



GREEK SCULPTURE

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Greek Sculpture

ITS SPIRIT AND ITS PRINCIPLES



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Dipylon Head, Dipylon, Athens, c. 600 B.C. Marble, h: 44 cm. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

INTRODUCTION

The study of Greek sculpture was unknown two hundred and fifty years ago. Winckelmann¹ was the first to study it, and to publish a book on the subject in 1755. The excavations in Pompeii and Herculaneum, the removal of the Parthenon sculptures to London by Lord Elgin, and above all, the regeneration of Greece and the subsequent rich finds in her soil, added zest to the continually growing interest in this new study.

In the eighteenth century people were unable to properly judge ancient art because they possessed few originals and were obliged to look through the spectacles of a later Roman civilisation. Animated by a scientific spirit, people of the nineteenth century probed deeper. The spade of the excavator brought long-forgotten treasures to light; scholars trained in the severe school of philology arranged and classified the material, and little or nothing was left to the art critic. The subject, on the whole, was in the hands of the scientific archaeologists, who presented it in more or less exhaustive histories of Greek sculpture or Greek art. All their books follow the historic development. They are histories of ancient artists.

Such a treatment of the subject, although bringing order out of the preceding century's chaos, made a clear understanding of the spirit of Greek sculpture impossible; for it overburdened the books with such facts as are interesting only to the specialist for use in further discoveries, and cannot legitimately appeal to the artistic public. The archaeological discussions, therefore, largely account for the present neglect of ancient art on the part of artists and intelligent laymen. The eighteenth-century writers generalised without sufficient facts at their disposal; the nineteenth-century scholars collected the facts, and it therefore becomes our duty today to present the lessons which can be learned from them and to introduce the reader to the spirit and the principles of Greek sculpture.

The spirit of Greek sculpture is synonymous with the spirit of sculpture. It is simple, and therefore defies definition. We may feel it, but we cannot express it. The reason it has lost its power today is that we have listened to what has been said about it instead of coming into contact with it. No amount of book knowledge makes up for the lack of familiarity with original pieces of sculpture. "Open your eyes, study the statues, look, think, and look again," is the precept to all who would learn to know Greek sculpture. Some introductory assistance and guidance, to be sure, should be accepted; they clear one's mind of prevailing misconceptions. Suggestions in this direction, however, often do more than exhaustive discussions, for they stimulate individual, thought.

Rapidity of Growth

Greek sculpture was of remarkably rapid growth, developing under conditions, generally believed, to be unfavourable. Few countries ever underwent such rapid changes as Greece, for the suddenness with which the Mycenaean civilisation was swept away, perhaps by the Dorians, is unequalled in history. The three or four centuries following upon the Dorian invasion (about 1000 B.C.) – the dark middle ages of Greece – were full of violent political upheavals; and the whole of the historic period of Greece was characterised by unsettled conditions. States rose and fell with startling rapidity. Athens was an

insignificant community before the time of Peisistratos, and is hardly mentioned in the Homeric poems (about 800 B.C.). Her ascendancy dates from the Persian wars (490-480 B.C.), but before the century closed, her glory had faded. Alexander the Great came to the throne in 336 B.C.; he carried his standards to India, and when he died Macedonia was no longer destined to be a world power. Pergamon came into prominence in 241 B.C. under Attalos I, and disappeared as a major power in 133 B.C. America is thought of as a new country, but is almost as old as Greece was when absorbed by Rome; and more years have elapsed since the American Declaration of Independence than intervened between the rise and fall of Athens.

The Triumph of the Few

Peace and leisure are commonly believed to be the prerequisites for a period of great art. They surely are, but should not be understood to refer only to external conditions. Revealing is not the people's surroundings but their state of mind; nor is it necessary that all share the blessing of a noble character. The fervour of the few has often achieved the triumphs of a nation. It is a mistake to credit all the Athenians, or even the majority of them, with an artist's love of the beautiful. The petty, unjust middle-class man, as he appears in Aristophanes's comedies and in Plato's dialogues, with his narrow horizon and jealous prejudices, does not explain the sudden rise of Athens, though he may, and probably does, account for her rapid fall. It was in spite of him and his fellows that Athens gained her superiority.

In the field of art, therefore, the importance of the individual artists cannot be overestimated. Sir Robert Ball² is on record as saying that scientific discoveries follow the law of necessity, though they may be hastened by the presence of big men. If Watt had not discovered the power of steam, some one else would have, and several men were ready to announce to the world Darwin's theory of the survival of the fittest. "But," Sir Robert added, "what would the world of music be, if Beethoven had not lived?" What is true of music is true also of sculpture, or of any of the thought-expressing fine arts. Some of the noblest Greek statues would never have been created if Phidias had not lived. "Dost thou not know," exclaims an ancient writer, "that there is a Praxitelean head in every stone?" But, it may be added, it takes a Praxiteles to bring it out. Only after the confusing mass of encasing rock has been hewn away does the head reveal its meaning. Most of us, to understand a thought, need its expression. The reality of the thought, however, cannot be denied even when no expression has been vouchsafed it, for it is independent of our conception of it.

Small Range of Simple Ideas

The realm of thoughts expressed in Greek sculpture was circumscribed and far removed from the complexity of modern times. A few simple ideas well expressed form the charm of Greek art. Adequacy of expression, indeed, has at times been considered an essential part of Greek art; and many have



Kore, Delos, c. 525-500 B.C. Marble, h: 134 cm.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

spoken of Shelley, Keats, Hölderlin, and others, as Greek, not because these men thought as the ancients did but because they knew how to express their feelings adequately. They were Greek, however, only in part, for they lacked the second quality of ancient art – simplicity. True simplicity with human beings is rarely spontaneous. The beauty of the Parthenon is the result of much clear thinking and right feeling. It was, therefore, understood by all, and became in the very year of its completion, as Plutarch says, a classic.

The Appeal of a Work of Art

The power to appeal to all classes of men is given but few artists, for it requires not only great skill but also a sympathetic knowledge of human nature. This fact is often overlooked. People forget that the appeal of a work of art is directed to the higher faculties of man but that it is made through his eyes. Few things are seen just as they are. The house that we think we see is very different from the pyramidal image of the house that appears on the retina of our eye. The only reason why we are not misled is that we are thoroughly familiar with the house. No such familiarity can be supposed to exist with the work of art. The discrepancy between the imagined object and its realistic representation must be taken into consideration and allowances be made for the peculiarities of human vision. The artist is not permitted to forget that in order to convey his thoughts he borrows shapes from *objective* nature, and that he makes his appeal to human perception, that is *subjective* nature. He will select of all possible subjects only those that are readily understood, and carve them in a way that is calculated to meet the requirements of the human power of perception. The moral and intellectual development of a race, therefore, requires changes in the selection of suitable subjects and also in the mode of their representation.

Periods of Greek Sculpture

The Greeks worked along these lines. It is therefore not astonishing that their sculpture can be divided into periods corresponding to the various stages in their civilisation. The spirit of their art never changed. Not all sculptors, to be sure, were invariably true to it. However correct their ideas were, they could not help giving them an individual interpretation. This makes it necessary to distinguish between what a sculptor meant to do and what he actually did. Just here the archaeological treatment of ancient art has erred most. The detail which in the process of creation has detached itself from the whole has been considered by many to be the expression of a new conception. Is this a mistake? The Athenian tendencies to over-elaboration, for instance, and the Polykleitean neglect of the nobler side of human nature, are only periodic aberrations. They are entirely outside the even spirit of Greek sculpture, and find their explanation in the passing likes and dislikes of a few men.

Such instances of undue attention paid to one detail or another inevitably left their impact upon subsequent art expression. Their influence, however, would have been greater if they had been the intentional introduction of a new concept, and not merely the accidental exaggeration of a minor element. It is well worth noticing that the impressive delicacy of early Athenian sculpture was followed by Phidias, and that Polykleitos, with his disregard of man's noblest side, is immediately superseded by Praxiteles and Skopas, who were the greatest masters in the expression of the passions of the human soul.



Draped Woman seated, tombstone (fragment), c. 400 B.C. Marble, h: 122 cm.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Male Torso, copy after a bronze original by Polykleitos, the "Diadoumenos", created around 440 B.C.
Marble, h: 111 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Farnese Herakles, copy after a Greek original of the 5th century B.C. Marble, h: 313 cm.
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.



FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

Greek Sculpture in its Relation to Nature : The Mental Image

Greek sculpture exhibits a quality which is strongly opposed to what is termed realism. Since realism and idealism are opposites, Greek sculpture has often been called idealistic. The realist in art endeavours to represent nature as it really is, with all its accidentals and incidentals, and is often so far carried away by these minor quantities that he is unable to catch the true, though fleeting, essence of the object. The idealist consciously disregards the apparent details, spending his effort in emphasising the idea which he finds embodied in the object selected for representation. Both men work from the visible objects of nature, which they try to reproduce. Not so the Greeks.

Everyone has what may be styled a mental image or a memory picture of his familiar surroundings. To represent these mental images accurately was the aim of the Greeks. They endeavoured to make real their ideas, and are therefore realists rather than idealists. But since both these terms are presently applied to the classes of people mentioned above, it is confusing to use them in speaking of the ancient Greeks. This is also true of the modern use of the word “*elimination*,” by which most writers mean “an *intentional* omission or suppression of details”. The absence of unnecessary details in Greek sculpture was not due to conscious eclecticism, but to the fact that such details have no place in one’s mental images.

The mental image or the memory picture is the impression left upon one after seeing a great many objects of the same type. It is in the nature of the Platonic idea, purified and freed from all individual or accidental ingredients. At times it may even be strangely at variance with a particular object of the class to which it belongs. The human memory is a peculiarly uncertain faculty, and in its primitive stage, though quick to respond, very inaccurate. The shape of a square sheet of paper is readily remembered, and so is a pencil or any other uniform and simple object. Our mental image of an animal is less distinct. We remember the head and the legs and the tail, and perhaps the body, if it is a prominent part, as in the case of a dog or a horse; but all these parts are *unconnected*, and if a child, for instance, is asked to draw a man, he will remember the head and arms and legs, but will not know how to join them together. His mental image of the man as a whole is too indistinct to guide him. In nature the several parts are united in easily flowing curves – they *grow* together; in our mental image they are simply *put* together.

This process of putting together is entirely unconscious, causing us little concern unless we are compelled to reproduce it on paper or in stone, and are forced to compare it with the actual objects about us. Professor Löwy³ cites

a remarkable instance of a perverse mental image on the part of the crude Brazilian draughtsmen who were much impressed by the mustaches of the Europeans and represented them as growing on the foreheads instead of on the upper lips. In the mental image the upper lip is unimportant, while the broad stretch of the forehead fills a more prominent place. It is on the forehead, therefore, that the moustache was introduced, despite its being contrary to nature and proven wrong with even the hastiest glance.

It is not necessary, however, to go so far afield in order to realise the peculiar pranks of mental images. Let the reader call to mind pictures of horses, dogs, flies, lizards, and the like. Horses and dogs he will see in profile; lizards and flies from above. If he is shown one of the recent posters of racing horses from above, such a view does not at once agree with his memory image, and requires a special mental effort to be understood, however accurate it may be. The same is true of the picture of a fly in profile or, perhaps, a dog seen from the front. Neither of these pictures immediately conveys to him the idea of the animal represented, though it probably is more like this particular view of the animal than his own distorted mental image.

On general principles our mental images of familiar objects ought to be the more distinct. This is, however, not always the case. When we see an animal the first time we carefully observe it; with every succeeding view we give it less attention, and by and by the most cursory glance satisfies us. Ultimately, we carry away with us a mental image the haziness of which in the lack of details corresponds to the lack of attention we finally bestow upon it. Expressed in drawing it will be far removed from, and little resemble the animal whose mental image, penned through nature, has become so familiar as to cease being of interest. When a primitive draughtsman sketches a wild beast he is apt to show much more individuality than when he is representing his own kind. The features of the Egyptians on ancient Egyptian wall paintings and reliefs are distinctly less characteristic than those of the Keftiu, or Oriental Captives, often introduced, and both fall far short of the excellence with which animals are represented.

No mental image is ever reproduced on paper or stone as it actually is. The very attention bestowed on it in the endeavour to realise it, robs it of much of its spontaneity; and since it is the result of *unconsciously* observing a great many objects, it will, when consciously expressed, exhibit many gaps and hazy lines of connection, which the artist must fill as best he can.

Another reason why all mental images cannot be accurately reproduced is that the laws of the physical universe to which the objects belong have no binding force in the world of mental images. Löwy cites as an instance of this the fact that the memory picture of a man in profile may, and with primitive people does, contain two eyes. You cannot, however, draw them

Pensive Athena, Acropolis, Athens, c. 470-460 B.C. Marble, h: 54 cm. Acropolis Museum, Athens.



*The "Auxerre Kore", c. 640-630 B.C. Limestone, h: 75 cm.
Musée du Louvre, Paris.*

*Kore, Ex-voto offered by Nicandré, Delos Sanctuary, c. 650 B.C.
Marble, h: 175 cm. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.*



Cleobis and Biton, Ex-voto, Apollo Sanctuary, Delphi, c. 590-580 B.C.
Marble, h: 218 and 216 cm. Archaeological Museum, Delphi.



*Kore 671, Acropolis, Athens, c. 520 B.C. Marble, h: 177 cm.
Acropolis Museum, Athens.*

*Kore 593, Acropolis, Athens, c. 560-550 B.C. Marble, h: 99.5 cm.
Acropolis Museum, Athens.*

both in your picture because of the limitation of space, and are therefore compelled to deviate from your mental image.

Such instances compel the primitive artist to turn to nature for information. This he can do in two ways – either by observing more thoughtfully, and thus gaining a clearer mental image, or by actually copying the missing parts from a model. The latter way, natural though it may seem, is not so readily resorted to as the first, probably because it would introduce an entirely different quality into the work – the individual instead of the type. It is, moreover, well-known that children gifted with pencil and clever at drawing are often unable to make an intelligible copy of a definite model.

The primitive artist is the interpreter of his people's general tendencies. When he for the first time expresses his and their mental images, such copies serve a significant end in the development of the race. If its people are sincere and imbued with a search for truth, the accuracy or inaccuracy of these embodied mental images will be checked by unconscious comparisons with natural objects, resulting in a readjustment of initially incorrect mental images. The new ideas will again be expressed by some later artist, and the process of readjustment will be repeated. This was the case with the Greeks. The period of historic Greek art was short, yet sufficiently long to enable the Greeks to advance to the point where mental images of objects suitable for presentation in sculpture are so delicate that pressing them is almost identical with copying nature.

The development in Greece was diametrically opposed to what took place, for instance, in Egypt or Assyria. The earliest art expressions in these countries were far ahead of the crude attempts by the Greeks. But instead of using them to clarify memory concepts, their people remained satisfied with them, with subsequent generations content to view them as binding prototypes. Egyptian or Assyrian statuary in later times cannot claim to be the genuine expression of those people's ideals. While we may examine a Greek statue and learn of the moral and intellectual attitude of the Greeks at the time it was made, we cannot do the same with an Egyptian or Assyrian relief – at least not to the same extent. This is also largely true of sculpture in modern times. The modern artist has the entire wealth of ancient and Renaissance sculpture at his disposal, and is often willing to copy or adapt their types, making only such alterations as the tastes of his own time imperatively demand. American sculpture, for instance, beautiful as it is in some of its phases, shows a rapid and most remarkable increase in skill, but can hardly be said to reveal the gradual development of the ideals of the people.

It has so far been tacitly assumed that the skill of the artist at any given time enabled him to accurately present his mental images. This was, however, not always the case with the Greeks. Their unusually spirited mental development was such that the technical skill of the artists could not keep pace with it, and until the autumn days of their art generally fell short of their ideals. As soon as a representational problem was solved, the increasing accuracy of the mental images presented another; and when all the problems of the limited range of subjects first represented had found their



*Kore 685, Acropolis, Athens, c. 500-490 B.C. Marble, h: 122 cm.
Acropolis Museum, Athens.*



Capitoline Venus, Roman copy after a Greek original by Praxiteles around the 3rd century B.C. Marble, h: 193 cm. Musei Capitolini, Rome.

solutions, new subjects were urgently clamouring for representation. The end of Greek sculpture may have come when all technical problems were resolved and the people's mental degeneration made them unwilling to accept the moral and religious views of the new era, leaving them with few worthy ideas to express.

Imperfection of, or excellence in skill, however, have other influences. Since mental images are the involuntary result of frequent exposure to great objects, they are influenced as well by the numerous statues of men as by men themselves. This is especially true of modern times when Puritanical disregard for the body has created a state of affairs where it is sometimes difficult to form intelligent ideas of the human body except from statues and pictures. Often, nobility of mind and body are closely connected, and since the noblest people are rarely found among professional models; for this reason bodies are rarely represented. Coarseness of some nudes in modern art can perhaps be explained by artists feeling obliged to copy the best models obtainable, instead of forming their own refined mental images through observation of the noblest bodies.

The effect of statues upon the mental images of the Greeks was probably less powerful than it is with us, since the Greeks were more familiar with nude bodies, both male and female. They had, however, infinitely more statues, and could not possibly remain entirely uninfluenced by them.

An artist, therefore, firstly expresses the ideas of his people, and by so doing influences them for better or worse. The next artist endeavouring to express the mental images of his contemporaries finds them no longer the primitive product of a crude observation of nature, but instead a combination of the original conceptions and new ideas. These new ideas are due partly to the impressions received from the first artist's work and partly to the general change that has taken place in the character of the people, owing to their moral and intellectual advance.

The rapid growth of Greek sculpture is undeniable; the primary aim of the artists, however, seems always to have been the same — to represent truly the clearest mental images of the time.

The Appeal of Greek Sculpture

Even the most extreme type of materialists admits that a world of bare facts and dry bones is uninteresting and unnecessary. Thoughts that come in evening's stillness are real, and few men faced with a forest's majestic solitude remain indifferent; they come away awed by greater forces beyond the reach of their eyes. Such observations are as true of one's most familiar surroundings as of the rare moments in every one's life. Our friends mean more to us than the mere pleasure we obtain from observation. In fact, we seldom examine them truly. One glance suffices to relate their presence, and after this first glimpse our enjoyment becomes almost entirely psychical.

This does not, however, exclude enjoying the physical pleasure in seeing them, particularly if their body lines glide easily and rhythmically over our eyes. What holds true for friends is also true of lesser-known persons, even strangers. Seeing them means a great deal more than seeing a table or a chair, for these objects generally suggest nothing beyond what is actually seen. No thoughtful person can see an individual without coming — to some extent — in contact with his personality. Thus, a picture provoking admiration for its



Crouching Venus, Roman copy after a Greek original from the 1st-2nd century B.C.
Marble, h: 96 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Statue of Dr. Sombrotidès, Megara, c. 550 B.C.
Marble, h: 119 cm. Archaeological Museum, Syracuse.

Calf Bearer (Moschophoros), Acropolis, Athens, c. 560 B.C.
Marble, h: 165 cm. Acropolis Museum, Athens.

perfect technique is valuable as a work of art only if it conveys an idea. An object's external appearance may appeal to us visually, but its spiritual essence must strike our imaginations. This vision is a purely physical faculty; the imagination, a noble acquisition of humanity. Enjoyment of one is not, however, wholly independent of the other, for the intricacies of human nature are such that it is impossible to say where the one begins and the other ends. The artist, therefore, must consider both, and since his appeal to the imagination is made through the senses, he must studiously avoid all friction with them. This is perfectly in keeping with the experience of great poets, who cannot successfully transmit their thoughts unless they refrain from offending the ear by harsh cadences.

That the Greek sculptors worked along these lines is clear, for many peculiarities of their art find their explanation only if this is understood. The Greeks always had in mind the nobler side of man, although they were well aware that to impress this noble side required a certain sacrifice in gratifying man's physical nature. A work of art fails to carry its message if unpleasant to look upon. To credit the ancients, on the other hand, with a logical interpretation and knowledge of all the principles which they followed, is a mistake; the most refined people do the proper things unconsciously.

Modern artistic standards vary; the observer's individuality is often overpowered by the individuality of the artist, and the complexity of modern times has forced claims of simple human nature into the background where it's almost forgotten. In antiquity these claims were of great importance. Before attempting, therefore, to judge the allowances made to them by the Greeks, it is necessary to see what they are.

Often at the unveiling of commemorative statues one hears comments that the sculptor had done well in capturing the characteristic pose of the dead and that the statue looked just like the person it commemorated; one could almost believe one saw the man himself; in short, the statue was a great work of art. The statue may indeed be a great work of art, but not for these reasons, for most of them are applicable to any fine figure in the Eden Musée⁴, where wax policemen guard the entrance and waxen smiths work the bellows.

Few people would be willing to call such figures great works of art. The average wax figure, while it accurately reproduces the material body of a person, disregards his personality. It momentarily tricks vision, and makes no appeal to man's higher faculties; as a suggestive work of art it fails. If a man wants a physical memento of his friend, he places a statue or a bust of him in his study, not a wax figure. A good portrait is better than a photograph, though the latter is generally a more accurate copy of the material body. Neither the photograph nor the wax figure transmits the spirit of life primarily representing the man. Art seeks the man, with all his thoughts, not a mechanical reproduction of his body's lines. The sculptor works in stone or bronze, and the questions arise: Does he have the means at his disposal to satisfy the requirements of art? What are these means?

The first question may unhesitatingly be answered in the affirmative; for the Greek sculptors, and some great men after them, have demonstrated the existence of such means. The second question is less readily answered, because the means are not only different for different subjects, and different according to the various standards of the ethnic group, but also so subtle that they can hardly be expressed in words – they must be felt. It is therefore not only impossible, but also perhaps needlessly presumptuous, to enumerate all



Silenus with the Infant Dionysos, Hellenistic copy after a Greek original from the 4th century B.C. Marble, h: 190 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Apollo and Marsyas, statue base, Mantinea, c. 330-320 B.C. Marble, h: 97 cm. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

the means at the disposal of the sculptor – for who would dare to prescribe to the genius of a great artist? However, it may be profitable to point out certain things the Greeks avoided in meeting the claims of an art that appeals to human nature. The near total absence of subjects taken from inanimate nature is one of the most noticeable traits of Greek sculpture. The principle: sculpture ought to represent nothing but living things. Says Ruskin⁵: “You must carve nothing but what has life. “Why?” you probably feel inclined to ask. “Must we refuse every pleasant accessory and picturesque detail and petrify nothing but living creatures?” Even so: I would not assert it on my own authority. It is the Greeks who say this, and be assured whatever they say of sculpture is true!”⁶ He and most art teachers let the matter rest there. But this is neither wise nor just. Unless a man sees the correctness of a principle he ought not to accept it, not even on the authority of the Greeks. Fortunately for us it is not difficult to see why the Greeks avoided inanimate matter in sculpture, for the principle which guided them in this respect is at the very foundation of their art.

Since a work of art may be considered nonexistent unless beheld by human eyes, the danger is ever present of having the spectator’s consciousness centred in his purely physical faculty of sight. To avoid this the Greeks made use of certain devices or “conventions,” that satisfied the claims of vision without curtailing the scope given over to the higher human faculties of thought or imagination. Reproducing the mental image of the

object rather than the object itself achieved this. Care was taken, however, that the reproduction should be neither so completely like the original as to challenge, after the first momentary deception, immediate comparison, nor so unlike the original that it should fail to bear strong points of resemblance; in both cases eyesight would have rendered this disproportional.

The sculptor, it may be remarked by way of digression, must observe these principles much more carefully than the painter, because painting, which is restricted to two dimensions – whereas all objects of nature have three – does not run the danger of deceiving our vision. Sculpture, representing not only the object’s appearance, but also its bodily form, may easily make such a forceful appeal to vision that it fails to attain its goal.

By representing inanimate objects in corporal form the sculptor must confront practically insurmountable obstacles. Generally speaking, such objects offer little inspiration in appealing to man’s nobler self; thus, their pure and simple form convey importance. But since they are represented in full bodily form, even the slightest deviation from their actual appearance attracts notice – here there is no work of art because there is no appeal to the imagination. On the other hand, the very excellence of a truthful representation challenges the vision to make a comparison – again there is no work of art. Only when living people are represented does the specific character, not its outer form, attract attention. This appeals to vision through the higher mental faculties, for consciously or not, we tend to read character

in human bodies; and this cannot be done by the merely exercising vision. For this reason, viewing the statue of a man makes eyesight less consciously active than the imagination. The best art ceases to be an interesting visual object altogether, making its appeal immediately to the imagination. Artists at all times have striven to accomplish this. The realistic reproduction of nature never does it; neatness of workmanship alone is useless in this respect. Like the Greeks, only those paying full attention to the peculiar needs of physical human nature achieve it. Impossible in sculpture – unless living creatures are represented.

Contrast enhances the idea of life. The ancient Greeks, therefore, introduced as accessories lifeless objects into their compositions. Ruskin states the principles governing the use of such secondary subjects: “Nothing must be represented in sculpture external to any living form which does not help to enforce or illustrate the conception of life. Both dress and armour may be made to do this and are constantly so used by the greatest, but, “Ruskin adds, using an instance of modern sculpture, though his inferences are equally true of Greek art,” note that even Joan of Arc’s armour must be only sculptured, *if she has it on*; it is not the honourableness or beauty of it that are enough, but the direct bearing of it by her body. You might be deeply, even pathetically, interested by looking at a good knight’s dented coat of mail, left in his desolate hall. May you sculpture it where it hangs? No; the helmet for his pillow, if you will – no more.”

But how can such a helmet be sculptured, or how must the armour be treated if the hero has it on? Shall we represent it as accurately as possible? Suppose we do, and suppose the statue we make is of bronze; then there is no reason why the result should not be a second armour so much like the one the hero wore that our vision is deceived into seeing the armour itself. But how about the person that wore it? His bronze statue reproduces the sculptor’s mental image of his personality – it cannot be the man; the quality of the accessory is different from that of the figure itself.

The one is what it appears to be; the other cannot appear to be what it is meant to represent, because the contrast between the real armour and the man’s lifeless form awakens the thought that he is not real. “But,” an objector exclaims, “if the armour shouldn’t be made just like its prototype, the sculptor surely ought not carve it altogether unlike it.” Certainly not; if he did, its being too little like a coat of mail would immediately attract the spectator’s attention, and his ever alert vision would overplay the work’s true purpose.

How fully the Greeks appreciated these details is perhaps best illustrated in the draperies of their statues, which always *appear* real without being correct. Nobody has yet been able to demonstrate from the statues the accuracy of this theory on ancient costumes gleaned from the study of literary descriptions and vase paintings. The painters often attained a fairly accurate rendering of the garment, the sculptors never. They not only took great liberties with those pieces of drapery they represented, but even omitted entire garments. A statue of Sophokles, now in the Lateran Museum, for instance, is represented as wearing only the outer costume or overcoat, while it is well known from literature that gentlemen never appeared in public in quite so scanty attire. With one or two exceptions, the warriors from the pediments of the temple of Aegina, are completely nude (pp. 122-123); they have gone into battle with helmets on their heads and shields on their arms, but without a single piece of fabric. The Greeks never

entered battle in this way, either at the time the marbles were carved, or at the time the statues commemorate, or at any other time. Such a partial or complete omission of the cloth can hardly be explained as the unconscious reproduction of a mental image; while the actual treatment of the drapery, as it appears, for instance, in the Nike of Paionios (p. 88) or on the Parthenon frieze (pp. 164 to 177), probably is more or less unconscious. Many modern writers use the word “elimination” in speaking of Greek drapery; but this is a mistake, because elimination implies the *studied* omission of *details*, and cannot account either for the omission of *entire* garments or the *unconscious* treatment of actually sculptured costumes.

The eclecticism in Greek drapery may be called one of the devices or “conventions” of Greek sculpture, and may serve to prove that such conventions do not hold good for all times. When Greenough⁷ carved his large statue of George Washington in the national Capitol, he omitted the drapery on the upper part of the body, obviously with the intention of drawing the observer’s attention away from the dress to the person who wearing it. In this respect he clearly followed the practices of the Greeks, in particular the pattern set by Phidias in his colossal Zeus in Olympia. The Greeks might omit drapery with impunity, for they were as a race intensely fond of the nude. Greenough, imitating them in the face of pronounced racial and religious prejudices against the nude, committed the unpardonable mistake of copying not the spirit of a past art but its accidental expression. Instead of accomplishing his end by omitting the drapery, he achieved the opposite, for the cloth is “conspicuous by its very absence.”

The same considerate spirit which prompted the Greeks to deviate from nature in representing drapery shows itself also in their treatment of rocks, trees, and the like in marble reliefs. Marble is rock, and nothing is easier than to reproduce the rock accurately, so that the result is not only a picture of the rock, but really a second piece of rock. If this had been done, for instance, on the marble base from Mantinea (p. 22), the contrast between the actual rock and the representation of Apollo sitting on it would have deprived the god of all semblance of reality. Similar observations may be made with the trees on the frieze of the Athena-Nike temple in Athens, or the stepping-stones on the frieze of the Parthenon.

These instances suffice to show the general attitude of the Greek sculptors towards the public. The public – and of course artists belong to the public – are not automatic inspection machines, but rather human beings, complex and inconsistent creatures. Entitled to consideration, they received it at the hands of the ancient artists.

Moreover, the Greeks gladly gave it; to them, making allowances for the frailties of human nature was not an irksome duty but a welcome privilege that enabled them to introduce into their art a human element of great variety and inexhaustible possibilities.

The Artist and his Public

The personal influence of the Greek artists upon their communities was great, although it is not often touched upon in ancient literature. This influence was due to the artists feeling themselves one with the public. They rarely, if ever, believed themselves set apart as a class, distinct from the laymen. Such a view, however, has often since prevailed. When Michelangelo carved the tombs of the Medici and therein gave a mystic



*Kouros, Agrigento, c. 500-480 B.C. Marble, h: 104 cm.
Archaeological Museum, Agrigento.*



*The Kritios Boy, Acropolis, Athens, c. 480-470 B.C. Marble, h: 116 cm.
Acropolis Museum, Athens.*



Head of a Blond Youth, c. 485 B.C.
Marble, h: 25 cm.
Acropolis Museum, Athens.



Kore 680, Acropolis, Athens, c. 530-520 B.C. Marble, h: 114 cm.
Acropolis Museum, Athens.

expression to his ideas of liberty, these thoughts were to him exclusively his own – too high, too good to be shared by the common populace – and yet they were the very thoughts in which this populace began to delight. When an artist's genius grapples with the unexpressed phantoms of new ideas, and after patient meditation realises them on canvas or in stone to the extent of transforming the haziness of the notions into appealing clarity, he may indeed be forgiven if he takes a too exalted view of his achievements and believes that he and his fellow-artists are of nobler timbre than the general public.

