romulus, for Kandaules died in the eighteenth Olympiad [708–705 B.C.], or, according to some authorities, in the same year as Romulus, and already then, B.C. 717. unless I am mistaken, the art had attained to greatness, even to perfection. And if we must accept this, it follows that its first origin **56** is much older, and that the early painters in monochrome, whose *Painters in monochrome.* dates have not been handed down to us, lived some time before. Such, for example, were †*Hygiainon*, †*Deinias*, †*Charmadas*, †*Eumaros* of Athens, who was the first to mark the difference *Eumaros of Athens.* between man and woman in painting, and who ventured to imitate every sort of figure, and *Kimon* of Kleonai, who developed *Kimon of Kleonai.* the inventions of Eumaros. He devised *κατάγραφα*, or profile drawings, and represented the features in different postures, looking backwards or upwards or downwards. He marked the attachments of the limbs, gave prominence to the veins, and also

only from Pliny, for the reading *Εὔμαρος* on the basis from the Akropolis, bearing the signature of Antenor (*Jahrb.* ii, 1887, p. 135 f.) is quite uncertain (cf. Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, p. 154). Further, the conjecture of Urlichs, *Eumari* (*Höln. Pferd*, p. 14 n. 12), for the corrupt *Arimnae* in Varro, *Ling. Lat.* ix, 6, 12, is impossible; see Spengel's critical apparatus, p. 198.

figuras = 'position' by a slight extension of one meaning given to the word by Cicero, *Verrés* II, i, 21, 57, *non solum numerum signorum, sed etiam uniuscuiusque magnitudinem, figuram, statum litteris definiri videt*, upon which see Pseudo-Asconius, p. 174, 7 (ed. Orelli) *figura est circa gestum situmque membrorum* (Blümler, *Rhein. Mus.* 26, p. 353).

15. *Cimon*: cf. the improvements attributed to him by Ailian, *πικρ. ιστ.* viii, 8.

16. *catagrapha*: the word is susceptible of meaning 'foresbortening' (Holwerda, *Jahrb.* v, 1890, p. 258; Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, p. 156 f., Lange, *Fremdstilling*, pp. 429, 464), and this was possibly the meaning intended by the Greek author, for profile figures, which had existed from the earliest times, could on no theory, however conventional, be interpreted as audacious inventions. It is clear however that Pliny or his Latin author understood *catagrapha* as simply = profile, since this is the meaning he gives to the Greek equivalent *obliqua imago* in § 90, where see note.

17. [*respicientes suspicientesve vel despicientes*: sudden change from asyndeton to disjunctive particle, cf. xxviii, 63 *contra renum aut lumborum, vesicae cruciatus*, J. Müller, *Stil*, p. 69. H. L. U.]

18. *membra . . . protulit*: cf. on

- 57 praeterque in vestibus rugas et sinus invenit. Panaenus quidem frater Phidiae etiam proelium Atheniensium ad
 A.U.C. 264. versus Persas apud Marathona factum pinxit. adeo iam colorum usus increbruerat, adeoque ars perfecta erat ut in eo proelio iconicos duces pinxisse tradatur, Atheniensium 5 Miltiaden, Callimachum, Cynaegirum, barbarorum Datim, Artaphernen.
- 58 Quin immo certamen etiam picturae florente eo in-
 A.U.C. 306. stitutum est Corinthi ac Delphis, primusque omnium certavit cum Timagora Chalcidense, superatus ab eo Pythiis, quod 10 et ipsius Timagorae carmine vetusto apparet chronicorum errore non dubio. alii quoque post hos clari fuere ante LXXXX olympiadem, sicut Polygnotus Thasius qui primus mulieres tralucida veste pinxit, capita earum mitris versicoloribus operuit plurimumque picturae primus contulit, 15 siquidem instituit os adaperire, dentes ostendere, voltum 59 ab antiquo rigore variare. huius est tabula in porticu Pompei, quae ante curiam eius fuerat, in qua dubitatur an ascendentem cum clupearum pinxerit an descendentem. hic

1. vestibus rugas] *Traube*; veste brugas *Bamb.*; verrugas *reliqui*; veste rugas *Detlefsen*.

xxxiv, 59, the improvements attributed to Pythagoras of Rhegion. *Introd.* p. xxvii.

57. 3. apud Marathona: on a wall of the *στοὰ ποικίλη* (§ 59). The picture was ascribed by other writers to Mikon (Arrian, *Anab.* vii, 13, 5; Ailian, *περὶ ζώων* vii, 38; Sopatros, *διαρ. ζητημ.* i, 8), and may have been the work of both painters, Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen* ii, p. 503. Others again (see Ailian, *loc. cit.*) gave it to Polygnotos. Pausanias in his description of the Poikile, i, 15, names no artists. For the latest reconstruction of the picture see Robert, *Hall. Winkelmannspr.* xviii, 1895. Addenda.

5. iconicos duces: the year of the battle being B. C. 490, and the Stoa dating presumably from Kimon's recall in B. C. 457 (Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 41), there can be no question of real portraiture; but the

tradition of the names attaching to each figure would be carefully preserved; perhaps too there was an attempt at characterization, so that in a history of the development of painting Panainos might pass as the first to have essayed portraiture (*Introd.* p. xxviii f.).

6. Miltiaden: his name was not inscribed, but he was characterized by his gesture of exhortation, Aischines *c. Ktesiph.* 186, &c., see Wachsmuth's fine criticism of the passage, *op. cit.* p. 506, note 2. For the motive see the warrior on the gold sheath in the Hermitage, Benndorf, *Gjölbaschi* p. 157 fig. 143 = *Compte Rendu* 1864, pl. v, 1.

Callimachum, Cynaegirum: Ail. *loc. cit.* τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κυνέγειρον καὶ Ἐπίζηλόν τε καὶ Καλλιμάχον, cf. Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* p. 510 f. The omission of Epizelos in Pliny is

discovered the wrinkles and the windings of drapery. Further- 57
more *Panainos* the brother of Pheidias painted the battle between *Panainos*.
the Athenians and Persians at Marathon. So extensively were *Picture of*
colours now used, so perfect had technique now become, that he *battle of*
is actually said to have given the real portraits of the commander *Marathon*.
on both sides, of Miltiades, Kallimachos and Kynaigeiros among
the Athenians, of Datis and Artaphernes among the barbarians.

Nay more, competitions for painters were instituted at Corinth 58
and Delphoi in the time of Panainos, when in the first contest he
tried for the prize against *Timagoras* of Chalkis, who conquered *Painting*
him, as we know from an old epigram by Timagoras himself, at *competi-*
the Pythian games; an evident proof that the chroniclers are *tions*.
wrong in their dates. Yet other painters became famous before 448 B.C.
the ninetieth Olympiad [420-417 B.C.], as for example *Polygnotos* *Timagoras*
of Thasos, who first painted women with transparent garments *of Chalkis*.
and gave them headdresses of various colours. This artist made *Polygnotos*
a first serious contribution to the development of painting by *of Thasos*.
opening the mouth, showing the teeth, and varying the stiff
archaic set of the features. He painted the picture now in the 59
gallery of Pompeius and formerly in front of his Council Chamber, *His*
representing a warrior armed with a shield, about whom people *'warrior.'*
argue as to whether he is ascending or descending. He also

curious. The heroes are mentioned
as an indivisible triad by Plutarch,
Glor. Ath. 3, Diogenes Laert. i, 56.

§ 58. 9. Corinthi ac Delphi: i.e.
at the Isthmian and Pythian festivals
(*Pythiis* below); for contests between
painters cf. §§ 65, 72 and
Introd. p. lxiv.

13. Polygnotus: son of the first
Aglaophon, and brother of Aristophon
(§§ 60, 138).

qui primus: introduces as usual,
the artist's special contribution to the
progress of his art, Introd. p. xxviii f.

14. translucida veste: Ailian, *ποικ.*
ιστ. iv, 3 *ἱματίων λεπτότητας*; Lucian,
εἰκόνες 7 ἐς τὸ λεπτότατον ἐχειργασ-
μένην (of the drapery of *Kassandra*
in the *Nekuia*).

§ 59. 17. porticu Pompei: in
the immediate vicinity of Pompeius's
theatre.

18. curiam: Gilbert, *Rom.* iii,
p. 325; numerous works of art
were collected by Pompeius in the
complex of buildings about his
Theatre.

in qua dubitatur: the warrior
(perhaps *Kapaneus*, cf. *Benndorf, op.*
cit. p. 190; pl. xxiv, A. 4: *Anth. Plan.*
iv, 106) was presumably on a ladder,
and it was difficult to tell whether he
was climbing up or coming down again.
Robert, *Hall. Winckelmannsprog.*
xviii, 1895, p. 67, suggests that
the *tabula* was the votive picture of
an *apobates*, of whom it was uncertain
whether he was stepping up to, or
down from, his chariot; for the subject
see the beautiful monochrome picture
on white marble slab (Naples, *Helbig,*
Wandgemälde 1405^b), published by
Robert, *Hall. Winckelmannsprog.*
xix, 1895.

Delphis aedem pinxit, hic et Athenis porticum quae Poecile vocatur gratuito, cum partem eius Micon mercede pingeret. vel maior huic auctoritas, siquidem Amphictyones, quod est publicum Graeciae concilium, hospitia ei gratuita decrevere. fuit et alius Micon qui minoris cognomine distin-

60 LXXXX autem olympiade fuere Aglaophon, Cephisodorus, Erillus, Evenor pater Parrhasi et praeceptor maximi pictoris de quo suis annis dicemus, omnes iam inlustres, non tamen in quibus haerere expositio debeat festinans ad lumina
10 artis in quibus primus refulsit Apollodorus Atheniensis LXXXIII olympiade. hic primus species exprimere instituit primusque gloriam penicillo iure contulit. eius est sacerdos adorans et Ajax fulmine incensus, quae Pergami

1. Delphis aedem: i. e. the *Λέσχη* or covered portico where people met to converse. The pictures, which included an Ilioupersis and a Neknia are described in Paus. x, 25-31. For modern reconstructions see Robert, *Hall. Winckelmannspr.* xvi, 1892 and xvii, 1893.

Poecile: where next to Micon's *Amazonomachia* (below) Polygnotos painted an *Ilioupersis*. Next to this again came the *Marathon* by Micon and Panainos (above). For the distribution of the pictures see Benndorf, *op. cit.* p. 156, and the new arrangement proposed by Robert in *Hall. Winckelmannspr.* xviii, 1895, p. 44. The pictures, as appears from Synnesios, *Ep.* 135 (= Overb. *Schriftquell.* 1057), were not mural paintings in the ordinary sense, but were painted on wooden boards or panels; cf. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, ii, p. 504.

2. gratuito: cf. Melanthios (cf. Wilamowitz, *Arist. u. Athen.* p. 287, n. 37) *ap.* Plutarch, *Kimon*, iv, p. 431:

αὐτοῦ γὰρ δαπάναισι θεῶν ναοὺς ἀγορὰν τε

Κεκροπίαν κόσμησ' ἡμυθῶν ἀρεταῖς.

(The *ναοί* here referred to are those of Theseus and the *Anakes*, Harpokration s. v. *Πολύγνωτος*.)

partem eius Micon: he painted the battle of Theseus and the Amazons, Paus. i, 15, 2; Arrian vii, 13, 5, where few will agree with Graef (*ap.* Pauly s. v. AMAZONEN p. 1778) in defending the old reading *Κίμων*; cf. Robert, *loc. cit.* p. 47, note 2. Micon was also a sculptor, xxxiv, 88, where see note.

3. Amphictyones: the reward they gave was more probably for the decoration of the *Λέσχη*; while for his work at Athens he received the Attic citizenship, Harpokration, l. c.

6. Timarete: below, § 147.

§ 60. 7. LXXXX autem Olymp.: as in the case of the sculptors (xxxiv, 49), the first painter in each Olympiad is dated from a work brought into connexion with an important historical event; about this central date his contemporaries, whether older or younger, are roughly grouped, cf. Robert, *Arch. Märch.* p. 66 f.

Aglaophon: son of Aristophon (below, § 138), and accordingly nephew of Polygnotos (Plato, *Gorg.* p. 448 B) and grandson of the first Aglaophon.

decorated the temple at Delphoi and at Athens the Painted Portico [*στοὰ ποικίλη*], as it is called. For this he took no money, while *Mikon*, to whom part of the work was entrusted, accepted payment. The position he thus won for himself was all the greater, so much so that the Amphyktionic council, or national assembly of Hellas, decreed that he should be a public guest. There was another *Mikon*, distinguished as 'the younger,' whose daughter *Timarete* was also an artist.

He paints the Lesche at Delphoi, and at Athens the Stoa Poikile. Mikon. Mikon the Younger.

In the ninetyeth Olympiad [420-417 B.C.] lived *Aglaophon*, 80
 † *Kephisodoros*, † *Erillos* and *Evenor*, the father and master of the great artist Parrhasios, whom I shall mention in due time. They were all painters of note, yet they need not prevent my hastening on to the true luminaries of art, among whom the first to shine was *Apollodoros* of Athens in the ninety-third Olympiad [408-405 B.C.]. He was the first to give his figures the appearance of reality, and he first bestowed true glory on the brush. He painted a priest in prayer, and an Aias struck by lightning, which is still to be seen at Pergamon. No picture

Great masters of the ninetyeth Olympiad. Apollodoros of Athens.

His works
 1. Priest,
 2. Aias.

His date (Robert, *loc. cit.*) seems determined by his picture of Olympias and Pythias crowning Alkibiades (Satyros *ap.* Athen. xii, p. 534 D), painted to commemorate the chariot victories of Ol. 90 (Grote, *Greece*, v, p. 456 f.) or Ol. 91 (Rutgers); see G. H. Förster, *Die Olympischen Sieger*, i, p. 20 f. The companion picture of Alkibiades in the lap of Nemea was by Aristophon, Plut. *Alkib.* xvi, Paus. i, 22, 6 (artist unnamed). Satyros, *loc. cit.*, attributes it however to the son.

8. *Evenor, pater Parrhasi*: Paus. i, 28, 2. *suis annis* below, § 67.

11. *Apollodoros*: Overb. *Schrift-quell.* 1641-1646.

12. *primus species . . . primusque gloriam*: belongs to the series of Xenokratik art judgements begun in §§ 15-16; 56-58: cf. *Introd.* p. xxix.

species: evidently the vague translation of some Greek technical term; cf. Jahn, *Kunsturtheile*, p. 138. The discovery attributed to Apollodoros by Plutarch (*Glor. Ath.* ii) was

the *φθορὰ καὶ ἀπόχρωσις σκιᾶς*—(an advance also attributed to Zeuxis, Quinct. xii, 10, 4 *prior luminum umbrarumque invenit rationem*) i.e. he showed how to render—not the shadow cast, but the graduated passage from light to shadow on curved surfaces (Lange, *Fremstilling*, p. 465; cf. above, *tonon* and *harmogen* in § 29). In this connexion may be noted the attempt at expressing by shadow the curving of surfaces, on two interesting polychrome lekythoi of the Berlin Museum (*Cat.* 2684, 2685—the latter published in facsimile by Winter, *Winckelmannsprog.* 1895, cf. *id.* p. 9).

14. *sacerdos adorans*: votive portrait; cf. the *sacerdos adstante puero* of Parrhasios (§ 70) the *supplicans paene cum voce* of Aristeides (§ 99).

Ajax fulmine incensus: Verg. *Aen.* i, 43 ff. *ipsa* (sc. *Minerva*) *Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem | disiecitque rates, evertitque aequora ventis | illum expirantem*

spectatur hodie. neque ante eum tabula ullius ostenditur
 61 quae teneat oculos. ab hoc artis fores apertas Zeuxis
 Heracleotes intravit olympiadis LXXXV anno quarto,
 audentemque iam aliquid penicillum—de hoc enim adhuc
 loquamur—ad magnam gloriam perduxit, a quibusdam falso
 in LXXXVIII olympiade positus. confuisse necesse est
 Demophilum Himeraeum et Nesea Thasium, quoniam
 62 utrius eorum discipulus fuerit ambigitur. in eum Apollo-
 dorus supra scriptus versum fecit, artem ipsis ablatam
 Zeuxim ferre secum. opes quoque tantas adquisivit ut in
 ostentationem earum Olympiae aureis litteris in palliorum
 tesseris intextum nomen suum ostentaret. postea donare

6. positus. confuisse] *Traube*; positus cum fuisse (fuisse omnes praeter *Bamb.*) *codd.*; positus, cum quo fuisse *Ritschl, Dellefsen.*

*transfixo pectore flammis | turbine
 corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto*; cf. *Odys.* iv, 499 ff. [The *fulmine in-*
consus of the subject not (as *Furt-*
wängler, Plinius, p. 53 suggests) of
 the picture, in which case Pliny would
 use *tabula*, cf. below, § 69.—H. L. U.]

Pergami: *Introd.* p. xc.

§ 61. 2. *fores apertas*: [ii, 31
rerum fores aperuisse Anaximander
 ... *iraditur*; the metaphor is common
 to Silver Latin, cf. *Plin. Epist.* i, 18, 4
*illa (actio) ianuam famae (mihî)
 patefecit*. Because a similar expression
 occurs, *Babrius*, *Proem.* l. 29, there is
 no need to follow *Schneidewin, Rhein.*
Mus. vii (1850), p. 479, in thinking
 that Pliny's words go back to a Greek
 metrical epigram, cf. also *Müller,*
Stil. p. 126 ff. H. L. U.] At the
 same time, the words exactly express
 the position which the Greek writers
 (*Introd.* p. xxix) assigned to Apollo-
 dorus at the opening of a series of
 painters who, masters of their art,
 each brought towards the final perfec-
 tion to be attained by *Apelles* (§ 79)
 a definite contribution: *Apollodoros*
 among the painters is the counterpart
 of *Pheidias* among the statuaries,
Robert, Arch. Märch. p. 67 f. (*Introd.*

p. xxvii). Therefore the words must
 represent some closely similar Greek
 expression; for an analogous para-
 phrase cf. *Add.* to note on xxxiv, 81.

3. *Heracleotes*: *Plato, Protag.*
 318 B δ νεανίσκος δ νῦν νεωστὶ ἐπιδημῶν
 Ζεύξιππος δ' Ἡρακλεώτης (on the identity
 of *Zeuxis* and *Zeuxippos* see *Fick,*
Griech. Personennamen, pp. 35, 132).
 The dialogue being imagined as taking
 place in B. C. 424, it is impossible to
 reconcile this mention of *Zeuxis* with
 the tradition that he was born at
Herakleia (founded B. C. 432), except
 by either holding *Plato* guilty of an
 anachronism (and likewise *Xenophon*,
 who alludes to *Z.* in the 'Banquet,'
 of which the scene is laid in B. C. 422),
 or supposing with *Robert (Hall.*
Winckelmannsprog. xix, 1895, p. 18),
 that the parents of *Zeuxis* removed as
 colonists to *Herakleia* when he was
 already a boy of nine or ten. The artist
 was evidently at home in Lower Italy
 (he paints for *Agrigentum, Kroton,*
 &c.); it is out of the question to
 assume that he was born at the older
 Pontic *Herakleia*. *Addenda.*

OL. 95, anno quarto: the occa-
 sion for the date assigned to him here
 is unknown. Since the 'Alkmena,'

by any of his predecessors really rivets the gaze. It was he who opened the gates of art through which *Zeuxis* of Herakleia passed in the fourth year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad [397 B.C.], giving to the painter's brush (for of the brush alone I speak as yet) the full glory to which it already aspired. *Zeuxis* is erroneously placed by some in the eighty-ninth Olympiad [424-421 B.C.]; it is evident that † *Demophilos* of Himera and † *Neseus* of Thasos were among his contemporaries, seeing that there is a controversy as to which of the two was his master. In an epigram written against him by the Apollodoros whom I mentioned above, it is said that 'Zeuxis bore away with him the art he had stolen from his masters.' He amassed great wealth, and in order to make a parade of it at Olympia he showed his name woven in golden letters into the embroideries of his garments. Later on

Zeuxis of Herakleia,

taught by Demophilos or Neseus.

His wealth, luxury, and pride.

which belongs to his later period (see below Urlichs' note on *postea*), was yet painted previous to B.C. 406, in which year Agrigentum was destroyed by the Carthaginians, *Zeuxis* must have been an artist of note long before B.C. 398; cf. also the passage from Plato quoted above. On the other hand the ascription to *Z.* of the Ἔρως . . . ὁ γεγραμμένος ἔχων στέφανον ἀνθέμων, Ar. *Acharn.* 991 (play produced B.C. 425), rests only on the doubtful authority of the scholia.

4. *adhuc*: i. e. in opposition to encaustic painting in § 149.

5. *falso*: Quint. xii, 10, 4, dates *Zeuxis*, and *Parrhasios circa Peloponnesia ambo tempora*, from the fact that *Xenophon* (*Memorab.* iii, 10, 1) records a conversation between *Parrhasios* and *Sokrates*. The earlier date was the correct one.

7. *Demophilum*: distinct from the *Damophilos* (below, § 154, where see note) who decorated the temple of *Ceres*.

Himeræum: Ἴμέρα on the N. coast of Sicily.

Thasium: the ethnic suggests that *Neseus* belonged to the circle of *Polygnotos* (§ 58) of *Thasos*. *Robert, loc. cit.*, points out that the young

Zeuxis very possibly placed himself under this master, on his arrival in Athens.

§ 62. 9. *ipsis*: sc. *Demophilo et Nesea* (Traube). *Benndorf, Epigr.* p. 30, and *Jahn, Kleine Beiträge*, p. 284, explain it as *sibi sociisque*, which is impossible.

10. *in ostentationem*: the story of the gorgeous robes worn by *Zeuxis* has its counterpart in the gorgeous robes of his rival *Parrhasios* (Athen. xii, 543 C—D), *Introd.* p. lvii.

12. *tesseris intextum*: the best explanation seems that of *Urlichs, Chrest.* p. 345; he takes the *tesserae* to have been small squares (of stuff) upon which the name was embroidered, and quotes *Vopiscus, Carinus 20 inscriptum est adhuc in choraulae pallio Tyrianthino Messalae nomen uxoris* (ed. H. Peter); see in *Casaubon's* edition, vol. ii, p. 851^a, *Saumaïse's* note, who in reference to the *Plinian* passage explains *tesserae* = κύβοι, and quotes *Hesychius* (s. v. κύβος) οἱ Σαλαμίνοι λέγουσι κύβον τὸ τοῦ ἱματίου σημεῖον.

postea: [i. e. in his latter period; the *Alkmena* and the *Pan* must therefore be reckoned among the artist's later works.—H. L. U.]

opera sua instituit, quod nullo pretio satis digno permutari
 posse diceret, sicuti Alcmenam Agragentinis, Pana Archelao.
 63 fecit et Penelopen in qua pinxisse mores videtur, et athletam,
 adeoque in illo sibi placuit ut versum subscriberet celebrem
 ex eo, invisurum aliquem facilius quam imitaturum. magni- 5
 ficus est et Iuppiter eius in throno adstantibus diis et
 Hercules infans dracones strangulans Alcmena matre coram
 64 pavente et Amphitryone. reprehenditur tamen ceu grandior
 in capitibus articulisque, alioqui tantus diligentia ut Agra-
 gentinis facturum tabulam quam in templo Iunonis Lacinae 10
 publice dicarent inspexerit virgines eorum nudas et quinque
 elegerit, ut quod in quaque laudatissimum esset pictura
 redderet. pinxit et monochromata ex albo. aequales eius
 et aemuli fuere Timanthes, Androcydes, Eupompus, Parrha-
 65 sius. descendisse hic in certamen cum Zeuxide traditur, et 15
 cum ille detulisset uvas pictas tanto successu ut in scaenam

2. **Alcmenam**: probably identical with the picture in § 63.

Archelao: for whom Zenxis decorated the palace at Pella, Ailian ποικ. ἱστ. xiv, 17.

3. **mores**: in the sense given to it by Horace, *Ep.* i, 1, 57 *est animus tibi, sunt mores*. Some commentators however (chief among them Winckelmann), have understood *mores* to be a translation of the Greek ἦθος, whereby endless difficulties have arisen, seeing that ἦθος was precisely the quality in which, according to Aristotle, *Poet.* 6, 11, Zenxis was deficient. But ἦθος in its strictly philosophical sense had no precise Latin equivalent, as we learn from Quint. vi, 2, 8, and from Pliny himself (below, § 98, where see note); cf. Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 86 f.; Jahn, *Kunsturtheile*, p. 105 f.

5. **invisurum**: *μωμήσεται τις μάλλον ἢ μωμήσεται*; the proverb is attributed by Plutarch (*Glor. Ath.* 2), and Hesychios to Apollodoros. The saying recurs from early times in a variety of forms; Bergk, *Lyr. Graec.* ii, p. 318, Benndorf, *Epigr.* p. 27, n. 3;

cf. Preger, *Inscript. Gr. Metr.* 193. *Introd.* p. lvii.

6. **Iuppiter . . . Amphitryone**: the whole subject is preserved on a vase-painting in the Brit. Mus.; A. S. Murray, *Class. Rev.* 1888, p. 327; id. *Handb. of Greek Arch.* p. 376. *Add.*

§ 64. 8. **reprehenditur tamen**: the *tamen* presupposes a sentence of praise, which has fallen out. Quintilian (xii, 10, 5) says of Zeuxis *plus membris corporis dedit . . .* but praises him on the same grounds that Pliny blames him, another instance of conflicting criticisms in antiquity; cf. note on Kallimachos in xxxiv, 92.

9. **articulisque**: literally the joints (knuckles, wrists, ankles, &c.) and so by extension the extremities; see Robert, *Arch. Märch.* p. 76, *Hall. Winckelmannsprog.* xix, 1895, p. 25. An almost identical criticism is passed upon Euphranor in § 128. Zenxis is represented in the same relation to Apollodoros as Polykleitos xxxiv, 56 to Pheidias (*ib.* 54). On the Xenocratic authorship see *Introd.* p. xxvii.

Agragentinis: from Cic. (*Invent.* ii, 1, 1) it appears that this picture

he began to make presents of his pictures, saying that they were beyond all price. In this way he gave his Alkmēna to the city of Agrigentum and his Pan to Archelaos. He also painted a Penelope, in whom he embodied virtue's self, and an athlete with whom he was so well pleased that he wrote beneath it the line thenceforward famous: 'Another may carp more easily than he may copy.'

*His gifts
of the
'Alkmēna,'
and the
'Pan.'*

63

He also painted a superb Zeus enthroned amid the assembled gods, with the infant Herakles strangling the snakes in presence of his trembling mother Alkmēna and of Amphitryon. Zeuxis is criticized however as having exaggerated the heads and extremities of his figures; for the rest he bestowed such minute pains upon his work that before painting for the people of Agrigentum a picture to be dedicated in the temple of Hera on the Lakinian promontory, he inspected the maidens of the city naked, and chose out five, whose peculiar beauties he proposed to reproduce in his picture. He also painted monochromes in white. *Timanthes*, *Androkydes*, †*Eupompos* and *Parrhasios* were contemporaries and rivals of Zeuxis. The story runs that Parrhasios and Zeuxis

64

*For the
temple
of Hera
Lakinia
he paints
a picture
taken from
the five
most
beautiful
maidens
of the city.*

65

*His con-
tempora-
ries.*

is identical with the famous Helena (below, § 66).

10. *Iunonis Laciniae*: Cicero, *loc. cit.*, says the Helena was painted for the Krotoniates; so too Dionysios H. (*de veter. script. cens.* 1), and this is doubtless correct, for as Freeman remarks (*Sicily*, vol. ii, p. 402, note 3) 'the Lakinian Hera, at home at Kroton, would have no place at Akragas' (cf. Roscher, i, p. 2086).

11. *inspexerit virgines*: Lange (*Fremstilling*, p. 354 n.) points out that the anecdote gives concrete expression to the saying that the best parts must be taken 'out of divers Faces, to make one Excellent,' cf. Xenoph. *Mem.* iii, 10, 2; Cicero and Dionysios (*ll. cc.*) incorporate the axiom with the anecdote which illustrates it. See *Introd.* p. lxi f.

13. *ex albo*: i. e. on a dark ground, perhaps in imitation of marble reliefs (cf. Blümner, *Technol.* iv, p. 420, note 4), whereas monochrome paintings were usually carried out in red (*cinnabar*, *minium*, *rubrica*, *sinopis*, Plin. xxxiii, 117), presumably on a white

ground. Of the latter technique we have imitations in the pictures painted in red colour on the white marble slabs in Naples. Semper's theory (*Stil*, i, p. 470, ed. 1) that these had once been polychrome pictures in encaustic, whose colours were destroyed by the heat of the lava, has been disproved by Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 170^b; cf. Robert, *Hall. Winckelmanns-progr.* xix, 1895, p. 9; on the contrary, the slabs admirably prove the practice of painting in monochrome.

14. *Timanthes*: below, § 73.

Androcydes: of Kyzikos; according to Plutarch (*Pel.* xxv) he painted at the time of the liberation of the Kadmeia (B.C. 379) the picture of a battle in which both Epameinondas and Pelopidas had been engaged; i. e. probably the battle mentioned *Pel.* iv (Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 124). From Athen. viii, p. 341 A, we learn that he was celebrated for his accurate painting of fish.

Eupompos: below, § 75.

§ 65. 16. *uvae pictas*: cf. below, §§ 66, 155; above, § 23.

ut in scaenam: i. e. the pictures

aves advolarent, ipse detulisse linteum pictum ita veritate
 repraesentata ut Zeuxis alitum iudicio tumens flagitaret
 tandem remoto linteo ostendi picturam atque intellecto
 errore concederet palmam ingenuo pudore, quoniam ipse
 66 volucres fefellisset, Parrhasius autem se artificem. fertur et 5
 postea Zeuxis pinxisse puerum uvas ferentem, ad quas cum
 advolassent aves, eadem ingenuitate processit iratus operi
 et dixit: uvas melius pinxi quam puerum, nam si et hoc
 consummassem, aves timere debuerant. fecit et figlina opera,
 quae sola in Ambracia relictæ sunt, cum inde Musas Fulvius 10
 Nobilior Romam transferret. Zeuxidis manu Romæ Helena
 est in Philippi porticibus, et in Concordiæ delubro Marsyas
 67 religatus. Parrhasius Ephesi natus et ipse multa contulit.
 primus symmetriam picturæ dedit, primus argutias voltus,
 elegantiam capilli, venustatem oris, confessione artificum in 15
 lineis extremis palmam adeptus. hæc est picturæ summa

were exhibited in the theatre, and hung on the *scaenae frons*, or front wall of the stage-buildings.

§ 66. 7. *pinxisse puerum*: a mere *doublette* of the preceding anecdote; the story is also told Senec. Rhet. *Controv.* 2, 5 (34), 27.

9. *figlina opera*: Pyrrhus had probably inherited these works as king of Macedonia. Zeuxis, it will be remembered, had worked for King Archelaos, above, § 62.

10. *sola . . . relictæ sunt*: doubtless because these painted terra-cottas were architectural decorations, and could not be removed without injury to the buildings; Liv. xxxviii, 9, 13 *signa aenea marmoreaque et tabulae pictae, quibus ornatio Ambracia quia regia ibi Pyrrhi fuerat . . . sublata omnia avectaque; nihil praeterea tactum violatumve*, cf. Raoul-Rochette, *Peintures*, p. 51.

Ambracia: the capital of King Pyrrhus: for its art treasures cf. Polyb. xxii, 13, 9; Liv. *loc. cit.*

Musas: these statues, which probably dated from the reign of Pyrrhus,

were dedicated by Fulvius in the Temple of *Hercules Musarum*, with a statue of Herakles as *Μουσολύτης* (see in this connexion Eumenius of Antun *pro restaurandis scholis*, vii, in *Paneg. Lat.* ed. Baehrens, p. 121; cf. also Ovid, *Fasti*, vi, 804). The Muses are figured on the reverse of the coins of Q. Pomponius Musa (reproduced and fully discussed by O. Bie, *Die Musen in d. antiken Kunst*, pp. 24-44). The tragic Muse is preserved in a statuette of the Vatican (Clarac, 507, 1013), while a head from Frascati in the Brit. Mus. (Friederichs-Wolters, 1445) seems to reproduce the head of another; cf. Amelung, *Basis des Praxiteles*, p. 44. For the one extant basis, see *Bull. d. Inst.* 1869, p. 3 ff.—The temple was surrounded by the *porticus Philippi*, and was close to the *porticus Octaviae* on the W. side of the *Circus Flaminius*.

11. *Helena*: the mention of the Muses which Fulvius brought to Rome, suggests to Pliny two more works by Zeuxis, noted by him as

entered into competition, Zeuxis exhibiting a picture of some grapes, so true to nature that the birds flew up to the wall of the stage. Parrhasios then displayed a picture of a linen curtain, realistic to such a degree that Zeuxis, elated by the verdict of the birds, cried out that now at last his rival must draw the curtain and show his picture. On discovering his mistake he surrendered the prize to Parrhasios, admitting candidly that he had deceived the birds, while Parrhasios had deluded himself, a painter. After 66 this we learn that Zeuxis painted a boy carrying grapes, and when the birds flew down to settle on them, he was vexed with his own work, and came forward saying, with like frankness, 'I have painted the grapes better than the boy, for had I been perfectly successful with the latter, the birds must have been afraid.' He also modelled certain terra-cottas which were the only works of art left in Ambrakia when Fulvius Nobilior brought the statues of the Muses to Rome. The paintings in Rome by the hand of Zeuxis are: the Helen in the gallery of Philip and the bound Marsyas in the temple of Concord. Parrhasios, a native of Ephesos, also made great contributions to the progress of art. He first gave painting symmetry, and added vivacity to the features, daintiness to the hair and comeliness to the mouth, while by the verdict of artists he is unrivalled in the rendering of outline. This is the

Competition between Zeuxis and Parrhasios. The curtain and the grapes.

Boy with grapes.

Helen. Marsyas bound. 67 Parrhasios.

being also in Rome. In making this addition he forgets that he had already mentioned the Helena, when quoting from his main authority. His oversight is, however, the easier to explain as in the previous passage the name of the picture had not been given.

12. **Philippi porticibus:** built by L. Marcus Philippus, the step-father of Augustus, round the *T. Hercules Musarum* (above); Suet. *Aug.* 29; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi, 801; cf. Gilbert, *Rom.* iii, p. 248.

Concordiæ delubro: note on xxxvi, 73.

Marsyas religatus: the representations of Marsyas bound are all cited by Jessen *ap.* Roscher, ii, 2450 ff. None, however, can be traced back with any certainty to Zeuxis's picture. A reminiscence of the whole composition perchance survives in the

relief of a marble vase at Naples, *A. Z.* 1869, taf. 18.

§ 67. 13. **Ephesi natus:** Strabo xiv, p. 642; *Anth. App.* lix, 2.

14. **primus symmetrian pict. dedit:** his achievement as a painter marks a similar advance upon that of Zeuxis (§ 64) to Myron's (xxxiv, 57) upon that of Polykleitos among the statuaries, *Introd.* p. xxvii.

argutias: note on xxxiv, 65.

15. **confessione artificum:** refers to the artists and art-historians Antigonos and Xenokrates (below, § 68); cf. *artifices qui condidere haec* in xxxiv, 68, where the same two writers are meant, *Introd.* p. xxxvii.

in lineis: cf. *Quinct.* xii, 10, 4 *examinasse (Parrh.) subtilius lineas traditur.*

16. **haec est picturae . . . occultat:** the passage is of unique aesthetic interest (*Introd.* p. xxxiv), it expresses

suptilitas. corpora enim pingere et media rerum est quidem
 magni operis sed in quo multi gloriam tulerint, extrema cor-
 porum facere et desinentis picturae modum includere rarum
 68 in successu artis invenitur. ambire enim se ipsa debet ex-
 tremitas et sic desinere ut promittat alia post se ostendatque 5
 etiam quae occultat. hanc ei gloriam concessere Antigonus
 et Xenocrates qui de pictura scripsere, praedicantes quoque,
 non solum confitentes. et alia multa graphidis vestigia
 exstant in tabulis ac membranis eius, ex quibus proficere
 dicuntur artifices. minor tamen videtur sibi comparatus in 10
 69 mediis corporibus exprimendis. pinxit demon Atheniensium
 argumento quoque ingenioso. ostendebat namque varium,
 iracundum iniustum inconstantem, eundem exorabilem
 clementem misericordem, gloriosum, excelsum humilem,
 ferocem fugacemque et omnia pariter. idem pinxit et 15
 Thesea, quae Romae in Capitolio fuit, et navarchum thora-
 catum, et in una tabula, quae est Rhodi, Meleagrum, Hercu-
 lem, Persea, haec ibi ter fulmine ambusta neque obliterated
 70 hoc ipso miraculum auget. pinxit et archigallum, quam

5. alia sponse (sponte e correctione) *Bamb.* (*scriptum erat alia post se; an alia post se? Traube*).

the dominant effort of painting to represent objects not only as relieved from the flat, but as occupying space. It is suggestively discussed by Bertrand, *Études*, p. 65 ff.

1. *media rerum*: i. e. the modeling of the particular face chosen for presentation, as it lies between its bounding lines, without any necessary suggestion of the parts which are concealed from view.

2. *extrema . . . modum includere*: the subtle meaning conveyed by these words is more easily felt than translated. The idea is that the supreme difficulty and consequently the supreme achievement of painting consists in bringing the painted outline (*modus desinentis picturae*) into agreement with the contour of the figure.

4. *ambire . . . extremitas*: Ber-

trand (*loc. cit.*) translates 'il faut en effet que les contours s'enveloppent eux-mêmes.' In other words, the contours must be so drawn as to appear to clasp what is behind them.

§ 68. 5. *ut promittat alia post se*: the meaning is so clear, the aesthetic lesson so true, that I have decided on keeping Detlefsen's reading, but not without hesitation, for the MSS. are in favour of *alias* (sc. *extremitates*) *post se*—a reading recommended by Dr. Traube. The meaning of this alternative reading would be: in any object, the face which the artist chooses for presentation forms, where it leaves off, a line against the background. But another view of the same object would have afforded a different system of bounding lines, of *extremitates*, and as any object may be viewed from an endless number

highest subtlety attainable in painting. Merely to paint a figure in relief is no doubt a great achievement, yet many have succeeded thus far. But where an artist is rarely successful is in finding an outline which shall express the contours of the figure. For the contour should appear to fold back, and so enclose the object as to give assurance of the parts behind, thus clearly suggesting even what it conceals. Preeminence in this respect is conceded to Parrhasios by Antigonos and Xenokrates, writers on painting, who indeed not only concede but insist upon it. Many other traces of his draughtmanship remain, both in pictures and on parchments, which are said to be instructive to artists. Still, if tried by his own standard, he fails in modelling. He painted an ingenious personification of the Athenian 'Demos,' discovering it as fickle, passionate, unjust, changeable, yet exorable, compassionate and pitiful, boastful, proud and humble, bold and cowardly, in a word, everything at once. He also painted the Theseus formerly in the Capitol at Rome, an admiral in armour, and Meleager, Herakles and Perseus in a picture at Rhodes, where it has thrice been set on fire by lightning without being destroyed, a miracle which increases our wonder.

*Judgement
of Antigo-
nos and
Xeno-
krates.*

His works.

of points, there is no limit to its bounding lines. It therefore becomes the business of the great artist, to give assurance, although working on the flat, of these hidden lines. This notion of fugitive, pursuant outlines, though somewhat rhetorical and over-subtilized, would also convey its peculiar truth.

9. *tabulis*: either small tablets, containing the artist's sketches for his large pictures, or, if in the usual sense of easel pictures, we must understand these *tabulae* to have been left unfinished, with the design merely sketched in.

§ 69. 11. *demon Atheniensium*: cf. the same subject by Euphranor, Paus. i, 3, 3; below note on § 129.

16. *Thesea*: the picture was originally in Athens (Plut. *Thes.* iv), whence it may have been brought by Sulla.

ruit: i. e. it was destroyed by the fire of B. C. 70; cf. xxxiii, 154; xxxiv, 38.

17. *quae est Rhodi*: Mucianus is therefore presumably the authority here followed by Pliny, *Introd.* p. lxxxvi f.

Meleagram, Herculem, Persea; grouped in a 'Santa conversazione,' such as were becoming popular in the period of Parrhasios; they had little mythological significance, save as presenting, pleasantly grouped together, two or more of the popular national gods or heroes; cf. the 'Aineias, Kastor and Polydeukes' in § 71. (Robert, *Bild u. Lied*, p. 45.)

18. *ter fulmine ambusta*: the stress laid on the miraculous circumstance confirms the authorship of Mucianus, *Introd. loc. cit.*

§ 70. 19. *archigallum*: literally the word would apply to the chief of the priests of Kybele. But the following anecdote shows that the picture more probably represented the figure of a nude boy, surnamed the *archi-*

picturam amavit Tiberius princeps atque, ut auctor est Deculo, HS. [LX] aestimatam cubiculo suo inclusit. pinxit et Thressam nutricem infantemque in manibus eius et Philiscum et Liberum patrem adstante Virtute, et pueros duos in quibus spectatur securitas et aetatis simplicitas, item sacer- 5
 71 dotem adstante puero cum acerra et corona. sunt et duae picturae eius nobilissimae, hoplites in certamine ita decurrens ut sudare videatur, alter arma deponens ut anhelare sentia- tur. laudantur et Aeneas Castorque ac Pollux in eadem tabula, item Telephus, Achilles, Agamemnon, Ulixes. fecun- 10
 dus artifex, sed quo nemo insolentius usus sit gloria artis, namque et cognomina usurpavit habrodiaetum se appellando aliisque versibus principem artis et eam ab se consummatam, super omnia Apollinis se radice ortum et Herculem, qui est Lindi, talem a se pictum qualem saepe in quiete vidisset. 15
 72 ergo magnis suffragiis superatus a Timanthe Sami in Aiace armorumque iudicio herois nomine se moleste ferre dicebat quod iterum ab indigno victus esset. pinxit et minoribus tabellis libidines, eo genere petulantis ioci se reficiens.

gallus, owing to some physical peculiarity (cf. Klein, *Arch. Ep. Mitth.* xii, 1888, p. 123); perhaps therefore the picture should be reckoned among the *libidines* mentioned below in § 72.

1. *amavit Tiberius*: cf. the similar story told of the *Apoxyomenos* of Lysippos, xxxiv, § 62.

3. *Thressam nutricem*: a votive portrait put up in gratitude for the services of a favourite nurse; cf. Furtwängler, *Dornauszueher*, p. 95, or a grave picture; cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii, 663:

‘Ο μικκὸς τόδ’ ἔτευξε τῆ Θρησσα
 Μήδειος τὸ μνᾶμ’ ἐπὶ τῆ δδῶ, κηπέ-
 γραψε Κλείτας.

ἔξει τὰν χάριν ἃ γυνὰ ἀντ’ ἐκείνων
 ἄν τὸν κῶρον ἔθρεψ’. ἔτυμ’ ἄν ἔτι
 ΧΡΗΣΙΜΑ τελευτῶ.

From *pinxit et Thr. nutr.* down to *et corona* we seem to have part of the old account of Parrhasios by Xenokrates; Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 515; cf. *Introd.* p. xxvii.

Philiscum: a poet of the Middle Comedy; Kock, *Fragm. Com. Graec.* vol. ii, p. 443.

5. *sacerdotem adstante puero*: cf. above, note on § 60.

§ 71. 6. *duae picturae*: apparently composed as pendants; the description is epigrammatic, Benndorf, *Epigramm.* p. 55, *Introd.* p. lxxi.

9. *Aeneas Castorque ac Pollux*: for this group of heroes, who have no mythological connexion with one another, cf. above, note on § 69.

10. *Telephus, Achilles, Agamemnon, Ulixes*: i. e. a picture representing the healing of Telephos by the rust from the sword of Achilles (xxxiv, 152), in presence of Agamemnon and of Odysseus. Robert (*Bild. u. Lied.* p. 35) conjectures the picture to have been inspired by the lost play of Euripides; but Vogel (*Scenen Euripid. Trag. in gr. Vasengemälden.* p. 18) rightly points out that Euripides had assigned too marked a part

He also painted a priest of Kybele: a picture of which the 70 Emperor Tiberius was enamoured, and which, according to Deculo, although valued at 6,000,000 sesterces (£52,500 circ.), he placed in his private apartments. Furthermore he painted a Thracian nurse with an infant in her arms; a portrait of Philiskos, Dionysos by the side of Virtue, two boys whose features express the confidence and the simplicity of their age, and a priest with a boy at his side holding a censer and a wreath. Two other 71 pictures by him are most famous, a hoplite in a race who seems to sweat as he runs, and a hoplite laying aside his arms, whose labouring breath we seem to hear. His picture of Aineias, Kastor and Polydeukes is praised, so is his Telephos with Achilles, Agamemnon and Odysseus. He was a prolific artist, but carried his success with an arrogance that none have equalled; he called himself *ἀβροδιαύτος* [the luxurious] and said in another epigram that he was the prince of painting, that he had brought it to the highest point of perfection, and more than all that he was of the seed of Apollo, and had painted the Herakles at Lindos precisely as he had often seen him in sleep. Hence it was that when he was defeated by a large majority of votes in a competition with Timanthes at Samos, the subject of his picture being Aias and the award of the arms, he said in the name of the hero that he was grieved at being worsted a second time by an unworthy rival. He also painted small pictures of licentious subjects, seeking

His luxury and arrogance.



Herakles at Lindos.

72

Competition with Timanthes.

in the action to Klytaimnestra, for her to have been left out in a picture taken straight from his drama. Vogel therefore points to the Telephos of Aischylos as the source of Parrhasios' inspiration.

12. *habrodiaetum*: from the epigram preserved Ath. xii, p. 543 D, = *Anthol. App.* 59 = Bergk. *L. G.* ii, pp. 320, 635, 1; cf. O. Jahn, *Kleine Beiträge*, p. 286 ff.; *Intro.* p. lv.

13. *consummatam*: from the epigram Athen. xii, p. 543 E = *Anthol. App.* 60 = Bergk, ii, p. 321, 636, 2; cf. the epigram composed by Zeuxis upon himself, Aristeides, *Or.* 49, ii, p. 521 = Bergk, ii, pp. 318, 634.

14. *super omnia . . . ortum*: according to Jahn (*loc. cit.*) these words are from a lost epigram of similar character to those preserved in Athe-

naios.

15. *talem . . . pictum*: Athen. xii, 543 F = *Anth. App.* 61 = Bergk, p. 321, 636, 3; these verses were probably inscribed on the picture; cf. the epigram which Parrhasios composed for his picture of Hermes, Themistios *Orat.* ii, p. 34 (Dindorf).

§ 72. 16. a Timanthe: the name of Parrhasios' rival is given only by Pliny; the story of the competition also Athen. xii, 543 E, Ailian, *πικίλη ἱστ.* ix, 11. *Intro.* p. liv f.

in *Aiace armorumque iudicio*: it is unnecessary to suppose from these words that 'The award of the Arms' was also the subject of the picture by Timanthes.

19. *libidines*: one instance on record is his 'Meleager and Atalanta,' Suet. *Tib.* 44; Polemon (*ap.* Athen.

- 73 nam Timanthes vel plurimum adfuit ingenii. eius enim est Iphigenia oratorum laudibus celebrata, qua stante ad aras peritura cum maestos pinxisset omnes praecipueque patrum, et tristitiae omnem imaginem consumpsisset, patris ipsius voltum velavit quem digne non poterat ostendere. 5
- 74 sunt et alia ingenii eius exempla, veluti Cyclops dormiens in parvola tabella, cuius et sic magnitudinem exprimere cupiens pinxit iuxta Satyros thyrso pollicem eius metientes. atque in unius huius operibus intellegitur plus semper quam pingitur et, cum sit ars summa, ingenium tamen ultra artem 10 est. pinxit et heroa absolutissimi operis artem ipsam complexus viros pingendi, quod opus nunc Romae in templo
- 75 Pacis est. Euxinidas hac aetate docuit Aristiden praeclarum artificem, Eupompus Pamphilum Apellis praeceptorem. est Eupompi victor certamine gymnico palmam tenens. 15

xiii, p. 567 B) makes the same charge of *πονοργαφία* against Aristeides, Pausias and Nikophanes; cf. also Euripides, *Hippol.* 1005.

§ 73. 1. Nam: resumes the subject from *victus esset*.

Timanthes: a native of Kythnos, Quinct. ii, 13, 13. Eustathios (on *Il.* p. 1343, 60), whose authorities are rarely trustworthy, calls him *Σικωνίος*. It must be by confusion with a later Timanthes, who painted the battle of Aratos against the Aitolians at Pellene in Arkadia, in B. C. 240 (Plut. *Arat.* 32), and who was therefore presumably a Sikyonian.

2. oratorum: cf. Cic. *Orator*, 22, 74 *pictor* (name not mentioned) *ille vidit, cum immolandae Iphigenia tristis Calchas esset, tristior Ulixes, mareret Menelaus, obvolvendum caput Agamemnonis esse, quoniam summum illum luctum penicillo non posset imitari*. That the Iphigenia was a stock rhetorical subject is proved by Quinct. (*loc. cit.*) and Val. Max. viii, 11, ext. 6. A famous Pompeian wall-painting, representing the sacrifice (Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1304 = phot. Alinari 12027), shows Agamemnon

with head completely veiled, but since Iph. is being carried, and not standing, we must see in it only a later adaptation of the picture by Timanthes (cf. also Helbig, *op. cit.* 1205, and the *msaia* in *A. Z.* 1869, taf. xiv). The ancients entertained two distinct views as to the veiling of Agamemnon; Pliny and Quinctilian arguing that the painter did not show the features of the father, in order to save *dignitas*, while Cicero and Valerius Maximus argued that he had recourse to this means because the highest pain cannot be expressed in art. Both ancient and modern criticisms are discussed by Blümner, *Comm.* to Lessing's *Laokoon*, p. 506 f. As Blümner points out, the veiling motive in sorrow is common both in painting and poetry; e. g. Euripides veils the head of Agamemnon in the description of the identical scene, *Iph. Aul.* 1550; cf. also Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 124. According to Quinctilian, this picture gained for Timanthes the prize over Kolotes of Teos.

