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THE

ELDER PLINY'S CHAPTERS
ON THE

HISTORY OF ART
batissimam ipsorum asfici
cum quipraesenteserant
judicio cum apparuit eam et
se quas omnes secundam sua
quisque indicassent. haec est
polys dux proxima abaphi-
diae. tertia cleliae. qua-
ta erdonis. quinquaginta-
monis. phi dias. praeier to-
uem olshipum quem nemo
eaemulatur. fact caebore
aeque minerium athenien.
quae est inpar thone flan-
ex aeret uero praeier amelo-
nem. supradictam mineru-
tam eximiae pulchritudi-
nis. ut formaae cognomen
acceptae. fact exolidicum. 
scilicet minerium quam
romae paulus aemilurus.
adaemum honae huiane-
die indicatur. tem duw sig-
na quae caetulus ineadem
ade pellata et alterum co-
lo simo quidem primus.
after fore uncen. aperu-
isse atquedemonstrasse
merito indicatur. pol-
eclus. Sic runius. hagela
da. discipulur. diadume-
num fact moliter uue
nem. centumtalentum. no
biliatum. idem aetori-
phorum uirlitesunque
feci. quos canes ar-
risces uocant. linea
menta aris excepeter
ue uel ut alege quadam.
polusque hominum ar-
tem ipsum facisse aris
operet indicatur. fact et
defringementem fere.
dum talo incessentem.
duosque. pueros tem
nudos. tali sudenter qui
uoantur astragalizol
res uident incepta mp.
atriodua. hoc operenul-
lum apotolius. pleni-
tudicant. temmercuri
um. quiput ls yinachnac.
hercleum quinromae.
THE
ELDER PLINY'S CHAPTERS
ON THE
HISTORY OF ART

Plinius Secundus C.
TRANSLATED BY
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AND
ADDITIONAL NOTES CONTRIBUTED BY DR. HEINRICH LUDWIG URLICH

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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. Münser 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 Dalecamius: le bon homme est docte, mais il farcit trop ses annotations de je ne sais quelle fâtraille 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. Urlichs 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. Jex-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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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 preliminaries, 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. 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'; 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.
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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 names, 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 through, 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 auctorisibus: L. Pisone, Antiate, Verrio, M. Varrone, Cornello Nepote, Messala Rufo, Marso poeta, Boccho, Iulio Basso qui de medicina Graece scrispit, Sextio Nigro qui item, Fabio Vestale. Externis: Democrito, Metrodoro Scepsio, Menachmo qui de toreticte scrispit, Xenocrate qui item, Antigono qui item, Duride qui item, Heliodoro qui de Atheniensium anathematis scrispit, Pastito qui de mirabilibus operibus scrispit, Timaeo qui de medicina metallica scrispit, Nymphodoro, Iolla, Apollodoro, Andrea, Heraclide, Diagora, Botrye, Archedemo, Dionysio, Aristogene, Democle, Mneside, Xenocrate Zenonis, Theomnестo.


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 field; to A. Brieger, who made the first attempt to determine the names of the Greek writers whose views Varro had latinized; to Heinrich Brunn, who first tried to restore Pliny's system of quotation from his authors; to the scholars—among them Theodor Schreiber, Adolf Furtwängler, Gustav Oehmichen, Karl Robert.

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INTRODUCTION

L. von Urlichs₁, and his son H. L. Urlichs²,—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.


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

Phidias praeter Iovem Olympium . . . fecit ex eborae . . . 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 colossus, all from Rom. Museogr. p. xci] primusque artem toreuticen aperuisset atque demonstrasse merito iudicatur.

II. Polykleitos.

Polyclitus Sicyonius Hageladae discipulus diadumenum fecit [follows epigrammatic qualification, p. lxviii, and price paid for the Diadumenos, p. lxxxiv], idem et doryphorum [follows epigrammatic qualification; second mention under the name 'canon' of the doryphoros, p. xlii] 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 Lysimachetia, on authority of Mucianus, p. xc; of a Herakles at Rome] hagetera arma sumentem [follows from an anecdotic source, the mention of Artemon surnamed 'periphetos'—Add. p. 235] hic consummasses hanc scientiam iudicatur ut toreuticen sic erudisse ut Phidias aperuisset. proprium eius est uno crure ut insisterent signa exocagitasse, 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 multipli-
cassae veritatem videtur, numerosior in arte quam Polyclitus et in symmetria diligentior, et ipse tamen corporum tenus curiosus animi sensus non expressisse, capillum quoque et pubem non emendatius fecisse quam rudis antiquitas instituisset.

IV. Pythagoras.

Viciet enim Pythagoras Reginus ex Italia pancratiaste Delphis posito; eodem vicit et Leontiscum; fecit et stadiodromon Astylon qui Olympiæ ostenditur et Libyν pnerum tenentem tabellam eodem loco et mala ferentem nudum [follows mention, from an epigram, of the Philoketes at Syracuse, p. lxix], item Apollinem serpentemque eius sagittis configi [follows mention, from an anecdotic source, of the 'Citharoedus' at Thebes, Münzcr op. cit. p. 525], hic primus nervos et venas expressit capillumque diligentius. (πρωτον δοκουντα Πθα-
γόραν ρυθμον και συμμετριας ἑστοχαθας—Diogenes Laertios, viii, 46.)

V. Lysippos.

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

(Lysippus) fecit . . . destringentem se [follows its dedication at Rome;
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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 Polycleitos; Pliny's own comment, p. xciii], item Alexandri venationem quae Delphis sacrata est, Athenis Satyrum, turrum Alexandri in qua amicorum eius imagines summa similitudine expressit [mention of removal of the group to Rome], fecit et quadrigas multorum generum. statuariae 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 veterem staturas permutando [follows apothegm quoted from Duris, p. lxiiif]. proprae huius videntur esse argutiae operum custoditae in minimis quoque rebus.

To which may be added:

VI. Pupils of Lysippus, and Telephanes of Phokaia.

Filios et discipulos reliquit laudatos artifices Laippum, Boedan, sed ante omnes Euthycraten, quamquam is constantiam potius imitatus patris quam elegantiam austerum maluit genere quam incoico placere. itaque optume expressit Heraclem Delphis et Alexandrum Thespis venatorem et Thespiladas, proclium 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, Peuceses Alexandri Magni servator, dignus tanta gloria. artifices qui compositis voluminibus condidero haec miris laudibus celebrant Telephanen Phocaeum ignotum alias, quoniam in Thessalia habitaverit, et ibi opera eius latuerint, aliquo suffragis ipsorum aequatur Polycleito, Myroni, Pythagorae. laudant eius Larism et Spiritham pentathylum 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; Polycleitos 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—τελειωται².

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 ind.: Περὶ Δεινάρχου τοῦ βίτωρος οὗδεν εἰρηκὼς ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων γραφέασιν, διὰ τὸ μήτε εὑρετὴν ἰδίου γεγονόνα χαρακτῆρος τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὅσπερ τὸν Δυστάν, καὶ τὸν Ἰσοκράτην, καὶ τὸν Ἰσαίαν μήτε τῶν εἰρημένων ἑτέρως τελειωτὴν, ὅσπερ τὸν Δημοσθένην, καὶ τῶν Δασάνην, καὶ τὴν Περέαδην ἥμεις κρίνομεν.
INTRODUCTION

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 out\(^1\),
that Xenokrates, himself a pupil of two distinguished Sikyonians,
Teisikrates and Euthykrates, who is cited in the Index to Bk.
\text{xxxiv} and in § 83 as having written on bronze statuary, and in \text{xxxv},
68 upon painting\(^2\). In the latter passage he is named con-
jointly 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 \emph{rhythm}
contributed to statuary by Pythagoras, that, alongside consider-
tations 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

\(^1\) \text{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
statauries could be traced beyond Varro back to Antigonos and Xenokrastes; cf.
also Th. Schreiber, \textit{Quaestiones de Artif. Aetae}, p. 27 ff., and
Furtwängler, \textit{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, \textit{Inscriptions der Griechi-
ischen 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 (\textit{I. G. B. 120–122 a}). But it is strange that an Athenian, who in
inscribing his name was careful in at least two cases (\textit{I. G. B. 135 a},
and the new inscription—also from Oropos—\textit{Eph. dρ. 1892, 51}, cf.
Diels, \textit{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 conjecture, which attributes to Pythagoras the fine boxer in the Louvre, and the athlete in violent motion of the Boboli gardens—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), Delphi (§§ 57, 59, 64, 66), Lebadeia, Thespiai, and Thebes (§§ 66, 67), and finally Athens (§§ 54, 64). 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 Polykleititos, 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

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2 Phot. Girandon, 1207.
4 Cf. Münzer, *op. cit.* p. 505. Of the works whose locality is not indicated, the Athena tam eximiae 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 Macedonicus 1.

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 Thessaly 2, 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 rewixit first explained by Brunn, K. G. i. p. 504 f. Cf H. L. Urlich, Griechische Kunstschreiber, 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, adding 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 bronze ².

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: quadrige bigaeque.
[Amphicrates: Leaena, periegetic, see Comm. and p. lxxxvi.]
X. Bryaxis: Aesclapius, Seleucus.
X. Boedas: adorans.
[Baton: Apollo, Juno, Roman museography, cf. p. xci f.]
[Cresilas: volneratus, Pericles, both from epigrams, see Comm. and p. lxix.]
[Cephasodotus: ara, on authority of Heliodoros, p. lxv.]
X. Canachus: [Apollo, anecdotic, see Comm. and p. lxxviii] celebissimam pueri.
X. Chareas: Alexander, Philippus.
X. Ctesilas: doriphorus, Amason.
[Demetrius: Lysimache (inscrip., p. lxxvi), 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 peribothon cognominant ... item stephanusam, pseliumen, Oporan (where M. wrongly retains canephorani).
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.
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X. Daedalus: desiringentes se.
X. Dinomenes: Protesilaurus, Pythodemus.

[Eutychides: Eurotas (epigr. p. lxix f.).]
X. Hegias: Minerva, Pyrrhus, celestisantes.

[Hagesias: Hercules in Pario colonia (Mucianus, p. xc).]
X. Isidotus: butytes.

[Lycius: puer suffans (epigr. p. lxx)], Argonautae.
[Leochares: Ganymedes (epigr. p. lxx), Autolycus (literary source, p. xlvi, note 1), Jupiter, Apollo (Rom. museogr.), Lyciscus (epigr. p. lxxii, note 2).]

X. Lycius: puer suffitor.

[Menachmus: vitulus (epigr. p. lxxii, note 2).]
X. Naucydes: Mercurius, discobolus, immolans arietem.
X. Niucererus: lactator 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 Xenokratic authorship. Ten of these names, moreover, still retain their place in the Xenokratic chronology (Alcamenes, Aristides, Canachus, Daedalus, Dinomenes, Euphranor, Heignas, Naucydes, Pyromachus, Polycles).

An attentive study shows how a second, a third, and perhaps even a fourth hand worked over or added to the Xenokratic material, sometimes to its suppression. Cephisodotus, Eutychides, Leochares, all appear in the Xenokratic 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 Xenok-
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 art. 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 to wood gilt to metal. To the Xenokratic

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

(Lysippus) statnariae arti plurimum traditur contulisse capillium exprimendo, capita minora faciendo quam antiqui, corpora graciliora siccioraque, per quae proceritas signorum maior videretur. non habet Latinum nomen symmetria quam diligentissime custodiit nova intactaque ratione quadratas veterum staturas permutando, vulgoque dicebat ab illis factos quales essent homines, a se quales viderentur esse. propriae huin svidentur esse argutiae operum custoditae in minimis quoque rebus. filios et discipulos reliquit landatos 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 symmetrian picturae dedit, primus argutias voltus, elegantiam capilli, venustatam oris, confessione artificum in lineis extremis palamn adeptus. haec est picturae summam supplites. corpora enim pingere et media rerum est quidem magni operis sed in quo multi gloriarn tulerint, extrema corporum facere et desinentis picturae modum includere rarum in successu artis inventur. ambire enim se ipsa debet extremitas et sic desinere ut promittat alias pone se ostendatque etiam quae occultat. hanc ei gloriarn concessere Antigonus et Xenocrates qui de pictura scripsere, praedicantes quoque, non solum confitentes ¹.

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 statuaries ². 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, 6o) discloses those of painting. The initiative of either master was carried further in the one art by Polykleitos (xxxv, 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 symmetrian picturae dedit. Pythagoras (xxxiv, 59) and Euphranor (xxxv, 128) each progress towards the attainment of symmetry; of the one the critics said πρῶτον . . . συμμετρίας δοκοῦντα ἐστοχάσαι, 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 Lysippus, among the statuaries, was Apelles.

² Robert, Arch. März. 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.
passē 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-evident\(^2\).


§ 56. . . . eosque qui monochromatis pinxerint, quorum aetas non traditur, . . . fuisse, Hyglaenontem, Dinian, Charmadan et qui primus in pictura marem a femina disceverit Eumarum Atheniensem figuras omnis imitari ausum, quique invenit eis excoluerit Cimonem Cleoneum. 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 simus invenit.

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

§ 58. . . . Polygnoton 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 eis 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, Kleanthes, 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 women 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. 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 Polynotoes 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'—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

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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 έκτειρόν γῇθαν καὶ ἀπόχρωσις σώμας, Plutarch, De Chor. Athen. 2.
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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 toreutias, 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.lxxxivand Comm. on xxxv, 55) from some independent source.
guessed from his predilection for the pre-Apollodorian Polygnotos. 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 strength.

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 Quintilian.

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 Aristotel 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: χρώματα εναλείφει τοῖς καλλίστοις φαρμάκοις χύδην, οὐκ δὲ διόλος εἴρημαι εἰς καλλιγραφίας εἰκών.

2 Dionys. Halik. de Isaeo indic. 4 elai δῆ των ἄρχαίαν γραφαί, χρώματι μὲν εἴρησμέναι ἀπόλως, καὶ οὔδεμιαν ἐν τοῖς μὴ μασαίν έξονοι ποικίλαν, ἀκριβεῖτι δὲ τοῖς γραμμαῖς, καὶ πολὺ τὸ χαριν ἐν ταύταις έξονοι αἱ δὲ μετ᾽ εἰκώνας, εὐγραμμαί μὲν ἦτοιν, ἐξειρησύνεαι δὲ μᾶλλον, εἰς τέ καὶ φωτὶ ποικίλλόμεναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ πλῆθεῖ τῶν μυγμάτων τὴν ἵσχὺν έξονοι.

3 Primi, quorum quidem opera non vetustatis modo gratia visenda sunt, clari pictores suisce dicuntur Polygnotos atque Aiglaophon, quorum simplex color tam sui studiosos adhuc habet, ut illa prope rudia ac velit futurae max artis primordia maximis, qui post eos existenter, auctoribus praeferrant, 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 Robert 1 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 emotions 2, 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 Encaustic 3. In § 122 we find it stated first that, according to certain authorities, Aristeides was the inventor of encaustic;

1 Archäologische München, 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-
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 Ela-
sippos. In a word, the claims of the island-schools to priority
of invention are opposed to the claims of the artists of the main-
land, precisely as in xxxvi, 9–12 the Xenokratic contention that
statuary was invented by the Daidalids Dipoinos and Skyliss 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 com-
mand, appended to it the account now represented in Pliny by
the words *aliaquanto vetustiores encaustae picturae extitere . . . nisi*
ecaustica 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 certain\(^2\); 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.
INTRODUCTION

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 suplittitas ... 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 inventur. 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 modelling\(^2\) in clay in xxxv, 151–153, con-

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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.

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 (fingere 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 statues 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.


When a writer aims, like Xenokrates, at formulating his criticism of an artist as the unbiased 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 palam adeptus (Parrhasius). Immediately below, the names of these artifices are given; the one is, as we expected, Xenocrates, the other is Antigonus.

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 ἵστοριῶν 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. Urlich, Griechische Kunstschriftsteller, p. 34. Since then it has been accepted without reserve by Susemihl, and quite lately by Münzer, op. cit. p. 521 ff.
The fragments of Diogenes referable to Antigonos will be found conveniently put together by Wilamowitz, op. cit.

Diog. vii, 187: οὕδε παρὰ τοῖς περὶ πανάκων ἑγάφασι κατακεχαριμένην (sc. historiam). μήτε γὰρ παρὰ Πολέμων μήτε παρὰ Θεοκράτει (Wilam. op. cit. p. 8; Köpke, De Antigono Carystio, p. 25 note; the MSS. have παρ’ θεοκράτει), ἀλλὰ μηδὲ παρ’ Ἀντιγόνῳ εἶναι.

"Antignonos δὲ φησιν ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Πύρρωνος τάδε περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅδεος τ’ ἦν καὶ πένης καὶ ζωγράφος σώζεσθαι τ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν "Ηλίαδ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ λαμπάδιστας μετάρως έξουσιά.

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4 Ἡλίαδ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πύρρωνος τάδε περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅδεος τ’ ἦν καὶ πένης καὶ ζωγράφος σώζεσθαι τ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν "Ηλίαδ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ λαμπάδιστας μετάρως έξουσιά.

Diogenes ix, xi, 62: Antigonos of Karystos says in his account of Pyyrhone 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 Gymnasion of Elis.

Diogenes iv, 3, 4: On the whole he (Polemon) was the sort of man described by Melanthius in his Book upon Painting, who says that a certain self-reliance and austerity should make itself felt in portraiture, precisely as in character.
Lastly, the learned traveller and antiquary, Polemon of Ilion (contemporary of Ptolemaios V. Epiphanes, 202–131 B.C.), who wrote against Antigonos a controversial work in at least six books, 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 (οὐθαυμαστῶν δὲ), for many also have inscribed another's name upon their own works, a complacency which Pheidias probably showed to Agorakritos, whom he loved...

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 στηλοκόπας; 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 subjects; 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. Urlich's, Griech. Kunstschrift. p. 18 ff.

1 The work bore the title πρὸς Ἀδαιὸν καὶ Ἀντίγονον; of Adaios of Mitylene, who appears to have written upon sculptors, περὶ ἀγαλματοσαῦν (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, Polemōn periegeticae 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. Urlich's, op. cit. p. 33 ff.

2 'Ραμφωνία Νέμεσις: ἐν Ῥαμφοῦντι

Nemeçewos ἱδρυτα ἀγάλμα δεκάπηχυ, ὀλιγίδον, ἔργον Φειδίων, ἔχει δὲ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μηλέα κλάδον. ἦ γάρ φησιν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρυστίος πτυχῶν τί μικρὸν ἔβιʃηθέον τῇ ἐπιγραφῇ ἔχον "Ἀγοράκριτος Πάριος ἐποίησεν," οὐθαυμαστῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλω γάρ πολλῷ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἔργων ἔτερων ἐπιγεγράφασαν ὄνομα: εἶκος οὖν καὶ τῶν Φειδίων τῷ Ἀγοράκριτῳ συμπεριφέρεται, ἦ γάρ αὐτοῦ ἰράμων, καὶ ἄλλω ἐπίτηδε περὶ τὰ παλικά. It was first conjectured by Wilamowitz, op. cit. p. 123 ff., that the whole passage goes back to Polemon; the view has been accepted without reserve by H. L. Urlich's loc. cit.

3 Herodikos, ap. Athen. vi, 234 d.

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 disrevered 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 Menachmos (xxxiv, Index and § 80), 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 out, in § 107 in the words Asclepiodorus, 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 admiravetur 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. note 2. 2 Arch. Münch., p. 70.
most part favourable—of contemporary artists 1. The statement as to his own venustas, like the quod manum de tabula scirei 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 treatsies 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) indicatur in xxxiv, 55, there appears to lurk an allusion to the book, the Kánav 2, in which, as we learn more fully from Galenos, Polykleitos had laid down his theories on the proportions of the human body 3; 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'.

1 Schubert, Flaecheisen's Jahrb., Supplementband ix, p. 716, detects a reference to the work of Apelles in Plut. Dem. 22 καὶ φησιν ὁ Ἀπελλής αὐτὸς ἐκπαιδήθη καὶ θεοπάμαν τὰ ἔργαν ὡστε καὶ φωτὶ ἐκλίνειν αὐτὸν. ἰδίᾳς δὲ εἰπέν, δέμας δὲ πύνας καὶ θαμμαστον τὸ ἔργον, αὐτῷ ἰδιὰν χάρισε, δὲ ἀνθρώπων φαίνειν τὰ δι' αὐτῶν γραφήματα.
2 The passage was first so explained by Otto Jahn, Rhein. Mh. ix, 1854, p. 315 f. (‘Das Kunstwerk war ein Inbegriff der Regeln der Symmetrie, ein Compendium derselben’), who argued that here art = the theories of art, a compendium of the rules of art, by extension of the meaning common in the rhetors and grammarians; Cic. Brtr. 12, 46 Aristoteles ait ... artem et præcepta Sizulos Coracen et Tisiam conscriptisse. 12, 48, similiter Isocratem ... orationes altiis destinatissi scribere, totumque se ad artis componentas transtulisse. Cf. Quint. 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 (= Bernadakis, v, p. 164), eli αἱ καὶ τέχνας αὐτῶν (sc. Isocr.) λέγουσιν γυγε-γραφήνα. At a later period Jahn abandoned his earlier opinion and saw a latent epigram in the words solus hominum ... indicatur (Kunsturtheil, p. 120); he is followed by Münzer, ob. 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 Kunstschöpfung, p. 1 ff. See also Diels, in Arch. Anz., 1889, p. 10.
4 It is quite possible that Antigonos, who had added to the Xenokratic 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
INTRODUCTION

If the proposed interpretation of the words \textit{artem ipsam fecisse artis operi iudicatur} be correct, it follows that we have traces in xxxv, 74 of another such compendium of art by the painter Timanthes: \textit{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 \textit{ars} or \textit{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. Urlichs\(^1\) 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 Agorakrítan 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 Agorakritos 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 \textit{Canon} appears in Pliny as a separate work to the \textit{doryphorus}, owing to the introduction of a fresh authority at the words \textit{facit 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 ascribing the \textit{canon} and \textit{doryphorus} to be separate works.

\(^1\) \textit{Op. cit.} p. 14 ff., where it is shown that the Pamphilos who wrote a work \textit{περὶ γραφής καὶ ζωγράφου ἔνδικον} is a distinct person to the painter, and is presumably identical with the Alexandrian grammarian, first century B.C.; see Urlichs, \textit{Rhein. Mus.} xvi, 1861, pp. 247-258, and Susemihl, i, p. 903 f.
kritis 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 indis- solubly linked\(^1\) 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 (Schriften 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 (eiussdem—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 Agorakitan authorship of the Nemesis\(^2\).

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 ἐνέκαστοι 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 praebuit; 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.
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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 inscripotional 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. Birs, 574 : 'Αρχερμον (MSS. 'Αρχερμον) γέρο φαντον του Bωγάλου και 'Aθηνίδος πατέρα, οί δε 'Αλιαφώντα τον Θάσιον ζωγράφον πηγήν έργασθατι την Νικην, ως οι περὶ Καρίσσων τον Περαμηνου φανε. There is much to commend Münzer's suggestion (loc. cit.) that Karystios of Pergamon (end of second century, Müller, Frgm. Hist. Graec. iv, p. 356) appears here by confusion for our Karystian Antigonos, sometime resident in Pergamon. (The words οί δε ... 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 (1, p. 672) does Antigonos an injustice when he credits Polemion with the 'epoch-making' idea of basing researches in the province of art-history and periégesis 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, 8g), and of the trainer of athletes by Apollodoros (ibid. 8g); 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 Antigonos 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 Lycambe (seeComm.). 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 Xenokratic 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 hearing 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 Xenokratic account: 'The appeal to the signature of the otherwise totally unknown Elasippos would be characteristic of Duris (cf. below, p. liii). Equally unknown are Nikanor and Mnasilao, and it is not clear whether the ethnic Pariorum applies also to Polynotos, and whether this Polynotos should accordingly be distinguished from the celebrated Thasian artist.'
to the contrary, again borrowed from inscriptions: *quod falsum est, complura enim in finitimis insulis simulacra postea fecere sicut in Delo guibus 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 day. 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. lxxvii) 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*. 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 anecdotes.

text I have adopted the reading *Mnasilai* as beyond dispute, but Münzer provides me with a satisfactory proof that the *Arcesilai* of the inferior codices is impossible; were this reading correct, we should expect to find that Antigonos in his biography of the Akademic Arkesilaos had mentioned this namesake of the philosopher (Antig. Kar. *op. 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 Roesiger 1 and Schubert 2, the brilliant sketch by Wachsmuth 3, 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 fragments 4 of his writings suffice to prove the strength of his literary personality. Together with his brother Lynkeus he had been a pupil of Theophrastos 6, 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 tragedians 5 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’. Yet Plutarch more than once casts severe doubts on the historical trustworthiness of Duris 5, and the censure has been confirmed by Grote 9.

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

1 A. F. Roesiger: (1) De Duride Samio Diodori Sicii et Plutarchi autore 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 Jahrhücher 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 Schnurb, Pyrrhus, p. 12.
5 Athen. iv, 128 a.
6 Fr. 69, Fr. 70, and the remarks of Schubert, Pyrrhus, p. 15.
8 Plut. loc. cit.; Perikl. 28, 29.
9 In reference to the story of Alkibiades’ return, Hist. vi, p. 368.
presently see (cf. p. xlvi), 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 Thukydides 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 pupilsip 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

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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. Milanesi, p. 370.

³ Souidas, s. v. Thuc.

⁴ Diog. Laert. ii, 6, 2; the analogy to the Lysippos-Eupompos story is pointed out by H. L. Urlichs, _Griechische Kunschriftsteller_, p. 27. For further instances of such relationships cf. Diels, _Rhein. Mus._ xxxi, p. 13 ff.
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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 dream. 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 context. 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 Münzer 1 in attributing to him the story which tells how Proto-
genesis, 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 Asia a pupil of
distinction; further, the kindred story of how the sculptor
Seilanion (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 position 3. Such anecdotes
seem in measure prompted by the desire to illustrate the
changes of Fortune, of that Τυχή whose caprices were so favourite
a theme of the Peripatetics 4.

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 propyle Atheniensium

1 Opp. cit. p. 534.
2 The Duridian authorship is
The notice of Seilanion 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 Eumenē δὲ τὸν
Ταρδηανῶν ἱστορεῖ Δοῦρος πατρὸς μὲν
ἀμαξιόσωτος ἐν Χερονήσῳ διὰ πενήν
γενέσθαι, τραβῆσαι δὲ ἔλευθερον ἐν
γράμματι καὶ περὶ παλαιστραν ἐτὶ δὲ
παιδὸς ὑπότοις αὐτῷ Φιλίππου παρεπιθ-
μοῦντα καὶ ἵσσον ὄγοντα τὰ τῶν
Ταρδηανῶν θεάσασθαι παγκρίτα περια-
κών καὶ παλαισματα παῖδων, ἐν ὀἷς
εὔπεροῦσαντα τὸν Εὔμην καὶ φανέρα
υνετῶν καὶ ἀνδρεῖν ἀρέσι τῷ Φιλίππῳ
καὶ διαλυθήσαν. The analogy is
who also refers to Duris all the stories
discussed above of artists rising to
fame from humble beginnings. The
Duridian authorship had become evi-
dent to me since analysing the anec-
dotic material in Pliny in the light of
the hints thrown out by H. L. Urlich,
4 See especially Roesiger, *Bedeut-
ung der Tyche,* passim. Susenmihl, i,
p. 592.
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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 mason. 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 philosopher, 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 propylo 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 origin. 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 Δοτρες και δουλεύων αὐτῶν (Σωκράτη) και ἐργάσασθαι λέγοντα. The statement which immediately follows, concerning the Charites on the Akropolis, which some said (ἐνολ φαινο) to be by Sokrates, does not concern us; H. L. Urlichs (Griechische Kunstschriften, 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. 

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 Polemon'. (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 workings. 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. Urlichs (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 Polykleitios, been the pupil of Hagelaidas of Argos, a view which has long been shown—by Klein, Robert, and others—to be improbable, if not as impossible as it apparently is in the case of Polykleitios. 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 probabilities. In certain circles, however, the real fact, as recent morphological study reveals it', that Pheidias was the pupil of Hegias, had

1 So H. L. Urlichs, Gr. Kunstschriftsteller, p. 43.
3 Schol. to Aristoph., Frogs, 504, whence the information was copied by Tzetzes and Souidas.
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, peri 'Oµ. καὶ Σωκρ. i.
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 Πυθιόνος from that of his adoption (see Comm.). Πυθαγόρας 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, 5), appears in later life to have written a book on athletic games, περὶ ἀγώνων, 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 Πυθαγόρας 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

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1 See the reading proposed by Susemihl, i, p. 586, note 323. Schubart'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 Phidias, 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 painter. 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 first? ' 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. Urlichs was
the first correctly to apprehend, that, while Antigonos had inclined to multiply names and attributions, Polemon on the contrary wished to reduce them. He was wrong in the case of the Agorakritan Nemesis; in that of Pythagoras of Samos and Rhoeas 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' (ἀβροδίαιρος), 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 Klearchoi of Soloi.

Athen. xii, p. 543 c: '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 Klearchoi says in his Lives. Parrhasios,

1 Zenobios, ν, 82 (above, p. xxxix); with Athenagoras, Προεβεία, 17 (= our App. XI), cf. Paus. ii. 27, 2; see also Paus. i. 24, 8 and the remarks of Furtwangler, Masterpieces, p. 412, on the artist of the Apollo Parnoioi. 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 εἴναι μὲν δὴ θείου φασιν αὐτῆν (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 (xiv, 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... (ἀβροδίαιρος)."

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... (βαβδοδίαιρος)."

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 (ἀβραδιαυρὸς) and honoured virtue painted this.

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

One worthy of the stick (αβραδιαυρὸς), &c.

2 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.

3 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.

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

5 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.

6 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. αὐτὸν) 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.

Jahn has pointed out, in his discussion of the passage, 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

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

1 ἄβραδιαυρός ἄνηρ ἄρετὸν τε σέβομαι
τὸδ᾽ ἐγραψά
Παρράσιος, κλεινῆς πατρίδος ἐστι
'I Esóseuo.

οὐδὲ πατρὸς λαβόμην Ἐδήμωρος, ὡς
μὲν ἐφοσ "
γραφεῖον, Έλληνων πρώτα φέρων
τα τέχνης.

2 εἰ καὶ ἀπαίστα κλίνουσι, λέγω τάδε
φημί γὰρ ἡδή

τέχνης εὐφηδοι τέμπατα τῆς ἀθάνατης
σαφῆ.

χειρὸς ὑφὶ ἡμετέρης ἀνυπόβλητος
δὲ πέπηγεν
εὔρος ὁμόμητον δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔγειτο
βραβεύς.

3 Οῖος δ᾽ ἐννύχιοις φανταζέται πολλακίς
φαίνειν
Παρρασίων δὲ ὑπὸνοι, τοῖς ἑδρὸν ἑκατὸν ὅραν.

4 Kleine Beiträge z. Geschichte d.
alten Literatur (in Sächsische Berichte
epigram ἀβροδιατος 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 Kleararchos, 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 habrodiactum 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 Kleararchos of Soloi was himself a pupil of Aristotle; 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. Urlichs has pointed out, the original authority must be a Peripatetic who had written upon the painters; in a word, it must be Duris of Samos. This conjecture finds confirmation in the comments respectively made by Schubert and Münzer 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 ten 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 χρυσόπαστος), of frag. 31.

1 Athen. xv, p. 701 c.
2 Griechische Kunstschriftsteller, p. 25.
3 Pyrrhus, p. 15.
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 tesserae 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 zodiac. Robert 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 Zeuxis.

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 apocryphal. Jahn included in the same category the self-laudatory epigrams placed in the mouth of the painter Apollodoros by one Nikomachos, and the epigram which, according to the orator Aristeides (Or. xlix, vol. ii, p. 52r 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 place.’

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. Ép. Mitth. aus Oesterreich, xii, 1888, p. 106ff., and the article *Pictura* in Smith’s *Dict. of Ant.*, vol. ii, p. 410).
4 Kleine Beiträge, p. 286 ff.
5 *Aphid Hephastion περὶ μέτρων καὶ παρομ. iv, 7: Οὐτὸς δὴ σοι ὁ κλαμύς ἄν’ Ἑλλάδα πάσαν ’Απολλό- δωρο’ γιγανόσεις τούνομα τότο μελών.
6 *Ἡράκλεα πατρίς, Ζεύςις δ’ όνυμ·*
INTRODUCTION

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 authenticity\(^1\), 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: Τοιάτα Θέη τα Ἀλφα Σάν Ὑ Μὶ Ἀλφα Χεὶ ὑδ Σάν, πατρὶς Χαλκηδῶν ζ 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 Sophists\(^3\). 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 fertilitias. 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 support\(^4\).

The intercoherence of the two sets of anecdotes is so patent

\(^{1}\) *Lyric 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 introduces himself to the reader as: ἐμαὶ ἀγαθίας μὲν ὅνωμα, Μόρινα δὲ πατρίς (Μερώνοι δὲ πατήρ), τέχνη δὲ τὰ ποιμαῖν ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ δικαστηρίων ἀγώνες. See Reitzenstein, *Hermes*, xxiv, 1894, p. 238.


\(^{4}\) *Arch. München*, 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 envoy\(^1\), 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 them\(^2\).

The anecdote recounted in §§ 85, 86 of Alexander the Great's visit to Apelles illustrates another of the artist's qualities, his \emph{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 names\(^3\)', for Ailianos (see Comm.) has it of Zeuxis and a \textit{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, \emph{ed. Milanesi}, vol. i, p. 383.
\(^3\) Freeman, \textit{Methods of Historical Study}, p. 134.
INTRODUCTION

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 he 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.
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.
DURIS OF SAMOS

Illustration of a line of Agathon quoted by Aristotle: τέχνη τύχην ἐστερβε, καὶ τύχη τέχνην 1 (Addenda.)