Such a view is erroneous and contrary observations anyone can make. For instance, it is not rare for two men, under widely different conditions and far apart, to discover an original idea simultaneously; even more often it occurs that several people are concurrently engaged in the solution of identical problems. One might say then, that the idea is the active force, urgently clamouring for expression; the artists – poet, sculptor, painter, sage – are willing tools. The thoughts themselves are products of past and present intellectual life, the artists' and laymen's common inheritance. Mistaken is the belief that only the man possessing refined skills of expression can receive this inheritance; on the contrary, he is often the very one who by his neglect of an education and his thoughtless application to manual dexterity forfeits his birthright.

The world of thoughts with which we come in contact today is vastly greater than at any other time. In antiquity an Aristotle could without presumption claim to be master of everything, and even in the sixteenth century of our era Scaliger⁸ could enjoy a similar reputation; today this is out of the question for anyone. Thoughts and intelligence representing property of the community have multiplied at such a tremendous rate that no one lifetime suffices to comprehend it all. Coupled with this increase in

the world of thoughts, it seems the individual has developed the ability to master them even without finding visible or audible expressions. Ruskin once said he could imagine the time when the human race would have advanced so far that it could realise noble thoughts currently expressed in art without art. Humanity has already made a tremendous step in this direction. Religious thoughts in many denominations are independent of pictorial aids.

The Roman Church still clings to them, as does the Lutheran, and to some extent the Protestant Episcopal; but denominations owing their origin to more recent centuries have entirely discarded them. No examples taken from religious practices are altogether fair, because too much sentiment is involved and too little unbiased human nature. But, even after due assumptions, the progress from the Roman Church, conservatively adhering to the traditions of the past, to the modern Protestant churches is too striking not to serve as an illustration that the human race has grown to realise – that is, to possess thoughts never expressed.

Whatever vistas these considerations may open for the future no individual today, and certainly not humanity as a whole, has attained the state of mind prophesied by Ruskin. If true today, this was infinitely more so of the people in Greece in antiquity. Their world of thoughts was simple; even their philosophers, whose teachings are admired today, shared this blessing of comparative simplicity; and the fundamental ideas contained

in the great Greek tragedies are far removed from confusing complexity. According to their own ideas, the Greek people were autochthonos – sprung from the soil where they lived – without more than a few centuries of history. We know that the Greeks were mistaken – that beyond the dark middle ages of Greece lay the Mycenaean Age, a long forgotten civilisation of glory and splendour, and that even the Mycenaean Age was conceivably not the first advance in humanity’s progress. In any event, the past was blotted out, its memory erased. Step by step the Greeks had to make their move forward, unaided, just as if they truly had sprung from the soil. No thoughts of distant ancestors had been recorded, and the few fabulous ruins spared from the storms of prehistoric events were mistaken for remnants of a race of giants. The discoveries in Mycenae and on Crete have brought to light objects of art demonstrating a splendidly aesthetic character and an unusually refined power for pleasure. Perhaps the historic Greeks from their distant ancestors, unknown to them, inherited these traits and that this accounts to some degree for the unparalleled and rapid artistic advances that occurred when they again “found their footing.” In any case, each thought expressed became a new idea, and was greeted with that admirable delight accompanying every fresh achievement.

The Greeks’ wonderful skill and great simplicity, acquired slowly and painstakingly by most of us today through liberal education, can make one forget that the Greeks were a primitive people. Like all primitive people they constantly strove to more fully realise their thoughts. Once a thought came to life, its quintessence, at least at first, represented nothing but that one definite concept. The statue of the god Apollo today cannot be observed without immediately seeing in it all the changes which the conception of that deity underwent in subsequent ages, especially in the process of comparing it with the one God whose religion was destined to supplant the cheerful, and once helpful, trust in the Olympic Pantheon. Consequently, for the modern beholder the existing statues of ancient gods are largely symbolic, whereas for the original Greeks they were expressive of definite thoughts. Ancient Greek artists gave concrete shape to the mental images or ideas of their people; they could do so because they themselves were *of* the people.

This explains why the ancient artists were not set off as a class; being gifted with the power of expression did not exempt him from close association with the public. Some excerpts from later Roman writers might seem to contradict, but it should be remembered that the Romans were given clear class distinctions. This paucity of references towards separation between Greek artists and their public can argue against such a division. To fulfil their calling the Greek artist had to be the wide-awake children in his time. Sometimes, especially towards the end, we find a revisiting of the past, although never to the extent of forgetting the present and its special claims. The Olympian Zeus by Phidias was commonly believed to be the most complete realisation of noble thought; many statues were carved under its influence, but not one instance of slavish imitation is known during the centuries intervening between its erection in the fifth century B.C. and the end of Greek art.

In all probability not one of the best Greek statues was meant to represent a thought of which the artist believed himself to be the inventor or sole possessor prior to completing his statue. This does not at all detract from the artist’s importance, for he was the first to seize upon this particular



Kore 685, Acropolis, Athens, c. 500-490 B.C. Marble, h: 122 cm.
Acropolis Museum, Athens.



Nike, balustrade, Temple of Athena Nike, Athens, c. 420-400 B.C.
Marble, h: 101 cm. Acropolis Museum, Athens.

aspect of the idea and the only one to give it a visible shape. It is this bodily expression, which enabled his fellowmen to share with him an accuracy of conception that without his aid would have been difficult to attain.

This and similar considerations, based on ancient history, cannot form a sound basis for discussion of principles governing relations between modern artists and their public. Conditions today differ too greatly to permit exact parallelisms to be drawn between ancient and modern art. Then again, no student of art and life can help but be impressed by a certain incongruity. Despite superior skill modern artists as a class do not seem to be altogether successful. This difficulty lies not so much with them as artists but with the public of which they are a part and from which they draw their knowledge, if not their inspiration; in any event, it remains the *raison d'être* of their inspiration. Today's public no longer consists of a well-educated minority and a captivating family past, but practically the entire populace. This audience forms a heterogeneous and often discordant whole. In reaction, some good men, imbued with admiration for the noble relics of the past, genius-like, although perhaps unaware of certain of its sordid conditions kindly removed from view in intervening centuries, are sounding an improbable retreat. Humanity's march moves forward. Although we may learn a once successful spirit, in each case its correct application must be the creation of new conditions in keeping with the modern times.

Sculptors in Greece worked for their people. They knew intimately the foibles of their nature, and endeavoured to meet their needs. Abstract reasoning and wilful perseverance are subjective. They therefore often avoided unintelligible interpretations of nature. "As a thing appears to me, so it is," was their motto. But this "me" did not mean the artist as an individual, but the artist as the representative of the people. As such he gladly placed his superior skill and his clearer perceptions at their service. What he carved was not unknown to them, for, if they had done nothing more, they at least felt the justice of the thoughts he expressed. It is a great thing to be an individual artist; like the Greek sculptor, it is a greater thing to be the exponent of his people's best ideas.

The Principles of Greek Relief Sculpture

The thoughtful consideration of human nature's needs characterising the best Greek works is nowhere better than in relief sculpture. All relief sculpture may be divided into two large classes, exhibiting great technical differences. In the first class, the artist may design and carve his figures on a block of stone from which he hews away as much as he likes to bring out the contours. He begins on the *front plane*, beyond which no figure may project, and pays no attention to a uniform depth of background. This kind of relief may be called the *carved relief*.

In the second class, which originated when sculptors no longer worked the marble itself but made their first designs in clay, the figures are modelled separately and attached to a *uniform* and unifying *background*. A profile view reveals the absence of a common front plane. Later, these models may be carved in marble or cast in bronze. Due to their origin, and to distinguish them from the other types, they are best called *modelled reliefs*. Common today, the best known reliefs in this style are the Ghiberti gates (p. 30) on the baptistry in Florence. The Greeks almost exclusively practised the *carved relief*.

In describing a Greek relief people usually speak of the figures as being *raised* to a certain height from the background. This is inaccurate, because carved relief technique requires their being sunk from the front plane. It is possible and occurs frequently on the Parthenon frieze (pp. 164 to 177) to have the right side of a figure sunk deeper than the left side, with the feet deeper than the head. This creates virtually no background from which the figures can be said to have been *raised*. The effect of such a technique is that the figures themselves and *not* the background which in pictures is often prominent do not arrest the attention of the spectator.

Human vision is restless. One feels ill at ease when obliged to keep a steady focus. In a picture one's imagination may wander from the nearest object to the farthest, and vice versa; in the carved relief, which broadly speaking contains only the nearest object, care must be taken to provide variety in another direction. For this reason the broad expanse of the Parthenon frieze is tremendously pleasing. The skill of the artists through application of clever techniques has made it nearly impossible to concentrate at any single figure for long. The spectator has barely understood one figure when its lines carry him to the next and then the next, first rapidly, then slowly, as he approaches the quiet company of gods seated above the entrance door.

One can readily see that a relief of this kind cannot be easily adapted to a panel, limited, as it were, in size and sufficiently small to fall at once within one's radius of vision. All figures crowd to the foreground; they pass quickly in review, and when the eyes desire a change no expanse into the distance exists; such a view could satisfy. Vision's natural restlessness brings out this lack, and one will likely experience a sense of dissatisfaction.

To a great extent the modelled relief, with its depth of background, has overcome this difficulty, and offers possibilities in this direction not possessed by the older style. To date, however, none of its creations can be said to have been altogether successful. Great depth of reproduction requires the introduction of perspective; and while linear perspective is not incompatible with corporeal representation, aerial perspective is, because it diminishes the distinctness of contours of objects seen at a distance. Another formidable obstacle is the proper treatment of shadows.

It may be safely assumed that the ancients were aware of these difficulties, and therefore somewhat tenacious in their adherence to the practices of the older style, at least in their more pretentious works of art. In minor works, notably in terra cottas, they pushed the tentative beginnings in the other style to a considerable extent. Nothing, however, will do more to clarify the views on Greek relief sculpture than to treat the two styles separately; and since the second style occurs in ancient times only in works of secondary importance, it is best to confine oneself to the *carved relief*.

The Greeks had no distinguishing words for high or low relief. Today people find that not even these two words are sufficient to designate the different methods of relief work. They speak of high relief or alto-relievo, mezzo-relievo, low relief or basso-relievo, stiacciato, and finally have to coin a new word to describe a method practised by the ancient Egyptians. Only "high relief" and "low relief" are idiomatic English terms. They are the most popular reliefs in use at the present date. The same was true of the Greeks.



Sacrifice of Isaac, by Filippo Brunelleschi, 1401-1402.
Bronze relief, h: 45 cm, l: 38 cm.
Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.



Sacrifice of Isaac, by Lorenzo Ghiberti, 1401-1402.
Bronze relief, h: 45 cm, l: 38 cm.
Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

The names themselves characterise the reliefs only to a certain extent. Whereas the Parthenon frieze with an average depth of two to three inches and a length of five hundred and twenty-three feet is low, most people would call a small panel exhibiting the same depth high relief. The terms “high” and “low,” therefore, are only relatively descriptive. The real differences lie in the technique and design, which are absolute. The Greeks, moreover, did not use high or low relief indiscriminately as the individual taste of the artist or the art patron demanded; selection of a particular method depended upon external circumstances, such as lighting, height, and so forth.

A very flat relief placed in a well-lighted room appears indistinct; lowering the curtains makes it seem to grow from the background. In proper dim light it approximates fairly the lines of a high relief. This is why the Greeks had no distinguishing names for the two kinds of relief. They were not intended as different practices; on the contrary, the impression made upon the spectator by the one was to be approximately the same as that made by the other. The Greeks knew the importance of light and shadow: they knew that the same work under different conditions *appears*, and therefore to all practical purposes *is*, a different work of art; and that, on the other hand, two reliefs of entirely different technique may be seen as much alike if they are placed under proportionally different conditions. In other words, the work of art must be designed for the particular condition under which it is to be seen. A common story in antiquity supports the idea that this was the practice of the Greeks:

Phidias and his famous pupil Alkamenes once entered a competition in which the latter nearly won the prize because the master’s statue at short range did not seem to exhibit the same pleasing proportions as that of his pupil. The statues were designed for viewing in high positions. Once so placed Phidias’s statue viewed infinitely better than his pupil’s. Perhaps a spurious anecdote of later times, the story was probably invented to illustrate Phidias’s technique, though it does injustice to Alkamenes, probably one of the greatest artists of the fifth century B.C. The statues of Phidias were not the only ones designed for such particular viewing conditions.

The same can be said of all the best Greek works, including the Parthenon sculptures. That these latter are splendid even today when taken from their exalted position, is additional proof of their exquisite simplicity and delicate workmanship. No student of Greek art, however, will deny that the Parthenon reliefs and pedimental sculptures would appear to even better advantage if they could be restored to their proper places and be viewed in their correct light.

The Ionic frieze, with its comparatively low reliefs, was placed around the cella walls on the inside of the colonnade, where the direct light would never strike it. The Doric frieze, broken up in the triglyphs and metopes with powerful figures in the highest possible relief, was attached outside above the columns. Here it commanded the maximum light, which in its Athenian intensity is unknown in western and more northerly climes.



Herakles receiving the Golden Apples of the Hesperides from the Hand of Atlas, while Minerva rests a Cushion on his Head, east metope, Temple of Zeus, Olympia, c. 470-456 B.C. Marble, h: 160 cm. Archaeological Museum, Olympia.



Battle between the Greeks and the Persians, north frieze, Temple of Athena Nike, Acropolis, Athens, c. 425-421 B.C.
Marble, h: 45 cm. British Museum, London.



Battle Scene, west frieze, Temple of Athena Nike, Acropolis, Athens, c. 425-421 B.C. Marble, h: 45 cm. British Museum, London.

At first this may seem strange, for most people reason that dim, uncertain light of a half-interior requires prominent figures to be viewed. As experiments can demonstrate, this is a mistake. The more prominently a figure stands out from a background, the deeper its shadow. Figures in this shadow disappear from view in an interior, because the light, dim in any case, is converted to darkness by the addition of the shadow. Shadows are so much darkness; removed, they add that much light to the composition.

Theoretically, the suppression of shadows might appear to run counter to nature, resulting in unsatisfactory lighting. This is not the case, since shadows are often anything but unnoticed. Especially on gloomy days and even under bright light their absence is rarely felt, provided there is uniformity in their absence. This is best illustrated on stage, where shadows are removed by throwing strong side light on the actors. On stage the absence of shadows is often necessary, as the background is painted in perspective. A painted house, for instance, which is actually only ten feet behind the actor, is nevertheless perceived to be hundreds of feet away. If the actor's shadow were to fall on the top of the house, this illusion would be destroyed. For this reason shadows on stage are avoided; and this is done without giving the spectators the least unpleasant sensation. The

suppression of shadows on a relief, therefore, need not occasion apprehension. Experience teaches that it passes unnoticed if judiciously and uniformly employed.

These considerations may prove that a high relief is not suited for a position in dim light. Any doubts as to the advisability of placing a low relief under such conditions are swept away by doing the experiment above. The relief must be low in proportion to the room's dimness; lack of proper light necessitates the composition to supply its own light, as it were, which can be done by more or less vigorously suppressing shadows. The lowest relief, with practically no shadows, belongs to the darkest room. Its neighbour obscures no figure; all are equally visible. Thus, the absence of shadows adds so much light to the composition.

Low relief supplements the absence of strong light, whereas high relief, by its vigorous shadows, tones down the brightness of excessive light. As a result, the qualities of these two kinds of relief equalise the differences in the amount of light under which they are viewed. Their impressions upon the spectators, consequently, are more alike than could be expected from an analytical study of them when removed from their proper places and set side by side for inspection under the same strong light.

Temple of Athena Nike, Acropolis, Athens, c. 425-421 B.C. In situ.







Battle between the Greeks and the Amazons, east frieze, Apollo Epikourios Temple, Bassae, c. 420 B.C. Marble, h: 70 cm. British Museum, London.



Differing Technique of High and Low Relief Sculpture

The impressions of high reliefs and low reliefs in their proper places may be similar; their technique, however, is quite different. The technique of high relief is by far the simpler. The bulk of the figures, in so far as they are detached from the background, are almost the same as in nature. And if the figures are smaller than life-size, their bulk – that is, their thickness – can be proportionately reduced; for, as Sir Charles Eastlake⁹ states, “The eye agrees as readily to the reduction in bulk as to the reduction in size.” The very prominence of the forms and their necessarily deep shadows require a simple composition. The figures must be designed so as not to obscure each other’s contours, so that they stand out clearly, each one on its own. To accomplish this they are carved in *open action*. The action of a figure is open when the two halves of the body are kept separate – the right arm and leg on one side, the left arm and leg on the other. In violent movement the arm or the leg of one side is apt to sweep over to the other side, which gives *contrasted action*.

If this was represented in high relief, the prominent shadow of the limb crossing the body would tend to obscure the outlines of the figure. Nothing, however, is of greater importance either in the art of painting or of carving than to keep the outlines pure. This does not at all mean that one must *see* every line, for the lines which are suggested are fully as important as those which are seen. The Greeks knew this, as is proved by the practice of their early vase painters, who before painting draped figures drew them nude. None of the drapery lines could suggest faulty contours below. Thus, great care had to be taken to avoid introducing into a composition any element that would suggest incorrect lines, and no other element is so apt to do this in sculpture as the shadow of actual members crossing the body. This is the main reason why *contrasted action* should be avoided in high relief. In fact, it occurs not once on any of the preserved metopes of the Parthenon.

An inevitable result of this restriction upon high relief is that figures from such compositions will rarely form suitable subjects for copies or adaptations in the round. There are exceptions – perhaps the Aphrodite of Melos (p. 224). Figures in the round, on the other hand, have occasionally been adapted for transposition in high relief. On one of the metopes of the Parthenon the artist made use of the Harmodios of the Tyrannicide group (p. 115) first designed by Antenor (ca. 510 B.C.) and then probably copied by Kritios and Nesiotes (ca. 479 B.C.). The figure belongs to a very early period of Greek art, when *contrasted action* had hardly begun to be used even for figures in the round. The requirements for high relief, then, are a simple composition with open action, both for individual figures and for entire groups. Shadows supply variety and save the composition from monotony, which would be its fate if it were executed in low relief. Low relief offers the proper field for complicated groups and lively figures in *contrasted action*. Since confusing shadows are uniformly and almost completely absent, it is possible to represent rows of men two, three, four, or even more deep. Such a representation in high relief would be an anomaly. The nearest figures would show the highest projection, and the



Caryatid, from the Erechtheum, Acropolis, Athens, c. 420-406 B.C.
Marble, h: 231 cm. British Museum, London.

Erechtheum, Acropolis, Athens, c. 420-406 B.C. In situ.

farther ones would be represented in gradually diminishing bulk. The shadows cast would be different, and their lack of uniformity would reveal the unreality of the composition, not to speak of confusion and obscurity, which must accompany such a design in high relief. In low relief one does not run this danger, because all the shadows are equally suppressed. Near the northwest corner of the Parthenon frieze a young man is represented as standing in front of his horse (p. 175). The horse is seen in profile, the man in full front with his back to the flank of his horse. If one steps up close to the frieze and looks at it under strong light, one sees that what really is carved is a young man in the middle, front to, with the hind quarters of a horse on his left side, and its head and fore legs on his right, all carved on the same plane. At a distance and under its proper light the

original illusion again returns – one sees a man standing in front of his horse. The explanation of this phenomenon is found in the uncertainty of human vision. Seeing really means projecting everything upon one definite plane. The distances of the objects thus promiscuously projected upon one common background, or drawn up to one front plane, are *guessed* at – for it really is nothing but guesswork – with reference to three chief and largely unconscious considerations: first, their relative size and distinctness; second, their shadows; and finally, one’s own general knowledge. The distances represented on the Parthenon frieze are not large enough to necessitate any marked differences in size and distinctness, especially when different species are drawn – as a man and a horse on this slab. The shadows are suppressed, it being low relief. One has therefore to rely upon one’s sense of suitability.

A man before a horse is frequently seen; a man grafted in between the two halves of a horse, never. The second possibility, therefore, which the general lines of the composition admit, does not occur to one’s mind.

And since there are no confusing contours or disturbing shadows to contradict the first idea, the spectator does not hesitate to read it into the composition, although it is the second one which is carved.

To speak of the complete suppression of shadows in low relief is not entirely correct, for even the lowest figures throw some shadows, although the introduction of curving contours may render them all but imperceptible to the human eye. On the Parthenon frieze (pp. 164 to 177) the artists have at times used such slight shadows very successfully to strengthen the intended illusion and to guard against possible detection.

The outlines of the man on the slab under consideration are relieved against the horse. In order to do this the body of the horse is not carved in one horizontal plane, but curves away gradually from the head and the tail alike to the background in the centre. Except up close, these curves are so gradual they escape notice. They nevertheless enabled the sculptors to give sharp outlines to the man, strengthening, by means of the shadows which his body seems to throw on his animal, the impression that he is standing in front of his horse.

In the same way the horse’s head appears to be removed from the spectator by at least the thickness of the man’s body. In reality, however, it is carved on the same front plane as he. This shows that in low relief

farther objects need not be carved on more distant planes. The

front, even in low relief, is the most prominent part

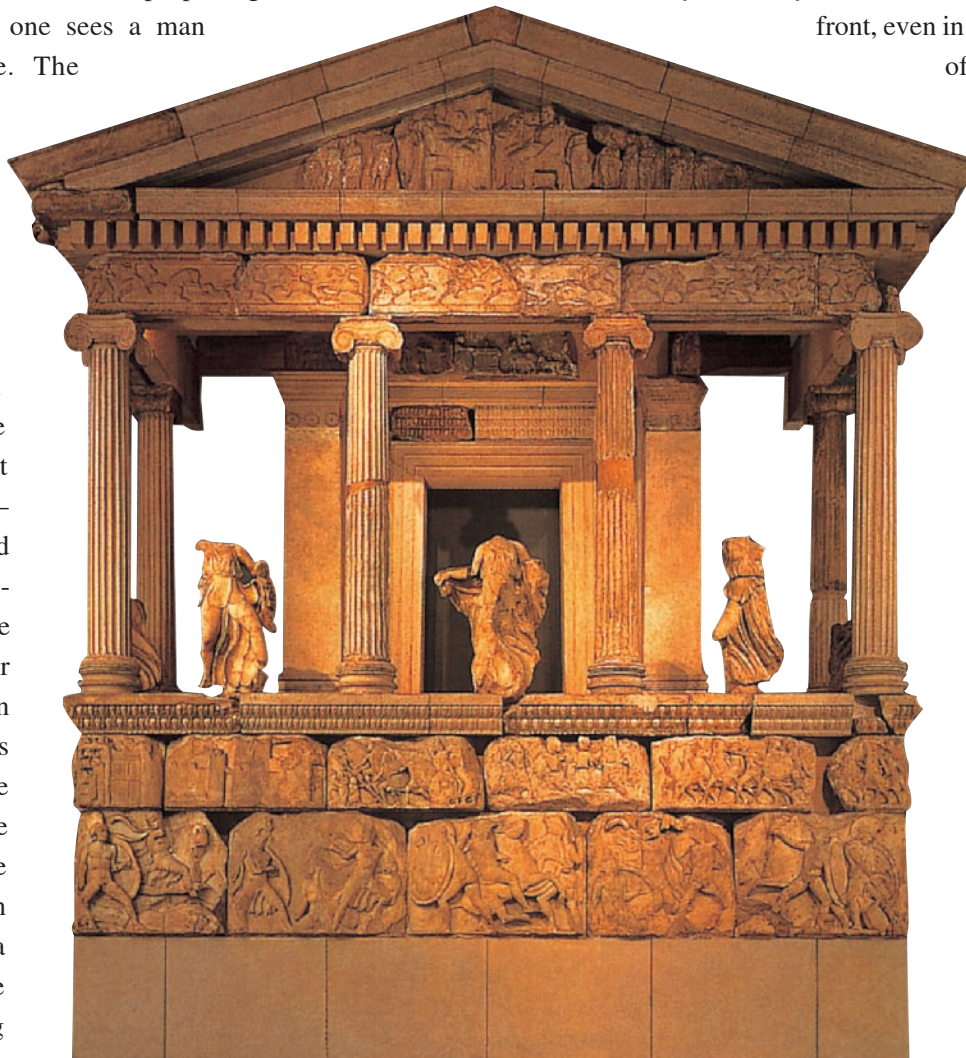
of the composition. The artist may

therefore pick out those details to which he wants to call special attention and carve them on this plane, provided he manages their contours so that not even the slightest shadows contradict the illusion. This device was a favourite with the Parthenon sculptors. Hebe, the messenger of the gods, is thought of as standing behind Hera on the east frieze.

The lower half of her figure is carved on a distant plane. The upper half, which could not be seen if it were carved there because at the height of thirty-nine feet the projecting lower limbs of Hera would have hidden it, curves forward to the front plane, on which her breast, head, and shoulders are represented. The result is as pleasing as it would have been painful if the drapery on Hera’s lap had shut Iris from view.

Many such and similar devices or

conventions are at the disposal of the sculptor of low relief. In the absence of prominent shadows and great distances he takes the spectator at his weakest point – his uncertain vision – and works an illusion wherever he can. The facility with which such an illusion is wrought is a dangerous boon for the artist. He carves one thing and wants the spectator to see another. If he actually represents his figures bulk for bulk, as in the round, or largely in high relief, there is little danger of having anyone imagine his seeing anything but what was actually represented; but when the sculptor makes use of *conventions*, and does not truthfully represent his figures, then the spectator is at liberty to pick out any possibility that may offer itself. This compels the artist to design his composition so that its lines cannot be interpreted in more than one way. The Parthenon sculptors have done this,





Nereid Monument, Xanthos,
c. 390-380 B.C. Marble, h: 830 cm.
British Museum, London.

Nereid, Nereid Monument, Xanthos,
c. 390-380 B.C. Marble, h: 140 cm.
British Museum, London.



Exit of Besieged, slab 869, second frieze of the pedestal, Nereid Monument, Xanthos, c. 390-380 B.C.
Marble, h: 55 cm. British Museum, London.

and of the many hundreds of figures on the frieze not a single one can be misunderstood, although not one is carved as it is meant to be seen. The figures are good because they *appear* correct, and they appear so because the artists who carved them knew how to reconcile the claims of objective and of subjective nature. The means by which this is done are nowhere less disguised than in reliefs, which is the reason why the study of these reliefs is of the greatest importance for the student of ancient art.

Greek Relief Sculpture in its Relation to Architecture; Reliefs on Rounded Surfaces

Greek relief sculpture is closely related to architecture. In the Parthenon frieze (pp. 164 to 177) the artists never forgot that their figures were seen as carved on the temple walls. Moving figures are readily imagined as passing by a solid wall; trees or other indications of landscape are out of place. A few large stepping-stones, which in the absence of stirrups in ancient times were used to mount on horseback, are introduced, although they do not disturb the uniformity of the conception. The close adherence to such limitations of design imposes great restrictions upon the sculptors; for while they must refrain from filling occasional gaps with trees, houses, and the like, they

must also design the ground upon which the figures move as a perfect plane. Uneven ground cannot be permitted to bring variety into the grouping; whatever variety exists must result from the figures themselves.

The sculptors of the Parthenon seem to have accepted these laws as binding principles. Once or twice, however, even they deviated from strict adherence. On the southern frieze, in front of the cavalcade and ahead of the chariots, is the slow procession of men bringing cows and sheep to sacrifice. Men and chariots proceed at full speed; cows naturally walk slowly. The difference in rapidity between these two integral parts of the pageant would have been noticeable, and probably painful in its effect, if easy transitions had been lacking. The second cow (p. 174), therefore, is represented as bolting. She has almost broken away from the man who is holding her by a rope. He throws the entire weight of his body against her, but is irresistibly swept along, when suddenly his right foot strikes a boulder in the road, against which he can brace himself. The cow's headway is broken; the next minute she will be under control. The bracing attitude of the youth is splendid – human skill against brute force and victorious! Without the slight unevenness of the ground such a figure would have been impossible. The entire group is so full of life that one forgets the device of the artist.



*Warriors, slab 868b, second frieze of the pedestal, Nereid Monument, Xanthos, c. 390-380 B.C.
Marble, h: 55 cm. British Museum, London.*

A similar instance occurs on the west frieze, but such deviations from strict principles on the Parthenon are rare. They occur with increasing frequency in the later buildings, where the copious representations of battle scenes offered unusual temptations. No Greek battle scene is complete without numerous dead or wounded on the ground. When the ground is flat the comparative similarity of all these figures becomes monotonous. Reclining figures, moreover, which are flat on their backs on a horizontal plane appear out of proportion if accurately represented, because the human eye moves on horizontal and vertical lines with unequal rapidity. The Greeks obviously felt this, although it was left to modern experimental psychology to explain it.

The conscious, or perhaps unconscious, desire of the Greeks to comply with this law of nature made them at first carve the dead in contorted positions; for instance, on one of the metopes of the Parthenon (p. 159), where a victorious centaur is swinging his panther skin in exultant glee over the dead Greek. Later, in an attempt to avoid such awkward positions, they resorted to the introduction of uneven ground in their temple reliefs¹⁰. On the poorly preserved but splendid frieze of the little Athena-Nike temple in Athens (pp. 32-33), some of the most pleasing lines are seen in the conquered warriors who in death have fallen over the slight hillocks which break the ground's dead level.

The frieze was designed to encircle the outside of the low temple. The figures, therefore, which could be seen at rather close range and under strong light, had to stand out in bold relief. They are not undercut, but they nevertheless throw noticeable shadows, and are designed in open action. Since the frieze is Ionic, continuous, and not broken up in triglyphs and metopes, as the Doric frieze on the outside of the Parthenon, the strict adherence to the principles of high relief would have resulted in occasional spaces of absolute emptiness between the figures. This led to further deviation from the laws observed in the Parthenon; for the gaps could not always be filled with fluttering folds of drapery, such folds at times contradicting the figures' action. In such cases the well-known Greek *horror vacui* tempted the sculptors to introduce trees. These were treated with such tact that they cannot be said to interfere with the uniform enjoyment of the composition. The inevitable result of such moderate deviations from a law, which once must have seemed irrefutable to the Greeks was the gradual introduction of other, less judicious practices. Two of the most important examples are found on the Athena-Nike temple frieze. Several warriors (p. 32), are represented with their backs to the spectator, a design which under ordinary conditions would compel one to think of them as actually pressed against the



Amazon Frieze, Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, Bodrum, c. 360-350 B.C.
Marble, h: 90 cm. British Museum, London.





Nereid 909, Nereid Monument, Xanthos,
c. 400 B.C. Marble, h: 140 cm.
British Museum, London.

background. They are, nevertheless, shown in violent motion and with sufficient freedom of action to continue a vigorous fight. Other warriors spring from the side of the background. In both cases one is expected to imagine the figures somewhat in front of the temple; there is space between them and the wall. It matters little that the wall continues to be the background of the composition; what matters is that in several cases air has been substituted; the relief is no longer an integral part of the architectural structure.