4. *consumpsisset*: cf. the similar story of Euphranor, Val. Max. viii, 11, ext. 5. According to Eusta-

relaxation in this wanton humour. To return—*Timanthes* was a 73 painter above all curious in invention, for by him is that Iphigeneia *Iphigeneia of Timanthes.* praised by the orators, whom he depicted standing by the altar ready for death. Having represented all the onlookers and especially her father's brother as plunged in sorrow and having thus exhausted every presentment of grief, he has veiled the face of her father for which he had reserved no adequate expression. There are other 74 examples of his inventiveness; for instance, being desirous to emphasize, even in a small picture, the huge size of a sleeping *Sleeping Cyclops.* Cyclops, he painted some Satyrs at his side, measuring his thumb with a thyrsos. He is the only artist whose works always suggest more than is in the picture, and great as is his dexterity, his power of invention yet exceeds it. He also painted a hero, a picture in which he touched perfection, having comprehended in it *Hero in temple of Peace at Rome.* the whole art of painting the male figure. The picture is now at Rome in the temple of Peace.

In this period †*Euxeinidas* was the master of *Aristeides*, 75 a famous artist, and †*Eupompos* of *Pamphilos*, who in turn was the master of Apelles. We have by Eupompos a victor in an athletic *New division of the schools into the Attic, Ionic and Sikyonian.* contest holding a palm. So great was this artist's reputation that thios (*l. c.*), whose statement, however, savours of concoction, Timanthes was inspired to veil the head of Agamemnon, by the similar device employed by Homer in describing the grief of Priam, *Il.* xxiv, 162.

§ 74. 6. *Cyclops dormiens*: the presentation of this subject in painting was doubtless influenced by the *Kyklops* of Euripides, in which the Satyrs were brought on the stage with Polyphemos; Robert, *Bild u. Lied*, p. 35; Winter, *Jahrb.* vi, 1891, p. 272, who rightly refuses to refer the picture (with Klein) to the younger Timanthes.

11. *artem ipsam complexus*: the similarity of expression with xxxiv, 55, *solusque hominum autem ipsam fecisse artis opere indicatur*, suggests that the *heros* of Timanthes, like the Doryphoros of Polykleitos, was a canonical figure intended to illustrate the artist's theories of proportion; cf. Kalkmann, *Jahrb.* x, 1895, p. 84, note 147; *Intro.* p. xli.

12. in templo Pacis: note on xxxiv, 84.

§ 75. 13. *Aristiden*: identical with the *Aristeides* of § 111, the master of Euphranor, where Pliny however confuses him with his grandson *Aristeides* the Theban. According to Kroker (*Gleichnamige Gr. Künstler*, p. 33) and Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 349) he is further probably identical with the sculptor of xxxiv, 72, pupil of Polykleitos; the dates favour the supposition.

14. *Eupompos*: xxxiv, § 61; above, § 64.

15. *palmam tenens*: a number of examples of a youth with palm in the left hand, and raising the crown to his head with the right, are collected by Milchhöfer, *Arch. Stud. Brunn dargebracht*, 1892, p. 62, ff.; they probably go back to the type created by Eupompos, Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 256; cf. also Reisch, *Griech. Weihgeschenke*, p. 41.

ipsius auctoritas tanta fuit ut diviserit picturam in genera. quae ante eum duo fuere—Helladicum et Asiaticum appellabant—propter hunc, qui erat Sicyonius, diviso Helladico
 76 tria facta sunt, Ionicum, Sicyonium, Atticum. Pamphilus cognatio et proelium ad Phliuntem ac victoria Atheniensium, 5
 item Ulixes in rate. ipse Macedo natione, sed primus in pictura omnibus litteris eruditus, praecipue arithmetica et geometria, sine quibus negabat artem perfici posse, docuit neminem talento minoris—annuis X D—quam mercedem et
 77 Apelles et Melanthius dedere ei. huius auctoritate effectum 10
 est Sicyone primum, deinde et in tota Graecia, ut pueri ingenui omnia ante graphicen, hoc est picturam in buxo, docerentur recipereturque ars ea in primum gradum liberarium. semper quidem honos ei fuit ut ingenui eam exercerent, mox ut honesti, perpetuo interdicto ne servitia doce- 15
 rentur. ideo neque in hac neque in toreutice ullius qui
 78 servierit opera celebrantur. clari et centesima septima olympiade exstitere Aetion ac Therimachus. Aetionis

4. *tria facta sunt*: above note on § 72. 'It is difficult to say wherein this great local superiority consisted, which tempted, moreover, wealthy amateurs, like Ptolemy II and Attalos, to purchase at enormous prices galleries of old Sikyonian masters. Plutarch uses a special term for it, *χρηστογραφία*, which is usually explained as indicating the reaction in art against the methods of Zenxis and his contemporaries.' (C. Smith, art. PICTURA, Smith's *Dict. Ant. p.* 413.)

§ 76. 5. *cognatio*: it may have been a grave picture placed upon a family grave, cf. in sculpture a similar family gathering on the Eastern pediment of the tomb known as the 'Nereid monument' (Brit. Mus.), Michaelis, *A. Z.* 1845, pl. xxxiv, p. 145. Or it may have been merely a votive commemorative picture. For similar subjects cf. the *cognatio nobilium* of Timomachos (136), the *frequentia* of Athenion (134), the

syngenicon of Oinias (143), finally the *stemma* of Koinos (139).

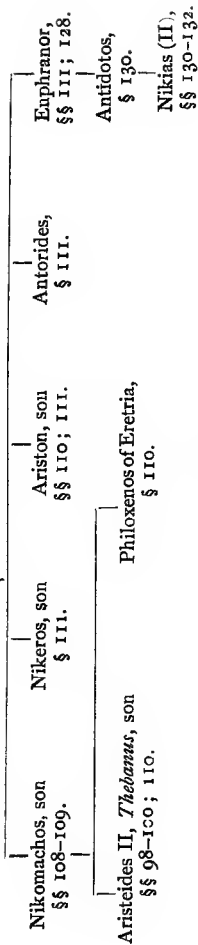
proelium ad Phliuntem ac victoria: = *victoria Atheniensium* in *proelio ad Phliuntem*: hendiadys, cf. Müller, *Stil*, pp. 109, 15. The picture is generally supposed to have represented the episode narrated by Xenophon, *Hellenika*, vii, 2, 18–23, when the Phliasians and Athenians under the command of Chares surprised and put to flight the Sikyonian troops (B. C. 367); Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 132 f.; Schaefer, *Demosthenes*, i, p. 103 ff.; cf. Grote, *Greece*, viii, p. 258.

6. *Macedo*: from Amphipolis (Sonidas). His birthplace is of importance as giving the probable clue to the subsequent connexion of his pupil Apelles—and possibly to that of Lysippos—with the Makedonian court. (Against his identification, on the insufficient testimony of the scholia, with the Pamphilos of Aristoph. *Plut.* 385, see Judeich, *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* 1890, p. 758.)

A. THE THEBANO-ATTIC SCHOOL.

Euxeinidas, *fl. circ.* 400 B. C.; § 75.

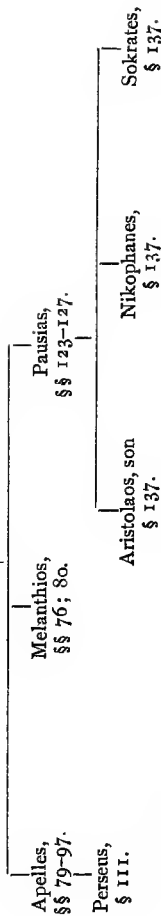
Aristeides I (§§ 75; 108; 111; xxxiv, 72?)



B. THE SIKYONIAN SCHOOL.

Eupompos, *fl. circ.* 400 B. C.; § 75.

Pamphilos, §§ 75-76; 123.



[To face page 118.]

it occasioned a new division of the schools of painting. Before his time there had been two schools, known as the Helladic proper and the Asiatic; but now the Helladic was subdivided in his honour, and thus the schools became three, the Ionic, the Sikyonian and the Attic, Eupompos himself being a Sikyonian.

By Pamphilos we have a family group, the victorious engagement of the Athenians at Phlious, and a picture of Odysseus on his raft. A Makedonian by birth, Pamphilos was the first painter who was thoroughly trained in every branch of learning, more particularly in arithmetic and geometry; without which, so he held, art could not be perfect. He taught no one for less than a talent [£210 circ.]—that is, five hundred denarii [£17 10s. circ.] a year—the fee paid him both by Apelles and by Melanthis. It was owing to his influence that first at Sikyon, and afterwards throughout Greece drawing, or rather painting, on tablets of boxwood, was the earliest subject taught to freeborn boys, and that this art was accepted as the preliminary step towards a liberal education. It was at any rate had in such honour that at all times the freeborn, and later on persons of distinction practised it, while by a standing prohibition no slaves might ever acquire it, and this is why neither in painting nor in statuary are there any celebrated works by artists who had been slaves.

In the hundred and seventh Olympiad [352–349 B.C.] lived Aetion and †Therimachos, both painters of note. By Aetion are

76
Pamphilos, master
of Apelles.
367 B.C.

77
Drawing
taught to
freeborn
boys.

78
Aetion and
Therimachos.

7. *praecipue arithmetica* . . .
posse: these words are probably derived from a Treatise on Painting by Pamphilos; see *Introd.* p. xliii.

9. *quam mercedem* . . . Apelles:
“Ἦνθει γὰρ ἔτι δόξα τῆς Σικωνίας μούσης καὶ χρηστογραφίας, ὡς μόνης ἀδιάφθορον ἐχούσης τὸ καλόν, ὥστε καὶ Ἀπελλῆν ἐκείνον ἤδη θαυμαζόμενον ἀφικέσθαι καὶ συγγενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ ταλάντῳ, τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς τέχνης δέμενον μεταλαβεῖν. *Plut. Arat.* xiii.

10. Melanthis: §§ 50, 80; and *Index* to this book. From Antigonos of Karystos, *ap. Diogenes L.* iv, 3, 18 (*Introd.* p. xxxviii), we learn that he wrote *περὶ ζωγραφικῆς*; and Melanthis was also a master of Apelles (perhaps after the death of Pamphilos), who,

with other pupils, assisted him in the votive picture for Aristratos of Sikyon (*Plut. loc. cit.*).

§ 77. 11. *pueri ingenui* = ἐλευθέροι: cf. Aristotle, *Polit.* v (viii), 3, p. 1338 *δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γραφικῆ* χρήσιμος εἶναι πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν τὰ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἔργα κάλλιον· οὐδ' αὖ καθάπερ ἡ γυμναστικῆ πρὸς ὑγίειαν κοὶ ἀλκῆν· οὐδέτερον γὰρ τούτων ὀρώμενον ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς. λέιπεται τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ σχολῇ διαγωγὴν, ἐς ὅπερ καὶ φαίνονται παράγοντες αὐτῆν ἦν γὰρ οἰοῦνται διαγωγὴν εἶναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἐν ταύτῃ τάττουσιν.

§ 78. 18. Aetion et Therimachos: cf. note on xxxiv, 50. Therimachos is otherwise unknown, Aetion is a favourite artist of Lucian, who has given a famous description of his Alexander

sunt nobiles picturae Liber pater, item Tragoedia et Comoedia, Semiramis ex ancilla regnum apiscens, anus lampadas praeferens et nova nupta verecundia notabilis. 79 verum et omnes prius genitos futurosque postea superavit Apelles Cous olympiade centesima duodecima. picturae 5 plura solus prope quam ceteri omnes contulit, voluminibus etiam editis quae doctrinam eam continent. praecipua eius in arte venustas fuit, cum eadem aetate maximi pictores essent. quorum opera cum admiraretur omnibus conlaudatis, deesse illam suam Venerem dicebat, quam Graeci Charita 10 vocant, cetera omnia contigisse, sed hac sola sibi neminem 80 parem. et aliam gloriam usurpavit, cum Protogenis opus inmensi laboris ac curae supra modum anxiae miraretur, dixit enim omnia sibi cum illo paria esse aut illi meliora, sed uno se praestare, quod manum de tabula sciret tollere, 15 memorabili praeepto nocere saepe nimiam diligentiam. fuit autem non minoris simplicitatis quam artis. Melanthio dispositione cedebat, Asclepiodoro de mensuris, hoc est 81 quanto quid a quoque distare deberet. scitum est inter Protogenen et eum quod accidit. ille Rhodi vivebat, quo 20 cum Apelles adnavigasset avidus cognoscendi opera eius

and Roxana (Ἡρόδ. ἡ 'Αετίων, 4); cf. εἰκόνας, 7, περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθ. συν. 42; cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, xviii, 70 (quoted above, note on § 50).

2. Semiramis: Brunn (*K. G.* ii, p. 245) points out that the nuptials of S. and Ninus may have been conceived as a sort of mythical counterpart to those of Alexander and Roxana.

anus . . . nova nupta: of course in one picture. The *anus* is doubtless the mother of the bride, to whom the *δαδουχείν*, the carrying of the *δαδες νυμφικαί*, usually fell (Hermann-Blümler, *Lehrbuch*, p. 275; Furtwängler, *S. Sabouroff*, i. 58, 59; cf. the attendant(?) holding torches on the marriage vases or *λουτροφόροι*). The torch was doubtless made the occasion for effects of light; cf. the marriage of Alexander and Roxana,

where Hephaestion holds a torch, the marriage feast of Peirithoos by Hippias (Athen. xi, p. 474), which was lit up by a hanging candelabrum. The enumeration from *Tragoedia* to *anus* is asyndetical—*et* being reserved to link *Comoedia* to *Trag.* (both in one picture) and *nova nupta* to *anus*—so that I cannot follow Brunn (*K. G.* ii, p. 245) and Furtwängler (*Dornauszieher*, p. 96, n. 57), in understanding the words *anus . . . notabilis* to be descriptive of the picture of the Nuptials of Semiramis.

§ 79. 5. Apelles Cous: Ovid, *Ars Amat.* iii, 401, *Pont. Epist.* iv, 1, 29; but Strabo (xiv, p. 642), Lucian, *διαβολ.* 2, and after him Tzetzes (*Chil.* viii, 392) call him an Ephesian; that this is correct is proved by Herondas, iv, 72 (Ἐφεσίου Ἀπελλέω) who certainly would not have made Apelles

the well-known pictures of Dionysos, of Tragedy and Comedy, of Semiramis rising from slavery to royal power, and of an old woman carrying lamps and a bride, whose shamefacedness is very apparent.

Apelles of Kos, however, in the hundred and twelfth Olympiad ⁷⁹ [332-329 B.C.] excelled all painters who came before or after him. ^{Apelles of Kos. His written Treatises.} He of himself perhaps contributed more to painting than all the others together; he also wrote treatises on his theory of art. The grace of his genius remained quite unrivalled, although the very greatest painters were living at the time. He would admire their works, praising every beauty and yet observing that they failed in the grace, called *χάρις* in Greek, which was distinctively his own; everything else they had attained, but in this alone none equalled him. He laid claim to another merit: when admiring a work of Protogenes that betrayed immense industry and the most anxious elaboration, he said that, though Protogenes was his equal or even his superior in everything, he yet surpassed that painter in one point—namely in knowing when to take his hand from a picture; a memorable saying, showing that too much care may often be hurtful. His candour was equal to his genius: he acknowledged the superiority of Melanthios in the distribution of figures, and that of Asklepiodoros in perspective arrangement, that is in giving the accurate distances between different objects. ^{His estimate of the works of his contemporaries and of his own. 80}

A neat story is told of him in connexion with Protogenes, who ⁸¹ was living in Rhodes. Thither Apelles sailed, eager to see the ^{His visit to Protogenes.}

into an Ephesian, if he could have claimed him for his native Kos. The tradition that the artist was a Koan arose because at Kos were some of his most celebrated works, among them the *Anadyomene*.

6. *voluminibus editis*: cf. § 111; it must be from these writings of Apelles that the judgements he passed upon his contemporaries were originally derived (Introd. p. xl).

7. *præcipua venustas*: Quinct. xii, 10, 6 *ingenio et gratia, quam in se ipso maxime iactat, Ap. est præstantissimus*. According to Plutarch (*Demetr.* xxii), and Ailian (*nov. ior.* xii, 41) this judgement on himself was passed when he saw the Ialysos of Protogenes (§ 102).

9. *quorum opera cum adm.*: i. e. in his writings.

§ 80. 12. Protogenis: below, §§ 81, 101-106.

opus miraretur: presumably the Ialysos.

15. *manum de tabula*: = *χεῖρ' ἀπὸ τραπέζης*; Petron. 76 *postquam coepi plus habere, quam tota mea patria habet, manum de tabula*; also used of school-boys trifling in their master's absence, cf. Cic. *ad Fam.* vii, 25 *sed heus tu, manu de tabula!* (Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 210).

17. Melanthio: above, § 76.

18. Asclepiodoro: below, § 107.

§ 81. 19. *scitum est*: the following anecdote appears to be elaborated out of the admiration which Apelles

fama tantum sibi cogniti, continuo officinam petiit. aberat ipse, sed tabulam amplae magnitudinis in machina aptatam una custodiebat anus. haec foris esse Protogenen respondit interrogavitque a quo quaesitum diceret. ab hoc, inquit Apelles, adreptoque penicillo lineam ex colore duxit sum- 5
 82 mae tenuitatis per tabulam, et reverso Protogeni quae gesta erant anus indicavit. ferunt artificem protinus contempla- tum subtilitatem dixisse Apellen venisse, non cadere in alium tam absolutum opus, ipsumque alio colore tenuiorem lineam in ipsa illa duxisse abeuntemque praecepisse, si 10
 redisset ille, ostenderet adiceretque hunc esse quem quaereret, atque ita evenit. revertit enim Apelles et vinci erubescens tertio colore lineas secuit nullum relinquens
 83 amplius subtilitati locum. at Protogenes victum se confessus in portum devolavit hospitem quaerens, placuitque sic eam 15
 tabulam posteris tradi omnium quidem, sed artificum prae-
 A.U.C. 757. cipuo miraculo. consumptam eam priore incendio Caesaris domus in Palatio audio, spectatam nobis ante spatiose nihil aliud continentem quam lineas visum effugientes inter egregia multorum opera inani similem et eo ipso allicientem omnique 20
 84 opere nobiliorem. Apelli fuit alioqui perpetua consuetudo numquam tam occupatum diem agendi ut non lineam du- cendo exerceret artem, quod ab eo in proverbium venit. idem perfecta opera proponebat in pergula transeuntibus, atque ipse post tabulam latens vitia quae notarentur aus- 25
 cultabat vulgum diligentiorum iudicem quam se praeferens, 85 feruntque reprehensum a sutore, quod in crepidis una pauciores intus fecisset ansas, eodem postero die superbo emenda-

2. aptatam una] *Bamb.*; aptatam picturae una *reliqui, Dellefsen.*

had professed for Protogenes in his writings, see *Introd.* p. xl.

3. una . . . anus: Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen* (1895), p. 65, calls attention to the part played in classical literature by the single *ancilla* or the *anus*. Like the *pistrinum* she is, so to speak, one of the requisites of the contented life. We get the *ancilla* in the amusing anecdote, *Cic. de Orat.* ii, 276, while Chrysispos ἠρκεῖτο γραιδίῳ, μόνῳ, Demetrios *ap.* Diog.

Laert. vii, 7, 185. The motive is Homeric ὄσπερ δὲ Λαέρτης . . . γρηὶ σὺν ἀμφιπόλῳ, Teles, p. 25 (ed. Hense).

5. lineam . . . duxit: the anecdote belongs to the same category as Giotto's O, Vasaried. *Milanesi I*, p. 383.

§ 83. 17. consumptam . . . audio: oral tradition.

§ 84. 23. in proverbium: i. e. *nullus dies sine linea*; cf. Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 194.

24. pergula: cf. Ulpian, *Digest.*

works of a man only known to him by reputation, and on his arrival immediately repaired to the studio. Protogenes was not at home, but a solitary old woman was keeping watch over a large panel placed on the easel. In answer to the questions of Apelles, she said that Protogenes was out, and asked the name of the visitor: 'Here it is,' said Apelles, and snatching up a brush he drew a line of extreme delicacy across the board. On the return of Protogenes the old woman told him what had happened. When he had considered the delicate precision of the line he at once declared that his visitor had been Apelles, for no one else could have drawn anything so perfect. Then in another colour he drew a second still finer line upon the first, and went away, bidding her show it to Apelles if he came again, and add that this was the man he was seeking. It fell out as he expected; Apelles did return, and, ashamed to be beaten, drew a third line of another colour cutting the two first down their length and leaving no room for any further refinement. Protogenes owned himself beaten and hurried down to the harbour to find his visitor; they agreed to hand down the painting just as it was to posterity, a marvel to all, but especially to artists. It perished, I am told, in the first fire of the house of the Caesars on the Palatine. Formerly we might look upon it; its wide surface disclosed nothing save lines which eluded the sight, and among the numerous works by excellent painters it was like a blank, and it was precisely this that lent it surpassing attraction and renown.

Apelles further made it an unvarying rule never to spend a day, however busy, without drawing a line by way of practice; hence the proverb. It was also his habit to exhibit his finished works to the passers-by in a balcony, and he would lie concealed behind the picture and listen to the faults that were found with it, regarding the public as more accurate critics than himself. There is a story that when found fault with by a cobbler for putting one loop too few on the inner side of a sandal, he corrected the mistake. Elated by this the cobbler next day proceeded to find fault with the leg, whereupon Apelles thrust out his head in

82
They split
a line, in
friendly
emulation.

A.D. 4.

84
His in-
dustry.

85
The critical
cobbler.

ix, 3, 5, § 12 *cum pictor in pergula clipeum vel tabulam expositam habuisset eaque excidisset, et transeunti damni quid dedisset.* (It has been shown by F. Marx in *Studia Luciliana*, 1882, p. 16 f. that in Lucilius xv,

6, the old reading *pergula pictorum* should be altered to *pergula fictorum*, which is adopted by Buecheler.) For *pergulae* at Pompei, see Mau, *Röm. Mitth.* ii, 1887, p. 214 ff.

tione pristinae admonitionis cavillante circa crus, indignatum prospexisse denuntiantem ne supra crepidam sutor iudicaret, quod et ipsum in proverbium abiit. fuit enim et comitas illi, propter quam gratior Alexandro Magno frequenter in officinam ventitanti—nam, ut diximus, ab alio se pingi 5 vetuerat edicto—sed in officina imperite multa disserenti silentium comiter suadebat rideri eum dicens a pueris qui 89 colores tererent. tantum erat auctoritati iuris in regem alioqui iracundum. quamquam Alexander honorem ei clarissimo perhibuit exemplo, namque cum dilectam sibi 10 ex pallacis suis praecipue, nomine Pancaspen, nudam pingi ob admirationem formae ab Apelle iussisset eumque, dum paret, captum amore sensisset, dono dedit ei magnus animo, maior imperio sui, nec minor hoc facto quam victoria aliqua. 87 quippe se vicit, nec torum tantum suum sed etiam adfectum 15 donavit artifici, ne dilectae quidem respectu motus, cum modo regis ea fuisset, modo pictoris esset. sunt qui Venerem anadyomenen ab illo pictam exemplari putent. Apelles et in aemulis benignus Protogeni dignationem primus Rhodi 88 constituit. sordebat suis ut plerumque domestica, percon- 20 tantique quanti liceret opera effecta parvum nescio quid dixerat, at ille quinquagenis talentis poposcit famamque dispersit se emere ut pro suis venderet. ea res concitavit Rhodios ad intellegendum artificem, nec nisi argentibus pretium cessit. imagines adeo similitudinis indiscretae 25 pinxit ut—incredibile dictu—Apio grammaticus scriptum reliquerit quendam ex facie hominum divinantem, quos metoposcopus vocant, ex iis dixisse aut futurae mortis annos

§ 85. 2. ne supra crepidam sutor : cf. Valer. Max. viii, 12, ext. 3; Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 97. Introd. p. lix.

3. enim : corroborates *idem praeferens*, ignoring the intervening anecdote.

5. ut diximus : in vii, 125 = App. I; cf. note on xxxiv, 63.

6. in officina : the following anecdote is told by Plutarch (*de Tranquill. Anim.* 12), concerning the megabyzos (§ 93), while Ailian, Πικ. Ἰστ. ii, 2, tells it of Zeuxis and a megabyzos.

7. qui colores tererent : τὰ πικρόρια τὰ τοῦ Ζεύξειδος τὴν μηλίδα τριβοντα κατεγέλα, Ailian, *loc. cit.*

§ 86. 11. Pancaspen : ὄνομα ἦν Παγκάσπη, τὸ δὲ γένος Λαρισσαία, Ailian, Πικ. Ἰστ. xii, 34. Lucian (*εἰκόνας*, 7) calls her Πακάτη.

§ 87. 18. anadyomenen : = *εκευνητην e mari*, below, § 91.

exemplari : according to Athen. xiii, p. 590 F, the model was Phryne, while according to *Anth. Plan.* 179 Apelles, like Praxiteles (xxxvi, 21),

a passion and bade the cobbler 'stick to his last,' a saying which has also passed into a proverb.

The charm of his manner had won him the regard of Alexander the Great, who was a frequent visitor to the studio, for, as we have said, he had issued an edict forbidding any one else to paint his portrait. But when the king happened to discourse at length in the studio upon things he knew nothing about, Apelles would pleasantly advise him to be silent, hinting that the assistants who ground the colours were laughing at him; such power did his personality give him over a king habitually so passionate. Yet Alexander gave him a signal mark of his regard: he commissioned Apelles to paint a nude figure of his favourite mistress Pankaspe, so much did he admire her wondrous form, but perceiving that Apelles had fallen in love with her, with great magnanimity and still greater self-control he gave her to him as a present, winning by the action as great a glory as by any of his victories. He conquered himself and sacrificed to the artist not only his mistress but his love, and was not even restrained by consideration for the woman he loved, who, once a king's mistress, was now a painter's. Some believe that she was the model for the Aphrodite rising from the sea.

*Friendship
of Alexander
and
Apelles.
Story of
Pankaspe.*

Friendly even to his rivals, Apelles was the first to establish in Rhodes the reputation of Protogenes, who, as so many in their own homes, was neglected by his countrymen. When asked by Apelles the prices of his finished works, he mentioned some trifling sum, upon which Apelles offered fifty talents [£10,500 circ.] for each, and spread a report that he was buying the pictures to sell as his own. This stirred up the Rhodians to a better appreciation of the artist, but not until they offered a still higher price would Apelles give up the pictures.

*Kindness
of Apelles
to Proto-
genes.*

His portraits were such perfect likenesses that, incredible as it may sound, Apio the grammarian has left it on record that a physiognomist, or *μετωποσκόπος* as they are called, was able to

*His aston-
ishing
merits as
portrait
painter.*

was privileged to see the goddess herself: *αὐτὰν ἐκ πόντοιο τιθνηγηῆρος Ἀπελλῆς | τὰν Κύπριν γυμνὰν εἶδε λοχευομένην.*

§ 88. 25. *similit. indiscretæ*: xxxiv, 60 *facie quoque indiscreta similis*, and note.

26. *incredibile dictu*: hence Pliny

waives the responsibility and immediately names his authority.

Apio grammaticus: *Praef.* 25, xxx, 18, and often in Pliny; flor. reign of Caligula. Müller, *F. H. G.* iii, 506-516.

28. *metoposcopos*: cf. Suet. *Titus* 2.

89 aut praeteritae vitae. non fuerat ei gratia in comitatu Alexandri cum Ptolemaeo, quo regnante Alexandriam vi tempestatis expulsus subornato fraude aemulorum plano regio invitatus ad cenam venit, indignantique Ptolemaeo et vocatores suos ostendenti, ut diceret a quo eorum invitatus 5 esset, arrepto carbone extincto e foculo imaginem in pariete deliniavit, adgnoscente voltum plani rege inchoatum protinus. pinxit et Antigoni regis imaginem altero lumine orbam primus excogitata ratione vitia condendi, obliquam namque fecit, ut quod deerat corpori picturae deesse potius 10 videretur, tantumque eam partem e facie ostendit quam totam poterat ostendere. sunt inter opera eius et exspirantium imagines. quae autem nobilissima sint non est 91 facile dictu. Venerem exeuntem e mari divus Augustus dicavit in delubro patris Caesaris, quae anadyomene vocatur, 15 versibus Graecis tali opere, dum laudatur, victo sed inlus-

§ 89. 1. non fuerat ei gratia : the following is a mutilated and somewhat different account of the events narrated at length by Lucian (*διαβολ.* 4), for which, according to Lucian, Apelles took vengeance by painting his famous 'Calumny.' Both the versions have an aitiological flavour, and probably arose in great measure out of the picture itself (for the historical inaccuracies in Lucian's story see Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 208). For the latest discussion of the Calumny, and especially of the influence of Lucian's description on artists of the Renaissance, see R. Förster in *Jahrb. d. Preuss. Samml.* 1887, p. 29 ff.

3. aemulorum : from Lucian, *loc. cit.*, we learn that the Egyptian painter Antiphilos (§§ 114, 138) was among them.

5. vocatores : i. e. the slaves in charge of the invitations or *vocationes*, Seneca, *Ira* iii, 37, 4; Suet. *Calig.* 39, &c.

§ 90. 8. altero lumine orbam : Ant. was accordingly surnamed *μόνοφθαλμος* and *Κύκλωψ*, Polyb. v, 67, 6; Ailian, *Ποικ.* Ἰστ. xii, 43.

9. obliquam : Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 10; Quinct. ii, 13, 12 *habet in pictura speciem tota facies; Apelles tamen imaginem Antigoni latere tantum altero ostendit, ut amissi oculi deformitas lateret.* These words prove beyond the possibility of doubt that the *obliqua imago* of Antonos was a simple portrait in profile. Hartwig, however, (*Meisterschalen*, p. 157) argues that to disguise a defect a simple profile would be unworthy of the inventiveness of so great an artist as Apelles, and, starting from the meaning which he claims for *catagrapha* (above, § 56, where see note), tries to show that the portrait was in $\frac{3}{4}$ and foreshortened. The portrait of the squinting Tommaso Inghirami by Raphael (original in Pal. Inghirami at Volterra; the picture in the Pitti is only a copy), which Hartwig quotes in support of his theory, seems as a fact to emphasize rather than conceal the physical defect.

12. exspirantium imagines : acutely explained by Brückner (*Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akademie*, vol. 116, p. 519, note 4) as grave pictures

tell from the portraits alone how long the sitter had to live or had already lived. When in Alexander's train he had been on unfriendly terms with Ptolemy, during whose reign he was once driven into Alexandria by a violent storm. On Apelles appearing at a banquet, to which his rivals had maliciously induced the king's fool to invite him, Ptolemy flew into a passion, and pointing to his chamberlains bade him say from which of them he had received the invitation, whereupon the painter snatching up a charred stick from the hearth traced on the wall a likeness, in whose first strokes the king at once recognized the face of the fool.

He also painted a portrait of king Antigonos, who was blind of one eye, being the first to devise a means of concealing the infirmity by presenting his profile, so that the absence of the eye would be attributed merely to the position of the sitter, not to a natural defect, for he gave only the part of the face which could be shown uninjured. There are among his works some pictures of dying people, though it were difficult to say which are the best. His Aphrodite rising from the sea was dedicated by the god Augustus in the temple of his father Caesar: she is known as the *ἀναδυομένη*, being, like other works of the kind, at once eclipsed yet rendered famous by the Greek epigrams written in her praise.

representing death-scenes; cf. the *γαππὸς τύπος*, described *Anth.* vii, 730; cf. also *ib.* vii, 170; Weisshäupl, *Die Grabgedichte der Gr. Anthologie*, 97 ff.; further, Paus. ii, 7, 3 praises the excellent painting of a grave picture at Sikyon, of Xenodyke, who died in childbirth; cf. in sculpture the grave relief of Malthake from the Peiraiens, see Friederichs-Wolters, 1042. Praxiteles (xxxiv, 70), Nikias (below, § 132), Nikomachos (mon. of Telestes, § 109), likewise decorate graves; cf. the *iuvenis requiescens* of Simos, § 143.

13. quae autem nobilissima sint: [refers not to *opera* but to *imagines*; rapid changes of gender or number are common in Pliny, Mayhoff, *Lucubr. Plin.* (1865) p. 83; cf. J. Müller, *Stil*, p. 56.—H. L. U.]

§ 91. 14. exeuntem e mari = *anadyomenen*, above, § 87. From numerous descriptions (Overb. *Schrift-*

quellen, 1847–1866) we learn that the goddess was represented wringing her hair, in a type which was likewise adapted to statuary (Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 254). For the picture itself see Benndorf, *Athen. Mitth.* 1876, p. 50.

15. in delubro patris Caesaris: the picture was previously in the Koan Asklepieion, whence Augustus obtained it by remitting 100 talents of the Koan tribute; Strabo xiv, p. 657. Since Ovid (exiled A. D. 8) mentions the Anadyomene in *Trist.* ii, 527 f., the picture must have been in Rome previous to the year of his exile. For further discussion of the dates see Wunderer, *Manibiae Alexandrinae*, p. 8.

16. victo sed inlustrato: 'snrpassed' inasmuch as the poet can give expression to more things than the painter who is limited to one moment;

90
He paints
king
Antigonos.

91
'Aphrodite
rising from
the sea.'

trato, cuius inferiorem partem corruptam qui reficeret non potuit reperiri, verum ipsa iniuria cessit in gloriam artificis. consenuit haec tabula carie, aliamque pro ea substituit Nero
 92 principatu suo Dorothei manu. Apelles inchoaverat et aliam Venerem Coi superaturus famam illam suam priorem. 5
 invidit mors peracta parte, nec qui succederet operi ad praescripta liniamenta inventus est. pinxit et Alexandrum Magnum fulmen tenentem in templo Ephesiae Dianae viginti talentis auri. digiti eminere videntur et fulmen extra tabulam esse—legentes meminerint omnia ea quattuor colo- 10
 93 mensura accepit, non numero. pinxit et megabyzi sacerdotis Dianae Ephesiae pompam, Clitum cum equo ad bellum festinantem, galeam poscenti armigerum porrigentem. Alexandrum et Philippum quotiens pinxerit enumerare 15
 supervacuum est. mirantur eius Habronem Sami, Menan-

5. famam] etiam omnes praeter Bamb., Detlefsen.

for the idea conveyed by *inlustrato* cf. xxxiv, 57, of the heifer of Myron, *celebratis versibus laudata, quando alieno plerique ingenio magis quam suo commendantur*.

3. substituit: this may be an exaggeration, as the picture of Apelles seems still to have been in existence under Vespasian, when Suetonius (*Vesp.* 18) speaks of its being again restored: *Coae Veneris . . . refectorem insigni congiario magnaue mercede donavit*.

§ 92. 4. inchoaverat: Cic. *Fam.* i, 9, 15, and *Off.* iii, 2, 10.

8. fulmen tenentem = *κεραυνοφόρον*, i. e. deified. Plutarch (*περί τῆς Ἀλ. τύχης*, ii, 2) relates that it was said of this picture that there were two Alexanders, the son of Philip who was invincible, and the Alexander of Apelles who was inimitable. It is a fascinating conjecture of King (*Anc. Gems* i, p. xii), followed by Furtwängler, *Jahrb.* iv (1889), p. 69, that an ancient copy of this famous picture is extant in the carnelian in St. Petersburg (*Jahrb.* iii, pl. xi, 26).

The position of the right arm holding the thunderbolt in the gem is specially significant.

9. *eminere videntur*: cf. in § 127 *quae volunt eminentia videri*; § 131 *ut eminent e tabulis picturae*.

10. *legentes meminerint*: harks back to § 50.

§ 93. 12. *megabyzi*: Strabo xiv, p. 641 *ἱερέας δ' εὐνούχους εἶχον οὐδ' ἐκάλουν Μεγοβύζους*.

13. *pompam*: from Herondas iv, 66 ff. we learn that the picture was at Kos, in the *παστός* (Sanctuary) of the Asklepieion, and that it represented a sacrifice of oxen. It is amusingly described by the gossips Kokkale and Kynno (ed. Crusius).

KOK. ὁ βοῦς δὲ χά ἄγων αὐτόν, ἥ θ' ὀμαρτεῖσα

χά γρῦπὸς οὗτος χά ἀνάσιμος ἄνθρωπος,

οὐχὶ ζῶνν βλέπουσιν ἡμέρην πάντες;

εἰ μὴ ἐδόκειν τι μέζον ἢ γυνὴ πρήσσειν,

ἀνηλάλαξ' ἄν, μὴ μ' ὁ βοῦς τι πημήνη,

When the lower portion was damaged no one could be found to restore it, and thus the very injury redounded to the glory of the artist. In course of time the panel of the picture fell into decay, and Nero when Emperor substituted for it another picture by the hand of Dorotheos. Apelles had begun another Aphrodite at Kos, intending to surpass even the fame of his earlier achievement, but when only a part was finished envious death interposed, and no one was found to finish the outlines already traced. He also painted in the temple of Artemis at Ephesos a portrait of Alexander holding a thunderbolt for twenty talents [$\text{£}4,200$ circ.]: the fingers seem to stand out and the thunderbolt to project from the picture;—the reader should remember that all this was done with four colours. For this picture he was paid in gold coins, reckoned not by number but by measure. He painted too the train of a *μεγάβυζος*, or priest of Artemis of Ephesos, Kleitos on horseback going out to battle, and the picture of a squire handing a helmet to one who asks for it. It were vain to enumerate the number of times he painted Alexander and Philip. At Samos we admire his Habron, at Rhodes his Menander, king of Karia, and his Antaios, at Alexandria Gorgo-

Its restoration by Dorotheos.
92

'Alexander holding the thunderbolt.'

93

οὕτω ἐπιλοξοῖ, Κυννί, τῇ ἐτέρῃ
κούρῃ.

ΚΥΝ. ἀληθιναί, φίλη, γὰρ αἱ Ἐφεσίου
χείρες

ἐς πάντ' Ἀπελλέω γράμματ',
οὐδ' ἔρεῖς "κείνος

ἄνθρωπος ἐν μὲν εἶδεν, ἐν δ'
ἀπηρνήθη."

ἀλλ' ᾧ ἐπὶ νοῦν γένοιτο, καὶ
θεῶν ψαύειν

ἠπέιγεθ' . . .

The use of the past tense ἠπέιγετο shows that Apelles was no longer alive at the time Herondas wrote the *Mimiamboi* (circ. B. C. 280-273). For similar subjects cf. on § 126 (Pausias) and § 137 (Aristolaos). A curious but arbitrary explanation of the Koan picture, as representing the Egyptian bull Apis, is given by R. Meister in his ed. of Herondas, p. 222.

Clitum: surnamed ὁ μέλας (Plutarch, *Alex.* 16), the bosom friend of Alexander, whose life he saved at the Granikos, and by whom he was

afterwards slain: Arrian. iv, 8, &c.

14. *galeam poscenti*: [generally taken as descriptive of the portrait of Kleitos. But the change from the accusative to the dative would be barbarous, while the asyndetic enumeration shows that we have here a fresh subject. It was perhaps a grave picture (*exspir. imago*); very similar subjects appear on grave reliefs (1) in Syracuse, rider with horn of plenty, standing by his horse, to r. attendant leaning on spear, to l. boy bringing helmet, snake between boy and horse, unpublished; (2) the relief from Thyrea in Athens, Friederichs-Wolters, 1812, cf. Deneken, *azp.* Roscher ii, art. 'Heros,' col. 2563. Also on vases, Naples, Heydemann 2192, from Canosa.—H. L. U.]

15. *quotiens pinxerit*: cf. xxxiv, 63, of Alexander's portraits by Lysippos.

16. *Habronem*: probably the painter mentioned below, § 141.

Sami: where the Heraion con-

drum regem Cariae Rhodi, item Antaeum, Alexandreae Gorgosthenen tragoedum, Romae Castorem et Pollucem cum Victoria et Alexandro Magno, item Belli imaginem restrictis ad terga manibus, Alexandro in curru triumphante, 94 quas utrasque tabulas divus Augustus in fori sui celeberrimis 5 partibus dicaverat simplicitate moderata, divus Claudius pluris existimavit utrique excisa Alexandri facie divi Augusti imagines addere. eiusdem arbitrantur manu esse et in Dianae templo Herculem aversum, ut, quod est difficillimum, faciem eius ostendat verius pictura quam promittat. 10 pinxit et heroa nudum, eaque pictura naturam ipsam provo- 95 cavit. est et equus eius sive fuit pictus in certamine, quo iudicium ad mutas quadripedes provocavit ab hominibus. namque ambitu praevalere aemulos sentiens singulorum picturas inductis equis ostendit, Apellis tantum equo adhin- 15 nivere, idque et postea semper evenit, ut experimentum 96 artis illud ostentaretur. fecit et Neoptolemum ex equo adversus Persas, Archelaum cum uxore et filia, Antigonom thoracatum cum equo incedentem. peritiores artis praeferrunt omnibus eius operibus eundem regem sedentem in equo 20 et Dianam sacrificantium virginum choro mixtam, quibus

tained a collection of pictures (Strabo xiv, p. 637 τὸ Ἡραδὸν . . . νεὸς μέγας, δὲ νῦν πινακοθήκη ἐστὶ).

Menandrum: one τῶν ἑταίρων, Arrian, *Anabasis* iii, 6, 8; iv, 13, 7; vii, 24, 1, Diodoros xviii, 59; he was satrap of Lydia, and as no king of Karia of the name of Menander is known, it may be that we have here a confusion on Pliny's part, cf. Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 212.

1. **Antaeum**: unknown.

Alexandreae: above, § 89.

2. **tragoedum**: cf. the *temulenta tibicina* of Lysippos, xxxiv, 63, the *saltator Alcisthenes* in § 147, &c.

Castorem . . . Magno: above, § 27. The type of Alexander between the Dioskouroi was at a later date adapted to triumphal pictures of the Emperors, cf. *Mon. d. Inst.* iii, 10.

4. **restrictis ad terga manibus**:

in § 27 the subject of the picture is described as Triumph and War. Servius on *Aen.* i, 294 (ed. Thilo i, p. 109) *in foro Augusti introeuntibus ad sinistram fuit bellum pictum et furor sedens super arma devinctus eo habitu quo poeta dixit*; it is of course possible that Pliny forgot to mention the *Furor*, but, as Jacobi (*Museogr.* p. 73) has pointed out, it is more likely that Servius, in order to give a more striking explanation of the Virgilian lines (*Claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus | saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis | post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento*), split the personification of War into two. We may assume from Servius, *loc. cit.*, that the first picture was on the R. of the spectator entering the Forum.

§ 94. 8. **arbitrantur**: i. e. a judge-

sthenes the tragic actor, at Rome Kastor and Polydeukes with Victory and Alexander the Great, and also a figure of War with his hands bound behind his back, and Alexander riding in triumph in a chariot. These two pictures had been placed in the most crowded parts of his forum with the restraint of good taste by the god Augustus, but the god Claudius thought fit to cut out in both the face of Alexander and substitute that of Augustus. The Herakles with averted face, in the temple of Diana, is also attributed to Apelles; by a triumph of art the picture seems not only to suggest, but actually to give the face. He also painted a nude hero, a picture which challenges comparison with Nature herself. A horse also exists, or did exist, painted for a competition, in which he appealed from the judgement of men to that of dumb beasts. When he saw that his rivals were likely to be placed above him through intrigue, he caused some horses to be brought in and showed them each picture in turn; they neighed only at the horse of Apelles, and this was invariably the case ever afterwards, so that the test was applied purposely to afford a display of his skill. He also painted Neoptolemos on horseback fighting against the Persians, Archelaos in a group with his wife and daughter, and a portrait of Antigonos in armour advancing with his horse. Skilled judges of painting prefer among all his works his equestrian portrait of Antigonos and his Artemis amid a band of maidens offering sacrifice, a painting

Allegorical pictures of Alexander the Great.

An unfair verdict. The horses approve the picture of Apelles.

ment of connoisseurs not certified by the artist's signature.

9. *Dianæ*: in the campus *Flaminus* dedicated by Lepidus B. C. 179; Liv. xl, 52. The reading *Annae* (sc. *Perennae*) is defended by Jordan (*ap. Preller, Röm. Mythol.* 2nd ed. i, p. 344, note 1), but against his view see Wissowa *ap. Pauly, s. v. Anna Perenna*.

§ 95. 12. *est et equus*: according to Ailian, Πικ. Ἰστ. ii, 3, the story was told of Alexander and the horse in his equestrian portrait. The *est . . . sive fuit* show how little importance Pliny himself attaches to such anecdotes.

§ 96. 17. *Neoptolemus*: not the son of Achilles, as Welcker and others have supposed, but the *ἑραῖπος* of

Alexander, son of Arrhabaios, Arrian i, 20, 10; ii, 27, 6, Diodoros xviii, 29.

ex equo: sc. *pugnantem*.

18. *Archelaum*: two Archelaoi are known among the soldiers of Alexander, (1) the son of Androkles, one τῶν ἑραῖπων; he was placed in command of the garrison left at Aornos (Arr. iii, 29, 1); (2) the son of Theodoros, who was placed in command at Susa (Arr. iii, 16, 9).

21. *sacrificantium*: since the words are at variance with the Homeric description, endless emendations of the passage have been suggested (see Overbeck, *Schriftquell.* 1870). The best explanation seems that of Dilthey (*Rhein. Mus.* xxv, p. 327), who supposes that in translating

vicisse Homeri versus videtur id ipsum describentis. pinxit et quae pingi non possunt, tonitrua, fulgetra, fulgura, quae
 97 Bronten, Astrapen, Ceraunobolian appellant. inventa eius et ceteris profuere in arte, unum imitari nemo potuit, quod absoluta opera atramento inlinebat ita tenui ut id ipsum 5 repercussu claritatis colorem album excitaret custodiretque a pulvere et sordibus, ad manum intuenti demum appareret, sed etiam ratione magna, ne claritas colorum aciem offenderet veluti per lapidem specularem intuentibus et e longinquo eadem res nimis floridis coloribus austeritatem occulte 10 daret.

98 Aequalis eius fuit Aristides Thebanus. is omnium primus animum pinxit et sensus hominis expressit, quae vocant Graeci ethe, item perturbationes, durior paulo in coloribus. huius opera : oppido capto ad matris morientis ex vulnere 15

6. album] *Traube*; alvum *Bamb.*; alium *Bamb. e corr., Detlefsen*; *om. reliqui.* 8. etiam] *Bamb. e corr.*; etium *Bamb.*; et cum *Voss., Detlefsen.* 15. opera] *Bamb.*; pictura *reliqui, Detlefsen.*

some Greek epigram beginning for instance :

ἠνοούσαις δὲ κόραισιν ἁμορρόθος ἰοχέαιρα
 ἐξάρχουσα χορόν, σέυεται ἀγροτέρη.

Pliny or his author mistook *ἠνοούσαις* from *ἠνώω* for the partic. of *ἠνώω*.

1. Homeri versus : Od. vi, 102—
 οἷη δ' Ἄρτεμις εἰσι κατ' οὐρεα ἰοχέ-
 αιρα

* * * * *

τῇ δέ θ' ἅμα Νύμφαι, κοῦραι Διὸς
 αἰγιόχοιο,
 ἀγρονόμοι παίζουσι.

3. Bronten . . . Ceraunobolian : personifications [*κεραυνοβολία* was the personification of *κεραυνός* (Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 367 foll. and Aetios Mac. ii, 2, 3, p. 368); for Bronte cf. Philostr. the Elder *Imag.* i, 14 *Βροντῆ ἐν εἶδει σκληρῶ καὶ Ἀστραπῆ σέλας ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἰεῖσα πῦρ . . .* Possibly the three figures were united in an allegory of a storm and formed a votive offering to Zeus *κεραυνοβόλος*; cf. *C. I. G.* 1513; *βροντῶν* and *κεραύνιος*, *C. I. G.* 2641, 3446, 3810, and often.—H. L. U.]

§ 97. 5. atramento : the exact

composition of Apelles's *atramentum* still remains obscure; we can only gather that although some black substance formed its basis, this was so diluted and spread out as to become transparent and practically colourless.

6. colorem album excitaret : this passage offers grave difficulties. (1) If we follow the remaining codices in omitting the word *album* we get pure nonsense, since it is absurd to talk of a glazing that raised the picture's colour as a whole, and yet toned it down. (2) If we follow Detlefsen and adopt the *alium* which a later hand wrote for the *alvum* of cod. *Bamb.* we get worse nonsense, for what is this *color alius*? (3) I cannot help suspecting that *albus* (used of a dead, opaque white) is a mis-translation of the Greek *λευκός* in its sense of 'brilliant'; the object of the glazing, then, was to give a brilliant surface to the whole picture; this brought the colours into unison, and at the same time served the practical purpose of protecting the painting from dust.

thought to have excelled the lines of Homer that describe the same scene. He also painted the unpaintable, thunder, for example, lightning and thunderbolts, βροντή, ἀστραπή and κεραυνοβολία as they are called.