The story of the protection accorded by Demetrios (who by the way is a favourite hero of Duris) to Protogenes 2, 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 Durilian 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 strangenesse 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 
3 Bacon, Essays, xliii.
its solution had been discussed by Sokrates in the studio of Parrhasios. 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 defect.'

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 Bernini (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

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1 Xenophon, Memorab. iii, 10, 1: ... ἐπεὶ δὴ οὐ βέβαιον ἐνιαρθρίῳ περιτυχέω ἀμεμπτα τάντα ἐχοντι, ἐκ πολλῶν συνάγωντες τὰ ἐξ ἐκάστος καλλίσταν γένος δὲ τὰ σώματα καθα περικεφαλέως: οὐκίμενοι γάρ, ἐφι, οὖν τοις.

2 Neque enim putavit omnia, quae quaereret ad seminulam, uno se in corpore referire posse ideo, quod nihil simplici in genere omnibus ex partibus perfectum natura expolivit. Itaque, tanquam ceteris non sit habitura quod largiatur, si uni cuncta concesserit, aliud aliis commodi, aliquo adiuncto incommodo muneratur.

3 See Baldinucci, Notizie dei Professori del Disegno da Cimabue in qua (Firenze, ed. 1847), p. 661.
problem of impressionism versus realism. Münzer has lately referred the passage to Antigonos, who records a somewhat similar judgement passed by the philosopher Menedemos upon his predecessors. 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 noticed, that which Aristotle makes Sophokles pass on himself and Euripides (Arist. Poetics, 1460 b)—is, in fact, but the application to a new problem of a phrase traditional in Aristotelian circles. 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 apothegm. The attribution is corroborated, moreover, by his partiality for such sayings, which he possibly collected systematically in emulation of the ἀποθεύματα or ἀπομημονεύματα of his brother Lynkeus.

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. Odys. 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' (xxv, 128). Münzer has detected in the words the latent reminiscence of an Aristophanic line preserved in Diogenes on the authority of Antigonos (see Comm.), but this

2 Antig. Kar. ap Diog. ii, 134 (= Wilam. p. 98): τῶν δὲ διδασκαλῶν τῶν περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ ξενακράτην ἠτὶ δὲ Παραμβάτην τὸν Κυρηναῖον κατεφρόνει, Στιλπνα θ' ἐπιθαμμίκει καὶ ποτε ἐρωτηθεὶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο μὲν ὀδήν ἐπε πλῆρ ὅτι ἔλευθεροι. 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 Kekulé (Arch. Jahrb. viii, 1893, p. 39 ff.), that the original Greek of the Lysippian saying was a slavish imitation of the Sophoklean (Kekulé, p. 45)—and the quales viderentur esse of Pliny a clumsy misunderstanding of something like οἶον οὐκεν 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. Urlich\(^1\) and Münzer\(^2\), that Duris was presumably the source for sundry stories of art-competitions preserved in Pliny. Their authenticity is suspicious, as Jahn long ago maintained\(^3\), 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 Lysippus 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 exhibition\(^4\), could it be proved, would

the rapprochements attempted on p. 527 f. of Münzer’s article.
1 *Griechische Kunstschriftsteller*, p. 28 f.
3 *Kleine Beiträge*, p. 289 f.
4 *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 audiendo sunt errores gentilium superstitionum qui novem Musas Iovis et Memoriae filias esse finxerunt. Res follis eos Varro, quo nescio utrum apud eos quisquam talium rerum doctor 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 artificium 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 *boumaroí* of, Xenophon and Nymphodoros, of fragm. 44 (=Ath. i, p. 19, f.), where the clever tricks of Xenophon's pupil Kratisthenes of Phlius 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. l.iii), and so many of the passages traced back to

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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 conditere 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 himself. 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 Euripides, 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 truth, 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 discourse,’ 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 perdideris 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.

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2 Pericl. xxviii: Δούρις μὲν οὖν οὖθ' ὅπου μὴν αὐτῷ πρόσετιν ἓνων πάθος εἰσόθως κρατεῖν τὴν διάγγειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας. ... Cicero, however, in his one allusion to Duris (Att. vi, i, 18) judges him more leniently.
3 Dion. Hal. de Lys. vii δύναμις τις ὑπὸ τὰς αἰσθησις ἅγουσα τὰ λεγόμενα.
4 Burke, Works (ed. 1823), vol. viii, p. 129 (Letters on a Regicide Peace).
INTRODUCTION

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 art. It plays accordingly, as Otto Jahn first perceived, 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 Apolline 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 Benndorf. 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 ἐκόμαν, οὐκ ἐτάρευσεν
ἡν νυκτί, ἔγερσεν ἄργυρος ὕπνον ἐξει.¹

2.—xxxiv, 55 Polyclitus... diademumnum fecit molliter iuvenem... et dorophorum viriliter fuerum.

(The epigrammatic qualification is so finely knitted to the mention of the works that it must have been brought in at a very early date.)²

3.—xxxiv, 59 Pythagoras—fecit—caudicantem, cuius ulceris dolorem sentire ctiam spectantes VIDENTUR.

¹ See in connexion with the epigrams of the Anthology which deal with works of art the admirable essay of J. W. Mackall, 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 De Anthologiae Graecae Epigrammatis quae ad artes spectant; diss. Leipzig, 1862.

³ 'This Satyr Diodorus engraved not, but laid to rest; your touch will wake him; the silver is asleep.' Tr. J. W. Mackall, op. cit. p. 179.

⁴ Münzer, op. cit. p. 529. Dilthey, Rhein. Mus. xxvi, 290, first pointed out the epigrammatic juxtaposition of the two works.
LITERARY EPIGRAMS

Cf. Anth. Plan. iv, 113; ll. 1–2:

οὔτα Φιλοκτῆτην δρόμον, ὅτι πάισι φαίνει
ἄλγος ἐὼν καὶ τοῖς τηλὸι δηρκομένοις.

*4.—xxxiv, 70 (Praxiteles) fecit et puipherem Apollinem subrepenti lacertae com-
minus 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; cupidigitis illa perire suis.

5.—xxxiv, 70 (Praxiteles) spectantur et duo signa eius diversos affectus exprim-
entia, flentis matronae et meretricis gaudentis. hanc putant
Phrynen fuisse deprehenduntque in ea amorem artificis et mer-
cedem in volta 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 intelligi quantum
restet animae,
et Olympium Periclen dignum cognomine, mirumque in hac arte est
quod nobiles viros nobiliores fecit.

8.—ib. 77 Euphranorisis Alexander Paris est, in quo laudatur quod omnia
simul intelligantur, iudex deearum, amator Helenae et lamen
Achillis interfector.

9.—ib. 78 Eutychides Eurotam, in quo artem ipso amne liquidiorem 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 fol-
lowed 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.
INTRODUCTION

Cf. Anth. Pal. ix, 709:

Διόρωται δ' ἀρτι διάβροχον, ἐν τε βείθροις
ἐλκα' ὁ τεχνίτης ἐν πυρὶ λουάμενον,
πάσι γάρ ἐν κόλοις ἱδατούμενος ἀμφινέευκεν
ἐν καρυφής ἔς ἀκροὶς ἐγγραφῶν ἄνθρας
ἀ δὲ τέχνα ποταμῷ συνεπήθεαι ά τις ά πέισας
χαλκὸν κομίζεων ὕδατος ὑγρότερον

*10.—xxxiv, 79 Lycius ... secit dignum praeceptore puorum 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 forat parcentemque unguibus etiam per vestem puero.

Cf. Anth. Pal. xii, 221:

Χτείχε πρὸς αἰθέρα διόν, ἀπέρχεο παιδα κομίζων
αἰτε, τάς δυναίς ἐκτενάσας πτέρυγας
στείχε τὸν ἄβρον ἕχων Γανύμηδα, μηδὲ μεθείς
τον Δίος ἱδιατὸν οἰνοχῶν κύλικῶν
φείδει θ' αἰμάθαι κοώρων γαμφὼνοι: ταρσφ, ἡμ Ζεὺς ἀληθήσα, τοῦτο βαρώμενοσ

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 Styppax uno celebratur signo, splanchnopte—Pericles Olympi vertula 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 ‘Entrain 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 Styppax (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 Eurotas 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 induxit.

16.—xxxv, 59 (Zeuxis) fecit et Penelope, in qua pinxisse mores videtur.

17.—ib. 69 (Parrhasius) pinxit demon Atheniensium argumento quoque ingenioso. ostende bat namque varium, iracundum inustum inconstantem, eundem xarabillem elementem misericordem, gloriosum, excelsum humilem, feroem fugacemque et omnia pariter.

18.—ib. 70 (Parrhasius) pueros duos, in quibus spectatur securitas et aetatis simplicitas.

19.—ib. 71 (Parrhasii) duae picturae nobilissimae, hoplites in certamine ita decurrens ut sudare videatur, alter arma deponens ut anhelare sentientur.

20.—ib. 94 (Apelles) pinxit et heroa nudum, eaque pictura naturam ipsam pro vocavit.

21.—ib. 98 (Aristides) oppido capto ad matris morientis ex volnere mammam adrepens infans, intelligiturque sentire mater et timere ne emortuo lacte sanguinem lambat.

Cf. Anth. Pal. vii, 623:

'Ελκε, τάλαν, παρά μητρὸς δυν οὐκέτι μαστὸν ἀμέλειοί, ἔλευνος ὑστάτον νάμα καταφίμην, ἡδ' γέρι ξεφέσσι λιπόνων' ἀλλὰ τὰ μητρὸς φιλτρα καὶ εἶν 'Αίδη παιδοκομίων ἐμοθεν 1.

22.—xxxv, 99 (Aristides pinxit) supplicantem paeone cum voce.

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

(Cf. Anth. Pal. vii, 183, 184, and see H. L. Urlichs’ 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 puerò ignam conflante laudatur ac pulchra alias domo splendente 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 ... cius laudatum est Pergami symplegma nobile digitis corpori verius quam marmori 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 Apollodorus 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 Bratus, 184 etenim necesse est, qui ita dicit, ut a multitudine probetur, eundem doctis probari; nam quid in dicendo rectum sit aut pravum, ego iudicabo, si modo est sum, qui id possim aut sciam indicare: qualis vero sit orator ex eo, quod is dicendo efficiet poterit intelligi. See O. Jahn, loc. cit. p. 130.

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. xliiv). The description in xxxiv, 93 of the Hercules 'wearing the tunic,' considered by Benudorf (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.
INTRODUCTION

V. Heliodorus of Athens (fc. 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 Heliodorus remained so shadowy \(^1\) that all attempts to recover traces of him in Pliny had proved ineffectual \(^8\). Now, however, that Bruno Keil\(^8\) has succeeded in proving Heliodorus 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 Ἱππαδῶν πυλῶν, ὅσ φησιν Ἠλιόδωρος ἐν τῷ τότε περὶ Μημάτων forms the basis of the inquiry. The reading of the MSS. Ἠλιόδωρος, 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 Heliodorus\(^4\) accord precisely with the date required by certain other statements of periegetic nature contained in the Lives (cf. in particular Lyk. 842e=fr. 5\(^a\) Keil\(^5\)), 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 Heliodorus is for extinct 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 Epiphanes (b.c. 175–164), cf. Athen. II, p. 45 c.

\(^5\) Καὶ ἐστιν ἄδην (Lykurg. and his children) τὸ μνήματα ἄντυκρο τῷ Παιανίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν τῷ Μελανθίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἅντη (date of Melanthsios circ. b.c. 150, Keil, l. c.).
artists, or donors. These statements are corroborated by the epigrams and inscriptions ... relative to the monument described.

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 paucâ comparantur (sc. fecit) has long been admitted by a number of authorities, 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 Διοσωτήρων, where Zeus and Athena were worshipped respectively as Σωτήρ and Σώτεωρ. 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 ἄρμοστερα 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. 838d (= Keil, fr. 49), the inscription from the statue of Isokrates by Leo-chares, which Timotheos put up at Eleusis.

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


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. 120f.
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 ἀνάθεμα—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 Münzer 1 I incline to associate a third, claimed for Heliodoros by Wachsmuth 2 , 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 Ἀθηνᾶς αὐτοῦ, 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 sources 3.

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1 op. cit. p. 541.
2 loc. cit. The Heliodoran authorship seems admitted by Gurlitt, Paus. i., 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., Gell. viii, 45, appear to draw from the same source as Pliny, while the words of Pausanias (i, 23; 2), λέγω δὲ οὐκ ἐστι συγγραφὴν πρῶτον ἣκοντα, 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 to Athen., xiii, 596 f.
We return to safer ground in the passage in Book xxxv, claimed for Heliodorus by Keil. He argues that the sentence (§ 134) *pinxit* (i.e. Athenion) *in templo Eleusine Phylarchum et Athenis frequentiam quam vocaveret 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 Heliodorus 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 man ¹, 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 manhood ², 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


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 Pasiteles must be restored in place of the unsatisfactory admiratur et Pasiteles of the editions. The attempt of Brieger to detect Pasitelean authorship in passages betraying periegetic interests or points of view, and that of Otto Jahn 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 Brunn, 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 judgements, 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 subject. Even as we doubtless owe to him and his school 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 Kunsthurtheile, p. 124.
4 Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie (phil.-hist. Classe), 1875, p. 313.
5 On this point see especially Furtwängler, Eine argivische Bronze (50, Winckelmannsprogramm, Berlin, 1890), p. 134 f.; Hauser, Die neumittelalten 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 hand. 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 authors. 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 Pasiteles, 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. Amphilochus Atheniensiis—Menandris Prienaeo et Heraclote with the Varronian item Amphilochus Atheniensiis... Menandri duo unus Prienaeus alter Heraclotes. Brunn (de Indicibus, p. 48) conjectures that the nine Greek writers περὶ μελιτουργικα, 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 Kekulé, 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 statuaries 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

² Münzer, l. c.; Robert, Arch.
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 Menaichmos and Menander, who appear as authorities in the Index to Bk. xxxiii, or any clue to guide us here to Antigonus, 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.
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by Varro, whose extracts from Pasiteles, altered and re-adapted to his own purposes by Pliny, have thus survived down to our own day.


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 πολυγράφωτος 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, §55 ff.; xxxvi, 14, 17, 39, 41; cf. Furtwängler, Plinius, p. 56 ff.
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, considerable 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 (xxxi, 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. i 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 Mars. 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. 136*.

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1 Münzer, p. 547.
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 xxxv and xxxvi, not even the acuteness of Münzer has been able to recover one single fragment out of the Plinian history. He is entirely unknown 2, save for the references in Pliny 8 (see Addenda).


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 Antigonos 5, and after them of Pasiteles 6.

1 Münzer, p. 542 f.
2 Teuffel, § 267, 11.
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
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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, r9). 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.

I. 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 Rome employed on the buildings of Metellus.
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; Ochmichen, Plinianische Studien, pp. 141–149.
⁵ Quod se expertum nuperrime proditit Mucianus ter cos., parvasque iam reliquias eius superesse hac experientium injuria.
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 

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 Mucianus.

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.

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 lover.

10. Ib.: Sunt in Cnido et alia signa marmorea indistrium artificium—inseparable from the preceding notice of the Aphrodite; cf. above, 6 and 5.

1 Brieger, l. c.
2 Münzer (p. 504) correctly omits it from the original Xenokratic list of Lysippan works, but makes no further suggestion as to its authorship.
4 Furtwängler, l. c.
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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 authority.

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 accident, are characteristic of Mucianus.

V. Samos.

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

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. lb. 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, *f. 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.


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.
⁴ That Mucianus visited Iasos appears from ix, 33.
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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: Aiax fulmine incensus by Apollodoros, the hodie pointing clearly to a contemporary authority. (Oehmichen, 71.)

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

XI. Samothrace.

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: A 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 city.

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-Antigonus-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 Syracuse, down to that crowning day of a triple triumph when Caesar Augustus celebrated his victory over the last of the Hellenic powers, statues and other works of art had come to be as much a part of the pageantry of triumphs as captives or military booty. The solemn dedication of these objects in some public building was the natural sequel of the triumphal procession. The great generals of the Republic, and after them the Emperors, 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, 1. 16.
2 In 23 B.C.; for the works of art brought to Rome from Alexandria, see Wunderer, Manibiae Alexandrinas.
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 Octavia, 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).
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his history of the artists, his patron Vespasian had opened
the great Temple of Peace, destined with its surrounding Forum ¹ 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 day ³. Yet a dis-
cussion 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 Deculo ⁴ or Fenestella ⁵; while his
allusions to Nero ⁶, and his eulogies of the Flavian Emperors, and
of the works of art in their possession ⁷, 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 Titus ⁸.

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 art ⁹; his outburst of admira-
tion 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 men-
tioned in the earlier part of xxxiv.
Cf. also xxxiv, 69 (statues by Praxi-
teles which had stood in front of
the Temple of Felicity); xxxv, 99,
the Dionysos and Ariadne of Aris-
teides.
⁴ From whom he had the anecdote
of Tiberius’ passion for the Apoxyo-
menos of Lysippus, xxxiv, 62; it is
evidently from the same source as
the mention of the ‘Archigallus’
loved by Tiberius, in xxxv, 70; see
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 astragalisontes
belonging to Titus in xxxiv, 55, and
of the Laocoon in xxxvi, 37.
⁹ Cf. xxxiv, 5 ff.; xxxv, 4, 29.
son Aristippus, persons otherwise quite obscure\(^1\); his simulated indignation at the cruelty of Phalaris\(^2\); and his allusion to the present merited dishonour of that Carthaginian Hercules to whom human victims had once been offered up\(^3\).

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 matters\(^4\) 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 wounds\(^5\), 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 Nero\(^6\). 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 artist\(^7\), 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 age\(^8\). 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

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\(^{1}\) xxxv, 28.  
\(^{2}\) xxxiv, 89.  
\(^{3}\) xxxvi, 39.  
\(^{5}\) 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 Pamphilos.

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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¹ Only the most important works and those most constantly cited in the
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Voss. = the Codex Vossianus Latinus 61 in folio, of the ninth century (cf. Chatelain, Palographie des Classiques Latins, pl. cxli); in the University Library at Leiden.

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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, argentum 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 incendii. Varro se et aereum signum eius habuisse scribit. 5 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 i. 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.xxxvi; (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. c (sc. emptos habuit); but this statement being at variance with the present one, they must have been made independently and at different times; the present passage seems a later addition, taken straight from vii, 127 (Furtwängler, Plinius u. s. Quellen, p. 57, note i).

3. quattuor paria: cups are mentioned in pairs, xxxiii, 147 (quoted above); xxxiv, 47 (duopocula 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 Kentaurus and Kentauresses); 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.

Curiously enough, none have become famous as gold chasers, 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, Boethos, and Mys were had in great admiration. Works by these

Schriften, 2169-2181. The Capitoline fire occurred B.C. 83, during the Civil War, Appian, 'Ep. i, 83.

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

§ 155. 6. Akragas: the name, which is that of the eponymous river-god of Agrigentum (Ailian, Pont. Terr. i, 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 account 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 misunderstanding 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 inadmissible for cups decorated in relief, like those of Akragas. For names derived from river-gods cf. Αλκηνος, 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 . . . hydram Boethi manu factam. A gem representing the wounded Philoktetes, signed ΒΟΗΟΤ is probably to be referred to him (Furtwängler, Gemmen m. Künstlerinschriften, Jahrb. iii, pl. VII, 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, Acraga-antis in templo Liberi patris in ipsa Rhodo Centauros Bacchasque caelatí scyphi, Myos in eadem aede Silenos et Cupidines. Acraga-antis et venatio in scyphis magnam famam habuit. post § 156 hos celebratus est Calamis. et Antipater quoque Satyrum in phiala gravatum somno conlocavisse verius quam caelasse dictus est. Stratonicus mox Cyzicus, Tauriscus, item Ariston et Eunicus Mitylenaei laudantur et Hecataeus et circa Pompei Magni actatem Pasiteles, Posidonius Ephesius, 10 *Hedys*, Thrakides qui proelia armatosque caelavit, Zopyrus qui Areopagitás et iudicium Orestis in duobus scyphis HS [XII] aestimatis. fuit et Pytheas cuíus duae unciae \( \times \) venierunt. Ulixes et Diomedes erant in phialae 157 emblemate Palladium subripientes. fecit idem et cocos 15 magiriscia appellatos parvolis potorii, e quibus ne exem-


whose designs he executed the Ken-
taumachia on the shield of the Athena Promachos (Paus. i, 28, 2). The epigram, from a cup at Herakleia (Athen. xi, p. 782 B), beginning Τραυ-
ναλ Παρασιον, τέχνα Μονο... must however, owing to the expression τέχνα τῶν, which does not occur in pre-Imperial times, be a later forgery; Pregler, Inscript. Graec. Metr. p. 142, note 185.

1. exstant... Cupidines: while the introduction of the word hodie points to a recent authority, the repeti-
tion of the artists' names in a different order, marks the sentence as an inter-
polation (Introdt. p. lxxxvii).


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 arrange-
ment; cf. Anth. Plan. 248

\( \tau\nu \sigma\alpha\tau\upiota\nu \varphi\iota\varphi\iota\varphi\iota\varphi \\varphi\iota\mu\iota\mu\iota\varphi, \sigma\nu\ \epsilon\tau\rho\iota\varphi\epsilon\nu\iota\varphi \).

an epigram similar to the one quoted in the words gravatum... caelasse. Introd. p. lxviii.

8. Stratonius: xxxiv, 85; he is mentioned Athen. xi, p. 782 B, among the \( \epsilon\nu\sigma\varphi\iota\sigma\varphi\omeg\a\varphi\iota\sigma\varphi\) Tauriscus: in xxxvi, 33 Pliny expressly distinguishes him from the sculptor of the same name.

9. Ariston, Eunicus... Heca-
taues: 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
Kentaurs 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 Erotes. 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
sterces [£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 μαγεύωνια, 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 toretic 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).

Pasidonius: xxxiv, 91.

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

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

13. sult 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 com-
plains only applies to his own time; nor need we attach too precise a mean-
ing to this, or the similar complaint on the decay of painting in xxxv, 4,
both being evidently rhetorical, cf. Oehmichen, Plinianische Studien,

14. Ulixes et Diomedes: for the subject cf. the celebrated Spada relief,
Schreiber, Hell. Reliefsbilder, 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 oino-
choai, Babelon, Cab. des Ant. pl. 41.

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

16. magiriscia: from μαγεύω, a
plaria quidem liceret exprimere, tam opportuna iniuriae subtilitas erat. habuit et Teucer crustarius famam, subitoque ars haec ita exolevit ut sola iam vetustate censeatur, usque attritus caelaturis, si nec figura discerni possit, auctoritas constet.

II. STATUARIA.

5 QUONDA M 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 etiam deorum adscripta operi, cum proceres gentium claritatem et hac via quaerent—adeoque exolevit fundendi aeris pretiosi ratio ut iamdiu ne fortuna quidem in ea re ius artis habeat. ex illa autem antiqua gloria Corinthium maxime laudatur. hoc casus miscuit Corintho, cum cape-

A.U.C. 711. retur, incensa, mireque circa id multorum adfectatio furit, quippe cum tradatur non alia de causa Verrem quem M. Cicero damnaverat proscriptum cum eo ab Antonio, quoniam Corinthis cessurum se ei negavisset. ac mihi maior pars eorum simulare eam scientiam videtur ad segre-

gandos sese a ceteris magis quam intellegere aliquid ibi 7 supstitius, et hoc paucis docebo. Corinthus capta est olym-

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


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 pœcula 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. Terminal. vol. iv, p. 178 ff.; O. Müller, Handbuch 306, Darmberg and Saglio, s. v. aes.

§ 6. 15. hoo casus misuit: 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
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.
piadis CLVIII anno tertio, nostrae urbis DCVIII, cum ante saecula factores nobiles esse desissent, quorum isti omnia signa hodie Corinthia appellant. quapropter ad coarguendos 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 lucernas aut trulleos nullo munditiarum despectu. eis tria genera: candidum argento nitore quam proxime accedens in quo illa mixtura praevaluit, alterum in quo auris fulvae natura, tertium in quo æqualis 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 et Deliacum, quae diu optinuere principatum.

9 Antiquissima aeris gloria Deliaco 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 Tuppiter in Capitolio in Iovis Tonantis aede. illo aere Myron usus

§ 7. 2. factores: from meaning literally a modeller in clay, the word factor 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.

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

§ 9. 18. Deliac: 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 ἵπάρυξιως 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

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.


27. Iovis Tonantis aede. Cf. xxxvi, 50. A small temple built (B.C.}
est, hoc Polycletus, aequales atque condiscipuli, sed aemulatio ct in materia fuit.

11 Privatim Aegina candelabrorum superficiem dumtaxat elaboravit, sicut Tarentum scapos. in his ergo iuncta commendatio officinarum est. nec pudet tribunorum militarum 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 L. eadem ostentante in convivio empta ludibrii causa nudatus atque inpudentia libidinis receptus in torum, mox in testamentum, praedives numinum vice illud candelabrum coluit et hanc Corinthiiis fabulam adiecit, vindicatis tamen moribus nobilibus Achaiae oppidis simul aera dispersit.

13 Prisci limina etiam ac valvas in templis ex aere factae: A.u.c. 587. invento et a Cn. Octavio qui de Perseo rege navalem triumphum egit factam porticum duplicem ad circum Flaminium quae Corinthia sit appellant a capitis 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. Ancyr. 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... Polyoletus, §§ 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 figvent candelam candelabrum appellant, sic in quo deum ponunt delubrum dicent... and Macrobi. Sat. iii, 4, 2; cf. Martial, xiv, 43.

8. Clesippus: the slave was of course a Greek (φαντάσματος). The story is attested by an inscription (close of Republic) C. I. L. i, 805, Clesippus-Geganius mag. Capitol. 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 Flamininus and the theatre of Pompeius. It was burnt down and rebuilt by Augustus
II. BRONZE STATUARY

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.

At Aigina it was the trays, at Tarentum the stems of cande-
labra 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.

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.

(Trists, p. 178; Mon. Anc. ix, 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. placusisse: probably after the great fire of B.C. 241, cf. viii, 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. Hülse in T. J. B. iv, p. 305 (Rom. 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 quae
tor ostia quod aerata haberet in
domo.

A.U.C. 419.

Nam triclinia aerata abacosque et monopodia Cn. 5
Manlius 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 vendi-
disse. ex acre factitavere et cortinas tripodum nomine
Delphicas, quoniam donis maxime Apollini Delphico dica-
tur. placucre et lychnuchi pensiles in delubris aut
arborum mala ferentium modo lucentes, quale est in templo
Apollinis Palatini quod Alexander Magnus Thebarum ex-
pugnatione captum in Cyme dicaverat eidem deo.

A.U.C. 270.

Transiit deinde ars vulgo ubique ad effigies deorum. 15
Romaes simulacrum ex acre factum Cereri primum reperio
ex peculio Spuri Cassi quem regnum adsetantem pater
ipsius interemerit. transit et a diis ad hominum statuas


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

ostia quod aerata: quae δηγα και
θοραι τινες ἐλέγοντο χαλυπεῖ παρ'
αὐτῷ φανήσαι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. Plut.
Camil. xii.

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

Cn. Manlius: Liv. xxxix, 6, 7
ii primum lectos aeratos ... et quaet
ut magnifica supellectilis habe
bantur monopodia et abacos Romam
adverterunt.


7. L. Piso: Lucius Calpurnius
Piso, surnamed Frugi; cos. B. C. 133;
frequently quoted by Pliny, Teuffel,

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


The corrupt ae of the MSS. must
arise from a copyist's misunderstanding
of Delphicas as a separate object.

11. lychnuchi: originally lamp
stands (Ἀυξυοῖοι), whence the name
was transferred to the whole candelab-
rum, Marquardt, op. cit. p. 711;
Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. candelabrum.

pensiles: Verg. Aen. 1, 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 contradic-
tion to the mention in § 33 of a
Hercules, consecrated by Evander and
of Numa's Janus; moreover since in
II. BRONZE STATUARY

13

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 quaeestor Spurius Carvilius accused Camillus among other things of having had bronze plated doors to his house.

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, 335 B.C. at Kyme.

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

§§ 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 patriam autorem eius supplicii ferant: eum cognita domi causa verbarasse ac necasse, peculiiique filii Ceresi 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 sacra for the protection of the Trib. Pl. (cf. Liv.iii, 55) ut qui trib.pl. nocisset eius caput Ioui sacrum esset, familia ad aedem Ceresi Liberi Liberaeque venum iret; Dionys. x, 43 where the Patricians who offended against the assembly of the people convened under the Tribunes are punished by confiscation of their property to Ceres (tòs oúias autòw lepòs eliav Δήμυτρος).
atque imagines multis modis. bitumine antiqui tingebant eas, quo magis mirum est placuisse auro integere. hoc nescio an Romanum fuerit inventum, certe etiam Romae 16 non habet vetustatem. effigies hominum non solemant ex-primi nisi aliqua instri causa perpetuitatem merentum, 5 primo sacrorum certamin 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 pulsi. excepta deinde res est a toto orbe terrarum humanissima ambitione, et in omnium municipiorum foris statuae ornamentum esse coepere prorogare memoria hominum et honores legendi acvo 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 dicabautur. placuere et nudaet pententes hastam ab epheborum et gymnasiis exem-20 plaribus, quas Achilleas vocant. Graeea res nihil velare,


1. bitumino: in order to give a patina to the new bronze.
2. auro: xxxii, 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. Blümmer, 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. xi, 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 Laocoon (ii, § 13). Visconti (Iconographie Grecque, Discours pré-lim. p. viii, n. 4) arguing from Lucian, ἡνδὴ τῶν εἰκώνων ἰδιοκράτους, 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 Blümmer in his Comm. on Lessing's Laocoon, 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.*, Το πεπλο 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 from the 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 Aristoge-
at contra Romana ac militaris thoraces addere. Caesar quidem dictor loricatam sibi dicari in foro suo passus est. nam Lupercorum habitu tam noviciae sunt quam quae nuper prodiere paenulis indutae. Mancinus eo habitu sibi statuit quo deditus fuerat. notatum ab auctoribus et 5 L. Accium poetam in Camenarum aede maxima forma statuam sibi posuisse, cum brevis admodum fuisset. eques-
tres utique statuae Romanam celebrationem habent orto 
sine dubio a Graecis exemplo, sed illi celetas tantum dica-
bant in sacris victores, postea vero et qui bigis vel quadrigis 10 
vicissent. unde et nostri currus nati in iis qui triumpha-
vissent. serum hoc, et in his non nisi a divo Augusto 
seiuges, aut elephanti.

Non vetus et bigarum celebratio in iis qui praetura 
functi currui vecti essent per circum, antiquior columnarum, 15 

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. loricatam, sc. effigiem: be-
longing to the class of statues just 
mentioned, of which there are numer-
ous 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 
loricatam divi Iulii.

*2. 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, Eernoulli, 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 for-
malizing theories of the growth of art, 
hinted in § 9 and § 15, but it is the in-
verse 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 (ἱππος 
χίλιοι), 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 G. Maenius.

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

13. seiusges: a gilt chariot, drawn by six horses, had already been dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus in B.C. 169, by the Consul P. Cornelius (seiusges 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. i, points out that, according to Dio Cassius, lix, 7, Caligula was the first to drive in the circus with six horses: τὸ ἄραμα τὸ ποντικόν . . . ἐξ ἐπαναλειτυκον ὀ μηπώποτο ἐγεγένει.

elephants: 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. Sев. 57, 4. The chariots drawn by elephants on early imperial coins refer to the Pompa circensis, Marquardt, Staatsverw. ii, p. 586, note 7. Addenda.


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

16. C. Maenius: cf. vii, 212. He
had conquered the Latins with Furins Camillus; aditum triumpho honos, ut statuae equestres eis, rara illa sitate res, in foro pomerentur 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 Paxeis. 55, 6). The exact site of the statue of Maenius is unknown, cf. Jacobi, Museographie, p. 60.


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

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

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


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 (Dionyssios 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 ante aem 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 Duellius, 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

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

fuit, 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.


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.
C. PLINII SECUNDI NAT. HIST. XXXIV

aeatate Tarquinii Prisci, ni regum antecedentium essent in Capitolio. ex his Romuli et Tati sine tunica, sicut et Camilli in rostris. et ante aedem Castorum fuit Q. Marci Tremuli equestris togata, qui Samnites bis devicerat captaque Anagia populum stipendio liberaverat. inter antiquissimas sunt et Tulli Cloeli, L. Rosci, Spuri Nauti, A.U.C. 448. C. Fulcini in rostris, a Fidenatibus in legatione interfectorum. A.U.C. 316. Ti. Coruncanio, qui ab Teuta Ilyriorum regina interfecterant. non omittendum videtur quod annales adnotavere tripodedaneas iis statuas in foro statutas. haec videlicet mensura honorata tunc erat. non praeteribo et Cn. Octavium ob unum SC. verbum, hic regem Antiochum daturum se responsum dicentem viram quam tenebat forte circumscriptus priusque quam egredetur circulo illo responsum dare coegit. in qua legatione interfecit senatum poni iussit quam oculatissimo loco, eaque est in rostris. A.U.C. 524. Ti. Coruncanio, qui ab Teuta Ilyriorum regina interfecterant. non omittendum videtur quod annales adnotavere tripodedaneas iis statuas in foro statutas. haec videlicet mensura honorata tunc erat. non praeteribo et Cn. Octavium ob unum SC. verbum, hic regem Antiochum daturum se responsum dicentem viram quam tenebat forte circumscriptus priusque quam egredetur circulo illo responsum dare coegit. in qua legatione interfecit senatum poni iussit quam oculatissimo loco, eaque est in rostris. A.U.C. 592. Ti. Coruncanio, qui ab Teuta Ilyriorum regina interfecterant. non omittendum videtur quod annales adnotavere tripodedaneas iis statuas in foro statutas. haec videlicet mensura honorata tunc erat. non praeteribo et Cn. Octavium ob unum SC. verbum, hic regem Antiochum daturum se responsum dicentem viram quam tenebat forte circumscriptus priusque quam egredetur circulo illo responsum dare coegit. in qua legatione interfecit senatum poni iussit quam oculatissimo loco, eaque est in rostris.