Most of the Greek reliefs were placed on straight surfaces; but when cups or other rounded objects were decorated, a new technique was required. Low relief, with its many devices intended for the production of an illusion, was obviously out of the question because of the proximity and the strong light under which these objects could be seen, and high relief was equally inadmissible since its prominent figures would have destroyed the proper profile of the rounded surfaces. The ancients therefore resorted to another kind of relief, in which all the figures were equally detached from the surface to about half of their thickness. This relief is called *mezzo-relievo*. Several marble vases of a later day exist in this style, although it failed to attain popularity in classic times. If the Greeks had followed the practices of the Egyptians, who decorated their columns with sculptured figures instead of simply fluting them, as was done in Greece, the case probably would have been different.

The discussion of Egyptian practices casts little light upon Greek sculpture; here though, it is rather suggestive. Since the Egyptian columns were often seen in strong light, low relief was inadmissible. On the other hand, as with the Greek cups, high relief would have spoiled the columns' architectural profile. The use of *mezzo-relievo* would also have meant a great waste of labour and material; for supposing the height of the reliefs to have been only three inches, this would have meant an additional thickness of six inches to the diameter of the column, all of which had to be neatly cut away everywhere except where the figures were represented. The Egyptians found a way around this difficulty, which is surprising, because it implies an acute observation of the frailty of human vision. They drew the outlines of the figures on the columns and surrounded them with a deep groove. Inside this groove they applied as much modelling as deemed necessary. The figures, being thus surrounded by a channel of considerable depth, were completely isolated. This style of relief sculpture, therefore, may properly be called the *island relief*. Like those of low relief, it aims to create an illusion. If one steps away to the proper distance, one no longer sees the figure as it is, sunk into the column, but prominently standing out from it. This is due to the grooved outline of the figure nearest the light showing a deep shadow, while its opposite side is fully lighted.

A similarly strong contrast between the two sides of a figure is noted in high relief, with the only difference being that the side nearest the light is bright while the other is dark. For the casual observer who pays no attention to the light's direction, and provided he is not too near the composition, the two types of relief are identical. The Greeks, doubtless familiar with the Egyptians' island relief, never introduced it into their own work. Their columns were to be seen both from a distance and close at hand. Their temples were public buildings, and the colonnades were intended to serve as shelter against the heat of the sun and the inclemency of the weather. The Egyptian island relief, which looks good at a distance,

is painful to a sensitive eye close up. This is why the Greeks decorated their columns with simple flutings and not figures. The differences in the Egyptian and the Greek practice offers new, invaluable proof of the Greek taste's gracefulness.

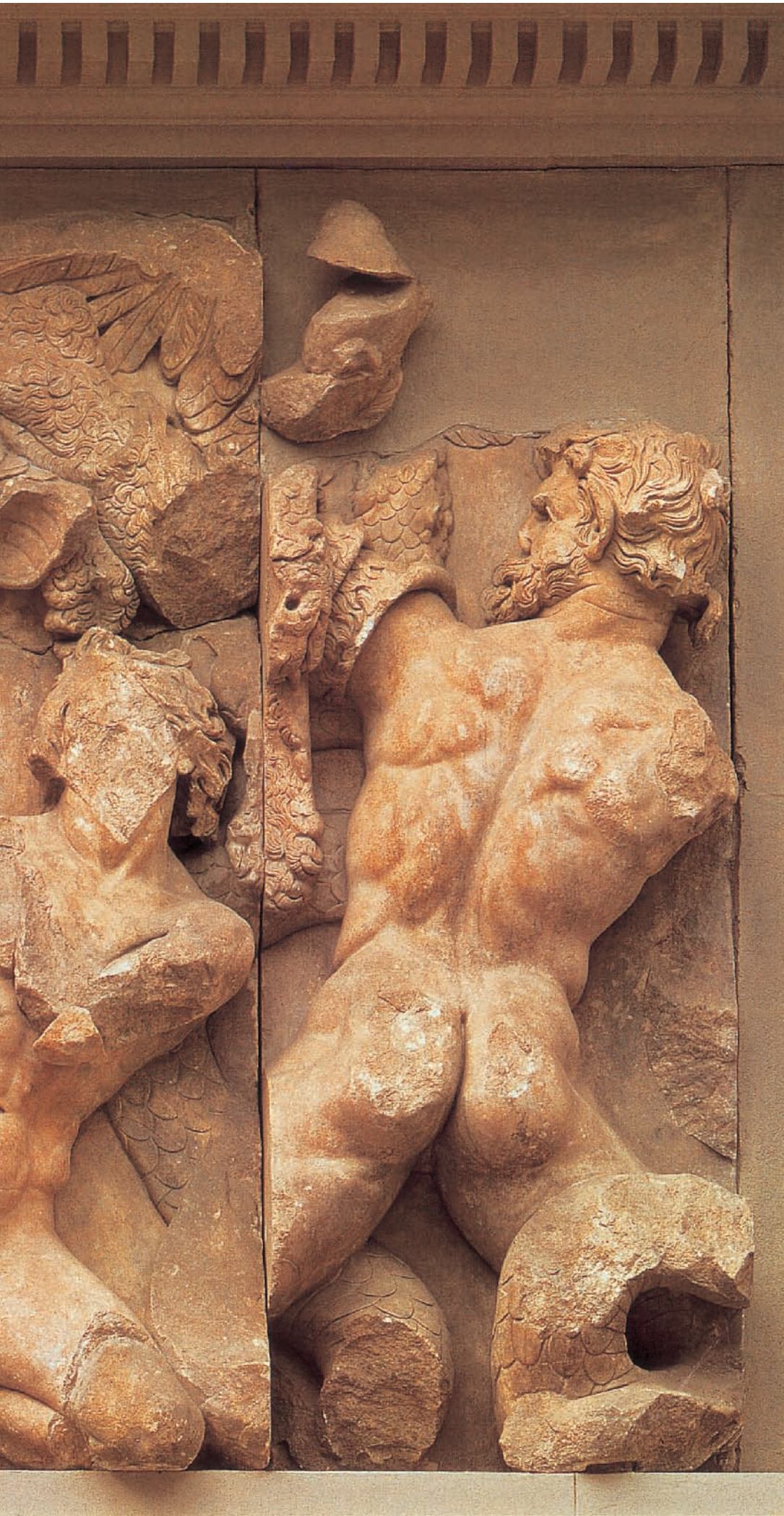
Physical Effort and Pleasure in Viewing Extended Compositions

A major distinction can be made between *looking* and *seeing*. One often *sees* in spite of one's self; but it takes a certain degree of mental and physical energy to *look* at an object. If a statue is placed in one's way, one cannot help but see it. To understand its message implies a certain *mental* effort, but it would be improper to speak of a *physical* effort on the spectator's part. An extended composition in either high or low relief, on the other hand, cannot be seen at a casual glance; one must *look* at it. The eye focuses on the relief; it stays there and follows the sculptor's lines, up and down and from side to side, until the entire relief has been surveyed. This requires a physical effort on the part of the spectator, who would quickly weary unless the artist has utilised all possible devices to render viewing easy and pleasurable. In addition, the spectator's attention should not centre in his sight, as this would impede his understanding the artist's thoughts.

If human vision were unlimited, and followed as readily the impulse directing it up as the one urging it down, or moving as willingly on the zigzag line as on the straight, the sculptor's task would be comparatively simple; since our vision, however, is erratic and subject to many limitations, the work of the sculptor becomes complex. Although the Greeks seem to have felt them instinctively, it is only recently that experiments have ascertained the physical laws governing eyes movement. To be sure, the Greeks introduced numerous techniques into their sculpture that can only be explained if regarded as the semiconscious endeavour to comply with the requirements of these laws. It must not be believed that sculptors deliberately deviated from their original designs to make allowances for the peculiarities of the public eye. They identified with the public; what displeased the eyes of the people was also unpleasant to them, though perhaps to a greater degree. The original designs, then, doubtless embodied many if not all the devices exhibited in the finished works.

Even the earliest Greek art displays such fine taste that it is a pleasure to let one's eyes glide over their decorations. Often, circles are found, rarely mathematically accurate, but infinitely more gratifying and restful to the eye than those on later vases, drawn with compass. It is hard to imagine a simpler geometric figure than the circle; every point of the circumference is equally removed from the centre, and the curvature follows a continuous fixed and never changing ratio. One imagines that one's eyes can run its circumference with perfect ease. This is not the case, because the eyes glide more readily to the right and left than up and down, and more swiftly up than down. The time and effort spent in scanning the left semicircle varies from that spent on the right. The eye running the circumference of a mathematically correct circle receives the impression of having run an uneven course. The mental image and the actual visual impression through do not tally. If one knows the circle to be accurate, one tends to compel one's eyes to run its circumference with even rapidity, an uncomfortable exercise for the natural character of one's vision. The resulting sensation of discomfort, if not actual physical pain, is





Zeus and Porphyreon during the Battle with the Giants,
pedestal frieze, Great Altar of Zeus, Pergamon, c. 180 B.C.
Marble, h: 230 cm. Pergamonmuseum, Berlin.



Fight Scene: Herakles and Triton, Temple of Athena, Assos, c. 550-525 B.C.
Trachyte, h: 81 cm, l: 294 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Banquet Scene, Temple of Athena, Assos, c. 550-525 B.C.
Trachyte, h: 81 cm, l: 287 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

unpleasant at best. The Greeks drew figures to avoid this phenomenon. The difference in rapidity with which one's eyes glide over a circle is reflected in corresponding deviations from the mathematically correct shape; the result is not only thorough agreement between the mental image and the visual impression but also a sensation of both mental and physical pleasure. Today when people push their geometry studies far enough to become thoroughly familiar with its figures, the early Greek circles prove wrong even before the eye has run their circumference, so that they often fail to give satisfaction. Sufficiently restraining the accuracy of one's scientific mind to obtain the physical pleasure with which the eye scans figures designed to meet its peculiarities, produces a favourable impression of the Greek practice.

What is true of the circle holds true of curves and lines, though much more difficult to demonstrate. In addition, not all eyes are equally sensitive. Attempting to point out all the fine points is ill advised. However, no careful

student of the best Greek reliefs can remain oblivious to the ease with which his eyes scan the compositions, often experiencing physical pleasure. The wonderful ease with which one looks along the Parthenon frieze has become almost proverbial.

Another peculiarity of the human eye must be taken into consideration in designing extended compositions. The eye glides not smoothly from one end of a line to the other, but by jerky leaps and bounds, as people with sensitive eyes can discover through self-observation, and others by watching people read. A limited space can be seen at one glance; if one focuses one's eyes on a single spot, one can see a short distance in every direction. When reading, we focus our eyes not on the beginning of each line, but slightly to the right of it. After the words or syllables falling within the range of the focus have been read, the eye jumps to the right, and so on, until all the words on the line have been read. If three short words can be read at one glance, and there are nine



Terracotta Column-Crater, attributed to the Group of Boston 00.348, c. 360-350 B.C. Terracotta, h: 51.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Group with the Typhon, west pediment, old Temple of Athena, Acropolis, Athens, c. 580-570 B.C. Tufa, l: 440 cm. Acropolis Museum, Athens.



words in the line, it will take three movements of the eye to read the line. Add another word, and an additional movement for this word will be required. This is a waste of energy, because the addition of three words would not require more than this one. Everyone knows that lines of certain lengths can be more easily read than others.

In a relief the lines are not continuous; every now and then prominent masses call for accurate eye focus. Such eye-arresting masses are distinguished in technical parlance from the *lines* that carry the eye, and are often called *spots*. The heads of prominent figures, their hands or elbows, the hilts of their swords, and the like, are spots. The artists who place them where the eye naturally stops in its jerky advance, save the spectator the effort of focusing his eyes upon them, and help tremendously in making his task easy.

The Parthenon sculptors and their contemporaries believed in keeping the spectator continually engaged. Wherever the eye alighted, it fell upon a prominent *spot*. This explains the crowded compositions: the eye should never rest on an empty place; in their view this would have wasted vital energy. This absence of empty space in ancient works has often been noticed, and the term *horror vacui* coined. *Horror vacui* faded in the fourth century, reappearing later. The sculptors of the Mausoleum in Halikarnassos (350 B.C.) apparently held that an occasional rest would please the eye more than an obligatory survey of each significant element in a composition. Their reliefs (pp. 42-43 and 212-213), uncrowded, present many empty spaces to rest the eye. Of the many devices the Greeks used to ease human vision, none is more remarkable than the practice of *isokephalism*, which required all the figures' heads to be at nearly the same level. The Greeks seem to have felt it necessary to make it easier for the eye to glide along a relatively straight line rather than move in a zigzag. The Parthenon's isokephalism frieze executes this technique so expertly one views it unconscious to incongruities arising from such a depiction; as, for example, when the heads of men on horseback are not much higher than those of the men on foot, or when the horses' heads remain level with those of the men. In earlier times, before the greatest men's skill and genius had taught them to combine the appearance of verisimilitude with this device, isokephalism led to some remarkable compositions. In the frieze from Assos (p. 48), where a standing boy serves reclining men, portraying all the heads on the same level has made giants of the men and a pygmy of the boy. The sculptors readily accepted reproach for carving a ridiculous relief rather than make it harder for the eye to view; this says much about Greek artists impressed, even in the earliest times, of the necessity not only of conceiving ideas that were profitable and pleasant in understanding, but also the obligation of representing them so as the spectator receives a sensation of physical pleasure.

The Colouring of Greek Sculpture

For most people Greek sculpture means beautifully white sculptured marble. Few realise, however, that bronze and not marble¹¹ was the Greeks' favourite material; all their marble was coloured as well. When Renaissance artists began studying remains of the ancient past, existing Greek or Roman statues showed no traces of colour. More than a thousand years had passed since their creation, and erosion had wiped all colour into distant memory; excavated statuary underwent a vigorous scrubbing process that removed

not only any encrustation of their long burial but also any paint that might have been preserved. This inadvertent cleansing led Renaissance artists, and the moderns after them, to believe in purity of form, which neither required nor permitted the addition of colour. At an early date, however, scholars began casting doubt on this so-called purity of form. They based their arguments upon four well-established facts. Firstly, the Roman Catholic Church has always had coloured statues of saints. The Church, highly conservative, has practised colouring its saints since its inception, and its inception was contemporaneous with the artistically active centuries of the early Empire. Thus, several questions arise: If classical sculpture was not coloured, where did the Christians get their different practice? If their practice consciously deviated from that of their secular contemporaries, why do we not find references to them in any of the early church fathers?

Secondly, secular sculpture down to the Renaissance was also frequently coloured. Again, this may survive from ancient customs, for the sculpture of those times was a distant descendant of classical sculpture. Thirdly, Egyptian sculpture, and probably the Assyrian, was profusely coloured. The interaction between the Greeks and other older groups was at times intimate; Herodotos conducted a systematic study of the differences between the Greeks and the Egyptians. Had he never seen a coloured statue at home, he might have been expected to at least *mention* the different practice of the Egyptians; on this point he is silent. Fourthly, Renaissance sculptors' belief in purity of form in classical times fails as an argument either way, for it was obviously founded on the appearance of ancient statues in their time.

These considerations raise grave doubts about the generally accepted absence of colour in Greek marble, especially since the advocates of the *purity of form* in ancient times have advanced no better argument than bad taste, with extremists criticising it as barbarous. Being entirely subjective, such an argument is best left to itself; it needs no refutation. Evidence to this effect can be gathered from three sources – the literature of the ancients, the remains of their art, and practical experiments.

Nothing in ancient literature has produced a definite response as to whether the Greeks painted their statues. Mr. Edward Robinson¹² concludes from the silence of ancient writers on this point that mentioning the act would have been like saying “water is wet”; that, or that it *never* was practised¹³. This latter thesis is contradicted not only by more recent finds, but also by certain clear remarks recorded in Greek and Roman literature. Pliny quotes Praxiteles as saying that he prized those of his statues the highest which the famous painter Nikias had touched (*manum admovissei*), for “so high an opinion he had of his colouring of statues” (*circumlitio*); and Plato, in discussing the relative value of colours, makes light of the artist who, in attempting to apply the most beautiful colour to the most beautiful part of his statue, would paint the eyes golden instead of black. Such and similar passages prove conclusively that at least some statues in antiquity were coloured; and this, as Robinson has pointed out, goes far in proving that it was the universal custom of the ancients to paint their marble statues.

Recent finds and careful examination of existing monuments strengthen this opinion. Many statues preserving traces of colour have been found: on the Aegina pediments, for instance, and the draped female figures from the Acropolis (pp. 54 to 56), and the Hermes of Praxiteles (p. 191); many others clearly indicate that paint was originally applied. On the grave monument of Hegeso in Athens the lady is represented as taking something out of her

jewellery box and letting it glide through her fingers. She is watching the object, which itself is not sculptured, but was originally either painted or left to the imagination. The latter alternative seems more than doubtful, both because of the difficulty of imagining the object and because of the easy explanation of its omission by accepting the theory of applied paint. Other statues exist whose uneven surface corrosion suggests the application of colour in different degrees. The stele of Aristion, shows a well-defined star on the right shoulder lap of the cuirass. The colour, now completely vanished, was once probably superimposed upon the body colour of the cuirass; it therefore did not wear off as easily as the rest, preserving that part of the marble it covered from the corrosion that overtook the rest of the stele. The figure itself did not reach the bottom of the slab, but was separated from it by a rectangular and apparently empty space. There is a very similar stele, also in Athens, which represents the warrior painted and not sculptured. It shows the same rectangular space at the bottom, on which a painted miniature horseman still can – or at least some years ago could – be distinguished. A reasonable assumption would be to imagine that the identical space of the Aristion stele was filled in the same way by the painting of a horseman. A painting at the bottom of a sculptured slab, however, only seems appropriate if the carved portions are not left entirely colourless.

On the Parthenon frieze few accessories, e.g., bridles, halters, and ropes, are carved. Often holes are found, which apparently served as attachment points for bronze bridles and the like, while elsewhere no such holes are in evidence. In any case the addition of bronze implements would have deprived the frieze of colour uniformity, and a natural supposition would be that where no holes are found the necessary accessories were painted. This is not to suggest that every minor detail was either added in bronze or painted; much was merely suggested. The introduction of colour in the Parthenon frieze is entirely in keeping with the architectural scheme of the building, which was highly coloured above the capitals of the columns. On this point scholars agree.

Altogether, the evidence strongly implies that the Greeks utilised colour in their marble sculpture. No statue, however, has ever produced a trace of paint upon the flesh parts, leading some to believe that only hair, lips, eyes, drapery, and accessories were painted. The nude parts underwent a process known as *ganosis*, which toned down the marble's natural glare. The complete disappearance of colour on the smooth flesh parts during the intervening twenty centuries or more is not surprising and cannot be used as an argument, while the meaning of the words *circumlitio* and *ganosis*, both of which are used by classical writers in connection with the colouring of ancient statuary, remains obscure. The main argument, therefore, of those who believe in the colourless nude in ancient art is based solely upon the seemingly correct observation that the extremely delicate treatment of the nude in the best periods would have been an incomprehensible waste of time if it was to be covered by paint.

Experiments on antique statue colouring casts have proven important, establishing one point beyond all question¹⁴. According to Robinson and those having viewed such statues – “and one” says Robinson¹⁵, “which will come as a surprise to many who have examined the subject only theoretically. Colour, even when applied as a coating, instead of diminishing the effect of modelling, considerably heightens it. Far from hiding the sculptor's work, it enhances its beauty. The more delicately he models, the “more the colour emphasises its delicacy; should his own work be poor, the colour will accentuate the defects, possibly perhaps because of the close



Kore 686, called "The Sulky One", Acropolis, Athens, c. 480 B.C. Marble, h: 58 cm. Acropolis Museum, Athens.



Kore 594, Acropolis, Athens, c. 500 B.C. Marble, h: 122 cm.
Acropolis Museum, Athens.

comparison with nature. To a remarkable degree this can be observed in the heads of two statues, the Venus (Genetrix) (p. 72) and the Hermes of Praxiteles (p. 191). The Venus (Genetrix), (p. 72) usually passes for a good head, and is sometimes spoken of with enthusiasm for its delicate contour and subtle smile. Coloured, it becomes hard and dry; the modelling of the cheeks, and especially about the nose, is meagre, betraying the hand of the copyist more than any other part of the statue; and defects in the modelling of the mouth and chin, hardly perceptible in white, become unpleasantly apparent. In no part of either statue did Mr. Smith have to work so hard, try as many experiments to produce a result on a par with the rest. The head of the Hermes (p. 191), on the contrary, shows the marvellous beauty of modelling much more effectively under colour than in white cast. The exquisite modulations are more apparent when painted; in contrast the white cast has a curious, empty look. And what is true of the heads is equally true of other portions of the statues. The body and drapery of the Venus are modelled much more finely than the head, and the colours emphasise this.

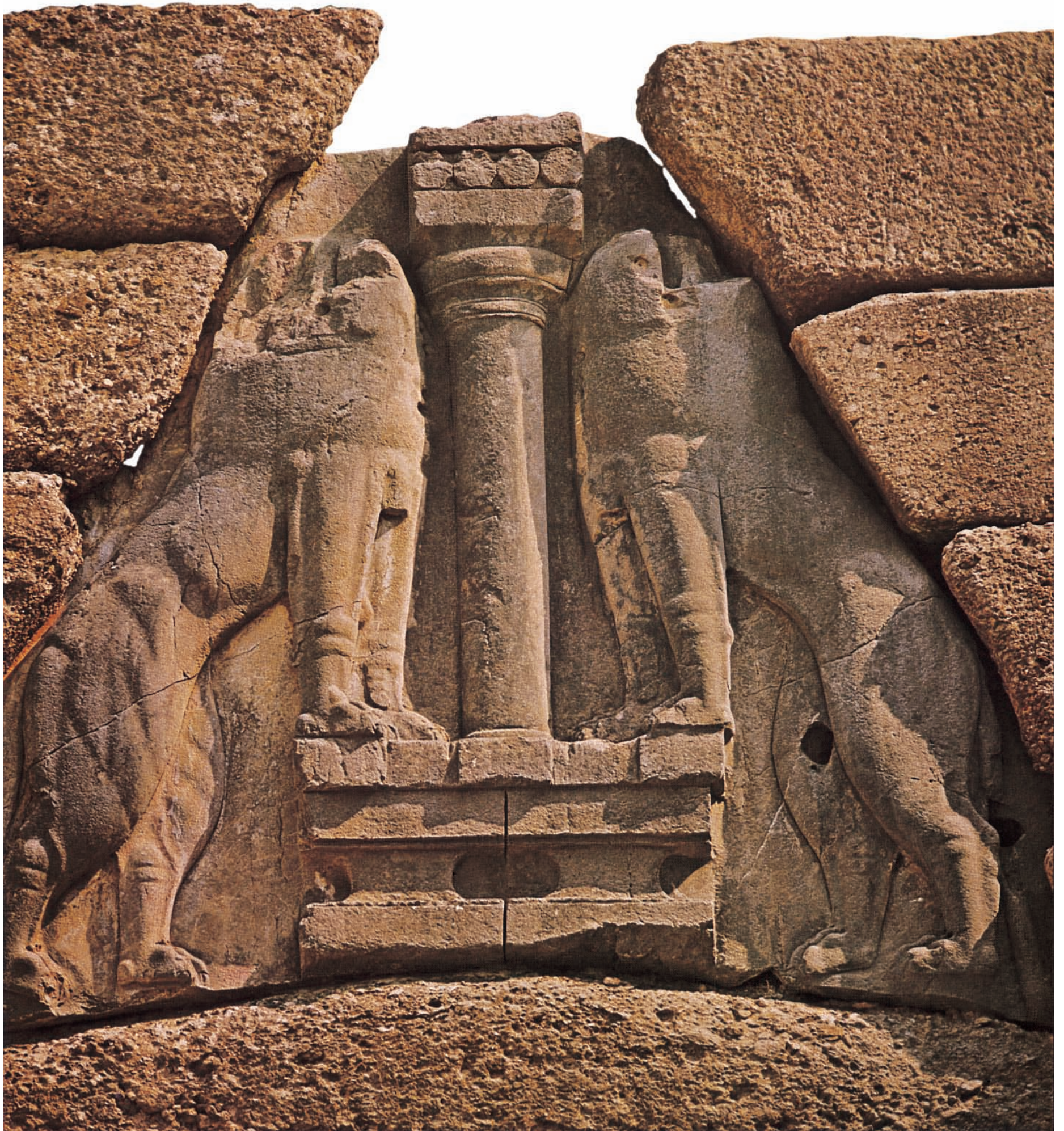
“If these experiments teach nothing else, they will at least demonstrate that the addition of colour, instead of enabling the sculptor to slur his work, subjects him to new and severe exactions; and hence they offer a suggestion as to one of the most important factors in the rapid rise to perfection of Greek Sculpture.”

Such experiments, though they cannot be said to have proved the application of colour on the nude parts of Greek statues, have nevertheless shifted the responsibility of proof to the other side. Colour was used on ancient marble; the addition of colour on all parts, even the nude, is possible. In the absence of definitive data it appears to have been the natural thing and in keeping with coloured terra cottas, many of which are believed to have been made in imitation of statues, in full accord with the paintings of coloured statues in Pompeii. With the question of colour application settled, other, more difficult questions arise: *What* colours were selected and how were they applied? Were the statues painted to represent reality? No information can be gleaned from ancient literature, and the few dots of paint found on marble are of little consequence. In the first place they may represent only the body colour, while the actual shade which was seen may, and probably has, disappeared; and in the second place even these samples have surely faded and changed under the influence of air or minerals in the soil when the statues were rediscovered. The Greek statues did not exhibit actual garments, but rather, in keeping with the mental images represented by the statues, conceptions of garments. They were *not* real; the application of the *real* colour is inappropriate. The effect of Mr. Smith’s coloured casts, therefore, proved unpleasant, and not regretted. A complete change, if it occurred, must have happened subsequently; when is beyond our knowledge to ascertain.

Such and similar considerations arguing against the universal use of colour on Greek marble statues should not be taken too seriously. They demonstrate the impossibility of making a solid case of events two millennia ago; if compared with the sound arguments in favour of the practically universal custom in Greece of painting marble statues, they are too slight and uncertain to have great weight. One point has been proved conclusively: ancient marble did *not routinely* exhibit the “colourless purity of form.” The final proof that they *never* exhibited it is still unsettled. All recent discoveries and investigations argue in its favour. It is therefore not unreasonable to expect that in time the current colouring *theory* of ancient statuary will become a universally accepted *fact*.



Kore 682 (detail), Acropolis, Athens, c. 520-510 B.C. Marble, h: 182 cm. Acropolis Museum, Athens.



ART CONDITIONS BEFORE THE 7th CENTURY B.C. AND EARLY IGNORANCE

The middle of the seventh century before Christ, now generally taken as the beginning of historic Greek sculpture, is not marked by any outstanding historical event. Gradually the mist obscuring the preceding centuries clears before the investigator's eyes. One century beyond this period he feels on sure ground. No existing Greek statue, however fragmentary, can be dated earlier than between 650 or 625 B.C.; beyond that lie the dark middle ages of Greece. The Greeks themselves possessed at best a hazy notion of this period. Some specific details were remembered across the ages, others were invented to explain existing conditions; all this was centred about a few popular heroes, whose characters, if they really existed, were so boldly altered that they could no longer be distinguished from the creations of fiction. Such legends are interesting, but may be readily dismissed in the discussion of facts. Of greater importance are the discoveries of archaeologists and anthropologists, because they are probably as accurate as they unfortunately are scant.

The inhabitants of Greece, of the islands of the Aegean, and of the coast of Asia Minor belonged to the Aryan race, which at an early time, coming perhaps from Asia, perhaps from somewhere in northern Europe, divided into five prominent families. Each of these families and their branches branched off. The important branches of the Greeks were the Aiolians, the Ionians, and the Dorians. The Dorians were perhaps the late comers and apparently the least civilised. It is believed that long before their arrival in approximately 1100 B.C., the other families had already established a flourishing civilisation in Greece. The first finds of this early civilisation commanding general attention were made in Mycenae in 1876 by Dr. Schliemann; and because it was at the time believed that the Mycenaeans were the only ones who had thus far advanced on the road of human progress, this civilisation was called the *Mycenaean Age*. Very soon, however, it was found that other people had shared the blessings of this age. For want of a better name, however, and because of its familiarity the term "Mycenaean civilisation" has been retained, despite the fact that scholars today are looking for the centre and the origin of the flourishing conditions in Crete.

The date of the Mycenaean Age is fixed chiefly by means of contemporaneous Egyptian events, from about 1600 to 1100 B.C. The earlier date remains uncertain, and recent discoveries seem to show that it should to be set further back, perhaps even in the third millennium before Christ. Earlier than this nothing is known of the Greeks. How long they

had been in the country, whether they had brought civilisation with them, whether the Mycenaean civilisation was their first attempt or only the revival of an older one that had crumbled away – all this eludes our most painstaking investigation.