All have profited by his innovations, though one of these could 97 never be imitated; he used to give his pictures when finished a black glazing so thin that by sending back the light it could call forth a whitish colour, while at the same time it afforded protection from dust and dirt, only becoming visible itself on the closest inspection. In using this glazing, one main purpose of his was to prevent the brilliance of the colours from offending the eyes,—the effect was as when they are looked at through talc,—and also that when seen at a distance those which were vivid to excess might be imperceptibly toned down.

Aristeides of Thebes was his contemporary: he was the first 98 among all painters to paint the soul, and gave expression to the affections of man—I mean to what the Greeks call ἦθη—and also the emotions. His colouring is rather harsh. His works are: Aristeides
of Thebes.

9. lapidem specularem: xxxvi, 160; it was a transparent highly laminated substance, used also for windows (*specularia*), cf. Plin. *Ep.* ii, 17, 4; Juv. iv, 21, &c.

§ 98. 12. Aristides Thebanus: below, § 111; he was the second of the name, son of Nikomachos, § 108, and grandson of the first Aristeides, *ib.*, above, § 75.

omnium primus: note on § 16.

13. sensus . . . perturbaciones: as O. Jahn points out (*Kunsturtheile*, p. 115), Pliny is here giving a closer definition of *animus* by dividing it into ἦθη and πάθη, for the first of which, according to Quinct. vi, 2, 8, no precise Latin equivalent existed: *horum* (sc. *affectuum*) *autem, sicut antiquitus traditum accepimus, duae sunt species: alteram Graeci πάθος vocant, quod nos vertentes recte ac proprie affectum dicimus, alteram ἦθος, cuius nomine, ut ego equidem sentio, caret sermo Romanus: mores appellantur, atque inde pars quoque illa philosophiae ἠθική moralis est dicta* (cf. above, note on *mores* in § 63).

Pliny, therefore, to avoid misunderstanding, gives the Greek word also for ἦθη, while for πάθη he felt himself on safe ground in using *perturbaciones*, the translation introduced by Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* iii, 4, 7). Not a few commentators have considered ἦθος, πάθος to be incompatible qualities in one artist, yet Quinct. (vi, 2, 12) shows that in a sense πάθος is complementary to ἦθος, while Ailian (Ποικ. Ἴστ. iv, 3) especially attributes both qualities to Polygnotos—the ἀγαθὸς ἠθογράφος. (For a thorough and subtle discussion of the question cf. O. Jahn, *op. cit.* pp. 105–117.)

15. matris morientis: the motive was employed in sculpture by Epigonos (xxxiv, 88). The picture is described *Anth. Pal.* vii, 623. The Plinian passage doubtless inspired the group of a dead mother with a young child seeking her breast, on the left of the celebrated 'Morbetto' or 'Phrygian Plague' engraved by Marc. Antonio (reproduced Delaborde, *M. Antoine Raimondi*, to face p. 214) according to general supposition from

mammam adrepens infans, intellegiturque sentire mater et timere ne emortuo lacte sanguinem lambat, quam tabulam Alexander Magnus transtulerat Pellam in patriam suam. 99 idem pinxit proelium cum Persis, centum homines tabula ea complexus pactusque in singulos minas denas a tyranno 5 Elatensium Mnasone. pinxit et currentes quadrigas et supplicantem paene cum voce et venatores cum captura et Leontion Epicuri et anapauomenen propter fratris amorem, item Liberum et Ariadnen spectatos Romae in aede Cereris, 100 tragoedum et puerum in Apollinis, cuius tabulae gratia 10 interiit pictoris inscitia cui tergendam eam mandaverat M. Iunius praetor sub die ludorum Apollinarium. spectata est

a drawing of Raphael. But the drawing in sepia wash and white in the Uffizi (cornice 265, no. 525) is only, Mr. B. Berenson informs me, a copy after an original, now lost, that may have been by Perino del Vaga.

3. *transtulerat Pellam*: after the sack of Thebes in B.C. 335.

§ 99. 4. *proelium cum Persis*: since Aristeides is a contemporary of Apelles and Alexander, the picture must have represented one of the battles of this king. It is tempting to identify the *proelium* with the battle of Issos and to recognize its copy in the famous mosaic from Pompei in Naples: the powerfully characterized Alexander, the Dareios with his gesture of despairing command are conceptions worthy of the great master of ἦθος and πάθος, while motives such as the fallen Persian in the foreground recall the *mater moriens*. It is possible, however, that the Pompeian mosaic should be rather traced back to Aristeides's fellow-pupil Philoxenos (§ 109) (Michaelis, *Jahrb.* vii, 1893, p. 134), whose battle-piece is more closely defined as *proelium cum Dario*. It is, at any rate, time to claim the picture for powerful artists such as Aristeides or Philoxenos, and to discard the opinion which attributes it to a lady-painter Helena, reputed indeed to have painted a battle of Issos, but only on

the authority of so notorious a liar as Ptolemaios Chennos. Addenda.

6. *Mnasone*: a pupil and friend of Aristotle, circ. B.C. 349 (Timaios *apud* Athenaios, vi, p. 264 D, Ailian, Πρωκ. 'Iorr. iii, 19). He was made tyrant of Elateia after the battle of Chaironeia in B.C. 338.

currentes quadrigas: votive offerings for victories in the chariot course, cf. note on xxxiv, 71.

7. *supplicantem*: making a gesture of entreaty, probably the picture was that of an *adorans*; cf. xxxiv, 73, 90, &c. *Cum voce* epigr. cf. *Introductio* p. lxxi.

venatores cum captura: note on xxxiv, 66; cf. the hunt of Ptolemaios Soter by Antiphilos in § 138.

8. *Leontion Epicuri*: friend and pupil of Epikouros (B.C. 341-270), and mistress of his favourite pupil Metrodoros; she was a rival of Glykera (Athen. xiii, p. 585 D), who came to Athens with Harpalos, B.C. 326. Aristeides probably painted her not much later than B.C. 320. Although Epikouros did not reside in Athens before B.C. 306, it is natural that her portrait, whenever painted, should be described as that of the famous '*Leontion Epicuri*,' Kroker, *Gleichnamige Gr. Künstler*, p. 28; Urlichs, *Rhein. Mus.* xxv, p. 511 f. Another portrait of her by Theoros below, § 144.

a picture of a mother lying wounded to death in the sack of *Wounded mother and her child.* a city; she appears conscious that her babe is creeping towards her breast, and afraid lest, now that her milk is dried up, he should suck blood. This picture Alexander the Great carried off to his native Pella. He also painted a battle with the Persians; 99 the picture contains a hundred figures, for each of which Mnason the tyrant of Elateia had agreed to pay him ten minae [£35]; and furthermore a chariot race, and a suppliant whose very accents we seem to hear, huntsmen with their game, Leontion the pupil of Epikouros, a girl dying for love of her brother, the Dionysos and Ariadne now to be seen at Rome in the temple of Ceres, and a tragic actor and a boy in the temple of Apollo. This picture 100 was ruined through the ignorance of the painter to whom Marcus Junius as praetor entrusted it to be cleaned before the games of Apollo. In the temple of Faith on the Capitol was to be seen

αναπαυομενη . . . amorem: [the subject, which has given rise to much controversy (see especially Dilthey and L. Urlichs in *Rhein. Mus.* xxv and xxvi) is sufficiently easy to explain by reference to *Anth. Pal.* vii, 517—

Ἠῶι Μελάνιππον ἐθάπτομεν, ἠελίου δὲ
εὐνομένου Βασιλῶ κάτθανε παρβενεκῆ
αὐτοχερὶ ζῶειν γὰρ ἀδελφεὸν ἐν πυρὶ
θεῖσα,

οὐκ ἔτλη. δίδυμον δ' οἶκος ἐσεῖδε κακὸν
πατρὸς Ἀριστίπποιο· κατήφθησεν δὲ Κυ-
ρήνη

πᾶσα, τὸν εὐτεκνον χῆρον ἰδοῦσα
δόμον.

Evidently the *αναπαυομενη* was a girl who had died in grief at her brother's death. The picture was a grave picture, an *expirantis imago* (§ 90), and the name *αναπαυομενη* was doubtless derived from the epigram inscribed upon it: ἀναπαύεσθαι, here of rest in death.—H. L. U.] Introd. p. lxxi.

9. *spectatos*: before the fire which took place in the reign of Augustus, Straho, viii, p. 381; see note above on § 24, where the Dionysos alone is mentioned.

aede Cereris: note on xxxiv, 15.

10. *tragoedum et puerum*: has

sometimes been explained of a tragic actor playing his part with a boy (e.g. Maas, *Ann. d. Inst.*, 1881, p. 142, 155, suggests Priam and Troilos), but it more probably simply represented an older actor teaching a boy his part; for the subject cf. Schreiber, *Hell. Rel.* pl. 47, 48; Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1455 (actor with poet), and the cylix by Douris in Berlin (Furtwängler, *Vasen*, ii, 2285), also a similar subject below; an old man with a lyre teaching a boy.

Apollinis: in the temple on the *Campus Flaminius*, near the *porticus Octaviae*, xxxvi, 34; dedicated B.C. 430, for the removal of a plague (Liv. iv, 25), it remained down to the age of Augustus the only temple to the god in Rome (Asconius on Cic. *In toga candida*, p. 91). In B.C. 32, C. Sosius dedicated in it a cedar-wood statue of the god which he brought from Selenkia (xiii, 53); hence the temple is sometimes called *templum Apollinis Sosiani*.

§ 100. 11. *M. Junius*: probably Silanus, cos. B.C. 25.

12. *ludorum Apollinarium*: held on July 13; instituted B.C. 212.

et in aede Fidei in Capitolio senis cum lyra puerum docentis. pinxit et aegrum sine fine laudatum, tantumque arte valuit ut Attalus rex unam tabulam eius centum talentis emisse
 101 tradatur. simul, ut dictum est, et Protogenes floruit. patria ei Caunus, gentis Rhodiis subiectae. summa paupertas 5 initio artisque summa intentio et ideo minor fertilitas. quis eum docuerit non putant constare, quidam et naves pinxisse usque ad quinquagesimum annum, argumentum esse, quod cum Athenis celeberrimo loco Minervae delubri
 propylon pingeret, ubi fecit nobilem Paralum et Hammoni- 10 ada, quam quidam Nausicaan vocant, adiecerit parvulas naves longas in iis quae pictores parergia appellant, ut appareret a quibus initiis ad arcem ostentationis opera sua
 102 pervenissent. palmam habet tabularum eius Ialysus, qui est Romae dicatus in templo Pacis. cum pingeret eum, 15

1. aede Fidei: Livy (i, 21), attributes its foundation to Numa; restored B. C. 115 by M. Aemilius Scaurus; it was on the Capitol, see Gilbert, *Rom*, iii, p. 399, note 2.

2. aegrum: votive picture for a recovery; for the subject Furtwängler (*Jahrb.* iii, p. 218) compares an excellent bronze statuette of a sick man (in the Cook coll. at Richmond).

3. Attalus rex: vii, 126. = App. I. § 101. 4. ut dictum est: in § 81.

patria Caunus: so also Paus. i, 3, 5, Plut. *Demetr.* 22, while Soudias names Xanthos in Lykia as his birth-place.

7. quis eum docuerit: cf. Seilanian xxxiv, 51; Lysippos, *ibid.* 61; see *Intro.* p. xlvi ff.

naves pinxisse: i. e. he would paint the *παράσημα* and *έπίσημα* of ships.

9. Athenis: he was probably twice at Athens; Curtius conjectures that his picture of the 'Thesmothetai' (*Pans.* i, 3, 5), in the *Bouleuterion*, was connected with the re-organization of the *νομοφύλακες* by Demetrios of Phaleron, but that in the days of Pausanias, the origin of the picture

being forgotten, it was called after the old republican *θεσμοθέται* (*Stadt-Geschichte von Athen*, p. 229). Add.—The second visit was under his special patron Demetrios Poliorketes, on the occasion alluded to here.

10. propylon: cf. xxxvi, 32 *Charites in propulo Atheniensium quas Socrates fecit*; the unusual form *propylon* for the more familiar *propylaeum* or *propylaea* justifies us in attributing both passages to the same authority; Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, i, 36, 2; *Intro.* p. 1.

Paralum et Hammoniada: i. e. the patron-heroes of the two holy triremes. The Ammonias—*ή του Ἄμμωνος έερά τριήρης*—(see Kenyon's note on Aristotle, *Ἄθην. Πολ.* p. 152) replaced the old Salaminia. The choice of the name is characteristic of the Antigonids and their strenuous efforts to keep alive the memory of the deified Alexander (Curtius, *op. cit.* p. 233); for the holy triremes cf. Boeckh-Fränkell, *Staatsalterthümer*, p. 305 ff.; Boeckh, *Securkunden*, p. 76 ff.

11. Nausicaan: both figures were, it seems, united in one picture which

a picture of an old man with a lyre teaching a boy. Aristeides also painted a sick man, a picture never sufficiently praised, and so great was his name that king Attalos, we are told, paid a hundred talents [£21,000 circ.] for a single picture by his hand.

Protogenes, as I have already said, was a painter of the same date. He was a native of Kaunos, a city subject to Rhodes. The great poverty of his early days and his scrupulous devotion to his art were the causes that he produced but few pictures. The name of his master is supposed to be unknown, while some say that he painted ships until his fiftieth year, and adduce in proof thereof that when he was at Athens decorating, in the most celebrated of spots, the gateway to the temple of Athene, for which he painted his famous Paralos and Hammonias,—a figure sometimes called Nausikaa,—he introduced some tiny warships in the part of the picture called the *παρέργια*, purposing to show the humble origin of the painter whose works had risen to such a height of glory. Among his pictures the Ialysos, dedicated in the Temple of Peace at Rome, bears off the palm. The story

101
*Protogenes
of Kaunos.
Obscurity
of his
early life.*

102
*The
'Ialysos.'*

lent itself to interpretation as Odysseus and Nausikaa; but see C. Torr, *Class. Rev.* iv, 1890, p. 231.

parvolas naves: perhaps along the edge of the picture; they were merely ornamental, or, at the most, served to indicate that the hero and heroine depicted were connected with ships. C. Torr (*loc. cit.*) suggests that the little warships were represented in the background out at sea, the figures themselves being in the foreground upon the shore. In this case the 'smallness' was due simply to the necessities of perspective. The explanation given by Pliny is evidently aitiological, nor is it necessary to follow Curtius (*loc. cit.*) in bracketing the *et*, and taking these small triremes to indicate 'to what a height of glory—from what small beginnings—ship-building had attained.'

12. *parergia*: diminutive of *πάρεργον*. No specific part of the picture is intended, but only a subordinate or incidental detail. The word is best

explained by reference to Strabo xiv, p. 652, where it is related that Protogenes was vexed because in his picture of the Satyr (below, § 105) the admiration roused by the partridge had caused the work itself—*τὸ ἔργον*—to become a *πάρεργον*.

§ 102. 14. *Ialysus*: a Rhodian hero, after whom the city of *Ἰάλυσος* was named; son of Kerkaphos and Kydippe, whose other sons were the eponymous heroes Lindos and Kameiros (Pindar, *Ol.* vii, 74). The dog shows that Ialysos was represented as a huntsman. Possibly the picture was one of a cycle of Rhodian heroes, likewise including the *Kydippe* and *Tlepoemos* (below, § 106). When Strabo wrote (*loc. cit.*), the picture was still at Rhodes; it was probably brought away by Vespasian and placed at once in his Temple of Peace. Plutarch (*Dem.* 22) says it was already burnt in his day.

15. *templo Pacis*: note on xxxiv, 84.

traditur madidis lupinis vixisse, quo simul et famem sustineret et sitim nec sensus nimia dulcedine obstrueret. huic picturae quater colorem induxit contra obsidia iniuriae et vetustatis, ut decedente superiore inferior succederet. est in ea canis mire factus ut quem pariter et casus pinxerit. 5 non iudicabat se in eo exprimere spumam anhelantis, cum in reliqua parte omni, quod difficillimum erat, sibi ipse 103 satisfecisset. displicebat autem ars ipsa nec minui poterat, et videbatur nimia ac longius a veritate discedere, spumaque illa pingi, non ex ore nasci; anxio animi cruciatu, cum in 10 pictura verum esse, non verisimile vellet, absterserat saepius mutaveratque penicillum, nullo modo sibi adprobans. postremo iratus arti, quod intellexeretur, spongeam inepigit invisio loco tabulae, et illa reposuit ablatos colores qualiter 104 cura optaverat, fecitque in pictura fortuna naturam. hoc 15 exemplo eius similis et Nealcen successus spumae equi similiter spongea inpacta secutus dum celetem pingit ac poppyzonta retinentem eum. ita Protogenes monstravit et fortunam. propter hunc Ialysum, ne cremaret tabulam, Demetrius rex, cum ab ea parte sola posset Rhodum capere, 20 non incendit, parcentemque picturae fugit occasio victoriae. 105 erat tunc Protogenes in suburbano suo hortulo, hoc est Demetrii castris, neque interpellatus proeliis inchoata opera

1. quo] *Traube*; quoniam, *codd.*, *Dellefsen.* sustineret] *codd.*; sustinerent *Dellefsen.* 2. obstrueret] *Bamb.*; obstruerent *reliqui*, *Dellefsen.* 17. dum celetem pingit ac] *Traube*; disceret cum pingitur *Bamb.*; dicitur, cum pingeret, *Dellefsen.*

3. obsidia iniuriae ac vetustatis: hendiadys, to avoid the awkward co-ordination of genitives; cf. Petron. 84 *nondum vetustatis iniuria victus*. In spite of the ingenious remarks of Berger (*Beiträge*, ii, p. 19), I think the story of the four coats of colour may still be considered apocryphal.

§ 103. 15. fortuna: the whole anecdote is an amusing illustration of the saying of Agathon (*ap. Arist. Nic. Ethics*, vi, 4), τέχνη τύχην ξεστερεε και τύχη τέχνην. *Introd.* p. xli f.

§ 104. 16. Nealcen: below, §§ 142, 145. The following anecdote

is told also by Plut. *περὶ Τύχης*, p. 99 B. (= Bernardakis I, p. 240) and by Val. Max. viii, 11, ext. 7 (without naming the artist). Dio Chrysostom and Sextus Empiricus (see *S. Q.* 1889) tell the story of Apelles.

17. celetem . . . poppyzonta: for the subject in sculpture cf. (a) *Winter Jahrb.* viii, 1893, p. 142; (b) *Parthenon W. frieze*, viii, 15, 22 (*Cat.* p. 180) &c.; (c) a gem in the Coll. Tyskiewiez (*Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen*, pl. ix, 14).

20. ab ea parte sola: cf. vii, 126. The picture was in the temple of Dionysos just outside the city (Strabo,

runs that while he was painting it he lived on lupins steeped in water, that he might thus satisfy at once his hunger and his thirst without blunting his faculties by over-indulgence. He gave this picture four coats of colour to preserve it from the approach of injury and age, so that if the first coat peeled off the one below might take its place. The dog in this picture is the outcome as it were of miracle, since chance, and not art alone, went to the painting of it. The artist felt that he had not perfectly rendered the foam of the panting animal, although he had satisfied himself—a difficult task—in the rest of the painting. It was the very skill which displeased him and which could not be concealed, but obtruded itself too much, thus making the effect unnatural; it was foam painted with the brush, not frothing from the mouth. Chafing with anxiety, for he aimed at absolute truth in his painting and not at a makeshift, he had wiped it out again and again, and changed his brush without finding any satisfaction. At last, enraged with the art which was too evident, he threw his sponge at the hateful spot, and the sponge left on the picture the colours it had wiped off, giving the exact effect he had intended, and chance thus became the mirror of nature. Nealkes likewise once succeeded in rendering the foam of a horse in the same way, by throwing his sponge at the picture he was painting of a groom coaxing a race-horse. Thus Protogenes even taught the uses of fortune. It was to preserve this Ialysos that king Demetrios refrained from setting fire to the city, which was open to attack on that side only, and by sparing the picture he forfeited his chance of victory. At the time of the siege Protogenes was living in his little garden beyond the walls, within the lines of Demetrios. He did not allow the war to interrupt his work, but went on with the pictures he was painting, except when summoned to the presence of the king, and when asked what gave him courage to

The foam of the dog is painted by miracle.

104
The same happens to a horse in a picture by Nealkes.

Generosity of Demetrios towards Protogenes.

loc. cit.); for a fuller account of the episode see in especial Plutarch, *Dem.* 22; the story has little historical credibility, but, as Helbig (*Unters.* p. 181) points out, serves to emphasize the love of art which characterized 'the most genial of the Diadochoi.'

Rhodom: i. e. the new city founded in B. C. 408; for the siege cf. xxxiv, 41.

the story, which recurs in a variety of forms, is suspicious: thus Archimedes was found quietly drawing geometric figures when the Romans stormed Syracuse (*Liv.* xxv, 31, 9); in modern times the painter Parmegianino was found calmly painting a Madonna when the Spanish and Dutch troops, under Constable of Bourbon, stormed Rome in 1527, &c.

§ 105. 22. erat tunc Protogenes :

intermisit omnino nisi accitus a rege, interrogatusque qua fiducia extra muros ageret respondit scire se cum Rhodiis illi bellum esse, non cum artibus. disposuit rex in tutelam eius stationes, gaudens quod posset manus servare quibus pepercerat, et ne saepius avocaret, ultro ad eum venit hostis 5 relictisque victoriae suae votis inter arma et murorum ictus spectavit artificem, sequiturque tabulam illius temporis haec 106 fama, quod eam Protogenes sub gladio pinxerit. Satyrus hic est quem anapauomenon vocant, ne quid desit temporis eius securitati, tenentem tibias. fecit et Cydippen, Tlepo- 10 lemum, Philiscum tragoediarum scriptorem meditantem et athletam et Antigonum regem, matrem Aristotelis philosophi, qui ei suadebat ut Alexandri Magni opera pingeret propter aeternitatem rerum. impetus animi et quaedam artis libido in haec potius eum tulere. novissime pinxit 15 Alexandrum ac Pana. fecit et signa ex aere, ut diximus. 107 eadem aetate fuit Asclepiodorus, quem in symmetria mirabatur Apelles. huic Mnaso tyrannus pro duodecim diis dedit in singulos mnas tricenas, idemque Theomnesto in 108 singulos heroas vicens. his adnumerari debet et Nico- 20 machus Aristidi filius ac discipulus. pinxit raptum Proserpinae, quae tabula fuit in Capitolio in Minervae delubro supra aediculam Iuventatis, et in eodem Capitolio,

21. Aristidi] *Urlichs in Chrestom.*; aristiaci *Bamb. Dettlesen*; aristicheimi *Riccard*; ariste /// *Voss.*; aristecheimi *Lips.*

§ 106. 9. ne . . . securitati : Strabo describes the Satyr as leaning on a column, apparently somewhat in the scheme of the celebrated 'Resting Satyr' by Praxiteles, Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 525. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 329.

10. Cydippen, Tlepolemum : above, note on *Ialysus* in § 102. Tlepolemos led the Rhodian contingent to Troy (*Il.* ii, 653).

11. Philiscum trag. script. : he was a native of Kerkyra. According to Athen. v, 198 c he took part in the great πομπή of Ptolemy Philadelphos, B. C. 284, in virtue of his office of priest of Dionysos. The theory that the beautiful relief in the Lateran

(Benndorf-Schöne, 245 = Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 663) is a copy of Protogenes' picture is quite uncertain.

12. Antigonum regem : painted by Apelles, above, §§ 90, 96.

matrem Aristotelis : her name was Phaestis. Cf. *Introd.* p. lxi.

16. Alexandrum ac Pana : probably Alexander was represented as Dionysos, to whom, according to the legend, Pan acted as shieldbearer during his progress through India, Lucian, *Dionys.* 2; Helbig, *Untersuchungen*, p. 50.

ut diximus : xxxiv, § 91.

§ 107. 17. Asclepiodorus : above, § 80; he may be identical with the

remain outside the walls, he replied that he knew the king was making war against Rhodes, not against art. Demetrios placed sentinels to guard him, and took a pride in protecting the artist he had spared. Unwilling to call him from his work, Demetrios, enemy though he was, visited him in person, and in the midst of arms and of assaults neglected his hopes of victory to watch the painter. Hence comes the saying about the picture which Protogenes was engaged on at the time, that he had painted it under the sword. This is the Satyr called the *ἀναπαυόμενος* [resting], 108 and he is holding the pipes, to emphasize the painter's sense of security at the moment. He also painted a Kydippe, and a Tlepolemos, Philiskos the tragedian in meditation, an athlete, a portrait of king Antigonos, and the mother of Aristotle the philosopher, who had tried to persuade him to paint the exploits of Alexander the Great, on the ground that they deserved immortality, but the natural turn of his genius, and his artist's caprice drew the painter rather to these other themes. Alexander and Pan were the last subjects he ever painted; as already noted, he also made bronze statues.

The *Asklepiodoros* whose knowledge of symmetry was praised 107 by Apelles, belonged to the same epoch; the tyrant Mnason *Asklepiodoros.* gave him thirty minae [100 guineas circ.] for each of his twelve gods, and to †*Theomnestos* twenty minae [£70 circ.] for each of his heroes.

We must rank with these artists *Nikomachos*, the son and pupil 108 of Aristeides. He painted the rape of Persephone, which was in the temple of Minerva on the Capitol, above the little chapel of *Nikomachos, son of Aristeides.*

sculptor xxxiv, 86. He must have held a high position, since Plutarch, *Glor. Athen.* 2, mentions him along with Apollodoros (above, § 60), Euphranor (below, § 128); Nikias (§ 132), and Panainos (§ 59), as one of the masters who made Athens glorious through their paintings.

18. *Mnaso*: above, note on § 99.

§ 108. 20. *Nicomachus*: the mention in Cic. *Brutus*, 18, 70, is alone sufficient to prove his high reputation, yet his works are known from Pliny only; to the list given here must be added the unfinished *Tyndaridai*, in § 145.

21. *Aristidi*: i. e. the Elder, cf. above, § 75; Urlichs' reading is confirmed by the fact that whereas in § 110 *Ariston* appears as brother and pupil of *Nikomachos*, he appears in § 111 as a son and pupil of *Aristeides*, hence *Nikomachos* too must have been the son of an *Aristeides*, Kroker, *Gleichnamige Gr. Künstler*, p. 26.

raptum Proserpinae: for the subject cf. note on xxxiv, 69.

22. *fruit*: before the fire of 69 A. D.; above, note on xxxiv, 38.

23. *aediculam Iuventatis*: in the actual cella of Minerva, near the statue of the goddess; the cult of *Iuventas*,

quam Plancus imperator posuerat, Victoria quadrigam in
 sublimine rapicens. Ulixi primus addidit pilleum. pinxit et
 109 Apollinem ac Dianam, deumque matrem in leone sedentem,
 item nobiles Bacchas obreptantibus Satyris, Scyllamque
 quae nunc est Romae in templo Pacis. nec fuit alius in ea 5
 arte velocior. tradunt namque conduxisse pingendum ab
 Aristrato Sicyoniorum tyranno quod is faciebat Telesti
 poetae monumentum praefinito die intra quem perageretur,
 nec multo ante venisse tyranno in poenam accenso paucisque
 110 diebus absolvisse et celeritate et arte mira. discipulos 10
 habuit Aristonem fratrem et Aristiden filium et Philo-
 xenum Eretrium, cuius tabula nullis postferenda Cassandro
 regi picta continuit Alexandri proelium cum Dario. idem
 pinxit et lasciviam, in qua tres Sileni comissantur. hic
 celeritatem praeceptoris secutus breviores etiamnum quas- 15
 111 dam picturae compendiarias invenit. adnumeratur his et
 Nicophanes elegans ac concinnus ita ut venustate ei pauci
 conparentur. cothurnus ei et gravitas artis multum a

like that of *Terminus* (in the same temple) was one of the oldest in Rome; Liv. i, 55, 4; v, 54, 7; for full literature cf. Wissowa, *ap. Roscher*, ii, pp. 666, 708, *s. v. Jupiter*; *ib. p. 764, s. v. Juventas*.

1. *Plancus imperator*: sc. L. Munatius, triumphed B. C. 43 (for his assumption of the title of *imperator* cf. Cic. *Phil.* iii, 38, and the letters of Plancus, *ap. Cic. ad Fam.* x, 8; 24). His brother L. Plautius Plancus (adopted by L. Plautius) struck in B. C. 45 a coinage with a type of Nike and horses, which is apparently a copy of the picture by Nikomachos (see next note and cf. Helbig, *Untersuchungen*, p. 154). Furtwängler (*Jahrb.* iv, 1889, p. 62) hence suspects an error on the part of Pliny in naming the more famous *Plancus Imp.* as dedicator of the statue.

Victoria quadrigam in sublimine rapiens: Furtwängler (*loc. cit.*) emphasizes the opinion already expressed by Panofka (13th *Winckelmannsprogramm*) and Schuchardt

(*Nikomachos*, p. 20 ff.) that the composition survives on a beautiful gem signed Πούφος (*Jahrb.* iii, 1888, pl. xi, 10), in St. Petersburg, representing Nike with outspread wings, bearing away a team of four horses. This theory is confirmed by the fact that the composition is repeated on the coins of the *gens Plautia* (Babelon, *Monnaies de la Rép. Rom.* ii, p. 325). The painting of Nikomachos was of course a votive offering for a victory in the chariot race. 'Instead of the usual traditional type, in which the winner appears in his chariot crowned by victory, or else Nike standing in the chariot guides the horses, Nikomachos ventured on a daring invention; ignoring the chariot and the earthly chariot course, he painted the triumphant horses as they are borne aloft to victory by Nike herself.' (F.)

2. *Ulixi primus*: Servius on *Aeneid* ii, 44 (Thilo i, p. 222) *huic Ulixi primus Nicomachus pictor pilleo caput texisse fertur*, but the Schol.

Youth, and a Victory snatching up to Heaven a team of horses; this was also to be seen in the Capitol, where Plancus had dedicated it when general. He was the first to give a cap to Ulysses. He also painted an Apollo and Artemis, a Mother of the Gods seated on her lion, a celebrated picture of Mainades with Satyrs stealing upon them, and a Scylla now at Rome in the temple of Peace. No artist surpassed him in rapidity of execution. It is said, for instance, that Aristratos, tyrant of Sikyon, commissioned him to paint before a fixed day the monument which he was raising to the poet Telestes; Nikomachos arrived only a little before the appointed time, and the tyrant in his annoyance wished to punish him, but the painter finished the work in a few days with a promptitude as marvellous as his success. His pupils were his brother †*Ariston*, his son *Aristeides* and †*Philoxenos* of Eretria, who painted for king Kassander the battle between Alexander and Dareios, a picture second to none; he also painted a scene of revelry in which three Seilenoi are making merry. He imitated the swiftness of his master, and himself invented some shortened methods of technique. We must include in this list *Nikophanes*, a painter at once graceful and precise, whose delicacy few can equal, though he lacks the grandeur and dignity found in

His rapidity.

Nikophanes.

on *Iliad* x, 265 attributes the innovation to Apollodoros.

3. *Apollinem ac Dianam*: a group. *deumque matrem*: i. e. Kybele sitting on her lion, as for instance on the Pergamene frieze, and on the frieze from the temple at Priene (fragment in Br. Mus.).

§ 109. 4. *nobiles Baochas ob-rept. Sat.*: for the subject, cf. *Wandgemälde*, 542-556; Schreiber, *Hell. Reliefs*, xxiv. None of these compositions can, however, be referred with certainty to Nikomachos.

Scyllamque: Schuchardt (*Nikomachos*, p. 40 ff.) proposes to recognize a copy of the picture of Nikomachos in the *Scylla*, *Mon. d. Inst.* iii, pl. liii, 3 = Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1063; the same composition recurs on coins struck by S. Pompeius.

7. *Aristrato*: tyrant of Sikyon, Ol. 105 = B. C. 360-357.

Telesti: a dithyrambic poet, native

of Selinos, who had apparently migrated to Sikyon (Athen. xiv, p. 616, 625). In B. C. 401 he won the first prize at Athens.

§ 110. 11. *Aristidem filium*: i. e. *Aristides Thebanus*, above, § 98, cf. below, § 111.

12. *Cassandro regi*: B. C. 306-296.

13. *proelium cum Dario*: at Issos in B. C. 433, or Gaugamela in B. C. 431. See note above on *proelium cum Persis*, in § 99.

16. *compendiarias*: what this 'shortened method' may have been it is impossible to tell; cf. Petron. 2 *pictura quoque non alium exitum fecit, postquam Aegyptiorum audacia tam magnae artis compendiarium invenit*. See Addenda.

§ 111. 17. *Nicophanes*: below, § 137; *adnumeratur his*, because he belongs to approximately the same date.

Zeuxide et Apelle abest. Apellis discipulus Perseus, ad quem de hac arte scripsit, huius fuerat aetatis. Aristidis Thebani discipuli fuerunt et filii Niceros et Ariston, cuius est Satyrus cum scypho coronatus, discipuli Antorides et Euphranor, de quo mox dicemus.

- 112 Namque subtexi par est minoris picturae celebres in penicillo, e quibus fuit Piraeicus. arte paucis postferendus proposito nescio an destruxerit se, quoniam humilia quidem secutus humilitatis tamen summam adeptus est gloriam. tonstrinas sutrinisque pinxit et asellos et obsonia ac similia, 10 ob haec cognominatus rhyparographos, in iis consummatae voluptatis, quippe eae pluris veniere quam maximae multo-
113 rum. e diverso Maeniana, inquit Varro, omnia operiebat Serapionis tabula sub Veteribus. hic scaenas optime pinxit, sed hominem pingere non potuit. contra Dionysius nihil 15 aliud quam homines pinxit, ob id anthropographos cogno-
114 minatus. parva et Calicles fecit, item Calates comicis tabellis, utraque Antiphilus. namque et Hesionam nobilem pinxit et Alexandrum ac Philippum cum Minerva, qui sunt in schola in Octaviae porticibus, et in Philippi Liberum 20

2. de . . . arte scripsit: above, § 79, Introd. p. xl.

Aristidis Thebani: above, §§ 98-100, 110; he appears here as master of Nikeros-Euphranor, by confusion with his grandfather Aristeides I, above, note on § 108.

5. Euphranor: he is erroneously made into a pupil of Aristeides of Thebes, whereas he was the pupil of the older Aristeides, above, § 75. *mox dicemus*, in § 128.

§ 112. 7. Piraeicus = Πειραιεύς fr. Πειραιεύς, Helbig, *Untersuch.* 366 ff. This artist is still known only from Pliny, the *Piraeicus* of Propert. iii, 9, 12, which rested on mere interpolation, having been abandoned for *Parrhasius* by recent editors: *Parrhasius parva vindicat arte locum*.

10. tonstrinas sutrinisque: cf. the *lanificium* by Antiphilos in § 138, the workshops by Philiskos and Simos in § 143.

§ 113. 13. e diverso: in contradiction to the small pictures by Peiraios.

Maeniana: *maeniana appellata sunt a Maenio censore qui primus in foro ultra columnas tigna proiecit, quo ampliarentur superiora spectacula*, Festus, 134. This derivation is probably correct, though the word soon became a common appellative, cf. Vitruvius, v, 1, 1. Jordan (*Top. der Stadt Rom*, vol. i, part 2, p. 383, note 94) believes that Pliny alludes to a temporary exhibition of a picture by Serapion, and not to painted decorations of the *maeniana*. The date of Serapion is unknown, except that it must have been previous to Varro, from whom the information as to his pictures is derived.

inquit Varro: from whom §§ 112-114 appear to be almost wholly derived, Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 540 f.

14. sub Veteribus: note on § 25.

Zeuxis and Apelles. *Perseus*, the pupil to whom Apelles dedicated his book on art, also belongs to this period. The pupils of Aristeides of Thebes were his sons †*Nikeros* and †*Ariston* (by the second of whom we have a crowned Satyr holding a cup) and also †*Antorides* and *Euphranor*, of whom I shall speak presently. Pupils of
Aristeides.

It is well to add an account of the artists who won fame with the brush in painting smaller pictures. Amongst them was †*Peiraikos*. In mastery of his art but few take rank above him, yet by his choice of a path he has perhaps marred his own success, for he followed a humble line, winning however the highest glory that it had to bring. He painted barbers' shops, cobblers' stalls, asses, eatables and similar subjects, earning for himself the name of ῥυπαρογράφος [painter of odds and ends]. In these subjects he could give consummate pleasure, selling them for more than other artists received for their large pictures. As a contrast, Varro 113 mentions a picture by †*Serapion* which covered the whole of the balconies by the Old Shops. This Serapion was an excellent scene-painter, but could not paint the figure. *Dionysios* on the contrary painted figures only, and was called ἀνθρωπογράφος [painter of men]. 112
Genre
painters.
Peiraikos.

Serapion.

Dionysios,
the 'painter
of men.'

Kallikles also painted small pictures, and so did †*Kalates*, who chose comic subjects; while *Antiphilos* painted in both styles, his being a famous Hesione, and the picture of Alexander and Philip with Athene now to be seen in the 'schools' of the gallery of Octavia. In the gallery of Philip are his *Dionysos*, his young 114
Kallikles.
Kalates.
Antiphilos.

15. *Dionysius*: probably identical with the portrait painter named § 148, but not to be confused with the painter *Dionysios* of Kolophon, a contemporary of Polygnotos (Arist. *Poet.* 2).

§ 114. 17. *parva et Callicles*: known besides only from the following passage of Varro, *neque ille Callicles quaternum digitum tabellis nobilis cum esset factus, tamen in pingendo adscendere potuit ad Euphranoris altitudinem*, Varro, *de Vita P. R.* 1, ap. Charisius, p. 126, 25.

comicis: i.e. in subjects borrowed from comedy, cf. § 140.

18. *utraq̄ue*: i.e. both small and large pictures; Ulrichs, *Chrest.* p. 367.

Antiphilos: appears again in

§ 138 as a painter in encaustic. He was an Alexandrian and a rival of Apelles (above, note on § 89). Quintilian (xii, 10, 6) praises him for his facility (*facilitate Antiphilus*); he is probably one of those who introduced that *ars compendiaris* (above, § 110, cf. on Pansias, in § 124), with the invention of which Petronius charged the Egyptians.

Hesionam: probably her deliverance by Herakles. For the subject cf. the large picture, Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1129.

19. *Alex. ac Phil. cum Minerva*: probably on a chariot, with Athena acting as charioteer, Furtwängler, *Jahrb.* iv, 1889, p. 86, note 42.

patrem, Alexandrum puerum, Hippolytum tauro emisso expavescentem, in Pompeia vero Cadmum et Europen. idem iocosis nomine Gryllum deridiculi habitus pinxit, unde id genus picturae grylli vocantur. ipse in Aegypto natus
 115 didicit a Ctesidemo. decet non sileri et Ardeatis templi pictorem, praesertim civitate donatum ibi et carmine quod est in ipsa pictura his versibus:

Dignis digna. Loco picturis condecoravit
 reginae Iunonis supremi coniugis templum
 Plautius Marcus, cluet Asia lata esse oriundus, 10
 quem nunc et post semper ob artem hanc Ardea laudat,
 116 eaque sunt scripta antiquis litteris Latinis; non fraudando et Studio divi Augusti aetate qui primus instituit amoenissimam parietum picturam, villas et portus ac topiaria opera, lucos, nemora, colles, piscinas, euripos, amnes, litora, qualia 15
 quis optaret, varias ibi obambulantium species aut navigantium terraque villas adeuntium asellis aut vehiculis, iam piscantes aucupantesque aut venantes aut etiam vindemi-
 117 antes. sunt in eius exemplaribus nobiles palustri accessu villae, succollatis sponsione mulieribus labantes trepidis quae 20
 feruntur, plurimae praeterea tales argutiae facetissimi salis.

12. Latinis, non *Detlefsen*.

1. *Hippolytum tauro emisso*: under the influence of the Euripidean play, Kalkmann, *A. Z.* 1883 (41), p. 43 ff.

2. in *Pompeia*: note on § 59. Cf. again Varro, *de Re Rust.* iii, 2, 5, and Münzer, *loc. cit.*; Introd. p. lxxxiv.

Cadmum et Europen: its great reputation is apparent from Martial ii, 14, 3, who uses the name of the picture as synonymous for the porticus Pompeia (*currat ad Europen*). The picture, which was doubtless originally in Alexandria, may, as Helbig (*Untersuch.* p. 224 f.) points out, have inspired Moschos during his stay in that city to write the famous description in *Idyll* i, 125 ff. A number of extant later representations of the myth—the most celebrated of which is the mosaic from Paestrina, Roscher,

i, p. 1414, are probably influenced more or less remotely by the composition of Antiphilos.

3. *Gryllum*: the name, which was that of the father and of one of the sons of Xenophon, was common enough. The *deridiculus habitus* must have been in allusion to γρόλλος = a dancer of the γρολλισμός, in which the performers were originally masked as pigs, though in time the term seems to have come to include every kind of wanton dancing (see Phrynichos, ed. Lobeck, p. 101). Such performances were especially in favour at Alexandria, so that it is natural to find such a subject influencing an Alexandrian artist (cf. Urlichs, *Das hölzerne Pferd*, p. 20 f.).

§ 115. 5. *Ctesidemo*: below, § 140.

Alexander, and Hippolytos terrified at the bull sent up from the sea, and in the gallery of Pompeius his Kadmos and Europa. Among his comic pictures is one of a man called Gryllos in a ridiculous costume, from which all such pictures are called γρύλλοι. Antiphilos was born in Egypt, and studied under †Ktesidemos.

*His master
Ktesidemos.*

I ought not to pass over in silence the painter of the temple at Ardea, especially as he was honoured by receiving the citizenship of the town and the following verses written on the picture: 'To the deserving be due honour paid. The temple of queenly Juno, wife of the almighty, did Lykon adorn with paintings, even Plautius Marcus, born in wide Asia, whom for this his art Ardea praises now and for ever more.' The lines are in old-fashioned Latin characters.

*Plautius
Marcus
Lykon.*

Nor must I neglect †Studius, a painter of the days of Augustus, who introduced a delightful style of decorating walls with representations of villas, harbours, landscape gardens, sacred groves, woods, hills, fishponds, straits, streams and shores, any scene in short that took the fancy. In these he introduced figures of people on foot, or in boats, and on land of people coming up to the country-houses either on donkeys or in carriages, besides figures of fishers and fowlers, or of hunters or even of vintagers. Among his works we know well the men approaching a villa through a swamp, and staggering beneath the weight upon their shoulders of the terrified women whom they have bargained to carry over, with many other scenes of like vivacity and infinite humour. He

*116
Studius.*

Ardeatis templi: Verg. *Aen.* vii, 411 ff.; cf. above, § 17.

8. *Loco = Λύκων*; in addition to his Greek name he would, on receiving the citizenship of Ardea, assume the name of Plautius Marcus. M. Hertz, in *Index Lect. Vratislav.* (1867), suggests that he may have been both painter and poet, as was Pacuvius (above, § 19), and that he is identical with *Plautius*, a writer whose comedies passed under the name of Plautus, Varro, *ap.* A. Gellius, iii, 3, 3. The inscription on his picture being in hexameter, he cannot be dated earlier than Ennius (B.C. 239-169); cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* ed. 7, i, p. 941 note.

§ 116. 13. *qui primus*: note on § 16: as a fact from Vitruvius vii, 5, (cf. *Rhein. Mus.* xxv, 1870, p. 394

ff.) it appears that the painting of *topiaria opera* was older than the age of Augustus. Studius gave it a new impulse or perhaps made it for the first time really fashionable at Rome.

15. *topiaria opera*: in Livia's Villa at Prima Porta the walls of one room were decorated with the plan of a garden (see *Antike Denkmäler*, i, pl. 11, 24), and afford an excellent example of the style of Studius (Brunn, *Bull.* 1863, p. 81 ff.); cf. also, Helbig, *Untersuchungen*, p. 62. Pliny the younger (*Ep.* v, 6, 22) describes a bedroom in his villa as follows: *nec cedit gratiae marmoris ramos incidentesque ramis aves imitata pictura.*

§ 117. 19. *exemplaribus*: sc. *ingenii*; cf. § 74 *ingenii . . . exempla.*

21. *argutiae*: § 67; xxxiv, 65.

idem subdialibus maritimas urbes pingere instituit, blandis-
 118 simo aspectu minimoque impendio. sed nulla gloria artifi-
 cum est nisi qui tabulas pinxere, eo venerabilior antiquitatis
 prudentia apparet. non enim parietes excolebant dominis
 tantum, nec domos uno in loco mansuras quae ex incendiis 5
 rapi non possent. casa Protogenes contentus erat in hortulo
 suo, nulla in Apellis tectoriis pictura erat. nondum libebat
 parietes totos tinguere, omnium eorum ars urbibus excuba-
 119 bat pictorque res communis terrarum erat. fuit et Arellius
 Romae celebrer paulo ante divum Augustum, ni flagitio 10
 insigni corrupisset artem, semper ei lenocinans cuius feminae
 amore flagraret, ob id deas pingens, sed dilectarum imagine.
 120 itaque in pictura eius scorta numerabantur. fuit et nuper
 gravis ac severus idemque floridus et vividus pictor Famu- 15
 lus. huius erat Minerva spectantem spectans quacumque
 aspiceretur. paucis diei horis pingebat, id quoque cum
 gravitate, quod semper togatus, quamquam in machinis.
 carcer eius artis domus aurea fuit, et ideo non extant
 exempla alia magnopere. post eum fuere in auctoritate
 Cornelius Pinus et Attius Priscus, qui Honoris et Virtutis 20
 aedes Imp. Vespasiano Aug. restituenti pinxerunt, Priscus
 antiquis similior.

121 Non est omittenda in picturae mentione celebris circa
 A.U.C. 711- Lepidum fabula, siquidem in triumviratu quodam loco
 718. deductus a magistratibus in nemorosum hospitium minaciter 25
 cum iis postero die expostulavit somnum ademptum sibi
 volucrum concentu, at illi draconem in longissima membrana

14. floridis (floridus *e corr.*) umidus *Bamb., corr. Traube*; floridissimus
Urlichs in Chrest., Dellefsen.

1. subdialibus: cf. xxxvi, 186.

§ 118. 4. excolebant dominis: private patrons, cf. in § 30 (colores) *quos dominus pingenti praestat*; in § 44 *e reliquis coloribus quos a dominis dari diximus . . .*

* 6. casa in hortulo: above, § 105. The 'cottage' doubtless belonged to the same class of *loci communes* as the *anus* (note on § 81).

§ 120. 14. gravis ac severus: i. e.

in his person (cf. below, *cum gravitate, togatus*), whereas his painting was *floridus* and *vividus*; the adjectives are transferred from the colour to the painter, cf. § 134 *austerior colore*, though *austerus* like *floridus* was a technical qualification of certain colours, *sunt autem colores austeri aut floridi*, § 30.

17. quod semper togatus: so Vandyck painted in full dress.

also brought in the fashion of painting seaside towns on the walls of open galleries, producing a delightful effect at a very small cost. No artists, however, enjoy a real glory unless they have painted 118 easel pictures, and herein the wisdom of past generations claims our greater respect. They did not decorate walls to be seen only by their owners, nor houses that must always remain in one place and could not be carried away in case of fire. Protogenes was content with a cottage in his little garden, and no fresco was to be seen in the house of Apelles. It was not yet men's pleasure to dye whole surfaces of wall; all the masters laboured for the cities, and the artist was the possession of the whole world.

Not long before the time of the god Augustus, *Arellius* had 119 earned distinction at Rome, save for the sacrilege by which he notoriously degraded his art. Always desirous of flattering some woman or other with whom he chanced to be in love, he painted goddesses in the person of his mistresses, of whom his paintings are a mere catalogue. The painter †*Famulus* also lived not 120 long ago; he was grave and severe in his person, while his painting was rich and vivid. He painted an Athena whose eyes are turned to the spectator from whatever side he may be looking. *Famulus* painted for a few hours only in the day, and treated his art seriously, always wearing the toga, even when mounted on scaffolding. The Golden House was the prison of his art, and hence not many examples of it are known. After him †*Cornelius Pinus* and †*Attius Priscus* were painters of repute, who painted the twin temples of Honour and Virtue when they were restored by the emperor Vespasian Augustus. Priscus approached more nearly to the old masters.

While on the subject of painting I must not omit the well-known story of *Lepidus*. Once during his triumvirate he had 121 been escorted by the magistrates of a certain town to a lodging in the middle of a wood, and on the next morning complained with threats that the singing of the birds prevented him from sleeping. They painted a snake on an immense strip of parchment and stretched it all round the grove. We are told that by this means

machinis: here of scaffolding, Blümner, *Technol.* iv, 430: for *machina*=easel, above, § 81.

18. *carcer eius artis*: for Pliny's hatred of Nero cf. above, § 51; xxxiv, 45, 84.

20. *Honoris et Virtutis aedes*: built or rather restored by Marcellus, in B. C. 212, to contain part of the art treasures brought from Syracuse, Liv. xxv, 40, cf. xxvii, 25; Cic. *Verr.* II, iv, 54, 120; Gilbert, *Rom.*, iii. p. 97 f.

Arellius.

Famulus.

Cornelius Pinus. Attius Priscus.

121 43-36 B.C. 'Scare-crow,' painted for *Lepidus.*

depictum circumdedere luco eoque terrore aves tunc siluisse narratur et postea potuisse compesci.