§ 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 vetera consuetudine, secundum quam et Romuli et Tati stauas 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, 65 tunica aurea triumphasse Tarquiniim Priscum Verriius docet. et Camilli: see the passage from Asconius quoted above.


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

5. stipendio: according to the treaty concluded by Sp. Cassius in B.C. 436, 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 Anagnia 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 Antiochus 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 162 B.C. 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.'

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


11. *tripedaneas* refers not only to the last-mentioned statues, but also to those of the ambassadors to the Fidenates.


§ 25. 18. Taraciae Gaiae sive Fufetiae ... populo: this curious
C. PLINII SECUNDI NAT. HIST. XXXIV

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 stetere donec Sulla dictator ibi curiam faceret. mirumque est illos patres Socrati cunctis ab eodem deo sapientia praelato Pythagoran praetulisse aut tot aliis virtute Alcibiaden et quemquam utroque 27 Themistocli. columnarum ratio erat attollere super ceteros mortales, quod et arcus significant novicio invento. primus tamen honos coepit a Graecis, nullique arbitror plures 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

statement is best examined in the light of a passage from Aulus Gellius, vii, 7, i-4 Accae Larentiae et Gaiae Taraciae, suo illa Pesitia 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 legi ei plurimi honores fiant, inter quos ius quoque testimonii dicendi tribuiturestabili que una omnium feminarum ut sit datur. id verbum est legis ipsius Horatiae; contrarium est in duodecim tabulis scriptum: improbns instestabilisque esto. praeterea si quadraginta annos nata sacerdoto abire ac nubere voluisset, ius ei potestasque exaugurandi atque nubendi facta est manifectissae et beneficia gratia, quod campus 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 aetiological 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 bequeathed 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 Tapavania; 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
II. BRONZE STATUARY

I find that statues of Pythagoras and Alkibiades were erected at the corners of the comitium, after an oracle of the Pythian Apollo, delivered in the course of the Samnite war, had ordered that a statue in honour of the bravest man of Hellenic birth, 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 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 ordinary men, and this is also the purpose of the arches which 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 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 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.

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.


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

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

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.

13. lacerraverò: on the entrance of Demetrios Poliorcetes into the city, Strabo ix, p. 398; Diogenes Laertios v, p. 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, easdemque 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 equestri, ceu parum esset toga eam cingi, cum Lucretiae ac Bruto, qui expulerant reges propter quos Cloelia inter obsides fuerat, non decernentur. hanc primam cum Coclitis publice dicatam crediderim—Atto enim ac Sibyllae Tarquiniac et reges sibi ipsos posuisse verisimile est—nisi 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 fuisset Publicolae consulis filiae, eamque solam refugisse Tiberimque transnata visse ceteris opsidibus qui Porsinae mittebantur interemptis Tarquinii insidiis.

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

1. Mario Gratidiano, ut diximus; xxxiii, 132; he introduced a method of testing the denarri issued by the mint (cf. Cic. de Off. iii, 20, 80). According to Mommsen (Röm. Münzuv. 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 Nitzch, 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 over-threw them again when Sulla entered the city.

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 Fetialis 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 ended at confitatum. 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

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 tuents); Mommsen, Staatsrecht, ii, p. 437; cf. Liv. xl, 51, 3.

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

83 B.C.
28 Comparative antiquity of standing and of equestrian statues. Cloelia.
29 Valeria.
508 B.C.
30 Removal of statues of magistrates not erected by a decree of the people or the Senate.
bus. nimirum in ea quoque re ambitionem providebant 31 illi viri. exstant Catonis in censura vociferationes mulieribus statuas Romanis in provinciis poni. nec tamen potuit inhibere quo minus Romae quoque ponerentur, sici 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 exeris posita est Romae C. Aelio 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 statua liberati obsidione, passimque gentes in clientelas ita receptae, et adeo discrimen omne sublatum ut Hannibalis etiam statuae tribus locis visantur in ea urbe cuius intra muros solus hostium emisit hastam.

33 Fuisse autem statuariam artem familiarem Italiae quoque et vetustam indicant Hercreus 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 colitur digitis ita figuratis ut CCCCLXV dierum nota per 20 Sophus), and that this statue was melted down when he was con- demned—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.

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

§ 31. mulieribus: cf. Cato’s speech on the Lex O p t i a, as narrated by Livy, xxxiv, 2-4; for his dislike of statues in general cf. the anecdote told by Plutarch, Prac. 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. 9. 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 Sthennius 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. Hannibal is brought either from Carthage or from Asia Minor.

§ 33. 16. statuariam: see on toreutin in § 54.

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


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

21. digitis ita figurata: this curious statement is confirmed by Macrobius, Sat. i, 9, 10, and John Lydos, περὶ μπυρίων, i, 4. A number of ingenious explanations are quoted in Hardouin’s note on the passage.
significationem anni temporis et aevi esse deum indicent. signa quoque Tuscanica per terras dispersa quin in Etruria factitata sint non est dubium. deorum tantum putarem ea fuisset, ni Metrodorus Scepsius cui cognomen a Romani nominis odio inditum est propter MM statuarum Volsinios expugnatos obiceret. mirumque mihi videtur, cum statuarum origo tam vetus Italiae sit, lignea potius aut fictilia 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- venientius erit, etenim prior quam statuaria fuit. sed haec ad infinitum effloruit multorum voluminum operi, si quis plura persequi velit, omnia enim quis possit?

M. Scauri aedilitate signorum M M M in scaena tanta- tum fuere temporario theatro. Mummius Achaia devicta 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 superesse creduntur. quis ista mortalium persequi possit 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, numerum apparuisse defuncto eo, cum thensaurum effre-gisset heres, solitum enim ex manipetio cuiusque signi


7. Lignea: in Italy, as in Greece, statuary began with the wooden idols which not infrequently 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.


§ 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.
II. BRONZE STATUARY

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 μουρομάιος 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 strange that, though statuary in Italy has so ancient an origin, the images of the gods dedicated in the shrines were by preference made of wood or of terra-cotta until the conquest of Asia intro-
duced luxury. It will be better to speak of the origin of the model-
ing of portraits when we treat of the art which the Greeks call
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 I must add in his favour that he eventually died too poor to leave his daughter a dowry. The Luculli too brought over a 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, Olympia and Delphi. A detailed knowledge of all these is 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; Lysippes, for example, is said to have made fifteen hundred pieces of statuary, all of such merit that any one alone would bring him fame. Their number was

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: templi Rho-
diorum degeneratus est Cassius, but from Pliny it appears that the plundering cannot have been so thorough as set forth either by Appian ἐξεφύλ. iv, 81, Val. Max. i, 5, 8, or Orosius, vi, 18, 3.
Mucianus: see Introd. p. lxxxv. § 37. 24. Lysippes: the anecdote of the money-box may be traced.
38 denarios seponere aureos singulos. everta 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, 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.

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 Caesare dicatus. qui devoratur Pompeiani theatrici vicinitate, talis et Tarenti factus a Lysippo XL cubitorum. mirum in eo quod manu, ut ferunt, mobilis—ea ratio libramenti est—nullis convallatur procellis. id quidem providisse et artifex dicitur modico intervallo, unde maxime flatum opus erat frangi, opposita columna. itaque magnitudinem propter difficultatemque moliendi non attigit cum Fabius Verru-

A. U. C. 545, 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 σταυρός 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... capitali satisfatione fane iudicet dignos (i.e. two stautary groups).


§ 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, A.D. 69, 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

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23. Herculcn: Αὐσίππου 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 eiui amplexantur, 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

Demetrii relicto morae taedio opsessa Rhodo. sunt alii centum numero in eadem urbe colossi minores hoc, sed ubicumque singuli fuissent, nobilitaturi locum, praeterque 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 pugnantibus e pectoralibus eorum ocreisque et galeis. amplitudo tanta est ut conspiciatur a Latari Iove. e reliquis limae suam statuam fecit quae est ante pedes simulacri eius. 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... dics comparatione in tantum victus ut artificum minime probabilis videatur. verum omnem amplitudinem statuarum eius generis vicit aetate nostra Zenodorus Mercurio facto in civitate Galliae Arvernis 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, Urlichs, _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 Mudanus by Brieger, _de Font. Plin._ p. 60. _Intro._ p. lxxxvii.


§ 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 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. 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 Demetrios when he wearied of the siege of Rhodes. There are a hundred smaller colossal statues in this city, any one of which would have made famous the place it adorned, besides five representing gods, made by Bryaxis. In Italy too colossal statues have been made; we have before our eyes the Tuscan Apollo, in the library of the temple of Augustus, which measures 50 feet from its toe. It is not easy to say whether the beauty of the statue or of the bronze is the more worthy of wonder. After the victory over the Samnites, who fought bound by a solemn vow, Spurius Carvilius made from their breastplates, greaves, and helmets the Jupiter in the Capitol, a statue large enough to be visible from the temple of Jupiter Latiaris. From the filings he made a statue of himself, to stand at the feet of the other. Two heads, also placed on the 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 the comparison so as to seem a most unattractive artist. In our own times however Zenodoros exceeded the proportions of all other statues of this class. His Mercury was made in Gaul, in the state of the Arverni; he spent ten years upon

16. viotiis 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 Förs 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 § 43. Pliny is the only author who mentions any work of Chares besides the Colossus.
§ 45. 25. Zenodorus: 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 colossum fecit CXIXS pedum
longitudine, qui dicatus Soli venerationi est damnatis sceleri-
bus illius principis. mirabamur in officina non modo ex 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 argumentique paratus esset et Zenodorus
scientia fingendi caelandiique nulli veterum postponeretur. 10
statuam Arvernorum cum faceret provinciae Dubio Avito
praesidente, duo pocula Calamidis manu caelata, quae Cassio
Salano avunculo eius praecessori suo Germanicus Caesar
adamata donaverat, aemulatus est ut vix ulla differentia
esse artis. quanto maior Zenodoro praestantia fuit, tanto 15
magis deprehenditur aeris obliteratio.

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 intelligere respondit 20
debere, quoniam sphingem domi haberet. circumtulit et
Nero princeps Amazonem, de qua dicemus, et paulo ante
3. CXIXS] Urlichts in Chrestom. Plin. ; CVIS Detlefsen ; 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. colossum : in the vestibule of

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, Spec. 2,
i, 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, i, 5, 9),
and gave to the statue attributes of
Hercules, which were afterwards re-
moved (Aelian Lamprid. Commod. 17,
10). The size of the Neronian colossas
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 ; vi, 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 τρυπήματα 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 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 colossal presented when Pliny saw it. Oddly enough neither Clarac nor Blümmer (cf. Technol. iv, p. 325) comment, so far as I am aware, on this interesting passage.

8. indicavit interisse: cf. § 5.  

12. Calamidis: xxxiii, 156; xxxvi, 36.  
§ 48. 18. Hortensius: the celebrated orator and art amateur, repeatedly mentioned by Pliny, viii, 211; ix, 170; xxxv, 130, &c.  
21. sphinges: 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.

Minoribus simulacris signisque innumera prope artificum 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, Nesioth, Hegias, et deinde olympiade LXXXVII Hagelades, Callon, Gorgias Lacon, rursus LXXXX Polyclitus, Phradmon, Myron, Pythagoras, Scopas, Perellus. ex his Polyclitus discipulos habuit.

7. Olympiae omnes praeter Bamb., Detlefsen.

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 σωμη = 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; Urlich, Chrest. p. 314.


4. regiam: close to the temple of Vesta.

§ 49. 5. Minoribus, i.e. colossis supradictis.

7. Iove Olympio, § 54; xxxvi, r8.

8. floruit = ἡμαζε. olymp. LXXXIII: probably date of commencement of Parthenon. Then about Phidias as representative are grouped—falling 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 Nesioth (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); Alcamenes 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 Skopas 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.

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 \([448-445 \text{ B.C.}\), about three hundred years after the foundation of Rome. Of the same date were his rivals, Alkamenes, Kritios, Nesiotus, and Hegias. In the eighty-seventh Olympiad \([432-429 \text{ B.C.}\) came Hagelaidas, Kallon and the Laconian Gorgias, and in the ninetieth \([420-417 \text{ B.C.}\) Polykleitos, Phradmon, Myron, Pythagoras, Skopas, Perellos.

xxxv, 64, illustrious contemporaries of Zeuxis figure as his aequales et aemuli; cf. also xxxv, 124.


Callon: 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).

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**Gorgias:** *I. C. B.* 36 = *C. I. A.* iv, 373 (214).

12. Polyolitius: § 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 Polykleitoses 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. 49) an elder Skopas.
Argium, Asopodorum, Alexim, Aristidem, Phrynonem, Dinomen, Athenodorum, Demean Clitorium, Myron Lycium. LXXXV olympiade florure 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, Styenis, Euphron, Sofocles, Sostratus, Ion,


Lycium: as his father appears in the same Olympiad with Polycleitos, he is placed in the Ol. of the sons of Polycleitos; but he was already a flourishing artist in B.C. 446, if Lolling (Δεξιόν, 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 Pericles to Euboia.


4. Canachus, i.e. the younger: a Sikyonian and a pupil of Polycleitos (Paus. vi, 13, 7). His chronology, like that of Patrocles, 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 = Leocares. Cf. Leutychides = Leotychides 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,
II. BRONZE STATUARY

The following were pupils of Polykleitos, Argeios, Asopodoros, Alexis, Aristeides, Phrynon, Deinon, Athenodoros, and Demeas of Kleitor. Myron was the master of Lykios. In the ninety-fifth Olympiad [400–397 B.C.] Naoukydes flourished, with Deinomenes, Kanachos, and Patroklos; in the hundred and second [372–369 B.C.], Polykles, Kephisodotos, Leuchares, Hyapatodoros; in the hundred and fourth [364–361 B.C.], Praxiteles and Euphranor; in the hundred and seventh [352–349 B.C.], Aetion and Therimachos. Lysippos lived in the hundred and thirteenth [328–325 B.C.], in the days of Alexander the Great; so also did his brother Lysistratos, as well as Sthennis, 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 Hyapatodoros 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 4) compels us to follow Robert (Hermes, xxv, 1890, p. 412 ff., and Hall. Winckelmannschr. 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 Delphi by the Argives, whatever view we may take of the date of the Attico-Argive victory at Oinoé which the group commemorated, or was supposed to commemorate Paus. xi, 10, 5 (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 Eleucheros at Athens (Pans. i, 3, 4), of the cavalry engagement that preceded the battle of Mantinea (equestre proelium, xxxv, 129).

6. Aetion, Ther.: Aetion 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 date 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. 103a (cf. on I. G. B. 541, p. 370) that he was still active in the reign of Lysimachos (8, c. 306–281).

Sofoles: 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 (J. G. B. 123–125) closely resemble, in form and profile, the bases (I. G. B. 103a) of Sthenis from the Amphipoleion at Oropos. This near connexion of the two artists explains the place assigned to them in the Plinian chronology.

Sostratos: probably identical with the Sostratos, son of Euphranor, I. G. B. 105.

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 fecerunt 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 \( ^{15} \)

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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 Amphiarai (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 Kephisophon B.C. 329-8). It would thus appear that the date assigned by Pliny to Silanion 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. xviii ff.

2. Zeuxiaden: known from one of the Mattei inscriptions (J. G. B. 483-485) as sculptor of a statue of Hype- reides (d. B.C. 322). See Addenda.

Eutychides: 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 \( \Delta \) for \( \Lambda \), 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 Seilianon. It is remarkable that Seilianon 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, Euthyrakates, Laippos, Kephisodotos, Timarchos, and Pyromachos. A period of stagnation followed, and again a revival in the hundred and fifty-sixth Olympiad [B.C. 156–153], the age of Antaios, Kallistratos, Polykleos 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 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.

Besides his Olympian Zeus, a work which has no rival, Pheidias types, distinct in conception, but with external resemblances of type and dress have been identified (Furtwängler, Masterpieces, p. 138 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, vii, 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 Kυβανών (I. G. B. 45-47; for the inscription recently found at Delphi cf. Furtwängler, Masterpieces, p. 116); it is evident that Pliny’s Latin author in transcribing from the Greek forged out of a form Kυβων, the name of a fifth artist (cf. O. Jahn, Sächs. Ber. 1850, p. 37).
praeter Iovem Olympium quem nemo aemulatur fecit ex ebore aeque 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 toretucen aperuisse atque demonstrasse merito iudicatur. Polycitus Sicyonius Hageladae discipulus diadumenum fecit molliter iuvenem centum talentis nobilitatum, idem et doryphorum viriliter puerum. fecit et quem canona artifices vacant lineamenta 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, elckew 4 ; for extant copies of the statue, Furtwängler, Masterpieces, pp. 4 ff.; see Add.

5. oliauohum: 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 Makedonia see Liv. xlvi, 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 ff.).


palliata: i.e. portraits (cf. the paliati, xxxv, 136), while the colossus nucleus 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 Lysippus, 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 Lysippus, Otto Jahn, Kunsturtheile des Pl., p. 128 ff.; C. Robert, Arch. März. 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 κλειδωνχος, 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 διαδομένος 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 Statuaris 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 Αργείος; 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.

diademenum . . . puerum: the neat antithesis points to an epigram as the source of this statement, Dilthey, Rhein. Mus. xxvi, p. 290.

The Doryphoros represented an athlete carrying his palaistric javelin. The most complete copy of the Diadumenos 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 Thbes. Introd. p. lxxiv.

12. et quem canona: the 'canon' was, however, identical with the Doryphoros (see the passages Schriftquell. 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. 539, 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 Ἰπποκρ.
C. PLINIUS SECUNDI NAT. HIST. XXXIV

et destringentem se et nudum telo incessentem duosque pueros item nudos talis ludentes qui vocantur astragali-zontes et sunt in Titi imperatoris atrio—hoc opere nullum absolutius plerique iudicant—item Mercurium qui fuit Lysi-
macheae, Herculem qui Romae, hagetera arma sumentem, 5 Arte mona qui periphoretos appellatus est. hic consummassse hanc scientiam iudicatur et toreuticen sic erudisse ut Phidias aperuisse. proprium eius est uno crure ut insisterent signa excogitasse, quadra ta tamen esse ea ait Varro et paene ad unum exemplum. Myronem Eleutheris natum Hageladae et ipsum discipulum bucula maxime nobilitavit celebratis ver-
sibus laudata, quando alieno plerique ingenio magis quam suo commendantur. fecit et canem et discobol on et Perseum


dac Plut. 80, 5: ἥργη τὸν λόγον ἐκθέβαλος, ἤδημορφήσας ἀνδρῶν κατὰ τὰ τοῦ λόγου προστάγματα καὶ καλῶσας ἓ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀνδρῶν καβάσηρ καὶ τὸ σύγγραμμα, κανόνα; cf. xxxv, 74 (Timanthes) πίνητι et herao . . . artem ipsam complexus viros pingeni. Introd. p. xli.

d. destringentem se: i.e. an ἄπαξλόγειος


3. et sunt . . . atrio: this addition concerning the Roman locality of the astragalisizontes 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. xxxii, 38, 11). Lysimacheae: built B. C. 309 by Lysimachos in the Thracian Chersonese. Where the statue had previously stood is not known.

5. hagetera: the Doric form points to a metrical epigram which was doubtless inscribed on the basis of the statue; cf. H. L. Urlichs 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. Phlartch adds, however, that the story was contested by Herakleides of Pontos, who showed from Anakreon (cf. Bergk, Poetae Iyr. 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 \textit{στράτευμα ιπποτών} [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 a Hermes, which was at Lysimacheia; a Herakles at Rome; a captain or \textit{ἀντιρρητός} putting on his armour; and finally a portrait of Artemon, known by the name of \textit{περίφροντος} 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 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 \textit{δισκόβολος}, or athlete hurling the disk, a Perseus, sawyers, a Satyr gazing with wonder at the

8. \textit{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 \textit{uni cruri insist.}, Michaelis, \textit{Ann. d. Inst.} 1878, p. 29 (cf. J. Lange, \textit{Fremstilling}, p. 466).

9. \textit{quadra... 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.


§ 87. 10. \textit{Myronem... Hage...}
et pristas et Satyrum admirantem tibias et Minervam, Delphicos pentathlos, Pancratias, 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 Ephesis divus Augustus admonitus in quiete. primus hic multiplicasse veritatem videtur, numerosior in arte quam Polyclitus et in symmetria diligentior, et ipse tamen corporum tenus curiosus animi sensus non expressisse, capillum quoque et pubem non emendatius fecisse quam 10 rudis antiquitas instituisset. vicit eum Pythagoras Regina ex Italia pancratia Deiphis posito; eodem vicit et Leontiscum; fecit et stadiodromon Astylon qui Olympiae ostenditur et Libyn, puerum tenentem tabellam eodem loco et mala feren tem nudum, Syracusis autem claudicantem, 15

in Palazzo Lancellotti (Collignon, Sculpture Grecque, i, pl. xi).

Perseum: presumably identical with the Persens by Myron on the Akropolis (Pans. i, 23, 7).

1. pristas: Dalecampius was the first to give the true meaning of the word; Furtwängler, Dornaus, 1893, p. 89, note 30, correctly explained the curious subject as a votive offering; cf. H. L. Urlichs 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. Roscher i, 2918; cf. above on § 33; xxxv, 19). Pompeus had probably dedicated it on the occasion of his last triumph in B.C. 61, and brought the Herakles from Asia Minor (cf. Urlichs, Chrest. p. 139).


4. Erinna: Hardouin (1685) had already detected that this ridiculous statement arose from a confusion between Mupov and the maiden Mupó, for whom the poetess Erinna must have written an elegy similar to the ex tant one by Anyte (Anth. vii, 190).

τέττιγι ξων τούμπων ἑτευξα Mupó.


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
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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

utilized before.' A striking example of course is the Diskobolos, represented in the act of hurling the disk.

umerosior: cf. xxxv, 130, dili-
gentior quam numerosior; ibid. § 138 numero-
asque tabula [numerosus in Pliny always of number; cf. vii, 107, 143; x, 176 numerosiors in fatu; 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 (Pans. vi, 4, 3). He figures here as an artist, doubtless through misunderstanding of some Greek sentence such as ἔνικα καὶ τοῦτον τοὺς καὶ Λεοντίσκοιν, i.e. 'he conquered, both when he made the pankratiast and when he made the Leontiskos' (Urlichs, Rhein. Mus. 1889, p. 261).

13. Astylon: Paus. vi, 13, 1. qui Olympise ostenditur: belongs to Libyn as well as to Astylon. 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 cry-

stalina effodimus. (H. L. Urlichs in Görìtza. Verhand. p. 330.)

14. Libyn, i.e. Mnaseas of Kyrene. Pans. vi, 13, 7; 18, 1.

puerum...tabellam: probably an iconic ποδικον, Reisch, Weihgeschichte, p. 44. The statue may be identical with that of the boy victor Protolaos, Pans. vi, 6, 1; cf. H. L. Urlichs, loc. cit. See Addenda.

15. mala ferentem: cf. the statue of Theognetos, who carried πέτρον τῆς γυμνοῦ καὶ βοών καρπῶν, Paus. vi, 9, 1. Pythagoras’s statue of Euthymos (I. G. B. 29, Pans. vi, 6, 4-5) is mentioned in Bk. vii, 152.

claudicantem: the identification of this statue with a wounded Philoktetes is due to Gronovius (Blüm-

ner, Comm. to Lessing’s Laochoon, p. 508 f.). The following words cuius...videntur are evidently epi-
cuius ulceris dolorem sentire etiam spectantes videntur, item Apollinem serpementemque 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 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 facile quoque indiscreta similis fuisset traditur, Regini autem discipulus et filius sororis fuisset Sostratus. Lysippum Sicyonium Duris negat ullius fuisset discipulum, sed primo aerarium fabrum audendi rationem cepisse pictoris Eupompi responso. eum enim interrogatum, quem sequeretur ante- cedentium, dixisse monstrata hominum multitudine naturam ipsum imitandam esse, non artificem. plurima ex omnibus signa fecit, ut diximus, fecundissimae artis, inter quae destrin- gentem se quem M. Agrippa ante Theramas suas dicavit mire gratum Tiberio principi. nonquivit temperare sibi in eo, quamquam imperiosus sui inter initia principatus, trans-

grammatic; *Anth. Plan. iv, 112,* of a bronze Philokettes, 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 ma- trem et Aegisthum interfici.


5. hic primus nervos: his relation to symmetry is not given by Pliny. It is preserved however, by Diogenes Laeretios viii, 46: *οι δὲ καὶ ... ἀνδριαντοῦν θηγίνον γε- γονέναι φαί Πυθ. πρῶτον δοκίνητα ῥωμόν καὶ συμμετρία ἑστοχάσαι, καὶ ἄλλον ἀνδριαντοῦν Σάμιον* (Furtwängler, *Plinius*, p. 70).

§ 60. 6. fuit et alius: in Paus. vi, 4, 3, Pythagoras is called *Πηγίνος*, 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 per- son. 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 cor- rected 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 like- ness. It is noteworthy that Diogenes (loc. cit.) is likewise guilty of dividing the sculptor into two.
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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 δικαώς [the Just], because when Thebes was taken by Alexander, a fugitive concealed B.C. 335.
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 Lysippos of Sikyon.
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 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-

6. initio pictor: so of Pheidias xxxv, 54.

7. ad aedem Fortunae 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. Urlichs in Woch. f. Klass. Phil. 1894, p. 488, and Saner, Anfänge d. Stat. Gruppe, p. 20, note 73).

8. facie quoque indiscreta: cf. the similar expressions above § 38; vii, 53; xxxv, 88 similitudinis indiscretae, &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. Seilaniou 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. xlvi f.

14. naturam... non artificem: a hit at the schools which worked according to a fixed canon. Introd. p. xlviii.

§ 62. 16. ut diximus: above, § 37.

17. thermas: at the back of the Pantheon. See Addenda.
temulenta in cubiculum alio signo substituto, cum quidem tanta populi Romani contumacia fuit ut theatri clamoribus reponi apoxyomenon flagitaverit princepsque quamquam adamatum reposuerit. nobilitatur Lysippus 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 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 summa omnium similitudine expressit—hanc Metellus Macedoniasubacta transtulit Romam—fecit et quadrigas multorum generum. statuariae artis plurimum traditur contulisse

§ 63. 4. temulenta tibicina: a votive or grave statue, cf. the anus eboria 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, Statute und Ort, p. 331. Ulrichs (Skopas, p. 196) believes that the fine fragment of a rider from the Mauoleion (Brit. Mus.) had formed part of such a group.


6. Alexandr. Magnum: the most famous was the Alexander with the spear (Plut. peri τῆς Ἀλ. τήχνης ii, 2); the motive seems reproduced in the nude bronze portrait in the Termus Mus. (Helbig, Class. Ant. 1052; Ant. Denkm. i, 5; Furtwängler, Masterpieces, p. 364, n. 2). For portraits of Alexander see Koepp, Winckelmannsprogramm, 1892. The story told in Bk. vii, 125 (cf. Plut. Alex. iv), that Lysippus 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 Polycleitos, 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 confreres, it is probable that, as Loeschcke (A. Z. 1878, p. 10 ff.) has already pointed out, the Hephaestion really was by the younger Polycleitos. 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 ἀντίστοιχον, 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 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 of Hephaistion, 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 Delphi, 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 chief contributions to the art of sculpture are said to consist

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 s ubacta: 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. Roman: first in the porticus Metelli, which was afterwards absorbed into the porticus Octaviae (Vell. Paterc. loc. cit.). The statues were on the area (cf. Varr. ap. Macrobr. 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 Thespis 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 discernatur complura signa, ceu senex Thebanus et Demetrius rex, Peucestes Alexandri


4, 2) in front of the temples—Jupiter and Juno (frontem acdem 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 commensur 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. 1460b: Σοφοκλῆ οὗ ἄφροι αὐτῶν μὲν οἴος ἐπὶ πολείν, Ἑπερίσκει δὲ οἱοὶ εἰς νῦν (cf. also in Poet. 1448, ff. the judgement passed on Polygnotos, Pauson and Dionysios), Introd. p. IXii f.


§ 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.


13. Thespiadas: a Praxitelean subject, xxxvi, 39; so his father made for the same Thespiai 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 \( \sigma_{\nu}{\mu}{\eta}{\rho}{\tau}{\iota}{\pi} \) 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 Thespiai 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 Demetrius and of Peunestes, 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, Jahrh. ix, 1894, p. 166.)

proelium equestre: a votive offering like the turmam Alexandri, § 64, cf. Kühnert, 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 Mnich (Klein, Meister- signa. p. 77 = Gerhard, Ausersehene 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 quadrigeae just mentioned, and the following canes (cf. note on canem in § 57) all belong to the usual class of votive offerings.

§ 67. 16. Tisiorates: § 83.

18. senex Thebanus: not Pindar
Magni servator, dignus tanta gloria. artifices qui compositis voluminibus condidere haec miris laudibus celebrant Telephaneum Phocaeum ignotum alias, quoniam in Thessalia habitaverit, et ibi opera eius latuerint, alioqui suffragiis ipsorum aquatur Polyclito, Myroni, Pythagorae. I laudant eius Larisam et Spinharum pentathlum et Apollinem. alii non hanc ignobilitatisuisse causam, sed quod se regum Xerxis atque Darei officinis dediderit, existimant. Praxiteles quoque marmore felicior, ideo et clarior fuit, fecit tamen et ex aere pulcherrima opera: Proserpinae raptum, item catagusam, et Liberum patrem, et Ebrietatem nobilemque una Satyrum quem Graeci periboeton cognominant, et signa quae ante Felicitatisaedemfuerere, Venerementiquequaeipsa aedis incendio cremata est Claudii principatu, marmoreae illi suae per terras inclutae parem, item stepha-

68 as some have supposed—or the name would almost certainly have been preserved, but merely a portrait. Furtwängler, Dornauszieker, p. 92.

Demetrius: i.e. Poliorcketes, became king B.C. 307, died B.C. 283.

Peucetos: tribus iaculis confessus, 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 Flutarch, Alex. lxiii, in that of the Malloi.

§ 68. artifices qui: i.e. Xenokrates and Antigonos, see Introd. p. xxii. haec, i.e. everything mentioned §§ 49-68.

3. Phocaeum: from the Ionian Phokaia, Phocais; cf. Furtwängler, Masterpieces, p. 57. It is unnecessary to look upon the word as a variant for Phocencis.

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 Phiiologus, Supplement-band 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. Münzstafel, ix, 12) reproduces the group of Praxiteles. The subject of the Rape was treated by the painter Nikomachos, xxxv, 108.

II. item: introduces a new subject, catagusam: the true meaning was given as early as by Dalecampius, την καταγονας quae pensa nendo ductet unde et καταγονα; so independently Loeschke, A. Z. 38 (1880), p. 102 f. The meaning of καταγεως is further discussed by Förster, loc. cit. p. 719; H. L. Urlichs (Woch. f. Klass. Phil.
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Those sculptors who have written treatises on the subject give high praise to Telephanes of Phokaia, who is otherwise unknown, since, they say, he lived in Thessaly, where his works remained 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 Darcios.

Praxiteles also, though more successful and consequently better known as a worker in marble, created admirable works in bronze: a rape of Persephone, the Καράγωνα or Girl Spinning, a Dionysos, a figure of Intoxication grouped with an admirable Satyr known among the Greeks as the Περιβάκτης 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 the Στράβονιδα, or woman presenting a wreath, the Ψελινομένη, or

1894. p. 227 f.) compares for the motive the spinning maiden, Furtwängler, Samml. Sabouroff, Pl. xix; and the bronze statue, Munich, Glypt. 314. I take the Καράγωνα to have been a grave statue; for spinning and similar motives on graves, see Weisshänpl, Gralsgedichte 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 Intoxication 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 irreconcilable with the evidence of the MSS., but the use of the word ebriolare, 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 Triangular 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 Thestipades 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 Στράβονιδα 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 affectus exprimentia, flentis matronae et meretricis gaudentis. hanc putant Phrynen fuisse deprehenduntque in ea amorem artificis et mercedem in vultu meretricis. habit simulacrum et benignitas eius, Calamidis enim quadrigae aurigam suum imposuit, ne melior in 10 equorum effigie defecissete in homine crederetur. ipse Calamis et alias quadrigas bigasque fecit se impari, equis sine aemulo expressis. sed, ne videatur in hominum effigie inferior,


12. sem pari equis Bamb., corr. Trasbe; equis semper reliqui, Dellefse.

cf. Athen. xii, 534 D: δὲ μὲν (sc. πίνακι) ἔγχρω Ολυμπιάδα καὶ Πιθανὰ στεφανοῦτας αὐτὸν ('Ἀλκιβιάδην). For the artistic motive cf. the relief in the Akrop. Mus., A. Z. 1869, 24 = Friederichs-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, Jahrh. ix 1894, pl. xi; its connexion with Praxiteles cannot however be pressed further.

oporan: [for a personification of autumn cf. Az. Elphei. 523 ff., where ὑπάρχει 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.


5. sauroctonon: finest replica in Louvre, phot. Giraudon 1200.