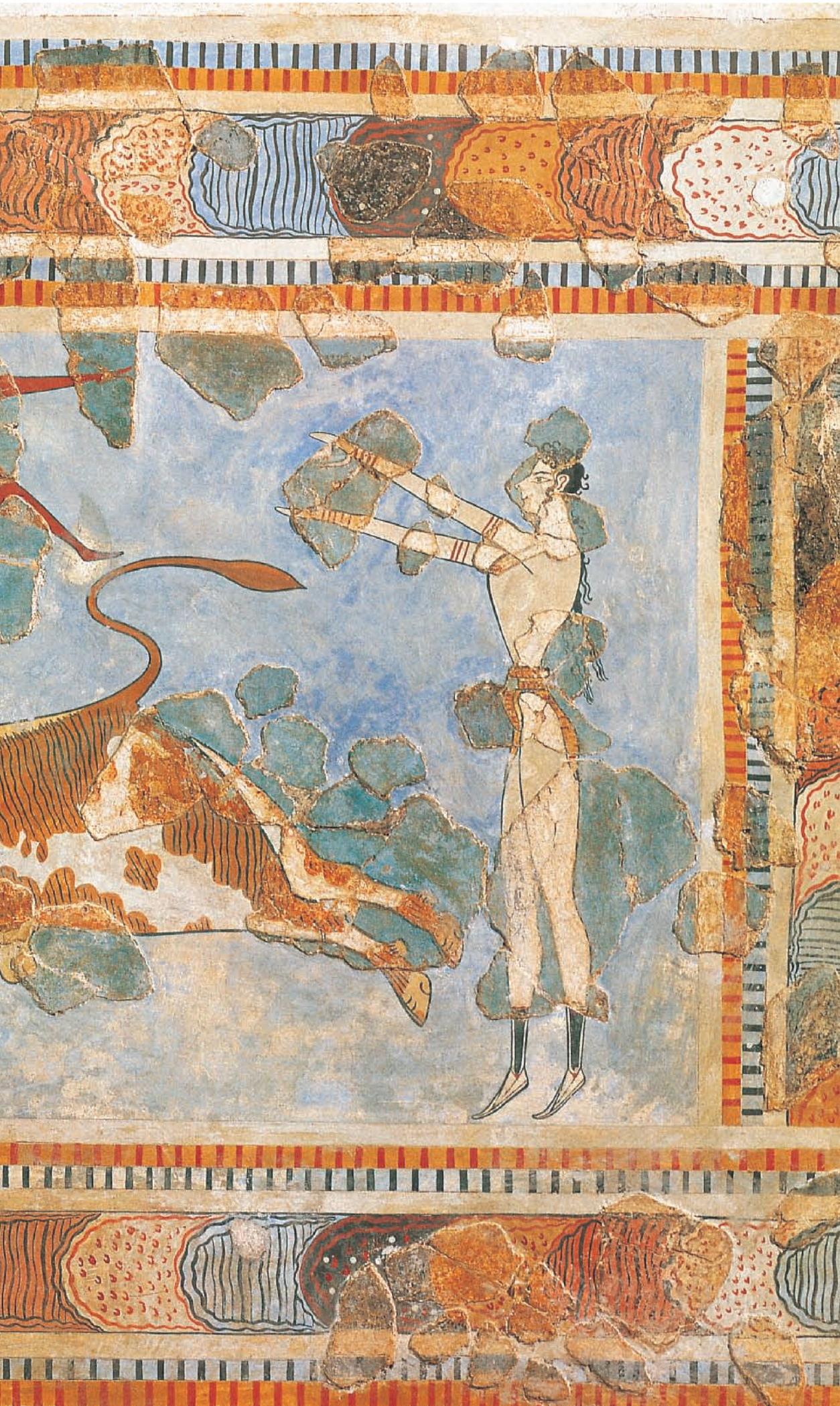
Thanks to the unflagging effort of archaeologists from many nations, Mycenaean Age art has become well known today. Judging from remains, sculpture was little practised, for the lionesses over the citadel gate of Mycenae (p. 56), are the only existing works of consequence. Painting, more especially wall painting, was much in favour, and the fragmentary figures of an extended fresco in the great palace of King Minos in Crete (pp. 58-59), exhibit daring composition and fine, delicate lines. The minor arts, however, notably the goldsmith's, flourished (p. 60). Hundreds of magnificent works of this kind remain. Taken together with the many thousands of small, ornamented trinkets from the opened graves (p. 61), they give a good idea of these early artists' aims and achievements. The artists did not work for show, as is often the case with unrefined people possessing accumulated wealth.

Though in gold, it is not the splendour of the costly material that impresses the spectator, but the delicate shape into which it has been wrought and the refined taste shown in the selection of ornament. Despite this, human figures and animals rarely occur. The majority of the patterns are fanciful inventions of the artist's mind, never grotesque or complex or overdone; they are simple spirals, circles, curves, or other unpretentious figures. The artists who did this work and the people for whom they were made, were apparently blessed with an intense love for the beautiful and a temperament of great simplicity.

Some time around 1100 B.C. this flourishing civilisation suddenly failed, long before it had reached a decline. An important historical event must have occurred, probably the Dorian invasion. Not occurring at once, but extending over a period of at least a century. The country was well settled, and when the Dorians kept pushing from the north, many of the old inhabitants had to yield and leave their homes. Most of the people of the Peloponnesos probably emigrated to Asia Minor, while those that remained, like the Messenians, were doomed to eternal slavery. In the turmoil of readjustment no time was left for artistic expressions. Ruskin once said, "Art is possible only, when after satisfying the needs of daily life, there is enough mental and physical energy left for 'play' "; and during these times of struggle, when some were defending their old homes and others were fighting for their new country, neither time nor energy

Lion's Gate, Mycenae, 14th century B.C. In situ.





Scene with Bull and Acrobats,
Knossos Palace, Crete, 1700-1400 B.C.
Fresco, 62.3 cm.
Archaeological Museum, Heraklion.



*Pendant with Bees, Royal Necropolis, Malia, 1700-1600 B.C. Gold.
Archaeological Museum, Heraklion.*

could be spared for “play”. By 1000 B.C. the Dorians were in place, yet centuries had to pass before conditions became settled. These three hundred and fifty years to the beginning of historic Greece carry well the name “Greece dark middle ages”. They are indeed dark, with but one ray of light – the Homeric poems. It matters little whether the Iliad and the Odyssey were written by one man, or whether they were the compilation of many poets; whether they were first sung in the ninth century or only shortly before 650 B.C. The important fact is that subsequent to the downfall of the Mycenaean civilisation, and before the dawn of historic times, there were people who could sing such songs and others who could enjoy them.

The civilisation described in the Homeric poems presents a mixture of memories to glorious times in continental homes and the idealisation of the poet’s own surroundings. In them the role played by art is small, with

invasion sculpture was little fostered; in this period it became the foremost art of the people. Probably at all times painting was a worthy second, though the fragility of pictures today forbids us from appreciating this. To what degree the historic Greeks were indebted to their early ancestors for the inheritance of a delicate aesthetic temper remains a question we cannot satisfactorily answer. Assuming that much of the Greek love for beauty was inherited down the centuries despite the Doric invasion, one encounters less difficulty in explaining the rapid advance in art following the initially crude beginnings. These advances were so sudden that many have looked for influences beyond Greece to clarify the phenomenon.

In sculpture Greece was independent of influence from countries coming under consideration in this connection – Phoenicia, Assyria, and Egypt. The Phoenicians were the traders of antiquity until replaced by the Ionian



The “Agamemnon” Mask, tomb V, Mycenae, c. 1600-1500 B.C.
Gold, h: 31.5 cm. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.



Mortuary Mask, Mycenae, c. 1600-1500 B.C.
Gold, h: 20.5 cm. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

the finest articles described appearing to be of Oriental importation. This supports the idea that art in Greece had completely disappeared, which the absence of remains indicates. Alone gem cutting flourished to some extent. Most of the finds of this kind, however, were made on the islands of the Aegean, and are therefore known as *island gems*. They differ considerably, not only in shape and decoration but also in workmanship, from the earlier Mycenaean gems.

When by the middle of the seventh century the political conditions in Greece were sufficiently settled to allow a renewed expression in art, the Mycenaean artists’ manual skill was totally lost. Moreover, the Greeks had begun to express themselves in a new direction; prior to the Dorian

Greeks. They facilitated intercourse between the intellectual creations of several people; though highly gifted, they never had much of an art life themselves. In their country virtually no sculpture has been found. It is improbable that they had any direct influence upon the development of sculpture in Greece. The Babylonian and Assyrian cultures are perhaps the oldest known civilisations known, pre-dating Christ by thousands of years. Their country’s southern regions, where their first achievements began, were poor in stone. Sculpture was unpopular in the north, richer in this material indispensable for primitive sculpture. Figures in the round are extremely few; while relief sculpture was not fully developed until the times of Ashurnasirpal (in the ninth century B.C.), and especially Ashurbanipal,





better known as Sardana (668-626 B.C.) (pp. 66-67). The differences between Assyrian and Greek sculpture are so numerous and apparent that no one can long believe any help flowed to the Greeks from this quarter, at least in their sculpture. In their vase paintings and other minor arts Oriental influences are undeniable.

The case of the Egyptians differs. A superficial resemblance between the earliest Greek statues and certain types of figures well known in Egypt has led many to suppose that Greece was much indebted to Egypt in all aspects of art sculpture. This view appeared particularly plausible since Greece's early stages of sculpture nearly coincide with renewed trade relations between the two countries when Psammetic (663-610 B.C.) opened his kingdom to foreigners, and the Greeks founded the commercial colony of Naukratis there. The early period of sculpture, however, and the founding of Naukratis require no immediate connection beyond their being simultaneous expressions of an active people having at last found sufficient peace and leisure at home to exert itself in other directions.

The Egyptians, an old civilisation with a proud past had records preserved as cuttings or paintings upon stone in temples and graves. Every event was dated by the reign of kings, and since this list is well known, comparatively little difficulty is encountered compiling a history of Egypt reaching back thousands of years. Though they knew how to calculate in years, the Egyptians computed their history in dynasties, i.e., the continuous reign of kings belonging to one family. Therefore we cannot always assign to an event or a dynasty its equivalent date in years. Occasionally some natural phenomenon whose date we know accurately can help us; as, for instance, the occurrence of an eclipse during the reign of a certain king, or by contemporaneous and datable events of Assyrian or Greek history. In spite of the uncertainty of some dates most scholars now agree that the first known dynasty of Egyptian kings dates at least three or four thousand years before Christ.

The most genuine expressions of art, the earliest Egyptian monuments are the best; those of later periods sometimes distinguish themselves through delightful grace in outline and mass, but never accurately render the people's thoughts. Egyptian art concepts fossilised after the first twelve dynasties. The subsequent revivals in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties (ca. 1600-1100 B.C.), as well as in the twenty-sixth dynasty (663-525 B.C.) were virtually exclusively concerned with the superficial appearance of the statue, and concerned themselves little with thoughts expressed therein.

Throughout ancient Egypt's history, standing statues were carved. They stand erect, generally with the left foot forward (p. 68). This position was the same with the earliest Greek statues, causing some writers to believe the Greeks received their help from this source; some even say the Greeks copied the Egyptian statues. False. The Egyptians took special pains with the head and its features, the body receiving only passing attention; from the earliest times, the Greeks treated all parts of the body with equal care.

Lions of Delos, 7th century B.C. Marble. In situ.

Kore, Athens, c. 580 B.C. Marble,
h: 104 cm. Archaeological Museum,
Peiraeus.



Ashurnasirpal II, Nimrud
(Kalhu), Neo-Assyrian,
c. 883-859 B.C. Magnesite,
h: 113 cm. British Museum,
London.

This alone disproves supposed “copying” of Egyptian work by the early Greeks, not to mention the different spirit pervading the two people’s creations. The Greek statues project a joyous prophecy of better things to come while even the best Egyptian statues after 1000 B.C. barely disguise the senile creations of a fossilised art. Who can believe young Greek artists travelling to Egypt to cultivate their taste, seeing the conventional statues in Egypt, then returning home to carve figures below the Egyptian in execution yet ahead of them in joyous conception! No point of resemblance exists between these statues, except the superficial one of pose, which is probably accidental and due to the necessity of solving identical problems. Reasoning from unintentional similarity is always dangerous and ought to be avoided.

Assume then that the early Greeks did not intend to copy their neighbours across the Mediterranean. The possibility exists – though not necessarily probable – that they borrowed from the Egyptians the idea of representing their men standing with the left leg forward. Gardner¹⁶ calls this borrowing the art alphabet. Even if correct, this does not mean the Greeks received help from the Egyptians. If the Zulus or Hottentots felt the necessity of expressing their ideas in writing, and in the absence of letters of their own were to borrow the English alphabet, it surely would not follow that their literature was in the least indebted to English thought...

In their sculpture, then, the ancient Greeks received no help from the outside, nor any monuments from past art to learn from; they evolved their art from within, from nobility, hopefulness, and genuineness of character.

Material, Technique

Greek sculpture consisted largely of bronze or stone. In later years bronze was utilised more extensively than marble; but in the beginning the Greeks probably used more stone, and before that, perhaps, wood. The Greek climate is harsher than the Egyptian, so no wood sculptures have been preserved. On the Greek mainland and especially in Athens the artists used soft local stones, “tufa” or “poros,” which were easily carved and offered few obstacles to the unskilled hand. Later a harder stone, generally marble, was used. Parian and Naxian marble were the first to enjoy general popularity, until they were largely superseded in the fifth century by Pentelic marble, at least for Athens. The neighbouring Mt. Hymettos, also near Athens, offered another very acceptable but somewhat bluish marble. In whiteness none of the Greek marble can compare with the beautiful product from Carrara, which was not known to the ancients before Roman imperial times.

The earlier Greek sculptors in marble probably worked on the block itself without first making life-sized models. It is even doubtful whether they made any models at all. Later models, perhaps in clay or plaster, were used, and an inscription from Lpidauros in the fourth century B.C. is probably correctly interpreted to mean that Timotheos received a certain sum of money for making the models for the pedimental groups of the temple which were to be executed by lesser artists; in the first century B.C. great sculptors made much money by the sale of their models alone. In the best times, however, the execution in marble was certainly not



Venus and Cupid, Roman copy after a Greek original from the end of the 4th century B.C., c. 1st-2nd century A.D. Marble, h: 173 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Ashurbanipal and his Queen enjoying a Banquet, called The "Garden Party" Relief, Room S, North Palace of Ashurbanipal, Nineveh, Neo-Assyrian, c. 645 B.C., Gypsum, l: 58.4 cm. British Museum, London.





entrusted to workmen but was always done by the artists themselves. The practice of piecing marble was known and extensively made use of at a very early date.

A bronze statue requires the preparatory completion of an accurate model. In modern times such models are composed of many pieces, all of which are cast separately and finally joined together. The ancients, on the contrary, seem to have preferred casting their figures in as few pieces as possible.

Bronze is an alloy of various metals. Copper, zinc, and tin compose modern statuary bronze; in ancient times it seems to have contained a small addition of lead. This metal has the unpleasant quality of rendering the molten mass less even, and is therefore rarely used in modern times; it makes the alloy, however, softer and less brittle, and thus enables the artist to put some finishing touches on the statue after it is cast. The great advantage of this is that some of the most delicate modelling need not be put on the form, where it is apt to be lost in the process of casting, but may be introduced on the statue itself. The finished bronze, according to Pliny, was rubbed over with bitumen, probably to give to its three or four separately cast parts a uniform gloss without greatly altering their natural colour. In modern times bronzes often are treated with acids to give them an artificial *patina*. This is done because it takes a long time to have the bronze oxidise under the influence of air to the peculiarly pleasing green hue one sees on antique statues; also, because modern bronze casters, for technical reasons, are less careful in mixing the alloy with a view to its ultimate appearance.

Some modern statues, moreover, which were left to oxidise under the sole influence of the air, have been found to show an unpleasant black patina, the reason for which is unknown, though it is believed that the dirt and soot from large cities today may be responsible. The bluish patina found on bronzes discovered in Pompeii and the greenish one on those from Herculaneum are probably due to the mineral ingredients of the soil and the ashes or lava in which the statues were buried for almost eighteen centuries. The ancients used several different kinds of alloy – Delian, Argive, and Aiginetan – but it is not known to what degree the one differed from the other, nor their varying advantages. Gold and silver were also used for dedicatory statues, but these materials were poorly adapted to sculpture, for their intrinsic value and glittery surface distracted the spectator's attention from the statue's central appeal. If gold was an unsatisfactory material in which to cast entire statues, it was on the contrary well adapted to the decoration and ornamentation of the drapery of large temple images. Many such images of gold and ivory, called *chryselephantine*, were built up around a wooden core, with ivory for the nude parts and gold for the drapery. They were especially frequent during the age of Perikles, when Phidias finished in this style his huge Zeus in Olympia and his Athena in the Parthenon at Athens. When money ran low, polished marble was substituted for the ivory, and gilded wood for the gold; the effect of such *akrolithic* statues was probably much the same as the effect of those made of the more costly materials.

Montouemhat, end 25th-beginning 26th dynasty, end of the 7th century B.C.
Grey granite, h: 137 cm. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Destructive Forces

Owing to the market value of the materials it is not surprising that none of the chryselephantine statues, and only one in gold, has been preserved to our day. Astonishingly, of the entire wealth of stone and bronze Greek statuary, only a small fraction of one per cent remains. Of the originals, only one can be assigned to any of the great sculptors. Several forces combined to bring about this state of affairs.

Time itself, of course, has proved infernally destructive. Left to themselves few marble, and no wooden, statues endured the annual changes of the Greek climate or the frequent earthquakes, which devastated the majority of Greece's temples. The Romans, too, despoiled the conquered country of many statues. Sulla alone carried several hundred from Delphi, and Caligula even attempted removing the colossal Zeus from Olympia to Rome. When the statues were removed by wholesale they were detached from their bases, on which the artists had engraved their names; and when the ships were unloaded in Italy all means of identification, except in the case of a few famous pieces, were lost. The Romans were extremely fond of statues, without at first being willing to make many of their own; and since not even the thousands which were shipped from Greece filled the demand, they set about copying those their favourites.

Marble in Italy was cheap and labour cheaper. These Roman copies took the place of the modern plaster casts for the decoration of libraries, halls, villas, gardens, and the like. The originals imported from Greece, with nobody to care for them, gradually disappeared. Some doubtless were again removed to adorn the new capital when the empire was divided into a western and an eastern half; others were broken in the turbulent times which followed the northern invasion after A.D. 375; and still others were buried, partly in the ruins of the buildings where they stood, partly by loving owners who desired to preserve them from the enemy and never had the opportunity of digging them up. Of the many which remained in Greece some were wantonly destroyed by the Goths and other invaders, while not a few fell victims to the vulgar zeal of the early Christians, who carried their hatred of the ancient gods to the extent of breaking the statues which had adorned their sacred precincts.

And despite this long list of calamity and destructive force, many more statues would still be with us had it not been for the inhabitants' own astonishing vandalism. Reverence for the antiquity was unknown to them, and until Greece was liberated in the nineteenth century from the Turkish yoke, generation after generation pillaged the remains of ancient art works. Marble reliefs and large statues, when cut or broken, provide excellent building material; and there probably are few villages in modern Greece where at least one statue or relief could be discovered if the houses were torn down.

The primary driving force, however, of Greek marble's utter destruction is due to its excellence as material; it makes the best lime. Statue after statue found its way to the limekiln, because it was much

Kouros, Temple of Poseidon, Cape Sounion, c. 600 B.C.
Marble, h: 165 cm. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.





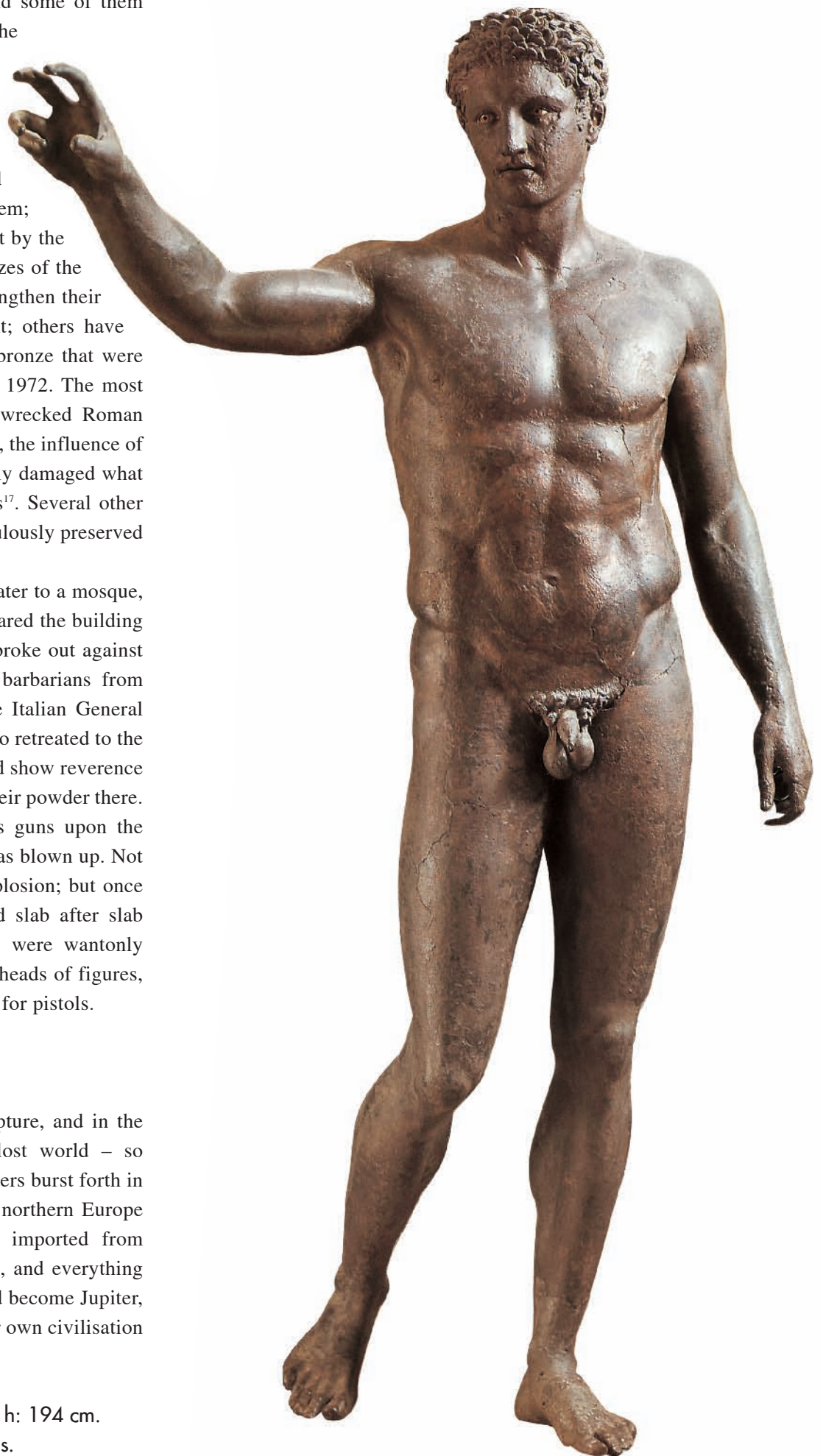
Zeus or Poseidon, Cape Artemision, c. 460 B.C. Bronze, h: 209 cm. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

easier to take the statues at hand than to quarry new blocks. Bronzes, on the other hand, fell victim to another curse and were melted for their high market value. With these numerous forces at work, and some of them uninterrupted for more than two thousand years, the wonder no longer is that so few statues have been preserved but that so many have escaped destruction. Nineteenth and twentieth century excavations have brought many of them to light, some from the ruins of the sacred precincts where they had been erected and finally forgotten – the Hermes of Praxiteles among them; and others from the structures into which they were built by the unappreciative inhabitants, as for instance the large friezes of the altar at Pergamon, which were used by the Turks to strengthen their walls. Many of these works were painstakingly sought; others have come to light unexpectedly, like the two Greek Riace bronze that were found at sea off the coast in Calabria (Italy) in August 1972. The most notable instance of this kind was the cargo of a shipwrecked Roman vessel discovered off Cape Malea in 1901. Unfortunately, the influence of salt water and volcanic upheavals at the sea bottom badly damaged what fate itself seems to have begrudged the greedy Romans¹⁷. Several other works, e.g., the Parthenon, were for a time almost miraculously preserved from destruction.

Early on it was converted to a Christian church and later to a mosque, and even the Athens' later inhabitants' barbaric tastes spared the building and its sculptured decorations. But when the holy war broke out against the Turks, and Christian armies set out to drive the barbarians from European soil, the building was utterly destroyed. The Italian General Morosini had orders to attack the Muslims in Athens, who retreated to the Acropolis. They were confident that the Christians would show reverence to the building which even they had spared, and stored their powder there. Morosini had hardly learned of it when he turned his guns upon the Parthenon, and on 26 September, 1687, the Parthenon was blown up. Not all the sculptured decorations were destroyed in the explosion; but once begun, the destruction was vigorously continued, and slab after slab wandered into the limekiln, while many other pieces were wantonly destroyed. Official records note that the Turks used the heads of figures, both on the frieze and on the metopes, as target practice for pistols.

Early Ignorance of Greek Sculpture

The Romans possessed little knowledge of Greek sculpture, and in the Middle Ages even this disappeared. Greece was a lost world – so completely lost that when the interest in humanistic matters burst forth in the early Renaissance, there was not a man in Italy or northern Europe who knew the language. Greek scholars had to be imported from Byzantium. Nothing was dated farther back than Rome, and everything viewed through Roman eyes. A Greek statue of Zeus had become Jupiter, Hermes was known as Mercury, Aphrodite as Venus. Our own civilisation



Youth of Anticytherus, mid-4th century B.C. Bronze, h: 194 cm.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

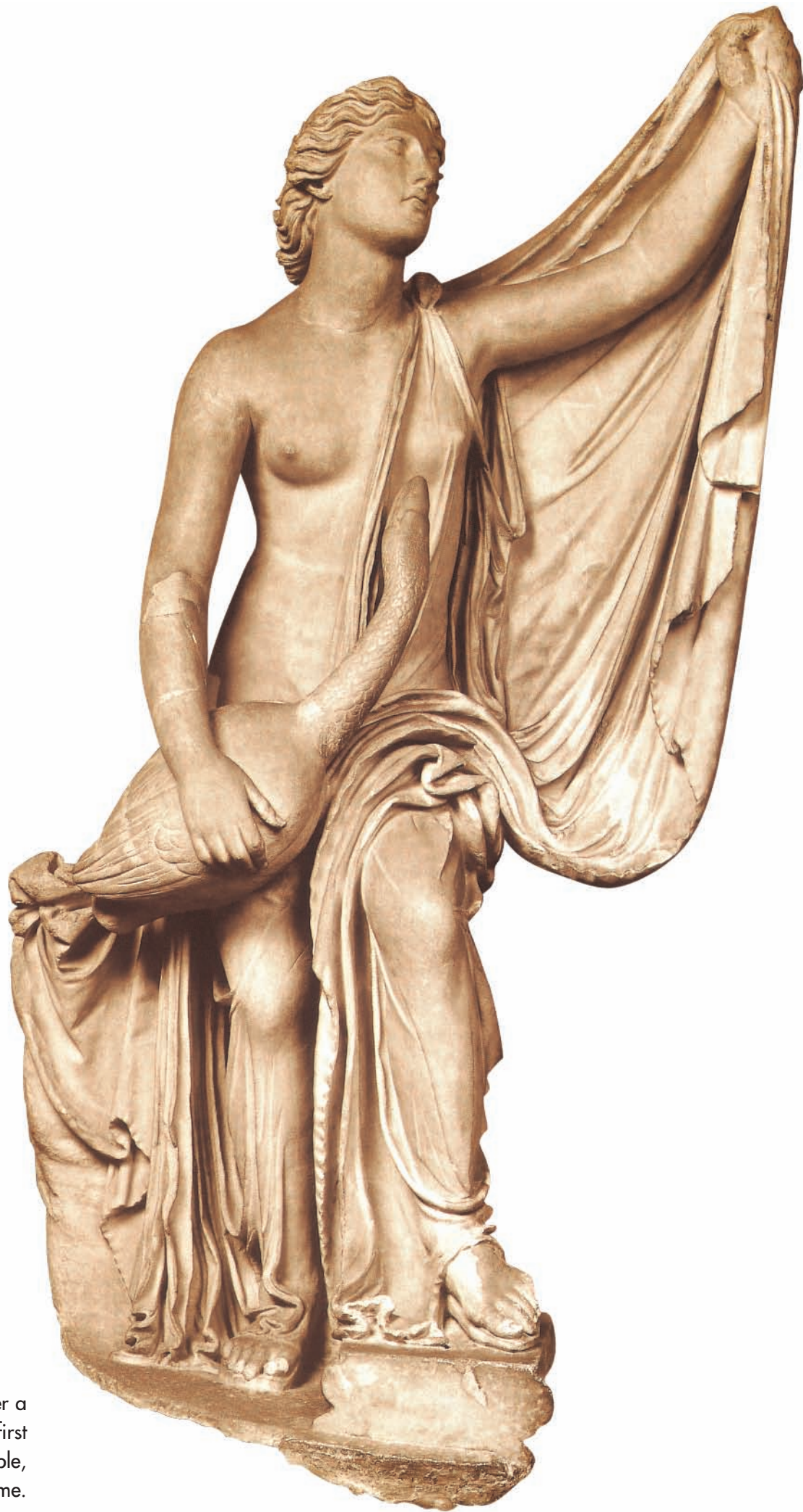


is the direct descendant of the Renaissance; and although in the field of ancient sculpture we now have gone farther back than they – we have gone to Greece itself – many of the earlier notions derived from the study of the Roman view of Greek sculpture still cling to us, and among other things we still wrongly persevere in calling the Greek gods and goddesses by their Roman names. Jupiter, it is true, was the Roman father of the gods, just as Zeus was the Greek; but the characters of the two gods were not at all alike. The Greek Aphrodite as goddess of love was an entirely different deity from the lustful Roman conception of Venus. In speaking of Greek statues, therefore, it is more correct, and consequently decidedly preferable, to use the Greek names. In the mid-eighteenth century when Winckelmann first sounded the note of honest and unbiased study of the past, a great mass of unprepared material had been gathered in various museums. The painstaking labour of his successors has brought order out of this chaos by the judicious use of the only two sources from which accurate knowledge can be derived.

Firstly, these sources are monumental, secondly, literary. The monumental sources consist primarily of the comparatively few originals and the great wealth of Roman copies; also of inscriptions, vase paintings, terra cottas, coins, and other objects, on which the original statues were either mentioned or reproduced. The literary sources include all the references to art contained in ancient literature. Some men, like Pliny the Elder (died A.D. 79) and Pausanias (second century), wrote of art; others simply made incidental references to illustrate their thoughts. Great care must therefore be exercised in using the criticisms of the ancients, especially since the writers are not all equally trustworthy. Many statements, of course, were based on contemporaneous and reliable authors whose writings are now lost; but since few of the Romans followed the practice of Pliny, who frequently cited his authorities, it is at times impossible to distinguish between the inaccurate Roman notions and the often correct ideas quoted from older Greek writers.

This confused state of the literary sources, together with their importance, is largely responsible for the fact that the subject has been for almost a century exclusively in the hands of archaeologists and philologists, and so lost to the general public. Without the untiring labour of these men it would even now be impossible to draw definite conclusions; yet their knowledge concerns for the most part what may be called the grammar of art. There is a vast difference between studying a language grammatically and entering into the spirit of its literature. Literary disquisitions are impossible without the preliminary and accurate knowledge of grammar, but the *mere* matter-of-fact interest in the linguistic peculiarities of a language is always detrimental to the comprehension of the thoughts expressed in its literature. Ancient art in the same way must, in spite of much serious study, remain a closed book to all who do not go beyond the facts, to all who refuse to look for the spirit and the principles of Greek sculpture.

Aphrodite, type "Venus Genetrix", Roman copy after a Greek original created by Callimachus at the end of the 5th century B.C., c. 1st-2nd century A.D. Marble, h: 164 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Leda and the Swan, copy after a Greek original by Timotheus from first half of the 5th century B.C. Marble, h: 132 cm. Musei Capitolini, Rome.