- 122 Ceris pingere ac picturam inurere quis primus excogitaverit non constat. quidam Aristidis inventum putant postea consummatum a Praxitele, sed aliquanto vetustiores encaustae picturae exstiterē, ut Polygnoti et Nicanoris ac Mnasilai Pariorum. Elasippus quoque Aeginae picturae suae inscripsit ἐνέκαεν, quod profecto non fecisset nisi encaustica inventa.
- 123 Pamphilus quoque Apellis praeceptor non pinxisse solum encausta sed etiam docuisse traditur Pausian Sicyonium primum in hoc genere nobilem. Bryetis filius hic fuit eiusdemque primo discipulus. pinxit et ipse penicillo parietes Thespis, cum reficerentur quondam a Polygnoto picti, multumque comparatione superatus existimabatur, quoniam non suo genere certasset. idem et lacunaria primus pingere instituit, nec camaras ante eum taliter adornari mos fuit. parvas pingebat tabellas maximeque pueros. hoc aemuli interpretabantur facere eum, quoniam tarda picturae ratio esset illa. quamobrem daturus et celeritatis famam absolvit uno die tabellam quae vocata est hemeresios puero picto.
- 125 amavit in iuventa Glyceram municipem suam, inventricem coronarum, certandoque imitatione eius ad numerosissimam florum varietatem perduxit artem illam. postremo pinxit

§ 122. 3. ceris pingere . . inurere: i. e. encaustic; note on § 149.

4. quidam . . . inventum: for this variant tradition, *Intro.* p. xxxiii.

Aristidis: presumably the first of the name, above, § 75.

5. consumm. a Praxitele: who would use encaustic for the *circumlitio* of his statues (below, § 133).

6. Polygnoti: above, §§ 58-59.

8. ἐνέκαεν: cf. above, § 27.

§ 123. 10. Pamphilus: §§ 75-76. We now come again upon distinct traces of Xenokrates. Stress is laid upon the pre-eminence of Sikyon, and the painters are connected with definite stages of progress. Pamphilos

is awkwardly dragged in a second time, in order to introduce his pupil Pausias, who in the original Greek account, where no arbitrary division seems to have been drawn between the painters in encaustic and others, would certainly be discussed in connexion with his master and his contemporaries of §§ 75-76, *Intro.* p. xxxiv.

13. pinxit . . . certasset: this mention of wall-paintings shows that encaustic was not treated separately by the Greek authors.

14. Thespis: the wall paintings by Polygnotos had probably been injured at the destruction of Thespias by the Thebans in B. C. 374. The

they terrified the birds into silence and that this has ever since been a recognized device for quieting them.

We do not know with certainty who first invented the art of painting with wax colours and burning in the painting. Some believe that it was invented by Aristeides and afterwards brought to perfection by Praxiteles, but encaustic paintings of a somewhat earlier date exist, for example, by Polygnotos, and by †Nikanor and †Mnasilaos of Paros. †Elasippos of Aigina also wrote on one of his paintings ἐνέκαεν [burnt it in], which he certainly would not have done before the invention of encaustic painting.

Tradition further says that Pamphilos the master of Apelles not only painted in encaustic but also taught Pausias of Sikyon, the first well-known master in this style. Pausias was the son of †Bryetes, under whom he first studied. He also painted with the brush certain walls at Thespiæ, which had originally been painted by Polygnotos and needed restoration. His work was held to suffer very greatly by the comparison, as he had competed in a style that was not his own. He was the first to paint panelled ceilings, nor was it the practice to decorate vaulted roofs in this way before his day. He habitually painted small pictures, boys being his favourite subject. His rivals declared that this was because his method of encaustic painting was slow, whereupon he determined to acquire a reputation for rapid execution, and painted in a single day a picture of a boy called the ἡμερήσιος [day's work]. As a youth he loved his townswoman Glykera, who first invented flower wreaths. By copying and rivalling her he enabled encaustic painting to represent a great variety of flowers. Finally he painted a portrait of Glykera herself seated

Encaustic painting.

Practised by Pamphilos, and by Pausias of Sikyon.

Glykera, the flower-girl, beloved of Pausias.

restoration of the paintings would take place on the restoration of the city, after the capture of Thebes by Alexander in 335 B.C.

§ 124. 16. *idem et lacunaria primus*: Furtwängler (*Fleck. Jahrb.* xxii, 1876, p. 507) has pointed out that these words correspond to *qui primus lacunaria pinxit* in the table of contents, while the following *nec camaras ante eum* corresponds to *quando primum camarae pictae* (*ib.*). The statements accordingly are quite distinct.

20. *absolvit uno die*: cf. the

praise for swiftness bestowed upon Nikomachos, § 109, and his pupil Philoxenos, § 110; upon Iaia, in § 148, and Quintilian's estimate of Antiphilos (note on § 114).

§ 125. 22. *Glyceram*: xxi, 4, whence we obtain *post Olympiada C* (= B.C. 380) as a further guide to the artist's date. Append. V.

inventricem: the passage in xxi shows that she was really thought of as the inventor of the art of plaiting garlands; thus the old conjecture *venditricem* (Gesner) becomes impossible.

et ipsam sedentem cum corona, quae e nobilissimis tabula est appellata stephaneplocos, ab aliis stephanopolis, quoniam Glycera venditando coronas sustentaverat paupertatem. huius tabulae exemplar, quod apographon vocant, L. Lucillus duobus talentis emit Dionysiis Athenis. Pausias autem fecit et grandis tabulas, sicut spectatam in Pompei porticum boum immolationem. eam primus invenit picturam, quam postea imitati sunt multi, aequavit nemo. ante omnia, cum longitudinem bovis ostendi vellet, adversum eum pinxit, non traversum, et abunde intellegitur amplitudo. dein, cum omnes quae volunt eminentia videri candicanti faciant colore, quae condunt nigro, hic totum bovem atrii coloris fecit umbraeque corpus ex ipsa dedit magna prorsus arte in aequo extantia ostendente et in confracto solida omnia. Sicyone et hic vitam egit, diuque illa fuit patria picturae. tabulas inde e publico omnis propter aes alienum civitatis addictas Scauri aedilitas Romam transtulit. post eum eminuit longe ante omnis Euphranor Isthmius olympiade CIIII, idem qui inter fictores dictus est nobis. fecit et colossos et marmorea et typos scalpsit, docilis ac laboriosus ante omnis et in quocumque genere excellens ac sibi aequalis. hic primus vide-

4. *apographon*: there were at the time many artists who were solely occupied in the business of copying; at Athens Lucian, *Zeux.* 3, sees a copy of the 'Kentaurs' of Zeuxis; cf. also Dionysios *περὶ Διῶρχου* vii, p. 644; Quinct. x, 2, 6; x, 2, 2; above, § 91 (Helbig, *Untersuchungen*, p. 63). From the exorbitant price paid, however, it is possible that the *apographon* was a replica by the artist himself.

5. *Athenis*: Lucullus visited Athens in B.C. 88-87 as Sulla's Quaestor; cf. below, on § 156.

§ 126. 7. *boum immolationem*: for the subject cf. § 93 (note on *pompam*).

§ 127. 11. *eminentia*: §§ 92 (*digiti eminenter videntur*); 131.

13. *umbrae corpus ex ipsa dedit*: the effect was simply pro-

duced by modelling, without the help of any extraneous colour, precisely as the Kentaurs of the white marble slab at Naples (Helbig, *Wandgem.* 1241) appear in strong relief through the skilful though slight modelling, Wickhoff, *Wiener Genesis*, p. 47.

in aequo omnia: in modern parlance Pausias excelled at giving the 'impression of artistic reality with only two dimensions' (cf. Berenson, *The Florentine painters of the Renaissance*, p. 4), i.e. at representing depth, the third 'dimension, on a flat surface.

15. *patria picturae*: cf. xxxvi, 9.

16. *propter aes alienum*: since Sulla's Mithridatic war the Sikyonians had fallen into debt and distress (see especially Cic. *ad Att.* i, 19, 9; *ib.* 20, 4; *Tusc. Disp.* iii, 22, § 53) and were consequently forced to sell their art treasures.

with a wreath, one of the famous pictures of the world, called the στεφανηπλόκος [wreath-binder], or by others the στεφανόπωλις [wreath-seller], because Glykera had supported herself by selling wreaths. A copy of the picture, an ἀπόγραφον as it is called, was bought by Lucius Lucullus for two talents [£420 circ.] at the festival of Dionysos at Athens. Pausias, however, also painted 126 large pictures, as for example the famous sacrifice of oxen in the Gallery of Pompeius. He devised an innovation which has often been imitated but never equalled. The most striking instance is that wishing to display an ox's length of body, he painted a front and not a side view of the animal, and yet contrived to show its size. Again, while all others put in the high lights in white 127 and paint the less salient parts in dark colour, he painted the whole ox black, and gave substance to the shadow out of the shadow itself, showing great art in giving all his figures full relief upon the flat surface, and in indicating their form when foreshortened. He spent his life at Sikyon, for many years the home of painting. Later on, in the aedileship of Scaurus, all the 56 B.C. pictures of Sikyon were sold to liquidate the public debt, and were brought to Rome.

He devises a new application of light and shade.

After Pausias in the hundred and fourth Olympiad [364-361 128 B.C.], *Euphranor* of the Isthmos, whom I have already mentioned among the statuaries, far excelled all rivals. He furthermore produced colossal statues, works in marble and reliefs. Receptive and of indefatigable industry, he attained in every branch a high level, below which he never fell. He first, it is believed, gave to

Euphranor.

17. Scauri aedilitas: viii, 64, and often.

into the present anachronism.

18. qui inter fectores: xxxiv, 77, et colossos ib. § 78, Euphranor's marble works are only mentioned here.

20. typos: in which he would be able to bring out his double skill as painter and artist; the Greek relief, as we know it from the Sidonian Sarkophagi, being in reality a sort of raised picture (Wickhoff, *Wiener Genesis*, p. 46 ff.; cf. Winter, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1894, p. 8 ff.); a γραπτὸς τύπος, *Anth. Pal.* vii, 730.

in quocumque genere excellens: Quinct. xii, 10, 12 *Euphranorem circa plurimum artium species praestantem.*

21. hic primus: introduces his

§ 128. post eum: of time (Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 15); but a date posterior to Pausias is irreconcilable with Ol. 104 below and xxxiv, 50. The mistake arises, as Robert, *Arch. Märchen*, p. 89, points out, from Pliny's confusion between the Elder Aristeides (§ 75) and Aristeides of Thebes. In his original scheme he doubtless intended to keep E. in his right chronology immediately after Euxeinidas and his pupil Aristeides; but as in that case the account of the supposed pupil would have preceded that of the supposed master (§§ 98, 111), Pliny was misled

tur expressisse dignitatis heroum et usurpasse symmetrian, sed fuit in universitate corporum exilior et capitibus articulisque grandior. volumina quoque composuit de symmetria et coloribus. opera eius sunt equestre proelium, XII dei, Theseus, in quo dixit eundem apud Parrhasium rosa pastum esse, suum vero carne. nobilis eius tabula Ephesi est, Ulixes simulata insania Troem cum equo iungens et palliati cogitantes, dux gladium condens. eodem tempore fuere Cydias et . . . , cuius tabulam Argonautas HS. CXXXXIII Hor-tensius orator mercatus est eique aedem fecit in Tusculano suo, Euphranoris autem discipulus Antidotus. huius est clipeo dimicans Athenis et luctator tubicenque inter pauca laudatus. ipse diligentior quam numerosior et in coloribus severus maxime inclaruit discipulo Nicia Atheniense qui diligentissime mulieres pinxit. lumen et umbras custodiit atque ut eminent e tabulis picturae maxime

S. cydi et cydias *codd.*; Cydias *Detlefsen.*

special contribution to his art, cf. *Introd.* p. xxvii f.

1. dignitatis heroum: so Varro, *Vita Pop. Rom.*, *ap.* Char. p. 126, praises E. for his *altitudo* or loftiness.

symmetrian: note on xxxiv, 65.

2. exilior: see *Addenda.*

capitibus articulisque: the judgement is identical with that passed on Zenxis in § 64, where see note.

§ 120. 3. volumina . . . composuit: like Apelles, § 79, Pampphilos (note on § 76), Melanthios, &c. *Introd.* p. xl f.

4. equestre proelium: in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios at Athens, Paus. i, 3, 4; the picture represented the cavalry engagement which preceded the battle of Mantinea (B. C. 362, cf. *Plut. Glor. Ath.* ii, p. 346); according to Paus. viii, 9, 8, a copy of it was to be seen in the gymnasium at Mantinea.

XII dei: in the same Stoa, Paus. i, 3, 3; for the Zeus in this picture see Val. Max. viii, ext. 5; for the Hera, Luc. *εικόνες* 7.

5. Theseus: likewise in the Stoa Eleutherios; the hero was represented

with Demokratia and Demos, Paus. *loc. cit.* Both Theseus and Demos were subjects that had been treated by Parrhasios (above § 69). Demos was also painted by Aristolaos, § 137. For the distribution of Euphranor's pictures in the Stoa Eleutherios see Hitzig and Blümner, *Pausanias*, p. 141.

in quo dixit eundem: *Plut. Glor. Athen.* ii, p. 346 Εὐφράνωρ τὸν Θησέα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τῷ Παρρησίῳ παρέβαλε λέγων, τὸν μὲν ἐκείνου ῥόδα βεβρωκέναι, τὸν δὲ ἑαυτοῦ κρέα βόεια. Münzer (*op. cit.* p. 527) aptly compares the Aristophanic verse (Fr. 180) upon Euripides, recorded by Antigonos of Karystos, *ap.* Diogenes iv, 3, 18 παρητημένος (sc. Πολέμων) ἄφησιν Ἀριστοφάνησ περὶ Εὐριπίδου "ὄξωτὰ καὶ σιλωφωτὰ," ἅπερ, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς φησι, "καταπυγούνη ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πρὸς κρέας μέγα." *Introd.* p. lxiii f.

7. simulata insania: ὅτε ουστρατεύει τοῖς Ἀτρείδαισ μὴ θέλων, Lucian, *περὶ οἴκου* 30, where the whole picture is described in detail. The same subject was painted by Parrhasios (*Plut. aud. poet.* 3), we are not told for what city.

heroes their full dignity, and mastered the theory of symmetry; he made the body, however, too slim and the head and limbs too large. He also wrote on symmetry and colour. His works are: 129 a cavalry engagement, the Twelve Gods and a Theseus, of which *He compares his 'Theseus' to that of Parrhasios.* he said that the Theseus of Parrhasios had fed on roses, but his on flesh. At Ephesos is his famous picture of Odysseus feigning madness and yoking an ox with a horse, with cloaked figures in meditation, and their leader sheathing his sword. *Kydias* 130 and . . . lived at the same time; his picture of the Argonauts was purchased for 144,000 sesterces [£1250 circ.] by the orator Hortensius, who built a shrine for it on his estate at Tusculum. †*Antidotus* was a pupil of Euphranor. He painted a warrior *Antidotus.* fighting with a shield, to be seen at Athens, a wrestler and a trumpeter, a picture praised as are but few. He was a laborious rather than a prolific artist, and severe in his scheme of colouring; his chief claim to renown is that he was the master of *Nikias* of *Nikias of Athens.* Athens, who painted women with minute care. Nikias was painstaking in his treatment of light and shade, and took special care 131

palliatī cogitantes: these must be identical with the *πρέσβεις* in Lucian's description.

8. *gladium condens*: Παλαμῆδης . . . πρόκωπον ἔχων τὸ ξίφος, i. e. the sword was half out of the sheath, and it was uncertain whether Palamedes was drawing or replacing it. So too in § 59, Pliny says of a picture by Polygnotos that it was uncertain whether the man represented was 'ascending' or 'descending.'

§ 130. *fuere Cydias et . . .*: the *fuere* combined with the evidence of the MSS. compels one to assume the loss of an artist's name. Whether Cydias should appear in the first place or the second is uncertain. Overbeck's explanation *Schriftquell.* 1969^a (which I presume is also Detlefsen's), that *fuere* refers to both Cydias and Antidotus, is quite unwarranted.

9. *Hortensius orator*: xxxiv, 48.

12. *luctator tubicenque*: votive pictures; for the latter, probably of a winner in a herald's competition, see note on xxxiv, 88.

13. *numerosior*: see on xxxiv, 58.

in coloribus severus: for similar judgements; § 98 *durior paulo in coloribus*; § 134 *austerior colore Athenion*; § 137 *e severissimis pictoribus (Aristolaus)*; *ib. durus in coloribus (Nikophanes)*.

14. *discipulo Nicia*: Euphranor and Praxiteles being contemporaries (xxxiv, 50), a chronological difficulty arises from the statement that Nikias, who assisted Praxiteles to paint his statues, was the pupil of a pupil of Euphranor. Pliny himself felt the difficulty; in § 133 he hints at the solution in the words *non satis discernitur . . .*; there were evidently two artists named Nikias; to the Elder, the assistant of Praxiteles (fl. ab. B. C. 370-330), and probably the painter of Alexander (r. B. C. 336-323), belongs the date Ol. CXII, while the Younger, who was the pupil of Antidotus, flourished about the time of Athenion (on whom see note).

§ 131. 15. *lumen et umbras*: §§ 29, 127. Cf. *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

16. *ut eminent*: §§ 92, 127.

- A.U.C. 679. curavit. opera eius: Nemea advecta ex Asia Romam a Silano quam in curia diximus positam, item Liber pater in aede Concordiae, Hyacinthus, quem Caesar Augustus delectatus eo secum deportavit Alexandria capta—et ob id Tiberius Caesar in templo eius dicavit hanc tabulam et 5
 132 Danaen—, Eph' si vero est megabyzi sacerdotis Ephesiae Dianae sepulchrum, Athenis necyomantea Homeri. hanc vendere Attalo regi noluit talentis LX, potiusque patriae suae donavit abundans opibus. fecit et grandes picturas, in quibus sunt Calypso et Io et Andromeda, Alexander 10
 quoque in Pompei porticibus praecllens et Calypso sedens. 133 huic eidem adscribuntur quadripedes, prosperrime canes expressit. hic est Nicias de quo dicebat Praxiteles interrogatus quae maxime opera sua probaret in marmoribus: quibus Nicias manum admovisset, tantum circumlitioni eius 15

5. tabulam et Danaen] *Bamb.*; tahulam—et Danae *Detlefsen.*

2. Silano: ii, 100; governor of Bithynia, B. C. 76–75. The picture had possibly belonged to Pergamon.

diximus: § 27, where see note.

3. Hyacinthus: from Paus. iii, 19, 4, it appears he was represented in the bloom of youth, in special allusion to Apollo's love for him.

4. Alexandria capta: on the works of art brought by Augustus from Alexandria, and dedicated by him at Rome, see Wunderer's monograph, *Manibiae Alexandrinae*, Würzburg, 1894.

5. in templo eius: i. e. in the temple built to the memory of Augustus by Livia and Tiberius in 14 A. D., Dio Cassius lvi, 46; cf. Plin. xii, 94. To it belonged both a porticus and a library (xxxiv, 43).

et Danaen: the Danae is awkwardly coordinated with the *Hyacinthus*. That it did not come from Egypt, as Ulrichs (*Chrest.* p. 372) supposes, is shown by the fact that Pliny would in that case have made the relative sentence refer to both pictures (Wunderer, *op. cit.* p. 9).

§ 132. 6. megabyzi: note on § 93.

7. sepulchrum: for another grave picture, by Nikias, at Triteia in Achaia, see Paus. vii, 22, 6; cf. the *expirantium imagines* of Apelles, in § 90; and the *anapaumene* of Aristeides, in § 99.

necyom. Homeri: *Odyssey* xi. The picture, described *Anth. Pal.* ix, 792, was the artist's most celebrated work. While he was engaged upon it, according to an entertaining tale told by Plutarch, *An sen. sit ger. rep.* v, 4, Nikias used to ask those of his household whether he had washed or breakfasted.

8. Attalo regi: familiarity with the high prices paid by Attalos (vii, 126; xxxv, 24) induced Pliny into error. The date of Attalos is irreconcilable with that of Nikias, so that Plutarch is probably right in telling the story of Ptolemaios (Soter, B. C. 306–284), Πτολεμαίου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα τῆς γραφῆς συντελεσθείσης πέμψαντος αὐτῷ μὴ λαβεῖν μηδ' ἀποδόσθαι τὸ ἔργον.

that his figures should be relieved against the background. His works are : the picture of Nemea brought to Rome from Asia by Silanus, and placed, as I have said, in the Council Chamber ; a Dionysos in the temple of Concord ; the Hyakinthos carried away on the fall of Alexandria by Caesar Augustus, who took such great delight in the picture that as a consequence Tiberius Caesar dedicated it in the temple of Augustus together with the Danae ; at Ephesos a painting for the grave of a *μεγάβυζος* or priest of Artemis of Ephesos, and at Athens the *νεκρομαντεία* [questioning of the dead] of Homer. This picture the artist refused to sell to King Attalos for sixty talents [£12,600 circ.] but preferred, as he was a rich man, to present it to his own country. He also painted large pictures, amongst them Kalypso, Io, Andromeda, the excellent portrait of Alexander which is in the Gallery of Pompeius, and a Kalypso seated. Pictures of animals are also ascribed to him, and he was very successful in painting dogs. It is of this Nikias that Praxiteles, when asked which of his marble statues pleased him most, said, 'Those which the hand of Nikias has touched,' such was his tribute to this artist's colouring of the accessories. It is not clear whether this or another Nikias is the one placed

His treatment of light and shade.

75 B. C.

30 B. C.

132

133

He colours the statues of Praxiteles.

Non posse suav. vivere sec. Ep. xi, 2. The court of Alexandria had been more fortunate in purchasing the Hyakinthos (§ 131).

patriæ suæ donavit : cf. in § 62 the similar statement concerning Zeuxis.

9. *grandes picturas* : in opposition to the smaller pictures painted in encaustic.

10. *Calypso* : a standing figure from the fact that the second Kalypso is expressly described as *sedens*.

Io : Helbig (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 113, 140), inclines to see in the *Io* of the House of Livia on the Palatine, a copy of the *Io* of Nikias, a composition which seems to have inspired Prop. i, 3, 20.

Andromeda : the composition seems preserved in the well-known relief of the Capitol, Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 461 = Schreiber, *Hell. Reliefs*, xii ; cf. the Pompeian paintings, Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1186-1189. Add.

11. *Pompei porticibus* : note on § 59.

§ 133. *prosperrime canes* : *κείται δὲ ἐνταῦθα . . . Νικίας τε ὁ Νικομήδους* (cf. Köhler, *Ath. Mitth.* 1885, p. 234, 2), *ζῶα ἀριστος γράψαι τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ*, Paus. i, 29, 15. The description appears to be from the inscription on the grave.

15. *circumlitioni* : the process must be kept distinct from the *γάνωσις* or toning down of the whole statue (Vitr. vii, 9, 4) ; *circuml.* was admirably explained by Welcker (in Müller, *Handbuch*, p. 431), to consist in a painting of hair and accessories, intended to give relief to the statue—to be in a word identical with *circumlitio* as understood in painting, Quint. viii, 5, 26 *nec pictura, in qua nihil circumlitum est eminent* (cf. *id.* xii, 9, 8). Since then, the discovery of the Sidonian sarkophagi has revealed precisely such a use of colour for hair, dress, &c., as was divined by Welcker,

tribuebat. non satis discernitur alium eodem nomine an
 134 hunc eundem quidam faciant olympiade CXII. Niciae
 comparatur et aliquando praefertur Athenion Maronites
 Glaucionis Corinthii discipulus, austerior colore et in auste-
 ritate iucundior, ut in ipsa pictura eruditio eluceat. pinxit 5
 in templo Eleusine Phylarchum et Athenis frequentiam
 quam vocavere syngenicon, item Achillem virginis habitu
 occultatum Ulixē dependente, et in una tabula VI signa,
 quaque maxime inclaruit agasonem cum equo. quod nisi
 135 in iuventa obiisset, nemo compararetur. est nomen et 10
 A.U.C. 586. Heraclidi Macedoni. initio naves pinxit, captoque Perseo
 rege Athenas commigravit, ubi eodem tempore erat Metro-
 dorus pictor idemque philosophus, in utraque scientia magna
 auctoritatis. itaque cum L. Paulus devicto Perseo petiisset
 ab Atheniensibus uti sibi quam probatissimum philosophum 15
 mitterent ad erudiendos liberos, item pictorem ad triumphum
 excolendum, Athenienses Metrodorum elegerunt professi
 eundem in utroque desiderio praestantissimum, quod ita

while flesh parts are seen to have been left in the tone of the marble; cf. the Artemis of Vienna, *Jahrb. d. Oesterr. Kunstsamml.* v, 1887, pl. i, ii, and R. v. Schneider's remarks, *ib.* p. 22, on the former colouring of the Hermes of Praxiteles. See also Wickhoff, in *Wiener Genesis*, p. 48.

1. non satis discernitur: above, note on *discipulo Nicia*.

§ 134. 4. austerior: i.e. *Nicia*, cui comparabatur; cf. above, note on *severus* in § 130.

5. eruditio: cf. § 76 *omnibus litteris eruditus* of Pamphilos.

pinxit . . . syngenicon: the two pictures mentioned here belonging to the class of votive offerings, and the locality of each being specially noted, B. Keil (*Hermes*, xxx, 1895, p. 229; cf. Münzer, *ib.* p. 540) considers the whole sentence to be an addition to the main account from the work of Heliodoros *περὶ ἀναθημάτων*, see *Introd.* p. lxxiv f.

6. Phylarchum: Pausanias (i,

26, 3) mentions a cavalry captain Olympiodoros (presumably identical with the archon of Ol. 121, 3 = B. C. 294) in the time of Kassander (d. Ol. 121 = B. C. 296), who distinguished himself in an engagement at Eleusis against the Makedonians, and was accordingly honoured with a portrait there. He may quite well, therefore, be identical with the Olympiodoros painted by Athenion, a contemporary of the younger Nikias. For lit. see Hitzig-Blümner, *Pausanias*, p. 283.

7. syngenicon: the Greek word introduced because P. is not quite assured of his Latin equivalent; for the subject see note on *cognatio*, in § 76.

Achillem . . . dependente: the subject had been treated by Polygnotos in the Pinakothekē of the Propylaia (Paus. i, 22, 6) and often. We know it from a series of Pompeian wall paintings, Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1296-1303 (the most famous, 1297, is

by some authorities in the hundred and twelfth Olympiad [332-329 B. C.]. †*Athenion* of Maroneia, the pupil of Glaukion of 134 Corinth, is compared with Nikias, and preferred to him by some. *Athenion, pupil of Glaukion.* He used a severer scheme of colouring than Nikias, and produced a more pleasing effect withal, thus manifesting in his execution his grasp of the abstract principles of his art. He painted in the temple of Eleusis a captain of cavalry; at Athens an assembly called a *συγγενικόν*; also Achilles, in the guise of a maiden, at the moment of detection by Odysseus; a picture containing six figures, and the groom with a horse on which his fame chiefly rests. Had he not died young, no artist would be comparable to him.

†*Herakleides* of Makedon, who began life as a ship painter, also 135 enjoys a great reputation. After King Perseus was taken prisoner, *Hera- kleides.* he repaired to Athens, where was then living *Metrodoros*, who was 168 B.C. at once painter and philosopher, and had won high distinction *Metro- doros.* in either capacity. Accordingly, when Lucius Paulus after his victories over Perseus asked the Athenians to send him their best philosopher to teach his children, and a painter to commemorate his triumph, they chose Metrodoros, declaring that he could best fulfil both requirements, as indeed Paulus found to be the case.

given in Roscher, i, p. 27), none of which however can be traced back with any certainty to Athenion; cf. Helbig, *Untersuch.* p. 158. Addenda.

§ 135. 11. **Heraclidi:** below, § 146.

captoque Perseo rege: Ol. 153, 1, Robert, *Arch. Märch.* p. 135, note, points out that the last date for a painter having been Ol. 121 (§ 134), there was precisely the same gap in the chronology of the painters as in that of the bronze sculptors (xxxiv, 52 *cessavit deinde ars* (Ol. 121) *at rursus Ol. 116 revixit*). It is evident that the Greek sources ended for painting as for sculpture with approximately the same period, and that the additions concerning Herakleides and Metrodoros, both of whom are connected with Roman exploits, like the additions made in xxxiv, 52 to the Greek lists of the sculptors, are extraneous to the original history of art

forming the basis of the Plinian account, Introd. p. lxxx f.

12. **Metrodoros:** he is most likely identical with the Metrodoros in the Index to this book. Further he is possibly the same as the Metrodoros of Stratonikaia, mentioned by Diogenes Laertius x, 9, and Cic. *De Orat.* i, 11, 45, as being a pupil of Karneades (cf. Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 293; Ulrichs, *Malerei*, p. 16; Helbig, *Untersuch.* p. 5).

16. **ad erudiendos liberos:** the two younger sons who died at the time of the triumph; cf. the charming passage in Plutarch, *Aem. Paul.* vi Οὐ γὰρ μόνον γραμματικοὶ καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ βήτορες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλάσται καὶ ζωγράφοι καὶ πάλων καὶ σκυλάκων ἐπιστάται καὶ διδάσκαλοι θήρας Ἕλληνες ἦσαν περὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους (i. e. the elder sons, the younger Scipio and Fabius Maximus, after their father's triumph over the Ligurians, B.C. 181).

136 Paulus quoque iudicavit. Timomachus Byzantius Caesaris
 dictatoris aetate Aiace[m] et Mediam pinxit ab eo in Veneris
 Genetricis aede positas, LXXX talentis venundatas. talen-
 tum Atticum $\times \overline{\text{VI}}$ taxat M. Varro. Timomachi aequae
 laudantur Orestes, Iphigenia in Tauris et Lecythion agili- 5
 tatis exercitator, cognatio nobilium, palliati quos dicturos
 pinxit, alterum stantem, alterum sedentem. praecipue
 137 tamen ars ei fuisse in Gorgone visa est. Pausiae filius et
 discipulus Aristolaus e severissimis pictoribus fuit, cuius
 sunt Epaminondas, Pericles, Media, Virtus, Theseus, imago 10
 Atticae plebis, boum immolatio. sunt quibus et Nico-
 phanes eiusdem Pausiae discipulus placeat diligentia quam

§ 136. 1. Timomachus Byz. Caesaris . . . aetate: from what we know of the famous Aias and Medeia (see following note), Pliny seems guilty of an anachronism in placing Timomachos in this period (so Brunn, Dilthey, Helbig, Ulrichs and Furtwängler; see Brandstätter, *Der Maler Timomachos*, where all the evidence concerning the artist's date is collected); he presumably found no date in his author, and tried to obtain one out of the purchase by Caesar (Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 14), [*Caesaris dictatoris aetate* in imitation of *Magni Pompei aetate* xx, 144; xxii, 128; xxvi, 12; xxxiii, 130, 156.—H. L. U.]

2. Veneris G. aede: above, § 26 where see note.

Aiace[m] et Mediam: apparently identical with the Aias and Medeia mentioned by Cicero, *Verr.* II, iv, 60, 135, where he enumerates thirteen works of art, each of which was the pride of the city that owned it: *quid arbitramini merere velle Cycicenos, ut Aiace[m] aut Mediam amittant?* Now the Verrine orations date from B. C. 70, and since the pictures had then attained a world-wide celebrity, similar to that enjoyed by the Eros of Praxiteles, the heifer of Myron, &c., we must suppose they

had been some time in existence; thus the latest date which could well be assigned to the pictures would be about 100–90 B. C., but this cannot be called the 'age of Caesar.' Indeed since all the artists (i. e. Pythagoras, Myron, the two Praxiteles, Protogenes and Apelles) mentioned by Cicero are of the fifth and fourth centuries, it seems reasonable to suppose that Timomachos also lived not later than the fourth century. From the subjects of his pictures he was probably a contemporary of Apelles (Brandstätter, *op. cit.*). The two pictures were composed as pendants, at least so we gather from the juxtaposition of the subjects in Ovid, *Trist.* ii, 525:

Utque sedet vultu fassus Telamonius iram

Inque oculis facinus barbara mater habet.

The composition has survived on a number of gems (Berlin, Cat. 673, 674, 1357, 4319, 4327, 6491; Br. Mus. Cat. 1426, 1427). Copies of the Medeia have survived in two wall-paintings (1) from Pompei, Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1262, (2) from Herculaneum, Helbig, 1264 (single figure of Medeia, but taken apparently from a large composition similar to the former): Medeia meditating the murder, while the children

Timomachos of Byzantion in the time of the dictator Caesar 136 painted the Aias and the Medeia, placed by Caesar in the temple of Venus the Mother, which cost eighty talents [£16,800 circ.]. (Marcus Varro values the Attic talent at 6000 denarii.) Other pictures by Timomachos meet with a like praise; his Orestes and Iphigenia among the Tauroi; his portrait of Lekythion, a master of gymnastics; an assembly of notable persons, and two men in cloaks just ready to speak, one standing, the other sitting. Art, however, is thought to have granted to him his greatest success in the Gorgon which he painted.

† *Aristolaos*, the son and pupil of Pausias, was an artist of the 137 severest school; he painted pictures of Epameinondas, Perikles, *Aristolaos*, son and pupil of Pausias. Medeia, Valour, Theseus, a personification of the populace of Athens, and a sacrifice of oxen.

† *Nikophanes*, another pupil of Pausias, is admired by a small *Niko-phanes*.

quietly play in charge of the *paidagogos*—a scheme which corresponds to Lucian's description *περὶ οἴκου*, 31. The picture was very probably inspired by the Medeia of Enripides. From § 145 we learn that it was left unfinished. The Medeia gave occasion for a number of epigrams (see Overbeck's *Schriftquellen* 2126-2139). *Anth. Plan.* iv, 137, shows that it was painted in encaustic—*ἐν κήρω*. (Against the view advanced here that Timomachos is a painter of the fourth century, see Robert, in *Arch. Märchen*, p. 132, who defends Pliny's *Caesaris aetate*, and lately Wickhoff, in *Wiener Genesis*, p. 72). Addenda.

5. Orestes, Iphigenia in Tauris: one picture, the two parts of which are given asyndetically, see J. Müller, *Stil*, p. 39 f. For the subject cf. the Pompeian wall-painting, *A. Z.* 1875, pl. xiii: on the right, above, Iphigenia with her maidens emerging from the temple, on the left, below, Orestes and Pylades brought prisoners to the temple; as Robert points out (*ib.* p. 133 f.), there are no grounds for identifying the Pompeian picture as a copy of the original by Timomachos. See also the composition on the

sarkophagos, Robert, *Sarkoph. Reliefs* pl. lviii. Addenda.

agilitatis exercitator: he would be a less exalted personage than an *ἐπιστάτης ἀθλητῶν* (xxxiv, 82), but more on a level with the *praestigiator* Theodoros, and the *saltator* Alkisthenes in § 147. The picture was presumably a votive portrait.

6. *cognatio nobilium*: above, note on § 76.

palliati: i. e. wrapped in the *pallium* = *ἱμάτιον*, whence they were presumably portraits; cf. on the *duo palliata* in xxxiv, 54.

quos dicturos: [cf. the Elder Philostratos *εἰκόνες* ii, 31 *ὅρα καὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τὴν μὲν τοῦ προσώπου στάσιον παραπλήσιον τοῖς λέγουσιν.* — H. L. U.]; also Sittl, *Gebärde*, p. 7, note 5.

8. in Gorgone: i. e. a Gorgoneion or mask of Medusa; we may compare in sculpture the 'Medusa Rondanini' (Mnich, *Glypt.* 128).

§ 137. Pausias: above, § 123. The account of Aristolaos has been torn asunder from its original context.

9. *e severissimis*: note on § 130.

11. *bovm immolatio*: note on § 93; cf. § 127.

Nicophanes: above, § 111.

intelligent soli artifices, alias durus in coloribus et sile multus; nam Socrates iure omnibus placet; tales sunt eius cum Aesculapio filiae Hygia, Aegle, Panacea, Iaso et piger qui appellatur Ocnos, spartum torquens quod asellus
 138 adrodit. hactenus indicatis proceribus in utroque genere 5 non silebuntur et primis proximi: Aristoclidēs qui pinxit aedem Apollinis Delphis. Antiphilus puero ignem conflante laudatur ac pulchra alias domo splendescente ipsiusque pueri ore, item lanificio in quo properant omnium mulierum pensa, Ptolemaeo venante, sed nobilissimo Satyro cum pelle 10 pantherina, quem aposcopeuonta appellant. Aristophon Ancaeo vulnerato ab apro cum socia doloris Astypale numerosaque tabula in qua sunt Priamus, Helena, Credulitas,
 139 Ulixes, Deiphobus, Dolus. Androbios pinxit Scyllum ancoras praecedentem Persicae classis, Artemon Danaen 15

12. Ancaium (Angaium *e corr.*) vineratūmo *Bamb.*; Ancaeam vulneratūm *Dellefsen.* Astypalaea *coni. Brunn K. G. ii, p. 53, Dellefsen.*

1. soli artifices: Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 519, points out that this reference to the opinion of artists recalls the passage on Telephanes, xxxiv, 68.

durus in coloribus: § 130 *in coloribus severus*, where see note.

2. nam: [elliptical, i. e. the case of the painter Sokrates is different, for *he* pleases everybody (*omnibus*), whereas Nikophanes is only for the few (*sunt quibus*); cf. the use of *nam* in xxxiv, 7; x, 210; xvii, 58, 151.—H. L. U.]

Sokrates: he appears in such close connexion with Aristolaos and Nikophanes, that he is presumably also a pupil of Pausias. In xxxvi, 32, Pliny mentions a sculptor Sokrates, whom he distinguishes from the painter, though according to some authorities they were identical. *Introd. p. l. f.*

3. Aesculapio: i. e. a votive picture for a recovery; for the subject cf. the reliefs, Friederichs-Wolters, 1148, 1150.

4. Ocnos: for the subject, which had already been represented by Polygnotos in the Delphian Lesche

(Paus. x, 29, 2), cf. the *puteal* in the Vatican (Helbig, 373).

§ 138. 5. utroque genere: i. e. both large and small pictures.

7. aedem Ap. Delphis: nothing further is known of these paintings.

Antiphilus: above, §§ 89, 114.

puero ign. confl.: for the same subject in statuary cf. the splanchnoptes of Styppax, xxxiv, 81.

8. domo splendescente: for effects of reflected light cf. above, note on § 78, and Wickhoff, *Wiener Genesis*, p. 79.

9. lanificio: cf. the subjects of Peiraikos in § 112, of Philiskos in § 143.

10. Ptolemaeo: above, § 89.

11. aposcopeuonta: i. e. raising his hand to shade his eyes in the satyric dance called *σκώπευμα* (Athen. xiv, p. 629 f.). Variations of the motive have been recovered in a number of statues and statuettes, which can all be traced back to one original type of which the finest instance is a bronze at Berlin; Furtwängler, *Satyraus Pergamon*, p. 14 ff.

circle for an industry which painters alone can really appreciate ; apart from this merit he was too harsh in colouring, and too lavish in his use of yellow ochre. The merit of †*Sokrates* on the other hand is, as it should be, patent to everybody, thanks to his pictures of Asklepios with his daughters Hygieia, Aigle, Panakeia and Iaso, and of a sluggard, called ὄκνος [sloth], twisting a rope which an ass is gnawing. *Sokrates.*

So far I have spoken only of the leading artists in both styles, 138 but I do not purpose to omit those of the second rank.

†*Aristokleides* painted the temple of Apollo at Delphoi. *Anti-philos* is praised for his picture of a boy blowing a fire, and for the reflection cast by the fire on the room, which is in itself beautiful, and on the boy's face ; for his picture of wool-weaving, where all the women busily ply their tasks ; for his Ptolemaios hunting, and, most famous of all, for his Satyr with a panther's skin, called the ἀποσκοπεύων, or Gazer. *Painters of second rank arranged alphabetically. Aristokleides. Antiphilos.*

Aristophon is celebrated for his Ankaïos wounded by the boar, grouped with Astypale, the partner of his woe, and a crowded picture containing Priam, Helen, Credulity, Odysseus, Deiphobos and Guile. †*Androbios* painted Skyllos cutting the cables of the 139 Persian fleet ; †*Artemon* a Danae and the pirates marvelling at her ; *Aristophon.*

Aristophon: brother of Polygnotos, above, note on § 60.

12. Ancaeo: not the Arkadian Ankaïos, but the Argonaut with his mother Astypale. Beudorf, *Gjölbaschi*, p. 114 f., inclines to believe the wounded hero was supported by his mother, a Polygnotan scheme, echoes of which seem to have survived on both the Phigaleian and Gjölbaschi friezes. The hero being a Samian, the picture was probably at Samos.

Astypale: [shortened for *Asty-palasia*, so Zeuxis commonly for Zeuxippos ; cf. A. Fick, *Die Griechischen Personennamen*, 2nd. ed., p. 35. In Hyginus, *Fab.* 167 (ed. Bunte, 122, 1, 6), *Astyphile* is unnecessarily restored by Bunte to *Astyphalaea*.—H. L. U.] The reading *Astypale* is also kept by Beudorf (*op. cit.*).

13. *numerosa*: Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 53, explains this adjective applied to a picture which contained only six

figures, from Quinct. v, 10, 10 *vulgoque (inter opifices) paullo numerosius opus dicitur argumentosum.*

Priamus . . *Dolus*: from the presence of Helen and of Deiphobos it appears that the picture represented a scene from the siege of Troy subsequent to the death of Paris; on the whole composition cf. Jahn, *A. Z.* 1847, p. 127. For the personifications of *Dolus* and *Credulitas* cf. the διαβολή in Apelles' picture (above, note on § 89).

§ 139. 14. *Scyllum*: he dived and cut the cables of the Persian fleet, *Pans.* x, 19, 1 ; cf. Herod. viii, 8.

15. *D. mirantibus eam praedonibus*: according to the legend, it was Dictys, a fisherman, who rescued Danae. There may have been a variant tradition or the *praedones* may come from misinterpretation of the picture. Helbig, *Untersuchungen*, p. 145, brings *Wandgemälde* 119 into connexion with the 'Danae.'

mirantibus eam praedonibus, reginam Stratonicen, Herculem et Deianiram, nobilissimas autem, quae sunt in Octaviae operibus, Herculem ab Oeta monte Doridos exusta mortalitate consensu deorum in caelum euntem, Laomedontis circa Herculem et Neptunum historiam. Alcimachus Dioxippum, qui pancratio Olympiae citra pulveris iactum, quod 140 vocant ἀκονιτί, vicit, Coenus stemmata. Ctesiloachus Apellis discipulus petulanti pictura innotuit, Iove Liberum parturiente depicto mitrato et muliebriter ingemescente inter opstetricia dearum, Cleon Cadmo, Ctesidemus Oechaliae 10 expugnatione, Laodamia, Ctesicles reginae Stratonices iniuria. nullo enim honore exceptus ab ea pinxit volutantem cum piscatore quem reginam amare sermo erat, eamque tabulam in portu Ephesi proposuit ipse velis raptus. regina 15 tolli vetuit utriusque similitudine mire expressa. Cratinus 141 comoedus Athenis in Pompeio pinxit, Eutyichides bigam, regit Victoria. Eudorus scaena spectatur—idem et ex

1. reginam Stratonicen: there were several queens of this name; the most celebrated, who may be the one intended here, was daughter of Demetrios Poliorketes (Plut. *Dem.* liii), married first to Seleukos Nikator, then to his son Antiochos (Val. Max. v, 7, *Ext.* 1); *Introd.* p. lx.

Herculem et Deianiram: this and the following picture seem part of a cycle representing the Labours of Herakles. *Addenda.*

3. Herculem . . . in caelum euntem: for the Apotheosis of Herakles in later art see Furtwängler, *ap.* Roscher, i, 2250.

5. historiam: probably in a series of pictures. One scene, the freeing of Hesione by Herakles, was also the subject of a picture by Antiphilos (above, § 114).

Dioxippum: he was in the army of Alexander the Great, and in B.C. 326, during the Median campaign, he overcame in an athletic contest the Makedonian Koragos who had challenged him. By this feat, however, he drew upon himself the dis-

pleasure of Alexander, and being slandered to the king he finally took his own life. *Diod.* xvii, 100-101; Ailian, *Ποικ.* *Ἱστ.* x, 22 (see G. H. Förster, *Sieger in den Olympischen Spielen*, i, p. 27, 381), *Ol.* 113, 3 = 326 B. C.

6. Olympiae: instead of the usual construction, *Olympia vincere*, imitated from the Greek.

7. ἀκονιτί = χαρπὶς κόψεως: usually because the appointed antagonist failed to appear; according to Paus. vi, 11, 4, Dromeus of Mantinea was the first to gain a victory ἀκονιτί; cf. *id.* vi, 7, 4; *I. G. B.* 29. See for all possible conditions of such a victory K. E. Heinrichs, *Ueber das Pentathlon der Griechen* (Würzburg, 1892), p. 74. For the expression *sine pulvere*, which was proverbial, Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 290.

stemmata: portraits fitted into some kind of genealogical tree (xxxv, § 6); cf. note on *cognatio*, in § 76.

§ 140. Ctesiloachus: if identical, as is generally supposed with the Κρησιώχος of Soudas (*s. v.*

a portrait of queen Stratonike; a Herakles and Deianeira, and the celebrated pictures in the galleries of Octavia: the one represents Herakles on Mount Oite in Doris, putting off his mortality in the flames, and going up to heaven by consent of all the gods; the other shows the story of Laomedon, Herakles and Poseidon. †*Alkimachos* painted a picture of Dioxippos, who won in the pankration at Olympia a victory without dust, ἀκουσί, as it is called. †*Koinos* painted family trees. *Ktesilochos*, a pupil of Apelles, became famous by a burlesque painting of Zeus giving birth to Dionysos; the god wears a head-dress and, moaning like a woman, is receiving the good offices of the goddesses. †*Kleon* owes his reputation to a picture of Kadmos, †*Ktesidemos* to a siege of Oichalia and a Laodameia, while †*Ktesikles* is best known by the affront he offered to queen Stratonike, who had received him without any mark of honour. He in consequence painted her lying in the arms of a fisherman, her reputed lover, and had the picture exhibited in the port of Ephesos, after he himself had sped away with all sails set. The queen, however, would not allow the picture to be removed, as both portraits were excellent likenesses. †*Kratinos* painted comic actors in the Pompeion at Athens, *Eutyichides*, a two-horsed chariot driven by Nike. †*Eudoros*, who

Alkimachos paints a portrait of the Pankratiast Dioxippos.

Ktesilochos paints a grotesque picture of the birth of Dionysos.

Ktesikles: his vengeance upon Queen Stratonike.

Apelles), he was the brother of Apelles.

8. *petulanti pictura*: the picture was probably intended as a parody. Heydemann, *Hall. Winckelmannspr.* x (1885), p. 5 ff.

9. *Love . . . mitrato*: an absurdity because, among Greeks at any rate, the *μίτρα* was only a feminine adornment; above, § 58 *capita earum* (sc. *mulierum*) *mitris versicoloribus operuit*; but vi, 162 *Arabes mitrati*.

9. *inter opstet. dearum*: i. e. the *Eileithyiai*.

10. *Ctesidemos*: the master of Antiphilos, above, § 114.

Oechaliae expugn.: by Herakles, Strabo, ix, p. 438.

11. *Laodamia*: the subject is of frequent occurrence (gem Br. Mus. Cat. p. 67, no. 327; numerous sarkophagi, cp. especially Baumeister, *Denkm.*, p. 1422, fig. 1574), but there is no ascertained copy of *Ktesidemos*'s picture.

Stratonices iniuria: cf. on § 139.

15. *Cratinus comoedus*: I see no need for doubting his identity with the writer of comedies (fl. middle of fifth cent.). This first mention of *Kratinos* was detached from its context with *Eirene*, daughter of *Kratinos* (§ 147), in order to be introduced into the alphabetical list (see Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 535; *Introd.* p. lxxv.).

16. *in Pompeio*: at the entrance to the *Kerameikos*, Paus. 1, 2, 4.

§ 141. *Eutyichides*: in xxxiv, 78, he is mentioned as a sculptor in bronze.

bigam, regit Victoria: for the subject cf. Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 938, 939.

17. *scaena*: i. e. a scenic decoration intended to be fastened to the *scaenae frons*; cf. § 23.

et ex aere signa fecit: he is however not mentioned in xxxiv.

aere signa fecit—Hippys Neptuno et Victoria. Habron
amicam et Concordiam pinxit et deorum simulacra, Leon-
tiscus Aratum victorem cum tropaeo, psaltriam, Leon
Sappho, Nearchus Venerem inter Gratias et Cupidines,
142 Herculem tristem insaniae poenitentia, Nealces Venerem— 5
ingeniosus et sollers iste, siquidem, cum proelium navale
Persarum et Aegyptiorum pinxisset, quod in Nilo, cuius est
aqua maris similis, factum volebat intellegi, argumento
declaravit quod arte non poterat; asellum enim bibentem
143 in litore pinxit et crocodilum insidiantem ei—Oenias 10
syngenicon, Philiscus officinam pictoris ignem conflante
puero, Phalerion Scyllam, Simonides Agatharchum et
Mnemosynen, Simus iuvenem requiescentem, officinam
fullonis quinquatrus celebrantem, idemque Nemesim egreg-
144 iam, Theorus se inungentem, idem ab Oreste matrem 15

15. se inungentem] *Sillig*; emungentem *Bamb.*; et inungentem *Ricc.*;
erumpentem *Dellefsen* (*coni. Benndorf*).