6. flentis . . . gaudentis: epigrammatic antithesis, cf. the molliter iuvenis and viriliter puor 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, Dornausleher, 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, ἐπώφα 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

7. putant Phrynon: doubtless correctly; it should be noted, however, that Pliny mentions neither of the celebrated statues of Phryne at Thespiai and at Delphoi, Furtwängler, loc. cit.

8. mercedem: the meaning is not altogether clear; the words may contain an allusion to the μοσόβς given by Praxiteles to Phryne, in the shape of the Eros which she dedicated at Thespiai, 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, 1, 156; xxxvi, 35) 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. 103 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 κέλητες 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 both the horse and the horseman: καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὸν σπαρταῖτην 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 νῦν μέρη τῆς νίκης (cf. in this book §§ 64, 86, 88; xxxv, 27, 99, 108, 141, &c.). Introd. p. lxv.

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 iactae equis. Introd. p. lxix.
72 Alcman poeta nullius est nobilior. Alcamenes Phidiae discipulus et marmorea fecit et aereum pentathlum qui vocatur encrinomenos, at Polycliti discipulis Aristides quadrigas bigasque. Amphicrates Leaena laudatur. scortum haec lyrae cantu familiaris Harmodio et Aristogitoni con-
5 silia eorum de tyrannicidio usque in mortem excruciata a tyrannis non prodicit, quamobrem Athenienses, et honorem habere ei volentes nec tamen scortum celebressse, animal nominis eius fecere atque, ut intellexeretur causa honoris,
73 in opere lingua addi ab artifice vetuerunt. Bryaxis
Aesclapium et Seleucum fecit, Boedas adorantem, Baton
Apollinem et Iunonom qui sunt Romae in Concordiae
74 templo, Cresilas volneratum deficientem in quo possit

1. Alcman poeta] E. Sellers; alcamen et Bamb. (alcame et e corr.);

alchimena reliqui; Alcmena Dethesen.

1. Alcman poeta: it was pointed out by Benndorf (op. cit. p. 47) that the original reading had been corrupted by the neighbouring Alcamenes. The readings Alcmena or Alcmena are unsatisfactory, since the subject could hardly be reckoned among homi
num 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 Alkman 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 Kresilas.

§ 72. Alcamenes: above § 49, xxxvi, 16.

3. encriomenenos: encrinomenos vocatur, qui athletis adnumeratur, id est qui in corum numero recipitur, so Turnebus (Advers. p. 486, cf. the note of Dalecampion) explains the

term with reference to the ἐγκριμενος ἔθησαι Modern commentators, however, generally refer to the epithet to the statue, and explain it as approved, chosen, classical or canonical ('classisch' mustergiltig,' Urlichs in Christ. p. 325; cf. O. Jahn, Kunsturtheile, p. 125; H. L. Urlichs, Blätter f. d. bayr. Gymnasialisch. 1894, pp. 609–
613). But the ἐγκριμενος ἔθαλ (Lucian, ἄναρτον εἴσοδ. 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 ἐγκριμενομενος 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 ἐγκριμενος (cf. the inscr. Ross. Grisch. Königreisen, i, p. 96) shows that the athlete was represented in the act of submitting to the ἐγκριμενος. 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 encriomenos, which had lately come again into favour. The proposed identification of the encriomenenos 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.

Alkamenes, a pupil of Pheidias, produced works in marble as 72 well as a winner in the five contests in bronze, called the 

\[ \text{γραπτὸν μένος} \] [undergoing the test]. A pupil of Polykleitos, Aristides, made chariots with four horses and with two. \( \text{†Amphikrates Monument of Leaina.} \)

is famous for his \( \lambda \text{eavna} \) 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; \( \text{†Boedas} \) a praying figure, Baton the Apollo and Hera which are in the temple of Concord at Rome, Kresilas, a wounded man at the point 74

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, \( \text{Gleichnamige Künstler}, \) p. 25.

4. Leaina: vii, 87; the story, told also Plut. de Carrul. 5; Paus. i, 23, 1; Polyainos, \( \text{Στρατηγήμα}, \) viii, 45; cf. Cicero, \( \text{Glor. ii, fr. 12} \) (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 \( \text{ἐν Κεραυνῷ} \) (Arrian, \( \text{Anab. iii, 16, 8} \), instead of at the entrance to the Akropolis (Paus. loc. cit.). Further, since the oldest authorities, Herodotos and Thukydidès, 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, Paus. i, 40, 6.

Seleuoum: i.e. Nikator, reigned B.C. 312–280; cf. below § 86; for his portraits see Wolters, \( \text{Röm. Mitth. iv, 1889, pp. 32–40}. \)

Boedas: above § 66.

adorantem: in the scheme doubtless of the 'Praying Boy' (Berlin, \( \text{Cat. 2} \), cf. \( \text{Jahrb. i, 1886, p. 1 ff. (Conze)} \) for the type of the \( \text{adorans} \) on coins \( \text{Jahrb. iii, 1886, p. 286 ff. (Imhoof-Blumer)} \), on a gem \( \text{ib. I. p. 217 (Furtwängler)} \).

Baton: below § 91; known from \( \text{L. G. B. 61}, \) as a native of Heracleia,

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
intelligi quantum restet animae et Olympium Periclen dignum cognomine, mirumque in hac arte est quod nobiles viros nobilibiores fecit. Cephisodorus Minervam mirabilem in portu Atheniensium et aram ad templum Iovis Servatoris 75 in eodem portu, cui paucu comparantur, Canachus Apollinem nudem qui Philesius cognominatur in Didymaeo Aeginetica aeris temperatura, cervumque una ita vestigiis suspendit ut *linum* subter pedes trahatur alterno morsu calce digitibus retinentibus solum, ita vertebrato dente utrisque in partibus ut a repulsu per vices resiliat. idem et celetizontas pueros, 10 Chaereas Alexandrum Magnum et Philippum patrem eius


with the statue of Dieitrophes pierced by arrows, Paus. i, 23, 3 (where the artist is not named); the extant inscription (Ἐρμόλυκος Διειτρέφος ἄπαχους Κρεσίλας ἐπώεσεν I.G.B. 46) should place this beyond a doubt, were it not that the epigraphy is too early for the date of Dieitrophes, 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 Dieitrophes 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, Winckelmanns. 1895, p. 21 f.).

1. Periclei: for the portrait (without name of artist), cf. Paus. i, 25, 1. Its inscribed basis was discovered in 1888, see Δελτιον, 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: θεᾶς δὲ ἔξιον τῶν ἐν Πειραιᾷ μάλιστα Ἀθηνᾶς ἕοτε καὶ Διὸς τέμενος ἀλλικόν μᾶλλον αὔτον ἄγαλμα, ἔχει δὲ ὁ μὲν σκηνητὸν καὶ νηπίῳ, ἢ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς δόρου. 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, Kephisodorus would be an artist of the Periklean 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, ap. Roscher i, 451: the god, nude,
of death, whose face betrays how fast his life is ebbing, and also an Olympic 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, 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 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 Seleukos Nikator, Paus. loc. cit. and i, 16, 3.

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. Lindenbrog, p. 282 f.); Macrobins (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 ambiissima ligno, cardinum singulorum versatili suspensa libramento. From the word salum 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, 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 initium of cod. Bamb. we have a corruption, while the lusum 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 onto 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).

10. repulsu: cf. xi, 164 pare eodem praecnas veneno impresso dentium repulsu virus fundit in morsus (Petersen).

oeletisontas pueros: cf. on the Akropolis the bronze statue of Isokrates as paiis krapitikon. Lives of Ten Orators, Isokr. 42; at Olympia Aisypos, son of Timon, Paus. vi, 2, 8; cf. id. vi, 12, 1. A krapitikon on the
76 fecit, Ctesilaus doryphoron et Amazonem volneratam, 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 scrisit. § 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 deorum, amator Helenae et tamen Achillis interfector. huius est 10 Minerva Romae quae dicitur Catuliana, infra Capitolium a Q. Lutatio dicata, et simulacrum Boni Eventus, dextra pateram, sinistra spicam ac papavera tenens, item Latona

2. myetica Bamb.

§ 76. 1. Ctesilaus: the name, though uncommon, is a good Greek formation (cf. the formations ending *-Aeōs, -Aeōs* 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.


*Lysimachen* = Paus. i, 27, 4: *πρὸς δὲ ναῷ τῷ τής Ἀθηνᾶς, the following information is derived from the inscription on the basis of the statue, Töpffer, *Att. Général* 128; for a similar inscr. from the Akropolis (but belonging to a larger statue) of a priestess who had served (?) *(κέφαλα* δ*ὲ* Ἕρμης νομίμου, Paus. vi, 9, cf. above § 50). D. signs Σίκυωνιος (*I. G. B. 89*) and seems to have his first member of the family who migrated to Sikyon; cf. Furtwängler, *Mastepieces*, p. 225.

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 *myetica for mythetica*, adding that 'the mysterious resonance of the aegis recalled the music of the Eleusinian mysteries when the Hierophant struck the ἤρμην.' Dr. Traube suggests that the reading might possibly be *myetica*, i.e. 'the Roarer'—μυετικός as an epithet of Poseidon occurs *ap. Cornutos*, *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 Ιπποκῆς Xen. *de Rei Eq.* i, 3.


et ipse: marks Pliny's astonishment at the appearance of Daidalos among the bronze-workers (rightly explained by Oehmichen, *Plin. Studien*, p. 192), perhaps because the only
Philip. + Ktesilaos made a ὀρυφόρος, 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 said to display every phase of the Trojan's character: he is 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-

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. E. 233), cf. Gurlitt, Pausanias, p. 267 ff.


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. Winckelmannsprogr. xix, 1895, p. 20 ff. arrive at surprisingly different results. Addenda.


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. Urlich, loc. cit.

Boni Eventus: from the description it is evident that the statue originally represented the Greek Tripolemos (Urlich, Chrêston. 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 Concordiae. fecit et quadrigas bigasque et cliduchon eximia forma, et Virtutem et Graeciam, utrasque colossaeas, mulierem admirantem et adorantem, item Alexandrum et Philippum in quadrigis, Eutychides Eurotam, in quo artep ipso amne liquidore plurimi dixer. Hegiae Minerva Pyrrhusque rex laudatur, et celetizantes puere, et Castor ac Pollux ante aedem Iovis tonantis, Hagesiae in Pario colonia Hercule, Isodoti bathytes. Lycius Myronis discipulus fuit, qui fecit dignum praeceptore puerum sufflantem languidos ignes et Argonautas, Leocares aquilam sentientem quid rapiat in Ganymede et cui ferar parcentemque ungubus etiam per vestem puero, Autolycum pancrati victorem propter quem Xenophon symposium scripsit, Iovenque illum tonantem in Capitolio ante cuncta laudabilem, item Apollinem diadematum, Lycicum manganem, puerum subdolae ac

2. cliduchon] Barbarus; eliticon Bamb., Detlefsen; eliticon reliqui.
16. incisus langonem reliqui.

1. aede Concordiae: above § 73. § 78. 2. cliduchon: a subject also treated by Pheidias, § 54. 4. admirantem et adorantem = ἀνέβλητοναυν ‘looking up with awe at the image of the divinity,’ Furtwängler, Plinius, p. 46, cf. Dornauszieher, p. 87, note 19.

Alexanderum 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. Eutychides: above § 51; distinct 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.


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. Mitt. vi, p. 279; Helbig in Melanges d’Arch. et d’Hist. xiii, 1893, pl. i, ii, pp. 377 ff. The addition of rex gives such precision 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. Mitt. xvi, 1891, p. 155, note 2).

8. Iovis tonantis: above § 10; below § 79.


Pario colonia: v, 141, founded by the Parions, Milesians, and Ery-
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born Apollo and Artemis in her arms, now in the temple of Concord, and chariots with four and two horses, a κλειδωτός or 78 Key-bearer, of great beauty, a statue of Valour, and one of Helias, 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 βουβός, or Slayer of the Ox, by Isodotus. 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

thraians, Strabo, xiii, p. 588, 14; it was made into a Roman colony by Augustus (Colonia Pariana Julia Augusta).

10. puerum suffantem: 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 Ioveam, and after item from Apollinem to puerum.
—H. L. U.]

guilam . . . Ganymede: a copy of this work has been recognized in the statuette, Helbig, Class. Ant. 400.

13. Autolyceum: winner in the Pankration at the greater Panathenaia Ol. 89, 3 = B.C. 422 (the fictitious date of the ‘Banquet,’ Athen. y, 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. Ioveamque illum tonantem: the motive of the statue may be recovered from coins; Cohen, Médailles Impériales, 2nd ed. i, p. 88; Roseber, ii, 748. Above § 10.

16. Lyciscum mangonem: Ur-
80 fucatae vernilitatis, Lycius et ipse puerum suffitorem. Me-
naechmi vitulus genu premitur replicata cervice. ipse
Menaechmus scripsit de sua arte. Naucydes Mercurio et
discobolo et immolante arietem censetur, Nucerus lucta-
tore 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
discipulus epithyusan. Styppax Cyrius uno celebratur
signo, splanchnopote—Pericles Olympii vernula hic fuit exta
10 torrens ignemque oris pleni spiritu accordens—Silanion
Apollodorum fudit, factorem et ipsum, sed inter cunctos
diligentissimum artis et iniquom sui iudicem, crebro perfecta


lich (Chrestom. p. 328) refers the
subject to the influence of the Middle
Comedy. Aesclanos, 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 sepa-
rate statues, cf. Furtwängler, Dorn-
ausseicher, 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 censer 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 im-
molans 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 senti-
atur; Reisch, Weihgeschenke, p. 45.
5. Niceratus: Nicérastos Νικηράτος 'Αθηναίος, 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 ori-
ginally made for the Asklepieion at
Pergamon, in which case it was pre-
sumably 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 *dakroideos* 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 *epithousa*, or woman sacrificing.

† *Styppax* of Cyprus is known by one statue only, the *pantov-81* *tyrios*, 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 Apollodorus, who was also a statuary, and among the most painstaking, a severe critic of his own work, who often broke up a finished

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*Pericles 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 Apollodorus either with the Sokratic philosopher (fl. 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 exertentem athletas, Strongylion Amazonem quam ab excellentia crurum euclenomen appellant, ob id in 5 comitatu Neronis principis circumulatam. idem fecit puerum quem amando Brutus Philippensis cognominem 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 quadrigulam tenuit translatam Praeneste, tantae parvitatis ut—mirum dictu—eam currumque et aurigam integeret alis simul facta musca. Xenocrates Tisicratis discipulus, ut alii Euthycratis, vict utrosque copia signorum. et de sua

§ 82. nec hominem . . . sed irac.: O. Jahn (Kunsturtheile, p. 112) detected in these words a latent epigram; the phraseology, however, which was originally confined to colloquial language and used as a rule in a disparaging sense, had become universal in Pliny's day; cf. Quint. x. 1, 112 non iam hominis nomen sed eloquentiae habeatur; H. S. Jones, Class. Rev. 1893, p. 224, cf. Bahrens, 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 Κοσμημος Νymp-hodotos at Athens receives a statue in the palaistra C. I. A. iii, 1104, see Kuhnerdt, Statue u. Ort, p. 308 [the words exercentem athletas were probably taken from the descriptive epigram on the statue.—H. L. U.]

Strongylion: J. G. B. 52 gives the inscr. belonging to his δουρος ἤτοι (Paus. i, 23, 8), which from the allusion in Aristoph. "Oppides, 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 sta-tnette 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. circumulatam: above § 48; we may conclude from this fact that the Amazon was a statuette.

7. cognominem 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. 560–540), Herod. i, 51, and for Polykrates, Herod. iii, 41 (B. C. 532–531), 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 Seilanion 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 ἐκενμος 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...
arte compositum volumina. putes 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 princepe in templo Pacis aliisque eius operibus, violentia Neronis in urbem con-

secta et in sellariis domus aureae disposita. praeterea sunt aequalitatem celebrati artifices, sed nullis operum suorum praecipui, Ariston qui et argentum caelare solitus est, Cal-

lides, Ctesias, Cantharus Sicyonius, Dionysodorus Critiae discipulus, Deliades, Euphorion, Eunicus et Hecataeus argenti caelatores, Lesbocles, Prodorus, Pythodicus, Poly-
gnotus idem pictor e nobilissimis, item e caelatoribus 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 Militambre des Herondas, p. 708. 11. Diony-
sius, Diodorus Detlefsen ; Diodorus Bamb. ; dionysodorus Ricc., Voss.

preceding names contain the common

element -σαρνας it would appear that
the bearers all belonged to the same
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 eis rex saepe fudit
jugavitque, 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 Stratonicos (below § 90) or
Antigonus, 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.


v, 17, 4, where Schubart, however,
reads Κάρχερδωνος) ; 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, belong-
ing to the first quarter of the first
century B. C., is known from Bull.

infans : preserved in a number of
replicas, Munich, Glypt. 140; Capit-
ol, Helbig, Class. Ant. 518. The
same subject (without the artist’s
name) is mentioned Herond. iv, 31
την χηραλώπεια ως το παιδιν πνεύμα | 
προ των παιδων γονιν ει τι μη λίθος
τούργον | ἑφεὶς λαλήσει (ed. O. Cru-
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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, Stratoni kos* and *Antigonos* who also wrote books on his art.

*Boethos*, though greater as a worker in silver, made a child hugging a goose till he throttled 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, *Deliades, Euphorion, Eunikos* and *Hekataios*, the silver chasers; *Lesbokles, Proodoros, Pythodikos*, and *Polygnotos*, who was also among the most famous painters. Others who were also silver chasers were *Stratoni kos* and *Skymnos* the pupil of Kritios.

*Artists of second rank.*


*Kantharos*: 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.

*Critiae*: perhaps identical with the Kritios in § 49.

*Eu nickus et Hec.*: *xxxii*, 156.

*Polygnotos*: *xxxv*, 58; known as a sculptor only from Pliny.

*Stratonicus*: presumably identical with the Str. of § 84 and of § 90.
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 nobilis, Aristodemus et luctatores bigasque cum auriga, philosophos, anus, Seleucum regem. habet gratiam suam huius quoque doryphoros. Cephisodoti duo fuere: prioris est Mercurius Librum patrem in infantia nutriens, fecit et contionantem manu elata, persona in incerto est. sequens philosophos fecit. Colotes qui cum Phidias Iovem Olympium fecerat philosophos, item Cleon et Cenchramis et Callicles et Cepis, Chalcosthenes 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, Dornaußieher, pp. 20 f.


philosophos: Furtwängler, Dornaußieher, 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.


5. adornantes se: cf. the pseliumene in § 70.


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.

6. anus: votive portraits of priestesses, such as that of Lysimache, above § 76. Furtwängler, Dornaußieher, p. 26.

7. Seleucum regem: above § 73.

8. 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.

9. 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 adornantes, and that its gesture was misinterpreted by a Roman writer as being the familiar manus elata of the Roman orators (Milchhöfer, Arch. Studien H. Brunn dargeb. 1892, p. 39). A recent conjecture manu velata as the equivalent of the εγώ την χειρα έχων of Aisch. loc. cit. has met with little favour, cf. S. Reinach in Chron. d'Orient, 1893,
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I will now enumerate those who made statues of the same 86 class, as Apollodoros, Androbolous, Asklepiodoros and Aleuas, who made philosophers; Apellas, who also made women adorning themselves, Antignatos, who also made wrestlers, a περιεύθύμονος or athlete scraping himself, and statues of the tyrant-slayers whom I have mentioned, and Antinachos 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, Kalikles, and Kepis; Chalkosthenes also made statues of comic actors and athletes. Daippos made a περιεύθυμονος or athlete scraping himself, Daiphron, Damokritos, and Daimon philosophers 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 Chacothenes (Καϊκοθενῆς), brother of Dies and son of Apollonides, I. G. B. 113-117, 220, see note on xxyv, 155. In connexion with the votive-statues of comœdi mentioned here, it is interesting to note that I. G. B. 220 is from the theatre of Dionysos at Athens; cf. Euleios, 1891, p. 84, 1. Like Epigonos (§ 88) he is known only from Pliny and the inscriptions.


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 praedicta imitatus praecessit in tubicine et matri interfectae infante miserabiliter blandiente. Eubuli mulier admirans laudatur, Eubulidis digitis computans. Micon athletis spectatatur, Menogenes quadrigis. nec minus Niceratus omnia quae 5 ceteri adgressus reprezentavit Alcibiaden lampadumque

89 accensu matrem eius Demaraten sacrificantem. Tisicratis bigae Piston mulierem inposuit, idem fecit Martem et Mercurium qui sunt in Concordiae templo Romae. Perillum nemo laudet saeviorem Phalaride tyranno, cui taurum fecit 10 mugitus hominis pollicitus igni subdito, et primus expertus cruciatum eum iustiore saevitiae. huc a simulacris deorum

11. et] Bamb.; ex reliqui; exprimere Detlefsen.


omnia fere: rhetorical; cf. clarissima quaque in § 84; omnibus fere quaee 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 Delphi, cf. Polux, iv, 92; Preger, Inschr. 143, or that of Phorystas at Olympia, I. G. B. 119. For a tubicen by the painter Antidotos 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. Eubulidis: 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, συνεπακώς τῶν δακτύλων πρὸς τὸ ἤθος τῶν λογίσμων; Plin. Ep. ii, 20, 3: compositum vulgum, intendit oculos, movet labra, agitat 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 Milchbößer’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 mentioned, and surpassed them in his trumpeter and his infant piteously caressing its dead mother. *Euboulos* is praised for his woman in amazement, and *Euboulides* for his man reckoning 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 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 a cruelty greater than that of the tyrant Phalaris, for whom he 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 *peripodion* 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. xlv, note 2.

7. *Demaraton*: her name was however *Δεωράχη*, 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.]

§ 89. *Tisieratis*: above § 83; *mulierem inaposit*, cf. § 71 on Kalamos and the Elder Praxiteles; the mulier was possibly a Nike.

9. *Perillos*: 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.


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.


*primus expertus*: cf. Diodoros, ix, 19; Ovid, *loc. cit.*; and *Ars Amat.* i, 653; Lucian, *Phalaris*, i, 12.

8. scopas[ codd. ; copas Gerhard, Detlefsen. 10. Iophon] Urличs in Chrest. p. 91 ; olophon Bamb. ; lophon reliqui.

§ 90. 4. Sthennis: above § 51.
5. fientes matronas : grave portrait statues, cf. above on § 70.
6. adorantes sacrificantesque: cf. §§ 73, 78. On these rubrics see the remarks of Furtwängler, Dornauszicher, pp. 22 ff.

Simon: his identity with the Aiginetan 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. Skopas, 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 confirmataion of his double Skopas (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 Skopas. It has also been suggested that scopas is the acc. pl. either of *σκῦφος* (Satyric dancers, see Urlich's note in Chrest. p. 331) or *αὐξίμας* (Satyr on the look-out), in which case the uterque would refer back to Simon and Stratonikos. ΞΚΩΓΑ 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 *διοσκορέας* of Antiphilos in xxxv, 138). Finally besides the *cōphas* (=castanet dancers), of Gerhard, Urlich's in Pergamen. Inschriften, p. 23, has suggested scyphos. See Addenda.

§ 91. athletas: for this and the following rubrics cf. adorantes sacrificantesque above.
II. BRONZE STATUARY

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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, 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 sacrificing, by *Baton, Eucheir, †Glaukides, Heliodorus, †Hikanos, †Iophon, Lyson, Leon, Menadoros, Myagros, Polyrkrates, †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.*

*Baton*: above § 73.

*Eucheir*: note on *Eubulidis* above § 88.

*Heliodorus*: xxxvi, 35.


*Lyson*: he made a statue of *Demos* which stood in the Bouleuterion at Athens, Paus. i, 3, 5.


*Menadoros*: an artist of the name made a copy of the Eros of Praxiteles at Thespiai, Paus. ix, 27, 4.


*Polykrates*: for a doubtful inscription with this name cf. *I. G. B.* 482.


*Posidonius*: xxxiii, 156.


14. *Philon*: Tatian, p. 36, 17 (ed. Schwartz), mentions a statue of HPHAistion (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.


*Thrason*: a figure of Hekate and a fountain, a Penelope and Eurycleia (in a group?) are mentioned, Strabo, xiv, p. 641; cf. Brunn, *K. G.* i, p. 421.
maxime cognomine insignis est Callimachus semper calumniator sui, nec finem habentis diligentiae, ob id catatexitechnus appellatus, memorabilis exemplo adhibendi et curae modum. huius sunt saltantes Lacaenae, emendatum opus sed in quo gratiam omnem diligentia abstulerit. hunc quidem et 5 pictorem fuisse tradunt. non aere captus, nec arte, unam tantum Zenonis statuam Cypria expeditione non vendidit Cato, sed quia philosophi erat, ut obiter hoc quoque noscatur tam inane exemplum. in mentione statuarum est et una non praeterundam, quamquam auctoris incerti, iuxta 10 rostra, Herculis tunicati, sola eo habitu Romae, torva facie, sentiensque suprema tunicae. in hac tres sunt tituli: L. Luculli imperatoris de manubiis, alter: pupillum Luculli filium ex S. C. dedicasse, tertius: T. Septium Sabinum aed. cur. ex privato in publicum restituuisse. tot certaminum 15 tantaque dignationis simulacrum id fuit.

§ 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. Quinct. x, 1, 115: inveni qui Calum praefert omnibus, inveni qui Ciceroni crederent, cum 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; Brunn, K. G. i, p. 254 aptly compares the use of votatrices in Dionys. H. de vi Dem. 51: Oi γάρ δή τοι, πλάσται μέν καὶ γραφεῖν ἐν ἧλι φαραγχ χειρῶν εἰ- στοχίαι ενδεικνύοιει τοσοῦντος εἰσ- φέρονται πόνους, ὡστε καὶ φλέβια καὶ πτίλα καὶ χρύος καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὄμως εἰς ἀκρον ἐξεργάζεσθαι καὶ κοτάταις εἰς τάφτα τὰς τέχνας.

§ 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.
II. BRONZE STATUARY

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 καταπηγιτέχνος, 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 Turenhus, 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, 294) in denying (cf. Urlichs 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 manubis: 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).
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 exstat Hodie Rhodi. est in eadem urbe et ferreus Hercules, quem fecit Alcon laborum dei patientia inductus. videsmus 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. 

Athalambantis 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-
II. BRONZE STATUARY

The artist Aristonidas in a statue representing Athamas after the murder of his son sought to depict fury giving place to repentance, and mixed copper and iron, that the rust might show through the metallic lustre of the copper and express the blush of shame; this statue exists to this day at Rhodes, where also is 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, Ἀναμ. v, 1, 2, cf. πῶς δεῖ τὸν νέοντομημ. ἄκ. iii, 30.

6. Alkon: 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.

C. PLINII SECUNDI

NATURALIS HISTORIAE

LIBER XXXV, §§ 15-29; 50-149; 151-158

(PICTURA ET PLASTICE)
I. PICTURA.

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 Aegyptio vel Cleante 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 (Introd. 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 revered 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.

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 Egypt, or to Kleanthes of Corinth. The first to practise it were Arideikes 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
scribere institutum. primus invenit eas colores testae, ut ferunt, tritae, Ecphantus Corinthius. hunc eodem nomine alium fuisse quam quem tradit Cornelius Nepos secutum in Italiam Damaratum Tarquinii Prisci regis Romani patrem fugientem a Corintho tyranni injurias Cypseli mox docebim-

17 Iam enim absoluta erat pictura etiam in Italia. exstant certe hodieque antiquiores urbe pictae Ardeae in aedibus sacris, quibus ego quidem nullas aeque miror, tam longo aevi durantis in orbite tecti veluti recentis. similiter 10 Lanivi, ubi Atalante et Helena comminus pictae sunt nudae ab eodem artifice, utraque excellentissima forma, sed altera 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. fata-

18 biturque quisquis eas diligenter aestimaverit nullam artium celerius consummatam, cum Iliacis temporibus non fuisse eam appareat.

1. invenit] codd.; inlevit Haupt, Dotlefsen.

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.


5. mox docebimus: 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.
The invention of painting with colour made, it is said, from powdered potsherds, is due to Ἐκφάντως 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.

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 (Friedrichs, Bronsen, 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, Eitr. Spiegel, iv, 373–382.


tectori natura: below, § 173. For the elliptical construction of si permisisset cf. Tac. Ann. ii, 46; spera-
baturque rursum pugna, mi Maraboduis 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. Ἰλιάς temporibus: the statement is based on the Homeric poems, where, with the exception of the νῆς μιλτονάρφοι, and the ἄποιοι παράγον (II. iv, 141) which 'a woman of Paionia or Malonia dyes with purple,' there are no allusions to painting; see O. Müller, Handbuch, p. 57.
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 Claudi principatu exusta. proxime celebrata est in foro boario aede Herculis Pacuvi poetae pictura. Enni sorore genus hic fuit, clarioremque artem eam Romae fecit gloria scenaee. postea non est spectata honestis manibus, nisi forte quis Turpilium equitem Romanum e Venetia nostrae aetatis velit referre pulchris 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 Tarbonensis functus, sed ea re in risu etiam contumeliae erat. fuit et principum virorum non omittendum de pictura celebre consilium.

A U C. 709. cum Q. Pedius nepos Q. Pedii consularis triumphalisque et a Caesare dictatore coheredit Augusto dati natura mutus esset, in eo Messala orator, ex cuius familia pueri avia fuerat, picturam docendum censuit, idque etiam divus Augustus comprobativit, puer magni profectus in ea arte obiit. dignatio autem praecipua Romae incravit, ut existimo,

§ 19. 2. Fabii clariss. gentis: An censemus, si Fabio, nobilissimo homini, laudi datum esset quod pingeret, non multos apud nos futuros Polycletos 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 (Urlichs, 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 piccolò’ 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 Paulus the conqueror of Pydna; cf. H. Peter, ap. Roscher, i, p. 2909 f. It was natural, as Urlichs (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 Fabius Pacuvius, which 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 are still to be seen at Verona. He painted with his left hand, a peculiarity noted of no artist before him. Titidius Labo, who died not long ago in extreme old age, was proud of the little 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 decision 21 with regard to painting arrived at by eminent statesmen. Quintus Pedius (grandson of that Quintus Pedius who had been consul, 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 grandmother 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 Romans 22

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. i he speaks of Catullus as his conterraneus.


§ 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.


avia: i.e. the wife of Q. Pedius, the legatee of Caesar.

§ 22. 22. dignatio ... inorevit:
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. fecit hoc idem et L. Scipio, tabulamque victoriae suae Asiaticae in Capitolio posuit, idque aegre 5 tulisse fratem 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 adsitens populo spectanti 10 singula enarrando, qua comitate proximis comitiiis consulatum adeptus est. habuit et scena Iudis Claudii Pulchri magnam admirationem picturae, cum ad tegularum similitudinem corvi decepti imaginem advolarent.


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; Urlich, Malerei, p. 9, suggests that the exhibition was only temporary). The date usually assigned to Messala's victory is A. U. C. 494 = 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. Urlich, 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.

§ 28. 8. Aemiliani: the offence presumably consisted in the omission from the picture of any allusion to the timely help of Scipio, Appian, Λβ. 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. scena: i. e. the scenae 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 variatize colorum adunbravit vacuis ante pictura tabulis extendam.
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. 145 B.C. 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.

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 Aristeides 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

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 initiation 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.

nesciret, revocavit tabulam Attalo multum querente et in Cereris delubro posuit, quam primam arbitror picturam externam Romae publicatam. deinde video et in foro positas volgo. hinc enim ille Crassi oratoris lepos agentis sub Veteribus, cum testis compellatus instarct: dic ergo, 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.

Sed praecipuam auctoritatem publice tabulis fecit Caesar dictator Aiace et Media ante Veneris Genetricis aedem dicatis, post cum M. Agrippa vir rusticitati propriam quam deliciis. exstat certe eius oratio magnifica et maximo civium digna de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis, quod fieri satius fuisset quam in villarum exilia pelli. verum eadem illa torvitas tabulas duas Aiacis et Veneris mercata est a Cyzicenis HS. [XII]. in thermarum quoque calidia dissima parte marmoribus inclusurat parvas tabellas paulo ante, cum resicerentur, sublatas.


§ 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 Cimbro. The protruding tongue was probably apotropaic (cf. Urlich's 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 esserentem.


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.).

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 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 dictator Caesar when he dedicated the Aias and the Medea 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 (₾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.

17. Aiaicis 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, Urlichs, &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 acdile 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 calorarium.

19. inclusarat: 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 artificem mentione in templo Caesaris patris.

idem in curia quoque quam in comitio consecrabat duas tabulas impressit parieti. Nemean sedentem supra leonem palmigeram ipsum adstante cum baculo sene cuius supra caput tabella bigae dependet, Nicias scripsit se inussisse, tali enim usus est verbo. alterius tabulae admiratio est puberem filium seni patri similem esse aetatis salva differentia 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 aliqui Glaucionem filiumque eius Aristippum senatus populi Romani tot saeculis spectet. posuit et Tiberius Caesar minime comis imperator in templo ipsius Augusti quas mox indicabimus.

28 Hactenus dictum sit de dignitate artis morientis. quibus coloribus singulis primi pinxissent diximus, cum de his pigmentis traderemus in metallis: monochromata ea generas picturae vocantur. qui deinde et quae invenerint et quibus temporibus, dicemus in mentione artificem, quoniam indicare naturas colorum prior causa operis instituti est. tandem


§ 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 currui 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.