Head of the Cavalier Rampin, Acropolis, Athens, c. 550 B.C. Marble, h: 27 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

EARLY GREEK SCULPTURE

First Attempts in the Round

The first Greek to carve a statue worthy of the name was, according to tradition, Daidalos – meaning, “the Skilful.” Legends of miraculous skill surrounded him; “his statues could see and walk and exercised all bodily functions.” The Greeks had no patience for abstract or detached ideas. A man named Daidalos may actually have lived, and in that case a little bronze statuette of Artemis in Boston, dedicated to the “Daidaleian,” may repeat one of his types. The word “Daidaleian,” however, is possibly merely an epithet of the goddess, “the skilful Artemis,” bearing no reference to the traditional name of the first sculptor. This is the more likely to be the case since none of the literary references to Daidalos are proven to be more than records of myths. He himself is now generally believed to be a creation of fiction. His reputed pupils and contemporaries, however, are, at least partly, real people; for some of their names have been found inscribed on stone in several locations.

The wide range of territory covered by these places gives an excellent idea of the extensive intercourse and ready exchange of artistic ideals in earliest Greece. Literary tradition points in the same direction. The Athenian Daidalos founded – so the story goes – a school of sculpture in Crete. His pupils worked in Crete, Rhodes, Ambracia, and in the Peloponnesos; others again in Athens, Ephesos, Arcadia, Samos, and Lemnos; and artists of the separate and rival schools, Samos and Chios covered the land from Ephesos to Naukratis in Egypt and back again to Athens. In Bœotia a grave stele was found made by Alxenor of Naxos; and several fragments from the Acropolis in Athens show such marked differences from the native Athenian style, and are so much like works found in Samos and in Bœotia, that the conclusion is inevitable that they were either imported into Athens from the outside or were made in Athens by foreign sculptors.

Such observations show the futility of dividing what is left of Greek art before the Persian wars into two large classes – the Dorian and the Ionian. These two branches of the Greek race, it is often believed, were fundamentally different in character and disposition. The Dorian mountain shepherds and farmers were slow, conservative, honest, gifted with beautiful bodies and careful to preserve their usefulness. The Ionian city folk, traders and merchants, were progressive, restless, of an “intense intellectual curiosity,” of laxer morals, and fond of luxurious drapery. Such fundamental differences in character one would think ought to be reflected in the sculpture of the people.

This is, however, rarely the case. In the first place, the ready intercourse tended to smooth over differences; and in the second, neither the sternest Dorians nor the most luxuriant Ionians were apt to create great artists. The best plan, therefore, is to look upon the older works as a joint

expression of all Greeks, showing at times different tendencies, as either the Dorian or the Ionian side of the artist dominated, but on the whole all tending towards one objective – mastery of material and clearer expression in expressing concepts. One of the earliest statues worthy of description was found in Samos, where it had been dedicated to Hera by a woman named Cheramyas. The statue (p. 76), now headless, may or may not represent Hera herself. In the absence, however, of a better name



*Head of the Cavalier Rampin, Acropolis, Athens, c. 550 B.C.
Marble, h: 27 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.*

it is most often referred to as the “Hera” of Samos. It would not do to be too particular in the designation of many of these early creations. Once we understand that the accuracy of names cannot be established, no harm is done; and the advantage of a distinguishing nomenclature is so great that it outweighs all contrary considerations. The “Hera” of Samos is carved from a circular block tapering towards the base, much like the



column between the lionesses over the gate of Mycenae (p. 56). The artist had to design his figure within the shape's limits. This hampered him in carving the right arm. He also desired variety, which accounts for the position of the left arm. The anatomy here is fairly well understood; one feels through the drapery the softness of the biceps and its surrounding parts, the turn at the elbow, and the tendons running down towards the hand. The sculptor chafed under the restraint of space, and attempted to explain the compression of the upper right arm where it ought to project by having the figure stretch it down with all her might. This led to another difficulty: such muscular action should be expressed by the character or at least her state of mind at that moment. This was beyond the early artist's reach.

Though unmistakably a woman, the figure itself is carved in a rather nondescript fashion in its lower half, where the original shape of the block permitted no freedom of action. The projecting feet and the drapery curving over them are its best parts. It is easy to imagine the actual shape of the feet, even where they are not seen; they are suggested. The artist stumbled here on a major principle of art – that the spectator can be impressed as much by those lines and masses that are suggested as by those that are represented. If the artist of the “Hera” had known this, he would have given his figure a better lower half despite the block's the shape. As it is, he has carved something that, if broken, would never impress as belonging to a human body. To make up for this lack of life the drapery has been delicately treated; so delicately, in fact, that no photograph renders it adequately. “Hera” was draped in two garments; some say three or more, a mistaken assumption since the artist left the distinguishing part to the painter. The different surfaces and folds are intended to bring pleasing variety into the composition, but none represents a copy or adaptation of nature. The artist carved what he thought was a drapery, without checking the accuracy of his conception by observation in nature.

This lack of nature study is characteristic of the entire figure. “Hera's” proportions are anatomically impossible; in the back, where the garments are represented tightly gathered about the body, this inaccuracy is especially noticeable. Unable to carve a draped figure that would show the drapery and suggest a living body, the artist hit upon this means of displaying the refinement of the drapery in front and of revealing the body in the back.

Despite its shortcomings, there is a truly noble and undeniable grandeur about the statue. Winckelmann says: “If you want to judge of a work of art, first disregard what clamours for attention in it because of the diligent labour and the skill of the artist; be rather concerned with that part of it which is the creation of intelligence.” or, “If it is a primitive work of art,” he might have added, “be not disturbed by the lack of skill, but look for the conception.” This precept of Winckelmann is as accurate as it is difficult to follow. The mistakes there are patent, sometimes exciting the spectator's mirth, making penetration to the concept's nobility difficult. Patient endeavour and continuous practice,

*Kore dedicated to Hera, by Cheramydes of Samos, c. 570-560 B.C.
Marble, h: 195 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.*



however, lead to the desired result. It helps to study those statues showing the same type of development, because they reveal the artist's objectives. The gradual development of the draped female figure, for instance, the mastery over the material slowly and painfully obtained through constant practice, and the growing facility of expression are advantageously studied in a series of statues excavated in Athens in the 1880s. A draped figure presents a two-fold problem to the sculptor – the body and the garment. Following this progress in art through stages in the male figures proves easier, because with few exceptions they are nude. Most of these male figures were found in sanctuaries of Apollo. For this reason all go by the name of this god, though many may be intended to represent mortals.

The original shape of the block for these statues was apparently always regular, either square or cylindrical, often tapering, although never particularly adapted to the design. On the contrary, the design had to be adapted to the block. One may call this a convention, or a custom, or a fancy; the fact remains that for several generations such a restriction was tolerated, though all manner of means were devised to make it less patent. The faithfulness to customary practice was a characteristic sign of this period. Customs were ironclad. It seems never to have occurred to the artists that they were of their own making and could be disregarded with impunity. As long as they lasted they were as confining in their field as the country's boundaries before the Persian wars, for Greece lived under constant threat of barbarians, whose name implied chaos.

One of the earliest "Apollos", was found on the island of Thera. Straight as plumb lines, the arms cling to the sides, pushing down with muscular force to keep within the block's confines; they are detached only at the elbows, but only slightly. The artist was apparently afraid they might break off unless fastened to the side of the body. Looking at the whole row of "Apollos", one notices how with every subsequent attempt the sculptor dared a little more and a little more, until in the "Apollo" of Tenea (p. 83), the entire arm was carved free, with only the hands secured by keeping a small bridge between them and the thighs.

This represents a tremendous achievement for the earlier sculptor! Imagine the man risking the fitful fancies of brittle marble! But he did so step by step, and soon more was done. In the Strangford "Apollo" (p. 87), even the bridges have disappeared. The arms once hung loose from the shoulders; now they are broken and lost – the artist of Thera would say as just punishment for the man who was too bold. Who can tell how many blocks were spoiled by daring too much before the conviction took hold of the artists that it could be done, and therefore must be done! In this entire period of struggle with material one finds no single backward movement. However impossible it must have seemed at times to accomplish anything better than already achieved, the Greek artist was like the man who never turned back, but always marched forward, never doubting.

Ornithoion, Geneleos group, Heraion of Samos, Samos, c. 560-550 B.C.
Marble, h: 168 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.



While the artist's progress with material was slow compared with the advance made by his successor in the fifth and the fourth centuries, it was constant. Much clear thinking contributed. Concluding what could be done and what could not, the artist strove to perfect the one and did not trouble about the other. He was even willing, when the situation required it, to give up his own better understanding. An excellent example is found in the treatment of the hands in the *Àpolloi* statues. Except for a space near the elbows, as long as the arms and hands of these statues were actually attached to the sides, the natural continuation of the lines of the forearms was the thumbs. They were therefore carved lying close to the leg. But this gave rise to the problem of disposing of the fingers. The most natural thing was to make a closed fist of the hand. In such a case, however, as every one can see by trying the experiment, either the last joints of the thumb and forefinger project, or, if the tips of the thumb and forefinger are brought together, several angles result in the fist instead of a small triangle.

The latter alternative was undesirable because of the space that would have to be removed between the thumb and the forefinger, so that the hand, according to early notions, would have lacked stability; while the other possibility of projecting joints was equally distasteful to the artist for technical reasons.

The only way out of this difficulty was for him to carve an inaccurate hand. He joined thumb and forefinger at the tips, and made of the thumb the hypotenuse of a small triangle, the apex of which was the knuckle of the forefinger. Was the artist satisfied with this device? Not a bit; for as soon as he discovered another solution he adopted it. It came to him in the natural development of his skill. When in the *Àpolloi* of Tenea, he detached the entire arm from the body, and even removed the thumbs from the side, leaving only a thin connecting ridge, he found not only the space for the projecting joint of the forefinger, but also learned that marble had sufficient strength to permit the detachment of such small parts.

Until the *Àpolloi* of Tenea *all* the statues show inaccurate hands; after him not a single one can be found. Pointing out details by which the gradual progress of early Greek sculpture can be followed is time consuming. There are the arms, the hands, the heads; for they also at first had to be supported. How could the neck's thin column hold the heavy weight of the head? A neat trick was the hair, which hung long and loose around the neck. This was still the case with the Tenean statue. But in the Strangford *Àpolloi* it has been taken up to display the head resting proudly on the neck without any outside support. This advance in skill was made before the youthful fashion had changed to trimming their hair short. This *Àpolloi* is represented with long hair done up in tresses and taken fastened about his head.

Together with increasing skill, more accurate conception can be noted. For the Greeks at first a man's body consisted largely of his outline, enclosing a few indistinct dimensions. Later the people's mental images, sharpened through expression, took in more of the peculiar quality of this

Philippe, Geneleos group, Heraion of Samos, Samos, c. 560-550 B.C.
Marble, h: 159 cm. Archaeological Museum, Vathy.
(p. 78: front, p. 79: back)

mass, which are not of uniform but contain flesh and bone. In the kouroi of the Louvre (p. 84), in many ways still crude, the abdominal muscles below the skin can distinctly be felt.

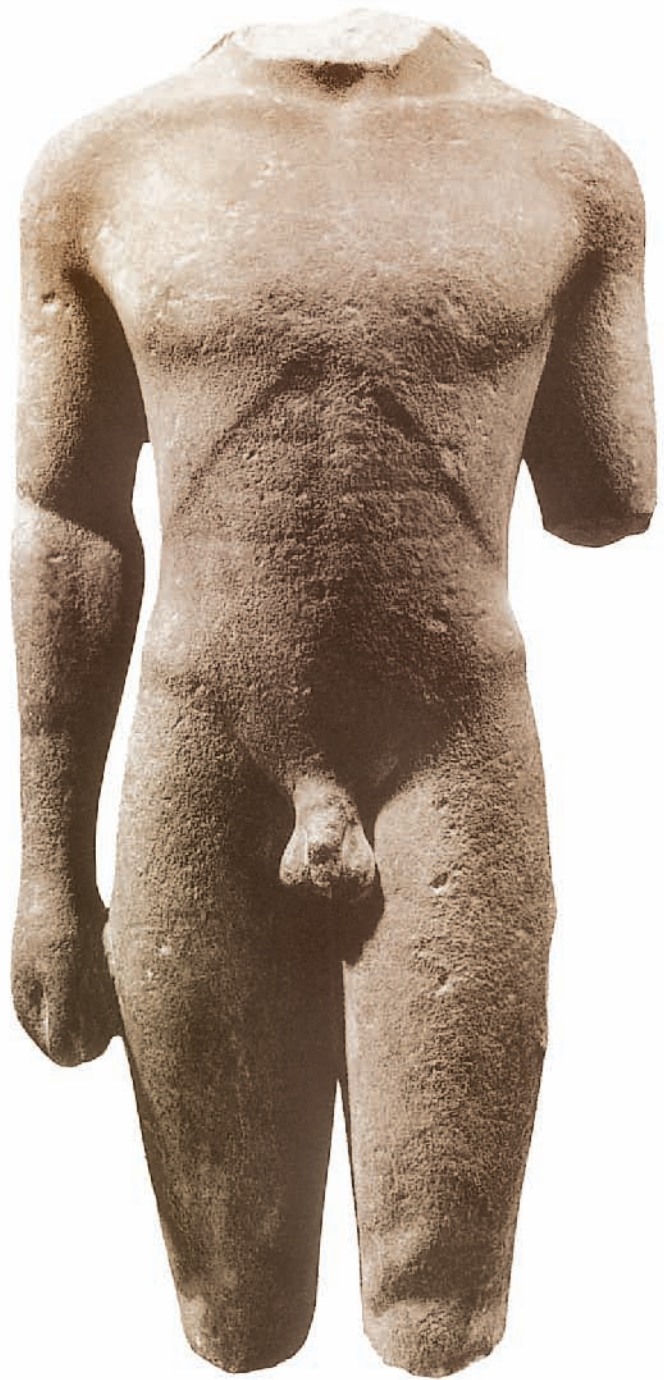
The first notable improvement is seen in the Tenea “Apollo”. His breasts, thighs, and calves are wonderful creations for a man who had yet to dare doing away with the hair support for the head; the knees are little short of marvellous. The trunk itself, to be sure, is still an unshapen mass, reminding one not improperly of the “Hera” of Samos. All this changed in the Strangford “Apollo” (p. 87). Here the rib muscles can be felt so easily it tempts a curious touch to count them, despite their being grossly inaccurate, as even the most casual comparison with a living model demonstrates.

All the “Apollos” display faulty anatomy. The earliest were designed for frontal viewing only. The sides and back was merely the essential accessory in executing the round. The crudest endeavours were made to join them with the front to make a whole. Over time, they were treated with more clarity. In the “Apollo” of Tenea four views are carefully wrought – the front, the back, and the two sides. But they are only *put* together, and do not, as in nature, *grow* together. The Strangford “Apollo” is really the first statue *in the round* deserving the name, even in its most modest application; for it was also designed for the straight front plane. Imagining a body in three dimensions, in full freedom of action, and in unlimited space is difficult. Luckily for them the early Greek artists had yet to advance to this stage. It would take a hard slog of incessant activity over two centuries before Greek skill learned to grapple with this problem.

The “Apollos” are often called *standing* figures, though they should be imagined as walking. Only in walking is the muscle over the knee as prominent as it is carved by the early artists, and as best seen in the Tenean figure. At rest the muscle is nearly unnoticed. The military step begins with the left, and practically all Europeans even today take the first step with this foot. These “Apollos,” therefore, are probably represented as beginning to walk. When Polykleitos, a century later, carved a walking figure in progress (p. 193), he advanced the right leg, perhaps to show that his athlete was not taking his first step. In walking both feet are never planted on the ground simultaneously, as is the case with these statues. The “Apollo” artists did not dare accuracy in this respect. It was bold enough to support the whole figure on only two legs, which would have to form substantial props. With a great deal of unwillingness, therefore, we may be sure they made this additional allowance to the heaviness of their material and to their own failing skill.

Walking awkwardly, it is true one can keep both feet on the ground together for an instant. Some suggest that ancient Greek artists chose this style to represent a walk because they could not do justice any other way. To believe this is to credit the early Greeks with a more accurate observation of nature than seems to have been the case. It is much more probable that the muscles prominent over both knees were due to the haziness of their notions. They knew that in walking these muscles are used, but had not learned from observation that they are put into play alternately. This probably is the right explanation, although there is still another, which is based on a peculiarity of representation sometimes noticed on vase paintings, where successive movements are





*Torso of a Kouros Statue, Naxos, c. 550 B.C. Marble, h: 99.5 cm.
Musée du Louvre, Paris.*

represented as simultaneous. In walking both muscles would eventually be put in use – the left in the step actually represented, the right in the step to be imagined. To help in imagining this step, which could not actually be shown, the right leg's muscle was prominently introduced before its proper time for action. Which of these ideas animated the artists' minds is impossible to determine. Whatever they thought, it seems that the attempt to show a walking figure rather than a standing one accounts for the peculiar inaccuracies in the anatomy of the "Apollo" statues.

This is in keeping with the observation that our mental images of living bodies are less generally concerned with them at rest than in motion, either moving through space, with the lower limbs put into play, or gesticulating, with the arms actively engaged. The material itself from which the figures are carved is stationary, motionless, presenting a difficult problem – how to express thoughts of action from inert material? Before the sculptors advanced to a clear understanding of this proposition they had to learn by experience that there are no ways of actually representing motion – that it can only be suggested. It seems the early Greeks still hoped for a different solution. They were slaves to their material, whose many possibilities remained to be discovered. They believed representing motion was possible. Attempt after attempt was made, each one improving on the preceding, yet each step falling short of success, until the solution came to the Greeks from an unexpected quarter.

One of the most fascinating attempts at rapid movement is found in a flying figure from Delos (p. 89), erroneously called the Nike of Delos. The statue probably commemorates the somewhat Oriental conception of the winged Artemis, the sister of the patron god of Delos, Apollo. In later times this goddess was thought of without wings, and since Nike, the goddess of victory, and Eros, the god of love, were the only Greek gods which continued to be represented with wings, the early statues of Artemis and those of Nike were often confused.

Not far from the place where the Delian statue was discovered, a broken base was found containing, if properly restored, the names of Mikkiades and Archermos, two sculptors of the old traditional school of Chios. The statue and the base, contrary to popular notion, do not belong together. Their peculiar shapes, however, seem to indicate that the base once contained a statue of much the same design as the existing figure. This, taken together with an ancient passage in which Archermos is credited with having been perhaps the first to represent Nike winged, signifies perhaps that the Archermos type of statue is preserved in the Delian figure.

Though badly broken, the statue can be readily restored. The lines of the right leg are apparent, and those of the left can be made out from the fracture. The goddess was practically kneeling on the left knee, with the lower half of the leg projecting at a right angle. The drapery continued below the body, forming the material support of the statue, while the body itself, by this means raised from the base, was thought of as swinging in mid air; only the toes of the left foot probably touched the base. The half-kneeling position of the figure is in keeping with existing vase paintings and reliefs, where rapid movement, generally running, is similarly represented.



Torso of a Kouros Statue, Naxos, c. 550 B.C. Marble, h: 99.5 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



The artists had noticed that in running the legs are bent more at the knee than in walking, and remembered this peculiarity, utterly disregarding its merely momentary occurrence. The French figure of speech, “to take one’s legs under one’s arms,” *prendre ses jambes à son cou*, is based on much the same observation. This particular statue was not running, but was flying; its wings, now almost completely lost, were attached at the shoulders – both on the back and over the breast – and at the feet. The left arm was bent almost at right angles to conform to the action of the legs, as can be seen from the preserved upper arm and the hand. The position of the right arm is less certain; perhaps it followed the direction of the outstretched wings to the right.

The twist of the figure at the waist is an indication of the inaccuracy of the artist’s conception. For technical reasons he designed the legs in profile and the face *en face*. To the connection in nature existing between the upper and the lower halves of the body, he was unable to do justice, putting the two parts of his statue together, irrespective of the natural curves of actual life.

The tightly fitting garment, revealing the fullness of the female body, was originally elaborately decorated in colour. On the statue itself this can even now be seen, because the different layers of paint have left their traces in slight differences of corrosion. Another gorgeous pattern probably ran down the broad stripe of the drapery between the legs. Similar stripes occur on the better preserved figures from Athens (p. 103), which have retained their elaborate decoration. The spare treatment of the garment over the breasts, in its present colourless state, may suggest that the artist here had been thinking of a nude. This is not the case, as a comparison of this part with the wonderful treatment of the muscular nude right leg conclusively proves.

The conception of this leg is another allowance made to the idea of rapid motion. Many Greek garments were open on one side, so that in running the leg was apt to become visible. The same motive was used about a century later by Paionios in his Nike of Olympia (p. 88).

The crude twist of the body and the reference to Archermos, who until the discovery of the statue was believed to be one of the half mythical and therefore very old sculptors, are responsible for the almost universal mistake of dating this figure early in the sixth century – that is, almost contemporaneous with the earliest “Apollo.” The very daring conception of a flying figure in stone, however, and the advanced skill in grappling with its representation suggest a later date. This becomes a certainty when one compares the hair of this figure with that of the series of statues from the Acropolis.

The latest of them, it is generally conceded, is approximately contemporaneous with the Persian wars, while the earlier may have been made during the reign of Peisistratos (560-527 B.C.). Three braids falling over the shoulder is the rule with most of them, four braids only with the

The Naxian Sphinx, Earth Sanctuary, Delphi, c. 575 B.C.
Marble, h: 232 cm. Archaeological Museum, Delphi.

“Apollo” of Tenea, c. 550 B.C.
Marble, h: 153 cm. Glyptothek, Munich.





Apollo, Asclepieion, Paros, c. 540 B.C.
Marble, h:103 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

later; and while the hair over the forehead is at first arranged in parallel rows, it gradually becomes of greater variety, until towards the end of the series it sometimes loses all semblance of hair and curls, and is arranged in spirals.

It would be wrong to draw definite conclusions, from a comparison of the Delian figure with the Acropolis statues, as to its exact date; the styles are too different. But when the sculptors all over Greece were working towards the same goal, such similarities as are found in the carving of fantastic spirals rather than correct curls cannot be overlooked. None of the Acropolis figures exhibiting them are dated much before 500 B.C. The artists on the islands may have begun earlier or later than the Athenians to *imitate* existing works rather than to carve their own conceptions, but no one will believe that they anticipated them by fully a century. The generally accepted date for the figure from Delos, therefore, early in the sixth century, is untenable.

The flying “Artemis,” instead of being one of the earliest attempts at sculpture in the round, belongs more probably to the end of this first period of historic Greek art. One is astonished at the skill of the artist and at the daring of his conception. Let a wave of enthusiastic love for freedom in the spiritual and the material world, such as broke in Greece after the Persian wars, sweep over the country, and the successors of the Delian artist are transformed into the forerunners of Phidias.

The First Attempts in Relief

Some assert, but without sufficient proof, that relief sculpture in the evolution of art holds the intermediate place between painting and sculpture in the round. The child playing with his paint box may readily be imagined to have acquired some facility in drawing and painting before he feels the inclination, or the need, of giving corporeal forms to the creations of his fancy; but it is a question whether he will be ahead of the little girl of whom Ruskin writes, who, left alone with some dough in her mother’s kitchen, made of it not pastry, as she was expected to do, but cats and mice. Existing monuments of early Greek art are insufficient to permit a definite statement in this respect, and unnecessary, because whatever relief sculpture’s origin, in the hands of the Greeks it soon became a very distinct mode of art expression. Attempt after attempt was made, until the artists finally realised what they could and could not do in relief. In this field of sculpture, as in the other, they did not advance to a clear perception of its possibilities until their horizon had widened after the Persian wars.

The very earliest reliefs show the same struggle with the obstinate material and the human form that was noticed in the round. In the action of the figures, to be sure, they permitted greater freedom, because an extended arm, for instance, or a flower held in the hand, can be attached to the background without the seeming danger of having them break off. More telling gestures and better poses of rapidly walking figures, therefore, are seen on reliefs than in works in the round belonging to the same stage of progress. Relief sculpture, on the other hand, presented some difficulties unknown in statues; for the grouping of the figures and the technique of carving them on different planes had to be studied.



Kouros III, Apollo Sanctuary, Ptoion, c. 550-540 B.C.
Limestone, h: 136 cm. Archaeological Museum, Thebes.



One of the ways artists tried solving these problems can be seen in a series of reliefs from the neighbourhood of Sparta, which show strong mutual resemblances, and sufficient differences from other known works to allow their being grouped together. They doubtless had some relation to funeral rites, and are therefore known as the Spartan tombstones. A man or hero, perhaps the deceased, sits on a finely carved throne on one of these tombstones (p. 92). He looks benignly at the spectator. The unnatural twist of his head, since neither his body nor his drapery is a copy from nature, is less noticeable than was the corresponding twist at the waist of the winged figure from Delos, whose body exhibited, in every other way, a far more delicate conception of nature. The folds on the Spartan relief, upon analysis, not folds at all, are represented with such brimming confident *naïveté* that they nearly convince. The same is true of the rest of the composition. The right shoulder of the man hardly deserves that name, and the legs, if broken off from below the knees to the ankles, could not be recognised as such.

Behind the man, perhaps on the same throne but more likely on a separate chair, uncarved but left to the imagination, his wife is represented entirely in profile. Having thought of her as farther away from the spectator, the early artist, unacquainted with the principles of relief sculpture, felt obliged to carve her on a more remote plane. He did the same with most parts of his composition, so that seven distinct planes can be distinguished.

The man's head and right arm are carved on the front plane, his body on a second plane, his left arm on one still farther removed, and so on to the left arm of his wife. The composition, despite the careful differentiation of planes, is not convincing; owing to the relief's comparative flatness, the artist failed to give each plane the thickness required by nature. The shadows each plane casts upon the other betray the inaccuracy of the whole. Failures such as these taught the Greeks. In fact, few reliefs in this mistaken technique exist today.

Based on the peculiar appearance of the various planes, sharply separated from one another, many have concluded that this block showed the effect of a wood carving technique; this is by no means certain. The different planes probably reflect the artist's endeavour to put into practice his own mistaken theories of relief sculpture.

This relief demonstrates that even the early artists dreaded empty spaces from the point of view of grouping. The size of the cup is entirely out of proportion to the man holding it, and his left arm is elongated and his hand overlarge, filling what otherwise would have been an empty space.

The lines of the composition are very pleasing, carrying the eye readily over the entire block without a waste of energy. The furniture is beautiful, the lion's legs carved on the back of the throne could serve as models for the most refined design. Though unreal, the figures' faces (notice the eyes, and the roundness of the chin on the man), are pleasant in line and mass. One sees easily the artist's belief in pleasing the eye without forgetting his duty to appeal to the man's higher senses. The woman's modesty, just on

Kroisos, Anavysos, c. 525 B.C. Marble, h: 193 cm.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens.



Strangford Apollo, c. 500-490 B.C. Marble, h: 101 cm.
British Museum, London.



Kouros, Ptoion, c. 510-500 B.C. Marble, h: 103 cm.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens.



Nike, by Paionios of Mendé,
c. 420 B.C. Marble, h: 290 cm.
Archaeological Museum, Olympia.

the point of drawing her veil (once painted) over her head, and the attentive readiness of the hero, as if in welcome sitting erect, are well conceived and expressed. The two small figures of worshippers approaching with their offerings are clearly and simply introduced. In delineation, however, they are far below the cock one carries.

The diminutive size of these figures is generally explained as indicative of their insignificance as mortals compared with the deified dead. While possible, such a representation in stone is rare in Greece. The tendency of having all the figures' heads on the same level militated against it, and the mortals who advance towards the seated gods on the "Harpy" tomb (p. 93), are drawn across the entire height of the block. The small figures in the Spartan tombstone, moreover, are carved on the farthest planes, and not only on a higher level than the feet of the man for whom their gifts are meant. They themselves are uneven in height. Some questions: Did this early artist have definite ideas about perspective? Are these figures drawn on different levels and smaller than the rest because they are imagined as approaching from the distance? And are they themselves of different sizes because they are thought of as the one behind the other?

Perspective was better known in Greece than its absence in existing masterpieces has led people to believe. There are sufficient references in literature to prove its existence in painting. Early in the fifth century some of the tragedies of Aischylos were produced with painted stage scenery, which of course is incredible without the artist's making some use of linear perspective. The absence of perspective in Greek sculpture, therefore, is due not to the lack of knowledge of it but to the wise understanding that in sculpture it is out of place. The artist of the Spartan tombstone, proud perhaps of a discovery, may have endeavoured to introduce it. It was unsuccessful and doomed, like the artist's receding planes, to disappear.

Another inference can be made from this relief as to this artist's understanding or misunderstanding of the principles of sculpture. Below the man's right arm the woman's right hand is carved, perhaps to reveal the pomegranate that she held in it. But her hand does not belong here. We cannot see a hand without having it suggest the lines of the arm or the shoulder. The suggestion here is wrong because it disagrees with those lines of the shoulder that are indicated by the woman's head and the neck. By giving the hand a different position, the artist could easily have avoided confusion if he had been aware of the importance of suggested lines. The position indicates the artist's unfamiliarity with the principle of suggestion.

This and the lack of success of similar reliefs may have kept the early Greeks from grappling with problems clearly too difficult for them. Few artists, therefore, selected subjects which necessitated the doubling of figures. Most of the early reliefs, both high and low, were confined to compositions developed in one plane. This lessened technical difficulties and allowed the artist to give his entire attention to the grouping of his figures and their composition in lines and masses. An early attempt in this direction is found on the slabs which once decorated the four sides of a tomb near Xanthos in Lycia.

The frieze, of this tomb encircled the pillar-shaped monument at a height of about 480 centimetres. It did not tell a continuous story, as is the



*Nike 21, Delos, c. 550 B.C. Marble, h: 90 cm.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens.*

case on the Parthenon, but depicted four apparently independent scenes to correspond to the four sides of the monument. On the corners of the shorter north and south sides fantastic figures, half bird-half women, with little creatures in their human arms, are introduced.

The tomb is known as the “Harpy” monument (p. 93), when first discovered the attempt was made to explain them according to mainland Greek mythology, where only Sirens and Harpies were known to be so represented. Neither, however, can be meant here, for the Sirens were songsters who lured their victims with sweet voices, and the Harpies grasping spirits of filthy and unkind habit. The birds on this tomb are gentle spirits; they have taken the little ones kindly into their arms and appear to be well liked. The men or women they hold have welcoming and endearing gestures. Greek sculpture being expressive, it follows that gestures are apt to convey specific meaning. A similar gesture of affection and welcome is seen on a tombstone, (once called the Ino-Leukothea relief), where the baby approaches her mother.