1. *Hippys*: the name has been conjecturally restored from Polemon, *ap. Athen.* xi, p. 474 d; cf. above, note on *anus* in § 78.

2. *amicam*: simply the portrait of a *hetaira* (cf. *Furtwängler, Dornauszieher*, p. 94, n. 53). Some commentators, however, assume a misunderstanding on Pliny's part of the Greek *φιλία*, and suggest the reading *Amicitiam*, by analogy with *Concordia* = *δμόνοια*.

3 *Aratum . . . tropaeo*: according to Hardouin (*ad loc.*), to commemorate the victory over Aristippos, *Plut. Aratus*, xxix; the identification with the Sikyonian Aratos (frees Sikyon B. C. 251), however, seems doubtful, since none of the known painters in the list belong to so late a period; below, note on *Nealces*; cf. *Brunn, K. G.* ii, p. 292.

psaltriam: cf. xxxiv, 63 and note.

§ 142. 5. *Herculem tristem*: i. e. after the murder of his children; cf. in sculpture the kindred subject of Athamas, xxxiv, 140. A gem, which Stephani (*Ausrüh. Her.* p. 145)

thought he could trace back to the picture of Nearchos, has been shown by *Furtwängler* (*ap. Roscher*, i, 2175) to be merely an adaptation by an artist of the Renaissance of a type created for Aias (above, note on § 136).

Nealces: *Münzer, op. cit.* p. 532, note 2, rightly disputes his identity with the painter Nealkes, the friend of Aratos (*Plut. loc. cit.* xiii), since in that case Pasias, the pupil of Nealkes's own pupil Erigonos (§ 145), would belong to the late second century, outside the lower limit of the lists; to this consideration may be added that the story recounted of Erigonos (*loc. cit.*) is closely connected with a number of other stories, which cannot have arisen later than the commencement of the third century. *Münzer's* discovery, however, with regard to the picture by Nealkes (note on *proelium*) at once settles the question in favour of an earlier painter of the name.

6. *ingeniosus*: cf. the praise bestowed upon Timanthes in § 73.

proelium . . . asellum. *Münzer*

also made statues in bronze, is known by a scene painted for a theatre, *Hippys* by a Poseidon and a Nike, †*Habron* by a portrait of his mistress, a picture of Concord and figures of the Gods. †*Leontiskos* painted Aratos as victor with a trophy, and a woman playing on the cithara, †*Leon* a Sappho, †*Nearchos* an Aphrodite attended by the Graces and Loves, and a Herakles in grief repenting of his madness, †*Nealkes*, an Aphrodite. This ¹⁴² *Nealkes* was a man of ingenious devices; he had painted a naval battle between the Egyptians and Persians, and wishing to show that it was fought on the Nile (the waters of which are like those of the sea) he indicated by a symbol that which art alone could not express, painting an ass drinking on the river's brim and a crocodile lying in wait for it. †*Oinias* painted a family gathering; †*Philiskos* an artist's studio with a boy blowing the fire; †*Phalerion* a Skylla; †*Simonides* an Agatharchos and Mnemosyne; *Simos* a youth resting, the workshop of a fuller who is keeping the festival of Minerva, and a Nemesis of great beauty. ¹⁴³ †*Theoros* painted an athlete anointing himself, an Orestes slaying ¹⁴⁴ *Theoros*: *his picture*

(*loc. cit.*) has had the signal merit of fixing the occasion for the picture and thereby the date of the artist. It must have referred to one of the battles by which Artaxerxes III Ochos, (B. C. 358–337), successively reduced Egypt in B. C. 350. 'Popular conceptions of the wicked enemy, of the ass-shaped Seth Typhon, had won for the hated king the nickname of the "Ass" among the Egyptians, while among the Greeks who fought in thousands on either side, the pun *ἄχος—ὄνος* had quickly spread (cf. Deimon, *ap. Plut. de Iside*, 31 διὰ καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν βασιλέων ἐχθραίνοντες μάλιστα τὸν ὄνον ὡς ἐναγῆ καὶ μιᾶρόν, ὄνον ἐπωνόμασαν: Ailian, *Ποικ.* 'Ιστ. iv, 8). The allusion which Nealkes introduced into his picture was clear to his contemporaries and to the point; later its meaning was forgotten, and people had recourse to the silly explanation recorded by Pliny.'

§ 143. 11. *syngenicon*: above, § 136; cf. note on § 76.

ignem conflate puero. The studio must have been that of a

painter in encaustic; cf. the picture by Antiphilos, in § 138. Introd. p. lxxi.

12. *Scyllam*: uncertain whether the sea monster or the daughter of Nisos; cf. Brunn, *K. G.* 300; a Scylla by Nikomachos in § 109.

13. *Mnemosynen*: cf. the relief of Archelaos of Priene in Br. Mus.

Simus: possibly identical with the sculptor Simos of Salamis (in Kypros), known from two inscriptions (*J. G. B.* 163, 164), which from the character of the epigraphy may be dated about the third century B. C., Brunn, *K. G.* i, p. 467; H. v. Gaertringen, *Jahrb.* ix, 1894, p. 39.

iuvenem requiescentem: [perhaps a grave picture, in which the dead youth was represented lying down, i. e. an *ἀναπαύμενος* (§ 99 and note), an *expirantis imago* (§ 90).—H. L. U.]

14. *quinquatrus*: the feast, which was of two kinds, the Greater and the Lesser, was kept by all those whose trades were under the special protection of Minerva. Addenda.

§ 144. 15. *Theorus*: the name belongs to the class of those given,

et Aegisthum interfici, bellumque Iliacum pluribus tabulis, quod est Romae in Philippi porticibus, et Cassandram, quae est in Concordiae delubro, Leontium Epicuri cogitantem, Demetrium regem, Theon Orestis insaniam, Thamyram citharoedum, Tauriscus discobolum, Clytaemestram, Pani-
 145 scon, Polynicen regnum repetentem et Capanea. non omit-
 tetur inter hos insigne exemplum. namque Erigonus tritor
 colorum Nealcae pictoris in tantum ipse profecit ut celebrem
 etiam discipulum reliquerit Pasion, fratrem Aeginetae
 pictoris. illud vero perquam rarum ac memoria dignum 10
 est suprema opera artificum imperfectasque tabulas, sicut
 Irim Aristidis, Tyndaridas Nicomachi, Mediam Timomachi
 et quam diximus Venerem Apellis, in maiore admiratione
 esse quam perfecta, quippe in is liniamenta reliqua ipsaeque
 cogitationes artificum spectantur, atque in lenocinio com- 15
 mendationis dolor est manus, cum id ageret, exstinctae.
 146 sunt etiamnum non ignobiles quidem, in transcurso tamen

according to Fick (*Gr. Personennamen*, p. 360), in allusion to the bearer's profession (see, however, H. L. Ulrichs' note on *Euchira*, in § 152). That there is not the slightest evidence for following Brunn (*K. G.* ii, p. 255), in charging Pliny with the fabrication of *Theorus* out of a misunderstanding of *Theon*, has been shown by Ulrichs in *Hölz. Pferd*, p. 18, u. 17.

se inungentem: votive portrait of an athlete, represented in the act of anointing himself, a subject familiar in statuary, Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 257 ff.; against the Beundorf-Detlefsen reading *erumpentem* see H. L. Ulrichs, in *Woch. f. Klass. Phil.* 1895, p. 548.

ab Oreste matrem et Aegisthum interfici: cf. the construction in xxxiv, 59 (*fecit*) *Apollinem serpentemque eius sagittis configi*. For the subject cf. the Pompeian picture, *A. Z.* xli, 1883, pl. ix, 1 (Robert, *ib.* p. 259), and the Sarkophagos in St Petersburg, Robert, *Sark. Rel.* pl. liv, p. 163 f. Wickhoff, *Wiener Genesis*, p. 85.

1. bellumque Iliacum pluribus tabulis: probably one of the oldest instances of a serial representation of scenes from the Trojan war, such as became so fashionable in imperial days (cf. the *Troiae halosis*, Petron. 87, also the pictures of the Fall of Troy, seen by Aeneias in the Palace of Dido, *Virg. Aen.* i, 456-493). From Pompeii we have a series of pictures, which, even if not close imitations of the pictures by Theoros (see Helbig, *Untersuch.* p. 142), serve to illustrate how these cycles were conceived; see Brüning, *Jahrb.* ix, 1894, p. 164 (*Ueber die wildlichen Vorlagen der Ilischen Tafeln*).

2. Philippi porticibus: note on § 66.

Cassandram: it may have been part of the Trojan series (above), and have become separated from it; more probably it was a picture by itself.

3. Leontium: note on § 99.

4. Demetrium: i. e. Poliorketes; cf. note on xxxiv, 42.

Theon: of Samos; mentioned by Quint. xii, 10, 6, among the seven

his mother and Aigisthos, a cycle of pictures of the Trojan war, now in Rome in the Gallery of Philip, a Cassandra, now in the temple of Concord, Leontion, the pupil of Epikouros, in meditation, and king Demetrios. *Theon* painted the madness of Orestes, and a portrait of Thamyras, a player on the cithara; *Tauriskos* painted the portrait of a quoit-thrower, a Klytaimnestra, a Παιίσκος or young Pan, a Polyneikes claiming the throne, and a Kapaneus.

Nor must I forget to mention here the noteworthy case of †*Erigonos*, who ground the colours of Nealkes, and eventually became so good a painter that he could even train a great artist in his pupil †*Pasias*, the brother of the painter †*Aiginetas*. Another most curious fact and worthy of record is, that the latest works of artists and the pictures left unfinished at their death are valued more than any of their finished paintings, for example the Iris by Aristeides, the children of Tyndaros by Nikomachos, the Medeia by Timomachos and the Aphrodite by Apelles, mentioned above. The reason is that in these we see traces of the design and the original conception of the artists, while sorrow for the hand that perished at its work beguiles us into the bestowal of praise.

There still remain certain painters whom, though artists of repute, I can do no more than name in passing, †*Aristokydes*,

of 'Orestes slaying his Mother.'

Theon: his picture of the 'Madness of Orestes.'

Erigonos: his rise from obscurity to fame.

Singular value and charm of unfinished works.

Second alphabetical list.

most important painters of the age of Alexander, as *praestantissimus . . . concipiendis visionibus, quas φαντασίας vocant*; cf. also Ailian, Πικ. 'Ιστ. ii. 44, where the warrior charging out of a panel is described.

Orestis insaniam: τὴν Ὀρέστου μητροκτονίαν, Plut. *de aud. Poet.* 3.

Thamyram citharoedum: cf. the *Gorgosthenes tragoedus*, by Apelles, in § 93, the *tibicina* of Lysippos, xxxiv, 63, the *psaltria* by Leontiskos, in § 141, &c.

5. *Tauriscus*: his identity with one of the sculptors of the 'Farnese Bull' can neither be proved nor disproved. He is perhaps the same as the silver-chaser of xxxiii, 156, whom in xxxvi, 33, Pliny is careful to distinguish from the sculptor.

discobolus: votive picture for an athletic contest.

§ 145. 7. *tritor colorum*: cf. above, § 85 *qui colores tererent*; for the story of Erigonos's rise from poverty to fame, cf. Lysippos, xxxiv, 61, Protogenes, above, § 101, *Introd.* p. xlix.

8. *Nealcae*: above, §§ 104, 142. *ut discipulum rel.*: so likewise Seilanion, xxxiv, 51, though himself a self-taught artist, leaves a celebrated pupil in Zeuxiades, *Introd. loc. cit.*

9. *Aeginetae*: for the ethnic as proper name cf. Fick, *Gr. Personennamen*, p. 333.

12. *Aristidis*: above, §§ 75, 98, 108; for Nikomachos, § 108.

Mediam Timomachi: §§ 26, 136.

13. *quam diximus*: above, §§ 87, 91.

14. *quippe . . . extinctae*: rhetorical; for *liniamenta reliqua* cf. note on § 68.

dicendi Aristocydes, Anaxander, Aristobulus Surus, Arcesilas Tisicratis filius, Coroebus Nicomachi discipulus, Charmantides Euphranoris, Dionysodorus Colophonius, Dicaeogenes qui cum Demetrio rege vixit, Euthymides, Heraclides Macedo, Milon Soleus Pyromachi statuari 5 discipuli, Mnasitheus Sicyonius, Mnasitimus Aristonidae filius et discipulus, Nessus Habronis filius, Polemon Alexandrinus, Theodorus Samius et Stadios Nicosthenis 147 discipuli, Xenon Neoclis discipulus Sicyonius. pinxere et mulieres: Timarete Miconis filia Dianam quae in tabula 10 Ephesi est antiquissimae picturae, Irene Cratini pictoris filia et discipula puellam quae est Eleusine, Calypso senem et praestigiatores Theodorum, Alcisthenen saltatorem, Aristarete Nearchi filia et discipula Aesculapium. Iaia Cyzicena perpetua virgo M. Varronis iuventa Romae et penicillo 15 pinxit et cestro in ebore imagines mulierum maxime et Neapoli anum in grandi tabula, suam quoque imaginem ad 148 speculum. nec ullius velocior in pictura manus fuit, artis vero tantum ut multum manipretiis antecederet celeberrimos eadem aetate imaginum pictores Sopolim et Dionysium, 20 quorum tabulae pinacothecas implent. pinxit et quaedam Olympias, de qua hoc solum memoratur, discipulum eius fuisse Autobulum.

§ 146. 2. Arcesilae: from his date he may be identical with the Arkesilaos, Paus. i, 1, 3, whose picture of Leosthenes and his sons (α σ υ γ γ ε ν ι κ ό ν) was in the sanctuary of Athena and Zeus in the Peiraieus. The exploits of Leosthenes, mentioned by Pausanias, took place B. C. 323.

Tisicratis: pupil of Euthykrates of Sikyon, xxxiv, 83.

Nicomachi: §§ 108, 145.

3. Euphranoris: § 128.

5. Heraclides: above, § 135.

Pyromachi: note on xxxiv, § 84.

6. Mnasitheus: the identification with the Mnasitheos of Plut. *Arat.* vii, suggested by Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 292, is more than doubtful.

Mnasitimos: son of Aristonidas, *I. G. B.* 197, above xxxiv, 140.

7. Habronis: above, §§ 93, 141.

8. Theodorus Samius: on the different painters of this name see Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 285; if the identity of his fellow-pupil *Stadios* with the sculptor Stadies of Paus. vi, 4, 5, the master of Polykles (note on xxxvi, 35), were certain, his date would be towards Ol. 150 = B. C. 180.

§ 147. 10. Timarete: the account of the women painters bears strong traces of Duris; cf. Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 525; *Introd.* p. lxxv. The names are given in inverted alphabetical order. In connexion with the lady painters it is interesting to note the charming Pompeian wall paintings, Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1443, 1444 = Blümmner, *Techn.* iii, p. 226, iv, p. 460, the first of a woman painting a statue,

†*Anaxander*, †*Aristoboulos* of Syria, *Arkesilas* the son of Teiskrates, †*Koroibos* the pupil of Nikomachos, †*Charmantides* the pupil of Euphranor, †*Dionysodoros* of Kolophon, †*Dikaiogenes* who lived at the court of king Demetrios, †*Euthymides*, †*Heraikleides* of Makedon and †*Milon* of Soloi, both pupils of Pyromachos the statuary, †*Mnasitheus* of Sikyon, *Mnasitimos* the son and pupil of Aristonidas, †*Nessos* the son of Habron, †*Polemon* of Alexandria, *Theodoros* of Samos and *Stadios*, pupils of †*Nikosthenes*, and †*Xenon* of Sikyon, the pupil of Nealkes.

Women too have been painters: †*Timarete* the daughter of Mikon, painted an Artemis at Ephesos in a picture of very archaic style. *Eirene*, the daughter and pupil of the painter Kratinos, painted a maiden at Eleusis, †*Kalyпсо* painted portraits of an old man, of the juggler Theodoros, and of the dancer Alkisthenes; †*Aristarete*, the daughter and pupil of Nearchos, painted an Asklepios. †*Iaia* of Kyzikos, who remained single all her life, worked at Rome in the youth of Marcus Varro, both with the brush and with the cestrum on ivory. She painted chiefly portraits of women, and also a large picture of an old woman at Naples, and a portrait of herself, executed with the help of a mirror. No artist worked more rapidly than she did, and her pictures had such merit that they sold for higher prices than those of †*Sopolis* and *Dionysios*, well-known contemporary painters, whose works fill our galleries. †*Olympias* also was a painter; of her we only know that †*Autoboulos* was her pupil.

147
Women
painters.
Timarete.
Eirene.
Kalyпсо.
Aristarete.
Iaia of
Kyzikos.

148
Olympias.

the second of a woman seated at her easel.

Miconis filia: § 59; *Eirene* and *Aristarete* likewise figure both as daughters and pupils; cf. Münzer, *loc. cit.*

11. *antiquiss. picturae*: the exact meaning is difficult to comprehend; Brunn suggests that she affected an archaïcising style.

Irene: *Ἐιρήνη τῆν Κρατίου θυγατέρα*, Clemens Alex. (quoting from Didymos) *Strom.* iv, 124, p. 620, Pott; cf. § 140.

12. *puellam*: translation of the Greek *κόρα*, so first Raoul Rochette, *Peint. Indéites*, p. 222; cf. Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 299.

13. *praestigiatores . . . saltatores*: chiasitic order.

14. *Nearchi*: above, § 141.

Iaia Cyzicensis: the alphabetical order is broken to insert a passage taken from Varro, *Introd.* p. lxxxiii.

16. *cestro in ebore*: i. e. in encaustic on ivory (below, § 149), as opposed to *penicillo* in the ordinary method of tempera.

17. *in grandi tabula*: on a wood panel of course, and presumably with the brush; cf. Blümner, *Technol.* iv, p. 445, note 1.

§ 148. 20. *Sopolim*: the name is still known only from Pliny, for in *Cic. ad. Att.* iv, 18, 4, it seems certain that *solidis pectoribus* is the reading, and not *e Sopolidis pictoribus* (see Baïter & Kayzer's critical apparatus).

Dionysium: § 113.

21. *inplent*: rhetorical, cf. xxxiv, 36, *replevit urbem*.

149 encausto pingendi duo fuere antiquitus genera, cera et in ebore cestro, id est vericulo, donec classes pingi coepere. hoc tertium accessit resolutis igni ceris penicillo utendi, quae pictura navibus nec sole nec sale ventisque cor-rumpitur.

5

§ 149. 1. **Encausto pingendi:** § 122. Owing to Pliny's obscure wording of the following passage the whole subject of ancient encaustic is beset with the gravest difficulties. For the literature up to 1887 see Blümner, *Technol.* iv, pp. 442 ff.; a good *résumé*, with new suggestions, by Cecil Smith, art. *Pictura*, in Smith's *Dict. of Ant.* ii, pp. 392 ff.; cf. also A. S. Murray, *Handbook*, pp. 394 ff.; a highly important contribution has lately been made by the painter Berger, *Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Malertechnik*, i, ii (1893 and 1895), who has succeeded in proving painting in encaustic to be a totally different process from the *καθώς* of walls painted with an admixture of olive-oil and Punic wax (Plin. xxi, 83), described by Vitruvius (vii, 9). This

discovery has freed the subject from some of its worst difficulties.

duo genera: (1) *cera et cestro* on the usual materials, i.e. wood. (2) *cera et cestro*, on ivory, a less common material, so that Pliny mentions it specially. Of the first method, the portraits from the Fayoum now afford numerous examples (see Berger, ii, pp. 50 ff.; Cecil Smith, *loc. cit.*, &c.). The second method remains obscure, but cf. the painted ivory fragments mentioned by Berger, i, p. 41 (in *Pal. Conserv.* at Rome) and the ivory panel in the British Museum with figure of a nymph, Murray, *Handbook*, p. 396, fig. 117. It is noteworthy that the lady painter Iaia (§ 147) is the only artist known to have employed this technique.

From the earliest times two methods of painting in encaustic existed—one with wax, the other further on ivory—by means of a *cestrum* or sharp point. When it became the fashion to paint ships of war, a third method was introduced, of melting the wax by fire and using a brush. Paint applied to ships in this way cannot be destroyed either by the action of the sun or of the brine or wind.

2. *cestro . . . vericulo*: it is Berger's merit (*Beiträge*, i, p. 35 ff.) to have identified the *cestrum* among the instruments found in the grave of St. Médard (*ib.* figs. 2, 3; Blümner, *Technol.* iv, figs. 66, 67), and among the Naples bronzes (*Beitr.* i, p. 43 ff.). The one end is shaped like a spoon: with it the colours are held to melt over the *cauterium* or fire-pan (the misnamed *boîte à couleurs* of the St. Médard grave), and then poured over the panel; the long handle thickens at the upper end, which is used to level the colours.

donec classes pingi coepere: Berger, i, p. 38, explains the introduction of the brush for ship painting to

have been necessitated by the impossibility of pouring fluid colour from the *cestrum* on to the *vertical* sides of a ship. This explanation seems correct, in so far at least as the meaning of the writer of the Plinian passage is concerned. It would be in the manner of certain ancient art-writers to imagine a conventional development of technique from *cestrum* to brush, and then to prove the point by appeal to practice.

3. *resolutis ceris*: i.e. in a separate, preliminary process, whereas in the first two methods the colours were both heated and applied by means of the *cestrum*.

II. PLASTICE.

- 151 DE pictura satis superque. contexuisse his et plasticen
conveniat. eiusdem opere terrae fingere ex argilla simili-
tudines Butades Sicyonius figulus primus invenit Corinthi
filiae opera quae capta amore iuvenis, abeunte illo peregre,
umbram ex facie eius ad lucernam in pariete lineis circum- 5
scripsit, quibus pater eius inpressa argilla typum fecit et
cum ceteris fictilibus induratum igni proposuit, eumque
A.U.C. 608. servatum in Nymphaeo, donec Mummius Corinthum ever-
152 terit, tradunt. sunt qui in Samo primos omnium plasticen
invenisse Rhoecum et Theodorum tradant multo ante 10
A.U.C. 97. Bacchiadas Corintho pulsos, Damaratum vero ex eadem
urbe profugum, qui in Etruria Tarquinium regem populi
Romani genuit, comitatos fictores Euchira, Diopum, Eugram-
mum, ab iis Italiae traditam plasticen. Butadis inventum

§ 151. 2. eiusdem opere terrae: with these words Pliny harks back to his main theme in § 1 (*Restant terrae ipsius genera lapidumque*) of which the History of the Painters has been but an episode; so again in § 166 he begins *Verum et ipsius terrae*; see Fröhner, in *Rhein. Mus.* 47, 1892, p. 294.

2. similitudines primus invenit: Boutades 'invents' (1) faces in relief, (2) faces applied as tile-ends, (3) how to take the cast of the model for a statue, whereas Lysistratos (4) shows, finally, how to take the cast from a living model. The whole development has a strong Xenokratie tinge; see *Introd.* p. xxxiv. f.

3. Butades Sicyonius: the following anecdote is told with slight variations by Athenagoras, *Πρεσβεία*,

17 ed. Schwartz, p. 18 (see App. xi).

Corinthi: cf. § 16; Corinth and Sikyon now appear as the cradles of the art of modelling. As Cecil Smith points out (*Pictura*, p. 401), the legend that the Sikyonian Boutades worked at Corinth, suggests an attempt to compromise the rival claims of both cities to artistic priority.

4. abeunte illo peregre: according to Athenagoras, the youth was not going away, but asleep.

8. donec Mummius Corinthum: the sack of Corinth in B.C. 146 had evidently become a conventional date with which to connect the disappearance or destruction of works of art in Greece.

9. sunt qui: introduces parenthetically a variant version of the origin of *πλαστική*; from the mention

II. MODELLING.

OF painting I have said enough and more than enough, but it may be well to add some account of clay modelling. It was by the service of the selfsame earth that †*Boutades*, a potter of Sikyon, discovered, with the help of his daughter, how to model portraits in clay. She was in love with a youth, and when he was leaving the country she traced the outline of the shadow which his face cast on the wall by lamplight. Her father filled in the outline with clay and made a model; this he dried and baked with the rest of his pottery, and we hear that it was preserved in the temple of the Nymphs, until Mummius overthrew Corinth. 146 B.C. According to some authorities clay modelling was first introduced in Samos by *Rhoikos* and *Theodoros*, long before the expulsion of the Bacchiadai from Corinth, and when Damaratos fled from that city to Etruria, where his son Tarquinius, afterwards king of Rome, was born, he was accompanied by three potters, *Eucheir*, †*Diopos*, and †*Eugrammos*, who introduced the art of modelling into Italy. *Boutades* first added red ochre or modelled in red clay, and

Boutades of Sikyon discovers modelling in clay.

Rhoikos and Theodoros of Samos. 657 B.C. (Grote) Greek potters follow Damaratos to Etruria.

of the followers of Damaratos this alternative account seems taken from Cornelius Nepos (above, § 17, Introd. p. lxxxv). The subject of *Boutades* is resumed below at *Boutadis inventum*, and again at *idem et de signis*.

10. *Rhoecum et Theodorum*: xxxiv, 83.

11. *Damaratum*; above, § 16.

13. *fictores*: *πλάσται*, *finger* like *πλάσσω* being used of the artist who works in soft substances such as earth or wax, also who fashions by the hand (cf. the *figitque premo* of Vergil, *Aen.* vi, 80); see on xxxiv, 7, and below, on § 153.

Euchira . . . *Eugrammum*: respectively the skilled handicraftsman

(*εὐχείρ*), and the skilled draughtsman (*εὐγραμμος*), while *Diopus* = *διοπος* is connected with *διόπτῆς* or *διόπτρα*, an instrument for taking levels, the invention of which (vii, 198) is attributed by Pliny to *Theodoros*, *Urlichs*, *Chrestom.* p. 373. [A. Fick, *Die Griechischen Personennamen*, 2nd ed. p. 254, believes these names to be given with regard to the bearer's trade or occupation, and in many cases to have supplanted the real name (cf. note on *Theorus*, in § 144). They seem to me more likely to have been favourite names in artist families, and to have been given at birth.—H. L. U.] For *Eucheiros* see Comm. on p. 220.

est rubricam addere aut ex rubra creta fingere. primusque personas tegularum extremis imbricibus inposuit, quae inter initia prostypa vocavit, postea idem ectypa fecit. hinc et fastigia templorum orta. propter hunc plastae appellati.

153 Hominis autem imaginem gypso e facie ipsa primus 5
omnium expressit ceraque in eam formam gypsi infusa emendare instituit Lysistratus Sicyonius, frater Lysippi de quo diximus. hic et similitudines reddere instituit, ante eum quam pulcherrimas facere studebatur. idem et de signis effigies exprimere invenit, crevitque res in tantum ut 10
nulla signa statuave sine argilla fierent. quo apparet anti-
quiores hanc fuisse scientiam quam fundendi aeris.

154 Plastae laudatissimi fuere Damophilus et Gorgasus, idem pictores, qui Cereris aedem Romae ad circum maximum

2. *personas tegularum*: numbers of these tile-faces from Etruria are to be seen in almost every Museum; cf. also the terra-cotta fragments from the treasuries at Olympia (*Olympia* ii, *Baudenkmäler*, taf. cxx).

4. *fastigia*: in Pliny used as a rule of the figures of the akroteria, and not of the actual pedimental figures, cf. xxxvi, 13; xxviii, 16; xxxvii, 14; xxxvi, 6, &c., below § 157; this meaning is borne out (1) by Vitruv. iii, 3, 5 *ornantque signis fictilibus aut aereis inauratis earum fastigia Tuscanico more, uti est ad Circum maximum Cereris, et Herculis Pompeiani, item Capitolii*, (2) by Cicero, *de Divin.* i, 10, 16 *cum Summanus in fastigio Iovis opt. max., qui tum erat fictilis, e caelo ictus esset, etc.*, (3) by Festus, s. v. *Ratumena*. Further, in Plut. *Caesar* lxiii, ἀκροτήριον corresponds to the *fastigium* of Suet. *Jul.* 81; see Furtwängler, *A. Z.* 1882, p. 346; Fowler in *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol.* viii, 1893, p. 385.

orta: because the figured akroteria arose out of the earlier tile-faces.

§ 153. 5. *Hominis . . . studebatur*: the proper place for the 'invention' of Lysistratos is after the third invention of Boutades, below (B. dis-

covered how to make models of statues; Lysistratos, however (*autem*), found out how to take casts of living people, see note on § 151). The displacement arose, doubtless, from confusion of notes; it may be due to Pliny himself, or to his nephew when he prepared the last books of the *Hist. Nat.* for publication; cf. Brunn, *K. G.* i, p. 403, Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 59 f., Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 510.

e *facie ipsa*: i. e. from the living model; the invention attributed to Lysistratos has nothing whatever to do with the custom of taking masks from the face of the dead.

8. *ante eum q. pulcherrimas*: the observation is correct; by the time of Lysippos realistic portraiture had, if not superseded ideal or typical representation, yet asserted its right to co-existence. It was, in a word, the age when an athlete could be idealized as the 'Apoxyomenos,' or portrayed with the brutal realism of the bronze boxer from Olympia (*Olympia* iv, *Bronzen*, taf. ii), cf. the note on xxxiv, 16.

9. *idem et*: refers back to Boutades.

11. *sine argilla*: Pliny means that to make a bronze statue without a clay model is impossible, though he—or

placed masks as tile-fronts on the eaves of buildings, originally called *πίστωνα*, or low reliefs; later on he made *ἔκτυπα*, or high reliefs, and these led to the ornamentation of the gables of temples. Since the time of Boutades artists who worked in clay have been called modellers. (*Lysistratos* of Sikyon, brother of the Lysippos whom I have mentioned in an earlier book, was however the first who obtained portraits by making a plaster mould on the actual features, and introduced the practice of taking from the plaster a wax cast on which he made the final corrections. He also first rendered likenesses with exactitude, for previous artists had only tried to make them as beautiful as possible.) The said Boutades discovered how to take casts from statues, a practice which was extended to such a degree that no figure or statue was made without a clay model. Hence it is clear that the art of clay modelling is older than that of bronze casting.

Most highly praised among modellers were †*Damophilos* and †*Gorgasos*; they were also painters, and united both arts in the decorations of the temple of Ceres at Rome near the Great

his author—have used an ambiguous expression, which might imply that there had been previous bronze statues, but made without a clay model, cf. Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 60. The use of clay models for marble statues seems to have been of altogether later date, cf. § 155.

antiquiorem: so in xxxiv, 35, *prior* (sc. *plasticæ*) *quam statuaria fuit*.

§ 154. 13. *Damophilus*: [although *Damophilos* is the Doric form of *Demophilos*, and both represent the same name, it is yet impossible to deduce from this fact the identity of the *Damophilus* mentioned here with the *Demophilus Himeraeus* who appears in § 61, the master of *Zeuxis*. *Himera* was an Ionic city, and it is out of the question that one of its citizens should ever have called himself by a Doric form of his name. Yet we cannot on the other hand doubt the form *Damophilus* given here by *Pliny*; for he evidently had it from an authority who was familiar with the actual in-

scription (*versibus inscriptis Graecæ*)

Thus if we get rid of the false assumption that this *Damophilus* could be identical with the master of *Zeuxis*, we get rid of all the far-fetched combinations necessary to reconcile the date of *D. of Himera* (whose pupil *Zeuxis* fl. about B.C. 404) with the date of the temple of *Ceres*, B.C. 493.—H. L. U.]. The difficulty of reconciling *Demophilus* and *Damophilus* has been perceived by *Freeman*, *Hist. of Sicily*, ii, p. 411: 'It is a little startling to hear that the master of *Zeuxis*, with his colleague *Gorgasos*, painted the Roman temple which was vowed by *Aulus Postumius*, victor at *Regillus*.' *Freeman*, however, inclines to a conciliation: 'Chronology may be appeased by the easy conjecture that the painting of the temple, and the Greek letters which recorded the names of the artists, came a generation or two later than the temple itself.'

14. *Cereris aedem*: note on xxxiv, 15, and the passage from *Vitruvius* quoted above under *fastigia*.

153
Lysistratos
of *Sikyon*
takes casts
from the
living face.

Boutades
makes clay
models for
statues.

154
Damophi-
los
and
Gorgasos
decorate
the Temple
of *Ceres*.

utroque genere artis suae excoluerant versibus inscriptis Graece quibus significarent ab dextra opera Damophili esse, ab laeva Gorgasi. ante hanc aedem Tuscanica omnia in aedibus fuisse auctor est Varro, et ex hac, cum reficeretur, crustas parietum excisas tabulis marginatis inclusas esse, 5
 155 item signa ex fastigiis dispersa. fecit et Chalcosthenes cruda opera Athenis, qui locus ab officina eius Ceramicos appellatur. M. Varro tradit sibi cognitum Romae Possim nomine, a quo facta poma et uvas alitem nescisse aspectu discernere a veris. idem magnificat Arcesilaum, L. Luculli 10
 156 ipsam quam aliorum opera; ab hoc factam Venerem Genetricem in foro Caesaris et prius quam absolueretur festinatione dedicandi positam, eidem a Lucullo HS. \overline{X} signum Felicitatis locatum, cui mors utriusque inviderit; Octavio 15

9. alitem nescisse] *Traube*; item piscis (pisces, *Bamb.*) *codd.*; item pisces non possis *Jan, Dellefsen.*

1. utroque genere artis: i.e. the decorations consisted of painted terracottas; fine examples (from T. of Jupiter Capitolinus?) exist at Rome in Pal. Conserv., Helbig, i, p. 447 f.

2. ab dextra . . . ab laeva: cf. the similar inscription, *Anth. Pal.* ix, 758: *Κίμων ἔγραψε τὴν θύραν τὴν δεξιάν, τὴν δ' ἐξιόντων δεξιάν Διονύσιος.*

4. cum reficeretur: after the fire of B.C. 31; restored by Augustus, B.C. 27, re-dedicated B.C. 17 (*Tac. Ann.* ii, 49).

5. crustas: for reliefs cf. xxxiii, 157, *crustarius.*

excisas: cf. Vitruv. ii, 8, 9, a typical instance of the care taken in the first century B.C. to preserve archaic works.

tabulis marginatis: below, § 173.

6. ex fastigiis: above, note on § 152.

* § 155. Chalcosthenes: more correctly *Kaïkosthenes*; see on xxxiv, 87. From a basis (*Δελτίον*, 1891, p. 25 f. and p. 84) found in the actual Kerameikos, we learn that K. was

of the deme Thria. Lolling (*loc. cit.*) dates the inscr. towards the close of the third century B.C.

7. cruda opera: these have been identified by Milchböfer (*Arch. Studien, H. Brunn dargebr.* 1893, p. 50 ff.) with the ἀγάλματα ἐκ πηλοῦ, representing Dionysos feasting in the house of Amphiktyon, which adorned a chapel—οἶκημα—of the god's τέμενος, in the Kerameikos (*Pans.* i, 2, 5); the monument was presumably the votive offering of a guild of Dionysiac artists. The Italian work of the Della Robbias may help us to a notion of what the group or relief looked like.

8. appellatur: the etymological attempt suggests Varronian authorship; cf. note on xxxiv, 11, on xxxvi, 14 (*lychniten*).

9. poma et uvas: cf. the excellent carvings of fruit, leaves and flowers on a relief of the Museod. Terme, Wickhoff, *Wiener Genesis*, p. 22, figs. 7, 8, 9, 10, and the beautiful garlands of fruit and flowers that adorned the *Ara Pacis* of Augustus.

alitem nescisse: cf., in con-

Circus, placing on it a metrical inscription in Greek to say that on the right hand were the works of Damophilos, on the left the works of Gorgasos. Varro tells us that in all earlier temples decorations in the Etruscan style only were to be found, and that when this temple was restored the ornamentation of the walls was cut out and framed, and the statues that crowned the roof were dispersed.

Chalkosthenes also modelled in unbaked clay in the Potter's Quarter at Athens, so called after his workshop. Marcus Varro says that at Rome a man named †*Possis* was known to him who made clay apples and grapes which the very birds could not distinguish from nature. He also praises †*Arkesilaos*, the friend of Lucius Lucullus, for whose clay models artists would pay more than was given for the finished works of others; he made the statue of Venus the Mother in the forum of Caesar, which was set up before it was really finished, so eager were his patrons to dedicate it. He also accepted a commission from Lucullus to make a statue of Good Fortune for 1,000,000 sesterces [£8750 circ.]. Death, however, cut them both off before the statue was completed. *Arkesilaos* also made a plaster model for a talent [£210 circ.] for a Roman knight named Octavius, who proposed

155
Chalko-
sthenes.
Possis.

Arkesilaos.
Value of
his clay
models.
156

firmation of Traube's reading, above, §§ 23, 65, 66.

10. *idem magnificat*: cf. in xxxvi, 41 *Arkesilaum quoque magnificat Varro*, hence the identity of authorship for both passages.

Arkesilaum: for his marble works see xxxvi, 33, 41; his *Venus Genetrix* and his *Felicitas* are mentioned here because they apparently remained at the stage of clay models.

L. *Luculli familiarem*: *Urlichs (Arkesilaos, p. 4)* suggests that Lucullus brought back *Arkesilaos* with him from Athens when he visited that city in B. C. 88-7, cf. above, § 125.

11. *proplasmata*: see the excellent remarks of Wickhoff, *Wiener Genesis*, p. 25 f. and p. 41, on the extensive use of the clay model in the first century B. C., and its influence on the technique of marble; cf. above, on § 153.

§ 156. 12. *Venerem Genetricem*: from the Roman coins which most

probably reproduce the statue, it appears that the *Genetrix* of *Arkesilaos* was adapted from a Greek statuary type which recent criticism has traced back to the 'Aphrodite in the gardens' of Alkamenes (note on xxxvi, 16); cf. Furtwängler, *op. Roscher* i, p. 413.

14. *signum Felicitatis*: the temple of *Felicitas* had been built by C. Licinius Lucullus, xxxiv, 69; xxxvi, 39.

15. *mors utriusque*: Marcus Lucullus died B. C. 58, and his brother only survived him a short time (*Plut. Luc. xliii*); hence since *Arkesilaos* was still at work for Caesar in B. C. 46 (below), we must either imagine that he left an order of his patron unattended to for fifteen years, or follow *Urlichs (op. cit. p. 5)*, in supposing that it is the young Lucullus (*clarissimus adolescens*, *Cic. Phil. x, 48*), whose death (at Philippi in B. C. 42) is alluded to here. From

equiti Romano cratera facere volenti exemplar e gypso factum talento. laudat et Pasitelen qui plasticen matrem caelaturae et statuariae sculpturaeque dixit et, cum esset in omnibus his summus, nihil umquam fecit antequam finxit. 157 praeterea elaboratam hanc artem Italiae et maxime Etruriae, Vulcam Veis accitum cui locaret Tarquinius Priscus Iovis effigiem Capitolio dicendam, fictilem eum fuisse et ideo miniari solitum, fictiles in fastigio templi eius quadrigas, de quibus saepe diximus, ab hoc eodem factum Herculem qui hodieque materiae nomen in urbe retinet. hae enim 10 tum effigies deorum erant lautissimae, nec poenitet nos illorum qui tales deos coluere, aurum enim et argentum ne 158 diis quidem conficiebant. durant etiamnum plerisque in locis talia simulacra. fastigia quidem templorum etiam in urbe crebra et municipiis, mira caelatura et arte suique 15 firmitate, sanctiora auro, certe innocentiora.

xxxiv, 93 (where see note) we learn that he rededicated a statue of Herakles originally set up by his father; it is therefore not surprising to find him commissioning Arkesilaos, an old friend of his family, with a statue for the temple built by his grandfather.

Octavio equiti: according to Ulrichs, *Arkesilaos*, p. 17, perhaps identical with the upstart (*terrae filius*) who pestered Cicero with invitations to dinner, *Cic. Fam.* vii, 9, 16.

2. Pasitelen: xxxiii, 156; xxxvi, 40.

3. sculpturae: here = *sculptura* [so also Plin. the Y. *Ep.* i, 10, has *sculptor* for *sculptor*.—H. L. U.]; the term is generally used of the graver's art, as an equivalent of the Greek *γλυπτική*.

§ 157. 5. maxime Etruriae: the remark is fully confirmed by the splendid remains of large terra-cotta figures, discovered in Italy; cf. especially the pedimental figures from

the temple at Luni, Milani, *Mus. d. Ant. Classica*, i, 1884, pp. 89–112; where see further literature.

7. Iovis effigiem . . . fictilem: cf. *Juv.* xi, 115 *fictilis et nullo violatus Iupiter auro*. From Servius' (on *Eclog.* x, 27) description of the Roman *triumphatores*, who were adorned *Iovis optimi maximi ornatu* we learn that the god was represented standing with the thunderbolt in his right (cf. *Ovid Fast.* i, 202 *inque Iovis dextra fictile fulmen erat*) and the sceptre in his left. This ancient image was destroyed B. C. 83, in the fire which laid the temple in ashes. It was replaced by a gold-ivory Jupiter—the work of an Apollonian—after the model of the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias (cf. *Chalcidius* on Plato's *Timaios*, 338 C, p. 361, ed. Wrobel, and Loewy on *I. G. B.* 343, p. 242).

Capitolio: note on xxxiv, 38.

8. miniari solitum: *enumerat auctores Verrius quibus credere ne-*

to have a goblet cast from it. Varro further praises *Pasiteles*, *Pasiteles*. who said that modelling was the mother of chasing, statuary and *He pro- nounces upon the sculpture, and who, though he excelled in all these arts, never executed any work without first making a clay model.* The art of modelling, again, according to Varro, was developed in Italy, ¹⁵⁷ *value of the clay model.* and more especially in Etruria, and Tarquin the Ancient summoned an artist called †Vulca from Veii to make a statue of Jupiter for the Capitol. This statue was of clay and was therefore painted red; the four-horse chariots on the gables of the temple, which I have mentioned so often, were also of clay. Vulca further made the Hercules still known at Rome as ‘the clay Hercules.’ These were the most magnificent statues known in those days, and we have no reason to be ashamed of the men who worshipped deities of clay, and would not, even for their gods, change gold and silver into images. Effigies of clay still exist in different ¹⁵⁸ places, while gable ornaments in clay are still to be seen even at Rome as well as in provincial towns. The admirable execution of these figures, their artistic merits and their durability make them more worthy of honour than gold, and they are at any rate *Beauty and simplicity of the ancient clay images.* more innocent.

cesse sit Iovis ipsius simulacri faciem diebus festis minio inlini solitam . . . Plin. xxxiii, 111; see also Servius on *Ecl.* vi, 62; x, 27; cf. in Greece the painting with white, at her festival, of the image of Athena Skirrophoria.

fictiles . . . quadrigas: also the work of Veientine artists, Plut. *Poplic.* xiii ἄρμα κατὰ κορυφήν (sc. νεῶ τοῦ Καπ. Δι.) ἐπιστήσαι κεραμεοῦν ἐξέδωκε (sc. ὁ Ταρκούνιος) Τυρρηνοῖς τισιν ἐξ Οὐτήων δημιουργοῖς. These are the chariots whose miraculous swelling in the potter's furnace was interpreted as an omen of the future greatness of Rome (Plin. xxviii, 16 *cum in fastigium eiusdem delubri* (Jup. Cap.) *præparatae quadrigae fictiles in fornace creviscent*). These chariots were replaced in B. C. 296 by a *Iovem in culmine cum quadrigis*, apparently of bronze (Liv. x, 23, 12). The roof of the temple of the Tarquins

was richly adorned with painted decorations; cf. Cic. *de Div.* i, 10, 16; Liv. *per.* 14; and see note on § 154 for possible remains of these decorations.

9. *saepe diximus*: viii, 161; xxviii, 16.

Herculem: often identified (but on the very slightest grounds) with the *Hercules fictilis* of Martial xiv, 178.

10. *hae enim tum effigies*: this rhetorical tribute to the simplicity of the ancient Roman images was as old as —Cato, or as Cato reported by Livy (xxxiv, 4, 4) *infesta, mihi credite, signa ab Syracusis illata sunt huic urbi. iam nimis multos audio Corinthi et Athenarum ornamenta laudantiis mirantisque et antefixa fictilia deorum Romanorum ridentis. ego hos malo propitios deos et ita spero futuros, si in suis manere sedibus patiemur.*

C. PLINII SECUNDI
NATURALIS HISTORIAE

LIBER XXXVI, §§ 9-44

(*SCULPTURA*)

SCULPTURA.

LIB.
XXXVI.

9 MARMORE scalpendo primi omnium inclaruerunt Dipoenus et Scyllis geniti in Creta insula etiamnum Medis imperantibus priusque quam Cyrus in Persis regnare inciperet, hoc est olympiade circiter quinquagensima. hi Sicyonem se contulere, quae diu fuit officinarum omnium talium patria. 5 deorum simulacra publice locaverant iis Sicyoni, quae prius quam absolverentur artifices iniuriam questi abiere in 10 Aetolos. protinus Sicyonem fames invasit ac sterilitas maerorque dirus. remedium petentibus Apollo Pythius respondit: si Dipoenus et Scyllis deorum simulacra per- 10 fecissent, quod magnis mercedibus obsequisque impetratum

5. talium] metallum omnes praeter Bamb.

§ 9. 1. Marmore scalpendo: with the exception of the *ἀγαλμα* of the Lindian Athena *ἐκ λίθου σμαράγδου*, mentioned on the doubtful authority of George Kedrenos (Overbeck, *Schriftqu.* 327; cf. Brunn, *K. G.* i, p. 44), Dip. and Skyllis seem only to have made wooden images, Pans. ii, 15, 1; 22, 5; Clement of Alex. *προτρεπτ. λόγ.* iv, p. 42; the gilt bronze images mentioned by Moses of Chorene (*Schriftqu.* 326) were more probably of gilt wood. It is evident that in the original Greek authority (Xenokrates from the character of the passage and the stress laid on Sikyon; see Introd. p. xxv) these artists had been discussed in connexion with the beginnings of bronze statuary; Münzer, *Hermes*, xxx, 1895, p. 523; cf. Robert, *Arch. Mäarch.* p. 22.

2. geniti in Creta: contains a trace of the legend preserved in Paus. ii, 15, 1, that they were the sons of the Athenian Daidalos and a woman of Gortyn. By representing artists born in Crete as active in Sikyon, a similar compromise between the rival claims of ancient art centres is effected to that noted in the case of Boutades, xxxv, 151; cf. Münzer, *loc. cit.*

Medis imperantibus; the Armenian historian Moses of Chorene recounts that Ardashir (= Kyros) took away from Kroisos three statues of Artemis, Herakles and Apollo by Dipoinos and Skyllis. The date assigned to the artists seems calculated with reference to this event as follows: Kyros could take away works by D. and S. at the time of his

SCULPTURE IN MARBLE.

BOOK
XXXVI.

As sculptors in marble, the first to win fame were *Dipoinos* and *Skyllis*, born before the fall of the Median empire, and before Cyrus began to reign in Persia, that is about the fiftieth Olympiad [580-577 B.C.], in the island of Crete. They migrated to Sikyon, which was long the home of all such crafts. The state of Sikyon gave them a commission for certain images of the gods, but before these were completed the artists, aggrieved at the treatment they met with, departed into Aitolia. Sikyon soon afterwards was visited by famine, failure of the crops and dire affliction. The inhabitants sought relief from the Pythian Apollo, and received the answer that the evil would cease when Dipoinos and Skyllis should complete their statues of the gods, a concession which was hardly won from them by money and by personal defer-

9
First be-
ginnings of
sculpture.

10

conquest of Kroisos (B. C. 546), therefore the artists must have been of repute even before the accession of Kyros (B. C. 556), Robert, *op. cit.* p. 18 f.

4. *circiter*: cf. xxxiv, 49: *circiter CCC urbis nostrae annum.*

Sicyonem . . . *patria*: cf. xxxv, 127 *diuque* (Sikyon) *illa fuit patria picturae.*

6. *prius quam absolv.*: the following anecdote, whose artificial character is obvious, has been shown by Petersen, *de Cerere Phigalensi*, p. 13 ff., to be a mere adaptation of the local myth recorded Pans. ii, 7, 7.

7. *iniuriam questi*: *γενομένου δέ σφισι* (Apollo and Artemis) *δείματος . . . οί μὲν ἐς Κρήτην . . . ἀπε- τράποντο*, Paus. *loc. cit.*

in Aetolos: named by the legend as the artists' place of refuge because there existed in that region works by D. and S., i. e. at Ambrakia (§ 14), which, though not in Aitolia, was towards the close of the third century the most prominent city of the Aitolian league. A Greek writer of that date (Antigonos? cf. *Introd.* p. xxxvii) might say indifferently *εἰς Ἀμβρακίαν* or *εἰς Αἰτωλοῦς*; Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 524.

§ 10. 8. *protinus . . . dirus*: *τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους . . . νόσος ἐπέλαβεν*, Paus. *loc. cit.*

9. *remedium . . . impetratum est*: *καὶ σφᾶς ἐκέλευον οἱ μάντιες Ἀπόλλωνα ἰλάσασθαι καὶ Ἄρτεμιν . . . ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ πεισθέντας τοὺς θεοὺς φασιν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔλθεῖν.*

est. fuere autem simulacra ea Apollinis, Dianae, Herculis, Minervae quod e caelo postea tactum est.