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 of the Forum which bears his name, two pictures, the one containing figures of War and of Triumph, the other Kastor and his twin, with Victory. He also dedicated in the temple of his father Caesar certain pictures which I shall mention when I enumerate the artists. Furthermore he let into the wall of the Council Chamber which he consecrated in the Comitium two pictures. On the one, which represents the nymph Nemea holding a palm and seated on a lion, while an old man with a staff stands by, above whose head is suspended a tablet with a two-horse chariot, Nikias has written that he burned in the painting, using that very word \( \text{ἐνέκαν} \). In the other picture we admire the marked resemblance between a young man and his aged father, although the difference of age is not lost; an eagle with a snake in its talons is flying over their heads. Philochares lays claim to the painting as his work. Marvellous is the power of art, judged by this work alone, since Philochares could turn the eyes of the Senate of the Roman people for so many years upon Glaukion and his son Aristippos, 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. 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 Nemean games: \( \text{ἐπιγρων ὁ τε} \ \text{ἐνὶ κινής τῆς ἐν Ἕμην ἐνταλ ἑω} \ \text{ἐν τῷ γραφῷ} \); also the \text{πίναξ} with \text{βίγα} on the ‘Ikaorios’ relief (Br. Mus. = Friederichs-Wolters, 1844).

8. \text{inassisse i.e. ἐνέκαν}: cf. 122.

§ 28. 9. \text{alterius tabulae}: since placed in the open air, presumably likewise in encaustic. The eagle and snake, like the \text{tabella bigae}, must have referred to the event commemorated by the picture. How the work of Nikias came into the hands of Augustus is unknown (§ 131); as to the picture of Philochares, Wunderer (\text{Manubiae Alexandrinae}, p. 23) suggests that it belonged to Augustus’s Egyptian spoils.

11. \text{Philochares}: perhaps identical with the vase-painter, brother of the orator Aischines, mentioned derisively (\text{ἀλαβαστοβήνας γράφων}) by Demosthenes, \text{Fals. Leg.} p. 415, 237 (OL. 109, 2 = B. C. 343).

17. \text{mox indicabimus}: in § 131.

§ 29. 19. \text{diximus}: in xxxiii, 117.

20. \text{monochromata}: \text{ibid.}; cf. above, § 15; below, § 56.
Quattuor coloribus solis immortalia illa opera fecere—ex albis Melino, ex 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 migrantibus atque India conferente aluminum suorum limum, draconum elephanto rumque saniem nulla nobilis pictura est. omnia ergo meliora tunc fuere, cum minor copia. ita est, quoniam, ut supra diximus, rerum, non animi pretii ex- cubatur.

Et nostrae aetatis insaniam in pictura non omittam. Nero princeps iusserat colosseum se pingi CXX pedum lineo, 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 παρά μέλαν ποιεῖ τὸ ἱέμα λευκὸν παντελῶς φανερωθαί λευκόν 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 'reflection' (for reflected lights cf. § 138). But reflection comes simply under the same heading as treatment of light, whereas the words of Pliny, alias 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 ἀρμονία, 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 Timanthes et eorum qui non sunt usi plus quam quattuor coloribus, formas et lineamenta luminum; at in Aetione, Nicomacho, Protagone, 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 τόνος, but the arrangement of hues and the transition from one colour to another harmonization or ἀρμογή.

Four colours only—white from Melos, Attic yellow, red from Sinope on the Black Sea, and the black called 'atramentum'—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 must not be forgotten: the Emperor Nero ordered a colossal portrait of himself, 120 feet in length, to be painted on canvas, a thing 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, Galeries of Munich and Dresden, p. 58 (Transl. C. J. Foulkes). The 'four colours' are elaborately discussed by Bertrand, Études, pp. 132-144. [The names Apelles—Nicomachus are in alphabetical order. H. L. U.]
in Maianis hortis, accensa fulmine cum optima hortorum 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 summis animus in pictura, pingi autem gladiatoria munera atque in publico exponi coepa a C. Terentio Lucano. is avo suo a quo adoptatus fuerat triginta paria in foro per triduvm dedit tabulamque pictam in nemore Dionae posuit.

53 Nunc celebres in ea arte quam maxima brevitate per-curram, neque enim instituti operis est talis executio, itaque quosdam vel in transcurso et in aliorum mentione obiter nominasse satis erit, exceptis operum claritatis quae et ipsa conveniet attingi sive exstant sive intercidere. non constat sibi in hac parte Graecorum diligentia multas post olympiadas celebrando pictores quam statuarios ac toreutas, primumque olympiade LXXXX, cum et Phidian ipsum initio pictoremuisse tradatur clipeumque Athenis ab eo pictum, praeterea in confesso sit LXXX tertia fuisse fratrem eius Panenenum, 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. peri deur. kal pres. 2, p. 597, ed. Mangay (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 gladiato-ors 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 275).

9. in nemore Dionae: i.e. the grove of Nemi; cf. xvi, 242 and Strabo, v. p. 239.


13. claritatis: [xxviii, 87 in ceteris claritatis animalium aut operum sequamur = 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; Caius 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.

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, 18. initio pictorem : cf. xxxiv, 60 Pythagoras Samius initio pictor and Introd. p. li.

clipeum: the shield introduced without any further definition has an apocryphal air (cf. Münzer, op. cit. p. 553, and Introd. loc. cit.). It cannot of course be that of the Athena Parthenos as Urlichs (Chrest. p. 346), Robert (Arch. Münch. 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. Panaeenum: 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. Introd. p. xxviii f., and p. li f. Fratre, so also Paus. v, 11, 6; ἀδελφόδεος Strabo viii, p. 354.

intus pinxit: with the device of a cock (Paus. vi, 26, 3, where the Athena is simply attributed to Pheidias). Introd. p. liv, note 1.

Elide: from xxxvi, 177 (= App.
C. PLINII SECUNDI NAT. HIST. XXXV

quam fecerat Colotes discipulus Phidiae et ei in faciendo

love Olympio adiutor. quid quod in confessio 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

aut, ut quidam tradunt, eodem anno quo Romulus, nisi

fallor, manifesta iam tunc claritate artis, adeo absolutone.

56 quod si recipi necesse est, simul apparret multo vetustiora

principia eosque qui monochromatis pinxerint, quorum

aetas non traditur, aliquanto anteuisse, Hygiaenontem,

Corrected: Hygeiaenontem,

Dinian, Charmadan et qui primus in pictura marem

a femina discreverit Eumarum Atheniensem figuras omnis

imitari ausum, quique inventa eius excoluerit Cimonem

Cleonaeum. hic catagapha invent, hoc est obliquas

imaginés, et varie formare voltus, respicientes suspicentese

vel despicientes. articulis membra distinctixit, venas protulit,

VIII) it appears that Panainos also

decorated with paintings the walls of

the temple of Athena.


§ 55. 3. Magnetum proelium: according to vii, 126, a defeat

(excidium), but the precise event is

unknown. S. Reinach (Revol. 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 exter-

mination—of the Magnetes by the

Treres in B. C. 651 (Strabo xiv, p.

647), which gave rise to the pro-

verbial τὰ Μαγγητῶν 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 Kan-

daules= accession of Gyges=floruit

of Archilochos, and must be con-

nected with Cicero (Tusc. Disp. i,

13), who places Archilochos regnum

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 be-

tween 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 ὁ δὲ ἑμ-

μήσατο τὴν χρώαν, ἀλλὰ φαίνετον ὑπὸ

πεπνωμένον ἐποίησον Plut. Al. iv, 120.

Eumarum: the name is still known. 

A.U.C. 37.
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 Magnetes by the painter Boulearchos was bought by Kandaules, also called Boulearchos. 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 is much older, and that the early painters in monochrome, whose dates have not been handed down to us, lived some time before. Such, for example, were +Hygiaion, +Deinias, +Charmadas, +Eumarios of Athens, who was the first to mark the difference between man and woman in painting, and who ventured to imitate every sort of figure, and Kimon of Kleonai, who developed the inventions of Eumarios. 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 Ευμαρος 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 Ulrichs, Eumari (Hölz. Fld, p. 14 n. 12), for the corrupt Arimnae in Varro, Ling. Lat. ix, 6, 12, is impossible; see Spengel’s critical apparatus, p. 158. figurar = 'position' by a slight extension of one meaning given to the word by Cicero, Verres II, i, 21, 57, non solum numerum signorum, sed etiam animas excusisque magnitudinem, figuram, statum litteris definiri vidcs, upon which see Pseudo-Asconius, p. 174, 7 (ed. Orelli) figura est circa gestum situmque membrorum (Blümner, Rhein. Mus. 26, p. 353).

15. Kimon: cf. the improvements attributed to him by Aelian, τουξ λατ. viii, 8. 16. catagrapha: the word is susceptible of meaning 'foreshortening' (Holwerda, Jahrb. v, 1890, p. 258; Hartwig, Meisterschalen, p. 156 f., Lange, Fremstillung, 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.

praeterque in vestibus rugas et sinus invenit. Panaenus quidem frater Phidiae etiam proelium Atheniensium adversus 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.

Quin immo certamen etiam picturae florente eo institutione est Corinthi ac Delphis, primusque omnium certavit cum Timagora Chalcidense, superatus ab eo Pythiis, quod et ipsius Timagogae carmine vetusto apparat chronicorum errore non dubio. alii quoque post hos clari fuere ante LXXX Olympiadem, sicut Polygnotus Thasius qui primus mulieres tralucida veste pinxit, capita earum mitris versicoloribus operuit plurimumque picturae primus contulit, siquidem instituit os adaperire, dentes ostendere, voltum ab antiquo rigore variare. huius est tabula in porticu Pompei, quae ante curiam eius fuerat, in qua dubitatur an ascendentem cum clupeo pinxerit an descendenter. hic

vestibus rugas] Traube; veste rugas Bamb.; verrugas reliqui; veste rugas Detlefsen.

57. apud Marathona: on a wall of the στόο τουλιή (§ 59). The picture was ascribed by other writers to Mikon (Arrian, Anab. vii, 13, 5; Ailian, περὶ ζωήν vii, 38; Sopatros, διαπ. θητης. 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 paintings of the Poikile, i, 15, names no artists. For the latest reconstruction of the picture see Robert, Hall. Winckelmannspr. xviii, 1865. 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. τοῦς ἄρθρα τῶν Κοντέγερων καὶ Ἐπιζήλων τε καὶ Καλλιμαχοὺς, cf. Wachsmuth, op. cit. p. 510 f. The omission of Epizelos in Pliny is
discovered the wrinkles and the windings of drapery. Further more Panainos the brother of Pheidias painted the battle between the Athenians and Persians at Marathon. So extensively were colours now used, so perfect had technique now become, that he is actually said to have given the real portraits of the commander 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 him, as we know from an old epigram by Timagoras himself, at the Pythian games; an evident proof that the chroniclers are wrong in their dates. Yet other painters became famous before the ninety-ath Olympiad [420-41 B.C.], as for example Polygnotos of Thasos, who first painted women with transparent garments and gave them headdresses of various colours. This artist made a first serious contribution to the development of painting by 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, representing a warrior armed with a shield, about whom people argue as to whether he is ascending or descending. He also

...
Delphis aedem pinxit, hic et Athenis porticum quae Poecile vocatur gratuito, cum partem eius Micon mercede pingeret. vel maior huic auctoritas, siquidem Amphiictyones, quod est publicum Graeciae concilium, hospitia ei gratuita decrevere. fuit et alius Micon qui minoris cognomine distinguitur, cuius filia Timarete et ipsa pinxit.

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 artis in quibus primus refusit Apollodorus Atheniensis LXXXIII olympiade. hic primus species exprimere instituit primusque gloriam penicillo iure contulit. eius est sacerdos adorans et Aiax fulmine incensus, quae Pergami

1. Delphis aedem: i.e. the Λιονπερς or covered portico where people met to converse. The pictures, which included an Ιλιονπερς and a Νεκτία are described in Paus. x, 25–31. For modern reconstructions see Robert, Hall. Winckelmanns pr. xvi, 1892 and xvii, 1893.

Poecile: where next to Mikon's Amazononachia (below) Polygnotos painted an Ιλιονπερς. Next to this again came the Marathon by Mikon and Panainos (above). For the distribution of the pictures see Benndorf, op. cit. p. 156, and the new arrangement proposed by Robert in Hall. Winckelmanns pr. xviii, 1895, p. 44. The pictures, as appears from Symnesios, Ep. 135 (= Overb. Schriften. 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: αυτοι αυτοι διπλαναις θεων ναιος ἄγοράν τε Κεκροπιαν κόσμησι ημιθέουν ἄρεταις. (The οριο here referred to are those of Thesens and the Anakes, Harpokration s. v. Ποιλύγνωτος.)

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. Mikon was also a sculptor, xxxiv, 88, where see note.

3. Amphiictyones: the reward they gave was more probably for the decoration of the Αἴας; 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.
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decorated the temple at Delphi and at Athens the Painted Portico [στοά 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 Amphyktionian 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.

In the nineteenth Olympiad [420–417 B.C.] lived Aglaophon, 60 Kephisodoros, Erilos 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 Apollodorus 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.

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.


12. primus species . . . primusque gloriam: belongs to the series of Xenokratie 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 Apollodorus by Plutarch (Glor. Ath. ii) was the φθορά καὶ ἀπόχρωσις οἰνῶς—an advance also attributed to Zeuxis, Quinct. xii, 10, 4 prior luminum umbrarumque invent 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, tonen 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, Winckelmannsprogr. 1895, cf. id. p. 9).

14. sacerdos adorans: votive portrait; cf. the sacerdos adstante póero of Parrhasius (§ 70) the supplicans paene cum voce of Aristeides (§ 99).

Aiax fulmine incensus: Verg. Aen. i, 43 ff. ipsa (sc. Minerva) lovis rapidum iaculata e mitibus ignem | disiectitque rates, evertitque aequora venis | illum expirantem

transfixo pectore flammas | turbine corrupit scoplouque infixit acuto; cf. Odysseus iv, 499 ff. [The fulmine incensus of the subject not (as Furtwängler, Plinius, p. 53 suggests) of the picture, in which case Pliny would use tabula, cf. below, § 69.—H. L. U.]


§ 61. 2. Fore apertas: [ii, 31 verum fores aperuisse Anaximander ... traditur; the metaphor is common to Silver Latin, cf. Plin. Epist. i, 18, 4 illa (actio) iamnum famae (mihi) patefeci. 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 (Intro. p. xxix) assigned to Apollo- doros at the opening of a series of painters who, masters of their art, each brought towards the final perfection to be attained by Apelles (§ 79) a definite contribution: Apollodoros among the painters is the counterpart of Phidias among the statuaries, Robert, Arch. März. p. 67 f. (Intro. p. xxvii). Therefore the words must represent some closely similar Greek expression; for an analogous paraphrase cf. Add. to note on xxxiv, 81.

3. Heracleotes: Plato, Protag. 318 B δεινοίσος δ' ειν νεωτι επιθημιν Ζεύςιππος δ' Ηρακλεάν (on the identity of Zeuxis and Zeuxippus 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. Winckelmannsprogr. 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.

Owl. 95, anno quarto: the occasion 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 very possibly placed himself under this master, on his arrival in Athens.

§ 62. 9. ipsis: sc. Demophilus et Neseus (Traube). Benndorf, Ἐπιγρ. 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. lvi.

12. tesseras intextum: the best explanation seems that of Urlich, 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 palio Tyrianthino Messalae nomen uxoris (ed. H. Peter); see in Casaubon's edition, vol. ii, p. 851 a, Sauvaise's note, who in reference to the Plinian passage explains tesserat = κύβοι, and quotes Hesychius (s.v. κύβος) οἱ Σαλαμίνοι λέγουσι κύβον τὸ τοῦ ἵππου σημεῖον.

postea: [I.e. in his latter period; the Akmena 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 Agragentinam, Pana Archelao.  
63 fecit et Penelope in qua pinxisse mores videtur, et athletam, adeoque in illo sibi placuit ut versum subscripteret celebrem ex eo, invisurum aliquem facilius quam imitatumur. magnificus est et Iuppiter eius in chrono adstantibus diis et Hercules infans dracones strangulans Alcmena matre coram pavente et Amphilithone. reprehenditur tamen ceu grandior in capitisbus articulisque, aliique tantus diligentia ut Agragentinum facturum tabulam quam in templo Iunonis Laciniae 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 acemuli fuere Timanthes, Androcydes, Eupompeus, Parrha-  
65 sius. descendisse hic in certamen cum Zeuxide traditur, et cum ille detulisset uvas pictas tanto successu ut in scenaam

2. Alcmenam: probably identical with the picture in § 63.

Archelao: for whom Zenxis decorated the palace at Pella, Ailian *p.ii* *loc. iv*, xiv, 17.

3. mores: in the sense given to it by Horace, *Ep. i*, i, 57 *est animus tibi, sunt mores*. Some commentators however (chief among them Winckelmann), have understood mores to be a translation of the Greek ὁθος, whereby endless difficulties have arisen, seeing that ὁθος was precisely the quality in which, according to Aristotle, *Poet. 6*, 11, Zexionis was deficient. But ὁθος in its strictly philosophical sense had no precise Latin equivalent, as we learn from Quinti 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.


6. Iuppiter ... Amphilithone: 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. Quinctilian (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. Mārzch.* p. 76, *Hall. Winckelmannsprogr.* xix, 1895, p. 25. An almost identical criticism is passed upon Euphranor in § 128. Zexionis is represented in the same relation to Apollodoros as Polykleitos xxxiv, 56 to Pheidas (ib. 54). On the Xenokratic 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.’ 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, +Eupompus and Parrhasios were contemporaries and rivals of Zeuxis. The story runs that Parrhasios and Zeuxis

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 Intro. p. ix 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, sinapis, 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; 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.

Androkydes: 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.

Eupompus: below, § 75.

§ 65. 16. uvas pictas: cf. below, §§ 66, 155; above, § 23.

ut in scaenam: i.e. the pictures
aves advolarent, ipse detulisse linteum pictum ita veritate reprezentata ut Zeuxis alitum judicio tumens flagitaret tandem remoto linteo ostendi picturam atque intellecto errore concederet palam ingenuo pudore, quoniam ipse volucres fefellisset, Parrhasius autem se artificem. fertur et postea Zeuxis pinxisse puerum uvas ferentem, ad quas cum advolassent aves, eadem ingenuitate processit iratus operi et dixit: uvas melius pinnxi quam puerum, nam si et hoc consummassem, aves timere debuerant. fecit et figlina opera, quae sola in Ambracia relicta sunt, cum inde Musas Fulvius Nobilior Romam transferret. Zeuxidis manu Romae Helena est in Philippi porticibus, et in Concordiae delubro Marsyas religatus. Parrhasius Ephesii natus et ipse multa contulit. primus symmetrian picturae dedit, primus argutias voltus, elegantiam capilli, venustatem oris, confessione artificum in lineis extremis palam aedepus. haec est picturae summa

were exhibited in the theatre, and hung on the scaenae frons, or front wall of the stage-buildings.

§ 7. pinxisse puerum: a mere doublette of the preceding anecdote; the story is also told Senec. Rhet. Contr. x, 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 . . . reliqua 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 marmoreae et tabulae pictae, quibus ornativus Ambracia quia regia ibi Pyrrhi fuerat . . . sublata omnia avectaque; nihil praetera tactum violatumque, cf. Raoul-Rochette, Pointures, p. 51.


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 Mouera-gýros (see in this connexion Eumenius of Autun 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 Philippos, and was close to the porticus Octaviae on the W. side of the Circus Flaminius.

II. 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 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

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 portioibus: built by L. Marcius 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.

Concordiae 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.


14. primus symmetran 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 Antigonus and Xenokrates (below, § 68); cf. artifices qui considera 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 picture ... 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 corporum facere et desinentis picturae modum includere rarum in successu artis inventur. ambire enim se ipsa debet extremitas 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 mediis corporibus exprimendis. pinxit demon Atheniensium argumento quoque ingenioso. ostendebat namque varium, iracundum in iustum 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 thoracatum, et in una tabula, quae est Rhodi, Meleagrum, Herculem, Persea, haec ibi ter fulmine ambusta neque obliterata hoc ipso miraculum auget. pinxit et archigallum, quam

5. alia sponse (sponte e correctione) Bamb. (scriptum erat alias pos se; an alias 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 modelling 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: Bertrand (loc. cit.) translates 'il faut en effet que les contours s'envoluppent 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 draughtsmanship 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.

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. Theseus: the picture was originally in Athens (Plut. Thes. iv), whence it may have been brought by Sulla.

fuit: 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.

Meleagrum, 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] aestimatum cubicolo suo inclusit. pinxit et Thessam nutricem infantemque in manibus eius et Philiscum et Liberum patrem adstante Virtute, et pueros duos in quibus spectatur securitas et actatis simplicitas, item sacer-

71 dotem adstante puo in acerra et corona. sunt et duae picturae eius nobilissimae, hoplites in certamine ita decurrens ut sudare videatur, alter arma deponens ut anhelare sentiatur. laudantur et Aeneas Castorque ac Pollux in eadem tabula, item Telephus, Achilles, Agamemnon, Ulixes. fecundus artifex, sed quo nemo insolentius usus sit gloria artis, namque et cognomina usurpavit habrodiacetum 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

ergo magnis suffragiis superatus a Timanthe Sami in Aiace armorumque iudicio heros 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. Ép. 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. Thessam nutriciaem: a votive portrait put up in gratitude for the services of a favourite nurse; cf. Furtwängler, Dornauszieker, p. 95, or a grave picture; cf. Anth. Pal. vii, 663:

'Ο μεκάν τάδ' ἔτευξε τὰ Θερσύα.
Μήδειος τὸ μνάμ· ἐπὶ τὰ ὄδηφ, κηφείηγραφε Κλείτας,
ἐξει τὰν χαρᾶν ἀνθάναι ἔκεινων ἄν τῶν κύρον ἔθειν. ἔτημι ἄν ἐν ΧΡΗΣΙΩΝ τελευτᾷ.

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.


5. sacerdotem adstante puro: cf. above, note on § 60.

§ 71. 6. duae picturae: apparently composed as pendants; the description is epigrammatic, Benndorf, Epigramm. p. 55, Introd. l.xxi.

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. Vasegemälden, p. 18) rightly points out that Euripides had assigned too marked a part
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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 (L52,500 circ.), he placed in his private apartments. Furthermore he painted a Thrakian 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 ἀποδιατρος [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 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.


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, Aristides, 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 Athen.

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, ποιημα τορ. ix, 11. Introd. p. lv f.

in Aiace armorumque indicio: 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.
nam Timanthi vel plurimum adfuit ingenii. eius enim est Iphigenia oratorum laudibus celebrata, qua stante ad aras peritura cum maestos pinxisset omnes praecipueque patru-

um, et tristitiae omnem imaginem consumpsisset, patris ipsius voltum velavit quem digne non poterat ostendere. § 73. Nam: resumes the subject from victus esset.

Timanthi: a native of Kythnos, Quinct. ii, 13, 13. Eustathios (on II. p. 1343, 60), whose authorities are rarely trustworthy, calls him Ξυνδώνος. 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 immolanda Iphigenia tristis Calchas esset, tristior Ulixes, maerent Menelaus, orbisvenundum caput Agamemnonis esse, quantum summum illum luctum penicillo non possit imitari. That the Iphigeneia 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, Wandgemäldt, 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. 1305, and the mosaic 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 Valerins 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 Blümmer, Comm. to Lessing’s Laokoon, p. 506 f. As Blümmer 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. consumpisserat: cf. the similar story of Euphranor, Val. Max. viii, 11, ext. 5. According to Eusta-
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relaxation in this wanton humour. To return—Timanthes was a painter above all curious in invention, for by him is that Iphigeneia 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 examples of his inventiveness; for instance, being desirous to emphasize, even in a small picture, the huge size of a sleeping 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 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, a famous artist, and †Eupompos of Pamphilos, who in turn was the master of Apelles. We have by Eupompos a victor in an athletic contest holding a palm. So great was this artist's reputation that Kalkmann, in his small work on the Cyclops, said: "He brought the immortal Eupompos, grandson of Robert, in the temple of Peace at Rome."

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, Iconicum, Sicyonium, Atticum. Pamphili cognatio et proelium ad Phliuntem ac victoria Atheniensium, 5 item Ulixes in rate. ipse Macedo natione, sed primus in pictura omnibus litteris eruditus, praecepta 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 est Sicyone primum, deinde et in tota Graecia, ut pueri ingenui omnia ante graphicen, hoc est picturam in buxo, docerentur recupereturque ars ea in primum gradum liberantium. semper quidem honos ei fuit ut ingenui eam exercerent, mox ut honesti, perpetuo interdicto ne servitia docerentur. ideo neque in hac neque in toreutice ullius qui servierit opera celebrantur. clari et centesima septima olympiade exstiter 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 Ptolomy II and Attalos, to purchase at enormous prices galleries of old Sikyony masters. Plutarch uses a special term for it, χρηστογραφία, which is usually explained as indicating the reaction in art against the methods of Zeuxis 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 stemmata 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 Sikyony troops (b.c. 367); Brunn, K. G. ii, p. 132 f.; Schafer, 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 Lysippus—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.

Euxenidas, *fl. circ.* 400 B.C.; § 75.

Aristeides I (§§ 75; 108; 111; xxxiv, 72?)

Nikomachos, son

Nikeros, son
§ 111.

Ariston, son
§§ 110; 111.

Antorides,
§ 111.

Euphranor,
§§ 111; 128.

Aristeides II, Thebanus, son
§§ 98-100; 110.

Philoxenos of Eretria,
§ 110.

Antidotos,
§ 130.

Nikias (II),
§§ 130-132.

B. THE SIKYONIAN SCHOOL.

Eupompos, *fl. circ.* 400 B.C.; § 75.

Pamphilos, §§ 75-76; 123.

Apelles,
§§ 79-97.

Melanthios,
§§ 76; 80.

Pausias,
§§ 123-127.

Perses,
§ 111.

Aristolaos, son
§ 137.

Nikophanes,
§ 137.

Sokrates,
§ 137.

[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 Phlius, 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 [270 s. circ.]—that is, five hundred denarii [1710 s. circ.] a year—the fee paid him both by Apelles and by Melanthios. 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

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7. praecipue arithmetica . . . posse: these words are probably derived from a Treatise on Painting by Pamphilos; see Introd. p. xiii.

9. quam mercedem . . . Apelles: "Hinei γὰρ ἐτὶ δόξα τῆς Σικυονίας μοῦσῆς καὶ χρηστογραφίας, ὡς μόνης ἀδιάφορον ἐχούσης τὸ καλὸν, ὡστε καὶ Ἀπελλῆν ἐκείνων ἦν θαυμαζό-

10. Melanthius: §§ 50, 80; and Index to this book. From Antigonos of Karytos, ap. Diogenes L. iv, 3, 18 (Introd. p. xxxviii), we learn that he wrote περὶ γυμνασιῶν; Melanthius was also a master of Apelles (perhaps after the death of Pamphilos), who, with other pupils, assisted him in the votive picture for Aristocrates of Sikyon (Plut. loc. cit.).
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76 Pamphilos, master of Apelles. 367 B.C.

77 Drawing taught to freeborn boys.

78 Aetion and Therimachos.
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 actate maximi picture
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
parem. et aliam gloriam usurpavit, cum Protogenis opus
inmensi laboris ac curae supra modum anxiæ miraretur,
dixit enim omnia sibi cum illo paria esse aut illi meliora,
sed uno se praestare, quod manum de tabula sciret tollere, 15
memorabili praeccepto nocere saepé nimiam diligentiam. fuit
autem non minoris simplicitatis quam artis. Melanthio
dispositione cedebat, Asclepiodoro de mensuris, hoc est
quanto quid a quoque distare debearet. scitum est inter
Protogenen et eum quod accidit. ille Rhodi vivebat, quo 20
cum Apelles adnavigasset avidus cognoscendi opera eius

and Roxana (‘Hrodi, ἡ Αερίων, 4); cf. elséwes, 7, πετ τὸν ἐν μυθ. 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 Ninos may have been
conceived as a sort of mythical counter-
part to those of Alexander and Rox-
ana.

anus... nova nupta: of course
in one picture. The anus is doubtless
the mother of the bride, to whom the
δαδούχειν, the carrying of the δίδες
νυμφικά), usually fell (Hermann-Blüm-
ner, Lehrbuch, p. 275; Furtwängler,
S. Sabouroff, i, 58, 59; cf. the atten-
dant (? holding torches on the
marriage vases or λυτροφόροι). The
torch was doubtless made the occa-
sion for effects of light; cf. the
marriage of Alexander and Roxana,
where Hephaestion holds a torch, the
marriage feast of Peirithoos by Hippys
(Athen. xi, p. 474), which was lit up
by a hanging candelabrum. The
enumeration from Tragoedia to anus
is asynetical—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,
διαβόλος, 2, and after him Tzetzes
(Chil. viii, 392) call him an Ephesian; that
this is correct is proved by Herondas,
iv, 72 (‘Εφεσιοῦ Ἀπελλέως) who cer-
tainly 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 Olympiads [332–329 B.C.] excelled all painters who came before or after him. 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 χάρας 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 Asclepiodorus in perspective arrangement, that is in giving the accurate distances between different objects.

A neat story is told of him in connexion with Protogenes, who was living in Rhodes. Thither Apelles sailed, eager to see the

Apelles of Kos.
His written Treaties.

His estimate of the works of his contemporaries and of his own.

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. § 110; it must be from these writings of Apelles that the judgements he passed upon his contemporaries were originally derived (Introct. p. xI).

7. praeceptum venustas: Quint. xii, 10, 6 ingenio et gratia, quam in se ἐπισ ἐπι maxime iastic, Ap. est præ-

stantissimus. According to Plutarch (Demetr. xxii), and Allian (nov. stor. xii, 41) this judgement on himself was passed when he saw the Ialyssos of Protogenes (§ 102).

opus miraretur: presumably the Ialyssos.

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.

§ 81. 19. seictum est: the following anecdote appears to be elaborated out of the admiration which Apelles
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fama tantum sibi cognitii, continuo officinam petiiit. 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-
82 maen 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
re dissit ille, ostenderet adiceretque hunc esse quem quae-
reret, atque ita evenit. revertit enim Apelles et vincit
erubescens tertio colore lineas secuit nullum relinquens
83 amplius subtilitati locum. at Protogenes victum se confessus
in portum devolavit hospitum quaerens, placuitque sic eam
15 tabulam posteris tradi omnium quidem, sed artificem praec-
cipuò 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
84 opere nobiliorem. Apelli fuit alioqui perpetua consuetudo
numquam tam occupatum diem agendi ut non lineam du-
cendo exercret artem, quod ab eo in proverbium venit.
85 idem perfecta opera proponebat in pergula transeuntibus,
atque ipse post tabulam latens vitia quae notarentur aus-
cultatab vulgum diligentiorem judicem quam se praeferens,
feruntque reprehensus a sutore, quod in crepidis una pauci-
ores intus fecisset ansas, eodem postero die superbo emenda-

2. aptatam una] Bamb.; aptatam picturæ una reliquî, Detlefsen.

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.
i, 276, while Chrysippos ἰπρεῖτο
γραθία, μόνος, Demetrios ap. Diog.
Laert. vii, 7, 185. The motive is
Homeric διαπερ ὁ Δαέρης... γρηγ σῶν
ἀμφιβάλως, Teles, p. 25 (ed. Hense).
5. lineam...duxit: the anecdote
belongs to the same category as
§ 83. 17. consumptam...audio: oral tradition.
§ 84. 23. in proverbium: i.e.
nullus dies sine linea; cf. Otto, Sprich-
wörter, p. 194.
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, a.d. 4. 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

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ix, 3, 5, § 12 *cum pictor in pergula clipeum vel tabulam expositam habisset eaque excidisset, et transaunti damni quid delisset.* (It has been shown by F. Marx in *Studia Luciliana*, 1882, p. 16 f. that in Lucilius *Suet.* 6, the old reading *pergula pictorum* should be altered to *pergula pictorum*, 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 abiiit. fuit enim et comitas illi, propter quam gravior Alexandro Magno frequenter in officinam ventitanti—nam, ut diximus, ab alio se pingi vetuerat edicto—sed in officina imperite multa disserenti silentium comiter suadebat ridere eum dicens a pueris qui 83 colores tererent. tantum erat auctoritati iuris in regem alicuius 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 et ipsum in proverbium abiit. erat enim et comitas illi, propter quam gratior Alexandro Magno frequenter in officina ventitanti—nam, ut diximus, ab alio se pingi—sed in officina imperite multa disserenti silentium comiter suadebat ridere eum dicens a pueris qui 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 20 constituit. sordebat suis ut plerumque domestica, percontantique 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 augentibus pretium cessit. imagines adeo similitudinis indiscretae pinxit ut—incredibile dictu—Apio grammaticus scriptum reliquerit quendam ex facie hominum divineantem, quos metoposcopos 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 praefers, ignoring the intervening anecdotе. 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, Ποι. Ἄρμ. ii, 2, tells it of Zeuxis and a megabyzos. 7. qui colores tererent: τὰ πανδόρα τὰ τοῦ Ζεύξιδος τὴν μηλίδα τριβοντα κατεγέλα, Ailian, Ποι. cit. 86. 11. Pancaspen: δόμα ἡν Παγκαστῆ, τὸ δὲ γένος Δαρσαζαί, Ailian, Ποι. Ἄρμ. xii, 34. Lucian (εἰκόνες, 7) calls her Πανάση. § 87. 18. anadyomenen: = eunctem 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. Some believe that she was the model for the Aphrodite rising from the sea.

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.

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 waive 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.

aut praeteritae vitae. non fuerat ei gratia in comitatu Alexandri cum Ptolemaeo, quo regnante Alexandriam vi tempestatis expulsus subornato fraude aemulorum plano regio invitatü ad cenam venit, indignantique Ptolemaeo et vocatores suos ostendenti, ut diceret a quo corum invitatus 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 vita condendi, obliquam namque fecit, ut quod deerrat corpori picturae deesse potius videretur, tantumque eam partem e facie ostendit quam totam poterat ostendere. sunt inter opera eius et exspirantium imagines. quae autem nobilissima sint non est facile dictu. Venerem excutem e mari divus Augustus dicavit in delubro patris Caesaris, quae anadyomene vocatur, versus 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 (δαβόλ. 4), for which, according to Lucian, Apelles took vengeance by painting his famous 'Calumny.' Both the versions have an aetiological 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 Renascence, 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 μουδοφθαλμος and Κύναλαψ, Polyb. v, 67, 6; Ailian, Ποι. Τοι. xii, 43.