These birds, carved on a tomb, with an apparently mourning figure introduced below one of them on the north side, probably represent the spirit of death. Perhaps they are the inventions of the artist and not stable characters of folklore; for on another Lycian tomb, a century later, other fanciful creatures were represented – the “Nereids,” so called because they are seen skipping over the water. There is doubtless as little direct connection between death and the “Nereids” as between it and the birds. Both “Nereids” and birds may have been introduced as concrete representations of the abstract idea of swift death, snatching man away from his surroundings and continuing irretrievably on its preordained pathway. For the ancients death had few horrors, appearing to be a kind spirit, the brother of sleep, the Healer. This may explain the happy gestures of the little figures which the birds are carrying away. The size of these figures, which has been called “ridiculously” small, appears so only when compared with the people in the main composition. The artist apparently held that it would be possible to look at every part of his reliefs separately.

In the main groups the Lycian sculptor set himself a simple task; in the four corner pieces he was more ambitious. He wanted show unlimited space in which the birds moved with outspread wings and inclined bodies. The birds soar through the air, and below a lonely figure mourns. Such a theme is too complex for sculpture, which can never do it justice. The painter may touch on things above and below; the sculptor, dealing in corporeal realities, must confine himself to the tangible. It cannot be denied that in this instance the Greek sculptor (Lycia for all practical purposes of art was Greek) scored a fair success. His successors, nevertheless, realising that in these groups the proper sphere of sculpture was transgressed, refrained from going farther in this direction. The *pictorial* element in the best Greek reliefs is absent, not because the Greeks had not yet “advanced to conceive of it” but because they found it, *after* experimentation, unsuited to the best practices of their art.

The remaining groups of these reliefs consist of seated figures receiving offerings or granting favours. The attitudes of the seated figures seem to be expressive of character, just as they are on the Parthenon frieze, where Zeus or Athena is picked out with little difficulty, and where only insufficient knowledge of the other gods’ characteristics keeps one from recognising the others.

The same is true of these reliefs. We do not know the Lycian Pantheon, but a Lycian, no doubt, was familiar with the bearded man of full proportions and careless, self-indulgent demeanor on the east side, or the straight, dainty goddesses in their kind but almost haughty attitude on the west. To us, the aptness of the various animals is as unclear as that of the seated figures. The cock in the hands of the boy vies in telling contours with the cock on the Spartan tombstone; and the pig under one of the thrones, and especially the sucking calf over the little opening, are remarkable instances of animal sculpture.

The human figures provoke our chief interest. Their heads, with the exception of a rooster-carrying boy, are practically all on the same level, whether the people are sitting or standing. The resulting incongruity of such a representation is cleverly disguised by having the seated figures apparently represent gods, who with propriety might exhibit super-human proportions. The different sizes of the figures, therefore, do not impress one as entirely due to the restrictions of isokephalism, as was the case in Assos (p. 48), but to some extent as required and explained by the composition.

The artist has begun to master his material. He also shows this in the treatment of the three women on the west side. The ease with which the folds of their garments are carved and the textures of their dresses are distinguished, or their gestures made expressive, and their bodies designed to show through their closely pulled garments, is admirable despite their poor state of preservation. The artist shows signs in the drapery of the usual ignorance regarding principles in suggested lines. Not even Greek drapery can cling to the body as closely as is shown here, especially not if heavy enough to fall in such prominent folds. The back contours of these women, notably those of the one nearest to the goddess to the right, reveal, like those of the “Hera” of Samos, almost every line of the nude body; while in front, owing to the heavy folds, only the breasts are prominently visible; the rest is suggested. This was only an accident. It probably surprised the artist himself, though it may have taught him the valuable lesson of suggested lines.

One of the first successful attempts in this new direction is a relief from Thasos (pp. 94 to 97), now in the Louvre. The relief was probably designed to decorate the entrance of a sacred cave, for it contains two inscriptions in early characters referring to sacrificial rites. Another later inscription, of about the second century A.D., indicates that a gentleman named Aristokrates appropriated the slabs for the decoration of his tomb.

The relief consists of three slabs, of which the two smaller, it seems, ought to be joined one to either side of the larger. The composition is

Hades and Persephone, Pinax relief (fragment), c. 470-450 B.C. Terracotta, h: 255 cm. Museo Nazionale, Reggio Calabria.





Spartan Tombstone, c. 550-525 B.C. Marble, h: 87 cm.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.



Offerings from Warriors, north frieze, "Harpy" tomb, Xanthos, c. 470-460 B.C. Marble, h: 102 cm. British Museum, London.



Offerings to the Infernal Goddesses, west frieze, "Harpy" tomb, Xanthos, c. 470-460 B.C. Marble, h: 102 cm. British Museum, London.

divided into two independent parts. From the left Apollo and the nymphs are advancing towards the open door, and from the right Hermes and probably the graces. In the inscriptions all are mentioned by name except Hermes, who is recognised by his attitude and costume. The muses, who in later times always appear as the nine companions of Apollo, were originally nymphs without a fixed number. There are not nine nymphs represented here, and it's doubtful which figures represent the nymphs and which the graces, because the traditional number "three" for the latter also belongs to a younger age. If there was an attempt at character differentiation between the two sets of goddesses, it was so slight that it is no longer appreciable. The artist concentrated upon the grouping of his figures and their modelling. Five figures are seen on either side of the door, but are divided into smaller groups of three and two of inverse correspondence; for whereas the group of two is nearest the centre on the left, it is on the right the farthest away from it. On both sides one male and one female figure are seen, but variety is introduced by having the man and then woman supply the the design's livelier lines.

A similar attempt at variety can be seen in the corresponding groups of three women. Variety here was difficult because the sculptor felt obliged to carve all the women as advancing slowly with modest steps. Since their bodies' lines could not supply him with the desired motive of separation, he sought it in their fabric. This led to a deviation from the customary manner of carving the draped figure; for the fuller garments of the women on the left required a design according to the principle of suggested lines. A comparison with the "Grace" to the back of Hermes (p. 95), where the sculptor closely adhered to the earlier practice of actually carving the lines of the body under the fabric, shows the effort it doubtless cost him to break with the traditional rendering of the human form. Nothing but the necessity of introducing variety in an otherwise well-balanced composition could have persuaded him to try a new mode of execution. He was remarkably successful. By delicately indicating a few prominent parts of the bodies, he suggested all; furthermore, he never suggested lines in one part contradicting the suggested lines of others, as was the case on the Spartan tombstone. The rendering of the human form in this new style implies a more accurate concept than that required for a

complete definition of all its contours, because in cases where lines meet, correcting faulty impressions becomes inevitable.

These three figures, it is true, cannot compare in charm with the woman crowning Apollo or the "Grace" following Hermes, both of whom are carved at least in part in the older style. But in the progress of Greek sculpture they hold a more important place. They show what the new mode of rendering the draped figure was capable of, and promised great success. In contrast, the other two figures, despite their charm, clearly show the limitations of a style conscientiously adhered to from the start in the hope its perfection would bring solutions to difficult problems. When developed, it was perceived as wrong and doomed to disappear.

Understandably, the Greeks found it hard doing away with *actually seeing* the nude carved beneath the fabric. After another century, with a new style in its prime, they once again invented a way to gratify the people's need, and the entire body of draped figures was revealed through subtle suggestion to an extent unequalled by even the most radical attempts of the earlier sculptors.

The beauty of the girls immediately following the gods is striking. The eagerness and proud happiness of the nymph crowning Apollo show in her body's every line. Her form is carved to bring out the wonderful restraint preventing excitable haste from disturbing the contour of her graceful figure.

The "Grace" to the back of Hermes is entirely different but not less winsome. Her breast is rendered with perhaps too much fullness. On the whole, nevertheless, one's eyes glide over her figure with remarkable ease. The artist bestowed his most loving care upon these two girls. It's unfortunate that they are less well preserved than the others. Still, none were slighted. All reveal touches of delicacy and give proof both of the knowledge and the diligence of the artist.

What is true of the women is equally true of the men. They are wonderfully sympathetic creations of sculpture. Apollo is the god of sunshine, beauty, and music. Walking towards the door (as can be seen from the direction of his left foot) he has heard the nymph behind him. He stops and half turns towards her.



Graces with Offerings, Passage of the Theores, Thasos, c. 480 B.C. Marble, h: 92 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Hermes and a Grace, Passage of the Theores, Thasos, c. 480 B.C. Marble, h: 92 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.





Apollo and the Nymphs, Passage of the Theores, Thasos, c. 480 B.C. Marble, h: 92 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



His head is badly damaged, but he seems to be glancing over his shoulder at the girl. Checking his onward movement, he leans back, with his left leg still bent at the knee. The resulting twist of his body is splendidly conceived, and rendered with marked simplicity in the new (suggestive) style; for the full drapery of the god compelled the artist to break loose from the old traditions. How many attempts intervened between this Apollo and the winged figure from Delos (p. 89), is impossible to determine, because neither of them can be dated with accuracy; allowing the greatest possible space of time to have elapsed between their creations, and granting even the early date of the Delian statue, they still come within two, or less likely three, short generations. It is even possible that they are much nearer each other; for the twist of the “Artemis” in the round made greater demands on the skill of the artist than that of the Apollo on the relief.

The drapery of Apollo is a study in itself. For the first time the folds are not rigid, like the material from which they are carved; they fall easily, and appear soft, even ready to obey the slightest impulse of a contrary breeze. Only the chiton below the upper garment is designed in the traditional way using parallel folds.

Hermes wears a peculiar garment, the traveller’s cape or chlamys, which rarely appears in early sculpture. It is cruder in appearance than Apollo’s *himation*, and on the left arm is carved with the same parallel lines seen on a crude statue representing Chares, dating to approximately 540 B.C. In front, however, the folds show a freedom not unlike Apollo’s garment.

Despite his small cape, Hermes (p. 95), was conceived as the nude in the composition to contrast with the draped Apollo. Compared with early nude figures, his gestures and stride are freer, because of the ease with which an extended arm and a bold step are carved in relief. His features and head pose are also more successful. In general conception, though, he is not unlike the “Apollo” of Tenea. Here, as there, a few unconnected parts of the body are distinctly felt and carefully modelled, though growing together unnaturally. In the Tenean figure the sculptor has made transitions by carving almost meaningless mass; here he has tried to hide their absence utilising the garment, though with little success, because we cannot feel the god’s abdomen or his chest beneath the cape. We also vainly try to imagine how the legs join the trunk in the fashion suggested by the shoulder’s lines.

The extended arm is perhaps the best modelled part of the figure; it is far from rigid, though strong, and implies a kind welcome and a generous greeting. The upper and the lower arm’s various surfaces and dimpled elbow can be felt distinctly, and are rendered with perfection unexpected in a man who had so much difficulty in joining the legs to body.

In the half-open mouth one perhaps sees a reference to Hermes Logios, “the Speaker,” as the god was sometimes called. From analogy to vase paintings it is not unlikely that the exact words accompanying the god’s addressing gesture were painted near his mouth. Early on in sculpture the speaking mouth was found to be out of place. This branch of art is far removed from the accidental. However accurate, no gesture must be carved not primarily expressive of character. Although conceived as a *speaking* mouth, an open mouth in stone never fails to impress the spectator of unpleasant character traits associated with certain people





Birth of Aphrodite, detail of the "Ludovisi Throne", c. 470-460 B.C. Marble, h: 90 cm, l: 142 cm. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.

unable to keep theirs closed. The Thasian artist introduced the open mouth to make his Hermes more lifelike. A mistake, since such a device is contrary to the principles of sculpture.

Technically only the Hermes and one or two other figures show a deviation from the simple fashion of carving a relief with all the figures surrounded by an even depth of background. The round contours of the Hermes, and especially of his lifelike right arm and legs, are due to the play of light and shade about him, which the artist obtained by cutting away the background. The artist had struck the right path; the Parthenon sculptors followed to solve practically all the problems in relief sculpture. Being a pioneer, he was not entirely successful. Alas, he forgot to disguise his technique from the spectator – even in the photograph the uneven grooves above the extended arm and about the legs can be seen. A fundamental principle in art states one must not to show the means used to obtain illusion, for the spectator's readiness to be deceived is in keeping with his dislike of being shown how he has been misled.

Introducing a new technique making use of shadows prevented the Thasian sculptor from doing justice to his figures. In the legs of Hermes he was especially unsuccessful. If one looks only at the feet, one imagines the right foot being farther away than the left; but if one looks at the knees and sees the edge of the cloak lying as close to the left as to the right while throwing a distinct shadow on the background between them, one cannot help imagining both legs to be on the same plane. This is, even for Hermes, impossible. By relieving the cloak sharply against the right leg, and allowing it to throw a prominent shadow on this leg, the semblance of accurate production could have been saved. This of course would have meant carving the right leg, from the ankle to the hip, gradually receding into the background; for only thus could the cape be strongly relieved from the knee. Such a device was in constant use with the Parthenon sculptors. If it occurred to the earlier artist, however, it must have seemed too violent to his concept.

This Thasian relief, then, exhibits a remarkable mixture of the old and the new, both in technique and in general design. The old had been pushed to its perfection, and its limitations had been recognised. The new was tentatively and, it seems, almost unwillingly introduced; for the conservative adherence to tradition was a prominent characteristic of the Greeks before the Persian wars. Only after the barbarians had broken the sacred relics of the past, and after the Greeks had been freed, not only politically from the ever present danger of the Orientals, but also morally and intellectually from all kinds of real or imagined restrictions – when their horizon had begun to widen – was the new recognised for its true worth. It subsequently developed with a rapidity before which the advance of the earlier and more conservative masters appeared slow.

Conservatism, Ready Skill Before Freedom of Conception

If a complete set of statues antedating the Persian wars were in existence, one could probably trace from it the tenacity with which the early Greeks clung to the traditional way of rendering the human form. The sculptors were ready to improve upon the attainments of their predecessors, but unwilling to push their efforts in new directions. No complete set of statues exists. Few pieces of good workmanship are preserved, and these, although sufficiently numerous to give weight to the above assertion, cannot prove it unless they were supplemented by a series of old statues from Athens showing the gradual advance of sculpture there during a period of almost a century. The majority of these statues are of Athenian origin, so that in using them in this connection one runs the danger of confusing the tendencies of a local school with the large principles governing the whole of Greece. This danger is avoided if one keeps in mind that the Athenian figures are not intended to carry the burden of proof but simply to illustrate what appears to be established by other monuments.

During the excavations on the Acropolis of Athens from 1885 to 1891, when every cubic foot of soil was turned, some thirty draped female figures were found. They had been broken by the Persians in 480 B.C., and had been buried by the Athenians after the successful battle of Salamis, perhaps in order to serve, together with other *rubbish*, for the broadening of Acropolis's level surface. For twenty-three centuries they



Nude playing the Double Flute, detail of the "Ludovisi Throne",
c. 470-460 B.C. Marble, h: 84 cm.
Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.

lay undisturbed in the dry soil atop living rock, and escaped the utter destruction and oblivion that enveloped most contemporary sculpture. Not even Roman copies of works from this period exist today. Roman taste failed to appreciate the Greeks' earliest attempts.

When first discovered these figures showed many traces of painting, and thus served to strengthen the argument of ancient statuary colouring. All are of marble. They represent unknown women. Although dedicated on her sacred precinct, they can hardly be Athena images, for none contain her attributes – helmet, spear, snake, or aegis. It is now generally believed they are priestesses of Athena; but nowhere in literature is a custom referred to by which these priestesses were allowed to have their statues dedicated either at the end of their term of office or during the performance of their duty. Such a custom, however, was known in Argos, the seat of the famous temple of Hera.

The Acropolis statues, whether priestesses or simply Athenian maidens, seem to have been erected at intervals during a period of sixty years or more, the latest perhaps in the very year of the Persian attack, the earliest surely not before the time when Peisistratos had himself firmly established in Athens. This is proved not only by a comparison of the statues with an Athena excavated at the same time, which formed part of the pedimental decorations of a large temple built by Peisistratos, but also by the fact that many pieces in soft stone from the same excavation antedate the marble figures as clearly as they are, in part at least, later than the crude works of about 600 B.C. and the following decades.

The entire series has recently been classified from several points of view, and although it is impossible to distinguish in every case the earlier from the later, no doubts can be entertained as to those figures which mark the beginning and those which form the end of the series.

One of the earliest (p. 109) is in conception not unlike the "Apollo" statues. The breast is carved with characteristic fullness and inaccuracy, both in position and in shape. Below the breast the body appears in indefinite mass. Even the outlines are mistaken, for the lines from the shoulders, along the waist to the hips, and down the legs, show a hazy conception of a real woman's contours. Like the "Apollo" figures, this statue was carved under the restrictions which the shape of the block and the weight of its material imposed.

The arms, though detached below the shoulders, were not far removed from the body; for the sculptor did not dare to separate them by more than a narrow opening. This explains the comparatively straight lines of the body, which were only dimly felt by the artist, and which, therefore, readily assumed the easiest direction suggested by the now lost arms. The lines are not in the least due to the figure being draped; for though the garment was heavy enough to fall in prominent folds in front, it was all but suppressed wherever any part of the body was to be shown which the sculptor had clearly conceived. This is especially visible on the breast, where the artist relied entirely upon the addition of paint to show the drapery. The garment is tightly stretched about the legs, revealing slight folds not dissimilar to those on the cape of the Hermes from Thasos (p. 97). The figure's pose is erect but neutral, less indicative of the character of this particular woman than of the type to which she belongs. The head rests tall and proud upon a straight neck, the great thickness of which, necessary for technical reasons, is somewhat disguised by the

braids falling over the shoulders. The features are prominent, and rendered with the simplicity of a man who has not yet learned to read in them more than their actual shape implies.

The treatment of the eyebrow is especially interesting. The artist apparently had a definite idea of the distance between the brow and the eyeball, but he converted the distance of depth into one of height, perhaps because it was difficult to render it properly, but more likely because of the haziness of his memory. The result was an apparently bulging eye, the more so since the treatment of the eyelids offered the same difficulty as the brow. The upper and the lower eyelids are curved in opposite directions, but without any feeling for their characteristic differences in shape and substance. The same is true of the lips; for the lower lip is only the inverted upper lip, or vice versa.

The entire figure seems to be the fairly accurate rendering of a primitive artist's hazy conception of a female body. Nowhere do we feel that the artist was conscious of his lack of skill. He realised the



*Youth making an Offering, detail of the "Ludovisi Throne",
c. 470-460 B.C. Marble, h: 84 cm.
Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.*



*Kore, Karatea, c. 570-560 B.C. Marble, h: 193 cm.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.*

restrictions of the material in which he worked and submitted to them cheerfully because his conceptions were sufficiently cloudy to be readily adapted to any contingency.

In the case of the broad neck designed to support the heavy head, and cleverly disguised by the braids, we may perhaps even find an indication of satisfaction on the part of the sculptor with his own work. There is an inscription existing of a Naxos artist who worked at about the same time, and who was so well satisfied with his own creation, faulty though it appears today, that he wrote under it “Alxenor of Naxos made me. Just look at me!” We do not know what was written on the base of this figure, but we would not be astonished to find here, too, the expression of self-approbation.

With every successive attempt the sculptors of this series show that they have advanced both in skill and in clearness of conception. Their memory images of the body have become somewhat more distinct, their concept of the enveloping fabric has grown, and their skill kept pace with the general advance. In all these figures the drapery is of prime importance, but the sculptors would not have been Greek had they not been interested in the nude. They bestowed, as a result, their most loving care upon the only visible nude part – the face. The face in Greek sculpture, on the whole, is but one of many interesting parts of the body, and entitled only to its proportionate amount of care. The Acropolis sculptors, on the other hand, felt obliged to express in the face all that their contemporaries working in nude, and their successors who were more skilful in the treatment of the drapery, told by utilising the entire body.

They had little choice, since posing for their statues was illegal: all stand with one leg advanced, holding the drapery up daintily in one hand. Therefore, the artists had to grapple with the non-Greek problem of facial expression, and at a time when the full meaning of a facial-revealing character was unknown. Viewed in this light the exaggeration of the features to which the sculptors resorted is as little surprising as their inability to convey a definite meaning. Facial expression with them did not spring from the innate desire to put the soul in the face – indeed, the very word “soul” in its spiritual meaning was unknown to them. It was rather the result of their mistaken endeavour to solve a technical problem.

The painstaking attention to these figures’ faces is equalled only by the care bestowed upon their elaborate fabric. Unable at first to correctly represent the fullness of the garment shrouding a beautifully developed body, and dissatisfied with taking such liberties with it as the sculptor of one of the first figures, had done, the artists drifted in the direction of carving the drapery for itself. And this again influenced the entire design of the figures. Sharp angles in the human body appear unpleasant because they indicate poor development; in a piece of cloth they are less out of place, and often even acceptable.

When noticed, they were believed to add spiciness to a work and were no longer confined to the cloth but also introduced in the face. Some sculptors went so far in this direction that their figures, can be said to completely lack straight lines or right angles. The brow is acutely arched, the eyes are slanting inward towards the nose, and the difficult problem of the mouth is solved by carving the lips into a sharp curve. Not all the

sculptors, however, were carried away by this fad of the sharp curve and the oblique angle. Several heads (p. 53), belonging to this series are simple and straightforward.

They have on that account been assigned to the Doric school of sculpture, which some credit with these characteristics. The close intercourse, however, that existed between the different art centres in Greece from the earliest time, and the ready exchange of ideas everywhere and more especially in Olympia and in Delphi, where works from all over Greece could be seen, and where Dorians and Ionians alike met for days in succession during the frequent national games, indicate that the sculptors of the more dainty figures in the angular style were familiar with the practice of other schools. These heads, instead of being the work of foreign artists, may show the voluntary reaction of some Athenians who themselves began to realise the mistake into which the loving attention to drapery detail had driven them.

Even the study of a few of these figures illustrates these points. In the figure on page 111, the sculptor has conceived more clearly than his predecessor his task of carving a draped figure. The line of the left side is here not unlike the line of the earlier figure (p. 109); but while there it was meant to represent the actual contour of the body, it is here, in part at least, explained by the folds of the garment. The breast, which on the other figure was carved with such prominence as to overlook the fact that the woman was draped, is here treated with so much moderation that it nearly goes unnoticed. The drapery has become the all-important part, and the breasts, lest they detract from the drapery, are hidden below the braids. This is in strong contrast to the earlier statue, where the sculptor had carried the braids to the sides to make the breasts visible. No clearer indication could be given of the change the artist's conception had undergone. The earlier sculptor conceived his task to be the carving of a human figure which happened to be draped; the later sculptor endeavoured to show the drapery which happened to be worn by a woman. The beautiful patterns preserved on some of these statues seem to indicate these women wore their festal robes. Perhaps the women embodied here insisted upon the careful representation of their garments, even at the cost of having their bodies slighted.

The faces of the two statues singled out for comparison also show marked differences not only in their outlines but also in the treatment of details. The later sculptor, for instance, had a far clearer idea of the various parts of the eye. He carefully and clearly differentiated between the upper and the lower lids, and carved the upper lid, perhaps in the initial pleasure of having noticed its entire length, and as yet ignorant to the possibility of suggesting its entire scope, even if closed. He made a mistake, and laid himself open to misinterpretation, for some people drop their upper lids without entirely closing their eyes. And since we tend to read either their habitual character or their momentary state of mind in their eyes, we cannot help doing the same with the early Athenian statues. If, on the other hand, the sculptor really wanted to express character, which in the absence of individuality in his figure is unlikely to have been the case, he was unsuccessful. His exaggeration made that impossible. It is more probable that he carved the upper lids in their entire extent for no other reason than that he was striving to express accurately his mental image of the eye and its surroundings.



*Kore 682, Acropolis, Athens, c. 520-510 B.C. Marble, h: 182 cm.
Acropolis Museum, Athens.*



*Kore 681, Acropolis, Athens, c. 525 B.C. Marble, h: 201 cm.
Acropolis Museum, Athens.*



Kore 675, Acropolis, Athens, c. 520-510 B.C.
Marble, h: 54.5 cm. Acropolis Museum, Athens.

The mouth is perhaps the best part of the statue. The lips are straight, but full of delicate modulations, running off easily into the cheeks. It is a refined and beautiful mouth, treated without the exaggeration common to most of the statues, which is the more remarkable since the mouth offered great difficulties to the sculptors from the beginning. The straight cut across, with the abrupt termination as it appears on one of the oldest heads of Hera from Olympia (p. 107), and also already on the golden mask of a bearded warrior from Mycenae, proved unsatisfactory at an early date. A bronze head from the Acropolis (p. 106), and the head of a lady (*kore*) from the Acropolis (p. 109), show the next step, with the line between the



Head of a Bearded Man, Acropolis, Athens, c. 490 B.C.
Bronze, h: 27 cm. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

lips straight across, and the lips arching almost evenly above and below. A straight line of this kind is unsatisfactory in the profile view, where it seems to form an unpleasant angle with the lines of the jaw.

The mouth, therefore, was carved slanting down from the corners. This, however, necessitated a peculiar treatment of the line joining the two corners of the mouth. The easiest way was to carve a simple curve. It is seen in the majority of heads antedating the Persian wars. The curve was more pleasant to look upon than the straight cut across, but it was not less radically different from nature. Writers on Greek sculpture, struck by

the peculiarity of this curve, have termed it the “archaic smile.” This is a misnomer, because the Greeks did not resort to it with the intention of carving a smiling expression. Far from it. The curve was the result of a technical difficulty. In Athens it fitted in well with the tendencies of some local sculptors, who developed it and exploited it a great deal. The majority of the Greek artists, however, were never entirely satisfied with it, and continually strove to achieve a more pleasant rendering of the human mouth.

Two very interesting experiments are found among the Acropolis figures. The lower lip (head, p. 53), is treated much like the lip on the bronze head (p. 106), with the upper edge straight for the front view and the lower edge in a drooping curve from the corners to agree with the line of the jaw in the profile view. The upper lip is broken up in two curves, which are joined in the centre and form what is called a “cupid’s bow.” This is a great improvement over the single curve, but in effect not yet altogether pleasing. The next artist went a step further, and on his figure, each one of the two curves of the upper lip is again broken up in two. The result of this is an extremely delicate mouth. By following this hint of breaking the lip into parts, the sculptor of the figure (p. 111), which formed the starting point of this discussion, succeeded in carving a most exquisite mouth¹⁸.

The simplicity of this figure contrasts strongly with one of the latest statues of this series. The latter figure, though extremely delicate in treatment, shows the tendency of angular lines and sharp curves to an unpleasant degree. What’s more, it indicates the artist’s insincerity in representing his idea. He copied the technique of his predecessors. The corkscrew curls which take the place of braids are well done, but they are carved *exactly* like the upper fold of the outer garment – the artist did not feel the quality of the objects he carved. The same is probably true of the eyes, and of the spirals in which the locks terminate over the forehead.

If the sculptor had been left free to reproduce his ideas as he conceived them, he might have carved an entirely different figure; but for some reason he was obliged to design the statue of this woman in the identical manner in which all her predecessors had been represented. To have her statue carved in this old honoured way seems to have been the desire and the prerogative of every one of these ladies. Who, indeed, we may ask, would have been bold enough to break with this custom, and have her statue carved in a new style to conform with the more accomplished skill and the more correct ideas of the artists? Only after all these statues had been destroyed by the Persians and been buried by the Athenians, did the artists and their patrons dare to start along a new road.

The latest statues of this series suggest what might have become of Greek sculpture had it lacked the awakening and liberating influence following the victory over the barbarians. The artists’ skills had grown, but their conception had not found adequate expression in new directions. One has only to compare the over-elaboration of the *kore*, page 170, or the fanciful spirals which take the place of hair on the one page 74, with the earliest creations of the Acropolis series, to see the dangers of fossilisation in ideas which began threatening sculptors. Some statues, on the other hand, show indications of vigour and sincerity. Perhaps the Greeks would have been able to recover on their own even without the stimulus of the Persian wars.



Hera, Temple of Hera, Olympia, c. 600, B.C. Limestone, h: 52 cm. Archaeological Museum, Olympia.



*Kore 679, Acropolis, Athens, c. 530 B.C. Marble, h: 118 cm.
Acropolis Museum, Athens.*



*Kore 678, Acropolis, Athens, c. 530 B.C. Marble, h: 96.4 cm.
Acropolis Museum, Athens.*





*Kore 670, Acropolis, Athens, c. 520 B.C. Marble, h: 115 cm.
Acropolis Museum, Athens.*

*Kore 674, Acropolis, Athens, c. 500, B.C. Marble, h: 92 cm.
Acropolis Museum, Athens.*



TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

The Persian wars mark a turning point in the development of the Greek people. When Xerxes gathered his enormous army to reduce the continental Greeks, it seemed as if all the dim dread of barbaric and unconquerable chaos was to become a reality. All the energy of the last centuries had been spent in vain, for the cloud had gathered which threatened to sweep into oblivion the ideals for whose realisation the best men had laboured. When a storm of this kind breaks, the nation goes down, unless it is upheld by the accumulated energy of its past achievements. Nations in this respect are like individuals whose conquest over adversity depends “on the degree of moral strength into which their hearts have been already trained.” The Greeks overcame the Persians; chaos was not unconquerable; the cause of right and light and progress had shown its power to triumph over apparently un-surmountable obstacles. There is nothing impossible for him who has the strength of faith; there are no arbitrary bounds either in the material or in the spiritual world which, if they hinder the vigorous advance of just activity, cannot be broken. With this realisation comes a joyful spirit of freedom; no longer a mere mortal bound by meshes of uncontrollable fate, one feels the divine part within one and knows how to partake of limitless possibilities, as is the right of gods. When the Greeks took their seats at the oars and rowed up the Bay of Salamis, when the Persians’ countless ships were routed and the hostile army fled, then the people began to know what men can do, if to do they dare and will. When the Athenians returned to their city and found her in ruins and at once set out to rebuild her, then they had learned the lesson that “though right be worsted, wrong can never triumph.”

A spirit of freedom, in consequence, took hold of the Greeks in every sector of life. Their literature echoes it, their philosophy builds on it, and their art expresses it. Freedom and daring alike of conception and of execution are immediately noticeable; the old is no longer followed because it is venerable: it is weighed and retained if it is good, or discarded and forgotten if it is found to be the lifeless inheritance of the past.

The momentum acquired by the entire race after the Persian wars is such that one wonders less at the broken fetters than at the moderate use which is made of the newly gained freedom. To take the straight and narrow path in a closely circumscribed life is a much slighter achievement than to follow the proper direction unwaveringly when all bounds are broken. The Greek sculptors did this; they never looked on their freedom as a licentious relief from laws of any kind, but as a right to choose the best. They did not succumb to a reckless spirit of innovation, nor advance by leaps and bounds, nor break completely with the past. They built upon the best achievements of their predecessors, discarding only such restrictions as the earlier artists had permitted to arbitrarily develop and hamper the best expression of their ideas.