- 11 Cum hi essent, iam fuerat in Chio insula Melas sculptor, dein filius eius Micciades, ac deinde nepos Archermus, cuius filii Bupalus et Athenis vel clarissimi in ea scientia fuere 5 Hipponactis poetae aetate, quem certum est LX olympiade fuisse. quodsi quis horum familiam ad proavom usque retro agat, inveniatur artis eius originem cum olympiadum 12 initio coepisse. Hipponacti notabilis foeditas voltus erat, quamobrem imaginem eius lascivia iocorum hi proposuere 10 ridentium circulis, quod Hipponax indignatus destrinxit amaritudinem carminum in tantum ut credatur aliquis ad laqueum eos conpulisse. quod falsum est, conplura enim in finitimis insulis simulacra postea fecere, sicut in Delo, quibus subiecerunt carmen non vitibus tantum censi 15 Chion sed et operibus Archermi filiorum. ostendunt et 13 Iasii Dianam manibus eorum factam. in ipsa Chio narrata est operis eorum Dianae facies in sublimi posita, cuius voltum intrantes tristem, abeuntes exhilaratum putant. Romae eorum signa sunt in Palatina aede Apollinis in 20

17. Iasii] *Riccard.*; Lasii *Bamb., Detlefsen*; lasi *Voss.*

1. Apollinis . . . Minervae: the list is alphabetical; the statues therefore were no part of a group but single works, H. L. Urlichs in *Görlitz. Verhandl.* p. 330, note 2.

Dianae: possibly identical with the *ξόανον* of Artemis Munychia mentioned by Clement, *προτροπικ. λόγος*, iv, p. 42; cf. Urlichs *loc. cit.*; Robert, *Arch. Märch.* p. 22.

§ 11. 3. Cum hi essent: to the account of D. and S. is now opposed (from another source) that of the Chian school. *Introductio* p. xxvi.

Melas . . . Micciades . . . Archermus: the three names appear on the famous inscription from Delos (*J. G. B.* 1; best restored by Lolling, *Ἐφ. ἀρχ.* 1888, p. 71 ff.; cf. E. A. Gardner in *Class. Rev.* 1893, p. 140), where *Ἀρχερμος* (2nd line) appears as son of *Μικκιάδης* (1st line). The

Melas (*Μέ[λ]α[ν]ος παρπαίων ἀσ[τυ]νέμωνρες*) of the third line is presumably not the father of Mikkiades, but, as Schöll and Robert pointed out (*Arch. Märch.* p. 116 f.), a local hero of Chios, son of Oinopion; *Ion ap.* Paus. vii, 4, 8. The account in Pliny rests upon this or a similar inscription; the blunder with regard to Melas may have been committed early by a Greek writer; cf. note on Demarate in xxxiv, 88.

sculptor = *sculptor*; cf. note on xxxv, 156.

4. Archermus: besides the Delos inscription, the name occurs on a later inscr., in the Ionic alphabet, from the Athenian Akropolis, C. I. A. iv, 373, 95.

5. Bupalus et Ath.: the fact that they were sons of Archermos was doubtless also taken from an inscription; Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 524.

ence. The statues in question were of Apollo, Artemis, Herakles, and Athene: this last was afterwards struck by lightning.

Before their day, however, the sculptor *Melas* had already lived ¹¹ in the island of Chios, succeeded by his son *Mikkiades* and his grandson *Archermos*, whose sons, *Boupalos* and *Athenis*, were masters of great renown in their craft in the time of the poet Hipponax, who certainly lived in the sixtieth Olympiad [540–537 B.C.]. Thus counting four generations backwards to their great grandfather, the birth of sculpture is found to coincide with the first Olympiad [776–773 B.C.]. Hipponax was conspicuous for ¹² his ill-favoured countenance, which incited the sculptors in wanton jest to display his portrait to the ridicule of their assembled friends. Incensed at this Hipponax lampooned them so bitterly that, as some believe, they were driven to hang themselves. This, however, cannot be true, for they afterwards made in the neighbouring islands, as for example, in Delos, a number of images of the gods, under which they carved verses saying that Chios was not honoured for her vines alone but for the works of the sons of Archermos. Iasos too can show an Artemis made by their hands, ¹³ while in Chios itself we hear of a mask of Artemis by them, which is placed at a height in the temple, and presents a gloomy countenance to those who enter the temple, a cheerful one to those who are leaving. At Rome statues by them are to be seen on the summit of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, and

6. LX olympiade: the Parian Chronicle gives his date as Ol. 59, 3 = B. C. 542.

8. olymp. initio: the calculation is based on the false assumption that a generation = the average full life of sixty years; cf. Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 17.

§ 12. 9. notabilis foeditas: cf. Metrodoros of Skepsis, *ap. Athen.* xii, 552 c. The only ascertained factor in the whole anecdote is the poet's attacks (*acer hostis Bupalos*) upon the two artists (Bergk, *Lyr. Gr.* ed. 4, fr. 10–14; Collignon, *Hist. Sculpt.* i, p. 141); it is probable that when the real cause for these attacks had been forgotten, a new one was elaborated out of the statues of Boupalos and Athenis, the archaic character of which struck later generations as simply grotesque; cf. Robert, *Arch.*

Mürch. p. 115 f.

12. ad laqueum: this portion of the story is the *doublette* of the story of Lycambes and Archilochos. The *credatur aliquis* introduces it as apocryphal, while in the following sentence it is proved an invention.

14. in Delo: like their father Archermos.

17. Iasii: in the neighbourhood of Chios. The words *ostendunt . . . putant* betray mere periegetic curiosity (Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 61); they are from a different source to the earlier part of the account, which is based upon a study of inscriptions. Since Mucianus visited Iasos (ix, 33) it is reasonable to attribute this information to him; *Introd.* p. lxxxix.

§ 13. 20. in Palatina aede: xxxiv, 14.

fastigio et omnibus fere quae fecit divus Augustus. patris quoque eorum et Deli fuere opera et in Lesbo insula.

14 Dipoeni quidem Ambracia, Argos, Cleonae operibus refertae fuere. omnes autem candido tantum marmore usi sunt e Paro insula, quem lapidem coepere lychniten appellare, quoniam ad lucernas in cuniculis caederetur, ut auctor est Varro, multis postea candidioribus repertis, nuper vero etiam in Lunensium lapidicinis. sed in Pariorum mirabile proditur glaeba lapidis unius cuneis dividendum soluta

15 imaginem Sileni intus extitisse. non omittendum hanc artem tanto vetustiore fuisse quam picturam aut statuariam, quarum utraque cum Phidia coepit octogensima tertia olympiade, post annos circiter CCCXXXII. et ipsum Phidian tradunt scalpsisse marmora, Veneremque eius esse

16 Romae in Octaviae operibus eximiae pulchritudinis. Alcamenen Atheniensem, quod certum est, docuit in primis nobilem, cuius sunt opera Athenis complura in aedibus sacris praeclarumque Veneris extra muros quae appellatur Aphrodite ἐν κήποις. huic summam manum ipse Phidias

in fastigio: i. e. the *signa* were akroterial figures (see note on xxxv, 152), the pedimental and other decorations also consisting of archaic sculpture; cf. the archaic Amazon published by Petersen, *Röm. Mitth.* iv, 1889, p. 36 f.

1. et omnibus fere: rhetorical exaggeration: cf. the *ex omnibus clarissima quaeque* in xxxiv, 84, H. L. Ulrichs, *Rhein. Mus.* 1889, p. 487.

§ 14. 3. Dipoeni: harks back to § 10.

Ambracia: see note on *Aetolos* in § 9; the foundation of Ambrakia by Gorgos son of Kypselos (Strab. x, 452) affords us an upper limit for the activity of D. and S. in that city. The Ambrakiot works of art were taken away to Rome by Fulvius Nobilior, B. C. 189.

Argos: for which D. and S. made of ebony wood a group of the Dioskouroi and their families; Paus. ii, 22, 5.

Cleonae: for which they made the image of Athena; Paus. ii, 15, 1.

refertae: rhetorical: cf. in xxxv, 148 *quorum tabulae pinacothecae implent.*

4. omnes autem: i. e. the Chian sculptors as well.

5. lychniten: the etymology is thoroughly Varronian, cf. notes on xxxiv, 11; xxxv, 155; according to Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien*, p. 45, it rests on fact: the marble came from the underground quarries about five miles N. E. of the ancient city of Paros; Lepsius noticed here a number of holes cut obliquely into the walls of the rock, the purpose of which he believes was to suspend the workmen's lamps by their hooked handles.

10. imaginem Sileni: cf. the similar story, Cic. *Div.* i, 13, 23: *fingebat Carneades in Chiorum lapidicinis saxo diffuso caput extitisse Panisci.*

indeed in almost all the temples built by the god Augustus. Works by their father Archermos existed at Delos and in the island of Lesbos. Ambrakia, Argos, and Kleonai were filled full 14 of the works of Dipoinos. All these artists used none but white Parian marble, called *lychnites* [λυχνίτης], as Varro says, because it was quarried by lamplight in underground passages. Since *Marble of Paros.* then many marbles of a purer white have been discovered, and again quite recently in the quarries of Luna. A marvellous story tells how in the quarries of Paros a block which was being split with wedges, opened and disclosed a figure of Seilenos.

Nor must I forget to say that the art of sculpture is much 15 older than that of painting or of bronze statuary, both of which began with Pheidias in the eighty-third olympiad [448-445 B. C.], *Sculpture older than painting and bronze statuary.* some 332 years later. It is said that *Pheidias* also worked in marble, and that an Aphrodite by him of surpassing beauty is at Rome in the gallery of Octavia. It is certain at all events that he taught *Alkamenes* of Athens, a sculptor of the first rank, many of whose works are in the temples of Athens, while outside the city is his famous statue, known as 'Aphrodite ἐν κήποις,' 16. *Alkamenes.* or 'in the gardens.' Pheidias himself, according to tradition,

§ 15. *hanc artem*: sc. *sculpturam* by implication, although the kind of art has not been previously mentioned; cf. notes on xxxiv, 56 (*hanc scientiam*); xxxv, 153 (*hanc scientiam*).

12. *quarum utraque*: xxxiv, 49; xxxv, 54; as regards painting Pliny forgets that he had himself argued that its beginnings were still earlier than Pheidias. *Introd. p. xxx.*

14. *tradunt*: [tradition as opposed to real fact, i. e. whether he was a sculptor in marble or not, it is certain (*quod certum est*) that he taught Alkamenes. So in xxxv, 54, *tradatur* is opposed to *in confesso sit*; in xvii, 49, *sunt qui . . . adspargant. quod certum est . . . sol confert*, H. L. U.]

scalpsisse marmora: Pliny's Greek authors had laid chief stress on the bronze works of Pheidias, xxxiv, 54; that he must have been equally celebrated for his works in marble is evident from the sculptures of the

Parthenon and the whole tendencies of his school, and from the express testimony of Aristotle, *Eth. Nicom.* vi, 7: *τὴν δὲ σοφίαν ἐν τε ταῖς τέχναις τοῖς ἀκριβεστάτοις τὰς τέχνας ἀποδίδομεν, οἷον Φειδίαν λιθουργὸν σοφὸν καὶ Πολύκλειτον ἀνδριαντοποιόν, ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο σημαίνοντες τὴν σοφίαν, ἢ ὅτι ἀρετὴ τέχνης ἐστίν.*

15. *Octaviae operibus*: cf. § 35, where another Aphrodite (*aliam Venerem*) by Philiskos is mentioned as being in the same gallery.

§ 16. *Alkamenes*: xxxiv, 49 and 72. The only dateable work by Alkamenes is his group of Athena and Herakles, dedicated in the Herakleion at Thebes after the downfall of the Thirty Tyrants in 403 B. C. (Paus. ix, 11, 6). Pliny's account of Alkamenes and Agorakritos seems borrowed from Antigonos, *Introd. p. xlii.*

17. *Athenis*: see note on xxxiv, 49, *Olymp.* lxxxiii.

19. *ἐν κήποις*: on the Ilissos, Paus.

- 17 inposuisse dicitur. eiusdem discipulus fuit Agoracritus Parius et aetate gratus, itaque e suis operibus pleraque nomini eius donasse fertur. certavere autem inter se ambo discipuli Venere facienda, vicitque Alcamenes non opere sed civitatis suffragiis contra peregrinum suo faventis. 5 quare Agoracritus ea lege signum suum vendidisse traditur, ne Athenis esset, et appellasse Nemesin. id positum est Rhamnunte pago Atticae, quod M. Varro omnibus signis praetulit. est et in Matris magnae delubro eadem civitate
- 18 Agoracriti opus. Phidian clarissimum esse per omnes gentes 10 quae Iovis Olympii famam intellegunt nemo dubitat, sed ut laudari merito sciant etiam qui opera eius non videre, proferemus argumenta parva et ingeni tantum. neque ad hoc Iovis Olympii pulchritudine utemur, non Minervae Athenis factae amplitudine, cum sit ea cubitorum XXVI,—ebore haec 15 et auro constat—sed in scuto eius Amazonum proelium caelavit intumescente ambitu, in parmae eiusdem concava parte deorum et Gigantum dimicationes, in soleis vero Lapitharum et Centaurorum, adeo momenta omnia capacia

i. 19, 2. According to a generally accepted theory of Furtwängler, the Alkamenian statue is reproduced in the statues of the 'Venus Genitrix' type (Louvre, Girandon, 1175; Florence Alinari, 1331).

huic summam manum: the words almost imply that the same reproach attached to Alkamenes as to Agorakritos, namely, that Pheidias allowed his own work to pass off as his pupil's, cf. Pallat in *Jahrb.* ix, 1894, p. 14.

§ 17. 1. Agoracritus: Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 829-843.

3. nomini . . . donasse: the scandal recorded here without special allusion to any one work was used by Polemon (*ap.* Zenobios v, 82) as an argument wherewith to vindicate for Pheidias the authorship of the Agorakritan Nemesis. *Introd.* p. xxxix.

certavere: cf. the story of the competition between Pheidias and

Alkamenes recorded by John Tzetzes, *χιλιάδες*, 931.

7. Nemesin: Wilamowitz (*Antigonos v. Karystos*, p. 11) points out that the story of the Nemesis having been intended for an Aphrodite originated in the fact that the Rhamnusia Nemesis differed from the type usual at a later date. Cf. Paus. i, 33, 7: Πτερὰ δ' ἔχον οὔτε τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαλμα Νεμέσεως οὔτε ἄλλο πεποιήται τῶν ἀρχαίων . . . οἱ δὲ ὕστερον, ἐπιφαίνεσθαι γὰρ τὴν θεὸν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρῳ ἐθέλουσιν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ Νεμέσει πτερὰ ὥσπερ Ἔρωτι ποιοῦσι; cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv, 11, 25-26 (ed. Gardthausen, p. 42), and Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget*, p. 206.

8. Rhamnunte: a fragment of the colossal head of the Nemesis was discovered here, and is now in the Brit. Mus. (*Cat. Sculpt.* i, 460). Numerous fragments of the basis (Leda bringing Helen to Nemesis, Paus. *loc. cit.*) were recovered in 1890, and are

put the last touches to this work. He also taught *Agorakritos* of Paros, whom he so loved for his youthful grace, that he allowed several of his own works to pass under his name. The two pupils made statues of Aphrodite for a competition, and Alkamenes received the prize, not from the merit of his work, but because the Athenians voted for their fellow-citizen against a foreigner. The story runs that Agorakritos thereupon sold his statue, imposing the condition that it should not be set up at Athens, and called it Nemesis. It now stands in Rhamnous, a deme of Attica, and Marcus Varro esteems it above all other statues. There is another statue by Agorakritos in the same city, in the shrine of the Great Mother.

The renown of Pheidias among all peoples who realize the glory of his Olympian Zeus cannot be brought in doubt; yet so that even those who have not seen his works may know that his praises are well deserved, I shall cite those minute details in which it was only left to him to display the resources of his inventive faculty. For this purpose I shall not appeal to the beauty of his Olympian Zeus, nor to the size of his Athena at Athens, though she is 26 cubits [37 ft. 10 in.] in height, made all of gold and ivory; but I shall instance her shield, on the convex face of which he represented the battle of the Amazons, and on the concave surface the conflict between the gods and giants, while on the side of her sandals were the Lapithai and the Kentauri. So true was it that in his eyes every tiny space afforded a field for art. The

17
Agorakritos.

18
Pheidias.
His inventive genius in details.

published, *Jahrb.* ix, 1894, pl. 1-7, pp. 1-22 (Pallat). Pausanias, who is never curious in the matter of ascriptions, simply attributes the work to Pheidias, as he likewise did the 'Mother of the Gods' by Agorakritos, and the Athena by Kolotes (see note on xxxv, 54).

9. *Matris magnae del.*: Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερὸν, Paus. i, 3, 5, where the statue is erroneously ascribed to Pheidias himself. For the type of the goddess see the fine relief of undoubted Pheidian style, *A. Z.* 38, 1880, pl. i; Roscher, ii, p. 1663, fig. 5. Addenda.

§ 18. 11. *Iovis Olympii*: xxxiv, 49; 54; full description of the statue in Paus. v, 10, 2: beneath the feet of Zeus was the artist's inscription, Φειδίας Καρμίδου υἱὸς Ἀθηναῖός μ' ἐποίησε: the

numerous references in other authors coll. by Overb. *Schriftquell.* 692-754.

14. *Minervae*: xxxiv, 54; Paus. i, 24, 5; Overbeck, 645-696; a rough Roman copy in the statuette from the Varvakeion (Athens, Central Mus.; cast in Br. Mus., *Cat. Sculpt.* i, 300; cf. 301).

16. *scuto*: a small late copy is preserved in the 'Strangford' shield, Brit. Mus. *Cat. Sculpt.* i, 302; for the latest discussion of the style of the reliefs and of the supposed portraits of Pheidias and Perikles, see Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 48.

18. *soleis*: cf. in the Mus. Conserv. at Rome the colossal foot wearing a sandal adorned along the edge with a train of Tritons (Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 596).

19 artis illi fuere. in basi autem quod caelatum est Pandoras
 genesin appellant: dii adsunt nascenti XX numero. Victoria
 praecipue mirabili periti mirantur et serpentem ac sub ipsa
 cuspede aeream sphingem. haec sint obiter dicta de artifice
 numquam satis laudato, simul ut noscatur illam magnifi- 5
 20 centiam aequalem fuisse et in parvis. Praxitelis aetatem
 inter statuarios diximus, qui marmoris gloria superavit
 etiam semet. opera eius sunt Athenis in Ceramico, sed
 ante omnia est non solum Praxitelis verum in toto orbe
 terrarum Venus quam ut viderent multi navigaverunt 10
 Cnidum. duas fecerat simulque vendebat, alteram velata
 specie, quam ob id praetulerunt quorum condicio erat Coi,
 cum eodem pretio detulisset, severum id ac pudicum arbi-
 trantes. reiectam Cnidi emerunt immensa differentia fama.
 21 voluit eam a Cnidiis postea mercari rex Nicomedes, totum 15
 aes alienum quod erat ingens civitatis dissoluturum se pro-
 mittens. omnia perpeti maluere, nec inmerito, illo enim
 signo Praxiteles nobilitavit Cnidum. aedicula eius tota
 aperitur ut conspici possit undique effigies dea favente ipsa,

1. caelatum est—Pandoras genesin appellant—dii *Gerhard, Detlefsen*.
 2. adsunt nascenti] *Urlichs in Chrest.*; sunt nascentis *Riccard.*; sunt nascentes
reliqui; sunt adstantes *Detlefsen*. 3. ac] *post verbum aeream pos. Panofka,*
Detlefsen. 4. aeream] *Bamb., reliqui*; aureum *Urlichs, Detlefsen*.

§ 19. 1. *Pandoras genesin*: Paus.
 i, 24, 7: from the hesitating manner
 in which the statement is introduced
 by *appellant*, it appears that either
 Pliny or his Latin author had not
 thoroughly grasped the meaning of
 the Greek; cf. Jahn, *Kunsturtheile*,
 p. 127.

2. *dii adsunt*: the composition
 is preserved on the basis of the Perga-
 mene copy of the Athena Parthenos,
Jahrb. v, 1890, p. 114, fig. 9.

Victoria: καὶ Νίκην ὅσον τε
 τεσσάρων πηχῶν . . . ἔχει. Paus. *loc.*
cit.

3. *ac sub ipsa . . . sphingem*:
 the reading adopted by *Detlefsen*
 brings Pliny into agreement with
 Pausanias (καὶ πλησίον τοῦ δόρατος
 δράκων ἐστίν), but does intolerable
 violence to the MSS. (cf. *Gurlitt*,

Pausanias, p. 98). We have there-
 fore retained the MSS. reading, which
 can be construed though the sense is
 not absolutely clear. The confusion,
 however, is more likely due to Pliny's
 hurrying over details, than to the
 copyists. *Sub ipsa* I take to mean
 'about on a level with'; *aeream* is
 evidently correct, for had the sphinx—
 according to Pliny—been of gold, like
 the rest of the statue, there would
 have been no need to mention its
 material.

§ 20. 7. *diximus*: xxxiv, 69–70.

8. in *Ceramico*: refers to grave
 statues by Praxiteles in the Athenian
 cemetery. Pausanias (i, 2, 3) mentions
 a grave ἐπίθημα ἔχων στρατιώτην
 ἵππῳ παρεστηκῶτα: ὄντινα μὲν οὐκ οἶδα,
 Πραξιτέλης δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὸν
 στρατιώτην ἐποίησεν (notes on xxxiv,

relief on the base is known as the *γένεσις* of Pandora; the 19 gods present at the birth are twenty in number. The Victory is most wondrous, but connoisseurs admire also the serpent and further the bronze sphinx beneath the spear of the goddess. Let these passing remarks on a sculptor whose praises can never end, serve at the same time to show that even in the smallest details the opulence of his genius never fell short.

Praxiteles, whose date I gave among the bronze workers, outdid 20 even himself by the fame of his works in marble. Statues by his hand exist at Athens in the Kerameikos, while famous not only among the works of Praxiteles, but throughout the whole world, is the Aphrodite which multitudes have sailed to Knidos to look *Aphrodite of Knidos.* upon. He had offered two statues of Aphrodite for sale at the same time, the second being a draped figure, which for that reason was preferred by the people of Kos with whom lay the first choice; the price of the two figures was the same, but they flattered themselves they were giving proof of a severe modesty. The rejected statue, which was bought by the people of Knidos, enjoys an immeasurably greater reputation. King Nikomedes 21 subsequently wished to buy it from them, offering to discharge the whole of their public debt, which was enormous. They, however, preferred to suffer the worst that could befall, and they showed their wisdom, for by this statue Praxiteles made Knidos illustrious. It stands in a small shrine, open all round so that

70, 71, and on the *expir. imagines* of Apelles in xxxv, 90). For the Plinian phrase, cf. Cicero, *de Leg.* ii, 26, 64: *amplitudines sepulcrorum, quas in Ceramico videmus*; Wolters, *Athen. Mitth.* xviii, 1893, p. 5 f. and note 1.

10. Venus . . . Cnidum: the statue is represented on coins of Knidos, Gardner, *Types*, xv, 21; for a revised list of the marble copies, see Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 322, note 3; the best known is in the Vatican, Helbig 316 (good cast without drapery in South Kensington Museum). The notices in ancient writers coll. by Overbeck, *Schriftquell.* 1227-1248. The information as to the Knidian Aphrodite is from Mucianus. *Introd.* p. lxxxvii.

11. *velata specie*: this second Aphrodite is still to seek; for a possible echo of the work, see Furtwängler, *op. cit.* p. 322 f.

§ 21. 15. *voluit . . . mercari*: at the close of the first Mithridatic war, B. C. 84, when Nikomedes III (King of Bithynia B. C. 90-74), who had been expelled from his kingdom by Mithridates, was reinstated by the Romans.

16. *aes alienum*: for the heavy contributions exacted by Sulla from the Greek states of Asia Minor, cf. Appian, *Μιθριδ.* 63.

18. *aedicula*: for a detailed description of the statue and its shrine, cf. Lucian, *Ἐρωτες*, 13.

19. *dea favente ipsa*: in allusion to the legend that the goddess herself

ut creditur, facta. nec minor ex quacumque parte admiratio est. ferunt amore captum quendam, cum delituisset noctu, simulacro cohaesisse, eiusque cupiditatis esse indicem maculam. sunt in Cnido et alia signa marmorea inlustrum artificum, Liber pater Bryaxidis et alter Scopae et Minerva, nec maius aliud Veneris Praxiteliae specimen quam quod inter haec sola memoratur. eiusdem est et Cupido obiectus a Cicerone Verri, ille propter quem Thespieae visebantur, nunc in Octaviae scholis positus, eiusdem et alter nudus in Pario colonia Propontidis, par Veneri Cnidiae nobilitate et iniuria, adamavit enim Alcetas Rhodius atque in eo quoque simile amoris vestigium reliquit. Romae Praxitelis opera sunt Flora, Triptolemus, Ceres in hortis Servilianis, Boni Eventus et Bonae Fortunae simulacra in Capitolio, item Maenades et quas Thyiadas vocant et Caryatidas, et Sileni in Pollionis Asini monumentis, et Apollo et Neptunus. Praxitelis filius Cephisodotus et artis heres fuit. cuius laudatum est Pergami symplegma nobile digitis corpori

served the artist as model. Clement of Alexandria, *πρωτρεπτ. λόγος* 53, names the courtesan Kratiua as model.

2. amore captum: cf. below, § 22, § 39. Similar stories were told also of a Hebe by Ktesikles, Adaios, *ap.* Athen. xiii, p. 606 a, of an Ἀγαθή τύχη near th Prytaneion in Athens, Ailian, *ποικ. ἱστ.* ix, 39.

§ 22. 5. Bryaxidis: below, § 30; xxxiv, 42, 73.

Scopae: below, §§ 25, 28, 30, 31; xxxiv, 49.

7. Cupido: given as a present to Phryne, Paus. i, 20, 1; cf. Athen. xiii, p. 591 b. The Eros was brought from Thespiæ to Rome by Gaius Caligula, restored to Thespiæ by Claudius, and finally brought back to Rome by Nero; it was destroyed in a fire, in the reign of Titus (Paus. ix, 27, 3). Furtwängler (*Masterp.* p. 314 ff.) follows Visconti in recognizing copies of the statue in the 'Eros of Centocelle' (Helbig, 185) and its numerous replicas.

obiectus: Verres had robbed Heius of Messana of another Eros by Praxiteles; Cicero's allusion to the Thespian statue was to impress upon the judges *mirum quendam dolorem accipere eos, ex quorum urbibus haec auferantur.*

8. propter . . . visebantur: Cic. *Verr.* II, iv, 2, 4: *Cupidinem fecit (Praxiteles) illum qui est Thespiis, propter quem Thespiæ visuntur; nam alia visendi causa nulla est; cf. ib.* 60, 135.

9. Octaviae scholis: part of the complex of buildings known as the *Opera Octaviae*; these were probably rooms opening on to the gallery or *porticus* itself.

alter nudus: the type was first identified by Furtwängler on coins of Parion (*ap.* Roscher, i, 1358); later Beudorf (*Bull. della Comm. Arch.* 1886, p. 74) recognized a marble copy in the 'Genius Borghese' of the Louvre (phot. Girandon, 1201).

the statue, which was made, as is believed, under the direct inspiration of the goddess, can be seen from every side, nor is there any point of view from which it is less admirable than from another.

There are in Knidos other marble statues by great sculptors, 22 a Dionysos by *Bryaxis*, another Dionysos, and also an Athena by *Skopas*, and there is no more forcible panegyric of the Aphrodite of Praxiteles than the fact that among all these it alone is remembered. Praxiteles also made the Eros with which Cicero taunted Verres, that Eros for whose sake men travelled to Thespiæ. It is now in the 'schools' of Octavia. He made a second nude Eros in the colony of Parion, on the Propontis, a figure as celebrated as the Aphrodite of Knidos.

Eros of Thespiæ.

At Rome the works of Praxiteles are: Flora, Triptolemos and 23 Demeter in the gardens of Servilius, the images of Good Luck and Good Fortune in the Capitol, further the Mainads, the figures known as Thyiades and Karyatides, the Seilenoi in the gallery of Asinius Pollio, and an Apollo and Poseidon.

Kephisodotos, the son of Praxiteles, was also the heir to his 24 genius. Greatly admired is his celebrated group at Pergamon of *Kephisodotos*.

in Pario colonia: v, 141; xxxiv, 78; it was the seat of a very ancient cult of Eros, Paus. ix, 27, 1 (Furtwängler, *ap. Roscher*, i, 1342).

§ 23. 12. Romæ: at this point begins a description of works of art in Rome, which is continued with only a few interruptions to the close of the history of the marble sculptors in § 43.

13. Flora, Tript., Ceres: presumably in a group; *Flora* must be the Greek *Κόρα*, and owes her Latin name to the wreath she was holding as on the relief. Overbeck, *Kunst. Myth.* pl. xiv, 3, 4; *Ἐφημ. ἀρχ.* 1893, p. 35.

hortis Servilianis: from Suet. *Nero*, 47, this must have been on the *Via Ostiensis*; cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* xv, 55; *Hist.* iii, 38; *C. I. L.* vi, 8673, 8674.

Boni Ev. et Bonæ Fort. = Ἀγαθὸς δαίμων and Ἀγαθὴ τύχη; for the received Attic type of these divinities see the votive relief in the Brit. Mus. (*Mus. Marbles*, xi, pl. 47).

15. Maenades: for Attic fourth-century types of the maenads see Rapp *ap. Roscher*, ii, 2270.

Thyiades: γυναῖκες μὲν εἰσω Ἀττικαί, φοιτῶσαι δὲ ἐς τὸν Πανασοῦν παρὰ ἔτος . . . ἄγουσιν ὄργια Διονύσου, Paus. x, 4, 3. *Καρυατίδες*, maidens of Karyai, who danced at the festival of Artemis, Paus. iv, 16, 9.

16. Pollionis Asini mon.: in the Museum connected with the famous library, Plin. vii, 115; both apparently adjoined the *Atrium Libertatis*, which was restored by Asinius Pollio, cf. Suet. *Aug.* 29; Ovid, *Tristia*, iii, 1, 72; Gilbert, *Rom.*, iii, p. 338, note 2.

§ 24. 17. Cephisodotus: xxxiv, 51, 87.

18. Pergami: the information is from Mucianus, *Introd.* p. lxxxix. [From Tac. *Ann.* xvi, 23, it appears that a number of works of art were still at Pergamon in the reign of Nero.—H.L.U.]

symplegma: [probably here of

verius quam marmoris impressis. Romae eius opera sunt Latona in Palati delubro, Venus in Pollionis Asini monumentis et intra Octaviae porticus in Iunonis aede Aesculapius ac Diana. Scopae laus cum his certat. is fecit Venerem et Pothon, qui Samothrace sanctissimis caerimonis coluntur, item Apollinem Palatinum, Vestam sedentem laudatam in Servilianis hortis duosque campteras circa eam, quorum pares in Asini monumentis sunt, ubi et canephoros eiusdem. sed in maxima dignatione delubro Cn. Domitii in circo Flaminio Neptunus ipse et Thetis atque Achilles, Nereides supra delphinos et cete aut hippocampos sedentes, item Tritones chorusque Phorci et pistrices ac multa alia marina, omnia eiusdem manu, praeclarum opus, etiam si totius vitae fuisset. nunc vero praeter supra dicta quaeque nescimus Mars etiamnum est sedens colossiaeus eiusdem manu in templo Bruti Callaeci apud circum eundem, prae-

7. campteras] *Bamb.*; camiteras *reliqui*; lampteras *Jan, Detlefsen.*

an erotic couple, cf. Martial, xii, 43; Arnobius, vii, 33 (ed. Reifferscheid, p. 267), and for this use of σύμπλεγμα, Soph. Fr. 556, Plato, *Symp.* 191, Aeta.—H. L. U.] That this *symplegma* had an erotic significance is proved by the comparison with the group of Pan and Olympos (§ 35) *quod est alterum in terris symplegma nobile.*

digitis... impressis: cf. Herondas, iv, 59 f. (ed. Crusius):

τὸν παῖδα δὴ (τὸν) γυμῶν ἦν κνίσω
τοῦτον

οὐχ ἔλαος ἔξει, Κύννα;

2. Latona: Crusius (German transl. of Herondas, p. xiv, note) suggests possible identity with the Leto which had stood in Kos, Herondas, ii, 98.

Palati delubro: below, § 32.

3. Iunonis aede: below, § 35; § 42.

Aesculapius: according to Crusius (*loc. cit.*), possibly identical with the Asklepios by 'the sons of Praxiteles' (οἱ Πραξιτέλειω παῖδες) in the temple of Kos; Herond. iv, 20 ff.

§ 25. 4. Scopae laus: § 22; § 30.

5. Venerem et Pothon: the Samothracian cult seems to have developed out of that of Demeter and Hermes Kadmos; cf. Crusius, *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* 128, p. 298; *Beiträge z. Griech. Myth.* p. 15. For the temple of Aphrodite at Megara. Skopas had made statues of Eros, Himeros, and Pothos; Paus. i, 43, 6.

Samotrace: Mucianus, who had visited Samothrace, is again Pliny's authority here, *Introd.* p. xc.

6. Apoll. Palatinum: for the temple, cf. xxxiv, 14; above, § 24; below, § 32. Propertius, ii, 31, 15, describes the statue as follows:—

deinde inter matrem deus ipse interque sororem

Pythius in longa carmina ueste sonat.

(The Apollo referred to in l. 5 f. of the same elegy has been shown by Hülsen, *Röm. Mitth.* ix, 1894, p. 240 f., to refer to a quite distinct statue which stood in the courtyard of the temple.) The Skopasian Apollo, the

figures interlaced [σύμπλεγμα], in which the fingers seem to press on flesh rather than on marble. At Rome his works are: the Leto in the temple on the Palatine, an Aphrodite in the gallery of Asinius Pollio, and the Asklepios and Artemis in the temple of Juno within the portico of Octavia.

The praise of *Skopas* vies with theirs. He made the Aphrodite ²⁵ and Πόθος, or Desire, which are worshipped in Samothrake with *Skopas*. the holiest ritual, also the Apollo on the Palatine and, in the gardens of Servilius, a seated Hestia which is praised, and beside her two pillars whose pendants are in the galleries of Asinius, where also is his *κανηφόρος* [basket-bearer]. But most highly ²⁶ esteemed of all his works is the group in the temple built by Gnaeus Domitius in the Circus of Flaminius: it comprises Poseidon himself with Thetis and Achilles, Nereids riding on dolphins and sea monsters or on sea horses, and Tritons and the train of Phorkos, with sea beasts and a tumult of creatures of the deep, the whole by the same hand, a wondrous work, even were it that of a life-time. Yet in addition to the works I have named and those which are unknown to us, we have by the same artist an Ares, a colossal seated figure, now in the temple built by Brutus Callaecus close to the Circus of Flaminius, besides a nude

Kitharoidos, is represented on coins of Nero (Overb. *Apoll. Münzstaf.* v, 47, 48, 50, 51).

7. *campteras*: i. e. goals or columns marking in the *stadium* the turning-point for runners or chariots (*κάμπτειν*); cf. the *metae* on the sarkophagos, Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 339; these columns might be profusely adorned with sculpture.

§ 26. 9. *delubro*: i. e. of Neptune. It is uncertain which of the Domitii built it; Urlichs (*Griechische Statuen im Rep. Rom.*, p. 19) inclines to attribute the original building to the consul of B. C. 121, who celebrated with great splendour his triumph over the Arverni, and its restoration to his great-grandson, the consul of B. C. 32; this later Domitius now placed in the temple the great Skopasian group, presumably brought from Bithynia, of which he was governor B. C. 40-35, and where was a famous temple of

Poseidon at Astakos-Olbia (Urlichs, *Skopas*, p. 130).

10. *circo Flamínio*: cf. Gilbert, *Rom.* iii, p. 89.

ipse: i. e. the temple-statue; Becker, *Top.* p. 619, note 13; cf. *simulacrum ipsum* in xxxiv, 66.

Thetis . . . marina: the group represented the passing of Achilles to the Isles of the Blest; Urlichs, *Skopas*, p. 133 ff.; cf. Fleischer *ap. Roscher*, i, p. 53. Pliny's description is tinged by reminiscences of Virgil, *Aen.* v, 240.

15. *Mars . . . sedens*: the Ares Lindovisi (Helbig, 883)—a statue distinctly Skopasian in style—is probably a reduced copy of this work; see Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 304.

16. *Bruti Callaeci*: (D. Junius) cos. B. C. 138; celebrated his triumph over the *Callaici* B. C. 132; the architect of the temple was Hermodoros of Salamis, Nepos *ap. Priscian*, *Fragm.*

terea Venus in eodem loco nuda Praxitelliam illam ante-
 27 cedens et quemcumque alium locum nobilitatura. Romae
 quidem multitudo operum, etiam obliteratio ac magis offi-
 ciorum negotiorumque acervi omnis a contemplatione tamen
 abducunt, quoniam otiosorum et in magno loci silentio talis 5
 admiratio est. qua de causa ignoratur artifex eius quoque
 Veneris quam Vespasianus imperator in operibus Pacis suae
 28 dicavit antiquorum dignam fama. par haesitatio est in
 templo Apollinis Sosiani, Niobae liberos morientes Scopas
 an Praxiteles fecerit, item Ianus pater in suo templo dicatus 10
 ab Augusto ex Aegypto advectus utrius manu sit, iam
 quidem et auro occultatus. similiter in curia Octaviae
 quaeritur de Cupidine fulmen tenente. id demum adfirma-
 29 tur, Alcibiaden esse principem forma in ea aetate. multa
 in eadem schola sine auctoribus placent: Satyri quattuor, 15
 ex quibus unus Liberum patrem palla velatum umeris
 praefert, alter Liberam similiter, tertius ploratum infantis

Hist. Rom. 13, p. 227; cf. Gilbert, *Rom.* iii, p. 88.

§ 27. 2. Romae quidem: for the sentiment of the whole passage, cf. *Hor. Ep.* i, 10. [It became a commonplace of silver Latinity to contrast the noise of the city with the quiet of the villas, see also Pliny's *Introd.* to Bk. xiv; *Pliny, Ep.* iii, 18, 4 *nunquam porro aut valde vacat Romae, aut commodum est audire recitantem*; *Ep.* iii, 5, 13 *haec inter medios labores urbisque fremitum*; and *Ep.* i, 9; cf. C. F. Herrmann *über d. Kunstsinn der Römer*, p. 46.—H. L. U.]

7. operibus Pacis: connected with the Temple and Forum of Peace, xxxiv, 84.

§ 28. 9. Apollinis Sosiani: xiii, 53, the surname from C. Sosius (the legate of Antony), who brought the sacred cedar-wood image of the god from Seleukia, and restored the temple; note on xxxv, 99.

Niobae: if the group was identical with the original of the Florence statues, the style—especially of the heads—can leave no doubt that it

was by Skopas (cf. Amelung, *Basis des Praxiteles*, p. 67). The ancient critics evidently confused Skopas and Praxiteles, precisely as do the moderns.

10. Ianus pater: a bearded double terminal bust, rechristened at Rome as Janus. [What divinity it originally represented is impossible to tell, for the Romans were absolutely without scruple in renaming statues; cf. Pseud. Dio Chrys. xxxvii, 42 *Κορινθ.* for a Poseidon rededicated as Jupiter.—H. L. U.] According to Wernicke, *Jahrb.* v, 1890, p. 148, this 'Janus' may be identical with the Skopasian herm (*not* Hermes), *Anth. Plan.* 192.

in suo templo: the shrine in the Forum (xxxiv, 33) can scarcely have been spacious enough to hold a second statue: it is still doubtful which temple is meant; Roscher, (*Lex.* ii, 26 f.) suggests a temple of Janus belonging to the Forum Augustum, while Jordan (*Hermes*, iv, p. 239) thought of the temple in the Forum Holitorium; cf. Peter, *Ovid's Fasti*, ii, p. 11.

Aphrodite now in the same place, which surpasses even the Praxitelean goddess, and would suffice to make famous any other spot. At Rome indeed the works of art are legion; besides, one effaces another from the memory, and above all, beautiful as they are, people are distracted by the overpowering claims of duty and business, for to admire art we need leisure and profound stillness.

27
*Multitude
of works in
Rome ob-
scures their
fame.*

For this same reason we are ignorant of the sculptor of the Aphrodite dedicated by the emperor Vespasian in the galleries of his temple of Peace, a work worthy of the old masters. It is likewise uncertain whether Skopas or Praxiteles made the dying children of Niobe in the temple of the Apollo of Sosius, and again which of them made the Father Janus brought by Augustus from Egypt and dedicated in his own temple; the Janus, moreover, is now disguised by gilding. The same difficulty arises in the case of the Eros holding a thunderbolt, in the Council Chamber of Octavia; this only is certain, that it is the portrait of Alkibiades, the handsomest man of his day. Many groups by unknown artists attract us in this gallery; such as the four Satyrs, one of whom is carrying on his shoulders a cloaked Dionysos, the second carries Ariadne in the same way, the third is soothing a crying

28

29

11. *ex Aegypto*: cf. xxxv, 131, 28, and notes.

iam quidem: in exculpation.

12. *auro occultatus*: the gilding is specially mentioned, as unusual in the case of a marble statue; cf. Wunderer, *Manibiae*, p. 10; note on xxxiv, 63.

similiter . . . quaeritur: from works as to which it was doubtful whether they were by Skopas or Praxiteles Pliny passes on to general doubts, and thence to statues by unknown masters (*sine auctoribus*); Wernicke, *op. cit.* p. 150.

in curia: certain rooms of the *opera Octaviae* served occasionally for meetings of the Senate; Dio Cassius, iv, 8; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vii, 5, 4; Gilbert, *Rome*, iii, p. 249, note 1.

13. *fulmen tenente*: "Ἐρως κεραυνοφόρος.

id . . . adfirmatur: Wernicke (*loc. cit.*) explains Pliny's meaning to be as follows: the individuality of the features leads people to suppose this is a

portrait—and a portrait of Alkibiades; I take no responsibility in the matter, but thus far is certain, that Alkibiades was the most beautiful man in the period to which the statue belongs.

14. *Alcibiaden*: the statue had most probably nothing to do with Alkibiades, but the connexion in the popular mind arose from the well-known ἐπίσημον on his shield (Plut. *Alkib.* 16).

§ 29. 15. *eadem schola*: Gilbert, *loc. cit.*

16. *Liberum . . . palla velatum*: the description of the fully draped figure suggests the Dionysos supported (not carried) by a Satyr in the 'Ikarios' relief (Schreiber, *Hell. Reliefs*, xxxvii). *palla* = πέπλος, usually understood of the cloak worn by women, though practically identical with the ἱμάτιον.

17. *Liberam similiter*: a Maenad carried by a Satyr, misunderstood as an Ariadne; cf. Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 10.

cohibet, quartus cratere alterius sitim sedat, duaeque Aurae velificantes sua veste. nec minor quaestio est in saeptis Olympum et Pana, Chironem cum Achille qui fecerint, praesertim cum capitali satisfactione fama iudicet dignos. 5
 30 Scopas habuit aemulos eadem aetate Bryaxim et Timotheum et Leocharen, de quibus simul dicendum est, quoniam pariter caelavere Mausoleum. sepulchrum hoc est ab uxore Artemisia factum Mausolo Cariae regulo, qui obiit olympiadis CVII anno secundo. opus id ut esset inter septem 10
 miracula hi maxime fecere artifices. patet ab austro et septentrione centenos sexagenos ternos pedes, brevius a

11. centenos] *Urlichs in Chrest., Detlefsen; om. Bamb., reliqui.*

ploratum infantis cohibet: recalls the well-known group in the Louvre (phot. Giraudon, 1182) and its numerous replicas (Rome, Helbig, 11; phot. Alinari, 6673) of Seilenos nursing the babe Dionysos.

1. duaeque Aurae: cf. the so-called 'Nereids' of the Xanthian tomb (Brit. Mus.), which have been shown by Six, *J. H. S.* xiii, p. 131, to represent the *Ἀῦραι*: Pindar, *Ol.* ii, 70, *μακάρον νῆσος ἄκεανίδες περιπέουσιν*; see also Max. Mayer *ap.* Roscher, ii, 2147 ff.

2. nec minor quaestio: above, note in § 28 on *similiter . . . quaeritur.*

in saeptis: i.e. in the galleries which surrounded the voting-place of the Comitia, after the luxurious alterations planned by Caesar (Cic. *Att.* iv, 16, 14) and completed by Augustus; cf. Dio Cassius, liii, 23.

3. Olympum et Pana: the group in Naples of the bearded Pan teaching a young boy the syrinx (Friederichs, *Bausteine*, 654; Helbig, *Untersuch.* p. 156) is commonly thought to reproduce this work.

Chironem cum Achille: the subject is preserved in wall-paintings (Helbig, *Wandgem.* 1291-1295), of which the best preserved and most famous is Helbig 1291. A head from a marble copy is in the Pal. Conservat.; Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 572.

4. capitali satisfactione: xxxiv, 38.

§ 30. 5. Scopas: the dates for his activity are comprised between his work for the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (after the fire B. C. 394, Paus. viii, 45, 4) and his work for the Mausoleion (about B. C. 353) and for the Artemision of Ephesos (after the fire of B. C. 356, below § 95).

aemulos: cf. xxxiv, 49, *aemuli*; xxxv, 64.

Bryaxim: xxxiv, 73; for his signature *Βρύαξις ἐποίησεν* on the basis adorned with reliefs of horsemen see *Δελτιόν*, 1891, p. 35; *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, xv, 1891, p. 369, plate vii; *Ἐφημ. ἀρχ.* 1893, plates 6, 7. The inscription is of about the date of the Mausoleion (cf. plates 4, 5, for a torso of Nike found not far from the basis, and which Kavvadias, *ib.* p. 46, supposes to have crowned the monument).

Timotheum: xxxiv, 91; he may have been already advanced in years when he worked upon the Mausoleion; the inscription (Kavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, no. 241, l. 36 f.) recording his contract for furnishing models and sculptures for the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, Paus. ii, 32, 4, is dated by Kavvadias (p. 85) at the commencement of the fourth century, while Foucart, *Bull.*

child, and the fourth quenches the thirst of another child out of a goblet; further, the two wind goddesses spreading their robes as sails. It is equally uncertain who made the groups in the voting enclosures of Olympos and Pan, and of Achilles and Cheiron, and yet such is their renown that the custodians are obliged to pledge their lives for their safety.

Bryaxis, *Timotheos*, and *Leochares* were rivals and contemporaries of Skopas, and must be mentioned with him, as they worked together on the Mausoleion. This is the tomb erected by Artemisia in honour of her husband Mausolos, prince of Karia, who died in the second year of the hundred and seventh Olympiad [351 B.C.], and its place among the seven wonders of the world is largely due to these great sculptors. The length of the south and north sides is 163 feet; the two façades are

30
The Mausoleion.

Corr. Hell. xiv, 1890, p. 589 ff., places it at about B. C. 375.

6. *Leochares*: for his date see on xxxiv, 50.

7. *Mausoleum*: a history of its discovery, a discussion of the restorations proposed, and the chief literature up to 1891 are given by Newton in *Smith's Dict. Ant.* ii, p. 155 ff. Students will read with interest the latest restoration, attempted by E. Oldfield, *Archaeologia*, 1895, pp. 273-362. But it is as useless and unsatisfactory as others so far as the Plinian text is concerned. Mr. Oldfield starts by rejecting *in toto* the variant readings of *cod. Bamb.*, and does this without adequate knowledge of the character of this MS. Especially unsatisfactory is his rejection of *circumitum*, for the besetting sin of the *Bamb.* is not the introduction of words or syllables, but their omission (cf. H. L. Ulrichs' note on xxxiv, 69 *Liberum patrem*). Further, the facts that Mr. Oldfield writes in ignorance of anything more recent than Sillig's second edition, that he is unacquainted either with Detlefsen's edition, or with his article on the Plinian MSS. in the *Philologus* (t. xxviii), or with the *Chrestom.* of Ulrichs, and that he confuses *Otto Jahn* (p. 284 and p. 290) with *Ludwig von Jan*, show how

little trust can be placed in his criticism of the text.—On architectural grounds alone, Mr. Oldfield's reconstruction may have merits of which the present writer feels incompetent to judge. We have translated faithfully from *cod. Bamb.*, and in the notes I attempt no harmonizing of the Plinian description with monumental evidence, nor can I point out discrepancies, for the simple reason that any impartial student must admit that the real shape of the Mausoleion and distribution of its parts remain as much a riddle now as before.—The whole description of the Mausoleion is taken from Mucianus, *Introd.* p. lxxxviii.

8. *Mausolo . . . regulo*: he was, as a fact, only a satrap under the king of Persia; *Diodoros*, xvi, 36, gives B. C. 353 as the date of his death.

9. *inter septem miracula*: it figures in the oldest canonical lists. The various lists of the 'Seven Wonders' are conveniently printed together by Orelli in the Appendix to his edition of *Philo Byzantius*, pp. 141-150. *Ib.* pp. 192-194 will be found all the ancient descriptions of the Mausoleion.