9. obliquam: Brunn, K. G. ii, p. 10; Quinct. ii, 13, 12 habet in picture 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 Antigonus 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 3 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 un-
friendly 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 ἀνάδυμενη, 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 γαρπτός τίμος, 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 Peiraius, see Friederichs-Wolters, 1042. Praxiteles (xxxiv, 70), Nikias (below, § 132), Nikomachos (mon. of Telesites, § 109), likewise decorate graves; cf. the *inuenis requiescens* of Simos, § 143.


§ 91. 14. exequi,(exsequ) o mari = *anadyomene*, above, § 87. From numerous descriptions (Overh., *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: 'sur-
passed' inasmuch as the poet can give expression to more things than the painter who is limited to one moment;
trato, cuius inferiorem partem corruptam qui reficeret non potuit reperiri, verum ipsa iniuria cessit in gloriam artificis. consensuit 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 prae- scripta liniamenta inventus est. pinxit et Alexandrum Magnum fulmen tenentem in templo Ephesiae Dianae viginti talentis auri. digitii eminere videntur et fulmen extra tabulam esse—legentes meminerint omnia ea quattuor colo- 10 ribus facta—manipretium eius tabulae in nummo aureo 93 mensura accepit, non numero. pinxit et megabyzi sacer- dotis 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. xxi, 57, of the heifer of Myron, celeberris versibus laudata, quando alieno plerique ingenio magis quam suo commendatur.

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: Coas Veneris ... reficerem insigni congiario magnaque mercede donavit.

§ 92. 4. inchoaverat: Cic. Fam. i, 9, 15, and Off. iii, 2, 10.

8. fulmen tenentem = κεραωθό- φόρον, i.e. deified. Plutarch (perl τῆς άλλ. 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 eminenter videri; § 131 ut eminerent e tabulis picturae.

10. legentes meminerint: harks back to § 50.


13. pompam: from Herondas iv, 66 ff. we learn that the picture was at Kos, in the παντός (Sanctuary) of the Asklepieion, and that it represented a sacrifice of oxen. It is amusingly described by the gossips Kokkale and Kynno (ed. Crusins).

KOK. δ' θύει δ' χω ἄγαν αὐτόν, ἣ θ᾽ ὀματεύτων
χω γαννός οὕτως χω ἀνάσασσις ἀνθρωπος,
οὐχὶ ξόνη βλέπουσιν ἡμέρην πάντες;
εἶ μὴ ἀδύνας τι μέζον ἢ γυνὴ πρήκασεν,
ἀνηλάδας' ἀν, μη μ' δ' θεοὺς τι πημήνη.
I. PAINTING

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 [£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 μεγάθυζος, 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-

οὗτω ἐπιλογοῖς, Κυνί, τῇ ἐτέρῳ ητέρῃ.

ΚΤΝ. ἀληθεία, φιλή, γὰρ ἀεὶ Ῥεσείου χείρες
ἐς πάνταν 'Ἀπελλέω γράμματ',
οὐδ' ἑρείας "μεῖνος
ἀναθωμάς ἐν μὲν ἑδὲν, ἐν δ' ἀπρήμηθ.'

ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπὶ νοῦν γένοιτο, καὶ
θεῶν φανερ
ηθεὶσθ' . . .

The use of the past tense ἦσθείστο shows that Apelles was no longer alive at the time Herondas wrote the Miniamboi (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.

Olipsum: surnamed ὁ μῆλας (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 (expīr. imagō); very similar subjects appear on grave reliefs (1) in Syracuse, rider with horn of plenty, standing by his horse, to an 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, ap. Roscher ii, art. 'Heros,' col. 2563. Also on vases, Naples, Heydemann 2192, from Canosa.—H. L. U.]

15. quotiens pinxit: cf. xxxiv, 63, of Alexander’s portraits by Lysippus.

16. Habronem: probably the painter mentioned below, § 141.

Sami: where the Heraion con-
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drum regem Cariae Rhodi, item Antaeum, Alexandreae Gorgosthenen tragoedum, Romae Castorem et Pollucem cum Victoria et Alexandro Magno, item Bellum imaginem restrictis ad terga manibus, Alexandro in curru triumphante, quas utrasque tabulas divus Augustus in fori sui celeberrimis partibus dicaverat simplicitate moderata, divus Claudius pluris existimavit utrique excisa Alexandri facie divi Augusti imaginum 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 provocabit. est et equus eius sive fuit pictus in certamine, quo iudicium ad mutas quadrupedes provocavit ab hominibus. namque ambitu præevalere aemulos sentiens singulorum picturas inductis equis ostendit, Apellis tantum equo adhine-15 nivere, idque et postea semper evenit, ut experimentum artis illud ostentaretur. fecit et Neoptolemum ex equo adversus Persas, Archelaum cum uxore et filia, Antigonum 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 τον Ηραίον . . . νεος μέγας, δε νυν πυκνοθῆται ἡ στή).

Menandrum: one τῶν ἑταρῶν, Arrian, Anabasis iii, 6, 8; iv, 13, 7; vii, 24, i, Diodoros xvii, 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: above, § 89.

Alexandreae: above, § 89.

2. tragoedum: cf. the temulentu 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 introcubitus ad sinistram suam bellum pictum et furor sedens super arma devincus eo habuit 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 vincent aemis | post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruente), 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-
I. PAINTING

sthenes the tragic actor, at Rome Kastor and Polydeuces 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 horse- back 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

ment of connoisseurs not certified by the artist’s signature.

9. Dianae: in the campus Flaminiius dedicated by Lepidus B.C. 179; Liv. xi, 52. The reading Annae (sc. Perennae) is defended by Jordan (ap. Freller, 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 Allian, Pauk. Istr. 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. Neoptoleum: not the son of Achilles, as Welcker and others have supposed, but the ἐταῖρος of Alexander, son of Arrhabaios, Arrian i, 20, 10; ii, 27, 6, Diodorus xviii, 29.

ex equo: sc. pugnantem.

18. Archelaum: two Archelaos are known among the soldiers of Alexander, (1) the son of Androkles, one τῶν ἐταίρων; he was placed in command of the garrison left at Aornos (Arr. iii, 29, 1); (2) the son of Theodorus, who was placed in command at Susa (Arr. iii, 16, 9).

21. sacrificium: since the words are at variance with the Homeric description, endless emendations of the passage have been suggested (see Overbeck, Schrift. 1870). The best explanation seems that of Dilthey (Rhein. Mus. xxv, p. 327), who supposes that in translating
vicissae Homerius versus videtur id ipsum descriptis. 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 inlinbat 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 offende ret veluti per lapidem specularem intuentibus et e longin quo 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 vacant Graeci ethe, item perturbationes, durior paulo in coloribus. huius opera: oppido capto ad matris morientis ex volnere 15


some Greek epigram beginning for instance:

θυναύσας δὲ κόρασιν διομορφίασιν λοξείαρα 
ξέρχοναι χρόνον, σευτειν ἀνροτήρ. 
Pliny or his author mistook θυναύσας from θνῶς for the partic. of θνω.

1. Homeri versus: Od. vi, 102—
οὴ δ' Ἀρτέμις εἰς κατ' οἴδρα λοξείαρα 
* * * * *
τῆς δὲ θ' ἀμα Νέμφαι, κούραι Δίως 
ἀλιγόχοι,
ἀγρόνομοι παίζοναι.

3. Bronten ... Ceraunobolian: 
personifications [keraunosbola was the personification of keraunos (Diels, Doxographi Graeci, p. 367 foll. and Aetios Mac. ii, 2, 3, p. 368); for Bronte cf. Philostr. the Elder Imag. i, 14 

Possibly the three figures were united in an allegory of a storm and formed a votive offering to Zeus keraunobolas; cf. C. I. G. 1513; Bronton and keraunyes, C. I. G. 2641, 3446, 3810, and often.—H. L. U.]

§ 97. 5. atramento: the exact composition of Apelles' atramento 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. colorum 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 album of cod. Bamb. we get worse nonsense, for what is this color alius? (3) I cannot help suspecting that alius (used of a dead, opaque white) is a mistranslation 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, βροιθη, ἀστρεπτη and κεραυνοβολια as they are called.

All have profited by his innovations, though one of these could 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 t alc, —and also that when seen at a distance those which were vivid to excess might be imperceptibly toned down.

Aristides of Thebes was his contemporary: he was the first among all painters to paint the soul, and gave expression to the affections of man—I mean to what the Greeks call ἡθη—and also the emotions. His colouring is rather harsh. His works are:

9. lapidem specularum: 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 Aristides, ib., above, § 75.

omnium primus: note on § 16.

13. sensus ... perturbationes: as O. Jahn points out (Kunsturtheile, p. 115), Pliny is here giving a closer definition of animus by dividing it into ἡθη 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 acceptimus, duas sunt species: alteram Graeci πάθος vocant, quod nos vertentes recte ac proprio affectum dicimus, alteram ἡθος, cuius nomine, ut ego equidem sentio, caret sermo Romanus: mores appel lantur, atque inde pars quoque illa philosophiae ἡθη mere moralis est dicta (cf. above, note on mores in § 63). Pliny, therefore, to avoid misunderstanding, gives the Greek word also for ἡθη, while for πάθη he felt himself on safe ground in using perturbationes, the translation introduced by Cicero (Tusc. Disp. iii, 4, 7). Not a few commentators have considered ἡθος, πάθος to be incompatible qualities in one artist, yet Quinct. (vi, 2, 12) shows that in a sense πάθος is complementary to ἡθος, while Ailian (Poix. Τετ. iv, 3) especially attributes both qualities to Polycnotos—the ἄγαθος ἡθογράφος. (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. The 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 mortuo lacte sanguinem lambat, quam tabulam Alexander Magnus transtulerat Pellam in patriam suam. 

99 idem pinxit proelium cum Persis, centum homines tabula ea conplexus pactusque in singulos minas denas a tyranno § 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 acede Cereris, 

100 tragoedum et puerum in Apollinis, cuius tabulae gratia 10 interiit pictoris inscitia cui tergendum eam mandaverat M. Iunius praetor sub die ludorum Apollinariun. spectata est

a drawing of Raphael. But the drawing in sepiawash 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 Pompeii in Naples: the powerfully characterized Alexander, the Dareios with his gesture of despairing command are conceptions worthy of the great master of ἰδιος and πάθος, while motives such as the fallen Persian in the foreground recall the mater mortiun. 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. 


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. Introd. 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 Metrodorus; 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. 51 f. Another portrait of her by Theoros below, § 144.
a picture of a mother lying wounded to death in the sack of 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; the picture contains a hundred figures, for each of which Mnason the tyrant of Elateia had agreed to pay him ten minae \( \xi 35 \); 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 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

\[ \text{anapanomenen...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—}

\[ \text{Hôro Melámpyron Ípáptomev, hélioiv dè evoméon Basild cótbanve parthenek áutóchére ᾣwein γάρ διελφεν ἐν πυρí theíev,}

\[ \text{ovn ἔγην, διδυμον δ’ ἐκὸν ἐσείδε κακὸν πατρὸς Ἀριστίππουοι καθήφησεν δὲ Κυ-}

\[ \text{πάσα, τὸν ἐτεκνον χήρον ιδοῦσα ἀδόμον.}

\] Evidently the anapanomene was a girl who had died in grief at her brother's death. The picture was a grave picture, an expirantis image (§ 90), and the name anapanomene was doubtless derived from the epigram inscribed upon it: ἀναπαώσθη, here of rest in death.—H. L. U.) Introd. p. lxxi.

9. spectatoe: before the fire which took place in the reign of Augustus, Strabo, viii, p. 381; see note above on § 24, where the Dionysos alone is mentioned.

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 Troilus), 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 Octavieae, 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.


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 tradatur. simul, ut dictum est, et Protogenes floruit. patria ei Caunus, gentis Rhodiis subjectae. summa paupertas iniitio artisque summa intentio et ideo minor fertilitas. quis cun docuerit non putant constare, quidam et naves pinxisse usque ad quinquagensimum annum, argumentum esse, quod cum Athenis celeberrimo loco Minervae delubri propylon pingeret, ubi fecit nobilem Paralum et Hammoniada, quam quidam Nausicaan vocant, adiecerit parvolas naves longas in iis quaes picture parergia appellant, ut appararet a quibus iniitis ad arcem ostentationis opera sua pervenissent. palmam habet tabularum eius Ialysus, qui est Romae dicatus in templo Pacis. cum pingeret eum, cum

1. aede Fidei: Livy (i, 21), attributes its foundation to Numus; 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).


patria Caunus: so also Paus. i, 3, 5, Plut. Demetr. 22, while Souidas names Xanthos in Lykia as his birthplace.

7. quis eun docuerit: cf. Seilanion xxxiv, 51; Lysippus, ibid. 61; see Introd. p. xlvi ff.

naves pinxisse: i.e. he would paint the paradosa and tiposma 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 nomophiles by Demetrios of Phaleron, but that in the days of Pausianias, the origin of the picture being forgotten, it was called after the old republican theomochetai (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 propylo Atheniensium quas Socrates fecit; the unusual form propylon for the more familiar propylaia or propylaea justifies us in attributing both passages to the same authority; Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, i, 36, 2; Introd. p. 1.

Paralum et Hammoniada: i.e. the patron-heroes of the two holy triremes. The Ammonias— the of the holy triremes.—(see Kenyon's note on Aristotle, 'Ethn. Pol. 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-Frankel, Staatsalterthümer, p. 305 ff.; Boeckh, Securkunden, p. 76 ff.

11. Nausicaa: 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 101
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 102
the Temple of Peace at Rome, bears off the palm. The story
'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 repre-
sented 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 aetiological, nor is it neces-
sary 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 παρ-
ergiov. 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 Proto-
genes was vexed because in his picture
of the Satyr (below, § 105) the admira-
tion roused by the partridge had caused
the work itself—τὸ ἑργον—to become
a παρεργον.

hero, after whom the city of Ιάλυσος
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
Tlepolemos (below, § 106). When
Strabo wrote (loc. cit.), the picture
was still at Rhodes; it was prob-
ably 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 pinxit. Non iudicabat se in eo exprimere spumam anhelantis, cum in reliqua parte omni, quod difficillimum erat, sibi ipse satisfecisset. Displecebat 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 pictura verum esse, non verisimile vellet, absterserat saepius mutaveratque penicillum, nullo modo sibi adprobans. Postremo iratus arti, quod intellegaretur, spongeam inpegit invisio loco tabulae, et illa reposuit ablatos colores qualiter cura optaverat, fecitque in pictura fortuna naturam. Hoc exemplo eius similis et Nealcen successus spumae equi similiter spongea inpecta secutus dum celetem pingit ac poppyzonta retinAZent eum. Ita Protogenes monstravit et fortunam. Propter hunc Ialysum, ne cremaret tabulam, Demetrius rex, cum ab ea parte sola posset Rhodum capere, non incendit, parcentemque picturae fugit occasio victoriae. Erat tunc Protogenes in suburbanuo suo hortulo, hoc est Demetrii castris, neque interpellatus proeliis inchoato opera


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.


§ 104. 16. Nealcen: below, §§ 142, 145. The following anecdote is told also by Plut. περὶ Τέχνης, 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. Tyskiewicz (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 103 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 105 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

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.'

Rhodum: i.e. the new city founded in B.C. 408; for the siege cf. xxxiv, 41.

§ 105. 22. erat tunc Protogenes: 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, 37, 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.
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, ulro ad eum venit hostis 5 relictisque victoriae suae votis inter arma et murorum ictus spectavit artificem, sequiturque tabulam illius temporis haec fama, quod eam Protogenes sub gladio pinxerit. Satyrus hic est quem anapauomenon vocant, ne quid desit temporis eius securitati, tenentem tibias. fecit et Cydippen, Tlepoleum, 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 tule. 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 vicenas. his adnumerari debet et Nicomachus Aristidi filius ac discipulus. pinxit raptum Proserpinae, quae tabula fuit in Capitolio in Minervae delubro supra aediculam Ivuentatis, et in eodem Capitolio,
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 ἀνυπανόμενος [resting], and he is holding the pipes, to emphasize the painter’s sense of security at the moment. He also painted a Kydippe, and a Telepolemos, Philiskos the tragedian in meditation, an athlete, a portrait of king Antigonus, 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 by Apelles, belonged to the same epoch; the tyrant Mnason gave him thirty minae [100 guineas circ.] for each of his twelve gods, and to Θεομνήστος twenty minae [£70 circ.] for each of his heroes.

We must rank with these artists Nikomachos, the son and pupil of Aristeides. He painted the rape of Persephone, which was in the temple of Minerva on the Capitol, above the little chapel of

c. 14. 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.


§ 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.
quam Plancus imperator posuerat, Victoria quadrigam in sublime rapiens. Ulixi primus addidit pilleum. pinxit et

109 Apollinem ac Dianam, deumque matrem in leone sedentem, item nobiles Bacchae obreptantibus Satyris, Scyllamque quae nunc est Romae in templo Pacis. nec fuit alius in ea arte velocior. tradunt namque conduxisse pingendum ab Aristrato Sicyoniorum tyranno quod is faciebat Telesti poetae monimentum praefinito die intra quem perageretur, nec multo ante venisse tyranno in poenam acceno paucisque diebus absolvisse et celeritate et arte mira. discipulos habuit Aristonem fratrem et Aristiden filium et Philoxenum Eretrium, cuius tabula nullis postferenda Cassandro regi picta continuat Alexandri proelium cum Dario. idem pinxit et lasciviam, in qua tres Sileni comissantur. hic celeritatem praeceptoris secutus breviores etiamnum quas-

110 dam picturae compendiarias inventit. 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. Wisowa, 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 sublime 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 Ροῦφος (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) have Ulixi primus Nikomachus pictor pilleo caput texisse fortur, 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

on Iliad 11, 265 attributes the innovation to Apollodoros.

3. Apollinem ao Dianam: a group.
demque 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 Bacchas ob- 
recht. Sat.: for the subject, cf. Wand- 
gemälde, 542-556; Schreiber, Hell. 
Reliefs, xxiv. None of these compositions can, however, be referred with certainty to Nikomachos.

Scyllamque: Schuchardt (Niko- 
machos, p. 40 ff.) proposes to recog- 
nize a copy of the picture of Niko- 
machos 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 ultim exitum 
fecit, postquam Aegyptiorum audacia 
tam magnae artis compendiariam in- 
vent. 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 actatis. Aristidis Thebani discipuli fuerunt et filii Nicers et Ariston, cuius est Satyros cum scypho coronatus, discipuli Antorides et Euphranor, de quo max dicemus.

112 Namque subtexti 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 sütinasque pinxit et asellos et obsonia ac similia, 10 ob haec cognominatus rhyparographos, in iis consummatae voluptatis, quippe eae pluries veniere quam maxime multorum. e diverso Maeniana, inquit Varro, omnia operiebat Serapionis tabula sub Veteribus. hic scenaes optime pinxit, sed hominem pingere non potuit. contra Dionysius nihil aliud quam homines pinxit, ob id anthropographos cognominatus. parva et Callices fecit, item Calates comicos tabellis, utraque Antiphilus. namque et Hesionam nobilem pinxit et Alexandrum ac Philippum cum Minerva, qui sunt in schola in Octaviae porticibus, et in Philipp Librum 20

Aristidis Thebanti: above, §§ 98–100, 110; he appears here as master of Nicers-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. max dicemus, in § 128.

§ 112. 7. Piraeicus = Peisaios fr. Peiaei's, Helbig, Untersuch. 366 ff. This artist is still known only from Pliny, the Piraeus 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 sütinasque: 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 Peiraikos.
Maeniana: maeniana appellata sunt a Maenio censore qui primus in foro ultra columnas tigna proiectit, quo ampliarentur superiura 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.

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.

It is well to add an account of the artists who won fame with the brush in painting smaller pictures. Amongst them was Peiraihos. 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, cobbler's stalls, asses, eatables and similar subjects, earning for himself the name of ἀνθρωπογράφος [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 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].

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

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 ite Callicles quaternum digitum tabellis nobilis cum esset factus, tamen in pingendo ascendere potuit ad Euphranoris altitudinem, Varro, de Vita P. R. 1, ap. Charisius, p. 126, 25. comicus: i.e. in subjects borrowed from comedy, cf. § 140. 18. utraque: i.e. both small and large pictures; Ulrichs, Chrest. p. 367. Antiphilus: 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 compendiaria (above, § 110, cf. on Pansias, in § 124), with the invention of which Petronius charged the Egyptians.

Hesionam: probably her delivery. 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 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, quem nunc et post semper ob artem hanc Ardea laudat, eaque sunt scripta antiquis litteris Latinis; non fraudando et Studio divi Augusti aetate qui primus instituit amoenissi-
mam parietum picturam, villas et portus ac topiaria opera, lucos, nemora, colles, piscinas, euripos, amnes, litora, qualia quis optaret, varias ibi obambulantium species aut navigan-
tium terraque villas adeuntium asellis aut vehiculis, iam piscantes aucupantesque aut venantes aut etiam vindemi-
antes. sunt in cius exemplaribus nobiles palustri accessu villae, succollatis sponsione mulieribus labantes trepdis quae feruntur, plurimae praeterea tales argutiae faciessimi salis.

12. Latinis, non Detlofsten.

Cadnum 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 (currit 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 Palestrina, 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 deridicus habitus must have in allusion to γρυλλός = a dancer of the γρύλωμισ, 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. Antipholos was born in Egypt, and studied under ✠Ktesidemos.

I ought not to pass over in silence the painter of the temple at 115 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.

Nor must I neglect ✠Studius, a painter of the days of Augustus, 116 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 117 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

Ardeatis templi: Verg. Aen. vii, 411 ff.; cf. above, § 17. 8. Loco = Abnow; 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. Gallus, iii, 3, 3. The inscription on his picture being in hexameter, he cannot be dated earlier than Einnius (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 topia 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. topia 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 rami aus imitatione pictura.

§ 117. 19. exemplaribus: sc. ingenii; cf. § 74 ingenii ... exempla. 21. argutiae: § 67; xxxiv, 65.
idem subdialibus maritimas urbes pingere instituit, blandisimo aspectu minimoque indpendio. sed nulla gloria artificem 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 rapi non possent. casa Protogenes contentus erat in hortulo suo, nulla in Apellis tectoriiis pictura erat. nondum libebat parietes totos tinguerre, omnium eorum ars urbibus excubabat pictorique res communis terrarum erat. fuit et Arellius Romae celeber paulo ante divum Augustum, nisi flagitio insigni corruptisset artem, semper ei lenocinans cuius feminae amore flagraret, ob id deas pingens, sed dilectarum imagine. itaque in pictura eius scorta numerabantur. fuit et nuper gravis ac severus idemque floridus et vividus pictor Famulus. 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 aedes Imp. Vespasiano Aug. restituenti pinxerunt, Priscus antiquis similior.

121 Non est omittenda in picturae mentione celebris circa A.U.C. 711-718. Lepidum fabula, siquidem in triumviratu quodam loco deductus a magistratibus in nemorosum hospitium minaciter 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., Detlefsen.

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).
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 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, Arelius had 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 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 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, 439: for machina = easel, above, § 81.

18. carcer ejus artis: for Pliny’s hatred of Nero cf. above, § 51; xxxiv, 45, 84.

Ceris pingere ac picturam inurere quis primus excogitaverit non constat. quidam Aristidis inventum putant postea consummatum a Praxitele, sed aliquanto vetustiores encaustae picturae exstitere, ut Polygnoti et Nicanoris ac Mnasilai Pariorum. Elasippus quoque Aeginae picturae suae inscriptit ἑβέκαεν, quod profecto non fecisset nisi encaustica inventa.

Pamphilus quoque Apellis praeeconor 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 conparatione superatus existimabatur, quoniam non suo genere certasset. idem et lacunaria primus pingere instituit, nec camaras ante eum taliter adornari mos fuit. parvas pingebat tabellae maximeque pueros. hoc aemuli interpretabantur facere eum, quoniam tarda picturae ratio esset illa. quamobrem daturus et celeritatis famam absolut vel uno die tabellam quae vocata est hemeresios pueric picto. 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, Introd. p. xxxiiii.
Aristidis: presumably the first of the name, above, § 75.
5. consumm. a Praxitele: who would use encaustic for the circumfuitio of his statues (below, § 133).
8. ἑβέκαεν: 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, Introd. 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 Thespiae by the Thebans in B. c. 374. The
I. PAINTING

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 ΠΝικανωρ and Μνασιλαος of Paros. Ελασιππός of Aigina also wrote on one of his paintings ἐβεκαυ [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 Βρυητες, under whom he first studied. He also painted with the brush certain walls at Thespiae, 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 ἱπερφόρος [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.

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 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 Isia, in § 148, and Quinctilian’s estimate of Antiphilos (note on § 114).

§ 125. 22. Glyceram: xxii, 4, whence we obtain post Olympiada C (=B.C. 280) as a further guide to the artist’s date. Append. V.

inventricem: the passage in xxii 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 tabulae
est appellata stephaneplocos, ab aliis stephanopolis, quoniam
Glyceria venditando coronas sustentaverat paupertatem.
huius tabulae exemplar, quod apographon vocant, L. Lucullus
duos talentis emit Dionysiis Athenis. Pausias autem 5
fecit et grandis tabulas, sicut spectatam in Pompei porticu
boum immolationem. eam primus invenit picturam, quam
postea imitati sunt multi, aequivit nemo. ante omnia, cum
longitudinem bovis ostendi vellet, adversum eum pinxit, non
traversum, et abunde intellegitur amplitudo. dein, cum
omnes quae volunt eminentia videri candidanti faciant colo-
lore, quae condunt nigro, hic totum bovem atri coloris fecit
umbraeque corpus ex ipsa dedit magna prorsus arte in aqueo
extantia ostendente et in contracto 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 CIII, idem qui
inter factores dictus est nobis. fecit et colossos et marmorea
et typos scalpsit, docilis ac laboriosus ante omnis et in quo-
cumque 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 Δινηρῶν vii,
p. 644; Quint. x, 2, 6; x, 2, 2;
above, § 91 (Helbig, Untersuchungen,
p. 65). 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 pom-
pam).

§ 127. 11. eminentia: §§ 92 (di-
giti eminere 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 Kentas 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 aqueo omnia: in modern
parlance Pausias excelled at giving
the ‘impression of artistic reality with
only two dimensions’ (cf. Berenson,
The Florentine painters of the Renais-
sance, p. 4), i.e. at representing depth,
the third dimension, on a flat surface.

15. patria picturae: cf. xxxvi, 9.

16. propter aas alienum: since
Sulla’s Mithridatic war the Sikyonians
had fallen into debt and distress
(see especially Cic. ad Att. i, 19, 9;
iib. 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 στεφανηρεῖον [wreath-binder], or by others the στεφανωτόπωλος [wreath-seller], because Glykera had supported herself by selling wreaths. A copy of the picture, an ἀπόχρωσις as it is called, was bought by Lucius Lucullus for two talents [Ł420 circ.] at the festival of Dionysos at Athens. Pausias, however, also painted 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 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.

After Pausias in the hundred and fourth Olympiad [364-361 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

17. Scauri aedilitas: viii, 64, and often.

§ 128. post eum: of time (Furtwängler, Plinius, p. 15); but a date posterior to Pausias is irreconcilable with Ol. 104 below and xxxvi, 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 Euxenidas 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 into the present anachronism.

18. qui inter factores: 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 γραπτός τύπος, Anth. Pal. vii, 730.

in quocumque genere excel-lens: Quinct. xii, 10, 12 Euphranorum circa plurium artium species praeestantem.

21. hic primus: introduces his
tur expressisse dignitatis heroum et usurpasse symmetriam, sed fuit in universitate corporum exilior et capitibus articulisque grandior. volumina quoque compositum 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 foveum cum equo iungens et palliati cognoscentes, dux gladium cum lente. eodem tempore fuere Cydias et ... cuui tabulam Argonautas HS. CXXXIII Hortensius orator mercator est eique aedem fecit in Tusculano suo, Euphranoris autem discipulus Antidotus. huius est clipeo dimicantis Athenis et luctator tabulumque inter paucam laudas. ipse diligentior quam numerosior et in coloribus severus maxime inclaruit discipulo Nicia Atheniensi. ense qui diligentissime mulieres pinxit. lumen et umbras custodii atque ut eminenter e tabulis picturae maxime

S. cydi et cydias codd.; Cydias Detlefsen.

special contribution to his art, cf. Introd. p. xxvii f.

2. exilio: see Addenda.
3. capitibus articulisque: the judgement is identical with that passed on Zenonis in § 64, where see note.
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 (p. 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.
5. Theseus: likewise in the Stoa Eletherios; 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.
7. simulata insania: οἱ συστρατευέι τὸν Ἀτρείδας μὴ θέλων, Lucian, peri oikou 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: a cavalry engagement, the Twelve Gods and a Theseus, of which 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 and... lived at the same time; his picture of the Argonauts was purchased for 144,000 sesterces by the orator Hortensius, who built a shrine for it on his estate at Tusculum. Antidotos was a pupil of Euphranor. He painted a warrior Antidotos, 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 Athens, who painted women with minute care. Nikias was pains-taking in his treatment of light and shade, and took special care

palliati cогitantes: these must be identical with the πράσεως in Lucian's description.

8. gladium condens: Πολαμήδης πρόκωπον ἑχαὶ τὸ ἐξόριον, 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. 1965 (which I presume is also Detlefsen's), that fuere refers to both Cydias and Antidotos, is quite unwarranted.


11. luctator tubiceque: 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 severius: for similar judgements; § 98 durior paulo in coloribus; § 134 austerior colore Athenion; § 137 e severissimis pictoribus (Aristolaeus); ib. durus in coloribus (Nikophases).

14. discoliullo Nicola: Euphranor and Praxiteles being contemporaries (xxxiv, 59), 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. 370–230), and probably the painter of Alexander (v. B.C. 336–323), belongs the date Ol. CXII, while the Younger, who was the pupil of Antidotos, flourished about the time of Athenion (on whom see note).


5. tabulam et Danaen] Bamb.; tabulam—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 Urlich's (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; the anapanomene of Aristides, in § 99.

neeeyom. 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), Προλεµαίον δὲ τοῦ βασιλείας ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα τῆς γραφῆς συντελεσθένης πέμφαντος αὐτῷ μὴ λαβεῖν μὴδ' ἀποδώσαι 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 μεγάσκος or priest of Artemis of Ephesos, and at Athens the νεκυομαθεία [questioning of the dead] of Homer. This picture the artist refused to sell to King Attalos for sixty talents [Ł12,600 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

Non posse suav. vivere sec. Ep. xi, 2. The court of Alexandria had been more fortunate in purchasing the Hyakinthos (§ 131).

patriae suae 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.


§ 133. 12. prosperrime canes: κείται δὲ ενταθά... Νικίας τε ὁ Νικο-

μύθους (cf. Köhler, Ath. Mitth. 1885, p. 234, 2), ζώα ἄριστος γραφαί τὸν ἥρ

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 γάνωσι 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 circum-

litio as understood in painting, Quintct.

viii, 5, 26 nec pictura, in qua nihil circumlitionum est eminet (cf. id. xii, 9, 8). Since then, the discovery of the Sidonian sarkophagoi has revealed precisely such a use of colour for hair, dress, &c., as was divined by Welcker,
while flesh parts are seen to have been left in the tone of the marble; cf. the Artemis of Vienna, Jahrh. 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 Genes., 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 Heliodorus περὶ ἀναμνήσεως, see Introd. p. lxxiv f.

6. Phylarchum: Pausianias (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, Pausianias, 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 Pinkotheke 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 Corinth, is compared with Nikias, and preferred to him by some. 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 συμγεμκον; 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 enjoys a great reputation. After King Perseus was taken prisoner, he repaired to Athens, where was then living Metrodoros, who was at once painter and philosopher, and had won high distinction 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) ac avrus Ol. 116 revisit). 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. Metrodorus: he is most likely identical with the Metrodoros in the Index to this book. Further he is possibly the same as the Metrodoros of Stratonikai, mentioned by Diogenes Laertios x, 9, and Cic. De Orat. i, 11, 45, as being a pupil of Karneades (cf. Brunn, K. G. ii, p. 293; Urlich, Malerü, 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, Ast. Paul. vi Od γὰρ μόνον γραμματικοι καὶ σωφρικοι καὶ δητεροι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεόνεται καὶ γονάτοι καὶ πόλου καὶ συνάντων εὐπριάτῳ καὶ διδάσκαλοι θήρας "Ἐλληνες ἠσαν περὶ τῶν νεανίσκων (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 Aiacem et Mediam pinxit ab eo in Veneris 
Genetricis aede positas, LXXX talentis venundatas. 
talentum Atticum X VI taxat M. Varro. Timomachi aeque 
laudabant Orestes, Iphigenia in Tauris et Lecythion agili-
tatis exercitator, cognatio nobilium, palliati quos dicturos 
pinxit, alterum stantem, alterum sedentem. praccipue 
tamen ars ei favisse in Gorgone visa est. Pausiae filius et 
discipulus Aristolaus e severissimis pictoribus fuit, cuius 
sunt Epaminondas, Pericles, Media, Virtus, Theseus, imago 
Atticæ 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 Medea 
(see following note), Pliny seems guilty 
of an anachronism in placing Timo-
machos in this period (so Brunn, 
Dilthey, Helbig, U爾ichs and Furt-
wangler; see Brandstätter, Der Maler 
Timomachos, where all the evidence 
concerning the artist's date is col-
lected); he presumably found no date 
in his author, and tried to obtain 
one out of the purchase by Caesar 
(Furtwängler, Plinius, p. 14), [Ca-
esaris 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.