All limits with this mode of thinking cannot disappear at once. The first thirty years after the Persian wars was a period of transition. Few works, unfortunately, are preserved from that period. Of the sculptors who lead up to Phidias little is known. Three men, however, stand out, each marking a definite achievement in sculpture – Myron, Pythagoras, and Kalamis. Their work is linked to the past by its affinity to the creations of two other men, Kritios and Nesiotes, who were the sculptors of one of the most famous groups of antiquity, reproducing a still older type.

When Xerxes sacked Athens and ordered most of the temples and statues destroyed, he took such delight in a bronze group commemorating Harmodios and Aristogeiton that he decreed its preservation and carried it away with him to Persia. This was the more remarkable since these youths had been the assassins of Hipparchos, one of the sons of Peisistratos and a brother of Hippias, who had accompanied Xerxes on his campaign against Greece. The chain of events set off by this murder resulted in the downfall of the monarchy in Athens. The Athenians, forgetful of the fact that it was personal spite and hatred which had brought about the deed, and looking upon the tyrannicides as the vindicators of their liberty, had ordered their statues made by Antenor, probably soon after 510 B.C. And again, immediately upon their return to Athens after the battle of Salamis (480 B.C.), the Athenians, unwilling to be without their tyrant-slayers, commissioned Kritios and Nesiotes to erect a new group. Antenor, it seems, was dead, and these two sculptors, since little else is known of them, may have been his pupils, or even his assistants when he made the original group.

By means of copies on coins, vases, and reliefs, two figures in Naples (p. 115), of later Roman workmanship have been recognised as life-sized copies of the Tyrannicide groups. Doubtless they were made to look as much like the Antenor statues as possible. For this reason they may well be said to form the connecting link between Greek sculpture before and after the Persian wars.

The originals were of bronze, and needed no tree trunks the Roman copyist, who translated them in marble, used to retard their action. Copious restorations, partially wrong, have altered the statues’ appearance to their great disadvantage.

There is something to be said in favour of restoring ancient figures¹⁹, and the average visitor to the museums is right when he prefers to look upon entire men and women. But he must not forget that when the figure is restored he is no longer looking at a piece of genuine Greek or Roman workmanship. The restorer, with little to guide him, often takes liberties. When, as in case in point, both arms and one leg of the Harmodios statue, and the head and several other parts of the Aristogeiton were lost, how could he, possessing slight knowledge of antiquity, know how the ancient sculptor had planned

Herakles fighting the Cretan Bull, west metope, Temple of Zeus, Olympia, c. 470-456 B.C. Marble, h: 160 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



*Male Torso, called the "Milet Torso", Milet, c. 480-470 B.C.
Marble, h: 132 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.*

them? Restorations, therefore, had better not be made on the originals. They may, however, safely and advantageously be introduced in casts, where there is no difficulty in changing them if they are found to be wrong.

The restorations of the Tyrannicides have been shown by recent comparisons with coins, vases, etc., to be grossly inaccurate. This is especially true of the arms of Harmodios. The restorer believed these figures to be gladiators in mortal combat. The gestures of Aristogeiton are aggressive; Harmodios was, therefore, restored as on the defensive. This is incorrect, for both men are represented as advancing against a common foe. By restoring the right arm of Harmodios sharply bent over his head and ready to strike, the statue gains in unity and in power; for every line of the body is indicative of aggressive forward movement. Of the legs sufficient fragments were left to show that their restorations are substantially correct.

Harmodios is rushing upon the tyrant, who has insulted his sister. His step is quick and impetuous. The muscles, ever ready in an active body, have responded to the call of emotions. His face, treated with such simplicity, carries for modern taste too little of the feeling surging through the body, under which his chest thrusts forward with great impetuosity. In Harmodios there is a touch of sublime honesty as he pushes forward at the side of his older friend. Aristogeiton, too, is full of firm resolve, but somewhat lacking in enthusiasm. His step is less quick and springy, almost halting, perhaps to show that he is aware of the awfulness of his purpose. His body is more firmly knit, and shows, if compared with that of Harmodios, the older man. Such age differentiation is a departure from the earlier practice. In the "Apollo" statues one is never tempted to ask about age. The "Apollo" is merely a mature man, *any* man, of indefinite character or age. Not so the Tyrannicides; for both Harmodios and Aristogeiton have a distinct, though not clearly circumscribed, character and a definite age. The head of Aristogeiton is unfortunately lost; the statue's present head is not original, but a copy of a type evolved nearly a century later. The original head was bearded, as appears in copies on vase paintings.

The freedom of action in these figures is remarkable if one realises that it belongs in design, if not in execution, to Antenor in the last decade of the sixth century. It is in marked contrast to the constrained movement even of the latest "Apollos." But they were of heavy marble, while these figures were of bronze, a material which offered fewer difficulties. The Tyrannicides, therefore, ought to be compared with reliefs rather than with marble statues in the round; then it is not difficult to find analogies for such freedom, for the Hermes from Thasos (p. 95). The Naples group, nevertheless, surpasses even these figures in daring of conception, and herein probably shows the improvements which Kritios and Nesiotes introduced in the original design.

One of the most hopeless tasks confronting the earliest artists was the problem of rapid movement through space, because they all were trying to solve it by actual representation rather than, as was done later, by suggestion. The Tyrannicides may be said to hold an intermediate position between these two modes; for the inclination of the body of Aristogeiton, and his outstretched hand and far-extended right leg clearly indicate his next step. His pose, however, is one of momentary rest between long, halting steps, and not one of movement. There is great muscular tension in the upper part of his body; but with his legs gone it would be impossible to determine whether this was due to the exertion of walking or to any other expression of energy, as, for instance, the leaning forward to deal a blow



The Tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeion, Roman copy after a Greek original created by Kritios c. 477 B.C. Marble, h: 195 cm. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.



Discobolus, the Discus-Thrower, copy after a bronze original by Myron, c. 450 B.C. Bronze, h: 155 cm.
Glyptothek, Munich.

Discobolus, copy after a Greek original by Myron around 450 B.C. Marble, h: 148 cm.
Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.



from a standing position. This latter, of course, was the interpretation which the restorer gave of the pose of Aristogeiton.

Vehement action does not tell the story as do the legs and arms thrown out and the lines of the torso curved, with every part of the body reflecting controlled energy. As long as a sculptor conceives his figure's prominent parts as set instead of grown together, thinking of its members being raised or lowered – material permitting – as with a jointed doll, he cannot carve a figure that will live. Only when he advances to understanding the human body as a complete, closely knit, integral unit, and represents it as such, will he begin to lay hold of life itself. Raise your arm slowly, and the reflex action upon the rest of the body is unnoticeably slight; deal a vigorous blow, and at once the strength of the gesture can be told by the changes that accompany it in other parts of the body. The actual lines of the arm carved may be the same in both cases. Their meaning, however, differs according to the amount of vehemence suggested by the rest of the body.

Myron was the first sculptor who clearly understood these principles and began to do justice to them in his statues. For the Romans he was the sculptor of life *par excellence*; his statues were imbued with *anima*, the spirit of life, which distinguishes the animal world from inanimate nature. *Animus*, however, the soul, the characteristic part of man as compared with beasts, he did not know. The first step of the Greeks had been to distinguish the visible outlines and masses of humans from other things; the next step was to feel the difference between man and inanimate matter. Myron was the leader in this respect.

The third step was still to be taken, and consisted in appreciating that side of man's nobler self by which he is linked to the gods.

Myron

How utterly Myron failed to see in his statues this side of man, and how he bestowed all his attention upon the "breath of life," is proven by his most famous statue, portraying – a cow. She seemed to live; and many anecdotes were told of the hardships of the herdsmen who had to drive their cattle through the place where she stood. The animals, mistaking her for one of their own kind, stolidly refused to leave her company. It was her *life* that was admired. The same was the case with the most famous statue of a man by Myron – his Ladas. Ladas was an Olympic victor who had paid with his life for the crown. He died from exhaustion immediately after crossing the line.

The bronze statue which Myron made of him has long since disappeared, without leaving as much as a copy. Some ancient epigrams, however, enable us to form an idea of the conception of the figure. Translated they read:

Just as thou wast, O living, breathing Ladas,
When thou didst race the fleeting breath of life
On thy tiptoes with every muscle strained;
Just thus the artist Myron fashioned thee in bronze,
And stamped on thy whole frame
The eager yearning for the crown that Pisa gives.

Or again:

Full of expectant hope he is, while on his very lips
The last breath lingers that has left his hollow flanks.
Now, now the bronze will leap to seize the crown;
The base no longer holds him back. Indeed this art is
swifter than the wind!

Roman copies of two other statues by Myron exist. Having been designed in bronze, they, too, have lost in marble much of the swiftness that could only be captured in bronze.

The Discus Thrower is known in three life-sized and several smaller replicas, of which a small bronze in Munich (p. 116), although of inferior workmanship, approximates more nearly than the others the light pose of the original. The most accurate copy in marble is the Discobolus Lancelotti in Rome (p. 117). If genuine, it is the only life-sized copy of the statue by Myron that has preserved the head in its proper position, looking back towards the hand with the discus. On the other two important statues, in London, and in the Vatican at Rome, the heads are wrongly restored.

The actual method of throwing the discus in antiquity is not positively known. Some believe that this athlete will hurl his weapon in the direction of his right foot, while others believe that he will make a few quick steps and then wheel about to send the weapon behind him. Whatever he does, his present position is explosive; he has assumed it by swift muscular contraction, and will leave it by equally swift extension. This shows the primary brilliance of Myron's art, which was to capture fleeting poses, preceded and followed by rapid motion. The spirit of life surging through the figure suggests the rapidity of movement, which follows, and indicates the swift contraction that preceded. The statue in this respect is far ahead of the Aristogeiton. Like him, however, it does not attempt to portray the movement itself. The relation of the two figures, in fact, is even more intimate than it at first appears; comparing them one sees how naturally the conception of the one grew from that of the other. And, more noticeable, both figures are designed for one plane despite their twist.

The same is true of the Marsyas by Myron (p. 119). The restorer overlooked this. Finding the statue with broken arms, and thinking of some later Roman representations of dancing fauns or satyrs, he supplied the torso with bent arms and castanets. These additions are suggestive of rhythmical turning and swaying movements, in utter disagreement with the rest of the body; Marsyas is simply recoiling, like a man who has seen a snake and then jumps backward.

Athena, so the story goes, had invented the pipes (flutes), but seeing her inflated cheeks reflected in a brook, she threw them away. Marsyas thereupon stealthily crept up behind her, ready to seize the instruments in the hope of announcing them as his own invention. As he stooped to pick them up, Athena turned in wrath, and Marsyas recoiled. This is the moment represented by Myron. The next instant Marsyas will collect himself and dart away. It is, therefore, again the moment of quick rest between rapid movements that supplied the motive.

Both the Discus Thrower and the Marsyas give proof of another noteworthy characteristic of Myron – his extreme moderation. The youth with the discus could easily turn a little more to his right, or bend slightly more in his knees, or raise his arm still higher, and gain thereby in apparent strength. He would lose, however, one of his greatest charms – the charm of reserved force. One may do a thing ever so well, but if one shows that one has come to the end of one's resources the charm of perfection is gone; for the ease with which a thing is done is the surest promise of still greater accomplishments.

The head of Marsyas is an interesting study, showing that Myron here, in strong contrast to his predecessors, endeavoured to depict the national characteristics of the people to which he belonged. Marsyas was a demi-savage, with long, un-Greek beard and moustache and cunning *Mongolian* eyes. The heads of the Discus Thrower statues are perhaps the



Marsyas, copy after a Greek original by Myron. Marble. Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican.



Youth Clad in Tight Long-Fitting Tunic, called the "Charioteer of Motya", c. 470 B.C. Marble, h: 181 cm. Museo Joseph Whitaker, Motya.

least interesting parts²⁰, for attention is centred in the twist of the body – that is to say, the action. The hair of the head is simply blocked out, without verisimilitude to nature, and the features fail to show even their appropriate amount of physical energy. The same is true of the other outlying parts of the body, except perhaps the feet, which hold the ground with remarkable force. On the whole, one is not astonished to hear Pliny sum up Myron in these words: "He appears to have been the first and foremost sculptor to extend the province of lifelike representation in art, . . . yet he, too, expended his care on the physical aspect of the – body, and did not represent the accompanying sensations of the mind, nor did he show any improvement from the rude practices of early art in the treatment of the hair."

It is, therefore, the vigour and comparative freedom of his conception which entitle Myron to be ranked as the foremost artist of the transitional period, rather than his technical skill or neatness of workmanship. In these latter directions the advance was heralded by two other men, Pythagoras and Kalamis. Little is definitely known of them, and although Dr. Waldstein²¹ has made it more than probable that the type of a statue known as the "Apollo with the Omphalos" (p. 125), goes back to Pythagoras, and others are ready to assign to Kalamis, the magnificent statue of the charioteer of Delphi (p. 121), both attributions are still open to doubt.

Pythagoras; Telling Use of Details

The argument of Dr. Waldstein, especially when rearranged and strengthened, is so interesting and gives such an excellent insight in the treatment of such discussions that it cannot be overlooked. In substance it is to the effect that the statues copying the type which goes under the name of the "Apollo with the Omphalos" are statues of a boxer.

Victor statues did not always show the athletes engaged in the sport in which they had won, a fact which compelled the sculptors to distinguish them by means of their physical development. The best trained muscles of a runner are in his legs, and those of a boxer in the upper part of his body. The shoulders and upper arms of this "Apollo" type are so splendidly developed, and the blood courses in them so freely in large veins, that they attract immediate attention. They convey the idea that this man used his upper body muscles more often than any others; that he was, in fact, a boxer. The Roman copy, moreover, of this type in the British Museum, (p. 124), contains on the tree trunk an oblong object which cannot be, as has often been erroneously asserted, a broken bow, and which may be a leather thong such as boxers in ancient times used in the place of the modern glove.

If this interpretation is correct, it proves that the Roman copyist at least understood the original to represent an athlete. The style of the statue unmistakably assigns it to the period of transition. The most famous boxer statue of this period, however, was made by Pythagoras. That a famous work is copied in these "Apollo with the Omphalos" statues cannot be doubted, since fragments of a great many exist. They *may* therefore go back to Pythagoras. This tentative attribution, finally, of the original statue to Pythagoras gains much in probability when it is learned from the verdict of the ancients that the telling use of veins was the great force of this artist. Pythagoras was also praised for his care in the treatment of the hair; and of all the statues of this period none show such delicate locks and such well-arranged hair, treated ornamentally in itself, as these particular statues.

These, in short, are Dr. Waldstein's arguments in favour of assigning this "Apollo" type to Pythagoras. And it must be conceded that he has made a stronger case than often appears in similar attempts. Even the attribution of the Discus Thrower to Myron cannot be said to rest on better grounds.

Grace and Delicate Workmanship; Kalamis

Very different from the achievements of Myron and Pythagoras, both of whom worked almost exclusively in the nude, was the contribution which Kalamis made to the art of sculpture. He was most highly praised for the "comely arrangement and the order of the drapery" of one of his figures, whose "nameless grace" and "noble and unconscious smile" also are mentioned, and thus appears to be the worthy successor to the sculptors of the draped Acropolis *ladies*. None of his many other works has received a careful description, although his horses are singled out as remarkably good. It is perhaps no mere accident that we hear of the cow of Myron and the horses of Kalamis. The cow is not an especially worthy subject in itself; it is the spirit of life with which Myron imbued her, that made of her a work of art. The horse, on the other hand, is the noblest animal of creation, next to man, and would naturally appeal to Kalamis, whose strong point was not the instilling of the spirit of life but the nobility of treatment, which added to his figures "that nameless grace." It was coupled, to be sure, as Cicero says – and this need not surprise one considering the early date of the artist – with a certain severity.

The Greeks and Romans liked Kalamis well; and it is therefore especially unfortunate that it has not yet become possible to identify definitely any existing statue of his work. Even the Charioteer of Delphi (p. 121), whom Homolle would assign to Kalamis, cannot be claimed for him without grave doubts. All that can be said is that the Charioteer exhibits a style not incompatible with what is known of the style of Kalamis.

The Charioteer was discovered during the French excavations in Delphi, in 1896, and at once found its way to popular favour: spare and simple in treatment, yet full of dignity. The modelling of the nude, especially in the preserved right arm, is exquisite. In the face a certain severity is felt, which once probably was moderated by the expression of the inlaid eyes. The dimensions of the large nose and the long chin carry definite reminders of earlier works, most of which exhibit similarly liberal proportions. The hair on the top of the head, where it could not be seen, is flat, while the locks on the temples continuing down the cheeks as the first growth of a beard are well conceived and neatly executed. The drapery is grand in its simplicity, while the threatened monotony of its long, deep, parallel folds is relieved by the constant play of light and shade as on a fluted column. It is perhaps this resemblance to a column that gives the figure its unwonted appearance of stability.

In appreciating the Charioteer, however, it must not be forgotten that he was only a part of a group; for sufficient fragments have been found to show that he once stood in a chariot drawn by several horses, and that he was accompanied by at least one other figure. The entire monument was dedicated – according to the discovered inscription – by Polyzalos, the younger brother of the tyrants of Syracuse, and dates from about 475 B.C. Only the legs of some of the horses remain, and it is of course impossible to draw definite conclusions from them; they show, however, the



The Charioteer of Delphi, c. 475 B.C. Bronze, h: 180 cm.
Archaeological Museum, Delphi.



Dying Warrior, corner figure, east pediment, temple of Aphaia, Aegina, c. 500-480 B.C. Marble, l: 185 cm. Glyptothek, Munich.





Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo, Roman copy after a Greek original created around 460 B.C. Marble, h: 178 cm. British Museum, London.

simplicity of treatment and the accuracy of observation noted in the Charioteer. The base of the monument was cut of local stone, while the monument itself was without any doubt cast at one of the great art centres of Greece or lower Italy.

Whether there were many art centres besides the few in Greece, and in Rhegion in Italy where Pythagoras worked, we do not know. Tradition in this respect is scant. The achievements, however, of the three decades after the Persian wars, usually attributed to a trio of great men, are so tremendous that they would seem to be the result of the combined work of many minds. The principle of suggestion was followed, character and age differentiations were introduced, the meaning of reflex action was understood, moderation was practised, while the details of the composition were carefully executed and used with telling exactness. It is upon these combined achievements that subsequent artists built their successes. But even without them the earlier artists had started towards the goal which they had dimly conceived but never been able to achieve.

Sculptured Temple Decorations, Aegina and Olympia

In the gradual advance of Greek sculpture one branch was destined to play a prominent part – the decoration of temples. The oldest Greek temple of the familiar classic shape is the Heraion in Olympia, now in ruins, having left no definite traces of sculptured decorations. Some of the earliest remains of that kind were found on the Acropolis of Athens, and date from the beginning and the middle of the sixth century. They were carved in local brown soft stone (*poros*) and were completely covered with paint. Almost all of them were used to decorate the triangular gables of temples, called pediments, and offer valuable indications of the care with which already in the earliest times the sculptors endeavoured to adapt their compositions to the peculiar shape of the space which they were to fill. Very few are well enough preserved to allow a detailed study both of their execution and their conception. The most interesting is one of the heads of a three-bodied monster, the Typhon (pp. 50-51), whose hair is blue and whose eyes are green. The colour in this case, therefore, was merely applied to differentiate the several parts of the head, with no attempt to approximate natural appearance. This, however, was probably not the universal practice of later times, for it was here merely resorted to as a means of adding to the monstrosity of the Typhon²⁷.

The treatment of the eye and of the brow is extremely interesting, because it offers a better suggestion of the actual condition of the artistic conceptions of the time than the contemporaneous and subsequent marble sculptures, where the more difficult technique often prevented the artist from correctly expressing his ideas. Tufa²³, on the other hand, is very readily carved, and offers no obstacles, or at least very slight ones. The characteristic differences of the upper and lower lids are not felt, while the depth of the eye below the brow is to some extent understood. The ear also, with its intricate volutes, is far ahead of many marble sculptures before the Persian wars.

The Typhon was designed to fill one half of a pediment. His three bodies, therefore, gradually diminished in height, ending in tapering coils of snakes. Snakes can assume almost any shape without seeming violent in appearance, and are therefore favourite subjects for early pedimental decorations. In another fragment from the Acropolis the hundred-headed

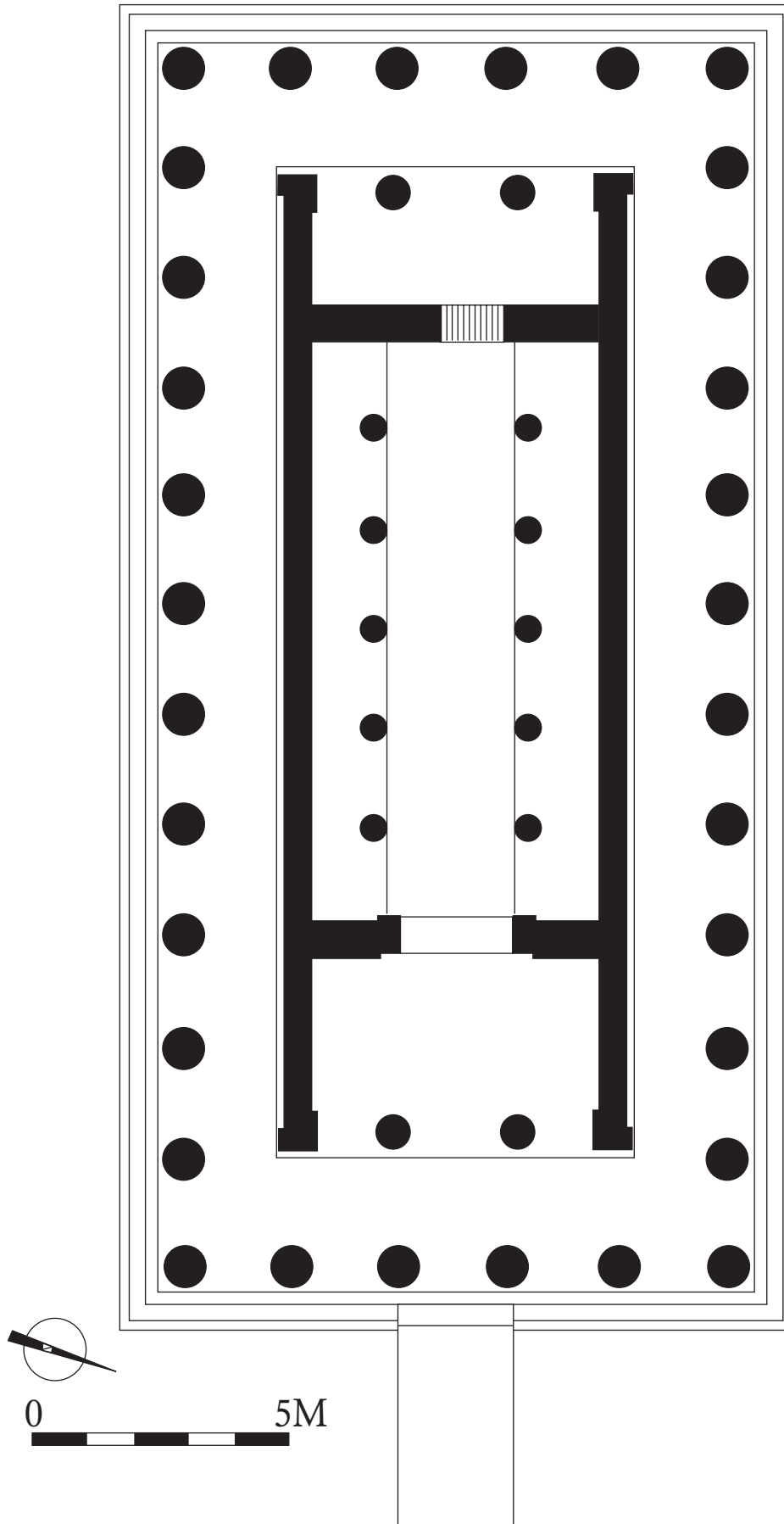
Hydra, which Herakles was sent to kill, fills one half of the composition, while Iolaos and the chariot fill perhaps the greater part of the other half. Almost four centuries later Greek sculptors again resorted to the representation of coils of snakes when they were obliged to decorate the approach to the great altar at Pergamon which was cut up by a row of steps. When the temples began to be larger, and more figures had to be introduced, the problem of how to fill the triangular pediments presented itself again more urgently and in a more complex form. The pediment was preeminently an important architectural part; the horizontal appearance of its floor had to be preserved at all cost, so the figures were not to be raised on different levels, as that would have detracted from the essential straightness of the line above the columns. The roof was slanting from the centre towards the corners, which made it impossible to design the figures of equal heights. Human figures, however – which the Greeks at all times preferred – are all of about the same size, a fact which made it necessary to account for differences in height by differences in position rather than in size. The positions of the figures, therefore, were, within certain limits, prescribed, and unless the artist was willing to appear as the slave to space, he had to design his composition so that the kneeling or reclining figures of his groups were explained by the central idea controlling his composition. They were not permitted to appear to be due to their accidental location nearer to or farther away from the centre. Another difficulty was a clue to the fact that a pediment, which is one complete unit in itself, requires one united composition for its decoration. Moreover, it does not permit a continuous story to be told from left to right or vice versa, because the architectural centre line, to which and from which everything tends, is absolute. The attempt to cross the centre slightly has at times been successful, but the story never can continue over to the other corner without doing great violence to the architectural design. This of course compelled the artist to arrange his composition in two sharply divided halves which were to form a whole. And here again, of course, the great artist would desire to have the division of his composition appear to be the natural outcome of his conception, and by no means dependent on outside considerations. No sculptors before the Parthenon can be said to have been entirely successful, and even in the Parthenon it is perhaps only the east pediment which is satisfactory.

The pedimental compositions of two large temples antedating the Parthenon are known at the present day. Those from Aegina were excavated in 1811 and are now in Munich; they were restored under the supervision of the Danish sculptor Thorwaldsen, and have received a few additions from more recent excavations; those from the large temple of Zeus at Olympia were found during the German excavations (1875-1881) and are preserved unrestored in a museum built near the spot.

The exact date of the great temple on the rocky coast of the island of Aegina is unknown. On account of its pretentious dimensions and the style of its architectural and sculptural decorations it can hardly antedate the Persian wars. Nor can it be later than between 470 and 460 B.C., for by that time the fierce struggle between Aegina and Athens had begun which ended in Aegina's annexation by her great rival and the complete loss of her national independence. Even the deity to whom the temple was dedicated is not definitely known. Perhaps it was Athena, who appears as the central figure on both pediments, but more likely a local and not generally known goddess, Aphaia, whose name in important inscriptions



Apollo with the Omphalos, Dionysos Theatre, Athens, Roman copy after a Greek original created around 460 B.C. Marble, h: 176 cm. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.



Ground Plan of the Temple of Aphaia, Aegina.



Athena, west pediment, Aphaia Temple,
Aegina, c. 500-480 B.C. Marble, h: 168 cm.
Glyptothek, Munich.





Archer and Warrior,
east pediment, Aphaia Temple,
Aegina, c. 500-480 B.C.
Marble. Glyptothek, Munich.

was found by Professor Furtwängler²⁴ in his excavations, and whose temple is mentioned by Pausanias. Only the fragments of the west pediment were sufficiently well preserved to allow complete restoration. Later finds, however, have shown that slight changes in the arrangement of the figures must be made. A few more ought to be introduced, so that there will be fourteen in all. This brings the warriors in closer touch with one another, and adds to the idea of a confused battle scene without unpleasantly complicating the lines for the spectator. The subject appears to be very well chosen, for a battle scene is naturally divided in halves. The fallen warrior in the centre, whom both friends and foes are endeavouring to pull over to safety or to destruction, forms the connecting link. The attention of the beholder is centred in him, especially as he is seen lying at the feet of the goddess Athena.

The introduction of Athena to fill the large centre space is less satisfactory, because, being motionless, she is foreign to the general idea of the composition. Standing in the very middle between the armies, the goddess gives no indication where victory lies. Nor has the artist been

sculptors repeated exactly not only one pedimental group in the other, but also balanced the two halves of the composition with an almost monotonous sameness. One of the most expressive figures of the east pediment is the fallen warrior (pp. 122-123), in the left-hand corner. Neither he nor the other fallen men are represented as dead and flat on their backs (as they would probably have been represented in a painting), because at their considerable height the slightly projecting floor of the pediment would have completely hidden them. The others have simply raised themselves on their arms, so that they practically fall in the plane along which the beholders glance up at them. This warrior, however, if he were to arrest the eye, had to make one more twist in order to point his breast downward to meet the glance of the spectator. Thus he is here represented; but the constrained twist is beautifully explained by the attitude of the figure itself. The man has received his death wound – he has fallen – but his indomitable will still controls his body, and he endeavours to rise. His efforts are vain. Unable to lift himself, he tries to turn over so that the strength of his arms may assist him; but even this is of little avail, and soon he will collapse.