11. *centenos*: this addition is unavoidable if we are to accept the total 440 feet as correct.

frontibus, toto circumitu pedes CCCCXXXX, attollitur in
 altitudinem XXV cubitis, cingitur columnis XXXVI. pteron
 31 vocavere circumitum. ab oriente caelavit Scopas, a septen-
 trione Bryaxis, a meridie Timotheus, ab occasu Leochares,
 priusque quam peragerent regina obit. non tamen recesserunt
 nisi absoluto iam, id gloriae ipsorum artisque moni- 5
 mentum iudicantes, hodieque certant manus. accessit et
 quintus artifex. namque supra pteron pyramis altitudine
 inferiorem aequat, viginti quattuor gradibus in metae
 cacumen se contrahens. in summo est quadriga marmorea 10
 quam fecit Pythis. haec adiecta CXXXX pedum altitudine
 32 totum opus includit. Timothei manu Diana Romae est in
 Palatio Apollinis delubro, cui signo caput reposuit Avianius
 Evander. in magna admiratione est Hercules Menestrati
 et Hecate Ephesi in templo Dianae post aedem in cuius 15

1. CCCCXXXX] *Bamb.*; quadringentos undecim *reliqui.* 2. XXXV
Detlefsen. 11. altitudine] *Bamb., Riccard., Lips.*; altitudinem, *Detlefsen.*

2. pteron vocavere: cf. in § 19,
Πανδώρας γένεσιν appellant.

§ 31. 3. ab oriente . . . Scopas
 . . . Leochares: the endeavours to
 identify the styles of each sculptor
 in the extant slabs have up to now
 been unsatisfactory. The dominant
 thought and design seem Skopasian.
 Vitruvius (vii, *praef.* 12), in his account
 of the Mausoleion, names Praxiteles
 as one of the sculptors (on this point
 see Amelung, *Die Basis des Praxiteles*
aus Mantinea, p. 55 f.).

9. inferiorem: Newton, *loc. cit.*,
 rightly points out that, according to
 ordinary rules, the word to be supplied
 would be *pyramidem*, which, however,
 he considered inadmissible, as he
 found no evidence for a pyramidal
 substructure. On the other hand,
 Detlefsen's *altitudine[m]* does un-
 warranted violence to the text.

10. quadriga marmorea: a restora-
 tion of the extant fragments may now
 be seen in the Mausoleion room of
 the Brit. Mus. That the so-called
 'Artemisia' and 'Mausolos' can,
 however, never have been placed in

the chariot has been made clear by
 P. Gardner, *J. H. S.* xiii, p. 188 ff.

11. Pythis: Vitruvius, *loc. cit.*, gives
 the name Phyteus (MSS.), but the
 identity is not certain.

§ 32. 12. Timothei manu: the style
 of this artist can now be satisfactorily
 studied in the sculptured decorations
 of the Asklepieion at Epidauros; from
 the inscription (above, note on § 30, 5)
 we learn that he contracted (ἐλετο) to
 construct (ἐργάσασθαι) and provide
 (παρέχειν) models (τύπος)—presumably
 for the pedimental sculptures—and for
 the akroteria or angle figures of one of
 the gables (ἄκροτον αἰετόν). From the
 relation of the akroterial figures of
 the west front (Centr. Mus. Catal.
 155-157) to one another and to the
 figures of the Amazon battle from the
 corresponding west pediment, there
 is every ground for regarding them as
 the work of one artist, i. e. of
 Timotheos; Amelung, *Basis des Praxi-
 teles*, p. 69 f., where the kinship of
 the group of Leda and the Swan (best-
 known replica in the Capitol; Helbig,
 459) to the Epidaurian sculptures is

shorter, and the whole perimeter is 440 feet; its height is 25 cubits [$37\frac{1}{2}$ feet], and it has thirty-six columns. This colonnade is called a *πρεπών*. The sculptures of the eastern front are carved by Skopas, those on the north by Bryaxis, on the south by Timotheos, and on the west by Leochares. The queen died before the work was finished, but the artists carried it through to the end, deeming that it would be an abiding monument of their own glory and of the glory of art, and to this day they compete for the prize. A fifth sculptor also worked on the monument. Above the colonnade is a pyramid, of the same height as the lower structure, consisting of twenty-four retreating steps rising into a cone. On the apex stands a chariot and four horses in marble made by *Pythis*. Including this the height is 140 feet. 31

In the temple of Apollo on the Palatine at Rome stands an Artemis by Timotheos, the head of which has been restored by Avianus Evander. Greatly admired is a Herakles by †*Menestratos*, and a Hekate at Ephesos in the temple of Artemis, behind the 32

pointed out (the likeness noted simultaneously by Winter, *Ath. Mitth.* xix, 1894, p. 157 ff.). Add.

13. **Avianus Evander**: cf. Hor. *Sat.* i, 3, 90:—

Commixit lectum potus mensave
catillum

Evandri manibus tritum deiecit; where the scholiast Porphyrio remarks that Evander was both chaser and sculptor (*plastēs statuarum*), that Alexander brought him from Athens to Alexandria, whence he was taken to Rome *inter captivos*, doubtless on the capture of the city by Augustus in 25 B. C.; cf. further Cic. *Fam.* xiii, 2; 21; 27, and vii, 23, where Avianus figures rather as art-dealer than as artist; cf. Brunn, *K. G.* i, p. 547.

14. **in magna admiratione**: these words introduce the fifth parenthetical mention of works elsewhere than in Rome. [The construction of the passage down to *incluta* is curious; we get (i) admirable works (in *magna adm.*); (ii) works equally admirable (*non postferuntur*); (iii) a work of which nothing need be said,

for all the world understands the greatness of the drunken old woman by Myron—this last work being abruptly introduced by a *nam*, which implies an ellipse of the preceding sentence, according to a usage noted in xxxiv, 7, xxxv, 137. H. L. U.]

Menestrati: possibly identical with the sculptor of a statue of the unknown poetess Learchis; Tatian, *πρὸς Ἑλλ.* p. 34, ed. Schwartz.

15. **Hekate Ephesi**: the information, like that on the Mausoleion, appears derived from Mucianns (*Introd.* p. lxxxviii).

post aedem: interpreted by Sillig (*Dict. of Artists*, s. v. Menestratos) as 'the back part of the temple,' i. e. the *ὑπισθόδομος*. But it is doubtful whether *post* can be susceptible of such a meaning. It therefore seems more reasonable to suppose that the Hekate of M. was contained in a separate shrine, within the precinct (*in templo*), but behind the great temple (*post aedem*). That the Hekate was in a closed locality, and not merely outside the temple in the open air, as

contemplatione admonent aeditui parcere oculis, tanta marmoris radiatio est. non postferuntur et Charites in propylo Atheniensium quas Socrates fecit alius ille quam pictor, idem ut aliqui putant. nam Myronis illius qui in aere laudatur anus ebria est Zmyrnae in primis incluta. 5
 33 Pollio Asinius, ut fuit acris vehementiae, sic quoque spectari monumenta sua voluit. in his sunt Centauri Nymphas gerentes Arcesilae, Thespiades Cleomenis, Oceanus et Iuppiter Heniochi, Appiades Stephani, Hermerotes Taurisci, 10
 34 non caelatoris illius sed Tralliani, Iuppiter hospitalis Papyli Praxitelis discipuli, Zethus et Amphion ac Dirce et taurus

9. Heniochi] *Jan*; eniochi *Bamb.*; enthochi *Riccard., Voss.*; Antiochi *Urlichs in Chrest, Dellefsen.*

some authorities suppose, is evident from the story of the *marmoris radiatio*; the mysterious gleam of the marble can only be understood if the statue was seen in the half-light of a shrine, and becomes nonsense if the Hekate was out of doors.

1. aeditui: the fact that the statue was shown by temple attendants is another argument in favour of its being in a closed locality.

2. marmoris radiatio: the face of the statue, like the hands and feet, would be left in the original colour of the marble, or just toned by wax (see in xxxv, 133 note on *circumlitionē*); the white face would be seen gleaming through the dusk of the shrine—the imagination being doubtless stimulated by a sense of the mysterious personality of Hekate.—M. S. Reinach kindly points out to me that we seem to detect in the legend traces of the old belief that mortals might not look in the face of the gods without being struck blind; cf. Teiresias and the mysterious Epizelos of Herodotus.

Charites: the type is known from two reliefs in Rome (most famous in the Vatican, Helbig, 83) and three in Athens, two of which were found on the Akropolis (*Ath. Mitth.* iii, 1878,

p. 181 ff., Furtwängler). They are all after an original of the period ab. B. C. 470; cf. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 23, note 1, Introd. p. 1, note 2.

in propylo Athen. . Paus. i, 22, 8: *κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον αὐτὴν ἤδη τὴν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν Ἑρμῆν, ὃν Προπύλαιον ὀνομάζουσι καὶ Χάριτας Σωκράτην ποιῆσαι τὸν Σωφρονίσκου λέγουσι*; cf. note on xxxv, 101 for the unusual form *propylon*, and Introd. p. 1.

3. Socrates fecit: it is curious to note that Pliny knows nothing of the popular identification of the sculptor Sokrates with the philosopher, accepted by Pausanias, *loc. cit.*, and a number of other authorities (Overb. *S. Q.* 907-914), Introd. *loc. cit.*

alius . . . idem: contains the trace of a similar controversy to that noted in the case of Pythagoras, xxxiv, 60; Introd. p. 1.

4. Myronis illius: xxxiv, 49; 57-59.

5. anus ebria: the identification of the work with the well-known statue of an old woman nursing an ivy-crowned wine-jar (Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 431, p. 318, where see list of replicas and literature) is nothing less than certain. Nor do the grounds for attributing the work, on account of the subject, to a later Myron seem

shrine, in looking at which the temple guardians advise visitors to be cautious, so dazzling is the lustre of the marble. Not inferior are the Charites in the gateway at Athens; the *Sokrates* who made them is to be distinguished from the painter, though some believe in their identity. As to *Myron*, the celebrated *Myron*. bronze caster, his statue at Smyrna of an intoxicated old woman ranks among the most famous works.

Asinius Pollio with his characteristic enterprise was eager that his galleries should attract attention. They contain Kentaur's with nymphs on their backs by †*Arkesilas*, Thespiades by *Kleomenes*, figures of Okeanos and Zeus by †*Heniochos*, nymphs of the Appia by *Stephanos*, terminal busts of Eros by *Tauriskos* (not the famous chaser, but *Tauriskos* of Tralles), a Zeus of strangers by †*Papylos* the pupil of Praxiteles, and Zethos and Amphion, with Dirke, the

reasonable. The figures from the angle of the west pediment of the temple at Olympia show that the presentation of aged women was not alien to the art of the early fifth century. The epithet *ebria*, like the *temulenta* applied to the flute-player of Lysippos in xxxiv, 63, rests perhaps on some slight misapprehension of the motive, or mistranslation from the Greek.

§ 33. 7. *monumenta*: above, note on § 23.

Centauri Nymph. gerentes: for the subject cf. the wall-painting, Helbig, *Wandgem.* 499; cf. also the Kentaur's (bearing *Erotos*) of *Aristeas* and *Papias* (Capitol, Helbig, 512, 513).

8. *Arcesilae*: xxxv, 155; below, § 41.

Thespiades: same subject by *Teisikrates*, xxxiv, 66; by *Praxiteles*, below, § 39.

Cleomenis: his identity with—or relationship to—the sculptor of the so-called 'Germanicus' in the Louvre (*I. G. B.* 344), or of the altar with sacrifice of *Iphigeneia* in Florence (*I. G. B.* 380), is quite uncertain. (*I. G. B.* 513, from *Medicean Venus*, is a modern forgery.)

9. **Heniochi:** [von Jan's reading may be considered certain, the names *Arcesilae* . . . *Taurisci* being in alphabetical order.—H. L. U.]

Appiades: so called doubtless from their resemblance to the statues of the nymphs of the Appian aqueduct which adorned a fountain of the Forum Julium; cf. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i, 79; iii, 451; cf. *Rem. Amor.* 660; Gilbert, *Rom*, iii, p. 226, note 1.

Stephani: probably identical with the pupil of *Pasiteles*, whose inscription is read on the statue of an athlete in the Villa Albani, *I. G. B.* 574; cf. *ib.* 375, where he is named as the master of *Menelaos*, the artist of the famous group in the Museo Boncompagni (Helbig, 887).

Hermerotes: terminal busts of *Eros*; for extant instances in statuary see *Furtwängler*, *Masterpieces*, p. 69 (*Eros*), p. 60 (*Athena*), p. 234 ff. (*Herakles*). The old interpretation that the several divinities were combined with *Hermes* in a double terminal bust is without support from the monuments, though it is favoured by *Cicero*, *Att.* i, iv. 3: *quod ad me de Hermathena scribis, per mihi gratum est: est ornamentum Academiae proprium meae, quod et Hermes commune omnium et Minerva singulare est eius gymnasii.* Add.

10. *caelatoris*: xxxiii, 156.

§ 34. *hospitalis* = *ξένος*.

11. *Zethus* . . . *taurus*: a group

vinculumque ex eodem lapide, a Rhodo advecta opera Apolloni et Taurisci. parentum hi certamen de se fecere, Menecraten videri professi, sed esse naturalem Artemidorum. eodem loco Liber pater Eutyclidis laudatur, ad Octaviae 5 vero porticum Apollo Philisci Rhodi in delubro suo, item Latona et Diana et Musae novem et alter Apollo nudus. 35 eum qui citharam in eodem templo tenet Timarchides fecit, intra Octaviae vero porticus aedem Iunonis ipsam deam Dionysius et Polycles, aliam Venerem eodem loco Philiscus, cetera signa Pasiteles. idem Polycles et Dionysius Timar- 10

9. Polycles aliam, Venerem *Detlefsen*.

(‘Toro Farnese,’ Naples, Friederichs-Wolters, 1402), which is generally accepted as the identical one mentioned by Pliny, was discovered in 1546 in the Thermae of Caracalla.

1. *ex eodem lapide*: cf. below, § 36; § 37; § 41; the ‘Bull’ and the ‘Laokoon’ are however constructed of several pieces, and the same was most likely the case with the ‘Lioness’ of Arkesilaos, and the chariot-group of Lysias. With regard to the ‘Laokoon’ and the ‘Lioness’ Robert, *Arch. Märch.* p. 143, note, had suggested that *ex uno lapide* meant a group disposed on one basis, in opposition to groups composed of statues set each upon a separate basis. But the grammatical propriety of this interpretation is doubtful, cf. Urlichs, *Arkesilaos*, p. 16, note 2. Förster (*Görlitz. Verhandl.* p. 298) believes that Pliny in saying that the Bull and the Laokoon were *ex uno lapide* had been deceived by the appearance of the groups. As a fact, the expression seems, in all four cases, to imply little beyond the desire to heighten the impression of technical difficulty, by adding one of those details which readily appeal to popular imagination; cf. *Anth.* ix, 759 (εἰς ἄρμα λίθινον):—

Εἰς λίθος, ἄρμ', ἐλατήρ, ἵπποι, ζυγόν, ἡνία, μᾶστιξ.

Ib. 760:—

Εἰς δίφρος, ἄρμ', ἐλατήρ, ἵπποι, ζυγός, ἡνία, νίκη.

Rhodo: much light has recently been thrown on the dates of the Rhodian school by two papers of Maurice Holleaux (*Rev. de Phil.* xvii, 1893, pp. 171–185), and H. von Gaertringen (*Jahrb.* ix, 1894, pp. 23–43). According to the latter, the inscriptions fall into two periods: (i) from close of third century to B. C. 163 (Pydna); (ii) from B. C. 88, at the close of the Mithridatic war, to the total reduction of the Rhodian state by Cassius Longinus and Cassius of Parma in B. C. 43 (Appian, *Ἐμφ.* iv, 60–74; v, 2). It was then that many a Rhodian work of art was taken to Rome.

2. *Apolloni et Taurisci*: a basis found in the theatre of Magnesia on the Maïander bears the inscription Ἀπολλώνιος Ταυρίσκου [Τραλλιανός] ἐποίησεν: it is published by H. v. Gaertringen (*Athen. Mitth.* xix, 1894, p. 37 ff.), who dates it from early Imperial times, so that the Ταυρίσκος of the inscription (though of course not the Ἀπολλώνιος) may be one of the sculptors of the Bull, which would be executed previous to B. C. 43 (see previous note). The names were probably recurrent in a family of artists.

parentum hi certamen: the

bull and the cord, all carved out of one block. It is the joint work of *Apollonios* and *Tauriskos*, and was brought from Rhodes. These two sculptors occasioned a controversy as to their parentage, by declaring that Menekrates was their nominal, Artemidoros their real father. In the same collection is a fine Dionysos by Eutychides. Near the gallery of Octavia in the temple of Apollo stands a statue of the god by *Philiskos* of Rhodes, together with Leto, Artemis, and the nine Muses and another nude Apollo. *Timarchides* made the Apollo with the cithara in the same temple, and *Dionysios* and *Polykles* the statue of Juno within her temple in the portico of Octavia. A second Aphrodite in the same place is by *Philiskos*, and the other statues by *Pasiteles*. The same Polykles and Dionysios, the sons of

Other
Roman
galleries

35

words are rhetorical, or rest on a Roman misunderstanding of the Greek inscription. According to a custom of which the Rhodian inscriptions afford numerous instances (cf. *inter alia*, *I. G. B.* 174, 181), the artists had added to their signature not only the name of their real father, but that of their father by adoption. H. v. G. suggests the following restoration: 'Απολλώνιος καὶ Ταυρίσκος Ἀρτεμιδώρου, καθ' ὑποθεσίαν δὲ Μενεκράτους, Τραλλιανοὶ ἐποίησαν.

4. **Eutychidis**: probably not the pupil of Lysippos (xxxiv, 78), who was a bronze statuary; the name was common; see Loewy in *I. G. B.* 143.

5. **in delubro suo**: i. e. the temple of Apollo Sosianus; notes on xxxv, 99, above, § 28.

6. **Musae novem**: Amelung (*Basis des Praxiteles*, p. 44 f. and Appendix.) shows that this is probably the group which inspired the artists of the Muses on the basis from Halikarnassos (Trendelenburg, *Der Musen Chor*, Winckelmannspr. xxxvi, 1876) and of the Muses on the relief of the Apotheosis of Homer (Brunn-Bruckmann, plate 50), both in the Brit. Mus. It is significant that both works are from Southern Asia-Minor, i. e. from the neighbourhood of Rhodes.

§ 35. 7. **Timarchides**: son of Polykles of Athens, xxxiv, 52, and brother of Timokles, *ib.*; his two sons, Polykles II and Dionysios, are mentioned below; together with his brother (οἱ Πολυκλέους παῖδες) he made for Olympia the statue of the pugilist Agesarchos of Triteia, and for Elateia statues of Asklepios and of Athena (Paus. vi. 12, 9; x, 34, 6; 8).

8. **ædem Iunonis**: erected together with the adjacent temple (*proxima aedes*) of Jupiter by Q. Caecilius Metellus after his triumph of B. C. 149; Vell. Patern. 1, 11.

ipsam deam: the temple statue; cf. *Neptunus ipse*, above, § 26; *simulacrum ipsum Trophonii*, xxxiv, 66.

9. **Dionysius et Polykles**: identical with the *Polykles et Dionysius Timarchidis filii*, below.

aliam Venerem: Ulrichs (*Quellenreg.* p. 8) has shown that these words refer back to § 15, where an Aphrodite by Pheidias, in the *porticus Oct.*, had already been mentioned.

10. **Pasiteles**: note on § 39.

Dionysius: together with his nephew Timarchides II, he made the statue of C. Ofellius, found in Delos; it bears the inscription Διονύσιος Τιμαρχίδου καὶ Τιμαρχίδης Πολυκλέους Ἀθηναῖοι, *I. G. B.* 242.

chidis fili Iovem qui est in proxima aede fecerunt, Pana et Olympum luctantes eodem loco Heliodorus, quod est alterum in terris symplegma nobile, Venerem lavantem se
 36 *sedaedalsas* stantem Polycharmus. ex honore apparet in magna auctoritate habitum Lysiae opus, quod in Palatio 5 super arcum divus Augustus honori Octavi patris sui dicavit in aedicula columnis adornata, id est quadriga currusque et Apollo ac Diana ex uno lapide. in hortis Servilianis reperio laudatos Calamidis Apollinem illius caelatoris, Dercylidis pycatas, Amphistrati Callisthenen historiarum scriptorem. 10
 37 nec deinde multo plurium fama est, quorundam claritati in operibus eximiis obstante numero artificum, quoniam nec unus occupat gloriam nec plures pariter nuncupari possunt, sicut in Laocoonte, qui est in Titi imperatoris domo, opus omnibus et picturae et statuariae artis praeferendum. ex 15 uno lapide eum ac liberos draconumque mirabiles nexus de consili sententia fecere summi artifices Hagesander et Poly-

4. Sesedaedalsas stantem *Bamb.*; sesededalsa stantem *Ricc., Voss.*; se sed et aliam stantem *Sillig*; sese Daedalus, aliam stantem *Dettefsen.*

1. Iovem: above, note on *aedem Iunonis.*

Pana et Olympum: the names are significant as showing that these *συμπλέγματα* were mostly erotic groups, composed perhaps in the scheme familiar from the groups in Dresden.

Heliodorus: xxxiv, 91; the signature of his son (*Ἡλιόδωρου Ῥόδιος ἐποίησε*) closes the great inscription, discovered in Rhodes by Hiller v. Gaertringen, which since it contains the names of L. Murena and L. Lucullus has been dated by Mommsen at B. C. 82-74 (*Jahrb.* ix, 1894, p. 25 ff.; cf. also Maurice Holleaux, *Rev. de Philol.* xvii, 1893, p. 173; and *I. G. B.* 194-196).

3. alterum: harks back to the similar group by Kephisodotos in § 24.

*Venerem lavantem se: the 'Vénus Accroupie' in the Louvre (Friederichs-Wolters 1467) is looked upon as a copy of this work, but see Add.

§ 36. 6. super arcum: the arch was part of the *Propylaea* which formed the entrance to the *area* of Apollo, Gardthausen *Augustus I*, p. 962; *ib. II*, p. 575.

Octavii patris: Suet. *Aug.* 3.

8. ex uno lapide: note on § 34.

hortis Servilianis: above, § 23.

9. illius caelatoris: xxxiii, 155; xxxiv, 47; he is presumably identical with the bronze statuary, xxxiv, 71.

10. Amphistrati: known also from Tatian (*πρὸς Ἑλληγν.* p. 34, ed. Schwartz) as sculptor of the portrait of an unknown poetess Kleito.

Callisthenem: of Olynthos, pupil and nephew of Aristotle; according to Diodoros, xiv, 117, his 'Helleuika' were a history of the years B. C. 387-357 (Peace of Antalkidas to the Phokaian war).

§ 37. 14. in Laocoonte: the original group was found on Jan. 14, 1506, near the Baths of Titus, whither it may have been moved from his Palace at a date posterior to Pliny (on the cir-

A. THE FAMILY OF POLYKLES.

[Stadieus of Athens]

Paus. vi, 4, 5.

POLYKLES I OF ATHENS { *Plin.* xxxiv, 52.
fl. about 156 B. C. { *Paus.* vi, 4, 5.
I. G. Insul. i, 855?

TIMOKLES { *Plin.* xxxiv, 52.
fl. ab. { *Paus.* vi, 12, 9.
 156 B. C. { ,, x, 34, 6; 8.

TIMARCHIDES I { *Plin.* xxxiv, 91?
fl. after 140 B. C. { ,, xxxvi, 35.
Paus. vi, 12, 9.
 ,, x, 34, 6; 8.
I. G. B. 328? cf.
Ath. Mitth. xx,
 1895, p. 219.

POLYKLES II (*Plin.* xxxvi, 35)
after 140 B. C.

DIONYSIOS OF ATHENS
 140-90 B. C. (*Plin.*
 xxxv, 35, and *I. G. B.*
 242).

TIMARCHIDES II (*νεώτερος*)
 OF ATHENS (*Θορίκιος*):
I. G. B. 242 and the inscr.
Athen. Mitth. xx, 1895,
 p. 216.

B. THE FAMILY OF ATHANODOROS.

ATHANODOROS I Paton inscr.

HAGESANDROS I Paton inscr. Lindian decree, &c.

HAGESANDROS II*

POLYDOROS*

ATHANODOROS II*
 (adopted by Dionysios,
 Lindian inscr.)

* The sculptors of the Laokoon.

[To face p. 208.]

Timarchides, made the Zeus in the adjoining temple, where are also the Pan and Olympos interlaced by *Heliodoros*, second in renown among such groups in all the world, an Aphrodite bathing standing by †*Polycharmos*. The distinction conferred on the work of *Lysias* shows how highly it was esteemed, inasmuch as the god Augustus dedicated it in honour of his father Octavius; it was placed within a small building adorned with columns upon the arch on the Palatine. It consisted of a team of four horses, a chariot, Apollo and Artemis, all carved out of one block of marble. I find that in the gardens of Servilius are an Apollo by *Kalamis*, the well-known silver chaser, boxers by †*Derkyliidas*, and a portrait of Kallisthenes the historian by *Amphistratos*, all of which are mentioned with praise. 36

Not many celebrated artists remain to be named; in the case of certain masterpieces the very number of the collaborators is an obstacle to their individual fame, since neither can one man take to himself the whole glory, nor have a number so great a claim to honour. This is the case with the Laokoon in the palace of the Emperor Titus, a work superior to all the pictures and bronzes of the world. Out of one block of marble did the illustrious artists *Hagesander*, *Polydoros*, and *Athanodoros* of Rhodes, after taking counsel together, carve Laokoon, his children, and the 37

Collaboration of different sculptors.

circumstances of the find see Michaelis, *Jahrb.* v, 1890, p. 16); it is now in the Vatican (Helbig, 153). The full literature from 1755 to 1879 is given by Blümner, Comm. to Lessing's *Laokoon*, 2nd ed. p. 722; cf. also Friederichs-Wolters, 1422, and the three papers by Förster, (1) in *Görlitz. Verhandlungen*, pp. 75-94, and 293 to 307; (2) *Jahrb.* vi, 1891, p. 177 ff.; (3) *Jahrb.* ix, 1894, p. 43 ff.

in Titi imp. domo; xxxiv, 55.

15. *statuariae*: note on xxxiv, 54 (*torcuticen*).

ex uno lapide: note above on § 34: Michelangelo Buonarroti and Giovanni Cristofano, 'che sono i primi scultori di Roma, negano ch'ella sia d'un sol marmo, e mostrano circa a quattro commettiture'; Trivulzio, quoted by Michaelis, *loc. cit.* note 49.

16. *de consili sententia*: that these words mean neither 'by decree of the Emperor's Privy Council' (Lachmann, *A. Z.* 1848, p. 236 = *Kleine Schriften*, p. 273), nor 'by decree of the Council of Rhodes,' nor yet 'after consultation of the artists with their friends' (Mommsen, *Hermes*, xx, 1885, p. 268), but are to be understood in the simple sense given to them above, has been brilliantly proved by Förster in *Görlitz. Verhandl.* pp. 75 ff.; for the usage, cf. Cicero *Verres*, II, iii, 18; v, 12, 53, 54, 114; *pro Balbo*, II, 19, 38, and often; Caesar, *B. G.* iii, 16; Livy, xlv, 26 and 29; Plin. *Ep.* v, 1, 6; 3, 8; vi, 31, 12.

17. *Hag. et Pol. et Ath. Rhodi*: the name of Athanodoros occurs on seven inscriptions published in facsimile by Förster, *Jahrb.* vi, 1891, pp.

38 dorus et Athenodorus Rhodi. similiter Palatinas domos
 Caesarum replevere probatissimis signis Craterus cum Py-
 thodoro, Polydeuces cum Hermolao, Pythodorus alius cum
 Artemone, et singularis Aphrodisius Trallianus. Agrippae
 Pantheum decoravit Diogenes Atheniensis, in columnis 5
 templi eius Caryatides probantur inter pauca operum, sicut
 in fastigio posita signa sed propter altitudinem loci minus
 39 celebrata. inhonorus est nec in templo ullo Hercules ad
 quem Poeni omnibus annis humana sacrificaverant victima,
 humi stans ante aditum porticus ad nationes. sitae fuere 10
 et Thespiades ad aedem Felicitatis, quarum unam amavit
 eques Romanus Iunius Pisciculus, ut tradit Varro; admirator

12. admirator] *Bamb.*; admiratur reliqui, *Detlefsen.*

191-195. Of these, the Lindian decree in honour of Athanodoros, son of Hagesander, has been lately fully published by H. v. Gaertringen (*Jahrb.* ix, 1894, p. 34), and shown to be not earlier, but possibly somewhat later, than the Ploutarchos-Heliodoros inscription (B. C. 82-74) mentioned above. With the help of lines 16, 17 of the inscription published by Paton, *B. C. H.* xiv, p. 278, [*Ἀθήσο*] *ανδρος* *Ἀγισάνδρου* [*ταύ*] *Ἀθανοδ[ώ]ρο[v]*, H. von Gaertringen (*op. cit.*) reconstructs the annexed table. The Hagesander who worked on the Laokoon would more probably be the elder brother than the father of the other two sculptors. The present writer can see nothing in the technique or style of the Laokoon to prevent our accepting for it the date suggested by the inscriptions. Helbig however has again quite lately (*Class. Ant., loc. cit.*) maintained that the Laokoon belongs to the period previous to the Pergamene altar, and that the Athanodoros inscriptions belonged to copies of his works.

§ 38. 2. replevere: rhetorical, cf. *refertae* in § 14; *implent*, xxxv, 148, &c.

Craterus . . . Aphrodisius: Pliny's

contention is quaintly confirmed, since not a single one of these artists is known outside his text (see however *I. G. B.* 427).

4. Agrippae Pantheum: xxxiv, 13.

5. Diogenes: identity with the Diogenes of the inscription found at Nineveh (*Brit. Mus., I. G. B.* 361; A. S. Murray in *J. H. S.* iii, p. 240 ff.) is possible, but doubtful.

in columnis . . . Caryatides: the late discoveries in connexion with the Pantheon have, unfortunately, thrown no light on the architectural function performed by these Caryatides. Stark, *Arch. Zeit.* xviii, 1866, p. 249 f., supposes *in col.* to mean down among the columns as opposed to the statues *in fastigio*; in this case the Kar. would be not architectonic, but dancing figures like the Karyatides of Praxiteles; above, § 23. Addenda.

§ 39. 8. inhonorus est: rhetorical indignation; cf. in xxxiv, 89, the passage on the Bull of Phalaris.

Hercules: a Phoenician or Tyrian Melkart, presumably brought from Carthage by the younger Scipio B. C. 146 (cf. Peter, *ap.* Roscher, i, 246; Urlichs, *Griech. Statuen im Rep. Rom.*, p. 13).

wondrous coils of the snakes. So, too, on the Palatine, †*Krateros* 38 and his colleague †*Pythodoros*, †*Polydeukes* and †*Hermolaos*, a second †*Pythodoros* and †*Artemon*, and †*Aphrodisios* of Tralles, who worked alone, have filled the mansions of the Caesars with excellent statues. The sculptures of the Pantheon of Agrippa are *Pantheon.* by †*Diogenes* of Athens; the Karyatides of the temple columns are in the very first rank, and so are the statues of the pediment, though less well known because of the great height at which they stand. Dishonoured and without a shrine is the Hercules to 39 whom the Carthaginians offered annual human sacrifice; it stands on the ground in front of the entrance to the Gallery of the Nations. By the temple of Felicity stood also the Thespiades, of one of which, according to Varro, a Roman knight, Junius Pisciculus, was enamoured. Varro likewise admires

10. *humi stans*: i. e. the statue was without pedestal or basis.

port. ad nationes: Serv. on *Aen.* 8, 721: *porticum Augustus fecerat in qua simulacra omnium gentium collocaverat, quae porticus adpellabatur ad nationes*; it must not be confused with Pompeius' *porticus* of the fourteen nations, below, § 41.

11. *Thespiades*: Cic. *Verr.* II, iv, 4: *atque ille L. Mummius, cum Thespiadas, quae ad aedem Felicitatis sunt, ceteraque profana ex illo oppido [Thespiis] signa tolleret, hunc . . . Cupidinem (above, § 22) . . . non attigit.* The statues must have been among those which L. Lucullus borrowed from Mummius, to adorn the temple up to the day of his election, and cleverly managed not to return (Strabo, viii, p. 381; cf. Dio Cassius, fr. 75). From Varro (*Ling. Lat.* vi, 2) we learn that the *Thespiades* = *Musae*. It is usually assumed that the *Thespiades* are identical with the *signa quae ante aedem Fel. fuere*, by Praxiteles, cf. xxxiv, 69, where see note; but the fact that the latter were of bronze sufficiently disposes of the identification. The provenance, however, of the *Thespiades*, their celebrity, the subject and the story of Pisciculus, show them to have been Praxitelean works. The famous

group of the Muses found at Tivoli, now in the Vatican (Helbig, 268-274), may be looked upon as copies; their Praxitelean character has been searchingly analysed by Amelung, *Basis des Prax. aus Mantinea*, 1895, pp. 25-49.

aedem Felicitatis: xxxiv, 69; built by L. Lucullus to commemorate his Spanish campaigns of B.C. 150-151 (Ulrichs, *Arkesilaos*, p. 7), ded. 142 B. C., Dio Cass. fr. 75. On the temple-statue, see xxxv, 156.

12. *ut tradit Varro*: V. is evidently the authority for the whole passage from *sitae fuere . . . auctor est* in § 41. His name is brought in at this point because Pliny looks upon the story of Pisciculus as of doubtful authenticity, and therefore lays all responsibility upon his author.

admirator et Pasitelis: the reading is proved by the context *Arcesilaum quoque magn. Varro* in § 41, where the *quoque* has no sense unless Varro's admiration of some other artist had been previously recorded; Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 41; cf. the citations from Varro in xxxv, 155-157: *Varro tradit sibi cognitum Possim . . . idem magn. Arcesil . . . laudat et Pasitelen.* On Pasiteles, see *Introd.* p. lxxvii.

et Pasitelis, qui et quinque volumina scripsit nobilium
 40 operum in toto orbe. natus hic in Graeca Italiae ora et
 civitate Romana donatus cum his oppidis Iovem fecit ebo-
 reum in Metelli aede qua campus petitur. accidit ei, cum
 in navalibus ubi ferae Africanae erant per caveam intuens 5
 leonem caelaret, ut ex alia cavea panthera erumperet non
 levi periculo diligentissimi artificis. fecisse opera complura
 41 dicitur, quae fecerit nominatim non refertur. Arcesilaum
 quoque magnificat Varro, cuius se marmoream habuisse
 leaenam aligerosque Iudentis cum ea Cupidines, quorum 10
 alii religatam tenerent, alii cornu cogere bibere, alii calci-
 arent soccis, omnes ex uno lapide. idem et a Coponio
 quattuordecim nationes quae sunt circa Pompeium factas
 auctor est. inveno et Canachum laudatum inter statuarios
 42 fecisse marmorea. nec Sauram atque Batrachum obliterari 15
 convenit qui fecere templa Octaviae porticibus inclusa na-
 tione ipsi Lacones. quidam et opibus praepotentes fuisse
 eos putant ac sua inpensa construxisse inscriptionem spe-
 rantes, qua negata hoc tamen alio modo usurpasse. sunt

1. fraxiteles *Bamb.*; passitelis *reliqui*; Pasiteles *Detlefsen*.

1. nobilium operum: the Greek title would be *περὶ ἐνδόξων ἔργων*.

§ 40. 3. civitate . . . oppidis: during the social war of B. C. 90-89, when by the *Leges Julia* and *Plautia Papiria* the right of citizenship was extended to all the cities of Italy.

4. in Metelli aede: i. e. the temple of Jupiter mentioned above, § 35.

qua campus: sc. *Martius*, therefore the temple was on the north side of the *porticus Octaviae*.

5. navalibus: the naval docks of the Campus Martius, on the Tiber, over against the *prata Quinctia*; cf. Liv. iii, 26, 8, and xlv, 42, *sub fin.*; Gilbert, *Rom*, pp. 146-150. The event referred to may have happened in B. C. 55, when wild beasts were brought from Africa for the games of Pompeius; Plin. viii, 53, 64.

8. non refertur: i. e. by Varro.

§ 41. Arcesilaum: xxxv, 155, where see notes.

9. se . . . habuisse: xxxiii, 154, where Varro is likewise cited as owner and authority. His works of art were scattered in the proscriptions of B. C. 43. Introd. p. lxxxiv.

marmoream . . . leaenam: the subject recalls the beautiful relief in Vienna of a lioness (Schreiber, *Hell. Rel.*, pl. i), which, with its companion (sheep suckling a lamb), can help us to recover the style of sculptures of animals executed by Arkesilaos and Pasiteles, Wickhoff, *Wiener Genesis*, p. 26.

13. quattuordecim nationes: to correspond to the number of nations subjugated by Pompeius (Plut. *Pomp.* xlv; cf. Vell. ii, 40; Plin. vii, 98 mentions only thirteen nations; the fourteenth statue was apparently added to commemorate the triumph over the pirates, a mention of which closes the Act. Triumph. for the year 693; Gilbert, *Rom*, p. 326, note 2). These

Pasiteles, the author of five books on the celebrated works of art *Pasiteles*. in all the world. This artist was born on the Greek coast of 40 Italy, and received the Roman citizenship when it was given to the cities of that district. He made the ivory statue of Jupiter in the temple of Metellus on the way to the Field of Mars. It happened that once at the docks where were the wild beasts from Africa, as he was looking into a den to make a study of a lion on a relief, a panther broke out of another cage, to the great peril of the conscientious artist. His works are said to be numerous, but they are nowhere mentioned by name. †*Arkesilaos* also is highly 41 esteemed by Varro, who possessed a marble group by his hand *Arkesilaos*. of a lioness with winged Loves sporting about her; some are holding her by a cord, others are forcing her to drink out of a horn, and others are putting shoes upon her; the whole is carved out of one block. Varro is again my authority for saying that †*Coponius* made the fourteen statues of the nations which stand round the theatre of Pompeius. I find too that *Kanachos*, famous for his bronzes, worked also in marble, nor must I overlook †*Sauras* and †*Batrachos*, Lakonians by birth, who built the temples 42 enclosed by the galleries of Octavia. Some say that they were *Sauras and Batrachos*. rich men who built the temples at their own cost, hoping that their names would be inscribed upon them. Foiled in this, they yet achieved their object in another way, so it is said, and it is

statues are the earliest instances of those personifications of conquered peoples so conspicuous in Roman art. It is noteworthy that the artist was a Roman (Brunn, *K. G.* i, p. 602). These may be the statues concerning the placing of which Atticus advised Pompeius, Cic. *Att.* iv, 9.

circa Pompeium: Suet. *Nero*, 46.

14. Canachum: xxxiv, 50, 75.

§ 42. 15. *Sauram atque Batrachum*: names of animals were familiar in Greece as proper names (cf. *Taûpos*, *Σκύμνος*, *Τέριξ*, *Μῦς*, and the long lists in Fick, *Gr. Personennamen*, p. 314 ff.). Moreover, it was a usual Roman custom to introduce—on grave-reliefs—some allusive emblem to the name of the deceased: a boar for Titus Statilius Aper (*C. I. L.* vi, 1975; Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 423); a calf

for C. Tullius Vitulus (Fabretti, *Inscr.* p. 187). By an extension of this custom, the architects S. and B. might carve a frog and a lizard in lieu of signature among the ornaments of a column. The serious objection to the story is that Vitruvius (iii, 2, 5) names Hermodoros of Salamis as the architect of the temples. We must therefore conclude either that the story is aitiological—the ornaments of the columns giving rise to a story to which the custom of allusive emblems noted above lent plausibility—or that S. and B. were architects-adjoint, or perhaps merely donors of the said columns, whom at a later date legend turned into architects of the temples.

18. *inscriptionem sperantes*: this portion of the anecdote is, in any case, apocryphal.

certe etiamnum in columnarum spiris insculptae nominum
 43 eorum argumento lacerta atque rana. in Iovis aede ex iis
 pictura cultusque reliquus omnis femineis argumentis constat,
 erat enim facta Iunoni, sed, cum inferrentur signa,
 permutasse geruli traduntur, et id religione custoditum 5
 velut ipsis diis sedem ita partitis. ergo et in Iunonis aede
 cultus est qui Iovis esse debuit. sunt et in parvulis marmo-
 reis famam consecuti Myrmecides, cuius quadrigam cum
 agitatore operuit alis musca, et Callicrates, cuius fornicarum
 pedes atque alia membra pervidere non est. 10

44 Haec sint dicta de marmoris sculptoribus summaque
 claritate artificum.

2. lacerta atque rana: cf. the lizard and frog carved on the capital of one of the columns of San Lorenzo fuori le mura, transferred from some ancient building.

§ 43. in Iovis aede: above, §§ 35, 40; according to Vell. Paterc. i, 11, who states that the temple of Jupiter was the first in Rome to be built of marble; the temples being *sine inscriptione*, legend naturally soon became active on the subject.

7. parvulis marmoreis: a confusion of Pliny's, who in vii, 85, mentions Myrm. and Kall. as workers in ivory.

8. Myrmecides: of Athens, according to Choiroboskos (quoted by Schol. to Dionysios Thrax = Overb.

Schriftquell. 2194), or of Miletos (Ailian, *ποικ. ior.* i, 17). He is generally represented as making the chariot conjointly with K. Another marvel of their *μικροτεχνία* was a grain of sesame engraved with an elegiac distich (according to Plutarch, *adv. Stoicos*, xiv, 5, two lines of Homer). There is no clue to the date of either artist.

quadrigam: in vii, 85 it is mentioned as of ivory, while Choiroboskos (above) says iron; and the grammarian Theodosios (*S. Q.* 2201), bronze; it looks suspiciously as if the *quadriga* were apocryphal. Yet the execution of a microscopic chariot was quite within the power of the ancient goldsmith, cf. the tiny chariot led by

undeniably true that a lizard and a frog, typifying their names, are still to be seen carved on the bases of the columns. Of these 43 two temples the one dedicated to Jupiter contains only paintings and decorations relating to women, for as a matter of fact it was built for Juno; but the porters made a mistake, it is said, when they brought in the statues, and superstition consecrated the error, as though this division of their shrines were due to the gods themselves. In the same way the temple of Juno has the ornaments appropriate to Jupiter.

Miniature works in marble likewise secured renown for *Myrmekides*, whose four-horse chariot and charioteer could be covered by the wings of a fly, and for *Kallikrates*, whose ants have feet and limbs too small to be distinguished by the human eye. *Miniature works.*

This closes what I have to say of workers in marble and of the 44 most famous sculptors.

a Nike, with Eroses at each side, belonging to the ear-pendant, *Ant. du Bosphore Cimmérien*, ed. Reinach, pl. xii, 5, 5^a. Reinach (p. 4) justly sees in it a confirmation of the praises bestowed by the ancients on the *μυρμηκεία* of Theodoros, Myrmekides, and Kallikrates. Perhaps, therefore, we should look upon all these artists as practising the art of goldsmiths by the side of the greater art of statuary in bronze or marble (see note on xxxiv, 83).

9. *Callikrates*: of Lakedaimon (Ailian and Choiroboskos).

formicarum: the fashioning of ants and bees is attributed by Cicero (*Acad. prior.* ii, 38, 120) to Myrmekides—rightly, to judge from the man's name, which is doubtless a nickname won for him by his skill.

10. *pervidere non est*: cf. Varro (*Ling. Lat.* vii, i), who says of the works of Myrmekides that they could only be properly seen when placed on black silk.

APPENDIX.

I.

LIB. VII.

- 125 IDEM hic imperator edixit ne quis ipsum alius quam Apelles pingeret, quam Pyrgoteles scalperet, quam Lysippus ex aere duceret, quae artes pluribus inclaruere exemplis.
- 126 Aristidis Thebani pictoris unam tabulam centum talentis rex Attalus licitus est, octoginta emit duas Caesar dictator, 5 Mediam et Aiacem Timomachi, in templo Veneris Genetricis dicaturus. Candaules rex Bularchi picturam Magnetum exiti, haud mediocris spatii, pari rependit auro. Rhodum non incendit rex Demetrius expugnator cognominatus, ne tabulam Protogenis cremaret a parte ea muri locatam. 10
- 127 Praxiteles marmore nobilitatus est Gnidiaque Venere praecipue vesano amore cuiusdam iuuenis insigni, sed et Nicomedis aestimatione regis grandi Gnidiorum aere alieno permutare eam conati. Phidiae Iuppiter Olympius cotidie testimonium perhibet, Mentori Capitolinus et Diana Ephesia, 15 quibus fuere consecrata artis eius vasa.

II.

- 198 Normam autem et libellam et tornum et clavem Theodorus Samius (*sc.* invenit).

VII, 125. 2. **Apelles**: xxxv, 85; cf. Hor. *Ep.* II, 1, 239; *Edicto vetuit, ne quis se praeter Apellen | Pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret aera | Fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia . . .*

Pyrgoteles: xxxvii, 8.

Lysippus: see note on xxxiv, 63.

§ 126. 4. **Aristidis Thebani**: xxxv, 98.

centum talentis: after the sack

of Corinth this sum was offered by Attalos, or rather by Philopoimen on his behalf, for the 'Dionysos and Ariadne' of Aristeides; upon which Mummius, staggered at the value set upon the picture, retained it (xxxv, 24 and note).

6. **Mediam et Aiacem Timom.**: xxxv, 26; 136.

7. **Bularchi picturam**: xxxv, 55 and note.

I.

THE emperor Alexander also issued an edict that none but BOOK VII.
125
Apelles might paint his portrait, none but Pyrgoteles engrave it,
and none but Lysippos cast his statue in bronze. Several famous
likenesses of him exist of these three kinds.

King Attalos bought a single picture by Aristeides of Thebes 126
for a hundred talents [£21,000 circ.], and the dictator Caesar
gave eighty [£16,800 circ.] for two by Timomachos, a Medeia
and an Aias, which he intended to dedicate in the temple of
Venus the Mother. King Kandaules paid its weight in gold for
a picture of no small dimensions by Boularchos, representing the
destruction of the Magnetes. King Demetrios, surnamed the
Destroyer of Cities, refrained from setting fire to Rhodes, for fear
he should burn a painting by Protogenes which was near the
part of the city wall threatened. Praxiteles owes his fame to his 127
marble sculptures and to his Aphrodite at Knidos, which is best
known by the story of the youth who fell madly in love with it,
and also by the value King Nikomedes set on it when he offered
to take it in acquittal of the heavy state debt of the Knidians. Zeus
of Olympia daily bears testimony in honour of Pheidias, as for
Mentor do Jupiter of the Capitol and Artemis of Ephesos, to
whom the cups made by his hand have been consecrated.

I.

The rule and line, the lathe and lever, were invented by 198
Theodoros of Samos.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 8. Rhodum non incendit: | 49, 54; xxxvi, 18. |
| xxxv, 104. | 15. Capitolinus . . . Ephesia: |
| § 127. 11. marmore nobilitatus: | xxxiii, 154 and note. |
| xxxvi, 20; cf. xxxiv, 69 <i>Prax.</i> | § 198. 17. Theodorus Samius: |
| <i>quoque marmore felicior.</i> | xxxiv, 83 and note. |
| 14. Iuppiter Olympius: xxxiv, | |

III.

205 Picturam Aegypti et in Graecia Euchir Daedali cognatus
ut Aristoteli placet, ut Theophrasto Polygnotus Atheniensis
(*sc.* condere instituerunt).

IV.

LIB. XVI.
213

Maxime aeternam putant hebenum et cupressum cedrum-
que, claro de omnibus materiis iudicio in templo Ephesiae 5
Dianae, utpote cum tota Asia exstruente CXX annis per-
actum sit. convenit tectum eius esse e cedrinis trabibus.
de simulacro ipso deae ambigitur. ceteri ex hebeno esse
tradunt, Mucianus ter cos. ex his qui proxime viso scrip-
sere vitigineum et numquam mutatum septies restituto 10
214 templo, hanc materiam elegisse Endoeon, etiam nomen
artificis nuncupans, quod equidem miror, cum antiquiorem
Minerva quoque, non modo Libero patre, vetustatem ei
tribuat.

V.

LIB. XXI.
4.

Arborum enim ramis coronari in sacris certaminibus 15
mos erat primum. postea variare coeptum mixtura versi-
colori florum, quae invicem odores coloresque accenderet,
Sicyone ingenio Pausiae pictoris atque Glycerae coronariae
dilectae admodum illi, cum opera eius pictura imitaretur,
illa provocans variaret, essetque certamen artis ac naturae, 20
quales etiam nunc exstant artificis illius tabellae atque in
primis appellata stephaneplocos qua pinxit ipsam.

II. Endoeon] *Sillig*; eandem con *codices*.

§ 205. 1. *Aegypti*: xxxv, 15.

Euchir: in xxxv, 152 he figures as one of the Corinthian modellers who accompanied Damaratos to Italy; in Paus. vi, 4, 4 as the master of Klearchos of Rhegion, the master of Pythagoras. At least it seems probable that it is one and the same personage to whom different parts are assigned in various apocryphal traditions concerning the beginnings of the several arts, cf. Robert *Arch. Münch.* p. 131, note 2. For an artist of the name in late historic times see xxxiv, 91.

2. *Theophrasto*: on the misunderstanding involved here see *Introd.* p. xxx.

XVI, 213. 5. templo *Ephesiae*: below, xxxvi, 95.

9. *Mucianus*: *Introd.* p. lxxxv ff.

11. *Endoeon*: the name was restored by *Sillig* from Athenag. *Προσβ.* 17 (below, App. xi) for the corrupt *eandem con* of the MSS. Besides Ephesos, Endoios also worked in Asia Minor at Eruthrai (Paus. vii, 5, 9); further, in one of his two inscriptions (*I. G. B.* 8, stele of

III.

Painting was first invented by the Egyptians, and introduced 205 into Greece, according to Aristotle, by *Eucheir*, a kinsman of Daidalos, but according to Theophrastos by *Polygnotos* of Athens.