Aiacem et Mediam: apparently 
identical with the Aias and Medea 
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 
Cicicenos, ut Aiacem 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 he 
called the 'age of Caesar.' Indeed 
since all the artists (i.e. Pythagoras, 
Myron, the two Praxiteles, Protagenes 
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 con-
temporary of Apelles (Brandstätter, 
op. cit.). The two pictures were com-
posed as pendants, at least so we 
gather from the juxtaposition of the 
subjects in Ovid, Trist. ii, 525: 
Ulque sedet vultu fassus Telamonius 
iram

Inque oculis facinus barbaræ 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 Medea have survived in two wall-
paintings (1) from Pompeii, Helbig, 
Wandgemälde, 1262, (2) from Hercul-
aneum, Helbig, 1264 (single figure 
of Medea, but taken apparently 
from a large composition similar 
to the former): Medea meditating 
the murder, while the children
Timomachos of Byzantine in the time of the dictator Caesar painted the Aías and the Medeia, placed by Caesar in the temple of Venus the Mother, which cost eighty talents [Ł 16,800 circ.]. (Marcus Varro values the Attic talent at 6000 denarii.) Other pictures by Timomachos meet with a like praise; his Orestes and Iphigencia 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 severest school; he painted pictures of Epameinondas, Perikles, 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 Nikophanes, quietly play in charge of the paideagōgos—a scheme which corresponds to Lucian's description npepl oivov, 31. The picture was very probably inspired by the Medea of Enarr. From § 145 we learn that it was left unfinished. The Medea gave occasion for a number of epigrams (see Overbeck's Schriftenquellen 2126–2139). Anth. Plan. iv, 137, shows that it was painted in encaustic—ἐν χόρρ. (Against the view advanced here that Timomachos is a painter of the fourth century, see Robert, in Arch. Márchen, 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, Styli, 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. lvii. Addenda.

agilitatis exercitator: he would be a less exalted personage than an ἐκποτής δήληθων (xxiv, 82), but more on a level with the praestigator Theodoros, and the saltator Alkithenes in § 147. The picture was presumably a votive portrait.

6. cognatio nobilium: above, note on § 76.

palliati: i.e. wrapped in the pallium = τοιαυτον, whence they were presumably portraits; cf. on the duo palliata in xxiv, 54.


8. in Gorgone: i.e. a Gorgonion or mask of Medusa; we may compare in sculpture the ‘Medusa Rondanini’ (Munich, Glypt. 128).

§ 137. Pausiaé: above, § 123. The account of Aristolaus has been torn asunder from its original context.

9. e severissimis: note on § 130.

11. beun immolatio: note on § 93; cf. § 127.

Nioophanes: above, § III.
intellegant soli artifices, alias duros in coloribus et sile multus; nam Socrates iure omnibus placet; tales sunt eis cum Aesculapio filiae Hygia, Aegle, Panacea, Iaso et piger qui appellatur Ocnos, spartum torquens quod asellus adroit. hactenus indicatis procerebus in utroque genere non silebuntur et primis proximi: Aristocles qui pinxit aedem Apollinis Delphis. Antiphilus puero ignem conflante laudatur ac pulchra alias domo splendenscente ipsiusque puere ore, item lanificio in quo properant omnium mulierum pensa, Ptolemaeo venante, sed nobilissimo Satyro cum pelle pantherina, quem aposcopeuonta appellant. Aristophon Ancaeo vulnerato ab apro cum socia doloris Astypale numerosaque tabula in qua sunt Priamus, Helena, Credulitas, Ulixes, Deiphobus, Dolus. Androbios pinxit Scyllum ancoras praeidentem Persicae classis, Artemon Danaen


1. soli artifices: Münzer, op. cit. p. 519, points out that this reference to the opinion of artists recalls the passage on Telephaneis, 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 Aristolaois and Nikophanes, that he is presumably also a pupil of Paualis. 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 relics, 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. § utroque genere: i.e. both large and small pictures.

7. aedem Ap. Delphis: nothing further is known of these paintings.

Antiphilus: above, §§ 59, 114.

puero ign. confl.: for the same subject in statuary cf. the splanchnotes of Styppax, xxxiv, 81.


9. lanificio: cf. the subjects of Peirakos in § 112, of Philiskos in § 143.


11. aposcopeuonta: i.e. raising his hand to shade his eyes in the satyric dance called σκόπωμα (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, Satyr aus 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 *Sokrates* 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 "Oinos [sloth], twisting a rope which an ass is gnawing.

So far I have spoken only of the leading artists in both styles, 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 ἄποσκοπεύων, or Gazer.

*Aristophon* is celebrated for his Ankaios wounded by the boar, *Aristo-phon* 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*: brother of Polygnatos, above; note on § 60.

12. *Anceae*: not the Arkadian Ankaios, but the Argonaut with his mother Astypale. Benndorf, *Gjölbascii*, 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.


13. *Numerosa*: Brunn, *K. G.* ii, p. 53, explains this adjective applied to a picture which contained only six figures, from Quint.* v, 10, 10 vulgoque (inter opifices) paullo numerosius opus dictur 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 *baubo* ἐν Apelles' picture (above, note on § 89).


15. *D. miruntibus 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 mortaltate consensu deorum in caelum euntem, Laomedontis circa Herculem et Neptunum historiam. Alcimachus Dioxippum, qui pancratio Olympiae citra pulveris iactum, quod vocant ἄκοντι, vicit, Coenus stemmata. Ctesilochez Apellis discipulus petulantia pictura innotuit, Iove Liberum parturi- ente depicto mitrado et muliebriter ingemescente inter opstetricia dearum, Cleon Cadmo, Ctesidemus Oechaliac 10 expugnatione, Laodamia, Ctesicles reginae Stratonicis injuria. nullo enim honorre exceptus ab ea pinxit volutan- tem cum piscatore quem reginam amare sermo erat,.camque tabulam in portu Ephesi proposuit ipse velis raptus. regina tolli vetuit utriusque similitudine mire expressa. Cratinus 15 comoedos Athenis in Pompeio pinxit, Eutychides bigam, regit Victoria. Eudorus scaena spectatur—idem et ex pleasure of Alexander, and being slandered to the king he finally took his own life. Diod. xvii, 100–101; Aelian, Πομ. 1097. 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. ἄκοντι = χαρίς νικέως: usually because the appointed antagonist failed to appear; according to Paus. vi, 11, 4, Dromeus of Mantinea was the first to gain a victory ἄκοντι; cf. id. vi, 7, 4; l. C. B. 29. See for all possible conditions of such a victory K. E. Heinrichs, Über 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. Ctesilochez: if identical, as is generally supposed with the Κτησίβωρος of Souvias (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 Dioözippous, who won in the pankration at Olympia a victory without dust, ἄκουρι, 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, Eutychides, a two-horsed chariot driven by Nike. †Eudoros, who 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.

Iove . . . mitrato: an absurdity because, among Greeks at any rate, the μύρα 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.


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 sarcophagi, cp. especially Baumeister, Denkm., p. 1422, fig. 1574); but there is no ascertained copy of Ktesidemos's picture.

Stratonicea iniuria: cf. on § 139.

15. Cratinus omoëdes: 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. lxv).

16. in Pompeio: at the entrance to the Kerameikos, Paus. 1, 4, 4.

§ 141. Eutychides: in xxxiv, 78, he is mentioned as a sculptor in bronze.


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— 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 pruo, Phalerion Scyllam, Simonides Agatharchum et Mnemosynen, Simus iuvenem requiescentem, officinam fullonis quinquatrus celebrantem, idemque Nemesim egregiam, Theorus se inunguentem, idem ab Oreste matrem 15


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 = δύονα.

3 Aratum . . . tropaeo: according to Hardonin (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 (Auszruh. 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 Ajax (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
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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 mistrest, 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 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. +Oiniias 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. +Theoros painted an athlete anointing himself, an Orestes slaying

(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—ὀνος had quickly spread (cf. Deinon, ap. Plut. de Iside, 31 ἄδ καὶ τῶν Περσαίων βασιλέων ἔχωναντες μίλεσα τῶν ἄχων ὡς ἔναγη καὶ μαραν, ὥνον ἐπουράμαιν : Allian, Pouk. '107. 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. II. syngenicon: above, § 136; cf. note on § 76.

ignem conflante puero. The studio must have been that of a painter in encaustic; cf. the picture by Antiphilos, in § 138. Introd. p. lxxi.


Simus: possibly identical with the sculptor Simos of Salamis (in Kypros), known from two inscriptions (I. 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. Gaerteningen, Jahrb. ix, 1894, p. 39.

juvenem requiescentem: [perhaps a grave picture, in which the dead youth was represented lying down, i. e. an ἐναπώμενος (§ 99 and note), an expirantis imago (§ 90).—H. L. U.]

14. quinquatras: 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. Theoros: 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 citharoeedum, Tauriscus discobolum, Clytaemestram, Pani-

145 scon, Polynicen regnum repetentem et Capanea. non omittetur inter hos insigne exemplum. namque Erignonus tritor colorum Nealcae pictoris in tantum ipse profecit ut celebrem etiam discipulum reliquerit Pasian, fratrem Aeginetae pictoris. illud vero perquam rarum ac memoria dignum 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-

146 mendationis dolor est manus, cum id ageret, extinctae. 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. Urlichs' 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 Urlichs in Holz. Pferd, p. 18, n. 17.


ab Oreste matrem et Aegisthun interfici: cf. the construction in xxxiv, 59 (fecit) Apollinem serpentemque eius sagittis configi. For the subject cf. the Pompeian picture, A. J. xli, 1883, pl. ix, i (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 Aineias 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 wöldlichen Vorlagen der Iliischen Tafeln).


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.


4. Demetrium: i.e. Poliorketes; cf. note on xxxiv, 42.

Theon: of Samos; mentioned by Quinti. 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 Kassandra, 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 \( \text{παίδιος} \) or young Pan, a Polyneikes claiming the throne, and a Kapaneus.

Nor must I forget to mention here the noteworthy case of 

\[ *\text{Erigonos} \], who ground the colours of Nealkes, and eventually became so good a painter that he could even train a great artist in his pupil \[ *\text{Pias} \], the brother of the painter \[ *\text{Aiginetas} \]. 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 Medea 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 \[ *\text{Aristokles} \] repute, I can do no more than name in passing, \[ *\text{Aristokles} \].

### Most Important Painters

Most important painters of the age of Alexander, as \[ \text{praestantissimus . . .} \] concipiendis visionibus, quas \( \text{fama} \) vocant; cf. also Ailian, \text{Ποι. 1στ. ii. 44}, where the warrior charging out of a panel is described.

\[ \text{Orestes insaniam: τῆς Ἡρώδου μητροκροτιαν, Plut. de aud. Poet. 3.} \]

\[ \text{Thamyram citharoedum: cf. the Gorgosthenes tragœdus, by Apelles, in \#93, the cithica of Lysippos, xxxiv, 63, the psaltria by Leontiskos, in \#141, &c.} \]

\[ 5. \text{Tauriscus: his identity with one of the sculptors of the ‘Farnese Bull’ can neither be proved nor disproved. He is perhaps the same as the silver-chaser of xxxiii, 156, whom in xxxvi, 33, Pliny is careful to distinguish from the sculptor.} \]

\[ \text{discobolum: votive picture for an athletic contest.} \]

### Notes

\[ 7. \text{tritor colorum: cf. above, \#85 qui colores terrent; for the story of Erigonos’s rise from poverty to fame, cf. Lysippos, xxxiv, 61, Protogenes, above, \#101, Introd. p. xlix.} \]

\[ 8. \text{Nealcae: above, \#104, 142.} \]

\[ \text{ut discipulum rel.: so likewise Seilanion, xxxiv, 51, though himself a self-taught artist, leaves a celebrated pupil in Zeuxiades, Introd. loc. cit.} \]

\[ 9. \text{Aeginetae: for the ethnic as proper name cf. Fick, \text{Gr. Personennamen}, p. 333.} \]

\[ 12. \text{Aristidis: above, \#75, 98, 108; for Nikomachos, \#108.} \]

\[ \text{Medium Timomachi: \#26, 136.} \]

\[ 13. \text{quam diximus: above, \#87, 91.} \]

\[ 14. \text{quippe . . . extinctae: rhetorical; for \text{liniamenta reliqua} cf. note on \#68.} \]
dicendi Aristocynes, Anaxander, Aristobulus Surus, Arcesilas Tisicratis filius, Coroebus Nicomachi discipulus, Charmantides Euphranorius, Dionysodorus Colophonius, Dicaceogenes 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


§ 146. 2. Arcesilae: from his date he may be identical with the Arkesilaos, Pans. i, 1, 3, whose picture of Leosthenes and his sons (a συγγενι-
κόν) was in the sanctuary of Athena and Zeus in the Peiraiæs. The exploits of Leosthenes, mentioned by Pausanias, took place B.C. 323.

Tisicratis: pupil of Euthykrates of Sikyon, xxxiv, 83.


Pyromachi: note on xxxiv, § 84.


Mnasitimus: son of Aristonidas, I. G. B. 197, above xxxiv, 140.

7. Habronis: above, §§ 93, 147.

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 Stadius of Pans. vi, 4, 5, the master of Polykle) (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; Intro. p. lxv. 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, 144 = Blümner, Techn. iii, p. 226, iv, p. 460, the first of a woman painting a statue,
I. PAINTING

†Anaxander, †Aristoboulos of Syria, Arkesilas the son of Teiskrates, †Korobos the pupil of Nikomachos, †Charmantides the pupil of Euphranor, †Dionysodoros of Kolophon, †Dikaiogenes who lived at the court of king Demetrios, †Euthymides, †Herakleides 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, †Poseidon 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, †Kalypso painted portraits of an old man, of the juggler Theodoros, and of the dancer Alkisthenes; †Aristarete, the daughter and pupil of Nearchos, painted an Askлепios. †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. †Olympos also was a painter; of her we only know that †Auto-Olympos was her pupil.

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 archaicising style.

Irene: Εἰρήνη τῆς Κρατίνου θυγατέρα, Clemens Alex. (quoting from Didymos) Strom. iv, 124, p. 620, Pott; cf. § 149.


13. praestigiatorem ... saltatorem: chiastic order.


Iaia Cysicea: the alphabetical order is broken to insert a passage taken from Varro, Introd. p. lxxxiii.

16. oestro in ebor: 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. Sopolis: 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 s Soloidis pectoribus (see Baiter & Kayzer's critical apparatus).

Dionysium: § 113.

encausto pingendi duo fuere antiquitus genera, cera et in ebore cestro, id est vericulo, donec classes pingi coepe. hoc tertium accessit resolutis igni ceris penicillo utendi, quae pictura navibus nec sole nec sale ventisque corruptur.

§ 149. 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 καβας of walls painted with an admixture of olive-oil and Punic wax (Plin. xxi, 83), described by Vitruvins (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 botte 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.

doneo 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. contextuisset his et plasticen conveniat. eiusdem opere terrae fingere ex argilla similitudines Butades Sicyoniusfigulus primus inventit Corinthi filiae opera quae capta amore iuvenis, abente illo peregre, umbram ex facie eius ad lucernam in pariete lineis circum scripsit, quibus pater eius inpressa argilla typum fecit et cum ceteris fictilibus induratam igni proposuit, eumque A.U.C. 608. servatum in Nymphaeo, donec Mummius Corinthum everterit, tradunt. sunt qui in Samo primos omnium plasticen invenisse Rhoeum et Theodorum tradant mutlo 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, Eugrammum, ab iis Italiae traditam plasticen. Butadis inventum

§ 151. 2. eiusdem opere terrae: with these words Pliny harks back to his main theme in § 1 (Resiant 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 inventid: Butades ‘invent’ (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 Xenokratic tinge; see Introd. p. xxxiv. f.

3. Butades Sicyonius: the following anecdote is told with slight variations by Athenagoras, Προβεία, 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 Butades worked at Corinth, suggests an attempt to compromise the rival claims of both cities to artistic priority.

4. habeunte 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, Euheir, Diopos, and Eugrammos, who introduced the art of modelling into Italy. Boutades first added red ochre or modelled in red clay, and 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.


13. factores: πλάσων, fingere like πλάσον being used of the artist who works in soft substances such as earth or wax, also who fashions by the hand (cf. the fingitque fremendo of Vergil, Aen. vi, 80); see on xxxiv, 7, and below, on § 153.

Euheir ... Eugrammum: respectively the skilled handicraftsmen (εὐχείρ), and the skilled draughtsman (εὐγραμμός), while Diopos = διόπος is connected with διόπτης 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 Euheiros see Comm. on p. 220.
C. PLINII SECUNDI NAT. HIST. XXXV

est rubricam addere aut ex rubra creta fingere. primusque personas tegularum extremis imbricibus inoposuit, 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 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 invent, crevique res in tantum ut nulla signa statuave sine argilla fient. quo apparat antiquiorem hanc fuisse scientiam quam fundendi aeris.

154 Plastae laudatissimi fuere Damophilus et Gorgasus, idem picture, qui Cereis aedem Romae ad circum maximum 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. 493, 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 πρώτηνα, or low reliefs; later on he made ἕκτυνα, 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. plastice) 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 Demophilus given here by Pliny; for he evidently had it from an authority who was familiar with the actual inscription (versibus inscriptis Graece).

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.’

C. PLINII SECundi NAT. HIST. XXXV

utroque genere artis suae excoluerant versibus inscriptis Graece quibus significarent ab dextra opera Damophilis 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 item signa ex fastigis dispersa. fecit et Chalcosthenes cruda opera Athenis, qui locus ab officina eius Ceramics 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 familiarem, cuius proplasmata pluris venire solita artificibus ipsis quam aliorum opera; ab hoc factam Venerem Gener- tricum in foro Caesaris et prius quam absolveretur festina- tione dedicandi positam, eidem a Lucullo HS. [X] signum Felicitatis locatum, cui mors utriusque inviditer; Octavio 15

9. alitem nescisse] Traube; item piscis (pisces, Bamb.) codd.; item piscis non possis Jan, Detlefsen.

1. utroque genere artis: i.e. the decorations consisted of painted terra-cottas; 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 ἐγραψε τὴν θάραν τὴν δεξιάν, τὴν δὲ ἐξετάσαν δεξιῶν Διονυσίως.

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 Kaikosthenes; see on xxxiv, 87. From a basis (Δέλτιον, 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 Milchbühler (Arch. Studien, H. Brunn dargebr. 1893, p. 50 ff.) with the δυάνματα ἐν πηλοῖς, representing Dionysos feasting in the house of Amphilkyton, which adorned a chapel —οἴνημα —of the god's τέμενος, in the Kerameikos (Paus. i, 4, 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 author- ship; 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 Mnseod. Terme, Wicchhoff, 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-
II. MODELLING

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

firmation of Traube's reading, above, §§ 23, 65, 66.

10. idem magnificat: cf. in xxxvi, 41 Arkesilaos quoque magnificat Varro, hence the identity of authorship for both passages.

Arkesilaus: 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.

13. 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. proplastmata: 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 adulescens, 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. praeterea elaboratam hanc artem Italiae et maxime Etruriae, Vulcam Veis accitum cui locaret Tarquiniius Priscus Iovis effigiem Capitolio dicandam, 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 tum effigies deorum erant lautissimae, nec poenitet nos illorum qui tales deos coluere, aurum enim et argentum ne diis quidem conficiebant. durant etiamnum plerisque in locis talia simulacra. fastigia quidem templorum etiam in urbe crebra et municipiis, mira caelatura et arte suique 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 Urlich, 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 fictiles et nullo violatus Jupiter 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 Apollonios—after the model of the Olympian Zens of Pheidias (cf. Chalcidius on Plato's Timaeus, 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 no-
to have a goblet cast from it. Varro further praises Pasiteles, who said that modelling was the mother of chasing, statuary and 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, 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 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 more innocent.

cesse sit Iovis ipsius simulacri faciem diebus festis minio inlini solitam... Plin. xxxii, 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 Velentine artists, Plut. Poth. xiii άρμα κατά κορυφήν (sc. νεάν τοῦ Καπ. Δι:) έπιστήμου κεραμεώς ἐξέδακε (sc. δ Ταρτουνίου) Τυρρηνών τών ἐν Ούηνω δημιουργώς. 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.) praeparatae quadrigae fictiles in fornace cresissent). 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 fictiles 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 (xxiv, 4, 4) infesta, mihi credite, signa ab Syracuse illata sunt. huic urbi. iam nimirum multos audio Corinthi et Athenarum ornamenta laudantis mirantisque et antefixa fictilia deorum Romanorum ridentis. ego hos malo propitios deos et ita spero futuros, si in suis manere sedibus patiernur.
SCULPTURA.

MARMORE scalpendo primi omnium inclaruerrunt 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 dui fuit officinarum omnium talium patria. deorum simulacra publice locaverant iis Sicyoni, quae prius quam absolverentur artifices iniuriam questi abiere in Aetolos. protinus Sicyonem fames invasit ac sterilitas maerorque dirus. remedium petentibus Apollo Pythius respondit: si Dipoenus et Scyllis deorum simulacra per fecissent, quod magnis mercedibus obsequisque impetratum.

§ 9.1. Marmore scalpendo: with the exception of the ágalμα of the Lindian Athena ἐκ λίθου σωμάτου, 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. προτερπτ. 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. xlv) these artists had been discussed in connexion with the beginnings of bronze statuary; Münzer, Hermes, xxx, 1895, p. 523; cf. Robert, Arch. März. 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
As sculptors in marble, the first to win fame were Diipoins 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 Dippoinos and Skyllis should complete their statues of the gods, a concession which was hardly won from them by money and by personal defer-
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 actate, quem certum est LX olympiade fuisse. quodsi quis horum familiam ad proavom usque retro agat, inveniat artis eius originem cum olympiadum 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 censeri 15 Chion sed et operibus Archermi filiorum. ostendunt et 10

12. 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


1. Apollinis ... Minervae: the list is alphabetical; the statues therefore were no part of a group but single works, H. L. Urlichs in Görlits. Verhandl. p. 330, note 2. Dianae: possibly identical with the Ἐβανος of Artemis Munychia mentioned by Clement, προτευτ. λόγος, iv, p. 42: cf. Urlichs loc. cit.; Robert, Arch. März. 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. Introd. 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 Μικήδης (1st line). The Melas (Μη[Λ]α[ρ]ος παράλον δο[ρ]υ νεμώνες) of the third line is presumably not the father of Mikiades, but, as Schöll and Robert pointed out (Arch. März. p. 116 f.), a local hero of Chios, son of Oinopion; Ion ἀφ. 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 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 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, 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 Bupalo) upon the two artists (Bergk, Lyr. Gr. ed. 4, fr. 10–14; Collignon, Hist. Sculpt., 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. Mühr. p. 115 f.

11. The school of Chios.

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. lxxix.

§ 13. 20. in Palatinae 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 glæba lapidis unius cuneis dividendium soluta imaginem Sileni intus extitisse. non omissendum hanc 10 artem tanto vetustiorem fuisse quam picturam aut statuarium, quam utraque cum Phidias coepit octogesima tertia olympiade, post annos circiter CCCXXXII. et ipsum Phidian tradunt scalpsisse marmora, Veneremque eius esse 15 Romae in Octaviae operibus eximiae pulchritudinis. Al- camenen Atheniensem, quod certum est, docuit in primis nobilem, cuius sunt opera Athenis complura in aedibus sacris praeclarumque Veneris extra muros quae appellatur Aphrodite ἐν κυπαοῖς. 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.

§ 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; Pans. ii, 22, 5.

Cleonae: for which they made the image of Athena; Pans. ii, 15, 1.

referatae: rhetorical; cf. in xxxv, 148 quorum tabulae pinacotheacas implant.

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.

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 of the works of Dipoinos. All these artists used none but white Parian marble, called lychnites [αυξίνη], as Varro says, because it was quarried by lamplight in underground passages. Since 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 older than that of painting or of bronze statuary, both of which began with Pheidias in the eighty-third olympiad [448–445 B.C.], 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,' 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 . . . adspergant, quod certum est . . . sol confort, H.L.U.]

sculptisae 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: τήν δὲ σοφίαν ἐν τέ ιτεύχας τῶν ἀκριβεστάτων τὰς τέχνας ἀπόδομεν, οἷον Φειδίας Αθηνών σοφὸν καὶ Πολύκλειτον ἀδημοσύνετος, ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἄλλο σημαίνοντε τὴν σοφίαν, ἢ ὠτὶ ἁρετὴ τέχνης ἕστιν.

15. Octaviae operibus: cf. § 35, where another Aphrodite (alia Venerem) by Philiskos is mentioned as being in the same gallery.

§ 16. Alcamenes: 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. xiii.

17. Athenia: see note on xxxiv, 49, Olymp. lxxxiii.

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, visitque Alcamenes non opere sed civitatis suffragiis contra peregrinum suo favehis. quare Agoracritus ea lege signum suum vendidisse traditur, ne Athenis esset, et appellassem Nemesin. id positum est Rhamnute pago Atticae, quod M. Varro omnibus signis praetulit. est et in Matris magnae delubro eadem civitate Agoracriti opus. Phidian clarissimum esse per omnes gentes quae Iovis Olympii famam intellegunt nemo dubitat, sed ut laudari merito sciant etiam qui opera eius non videre, proferemus argumenta parva et ingenii tantum. neque ad hoc Iovis Olympii pulchritudine utemur, non Minervae Athenis factae amplitudin savage, cum sit ea cubitorum XXVI,—ebore haec et auro constat—sed in scuto eius Amazonum proelium caelavit intumescente ambitu, in parmae eiusdem concava parte deorum et Gigantum dimicationse, in soleis vero Lapitharum et Centaurorum, adeo momenta omnia capacia

i. 19, 2. According to a generally accepted theory of Furtwängler, the Alkmenean statue is reproduced in the statues of the ‘Venus Genitrix’ type (Louvre, Girandon, 1175; Florence Alinari, 1331).

Huius summam manum: the words almost imply that the same reproach attached to Alcamenes 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.


3. nominem...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 Alkmene recorded by John Tzetzes, xiatades, 931.


8. Rhamnute: 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 Alcamenes 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 Kentaurs. So true was it that in his eyes every tiny space afforded a field for art. The numerous references in other authors coll. by Overb. Schriften I. 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 Pericles, see Furtwängler, Masterpieces, p. 48.
artis illi fuere. in basi autem quod cælatum est Pandoras genesin appellant: dii adsunt nascenti XX numero. Victoria praecipue mirabili periti mirantur et serpentinem ac sub ipsa cuspide aeream sphingem. haec sint obiter dicta de artifice numquam satis laudato, simul ut noscatur illam magni-

centiam aequalem fuisse et in parvis. Praxiteliis aetatem inter statuarii diximus, qui marmoris gloria superavit etiam semet. opera eius sunt Athenis in Ceramico, sed ante omnia est non solum Praxiteliis verum in toto orbe terrarum Venus quam ut viderent multi navigaverunt Cnidiis. duas fecerat simulque vendebat, alteram velata specie, quam ob id praelulerunt quorum condicio erat Coi, cum eodem pretio detulisset, severum id ac pudicum arbitrantes. reiectam Cnidi emerunt inmensa differentia famae. 

diximus autem triumphum aliis: Plinius by in Cnidiis postea mercari rex Nicomedes, totum aes alienum quod erat ingens civitatis dissoluturum se promittens. omnia perpetui maliere, nec innerito, illo enim signo Praxiteliis nobilitavit Cnidiis. aedicula eius tota aperitur ut conspici possit undique effigies dea faveant ipsa,

§ 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. diximus adsunt: the composition is preserved on the basis of the Pergamei copy of the Athena Parthenos, Jahrb. v, 1890, p. 114, fig. 9.


3. ac sub ipsa . . . : sphingem: the reading adopted by Detlefsen brings Pliny into agreement with Pausanias (καλ πηκιοι του δορατος δρακων εστιν), 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 Praxiteliis in the Athenian cemetery. Pausanias (i, 2, 3) mentions a grave επιθαμα έχουν στρατιωτην ἵππων παρατηρημα δυτικα μου ουδ ούδα, Πραξιτέλης δε και τον ἵππον και τον στρατιωτην ἐποίησεν (notes on xxxiv,
relief on the base is known as the γεέωνσ of Pandora; the 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 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 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 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


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, Holbig 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.

II. 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, Mithrid. 63.


19. dea favente ipsa: in allusion to the legend that the goddess herself
ut creditur, facta. nec minor ex quacumque parte admi-
ratio est. ferunt amore captum quendam, cum delituisset
noctu, simulacro cohaesisse, eiusque cupiditatis esse indicem
maculam. sunt in Cnido et alia signa marmorea inlustrium
artificem, Liber pater Bryaxidis et alter Scopae et Minerva, 5
nec maius aliud Veneris Praxiteliae specimen quam quod
inter haec sola memoratur. eiusdem est et Cupido obiectus
a Cicerone Verri, ille propter quem Thespiae viscebantur,
nunc in Octaviae scholis positus, eiusdem et alter nudus in
Pario colonia Propontidis, par Veneri Cnidae nobilitate et
injuria, adamavit enim Alcetas Rhodius atque in eo quoque
simile amoris vestigium reliquit. Romae Praxiteli 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.

24 Praxiteli filius Cephisodotus et artis heres fuit. cuius
laudatum est Pergami symplegma nobile digitis corpori

served the artist as model. Clement of
Alexandria, propep. λόγος 53, names
the courtesan Kratina 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 'Αγαθή
tύχη near th Prytaneion in Athens,
Ailian, πως. ιστ. 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
Thespiae to Rome by Gaius Caligula,
restored to Thespiae 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 Cen-
tocelle' (Helbig, 185) and its numerous
replicas.

obiectus: Verres had robbed Heius
of Messana of another Eros by
Praxiteles; Cicero's allusion to the
Thespean statue was to impress upon
the judges mirum quendam dolorem
accipere eos, ex quorum urbis accipere
haec asferrantur.
8. propter . . . viscebantur: Cic.
Verr. II, iv, 2, 4: Cupidinem facti
(Prazitelle) illum qui est Thespiis,
propter quem Thespias 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
Benndorf (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, DIONYSOS by *Bryaxis*, another Dionysos, and also an Athena by *Shopas*, 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 Thespiae. 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.

At Rome the works of Praxiteles are: Flora, Triptolemos and Demeter in the gardens of Servilius, the images of Good Luck and Good Fortune in the Capitoll, 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 genius. Greatly admired is his celebrated group at Pergamon of *Kephisodotos*.

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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. Romae: 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 *Kôra*, and owes her Latin name to the wreath she was holding as on the relief. Overbeck, *Kunst. Myth.* pl. xiv, 3, 4; 'Εφημ. ἔρχεσι 1893, p. 35.

hortis Servilianis: from Suet. *Nero*, 47, this must have been on the *Via Ostiensiis*; cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* xv, 55; *Hist.* iii, 38; *C. I. L.* vi, 8673, 8674.

Boni Ev. et Bonae Fort. = *'Αγαθὴ διαμνῖη and *'Αγαθὴ τύχη*; for the received Attic type of these divinities see the votive relief in the Brit. Mus. (*Mus. Marbles*, xi, pl. 47).


18. *Pergami*: the information is from Mucianus, *Introductio*. p. lxxix. [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 marmori 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 monimentis sunt, ubi et canephros 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 15 manu in templo Bruti Callaeci apud circum eundem, prae-


an erotic couple, cf. Martial, xii, 43; Arnobius, vii, 33 (ed. Reiffer- scheid, 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 παιδα δῆ τὸν γυμνὸν ἢν κνίσω τοῦτον
    οὐχ ἔλκος ἔσει, Κόννα;
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 Πραξιτέλεως παῖδες) in the temple of Kos; Herond. iv, 20 ff.

§ 25. 4. Scopae laus: § 22; § 30.

5. Venerem et Pothon: the Samothrakian cult seems to have developed out of that of Demeter and Hermes Kadmos; cf. Crusius, Fleckeisen’s Jahrb. 128, p. 298; Beitrdige z. Griech. Myth. p. 15. For the temple of Aphrodite at Megara, Skopas had made statues of Eros, Himeros, and Pothis; Faus. i, 43, 6.

Samothrace: Muciannus, 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:—
    deinque inter matrem deus ipse interque sororem
    Pythius in longa carmina nester sonat.

(The Apollo referred to in 1. 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
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Kitharoidos, is represented on coins of Nero (Overb. Apoll. Münstaf. 17, 47, 48, 50, 51).

§ 7. campteras: i.e. goals or columns marking in the stadium the turning-point for runners or chariots (κάμπτραι); cf. the metae on the sarkophagos, Helbig, Class. Ant. 339; these columns might be profusely adorned with sculpture.

§ 26. delubro: i.e. of Neptune. It is uncertain which of the Domitii built it; Uriichs (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 (Uriichs, Skopas, p. 130).


ipse: i.e. the temple-statue; Becker, Top. p. 619, note 13; cf. simulacrum ipsum in xxxiv, 66.