IV.

Ebony, cypress, and cedar wood are thought to be the most durable, every wood having been signally tested in the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, which all Asia joined to build, and which was completed in a hundred and twenty years. While all agree that the roof is made of cedar beams, we have varying accounts of the image of the goddess. All other writers say that it is of ebony, but among those who have written after close inspection, Mucianus, who was thrice consul, declares that it is of vine-wood, and has remained unchanged though the temple has been restored seven times. The material, he says, was the choice of *Endoios*, the maker, whose name he gives somewhat to my surprise, since he holds the image to be not only earlier than the Dionysos, but also than the Athene. 214

BOOK XVI.

213

V.

Branches of trees were originally used for crowns in the sacred games. Later on the fashion of intertwining flowers of different hues, to strengthen each other's scent and colour, was invented and introduced at Sikyon by the painter Pausias and Glykera, a wreath-seller whom he loved. He imitated her wares in painting, and she varied them to challenge him, thus making art and nature vie together. Pictures by Pausias in this style are still extant, the most noteworthy being the *στεφανηπλόκος*, or wreath-binder, a portrait of Glykera herself.

BOOK XXI.

4

Lampito) he uses the Ionic dialect, while in the other (*Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, 1888, p. 208) he uses the Ionic alphabet. It is probable, therefore, that he was an Ionian, whom the later art-historians turned into an Athenian, as they did Alkamenes and others (see *Add. to Introd.* p. 232). From their epigraphy the inscriptions must be dated between B.C. 532 and 508; for the

latest discussion of Endoios and his date see Lechat in *Rev. des Études Grecques*, v, 1892, p. 385 ff. The most famous work of Endoios was the seated Athena (below, App. xi; Paus. i, 26, 4) dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis by one Kallias.

XXI, 4. 18. Pausiæ . . . Glycœræ: xxxv, 125 and note.

LIB.
XXXVI.
90

VI.

Lemnius (*sc.* labyrinthus) similis illi columnis tantum CL memorabilior fuit, quarum in officina turbines ita librati pependerit ut puero circumagente tornarentur. architecti fecere Zmilis et Rhoecus et Theodorus indigenae.

VII.

95 Graecae magnificentiae vera admiratio exstat templum 5 Ephesiae Dianae CXX annis factum a tota Asia. in solo id palustri fecere, ne terrae motus sentiret aut hiatus timeret, rursus ne in lubrico atque instabili fundamenta tantae molis locarentur, calcatis ea substravere carbonibus, dein velleribus lanae. universo templo longitudo est CCCCXXV pedum, 10 latitudo CCXXV, columnae CXXVII a singulis regibus factae LX pedum altitudine, ex is XXXVI caelatae, una a Scopa. operi praefuit Chersiphron architectus.

VIII.

177 Elide aedis est Minervae in qua frater Phidiae Panaenus tectorium induxit lacte et croco subactum, ut ferunt, ideo, 15 si teratur hodie in eo saliva pollice, odorem croci saporemque reddit.

IX.

184 Pavimenta originem apud Graecos habent elaborata ante picturae ratione donec lithostrota expulere eam. celeberrima

12. una a] *Bamb.*; una *Ricc., Voss.*

XXXVI, 90. 1. Lemnius (*lab.*): by error for the Samian labyrinth, see note on xxxiv, 83.

§ 95. 5. templum Ephesiae Dianae: the description seems borrowed from Mucianus, *Introd.* p. lxxxviii; cf. xvi, 213, but the account is very confused, referring partly to the first temple (begun close of seventh century B.C. and burnt 356 B.C. by Herostratos, Strabo, xiv, p. 640) and partially to the second, upon which Skopas would be employed. The reconstruction of the Ephesian Artemision is beset with

almost as grave difficulties as that of the Mausoleion, but see the interesting attempt lately made by A. S. Murray, *Journal of the R. Inst. of Brit. Archit.*, 1895, p. 41 ff. The ancient literature is fully given and discussed by Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 345 ff.

8. *ne in lubrico . . . lanae*: this was done by the advice of Theodoros, Diogenes Laertios, ii, 8, 103.

10. *universo templo*: i. e. measuring the length along the lowermost step of the platform, see A. S. Murray, *op. cit.* p. 44.

VI.

BOOK
XXXVI.
90

The labyrinth of Lemnos is like that of Krete, but is distinguished by its columns, a hundred and fifty in number. Their drums were raised from the ground in the stone-yard and balanced on a pivot, so that a boy could set them spinning round and smooth their surface. The architects who built it were *Smilis*, *Rhoikos*, and *Theodoros*, natives of the island.

VII.

Our genuine admiration for the magnificence of the Greek genius 95 is roused by the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, which was built in a hundred and twenty years by the exertions of all Asia. The temple was placed on a marshy site, that it might not suffer from earthquakes, or be in danger from the cracking of the ground, while on the other hand, to prevent any insecurity or shifting in the foundation on which the massive weight of the temple was to rest, a substratum was laid of pounded charcoal covered with fleeces. The full length of the temple is 425 feet, and its breadth 225; there are 127 columns 60 feet high, each made by a different king. Of these 36 are carved, one of them by *Skopas*. The chief architect was *Chersiphron*.

VIII.

There is at Elis a temple of Athena in which we are told that 177 Panainos, the brother of Pheidias, mixed the plaster on the walls with saffron and milk; hence to this very day if the finger is wetted in the mouth and rubbed on the wall, it smells and tastes of saffron.

IX.

The Greeks were the first to introduce paved floors, which they 184 decorated with painting until mosaic took its place. The most

12. *una a Scopas*: this is the reading of Cod. Bamb.; it was kindly verified for this edition by Mr. Fischer. Chronologically it is quite possible that Skopas worked for the second Ephesian temple, see note on xxxvi, 30.

13. *Chersiphron*: the first architect of the first temple, vii, 125.

§ 177. 14. *Elide*: xxxv, 54, both Panainos and Kolotes had been employed on the statue of Athena, and it is evident from the present passage that Panainos must have decorated the temple with wall-paintings.

§ 184. 19. *lithostrota*: the earliest instance of a mosaic floor in Greece

mus fuit in hoc genere Sosus qui Pergami stravit quem vocant asaroton oecon, quoniam purgamenta cenae in pavimenti quaeque everri solent velut relictia fecerat parvis e tessellis tinctisque in varios colores. mirabilis ibi columba bibens et aquam umbra capitis infuscans. apricantur aliae 5 scabentes sese in canthari labro.

X.

LIB.
XXXVII.

8

Polycratis gemma quae demonstratur intacta inlibataque est. Ismeniae aetate multos post annos apparet scalpi etiam smaragdus solitos. confirmat hanc eandem opinionem edictum Alexandri magni quo vetuit in hac gemma ab alio 10 se scalpi quam ab Pyrgotele non dubie clarissimo artis eius. Post eum Apollonides et Cronius in gloria fuere quique divi Augusti imaginem simillime expressit, qua postea principes signant, Dioscurides.

XI.

Athena-
goras,
Προσβεία

Αἱ δ' εἰκόνας μέχρι μήπω πλαστικὴ καὶ γραφικὴ καὶ ἀνδριαν- 15
τοποιητικὴ ἦσαν, οὐδὲ ἐνομιζόντο· Σαυρίου δὲ τοῦ Σαμίλου καὶ

is that of the *Pronaos* of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, *Olympia, Baudenk.* ii, pl. cv (cf. *ib.* i, pl. ix). Mosaic came into general use in the time of the Diadochoi; cf. Athen. xii, 542 d, *ib.* v, 206 d.

. 2. *asaroton oecon*: cf. the mosaic in the Lateran (Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 694) strewn with fragments of food, and the mosaic (Brit. Mus.) representing strewn leaves.—Statius *Silv.* i, 3, 56.

4. *columba bibens*: a similar subject in the famous mosaic of the Capitol, found in the villa of Hadrian; Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 450; cf. the mosaics in Naples, *Mo.* 9992 and 114281. From the words *mirabilis ibi* it appears that the dove drinking was part of the larger composition representing the unswept floor. Doves on the edge of a vase are a subject of frequent occurrence on

coins, cf. Drexler, *Zeitschrift f. Numismatik*, vol. xix.

XXXVII, 8. 7. *Polycratis gemma*: according to Pliny in § 4 of this book it was a sardonyx, and was preserved at Rome, in the Temple of Concord, set in a horn, the offering of Augusta (sc. Livia).

intacta inlibataque: on the other hand, Strabo, xiv, p. 638, speaks of its being splendidly graven, and Herodotos (iii, 41) of its being a seal of emerald (i. e. emerald-prase, see Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 468; Furtwängler, *Jahrb.* iii, 1888, p. 194) mounted in a gold ring *σφρηγὶς χρυσόδετος*; it was reputed the work of Theodoros, cf. Paus. viii, 14, 1, and see note above on xxxiv, 83.

8. *Ismeniae*: Plut. *Per.* 1; Apuleius, *de Deo Socr.* 21; Boethius, *Inst. Mus.* I, 1 (ed. Friedlein, p. 185,

celebrated worker in mosaic is †*Sosos*, who laid the floors of a house at Pergamon, known as the ἀσάρωτος οἶκος, or Unswept House, because he represented in small bits of many-coloured mosaic the scraps from the table and everything that is usually swept away, as if they had been left lying on the floor. Among these mosaics is a marvellous dove drinking and casting the shadow of its head on the water. Other doves are pluming their feathers in the sun on the lip of a goblet.

X.

The gem shown as that of Polykrates is uncut and untouched. We find that at a much later date, in the days of Ismenias, even emeralds were engraved. An edict of Alexander the Great confirms this: he forbade any one but *Pyrgoteles*, who was beyond doubt the greatest master of the art, to engrave his likeness on these gems. After *Pyrgoteles*, †*Apollonides* and †*Kronios* won fame, and *Dioskourides* who engraved that perfect likeness of the god Augustus which later emperors have used as their seal.

BOOK
XXXVII.

8

9

XI.

Images of the gods were not had in honour at all before the arts of modelling, of painting and of statuary were introduced,

20). *Dionysodoros* is known only from Pliny.

9. *smaragdus*: emerald, however, does not appear to have come into use till Hellenistic times, and then only unimportant gems were cut in this stone.

11. *ab Pyrgotele*: vii, 125 (App. I); cf. *Apuleius, Florida*, i, p. 7 (ed. Krueger, 1865); he is unknown outside literature.

13. *Augusti imaginem*: a full list (needing revision however) of portraits of Augustus on gems is given by Bernoulli, *Röm. Iconographie*, ii, p. 46. None can be traced back to *Dioskourides*.

14. *Dioscurides*: of the numerous extant gems bearing the signature of D. six only are recognized as genuine

by Furtwängler, *Jahrb.* iii, 1888, pp. 218-224; *ib.* pl. iii, 1; pl. viii, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26. To these signed instances should be added, according to R. von Schneider (*Album der Wiener Sammlungen*, p. 16, text to plate 41), the great Vienna cameo representing the family of Augustus.—Three sons of *Dioskourides*,—*Hierophilos*, *Hyllos*, and *Entyches*,—are known from their signatures on gems to have been gem-engravers; see Furtwängler, *op. cit.* p. 304 ff.

15. Αἱ δ' εἰκόνας . . . : the rhetoric of *Athenagoras* seems evolved out of the same curious notion appearing in *Plin.* xxxiv, 9, 16, that art progressed from lesser objects to statues of the gods.

16. Σαυπίου . . . Σαυπίου: we again

περὶ Χριστιανῶν, 17 (ed. Schwartz, p. 18).

Κράτωνος τοῦ Σικυωνίου καὶ Κλεάνθους τοῦ Κορινθίου καὶ κόρης Κορινθίας γενομένων καὶ σκιαγραφίας μὲν εὐρεθείσης ὑπὸ Σαυρίου Ἰππον ἐν ἡλίῳ περιγράψαντος, γραφικῆς δὲ ὑπὸ Κράτωνος ἐν πίνακι λελευκωμένῳ σκιάς ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐναλείψαντος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κόρης κοροπλαθικῆς [εὐρέθη] (ἐρωτικῶς γάρ τινας ἔχουσα περι- 5 ἔγραψεν αὐτοῦ κοιμωμένου ἐν τοίχῳ τὴν σκιάν, εἶθ' ὁ πατὴρ ἠσθεὶς ἀπαραλλάκτῳ οὕτῃ ὁμοιότητι (κέραμον δὲ εἰργάζετο) ἀναγλύψας τὴν περιγραφὴν πηλῷ προσανεπλήρωσεν· ὁ τύπος ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Κορίνθῳ σφύζεται), τούτοις δὲ ἐπιγενομένοι Δαίδαλος Θεόδωρος Σμίλις ἀνδριανοποιητικὴν καὶ πλαστικὴν προσεξεύρου. ὁ μὲν δὴ 10 χρόνος ὀλίγος τοσοῦτος ταῖς εἰκόσι καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ εἶδωλα πραγματεία, ὡς ἔχειν εἰπεῖν τὸν ἐκάστου τεχνίτην θεοῦ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίας (μᾶλλον δὲ Ἀθηλαῶ· ἀθήλη γὰρ ὡς οἱ μυστικώτερον οὕτω γὰρ) τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαίας τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὴν Καθημένην Ἐνδοῖος εἰργάσατο μαθητὴς Δαίδαλου, 15 ὁ δὲ Πύθιος ἔργον Θεοδώρου καὶ Τηλεκλέους καὶ ὁ Δῆλιος καὶ ἡ Ἄρτεμις Τεκταίου καὶ Ἀγγελίωνος τέχνη, ἡ δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ Ἥρα καὶ ἐν Ἄργει Σμίλιδος χεῖρες καὶ Φειδίου τὰ λοιπὰ εἶδωλα ἡ Ἀφροδίτη (ἡ) ἐν Κνίδῳ ἑτέρα Πραξιτέλους τέχνη, ὁ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἔργον Φειδίου. συνελόντα φάναι, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δια- 20 πέφευγεν τὸ μὴ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου γεγενῆαι. εἰ τοίνυν θεοί, τί οὐκ ἦσαν ἐξ ὀρχῆς; τί δὲ εἰσιν νεώτεροι τῶν πεποιηκῶτων; τί δὲ ἔδει αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι ἀνθρώπων καὶ τέχνης; γῆ ταῦτα καὶ λίθοι καὶ ὕλη καὶ περιέργος τέχνη.

catch here the echo of some art-writer who had contrasted the claims of island and mainland schools; cf. *Introd.* pp. xxiii, xxvi.

1. Κλεάνθους: *Plin.* xxxv, 15.

κόρης Κορινθίας: *Plin.* xxxv, 151.

6. αὐτοῦ κοιμωμένου: while in *Pliny* the lover is represented as going away.

8. ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Κορίνθῳ: *donec Mummius Corinthum everterit*, *Plin.* xxxv, 151; hence it appears that

Athenagoras is quoting—though not necessarily at first hand—from an author older than B.C. 146.

14. τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαίας: *Paus.* i, 26,

6. Athenagoras is the only writer who attributes the statue to Endoios.

15. Ἐνδοῖος: above note on xvi, 214 = *App.* IV.

μαθητῆς Δαίδαλου: *Paus.* i, 26, 4.

16. ὁ δὲ Πύθιος: *Diodoros*, i, 98.

ὁ Δῆλιος: *Paus.* ii, 32, 5; cf. *Plut. de Mus.* 14 (= *Bernardakis*, vi,

but are later than the days of †*Saurias* of Samos, †*Kraton* of Sikyon, *Kleanthes* of Corinth, and a maiden, also of Corinth. Linear drawing was discovered by Saurias, who traced the outline of the shadow cast by a horse in the sun, and painting by Kraton, who painted on a whitened tablet the shadows of a man and woman. The maiden invented the art of modelling figures in relief. She was in love with a youth, and while he lay asleep she sketched the outline of his shadow on the wall. Delighted with the perfection of the likeness, her father, who was a potter, cut out the shape and filled in the outline with clay; the figure is still preserved at Corinth. After these came *Daidalos*, *Theodoros*, and *Smilis*, who introduced the arts of statuary and modelling. In fact so short a time has passed since statues and the making of images were introduced, that we can name the maker of each several god. *Endoios*, the pupil of Daidalos, made the statue of Artemis at Ephesos, the old olive-wood image of Athena (or rather of Athela [the unsuckled], for so those better acquainted with her mysteries call her), and the seated image; the Pythian Apollo is the work of *Theodoros* and *Telekles*; the Apollo and Artemis at Delos are by *Tektaios* and *Angelion*; the statues of Hera in Samos and in Argos are by the hand of Smilis, and the other statues are by *Pheidias*; *Praxiteles* made the second Aphrodite at Knidos, and Pheidias the Asklepios at Epidauros. In a word, there is not one of them but is the work of man's hands. If, then, these are gods, why were they not from the beginning, and why are they younger than those who made them? What need had they of men and human art to bring them into being? They are but earth and stones and wood and cunning art.

p. 500); for the type see P. Gardner and Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Comm.* CC xi-xiv.

17. ἡ Ἀρτεμις: known only from Athenagoras.

ἡ δὲ ἐν Σ. Ἡρα: Paus. vii, 4, 4; for the type cf. P. Gardner, *Samos and Samian Coins*, pp. 19, 75 ff, pl. v, 1-9. Smilis was himself a Samian,

above notes on App. VI. and on xxxiv, 83.

18. ἐν Ἀργεῖ: this Argive Hera by Smilis is known only from Athenagoras; but see Brunn, *K. G.* i, p. 27.

19. Ἀφροδ. ἐν Κνίδῳ: Plin. xxxvi, 20.

20. Ἀσκληπιός: see Introd. p. liv, note 1.

ADDENDA

I. INTRODUCTION

Page xlili, note 2. F. Münzer provides me with a final proof of the indebtedness of Antigonos to Duris for the story of the Nemesis; he points out (in a private letter) the striking similarity between the story told in Pliny, of the vengeance taken by Agorakritos, and the following fragment from Duris in Plutarch (*Lysander* 18 = Fr. 65, Müller): 'Ἀντιμάχου δὲ τοῦ Κολοφώνιου καὶ Νικηράτου τινὸς Ἡρακλεώτου ποιήμασι Λυσάνδρεια διαγωνισαμένων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ (sc. Lysander) τὸν Νικηράτον ἔστεφάνωσεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίμαχος ἀχθεσθεὶς ἠφάνισε τὸ ποίημα. Πλάτων δὲ νέος ὦν τότε καὶ θαυμάζων τὸν Ἀντίμαχον ἐπὶ τῇ ποιητικῇ, βαρέως φέροντα τὴν ἤτταν ἀνελάμβανε καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο, τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι. . . 'There were two other poets, Antimachus Colophonian, and Niceratus born at Heraclea, which did both wryte verses to honour him (Lysander), striving whether of them should do best. Lysander judged the crown and victory unto Niceratus: wherewith Antimachus was so angry that he rased out all that he had written of him. But Plato, who at that time was young, and loved Antimachus because he was an excellent poet, did comforte him, and tolde him that ignorance . . . ' (North, ed. Wyndham, vol. iii, p. 247).

P. li. Still another story of a self-taught artist, preserved this time not in Pliny but in Pausanias, has been pointed out to me by F. Münzer, whose communication on the subject I translate verbally: 'The account of Pausanias (v, 20, 2) concerning Kolotes may be classed with the stories from Duris noted *Hermes*, xxx, p. 532 f.: εἶναι δὲ φασιν ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τὸν Κολώτην. οἱ δὲ πολυπραγμονήσαντες σπουδῇ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πλάστας Πάριον ἀποφαίνουσιν ὄντα αὐτὸν, μαθητὴν Πασιτέλους, Πασιτέλην δὲ αὐτοδιδασθῆναι (Buttmann's reading for the αὐτὸν διδασθῆναι of the MSS., which it is impossible to retain except by assuming a lacuna). Thus the same is recounted here of Pasiteles as of the several men noted *loc. cit.* Like the Seilanion, Protogenes, Erigonos, and Lysippos of Duris, Pasiteles is represented as having had no teacher; like Seilanion, Erigonos and Pythagoras of Rhegion, he had one pupil. Pasiteles is as completely unknown as these three pupils, and as the master of the philosopher Demokritos invented by Duris (fr. 56). I accordingly believe that the view combated by Pausanias must be traced back to Duris. It is uncertain whether Antigonos had already combated it, or whether he combined it with the current tradition, inasmuch as he transferred Kolotes from the Parian to the Athenian school. To alter the birthplace of Kolotes from Herakleia to Paros, whereby he was made into the countryman of his fellow-pupil Agorakritos, was a slight matter in the eyes of Duris, for he had turned Kleoboulos of Lindos into a Karian, and proclaimed the foreign origin of other of the seven sages (Müller, *F. H. G.* ii, p. 482, fr. 53-55); probably also he had transferred the scene of an anecdote from Kroton to Agrigentum (Plin. xxxiv, 64, cf. *Hermes*, xxx, p. 537, u. 1).' In the light of the preceding

note of Münzer's, it has become plain to me that Duris must be held responsible for the tradition that represented Alkamenēs as a native of Lemnos (Ἀλήμνιος; Soudas, s. v. Ἀλκαμένης; νησιώτης, Tzetzes, *Chil.* viii, 340), whereas Antigonos turned him into an Athenian (Plin. xxxvi, 16). It is natural to find Duris—a Samian—repeatedly championing the claims of the Greeks of Asia Minor and the islands to artistic pre-eminence. Nor must we forget that, careless of accuracy though he was, he doubtless had at his command detailed information which was no longer within reach of the later art-historians, who were content to group artists about the chief art-centres. Thus Endoios, who was probably really an Ionian (note on Appendix XI), is represented in Pausanias simply as Ἀθηναῖος. One great error of modern archaeologists is to attempt to harmonize the variant traditions instead of tracing them to their different sources, which will generally be discovered in periods wide apart.

P. li, note 6: *The masters of Pheidias*. I am pleased to find what I wrote six months back concerning the masters of Pheidias confirmed by the comments of Michaelis (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1896, no. 25, p. 788; rev. of E. Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*) on the untrustworthiness of the Hagelaïdas tradition: the same scholion on Aristoph. *Frogs*, 504, which names Hagelaïdas as the master of Pheidias, also contains a mistake concerning the Herakles Alexikakos of Hagelaïdas; this same untrustworthy scholion is the source for the information of Tzetzes and Soudas (above, p. li, note 3). Michaelis accordingly disputes the strange contention of E. Gardner (*Handbook*, p. 194; cf. pp. 248, 265) that 'the relation of Pheidias to Ageladas is the best established by literary evidence,' 'vielmehr ist Phidias' Schülerverhältniss zu dem Attiker Hegias einmal, aber gut, das zu Hageladas viermal, aber schlecht bezeugt.' To the unsatisfactory character of E. Gardner's proposed emendation of Dio Chrys. Or. lv. 1 (*Class. Rev.* viii, 1894, p. 70) I have drawn attention elsewhere (*ib.* p. 171, note 1).

P. lxi. The story of the angry artist and the sponge is told by Dio Chrysostom (Or. lxiii, 4 = *Schriftqu.* 1889) of Apelles and his picture of a war horse. I find that Mr. A. S. Murray (*Handbook*, p. 384) has already pointed out, in connexion with Apelles, that the story seemed the anecdotic illustration of the line of Agathon.

P. lxii. From a remark in note 1 on p. 537 of his article in the *Hermes*, it would seem that Münzer also inclines to attribute the story of Zenxis and the five maidens to Duris. But Münzer makes Duris responsible for the transference of the scene of the story from Kroton to Agrigentum (cf. above, Add. to p. li). Possibly, therefore, we may some day be able to drive the story home to a source whence Duris himself quoted—or misquoted.

P. lxxxv. *Fabius Vestalis*: it is worth noting that, since in each of the three notices his name appears last on the Plinian lists, he was probably only a supplementary author (comm. by Dr. Münzer).

BOOK XXXIII

P. 6, 2. *crustarius*: there are superb examples of ἐμβλήματα among the cups of both the treasures of Hildesheim (Berlin) and of Bosco Reade (Louvre); cf. Winter, *Arch. Anz.* 1896, p. 93. For the most part the *emblemata* appears in the shape of a bust in full relief, soldered to a silver plate.

BOOK XXXIV

P. 6, 18. *proscriptum ab Antonio*: cf. Gardthausen, *Augustus*, i, p. 136.

P. 8, 19. *tricliniorum pedibus fulcrisque*: that the *fulcrum* was 'the framework on which the pillows of a couch or the cushions of a chair were placed' has been maintained and fully proved by W. C. F. Anderson, *Class. Rev.* iii, 1889, p. 322 ff.

P. 14, 7. *ubi omnium . . . iconicas vocant*: the latest discussion of this passage is by Dittenberger and Purgold, *Olympische Inschriften*, col. 236, 295 f, where it is pointed out that in the inscr. recording the Olympic victory of Xenobrotos of Kos (*ib.* no. 170; Paus. vi, 14, 12) the *τοῖος ὄποιον ὄργης* of the fifth line proves that the statue was iconic; yet the epigram and the silence of Pausanias both show that X. was no *τρισολυμπιονίκης*.

P. 16, 13. *elephanti*: on triumphal chariots drawn by elephants see, however, Gardthausen, *Augustus*, ii, p. 257.

P. 23, 13. *Statues of Demetrios of Phaleron*: the lines from Varro run—

*Hic Demetrius aeneas tot aptust
Quot lucas habet annus absolutus*

(for the first line, as emended by Scaliger, Bormann, *Arch. Ep. Mitth.* xvii, 1894, p. 233 f., proposes *hic Demetrius est [tot aera nac]tus*). Wachsmuth (*loc. cit.*) is probably right in tracing back the legend of the number of statues put up to Demetrios to an epigram—'as many statues as there are days in the year'—a playful turn which was afterwards accepted as serious fact, giving rise not only to the statements in Varro and Pliny, but to the improved version in Diogenes that all these statues were erected to Demetrios in a period less than a year: *εἰκόνων ἡξιώθη χαλκῶν ἐξήκοντα πρὸς ταῖς τριακοσίαις, ὧν αἱ πλείους ἐφ' ἵππων ἦσαν καὶ ἀρμάτων καὶ συνωρίδων, συντελεσθεῖσαι ἐν οὐδὲ τριακοσίαις ἡμέραις.*—Cornelius Nepos, *Miltiades*, vi, and Plutarch, *Praec. reip. gerend.* 27 E (Bernardakis, v, p. 116), mention 300 as the number of the statues, a round sum, more or less representing the truth. The 1,500 statues mentioned by Dio Chrysostom (xxxvii, 41) are mere foolish rhetoric. The distich from Varro was presumably inscribed, in his *Imagines* (cf. Plin. xxxv, 11; A. Gellius, *Noct. Att.* iii, 10, 1; 11, 7), beneath a portrait of Demetrios; see Bormann, *loc. cit.*

P. 28, 18. *Rhodi etiannum*: the passage from Jerome is referred by Mommson (*Ueber den Chronographen*, &c., p. 692) to a Roman history 'of the period of Caesar and Augustus,' by Reifferscheid (p. 360, n. 224) to Suetonius; cf. Gardthausen, *Augustus*, i, p. 67.

P. 32, 25. *Arvernus*: the temple is presumably the one described by Gregory of Tours (i, 30), of which the foundations were discovered in 1874, see Mowat, *Rev. Arch.* 1875, p. 31 ff., where the five inscriptions *Mercurio Arverno* are discussed. As to the type of Zenodoros' Mercury, Mowat, *Bull. Monum.* 1875, p. 557 ff., conjectures that we possess an echo of it in the seated Mercury on an altar from Horn in Holland (inscr. Brambach, *C. I. R.* 2029, p. xxvii); cf. S. Reinach, *Bronzes Figurés*, p. 80, no. 68.

P. 34, 5. *in officina*: perhaps it is scarcely correct to refer this to the workshop or studio of Zenodoros. From the size of the colossus it is probable that a special workshop was erected for the artist.

P. 34, 21. *sphingem*: Münzer points out to me that Quinct. vi, 3, 98, accords with Pliny in giving bronze as the material of the sphinx. Now 'in this

chapter of Quintilian several *bons mots* of the personages of the Ciceronian age and of Cicero himself have been shown by Wissowa (*Hermes*, xvi, p. 499 ff.) to be borrowed from the book of Domitius Marsus, *de urbanitate*, which Quintilian frequently quotes in this chapter.' Therefore we may assume the same D. Marsus, who appears in the Index to Bk. xxxiv, to have been Pliny's authority for the story of Hortensius and the sphinx. (This observation of Münzer's will shortly be published in his *Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der Naturgeschichte des Plinius*.)

P. 36, 11. *Hagelades*: E. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 192, proposes to read the Ἀγελαιδα of *I. G. B.* 30 (bathron of Praxiteles) as ὁ Ἀγελαιδα, and, accordingly, takes the name of the Argive master to have been Agelaídas. The form Hagelaidas (Greek Hagelaídas), which we print in the translation, is also retained by Dittenberger and Purgold, *Inscr. von Olympia* 631, where see literature.

P. 38, 1. *Argium*: owing to its position a proper name, and not, as often surmised, the ethnic of Asopodoros, in which case it would have been placed after the name it qualified, cf. *Gorgias Lacon* (§ 49), *Demean Clitorium*; Dittenberger and Purgold in *Inscriben von Olympia*, col. 647, where see literature.

P. 38, 1. *Asopodorum*: for the inscription on the bathron of Praxiteles, see now *Inscr. von Olympia*, 630, 631, where Dittenberger and Purgold rightly reject Röhl's proposed identification of the Plinian *Asopodorus* and *Athenodorus* with the artists of the bathron.

P. 38, 2. *Clitorium*: Paus. x, 9, 7, οὔτοι (sc. Ἰσθμ. καὶ Ἀμφιαράου) δὲ Ἀρκάδες εἶσιν ἐκ Κλείτροπος.

P. 38, 5. *Leochares*: I refer the passage concerning the statue of Isokrates by Leochares in *Vit. X Orat.* 27 to Heliodoros on the authority of Keil, *Hermes*, xxx, 1895, p. 202.

P. 40, 1. *Date of Seilanian*: Furtwängler, *Statuenkopien im Alterthum*, p. 562, shows, however, that the connexion attempted by Delamarre between *C. I. G. S.* 414, and *C. I. G. S.* 4253, 4254, is unfounded: D.'s conjecture that the latter refers to the revival of the games in 329-8 B. C. is unproven; 4253 refers not to the games but generally to the *Hieron* of Amphiaraios and the *Penteteris*, while 4254 is a decree in honour of the officials in charge of the games. There is nothing in either inscription implying a revival. Thus the only evidence we are left with for the date of 414 is derived from the epigraphy; according to Dittenberger the upper limit is 366 B. C. Now if we accept the extant portraits of Plato as copies after an original by Seilanian (Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 265, p. 183 f.), and adopt Furtwängler's identification of the Theseus at Ince-Blundell Hall (*Statuenkopien*, pl. ii, iii, *ib.* p. 559 ff.) as a copy of the Theseus of Seilanian (*Plut. Thes.* iv), there would be artistic grounds for placing the artist as far back in the fourth century as the epigraphy of *C. I. G. S.* 414 allows.—No great weight can be attached to the date assigned to Seilanian in Pliny's chronology, the mention of Seilanian having been loosely tacked on by a later hand to the old Xenokratik chronology, *Introd.* p. xlix, note 2.

P. 40, 2. *Zeuxiaden*: the identity of the portraitist of Hypereides with the pupil of Seilanian is, however, doubtful, cf. *Introd.* p. liii.

P. 42, 4. *forma cognomen* = lit. 'the surname of beauty'; for *forma* = beauty, cf. below § 78, *cliduchon eximia forma*; xxxv, 86, *ob admirat. formae*; O. Jahn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1847, p. 63 (cf. Brunn, *K. G.* p. 182), believe the Greek epithet of the goddess to have been Μορφώ, which occurs as an epithet of Aphrodite at Sparta (Paus. iii, 15, 8). Other conjectures are *καλλιμορφος* and *καλλίστη*.

P. 42, 5. *cliduchum*: it is Pliny's rule to mention the names of gods, while he almost invariably omits to name mortals; their statues are referred to by their motive, e.g. *diadumenus*, *discobolus*, *apoxyomenus*, *mala ferens nudus*, &c. Hence it is that the *cliduchus* cannot be regarded as the Athena Promachos (so Urlichs in *Chrestom.*), nor the *astragalizontes* of Polykleitos as the Dioscuri (so Furtwängler in *Masterpieces*, p. 292, note 1), nor the *mala ferens nudus* as a statue of Herakles.

P. 42, 10. *diadumenum*: another fairly complete copy of this statue, recently found in Delos (*B. C. H.* 1895, pl. viii), is—to judge from the publication—of poor workmanship, inferior to the Madrid copy; cf. Furtwängler, *Statuenkopien im Alterthum*, p. 548.

P. 44, 1. *telo incessentem*: I ought to have stated more fully that Furtwängler (*loc. cit.*) shows the impossibility—on grammatical and other grounds—of the reading *talo*, which is supported by Benndorf. The latter supposes the statue referred to, to have stood on an astragal basis—a forerunner to the Kairos of Lysippos (*Schriftqu.* 1463–1467), further, to have been described by some Greek writer as *γυμνός ἀστραγάλῳ ἐπικείμενος* where Pliny then translated the *ἐπικείμενος* in its alternative sense of 'advancing' or 'pursuing.' But in that case *talo incessens* could only mean *advancing towards* or *pursuing a knucklebone*, which is nonsense. *Talo* can only be the instrument, the weapon *with which* the man is attacking, so that everything combines to commend Benndorf's own earlier conjecture *telo*.

P. 44, 3. *in Titi imperatoris atrio*: the reading of *Cod. Bamb.* seems to be: in titi imperis atrio duo (see our facsimile); incliti in patrio duo *Bamb. e corr.*

P. 44, 6. *Portrait of Artemon*: in *Class. Rev.* 1894, p. 219, I pointed out that the erection of the portrait should probably be connected with the Samian expedition of 439 B. C., at which date Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 119) conjectures the Perikles by Kresilas to have been put up. Meanwhile grave doubts have arisen in my mind as to the authenticity of the Polykleitan Artemon. The confusion already noted by Plutarch with the Artemon of Anakreon is suspicious. The notice in Pliny is clearly derived from an anecdotic source other than that from which his main narrative is borrowed. Possibly, as Münzer hints, *Hermes*, xxx, p. 537, we have here further traces of Duris.

P. 46, 1. *pristas*: the MSS. are unanimous; hence, since H. L. Urlichs (*loc. cit.*) has satisfactorily shown that a group of sawyers—put up doubtless by some successful master-builder—is absolutely in harmony with fifth-century traditions, I had not thought it necessary to refer to Loeschke's proposed emendation of *pristas* to *pyctas*—an emendation, however, which threatens to come into favour again.

P. 46, 14. *puerum . . . tabellam*: for the motive Reisch (*l. c.*) compares the vase in Munich (Cat. 51), Benndorf, *Griechische u. Sicilische Vasenbilder*, i, pl. ix.

P. 48, 16. *The Apoxyomenos of Lysippos*: the copy in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican (Helbig, 31) seemed to me too well known to need mention. For the writer from whom Pliny got the story of Tiberius's passion for the statue, see *Introd.* p. xcii, n. 4.

P. 50, 6: for portraits of Alexander, see also Helbig, *Sopra un Busto Colossale d'Alessandro Magno* in *Mon. Antichi* (R. Acad. Lincei), vol. vi, 1895.

P. 60, 1. *Portrait of Perikles*: Blümner and Hitzig (*Pausanias*, p. 307) remark that the word *ἀνδριάς*, used by Pausanias (i, 25, 1), does not apply to a terminal bust. Cf. further Bernoulli in *Jahrb.* xi, 1896, p. 107 f.

P. 60, 3. *Minervam mirabilem . . . et aram*: while still proposing to see a copy of this Athena in the 'Pallas de Velletri' whose original he refers to Kresilas (see *Introd.* p. lxxv, n. 2), Furtwängler recognizes a copy of the Zeus in a fine statue at Ince-Blundell Hall, *Statuenkopien im Alterthum*, plates i and iii, 1, *ib.* p. 551 ff., the original of which he attributes on stylistic grounds neither to Kresilas nor to the unknown Kephisodoros, but to the elder Kephisodotos. The reasons adduced, however, are scarcely strong enough to warrant the alteration in the Plinian text of the MS. reading *Cephisodorus* to *Cephisodotus*.

P. 60, 10. *celetizontas*: for the motive cf. further a statue in the Palazzo Orlandi at Florence, Arndt-Bruckmann, *Einzelverk.* 242.

P. 66, 7. *Hermaphrodite of Polykles*: the Berlin statue (193) is now published by Furtwängler, *Statuenkopien*, pl. xii, who sees in it a copy of the work of Polykles (*ib.* p. 582 ff.).

P. 68, 3. *nec hominem ex aere fecit, sed iracundiam*: while admitting—what is indeed incontrovertible—that this phraseology is common to Silver Latinity, I now believe that an epigram is after all concealed behind it (*Introd.* p. lxx), all the Plinian criticism and analysis of Greek works of art being Greek in their origin; cf. note on xxxv, 61.

P. 68, 8. *Theodoros*: cf. also vii, 198; xxxv, 152. Identity with the artist of *C. I. A.* 373, 90 (from Akropolis, middle of sixth century) is probable but not certain.

P. 70, 4. *infans . . . anserem strangulat*: in his translation of Herondas (1893), p. xiv, Crusius alludes to the group in Herondas as being wholly marble. The attempt to establish identity with the Plinian group seems futile, seeing how common the subject was in antiquity; cf. E. Gardner in *J. H. S.* vi, 1885, pp. 7 ff.

P. 72, 2. *Apellas*: cf. also *I. G. B.* 100 (= *Inscripfen von Olympia*, 634), from the basis supporting the horses of Kyniska in the Pronaos of the Temple of Zeus, Paus. v, 12, 5 (*I. G. B.* 99 = *Inschr. von Ol.* 160).

P. 72, 8. *Hermes nursing the infant Dionysos by Kephisodotos*: the identity of this group with the famous group at Olympia seems to me probable. The latter is attributed to Praxiteles on the authority of Pausanias (v, 17, 1) only. I believe that in this case, as often in that of works attributed to Pheidias (xxxv, 54, Athena by Kolotes; xxxvi, 17, Nemesis and Mother of the Gods by Agorakritos), all of which are put down to Pheidias by Paus. (*Introd.* p. xl, cf. p. liii, note 1), Pliny represents the more detailed—and perchance the more trustworthy—tradition, while Pausanias gives only the popular attributions. If the Hermes of Olympia was really by Praxiteles, but could pass in the eyes of certain critics as the work of his father or elder brother, it follows that the statue belonged, as Brunn has maintained, to the artist's earlier period and not to his later as recently argued by Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 307 f). It may be questioned whether we are not too completely under the spell of Pausanias, whose untrustworthiness in the matter of attributions is notorious, and who, writing some 600 years after the artists of the great period, was as liable to blunder concerning their works as the compiler of a modern guide-book concerning the artists of the Renaissance and their works. However, I am at present neither prepared nor equipped to challenge the Praxitelean authorship of the Hermes on morphological or aesthetic grounds. A long and complete reinvestigation of all the extant material would first be necessary, but I think it worth while to point out distinctly that there were probably two ancient

traditions concerning the authorship of the statue, and that the comparative trustworthiness of each should be investigated. I may add that the resemblance of the Kephisodotian Eirene holding the child Ploutos to the Hermes nursing the child Dionysos is so strong as only to be satisfactorily accounted for by referring them to the same artist: both figures are posed in the same manner, while the children are, as has often been noted, practically identical (cf. Furtwängler, *op. cit.* p. 296).

P. 72, 12. *Cenchramis*: cf. for Kenchramos, Purgold on *Inschriften von Ol.* 638.

P. 74, 2. *tubicine*: cf. Urlichs, *Pergamenische Inschriften*, p. 24. The commentary is not quite clear at this point; the explanation of Winckelmann (*Geschichte*, ed. 1776, p. 660 ff. = tr. Lodge, vol. ii, p. 204 ff.) applies to the 'dying Gaul' of the Capitol, and not to the Plinian *tubicen*.

P. 74, 2. *matrī interfectae*: that this was a Gaulish woman seems to have been first suggested by Urlichs, *loc. cit.*; on the whole subject of these works by Epigōnos see G. Habich, *Die Amazonengruppe des Attalischen Weihgeschenks* (Eine Studie zur Pergamenischen Kunstgeschichte), Berlin, 1896, p. 14 ff.

P. 76, 8. *Scopas uterque*: G. Habich, *Die Amazonengruppe*, p. 66, note 2, is of opinion that *scopas* refers to the works of art made by each of two artists (*uterque*), and explains these works to have been dancing satyrs. Habich supports his theory by appeal to the Munich vase. I must abide, however, by the opinion which I arrived at about a year ago after careful study of the vase in question, and which I have expressed in the Commentary.

P. 78, 1. *Callimachus*: for his date consult Winckelmann, *Geschichte* (ed. 1776), p. 460 (= tr. Lodge, vol. ii, p. 123), Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 437.

BOOK XXXV.

P. 92, 13. *M. Agrippa*: for Agrippa's interest in art, see now Gardthausen, *Augustus*, i. p. 749 ff.

P. 102, § 57, § 59. For the pictures in the *Poikile Stoa*, see now Hitzig and Blümner, *Pausanias*, p. 201 f.

P. 106, 2. *Zeuxis of Herakleia*: I have not sufficiently emphasized the difficulties at the commencement of Pliny's account of Zeuxis. It seems to me probable that the two conflicting dates of his birth given by Pliny represent the conflicting opinions of Greek art-historians (Antigonos and Duris? cf. Introd. p. xxxiii, on the beginnings of encaustic; Introd. p. xxvi, on the origin of sculpture). The epigram against Zeuxis attributed to Apollodoros should have been alluded to among the epigrams discussed, Introd. p. lvii.

P. 108, 7. *Herakles strangling the snakes in presence of Alkmena and Amphitryon*. The vase-painting in the Brit. Mus. (F. 479) is now published, *Cat. of Vases in Brit. Mus.* vol. iv, pl. xiii. The clumsiness of the figures, the coarseness of the picture as a whole, and the absence of Amphitryon must make us wary of accepting it as more than a distant echo of the picture by Zeuxis.

P. 134. *The Pompeian Mosaic*: now at last well photographed by Alinari, Naples 12050.

P. 136. *The 'Thesmothetai' of Protogenes*: the view of Curtius seems to me probable. For dissentient opinions and the full literature of the subject, see Hitzig-Blümner, *Pausanias*, p. 145.

P. 140. *The Resting Satyr*: the subject occurs likewise in painting; a well preserved instance in the *Casa Nuova* at Pompei, phot. Brogi, Naples 11216. But, at present, no safe connexion can be established between these paintings and the work of Protogenes.

P. 142, 17. *shortened methods of technique*: recent study in the Museum of Naples has convinced me that the clue to these words is afforded by a singular group of 'Campanian' pictures—the most striking of which is Helbig 1111 (= phot. Alinari, Naples 12035), known since the days of Böttiger as 'Evening prayer in front of the Temple of Isis.' The picture is not a work of the first rank, but it proves that the ancients possessed to as great a degree as any moderns all the secrets of impressionism: the broad flight of steps is indicated by a few bold dashes of white; the heads of the crowd on either side are roughly modelled within two bands of dark shadow; white is applied with extraordinary intelligence and variety, now for an effect of light, now for the white garments that contrast with the dark skin of the Egyptian priests. Closely connected with this picture is the similar subject, Helbig 1112, and the two pictures of the 'Trojan horse' ((1) phot. Sommer, Pompei 9218, (2) Helbig 1326). Egyptian origin is attested from their subjects for the Isis pictures, while for those of the Trojan horse it has been proved both from the treatment and motives by L. von Urlichs (*das Hölzerne Pferd*). There seems little doubt that these pictures are an example of that *compendiaria*, that shortened method hated by Petronius, as in modern times by Ruskin, which was successfully cultivated and perhaps first brought into fashion by Antiphilos, and imitated in Greece by Nikomachos.

P. 154, 2. *exilior*: Robert, *Hall. Winckelmannsprogramm*, xix, 1895, p. 25, maintains that the adjective in its usual sense of *slender, slim* or *thin*, cannot be properly applied to the figures of an artist who expressed the *dignitates* of heroes, or who boasted that 'his Theseus had been fed on meat.' Robert, accordingly, proposed to see in *exilior* the (mis)translation of some such word as *βραχύρεπος* = *short, thick-set* or *stumpy*. Robert's arguments have been vigorously controverted by Furtwängler (*Statuenkopien im Alterthum*, p. 568 f.), who defends the received interpretation of the passage. It seems to me that the contradictions in the criticisms passed upon Parrhasios, which vex Robert, and which Furtwängler attempts to reconcile, are the effect of the present juxtaposition in Pliny of two or more appreciations of Euphranor, derived from totally different sources: the sentence *videtur expressisse dignitatis heroum . . . articulisque grandior* is plainly Xenocratic in its origin (Introd. p. xxvii); here there can be no real contradiction between the *dignitates* which Euphranor expressed and the fact that he was *in universitate corporum exilior*, for the first refers to the artist's ethical conception of his heroes, the latter to their physical presentment. As regards the saying attributed to Euphranor concerning his Theseus, I have pointed out both in the note on the passage and in the Introduction (p. lxiii f.) that its source is anecdotic, and can be traced back—perhaps through Antigonos—to Duris of Samos.

P. 155. *Andromeda*: for the finest and best preserved of the Pompeian pictures see phot. Alinari, Naples 12034.

P. 156. *Achilles detected by Ulysses*: phot. Alinari, Naples 12001, *id.* 12000; a different scheme seems preserved in the recently discovered picture in the *Casa Nuova* at Pompei, phot. Brogi 11226.

P. 159. *Medeia of Timomachos*: the picture Helbig 1262 (= phot. Alinari, Naples 12024) seems to me on close inspection to be really a copy after a good original, presumably, then, after the *Medeia* by Timomachos. The single figure of *Medeia*, on the other hand, appears to me extremely inferior in conception and execution; pose and accessories are different, and I can see not the slightest reason for referring it to the same original as the former picture.

P. 159. *Orestes and Iphigeneia*: phot. Alinari, Naples 12020.

P. 162. *Herakles and Deianeira*: for the subject, treated with considerable mastery, and evidently after a good original, see the Pompeian picture, phot. Alinari, Naples 12026 (cf. Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1146).

P. 166, 14. *quinquatrus celebrantem*: Simos' picture apparently lent itself to a Roman interpretation, which by Pliny's time had superseded the true Greek explanation of the subject.

BOOK XXXVI.

P. 190, 9. *Statue of Mother of Gods by Agorakritos*: Furtwängler, *Statuenkopien*, p. 577 ff., claims to have discovered a copy of this work in a statue of the *Villa Pamfili* in Rome.

P. 202, 12. *Timotheos*: I have lately examined the 'Leda and the Swan' in the Capitol; the connexion established between it and the Epidaurian sculptures by both Amelung and Winter seems to me to stand the test of minute criticism; it is, however, disputed by Arudt (Arndt-Bruckmann, *Phot. Einzelverk.* ii, p. 30).

P. 205, 9. *Hermerotes*: the point made by Cicero (*loc. cit.*) was probably suggested by the word *Hermathena*, rather than by the actual monument. Cf. also *Att.* i, 1, 5; *ib.* 10, 3 (*Hermeracles*). A terminal figure at Newby Hall (Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 531) affords a doubtful instance of an *Hermeros*. Michaelis brings it into connexion with the work of Tauriskos.

P. 208, 1. 4. *Venerem lavantem se . . . Polycharmos*: concerning this difficult passage I can only arrive at negative results. (1) The reading *sese Daedalus* must, I think, be rejected, the best codices offering no evidence for it whatsoever; the corrupt *seadaedalsas* of *Cod. Bamb.* conceals either further descriptive words or the name of the locality where the statue was. (2) The current attribution of the *Venus lavans se* to one Daidalos of Bithynia, known only on the authority of Eustathios (*Schriftqu.* 2045), which seemed to receive support from the recurrence of a crouching or bathing Aphrodite on Bithynian coins (see Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, p. 317), must also be renounced; the type on the coins occurs elsewhere, and belongs to a series whose origin can be traced back to high antiquity (cf. Friederichs-Wolters, p. 571). (3) The notion that two statues are mentioned in the passage, and that the first was *crouching*, in opposition to the *Venus stans* of Polycharmos, is entirely without support; *stantem* may be used here, not necessarily of an upright *versus* a stooping figure, but in the sense of 'placed,' 'situated.' Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 528, Müller, *Handbuch*, 377, note 5, take the whole sentence to be descriptive of *one* statue by Polycharmos.

P. 210. *Caryatids of the Pantheon*: see also Helbig, *Class. Ant.* 1, and Gardthausen, *Augustus*, ii, p. 429 f.

P. 212. *Lioness by Arkesilaos*: Mr. Cecil Smith kindly reminds me, in this connexion, of a 'fine mosaic in the Brit. Mus., from Pompei (an early one), representing a lion and three Cupids: one has bound the lion with a cord, one seems to hold a drinking-vessel, and the third holds an object which seems to be a large dart. It is a good illustration of the Arkesilaos subject, and is evidently a copy from a Hellenistic relief.'

N.B.—The student will find all references concerning Roman topography admirably put together by Hülsen in the *Nomenclator Topographicus* to Kiepert and Hülsen's *Formae Urbis Romae Antiquae*, Berlin, 1896.

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