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. Brutus Callaeci: (D. Junius) cos. B.C. 138; celebrated his triumph over the Callaeci B.C. 132; the architect of the temple was Hermodoros of Salamis, Nepos ap. Priscian, Fragm.
terea Venus in eodem loco nuda Praxiteliam illam antecedens et qucumcumque alium locum nobilitatura. Romae quidem multitudo operum, etiam obliteratio ac magis officiorum negotiorumque acervi omnis a contemplatione tamen abducunt, quoniam otiosorum et in magno loci silentio talis admiratio est. qua de causa ignoratur artifex eius quoque Veneris quam Vespasianus imperator in operibus Pacis suae 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 ab Augusto ex Aegypto advectus utrius manu sit, iam quidem et auro occultatus. similiter in curia Octaviae quae iterur de Cupidine fulmen tenente. id demum adfirmatur, Alcibiaden esse principem forma in ea eate. multa in eadem schola sine auctoribus placent: Satyri quattuor, ex quibus unus Liberum patrem palla velatum umerus praefert, alter Liberam similiter, tertius ploratum infantis


§ 27. 2. Romae quidem: for the sentiment of the whole passage, cf. Hor. Ep. i, 10. [It became a common-place 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 munquam 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. Kunstinn 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 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 Kopovb. 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.
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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. 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

11. ex Aegypto: cf. xxxv, 131, 28, and notes.

iam quidem: in exculpation.

12. au ro occultatus: the gilding is specially mentioned, as unusual in the case of a marble statue; cf. Wunderer, Maniviae, 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, lv, 8; Josephus, Bell. Jud. vii, 5, 4; Gilbert, Rom, iii, p. 249, note 1.


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 kiaon 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 = πέντες, usually understood of the cloak worn by women, though practically identical with the l&delta;rov.

cohibet, quartus craterc 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 satisfatione fama iudicet dignos. Scopas habuit aemulos eadem aetate Bryaxim et Timotheum et Leocharen, de quibus simul dicendum est, quoniam pariter caelavere Mausoleum. sepulcrum hoc est ab uxore Artemisia factum Mausolo Cariae regis, qui obiit olympiadiis CVII anno secundo. opus id ut esset inter septem miracula hi maxime fecere artifices. patet ab austro et septentrione centenos sexagenos temos pedes, brevius a


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 Aôpas: Findar, Ol. ii, 70, μαδρων γαροι διεκαδις τηρανόου; see also Max. Mayer ap. Roscher, ii, 2147 ff.

2. nec minor quaestio: above, note in § 28 on simuliter... 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 satisfatione: 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).

eaemulos: cf. xxxiv, 49, aemuli; xxxv, 64.

Bryaxim: xxxiv, 73; for his signature Βραξιμ ἑπήρου on the basis adorned with reliefs of horsemen see Δελτιον, 1891, p. 35; Bull. Corr. Hell., xv, 1891, p. 369, plate vii; Εφημ. 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, Œ. 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'Epidavros, no. 241, l. 36 f.) recording his contract for furnishing models and sculptures for the Temple of Asklepios at Epidaurus, 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

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. Anti. 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. Urichs’s 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 Detslefsen’s edition, or with his article on the Plinian MSS. in the Philologus (t. xxviii), or with the Chrestom. of Urichs, and that he confuses Otto fahn (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 Modanus, Introd. p. lxxxviii.
8. Mausolos... regulo: he was, as a fact, only a satrap under the king of Persia; Diódoros, 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 CCCXXXXX, attollitur in altitudinem XXV cubitis, cingitur columnis XXXVI. pteron vocavere circumitum. ab oriente caelavit Scopas, a septentrione Bryaxis, a meridie Timotheus, ab occasu Leochares, priusque quam peragerent regina obit. non tamen recesserunt nisi absoluto iam, id gloriae ipsorum artisque monumentum indicantes, hodieque certant manus. accessit et quintus artifex. namque supra pteron pyramidis altitudine inferiorem aequat, viginti quattuor gradibus in metae cacumen se contrahens. in summo est quadriga marmorea quam fecit Pythis. haec adiecta CXXXX pedum altitudine toto 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


2. pteron vocavere: cf. in § 19, περίδοσα γίνεται 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, Detelesen’s altitudinem does unwarranted violence to the text.
10. quadrigamarmoress: a restoration 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 Pythis (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 Epidaurus; from the inscription (above, note on § 30, 5) we learn that he contracted (ἐλετρό) to construct (ἐργάσαι) and provide (παρῄσκευς) models (ῥίπος)—presumably for the pedimental sculptures—and for the akroteria or angle figures of one of the gables (ἀρετοὶ άπειρον). 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 Praxiteles, p. 69 f., where the kinship of the group of Leda and the Swan (best-known replica in the Capitol; Helbig, 459) to the Epidaurus 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 πτερόν. 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.

In the temple of Apollo on the Palatine at Rome stands an Artemis by Timotheos, the head of which has been restored by Avianius Evander. Greatly admired is a Herakles by \(^{+}Menestratos\), and a Hekate at Ephesos in the temple of Artemis, behind the pointed out (the likeness noted simultaneously by Winter, \textit{Ath. Mitth.} xix, 1894, p. 157 ff.). Add.

13. \textit{Avianius Evander}: cf. Hor. \textit{Sat.} i, 3, 90:

\begin{quote}
Comminxit lectum potus mensave\textit{ catillum}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Evandri manibus tritum deiect\textit{;}
\end{quote}

where the scholiast Porphyrio remarks that Evander was both chaser and sculptor (\textit{plastes statuarum}), that Alexander brought him from Athens to Alexandria, whence he was taken to Rome \textit{inter captivos}, doubtless on the capture of the city by Augustus in 25 B.C.; cf. further Cic. \textit{Fam.} xiii, 2; 21; 27, and vii, 23, where Avianius figures rather as art-dealer than as artist; cf. Brunn, \textit{K. G.} i, p. 547.

14. in \textit{magna admiratione}: these words introduce the fifth parenthetical mention of works elsewhere than in Rome. (The construction of the passage down to \textit{incluta} is curious; we get (i) admirable works (in \textit{magna adm.}); (ii) works equally admirable (\textit{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 \textit{nam}, which implies an ellipse of the preceding sentence, according to a usage noted in xxxiv, 7, xxxv, 137. H. L. U.]

\textit{Menestrati} : possibly identical with the sculptor of a statue of the unknown poetess Learchis; Tatian, \textit{πρὸς Εἰα.} p. 34, ed. Schwartz.

15. \textit{Hecate Ephesi}: the information, like that on the Mausoleion, appears derived from Mucianus (\textit{Introd.} p. lxxxviii).

\textit{post aedem} : interpreted by Sillig (\textit{Dict. of Artists}, s. v. \textit{Menestratos}) as ‘the back part of the temple,’ i.e. the \textit{ὄνυσθόδωμος}. But it is doubtful whether \textit{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 (\textit{in templo}), but behind the great temple (\textit{post aedem}). That the Hekate was in a closed locality, and not merely outside the temple in the open air, as
contemplatione admonent aeditui par cere oculis, tanta marmoris radiatio est. non post feruntur 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

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, Hermero tes Taurisci, non caelatoris illius sed Tralliani, Iuppiter hospitalis Papyli 10 Praxitelis discipuli, Zethus et Amphion ac Dirce et taurus


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 circumstiones); 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 Herodotos.

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 ἑσόδον αὐτῆς ἤδη τὴν ἐκ άκρόπολης Ἐρμῆν, ἐν Προτύλαιοι δόνομάξους καὶ Χάρτας ζωκράτην ποιήσας τὴν Ζωφρονίσκου λέγουσι; cf. note on xxxv, 101 for the unusual form propylo, 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 Pansanias, 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 Pythagorases, xxxiv, 60; Introd. p. 1.


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
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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 Kentaurs with nymphs on their backs by +Arkesilas, Thespiades by Kleomenes, Pollio. figures of Oceanos 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 +Pappilos 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 ebría, like the temulenta applied to the flute-player of Lysippus 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 Kentaurs (bearing Erotes) of Aristeas and Papias (Capitol, Helbig, 512, 513).

8. Arkesilae: xxxv, 155; below, § 41.

Thespiades: same subject by Teiskrates, xxxiv, 66; by Praxiteles, below, § 39.

Cleomenis: his identity with— or relationship to—the sculptor of the so-called 'Germanicus' in the Louvre (J. G. B. 344), or of the altar with sacrifice of Iphigeneia in Florence (J. G. B. 380), is quite uncertain. (J. G. B. 513, from Medicean Venus, is a modern forgery.)

9. Heniochi: [von Jan's reading may be considered certain, the names Arkesilae . . . 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. Rom. 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 singularum est eius gymnasi. Add.

10. caelatoris: xxxiii, 156.

§ 34. hospitalis = ἱένωσ.

11. Zethus . . . taurus: a group
vinculumque ex eodem lapide, a Rhodo adventa opera Apolloni et Taurisci. parentum hi certamen de se fecere, Menecraten videri professi, sed esse naturalem Artemidorum. eodem loco Liber pater Eutychidis laudatur, ad Octaviae vero porticum Apollo Philisci Rhodi in delubro suo, item Latona et Diana et Musae novem et alter Apollo nudus.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


('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. Märcb, 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. Föster (Görila. 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 (eis árra lîçion):—

.arch. ix, 759 (eis árra lîçion):—

Eîs deîfros, árra, élâthet, íppai, ðygos, ðnía, vîkêt.

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, 'Eoaph. 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 Maiander bears the inscription 'Ἀπολλάνιος Ταυρίσκος [Teleionadis] ενώει: 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 'Ἀπολλάνιος) may be one of the sculptors of the Bull, which would have been 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 Polycles 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 Polycles and Dionysios, the sons of

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: 'Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Ταυρίσκος Ἀρτεμιδώρου, καθ' ὑσθείαν δὲ Μενεκράτεως, Τρακλιανοὶ ἐσόνησαν.

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 dolubro 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, Winckelmannsp. 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 Polycles of Athens, xxxiv, 52, and brother of Timokles, ib.; his two sons, Polycles II and Dionysios, are mentioned below; together with his brother (of Πολυκλέως 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. aedem Tunonis: erected together with the adjacent temple (proxima aedes) of Jupiter by Q. Caecilius Metellus after his triumph of B. C. 149; Vell. Paterc. i. 11.

ipsam deam: the temple statue; cf. Nptunus ipse, above, § 26; simulacrum ipsum Trophonii, xxxiv, 66.

9. Dionysios et Polycles: identical with the Polycles et Dionysius Timarchidis filii, below.

alia Venereum: Urlichs (Quellenreg. p. 8) has shown that these words refer back to § 15, where an Aphrodite by Phedias, in the porticus Oct., had already been mentioned.


Dionysios: together with his nephew Timarchides II, he made the statue of C. Ofellius, found in Delos; it bears the inscription Δεονύσιος Τιμαρχίδου καὶ Τιμαρχίδης Πολυκλέους 'Αθηναίων, I. G. B. 242.
chidis fili Iovem qui est in proxima aede fecerunt, Pana et Olympum luctantes codem loco Heliodorus, quod est alterum in terris symplegma nobile, Venerem lavantem se 36 *sedaedalsas* stantem Polycharmus. ex honore apparat 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 pyctas, Amphistrati Callisthenen historiarum scriptorem. nec deinde multo plurium fama est, quorundam claritati in operibus eximiiis 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 summci artifices Hagesander et Poly-

4. Sesaedalsas stantem Bamb.; sesedalsa stantem Ricc., Voss.; se sed et aliam stantem Sillig; sese Daedalus, aliam stantem Detlefsen.

1. Iovem: above, note on acodem Iunonis.

Pana et Olympum: the names are significant as showing that these συμπλήγματα were mostly erotic groups, composed perhaps in the scheme familiar from the groups in Dresden.

Heliodorus: xxxiv, 91; the signature of his son (Πλούταρχος 'Hλιοδόρου Ῥήθος ἐπιγραφής) closes the great inscription, discovered in Rhodes by Hiller v. Gaerrtingen, 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. C. B. 194-196).

3. alterum: harks back to the similar group by Kephisodotos in § 24.

*Venerem lavantem se*: the 'Venus 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 (ποίος Ἐλληνες, p. 34, ed. Schwartz) as sculptor of the portrait of an unknown poetess Kleito.

Callisthenem: of Olynthos, pupil and nephew of Aristotle; according to Diodorus, xiv, 117, his 'Hellenika' 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.

[Stadienus of Athens]

_Paus. vi, 4, 5._

**POLYKLES I OF ATHENS**

(*fl. about* 156 B.C.)

_Plin. xxxiv, 52._

_Paus. vi, 4, 5._

_Insul. i, 855?_

**POLYKLES II** (**_fl. after* 140 B.C.**)

_Insul. x, 34, 6; 8._

**TIMARCHIDES I** (**_fl. after* 140 B.C._)

_Plin. xxxiv, 91?_ (156 B.C.)

_Paus. vii, 12, 9._

_Insul. x, 34, 6; 8._

_Insul. 242?_ (cf. _Ath. Mitth. xx_, 1895, p. 219.)

**TIMARCHIDES II** (**_fl. ab._ 156 B.C.**)

_Insul. xxxiv, 52._

_Insul. vi, 12, 9._

_Insul. x, 34, 6; 8._

_B. THE FAMILY OF ATHANODOROS._

ATHANODOROS I Paton inscr.

**HAGESANDROS I** Paton inscr. Lindian decree, 8 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 Derkylidas, and a portrait of Kallisthenes the historian by Amphistratos, all of which are mentioned with praise.

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 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 Blümmer, Comm. to Lessing's Laokoon, 2nd ed. p. 722; cf. also Friederichs-Wolters, 1422, and the three papers by Förster, (1) in Gör. 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 (toreutice).

ex uno lapide: note above on § 34: Michelangelo Buonarotti and Giovanni Cristofano, 'che sono i primi scultori di Roma, negano che' 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 Gör. Verhandl. pp. 75 ff.; for the usage, cf. Cicero Verres, II, iii, 18; v, 12, 53, 54, 114; pro Balbo, i, 19, 38, and often: Caesar, B. G. iii, 16; Livy, xlv, 26 and 29; Plin. Ep. v, 1, 6, 3, 8; vi. 31, 12.

C. PLINII SECUNDI NAT. HIST. XXXVI

38. dorus et Athenodorus Rhodi. similiter Palatinas domos Caesarum replevere probatissimis signis Craterus cum Pythodoro, Polydeuces cum Hermolao, Pythodorus alius cum Artemone, et singularis Aphrodisius Trallianus. Agrippae Pantheon decoravit Diogenes Atheniensis, in columnis templi eius Caryatides probantur inter paucum operum, sicut in fastigio posita signa sed propter altitudinem loci minus celebrata. in honous est nec in templo ullo Hercules ad quem Poeni omnibus annis humana sacrificaverant victima, humi stans ante aditum porticus ad nationes. sitae fuere et Thespiades ad aedem Felicitatis, quorum unam avavit eques Romanus Iunius Pisciculus, ut tradit Varro; admirator


191-195. Of these, the Lindian decree in honour of Athenodoros, 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, ['Ἀγήσανδρος Ἀγησάνδρου τοῦ Ἀθανοῦ]' Hudson, 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 Athenodoros inscriptions belonged to copies of his works.

§ 38. 2. replevere: rhetorical, cf. referiae in § 14; implect, 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).


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 ff., 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. in honorus est: rhetorical indignation; cf. in xxxiv, 89, the passage on the Bull of Phalaris.

wondrous coils of the snakes. So, too, on the Palatine, Κρατέρως and his colleague Πυθόδωρος, Πολυδευκής and Ηρμολάος, a second Πυθόδωρος and Αρτεμών, and Αφροδίσιος of Tralles, who worked alone, have filled the mansions of the Caesars with excellent statues. The sculptures of the Pantheon of Agrippa are by Διογένης 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 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

io. 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 profusa ex illo oppido [Thespias] 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 Cassins, 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. sue, 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 (Urlichs, Aresilais, 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 situs suere...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 Pasiteles: the reading is proved by the context Aresilaeum 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. Aresil. laudat et Pasiteles. On Pasiteles, see Introd. p. Ixxvii.
et Pasitelis, qui et quinque volumina scripsit nobilium operum in toto orbe. natus hic in Graeca Italiae ora et civitate Romana donatus cum his oppidis Iovem fecit eborum in Metelli aede qua campus petitur. accidit ei, cum in navalibus ubi ferae Africanae erant per caveam intuens leonem caelaret, ut ex alia cavea panthera erumperet non levi periculo diligentissimi artificis. fecisse opera complura dicitur, quae fecerit nominatim non refertur. Arcesilaum quoque magnificat Varro, cuius se marmoream habuisse leaenam aligerosque ludentis cum ea Cupidines, quorum alii reliatam tenerent, alii cornu cogerent bibere, alii calciarent soccis, omnes ex uno lapide. idem et a Coponio quattuordecim nationes qua sunt circa Pompeium factas auctor est. invenio et Canachum laudatum inter statuarios fecisse marmorea. nec Sauram atque Batrachum obliterari convenit qui fecere templum Octaviae porticibus inclusa natione ipsi Lacones. quidam et opibus praepotentes fuisse eos putant ac sua inspensa construxisse inscriptio nem sernantes, qua negata hoc tamen alio modo usurpasse. sunt

1. nobilium operum: the Greek title would be ηπετ ευβλεχω βργων. 

§ 40. 3. civitate ... oppidis: during the social war of B.C. 90–89, when by the Leges Italia 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. Introduct. 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 subjegated 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 in all the world. This artist was born on the Greek coast of 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 esteemed by Varro, who possessed a marble group by his hand 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 enclosed by the galleries of Octavia. Some say that they were 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.


14. Canachos: xxxiv, 50, 75. § 42. 15. Sauras atque Batrachos: names of animals were familiar in Greece as proper names (cf. Taïros, Ξείμως, Τέττις, Μύς, 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 Statiliius 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 inscalptae nominum eorum argumento lacerta atque rana. in Iovis aede ex iis pictura cultusque reliquus omnis femineis argumentis constat, erat enim facta Lunoni, sed, cum inferrentur signa, permutasse geruli traduntur, et id religione custoditum velut ipsis diis sedem ita partitis. ergo et in Lunonis aede cultus est qui Iovis esse debuit. sunt et in parvolis marmoreis famam consecuti Myrmecides, cuius quadrigam cum agitatore operuit alis musca, et Callicrates, cuius formicarum pedes atque alia membra pervidere non est.

§ 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.

§ 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.

7. parvolis marmoreis: a confusion of Pliny’s, who in vii, 85, mentions Myrm. and Kall. as workers in ivory.

8. Myrmecides: of Athens, according to Chioroboskos (quoted by Schol. to Dionysios Thrax = Overb. Schriftquell. 2194), or of Miletos (Ailian, noue. iot. 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 Chioroboskos (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 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.

This closes what I have to say of workers in marble and of the most famous sculptors.

a Nike, with Erotes at each side, belonging to the ear-pendant, Ant. du Bosphore Cimmérien, ed. Reinach, pl. xii, 5, 5°. Reinach (p. 4) justly sees in it a confirmation of the praises bestowed by the ancients on the μυρμηγεία 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).


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.

IDEM hic imperator edixit ne quis ipsum alius quam Apelles pingeret, quam Pyrgoteles scalperet, quam Lysippus ex aere duceret, quae artes pluribus inclaruere exemplis.

Aristidis Thebani pictoris unam tabulam centum talentis rex Attalus licitus est, octoginta emit duas Caesar dictator, Mediam et Aiacem Timomachi, in templo Veneris Geneticis dicaturus. Candaules rex Bularchi picturam Magnetum exiti, haud mediocris spati, pari rependit auro. Rhodum non incendit rex Demetrius expugnator cognominatus, ne tabulam Protogenis cremaret a parte ca muri locatam.

Praxiteles marmore nobilitatus est Gnidiaque Venere praeципue vesano amore cuiusdam iuvenis insigni, sed et Nicomedis aestimatione regis grandi Gnidiorum aere alieno permutare cam conati. Phidiae Iuppiter Olympius cotidie testimonium perhibet, Mentor Capitolinus et Diana Ephesia, quibus fuere consecrata artis eius vasa.

II.

Normam autem et libellam et tornum et clavem Theodorus Samius (sc. invenit).


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).


Book VII.

The emperor Alexander also issued an edict that none but 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 for a hundred talents [Ł21,000 circ.], and the dictator Caesar gave eighty [Ł16,800 circ.] for two by Timomachos, a Medea 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 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.

The rule and line, the lathe and lever, were invented by Theodoros of Samos.

8. Rhodum non incendit:

XXXV, 104.

§ 127. i. marmore nobilitatus:

XXXVI, 20; cf. XXXIV, 69 Prax.
quoque marmore feliciar.

14. Iuppiter Olympius: XXXIV,
III.

Picturam Aegypti et in Graecia Euchir Daedali cognatus ut Aristoteli placet, ut Theophrasto Polygnotus Atheniensis (sc. condere instituerunt).

IV.

Maxime aeternam putant hebenum et cupressum cedrums, claro de omnibus materiis iudicio in templo Ephesiae Dianae, utpote cum tota Asia exstruente CXX annis peractum 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 scripsere vitigineum et numquam mutatum septies restituto templo, hanc materiam elegisse Endoeon, etiam nomen artificis nuncupans, quod equidem miror, cum antiquiore Minerva quoque, non modo Libero patre, vetustatem ei tribuat.

V.

Arborum enim ramis coronari in sacris certaminibus mos erat primum. postea variare coeptum mixtura versicolori florum, quae invicem odores coloresque accenderet, Sicyone ingenio Pausiae pictoris atque Glycerae coroniae dilectae admodum illi, cum opera eius pictura imitaretur, illa provocans variaret, essetque certamen artis ac naturae, quales etiam nunc exstant artificis illius tabellae atque in primis appellata stephaneplocos qua pinxit ipsam.

II. Endoeon] Sillig; eandem con codices.
III.

Painting was first invented by the Egyptians, and introduced 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.

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 στέφανημιλέκος, or wreath-binder, a portrait of Glykera herself.
APPENDIX

VI.

Lemnius (sc. labyrinthus) similis illi columnis tantum CL memorabilior fuit, quarum in officina turbines ita librati pependerunt ut puero circumagente tornarentur. architecti fecerunt Zmilis et Rhoecus et Theodorus indigenae.

VII.

Graecae magnificentiae vera admiratio extat 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 CCCXXV 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.

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.

Pavimenta originem apud Graecos habent elaborata ante picturae ratione donec lithostrota expulere eam. celeberr-

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. lxxviii; 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.

The labyrinth of Lemnos is like that of Crete, 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 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 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 decorated with painting until mosaic took its place. The most
mus fuit in hoc genere Sosus qui Pergami stravit quem vocant asaroton oecon, quoniam purgamenta cenae in pavimentis quaeque everri solent velut relictà fecerat parvis et tessellis tinctisque in varios colores. mirabilis ibi columba bibens et aquam umbra capitis infusans. apricantur aliae scabentes sese in canthari labro.

X.

Polycratis gemma quae demonstratur intacta inlibataque est. Ismeniae aetate multos post annos appareat scalpi etiam smaragdos solitos. confirmat hanc eandem opinionem edictum Alexandri magni quo vetuit in hac gemma ab alio 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.

Al 8' elikones meche mpion plastike kal grafikey kal andrian-15 toponikhe isan, ovdē enoomizownto' Samvrion de tov Samion kal

is that of the Pronaos of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, Olympia, Baudenkm. ii, pl. cv (cf. ib. i, pl. ix). Mosaic came into general use in the time of the Dia- dochoi; 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. Statins 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 II 4281. 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 graved, 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 σφρηγς χρυσάδερος; it was reputed the work of Theodoros, cf. Pans. 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 ἀκάμαρος ὀικός, 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.

XI.

Images of the gods were not had in honour at all before the arts of modelling, of painting and of statuary were introduced,
catch here the echo of some artwriter who had contrasted the claims of island and mainland schools; cf. Introd. pp. xxiii, xxvi.

2. κόρης Κορινθίας: Plin. xxxv, 151.
3. αὐτοῦ κοιμώμενου: while in Pliny the lover is represented as going away.
4. η Κορίνθος: donee Mumm. 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.
5. ὁ δὲ Πύθιος ἔργων Θεοδώρου καὶ Τηλεκέως καὶ ὁ Δήλιος καὶ Ἡ Ἀρτεμις Τεκταίος καὶ Ἅγγελίωνος τέχνη, ἡ δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ Ἡρα καὶ ἐν Ἀργείᾳ Σμύλιδος χεῖρες καὶ Φειδίου τὰ λυπτά ἔδωλα ἡ Ἁφροδίτη (ἡ) ἐν Κυδῷ ἑτέρα Πραξιτέλους τέχνη, ὁ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ Ἀσκληπίου ἔργων Φειδίου. οὐκελάντα δέναι, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν διαὶ πέφευγεν τὸ μὴ ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων γεγονέαν. εἰ τοιῶν θεοῖ, τί οὐκ ἦσαν εἰς ὀρχῆς; τί δὲ εἰσὶν νεωτέροι τῶν πεποιηκότων; τί δὲ ἐδει αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι ἀνθρώπων καὶ τέχνης; γιὰ ταῦτα καὶ λίθου καὶ ὑλῆ καὶ περίεργος τέχνη.
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. ή Ἀρτέμις: known only from Athenagoras.

18. ή Ἄργες: this Argive Hera by Smilis is known only from Athenagoras; but see Brunn, K. G. i, p. 27.


20. Ἀσκληπιός: see Introd. p. liv, note 1.
ADDENDA
I. INTRODUCTION

Page xliii, 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* 15 = Fr. 65, Müller): 'Αντίμαχον δὲ τοῦ Κολοφωνίου καὶ Νικηράτου τινίς Ἡρακλείας παύμας Ανανίδρεω διαγωνισμένων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ (sc. Lysander) τὰν Νικήρατον ἐστεφάνωσεν, δὲ 'Αντίμαχοι ἄχθεσθεις ἡφάνισε τὸ ποίημα. Πλάτων δὲ νίος ὃν τότε καὶ θαν-μάξων τὸν Ἀντίμαχον ἐπὶ τῇ ποιητικῇ, βαρέως φέροντα τὴν ἤτταν ἀνελάμβανε καὶ παρεμβάλετο, 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 raised 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).

Ch. ii. 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.: ἰδοὺ δὲ φασὶν ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τὸν Κολώτην. οἱ δὲ πολυπραγμονήσαντες αποδύτῃ τὰ ἐν τοῖς πλασταῖς Πάρων ἀποφαίνουσιν ὡντα αὐτῶν, μαθητὴν Πασιτέλλου, Πασιτέλλην δὲ αὐτοδιδαχθηναι (Buttmann's reading for the αὐτὸν διδαχθῆναι 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 Seianion, Protogenes, Erigonos, and Lysippos of Duris, Passiteles is represented as having had no teacher; like Seianion, Erigonos and Pythagoras of Rhegion, he had one pupil. Passiteles 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
ADDENDA

note of Münzer’s, it has become plain to me that Duris must be held responsible for the tradition that represented Alkamenes as a native of Lemnos (Ἀλκαμένης; Souidas, s. v. 'Ἀλκαμένης' ; νησίων, 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 'Ἄθηναῖος. 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 Hagelaidas tradition: the same scholion on Aristoph. Frogs, 504, which names Hagelaidas as the master of Pheidias, also contains a mistake concerning the Herakles Alexikakos of Hagelaidas; this same untrustworthy scholion is the source for the information of Tzetzes and Souidas (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’ Schillerverhältniss zu dem Athen 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. i (Class. Rev. viii, 1894, p. 70) I have drawn attention elsewhere (ib. p. 171, note 1).

P. lix. The story of the angry artist and the sponge is told by Dio Chrysostom (Or. Ixiii, 4 = Schriftqiu. 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. lixii. 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. lii). 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. 8, 2. crustarius: there are superb examples of ἱμβυχύνα 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 emblema appears in the shape of a bust in full relief, soldered to a silver plate.
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P. 8, 19. Distichiorum pedibus fulcrisque: that the fulcra 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 Xenombrotos of Kos (ib. no. 170; Paus. vi, 14, 12) the τοῖος ὁποῖον ὅρας of the fifth line proves that the statue was iconic; yet the epigram and the silence of Pausanias both show that X. was no τρισολυμπιόνης.

P. 16, 13. elefanti: 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 aoptut
Quot luces 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 nascit].) 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 a serious fact, giving rise not only to the statements in Varro and Pliny, but to the improved version in Diogenes that some of these statues were erected to Demetrios in a period less than a year: εἰκόνων ἡειβατη χαλκῶν ἕξικοντα πρὸς ταῖς τριακοσίαις, ὡν αἱ πλέον ἐφ' ἑπτούν ἵεαν καὶ ἀρμάτων καὶ συνωρίδων, συντελεσθείσαι εἰν οὖν τριακοσίαις ἡμέραις.—Cornelius Nepos, Militades, 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. Gelius, Noct. Att. iii, 10, 1; 11, 7), beneath a portrait of Demetrios; see Bormann, loc. cit.

P. 28, 18. Rhodii etiamnum: the passage from Jerome is referred by Mommsen (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 Zenodorus' 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 Zenodorus. 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 Quinctilian several hons motis 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
Quinctilian 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: G. Gardner, Handbook of Greek Sculpture, p. 192,
proposes to read the 'Αγελαίδα of I. G. B. 30 (bathron of Praxiteles) as
δ'Αγελαίδα, and, accordingly, takes the name of the Argive master to have
been Agelaidas. The form Hagelaidas (Greek Hagelaidas), which we print
in the translation, is also retained by Dittenberger and Purgold, Inschr. 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; Ditten-
berger and Purgold in Inschriften von Olympia, col. 647, where see literature.

P. 38, 1. Asopodoros: for the inscription on the bathron of Praxiteles, see
now Inschr. von Olympia, 630, 631, where Dittenberger and Purgold rightly
reject Röhl's proposed identification of the Plinian Asopodoros and Athenodoros
with the artists of the bathron.

P. 38, 2. Clitorium: Paus. x, 9, 7, όντοι (sc. 'Αθην. καὶ 'Δαμαδ) δὲ 'Αρκάδας
ἐλθιν εἰς Κλείτορος.

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,

P. 40, 1. Date of Seilanion: Furtwängler, Statuenköpfe 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 Amphiarao 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 port-
raits of Plato as copies after an original by Seilanion (Helbig, Class. Ant.
265, p. 183 f.), and adopt Furtwängler’s identification of the Theseus at Ine-
Blundell Hall (Statuenköpfe, pl. ii, iii, iv. p. 559 ff.) as a copy of the Theseus
of Seilanion (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 Seilanion in
Pliny’s chronology, the mention of Seilanion having been loosely tacked on by
a later hand to the old Xenokratic chronology, Introd. p. xlix, note 2.

P. 40, 2. Zeuxiaden: the identity of the portraitist of Hypereides with the
pupil of Seilanion is, however, doubtful, cf. Introd. p. lili.

P. 42, 4. formae cognomen = lit. ‘the surname of beauty’; for formae = beauty,
cf. below § 78, cliduchon eximia formae; 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 Μορφά, which occurs as an epithet of Aphrodite at
Sparta (Paus. iii, 15, 8). Other conjectures are καλλίμορφος and καλλιστη.
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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 *astragalizentes* of Polykleitos as the Dioscrui (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 Kairoi of Lysippos (*Schrifigu. 1463–1467*), further, to have been described by some Greek writer as γυμνὸς ἀστραγάλῳ ἐπιεύμονος where Pliny then translated the ἐπιεύμονος in its alternative sense of 'advancing' or 'pursuing.' But in that case *telo incessens* could only mean *advancing towards* or *pursuing a knuckle-bone*, 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. Bamberg. seems to be: in titi imperis atrio duo (see our facsimile); inclito 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 Loeschcke's proposed emendation of *pristas* to *pyctas*—an emendation, however, which threatens to come into favour again.

P. 48, 14. *puerum... tabellam* : for the motive Reisch (*l. c.*) compares the vase in Munich (Cat. 51), Benndorf, *Griechische u. Sicilische Vasenbilder*, 1, 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 *Introductio*, 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. Lincel*), vol. vi, 1895.

P. 60, 1. *Portrait of Perikles* : Blümner and Hitzig (*Pausanias*, p. 307) remark that the word *δρόπας*, used by Pausanias (i, 25, 1), does not apply to a terminal bust. Cf. further Bernoulli in *Jahrb.* xi, 1896, p. 107 f.
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P. 60, 3. Minervam mirabilem...et aram: while still proposing to see a copy of this Athena in the 'Pallas de Vellueti' 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, Statuskopiern 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 Cephisodoros to Cephisodotus.


P. 66, 7. Hermaphrodite of Polykles: the Berlin statue (193) is now published by Furtwängler, Statuskopiern, pl. xii, who sees in it a copy of the work of Polykles (ib. p. 582 ff.).

P. 68, 3. nec hominem ex aere facit, 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. Theodorus: 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, 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 Renascence 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
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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 Plotos 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. 74, 2. tubicene: cf. Urlich, 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. 264 ff.) applies to the 'dying Gaul' of the Capitol, and not to the Plinian tubicen.

P. 74, 2. matri interfectae: that this was a Gaulish woman seems to have been first suggested by Urlich, loc. cit.; on the whole subject of these works by Epigonos see G. Habich, Die Amasonengruppe des Attalischen Weihgeschenks (Eine Studie zur Pergamenischen Kunstgeschichte), Berlin, 1896, p. 14 ff.

P. 78, 8. Scopas ueterque: G. Habich, Die Amasonengruppe, p. 66, note 2, is of opinion that scopas refers to the works of art made by each of two artists (ueterque), 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.


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. Ivii.

P. 108, 7. Herakles strangling the snakes in presence of Alkmena and Amphitryon. The vase-painting in the Brit. Mus. (T. 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 Βραχώρες = short, thick-set or stubby. 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... articularisque grandior is plainly Xenokratic in its origin (Intro. 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. ixiii 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.
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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. Medea 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 Medea by Timomachos. The single figure of Medea, 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. 162. Alcides 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, Statuenkupien, 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 Arndt (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, i, 5; ib. 10, 3 (Hermeraces). 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 Taniskos.

P. 208, 1. 4. Venerem lavantem se... Polycharmus: 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 sedaedalsas 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.
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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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