Dying Warrior, west pediment, Aphaia Temple, Aegina, c. 500-480 B.C. Marble, l: 159 cm. Glyptothek, Munich.

successful arranging the battle scene itself, and the grouping of the men. The kneeling postures of the bowmen are natural enough, but the men behind them, or according to the new arrangement in front of them, fighting with spears, are too obviously crouching, because the slanting roof did not permit them to stand erect as did the other spearmen nearer the centre. They have, moreover, no definite opponents, because the strict division of the warriors into two hostile camps made that impossible. The subject of a well-arranged battle is therefore, after all, not the best for a pedimental decoration. The wounded warriors farthest from the *mêlée* are well introduced as lying in the corners; and because they *naturally* belong there, they make the spectator completely forget the limitation of the space under which they are carved. For discussion of the various figures we turn to the east pediment, where more careful and skilful modelling is shown. In every other respect the two pediments are identical. They contain the same number of figures in the same positions. This is extremely rare in sculpture, where the Greeks generally avoided repetition. In Aegina, however, the

So soon after the Persian wars, the conception's daring simplicity is all but incredible. It was, in fact, too much for the artist's skill, for he was utterly unable to represent the twist from the abdomen to the breast. He knew this, and therefore placed the right arm in a position which was designed to hide the lack of connection between these two vital parts of the body. The arm again is so well introduced, and its position so naturally explained by the composition of the figure, that one does not suspect the defects which it hides until one steps close up to the original, or the cast, and looks behind it. These defects are not due to carelessness, or the thought that they cannot be seen; for all the figures, and even the back of this warrior, which was supposed to be forever invisible, are so well carved that the poor chest and abdomen here, which do not naturally grow or flow together, must be explained as insufficient skill of the sculptor and his inaccurate knowledge of anatomy. Another characteristic figure is the standing warrior, to the right of Athena. His hand is raised with the spear, his legs astride; but in spite of his pose he does not appear to be moving or to be ready to hurl his spear. His

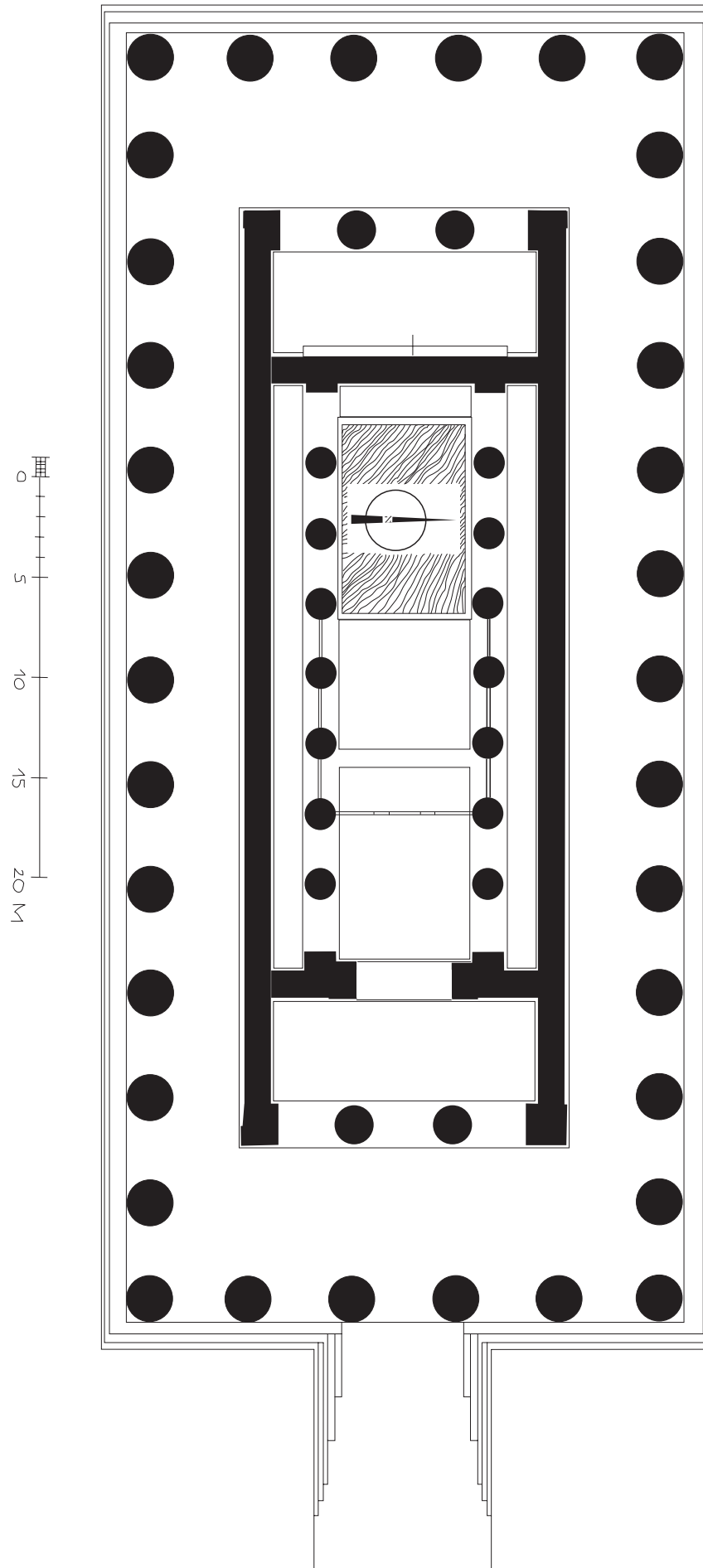


Head of a Warrior, Temple of Aphaia, Aegina, c. 500-480 B.C. Marble. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.





Temple of Aphaia, Aegina,
c. 500-480 B.C. In situ.

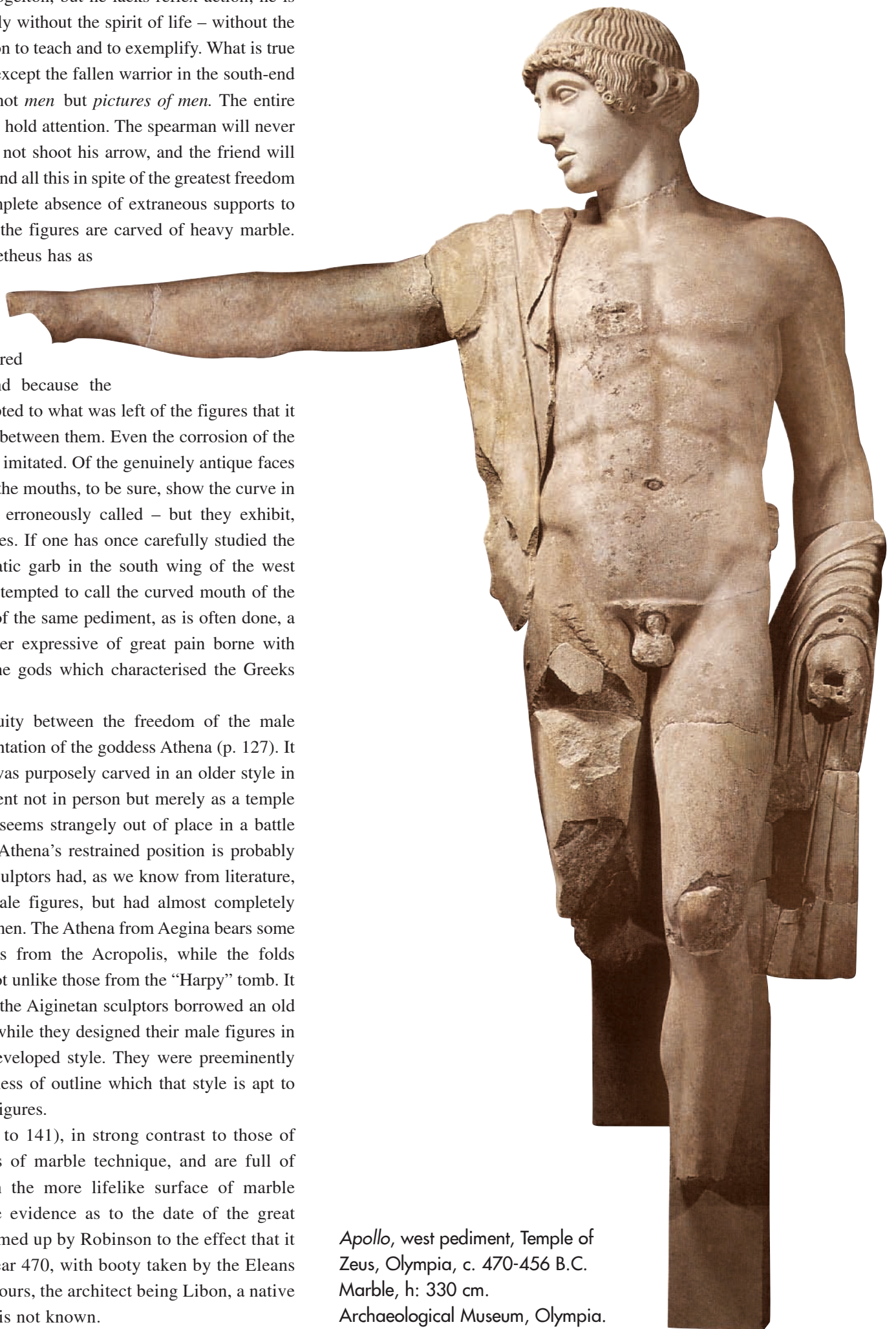


Ground Plan of the Temple of Zeus, Olympia.

position is not unlike that of Aristogeiton, but he lacks reflex action; he is more like a jointed doll, and entirely without the spirit of life – without the *anima* which it was Myron's mission to teach and to exemplify. What is true of this figure is true of almost all, except the fallen warrior in the south-end corner: they are lifeless; they are not *men* but *pictures of men*. The entire composition, therefore, is unable to hold attention. The spearman will never hurl his weapon, the Bowman will not shoot his arrow, and the friend will never drag the wounded to safety. And all this in spite of the greatest freedom of gestures and poses, and the complete absence of extraneous supports to mar the composition, although all the figures are carved of heavy marble. The bodies are there, but no Prometheus has as yet appeared to put life into them and to make them move. The study of the faces is very difficult, because so many are restored wearing the same expression, and because the restorations have been so well adapted to what was left of the figures that it is almost impossible to distinguish between them. Even the corrosion of the marble surface has been artificially imitated. Of the genuinely antique faces not all are alike by any means. All the mouths, to be sure, show the curve in front – the *archaic smile* as it is erroneously called – but they exhibit, nevertheless, pronounced differences. If one has once carefully studied the expression of the Bowman in Asiatic garb in the south wing of the west pediment, one will never again be tempted to call the curved mouth of the wounded man in the north corner of the same pediment, as is often done, a smiling mouth. His mouth is rather expressive of great pain borne with fortitude and that reliance upon the gods which characterised the Greeks even in the hour of death.

There is a noticeable incongruity between the freedom of the male figures and the constrained representation of the goddess Athena (p. 127). It has even been suggested that she was purposely carved in an older style in order to indicate that she was present not in person but merely as a temple image. A temple image, however, seems strangely out of place in a battle scene. The correct explanation of Athena's restrained position is probably found in the fact that the Aegina sculptors had, as we know from literature, much practice in carving nude male figures, but had almost completely neglected the representation of women. The Athena from Aegina bears some resemblance to the draped figures from the Acropolis, while the folds hanging down from her arms are not unlike those from the "Harpy" tomb. It is therefore not at all unlikely that the Aeginetan sculptors borrowed an old type somewhere for their Athena, while they designed their male figures in accordance with their own well-developed style. They were preeminently sculptors in bronze, and the clearness of outline which that style is apt to foster shows in every one of their figures.

The Olympia figures (pp. 135 to 141), in strong contrast to those of Aegina, show unmistakable signs of marble technique, and are full of those delicate suggestions which the more lifelike surface of marble tempts the artist to indicate. The evidence as to the date of the great temple of Zeus at Olympia is summed up by Robinson to the effect that it "was begun probably about the year 470, with booty taken by the Eleans in a campaign against their neighbours, the architect being Libon, a native of Elis. Just when it was finished is not known.



Apollo, west pediment, Temple of Zeus, Olympia, c. 470-456 B.C.
Marble, h: 330 cm.
Archaeological Museum, Olympia.



Head of Athena, Aegina, middle of 5th century B.C. Marble, h: 20 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Herakles presenting Athena with the Stymphalian Birds,
west metope, Temple of Zeus, Olympia,
modern moulding of an original Greek, c. 470-456 B.C.
Marble, h: 160 cm. Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge.



Herakles cleaning the Augean Stables,
east metope, Temple of Zeus, Olympia,
c. 470-456 B.C. Marble, h: 160 cm.
Archaeological Museum, Olympia.

“Herodotus speaks of it as complete in 445, but it must have been finished some time before then, as we read of the Spartans placing a golden shield on the apex of the eastern pediment after a battle at Tanagra in 457.” This clearly shows that the temple was built in the period of transition after the Persian wars. Pausanias, who saw the temple almost intact in the second century of our era, has left a fairly accurate description of its pedimental groups, which, though apparently not correct in every detail, has proven of invaluable assistance in arranging the broken figures in complete groups. The subject of the east pediment related a story known as the “chariot race of Pelops and Oinomaos,” and the west pediment one of the “struggles of the Centaurs and Lapiths at the wedding feast of Peirithoös.”

The large central figure of the east gable, is Zeus, whose presence is appropriate only because this is his temple, for he takes no active part in the story. As a god he could be represented with larger proportions than the people, and this is probably the chief reason for his introduction. To his left stands the king Oinomaos, who by the treachery of his charioteer was destined to lose in this race. He was known to have perfidiously slain all the other suitors who, before Pelops, had tried to win his daughter Hippodameia by the only possible means – a race against the king’s immortal horses. The very fact that he is seen on the left side of Zeus may indicate his waning star. The artist has thus turned the compulsory presence of the large central figure to good advantage.

Pelops stands to the right of Zeus. He is a man of slender proportions, indicative of his greater youth compared with the older king. He is accompanied by his bride-to-be, whose mother stands on the other side close to Oinomaos. These five figures, which form the central group, are satisfactory by themselves; for gods are naturally larger than men, and men taller than women. The different heights of the figures, therefore, do not appear to be due to any limitation of space. Considered as a part of the entire composition, this central group is nevertheless unsuccessful. To the right and left of the women the pediment narrowed too much to admit more standing figures, so that the charioteers and the grooms, who naturally would be standing, had to be introduced in crouching or in kneeling positions. This gives to the two corner groups an aspect of musing restfulness entirely out of keeping with the central figures, whose standing attitudes are suggestive of impending activity. The entire composition in consequence is thus broken up into three unconnected parts, the centre and the two corners, instead of containing only two parts, as the artist evidently had intended it should – Oinomaos and Pelops with their respective retinues – united to one whole by the presence of Zeus. The two, four-horse chariots fill their allotted space well, but the reclining figures in the corners, conceived probably as spectators, are so obviously out of place that Pausanias believed they had nothing to do with the story but were symbolic representations of river gods.



The Seer, east pediment, Temple of Zeus, Olympia, c. 470-456 B.C. Marble, h: 138 cm. Archaeological Museum, Olympia.

The figures on the right and the left of the central god are designed with special care. The corresponding figures in Aegina balanced each other and were practically alike. Here such an identity would have been inadmissible, because these two figures are individuals and not indefinite representatives of a class of people. The artist therefore endeavoured to bring out in their poses the characteristic differences of their dispositions. The self-relying and impious Oinomaos, with head erect, half turns his shoulder upon the god, and rests his hand with fingers outspread on his hip in a nonchalant way. Pelops, on the other hand, though sure of victory, modestly bends his head in the divine presence. Oinomaos is an older man, and this the artist endeavoured to show by his fuller proportions. When the artist later proceeded to view his composition as a whole, he found that the slender figure of Pelops did not well balance the heavier king on the other side. He therefore added a bronze coat of mail to the younger man, as is attested by the several holes of attachment on the shoulders and below the abdomen. This was an afterthought, as is again clearly shown by the fact that the entire front of Pelops was beautifully finished before the holes were bored, while on the Olympian figures as a whole, unlike the Aiginetan, only those parts were finished, or even at all carved, which were meant to be seen. The addition of the cuirass was an exquisite device, for it enabled the artist to attain complete balance in masses without giving up the touch of age differentiation presented by the slighter body of the younger man.

The two women also are well characterised by their poses and the folds of their drapery. Sterope, the consort of the cruel king, stands straight and almost stiff, with the folds of her garment falling in long parallel masses,

indicative of firmness. Hippodameia touches her hand modestly to her chin, and her garment falls in delicate folds to her feet. Another very expressive figure is the old man (p. 138), back of the chariot of the king. The heavy wrinkles of skin under his rather fat breast, his half-bald head, and his long locks are sure signs of his advanced age, while the seriousness of his expression and his intent gaze into the distance have made people believe they saw in him a seer filled with dire forebodings for his people.

In the north corner of the pediment, one of the best figures, is the reclining youth (p. 139), who gazes eagerly into space. Probably thought of a spectator to the coming race, he has raised himself on his elbows in order to see better, and this has given him such a magnificent curve that Pausanias had no difficulty in seeing in him a river god. Similar representations of river gods were very popular in Roman times, but it is not certain that the Greeks of the fifth century had developed their ideas far enough to embrace symbolic personifications. The twist of the body, no matter whom the figure represents, is marvellous. The same considerations which led to the carving of the dying warrior on the east pediment of Aegina may also account for the Olympian boy, who in lifelike representation is far ahead of that older statue. There the chest and abdomen are simply *put* together; here they *grow* together in wonderfully easy and flowing masses, the very shape of one part indicating the position of the other. The head, in spite of its expressive gaze, is out of keeping with the splendid body. Perhaps the artist relied upon the addition of colour; the hair, for instance, is only blocked out to receive the paint.

It must, however, never be forgotten that these figures were not to be seen close at hand, and that at their considerable height details of fine modelling would have been apt to disappear. The eye, nevertheless, especially when compared with the mouth and the nose, betrays a remarkable lack of accuracy of conception.

The east pediment, looked at as a whole, is in lines quiet and restful; the actors who are to take part in the suggested tragedy are introduced, but the moment for action has not yet arrived. This differs in the west pediment, where an active struggle occurs. The peace of the wedding feast has been interrupted by the Centaurs, who have snatched up the women and the boys and are making away with them. Peirithoös himself and his friend Theseus are fighting in the centre, while Apollo, the patron god of the Lapiths, has appeared between them to calm the strife. In spite of his commanding gesture he takes no active part in the struggle, and seems to have been introduced for no other reasons than accounted for the presence of Zeus in the east pediment and of Athena in Aegina. The subject of the battle scene, however, is treated differently from that on the older temple.

The combatants are not divided into two hostile camps, but are mixed up, each one actually struggling with a real foe. This adds life to the composition, and shows that the sculptors understood the defects of the earlier design. The reclining figures of old women in the corners are technical necessities. Possibly they are meant to be horrified spectators, guests or attendants at the wedding feast, but they are too obviously introduced to fill the narrowing space under the slanting roof to be altogether satisfactory. The artist, however, has turned their presence to some use, for reclining on cushions, they suggest an indoor scene. In Aegina the battle was raging in the open; here the struggle has begun in the festive hall of the king. This is the reason why the Centaurs are endeavouring to canter away from the centre; for away from the centre towards the corners is the direction which suggests the flight from the interior to the open.

The grouping of the figures is done with wonderful skill and with full understanding of the devices by which the eye is readily carried from one

person to the other. The three prominent people in the centre are hardly seen when the action of the youth at Apollo's right directs one's attention to the centaur whom he is trying to slay before the beast can carry off the girl. Centaur and girl form a closely knit group, which makes it easy to glide over to the next two figures of equally close connection. Here, however, the extended arm of the boy seems to link another figure to them which, in thought, belongs to the final group of this side. The constant resolution of groups in masses into new groups, according to thought, makes it possible to view the entire composition with the rapidity that the confused battle scene demands. The movement grows ever swifter towards the corners, but even the standing figures in the centre have an intimate connection with the fray, and with the more violent boys in the corners, who in the heat of combat have hurled themselves bodily upon the Centaurs. By thus tackling their opponents they are brought low down to the position demanded by the slanting roof. Their attitude, however, is so well explained by their action that the spectator completely forgets the limitations of space.

All this simple and continuous movement is lost if one keeps to the original and mistaken arrangement of the figures as they were first put together. The Centaurs are transposed and put nearest Apollo, with the two youths behind them. This brings the recoiling head of one of the Centaurs near the outstretched hand of Apollo, who, so the advocates of this arrangement reason, by his gesture repels the beast, and therefore is no longer aimlessly present. This, however, is a palpable mistake; for it is not the god, but the muscular strength of the arms of the woman that forces the bestial head backward (p. 141). It is, moreover, impossible to believe that the centaur would continue to canter into the room and right up to the god even after he had felt the power of Apollo's hand. The youth behind him, finally, is so large that were he placed as near to the corner as the insertion of the centaur group between him and Apollo demanded, he would reach to the very roof of the pediment and would never appear to be able to deal his blow.



Kladeos, east pediment, Temple of Zeus, Olympia, c. 470-456 B.C. Archaeological Museum, Olympia.



Eurytion and Deidameia, west pediment,
Temple of Zeus, Olympia, c. 470-456 B.C. Marble,
h: 235 cm. Archaeological Museum, Olympia.

Centaur and Lapith, west pediment,
Temple of Zeus, Olympia, c. 470-456 B.C. Marble.
Archaeological Museum, Olympia.



Where he properly belongs, at the side of Apollo, he does not seem cramped in space; one may expect to see him bring his hatchet down at will. These are formidable objections to the old arrangement; the most prohibitive, however, is that it spoils the continuity of the design, because it breaks the entire composition into three unconnected groups, Apollo with the Centaurs and the youths in the centre, from which there is no transition whatsoever to the corner groups.

The large Apollo in the centre (p. 135), is the most impressive figure. He does not actually take part in the fray, and yet his very presence seems to suggest defeat for the beasts. By his mere gesture he dominates the fight, and reminds one of the statement of Aischylos, that "all the gods' work is effortless and calm." He was originally designed with a small cape slung over his shoulder, one end of which appeared over his left hand. But when the artist came to look upon his figure as a part of the entire composition, he noticed that the broad shoulders of the god and his advanced leg gave him an unpleasantly wedge-shaped appearance. He therefore added several pieces below the left hand, and changed the garment so that it fell in a curve from the hand down to the feet. That this was an afterthought, just as the cuirass of Pelops was, is readily seen from the many fragments of the extended robe that have been found, and from the arrangement of the cloak on the back of the statue, which, though merely blocked out in the rough, contradicts the present design.

The figure was intended for a considerable height, and defects in modelling, as on the arms and breast, would not be noticed. Splendid though it is, it shows how far the artist was from a clear conception of the human form. The contours of the front and the back are of equal width, although even the most casual glance at a model would have shown the sculptor the inaccuracy of such a representation. The head is a magnificent piece of sculpture, to which every line of the figure carries the eye. The features are in keeping with the impression of majesty – the lips full, the nose generous, and the eye frank and open. The orderly masses of the hair, without any pretense to natural semblance, are completely satisfactory; the hair is long and rolled up at the neck over a ribbon, originally of bronze, attached to the hole behind the left ear, and carried along over it in a groove. The ear is too large and tipped too far back on the head to be accurate, for in nature it is almost vertical; so that, considering the tilt of the head here, it ought to tilt slightly to the left. But like all Greek artists, this sculptor took liberties; for he cared more for the preservation of the necessary rhythm of his figure than for accuracy to nature, that is to say, *objective* nature. From this he deviated in order to make a more forceful and more pleasing appeal to the *subjective* nature of his spectators.

A splendid touch of reality he introduced in his composition by differentiating between the modes of fighting resorted to by the several persons. The men in every case are on the aggressive; even the tender boy reaches forth his hand to deal the centaur a vicious blow. The women, though physically fully as powerful as the boy, are invariably on the defensive, endeavouring to keep the most sacred parts of their bodies intact from the touch of the beast. Deidameia, the bride, who may perhaps be recognised by her full robes in the right wing of the pediment nearest Apollo, has been snatched away by the centaur, who holds her tight between his fore legs. She does not think of dealing him a blow; her only thought is to keep his voluptuous head from contact with her own. The next moment, as it were, is

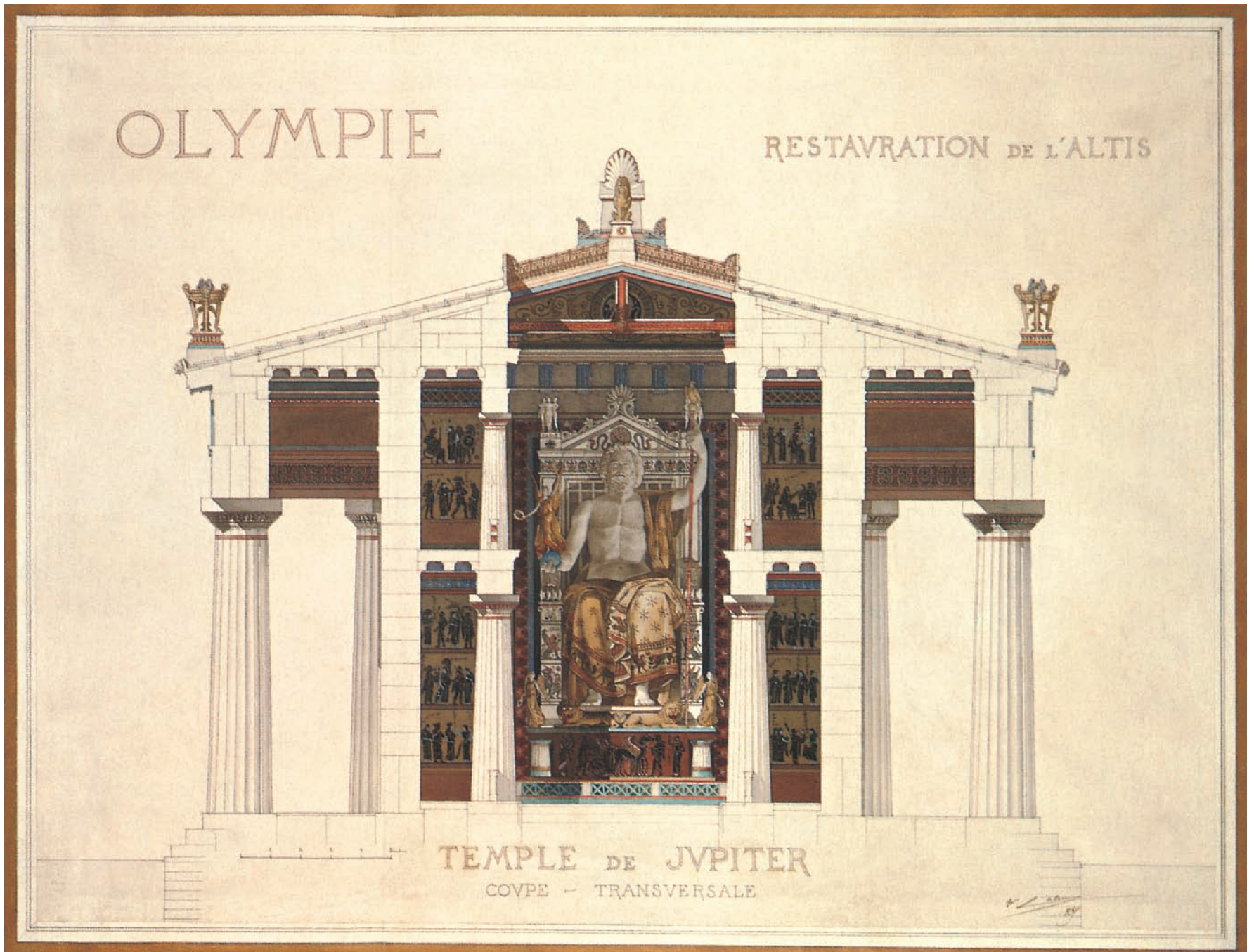
seen on the corresponding group on the other side (p. 140), where the girl has released his head because he has touched her breast. She tries to remove his unholy grasp there, without, however, forgetting her first intention, for she is still warding his head off with her elbow.

On the other side, nearer the corner, another woman is also eagerly struggling to get the centaur's hand away from her breast. The centaur was galloping off with the girl on his back, when he was tackled by one of the youthful Lapiths and borne down with such power that he sunk on his knees. The woman slipped from his back, but was tightly held by her foot and the folds of her garment, and though he received his deathblow he would not release her. The corresponding group near the left-hand corner is very similar, except that the outcome seems less clear, for the Lapith is weaponless.

Again the woman has slipped from the centaur's back; again she is caught, but this time by the hair. The centaur has been unable to take hold of her breast, and her only endeavour, therefore, is to keep his head away from hers. According to the old arrangement the Centaurs touching the breasts of their victims are on one side, and those whose heads are kept at a distance on the other side. Such a poor distribution is surely not to be expected of a sculptor who took obvious pains to introduce variety in the balance of his figures.

The heads of the Centaurs are full of bestiality, reminding one not improperly of the Marsyas of Myron (p. 119). He, however, is a decidedly more refined beast. Their faces are full of lustful expressions, which it is important to notice, because all the other faces, with one exception, are expressionless. A beast, from the Greek point of view, might lose his self-control; the noblest man, never; for he could not be conceived with the beauty of his quiet features marred by passion. It is wrong, therefore, to draw too definite a conclusion as to the skill of the artist from the absence of expression on the finest of the Olympia faces. Changes, nevertheless, have taken place since the Aiginetan figures were carved. There one feels the echo of the old limitations in the curve of the mouth and in the lifeless eyes; here one sees, in spite of all inaccuracy, an independent rendering of much freer and clearer conceptions of the head. The features in no case are individual, and yet the figures appeal to one with the force of individuality. This is due to their action; they do not stand or move as *any* one *must* do under similar circumstances, but as their own particular feelings dictate. The Olympia sculptors²⁵, therefore, had successfully started on the road of character suggestion by means of poses and gestures. They had advanced to the understanding of human nature and dared to express it, and had done so even before they had completely overcome all technical difficulties in rendering the human form.

Neither the anatomist nor the archaeologist, nor for that matter any spectator, will have much difficulty in pointing out such defects as are seen in the torso of Apollo, or the one missing leg on the woman nearest Apollo's right, or the inaccurate folds on the right leg of the other girl on the same side, or finally the unnaturally long arm of the Lapith youth which the centaur is biting on Apollo's left. All these defects, however, disappear before the joyous spirit of life pervading the entire composition. If it was right to speak of the Aiginetan figures as *pictures* of men, it is surely correct to call the creations of the Olympia sculptors real living men and women.



*Transversal Section of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, by Victor Laloux, 1883, Plate 1. Drawing.
Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris.*

Realisation of the Noblest Ideas: the Divine Side of Human Nature

The equivalent of the word “soul” was first used in Greece in the middle of the fifth century B.C. by the philosopher Anaxagoras; and he, too, it is almost certain, was far from thinking of the soul as a spirit controlling the human body and its activities. Harmony and unity had been the watchwords of the two great philosophical schools of Asia Minor and lower Italy respectively. In striving for the realisation of these ideals men had overlooked the existing duality of human beings. People had appeared to be either heavenly born, or by fate bad; Greeks, or beasts like the Centaurs. If the sculptors ever had noticed the combination of the divine and the physical in men they had not represented it. Indeed, it must have appeared to them unnatural and as little worthy of representation as a deformity, because both alike seemingly destroyed the harmonious unity of the composition.



*Head of Zeus after Phidias, Roman coin, 133 A.D.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.*

The existence of this duality, however, is a fact. The sculptor cannot entirely disregard it, even if he does not understand it, provided he is skilful enough to have attained freedom of execution. This was the case in Greece by the middle of the fifth century. The artists, therefore, found themselves confronted with the problem of choosing between the divine and the physical side of human nature; for where the legitimate coexistence of both sides was denied, or at least not appreciated, either the one or the other had to appear as the controlling motive.

The selection of the particular side was, however, an unconscious process of the mind, and in result very different from much later creations, when artists wilfully endeavoured to suppress either the spiritual or the physical aspect of human nature. The statues of Phidias, never carved from models, were as truly the expressions of his mental conceptions as the early “Apollos” had been the embodiments of the memory images of his predecessors. The peculiar conceptions which the Greeks had of their gods

assisted such a mode of expression. To understand it one must disregard the vulgar fictions of popular mythology, which falsely imputed to the gods many acts of violence and of depravity, since frail human nature is ever ready to imagine such deeds of those who lead a happier and less restrained existence. The danger of such stories was realised by the best men of antiquity. Plato, in his endeavour to suppress these legends, was even willing to destroy the whole of the Homeric poems because they contained some of them. The real Greek gods were far above any vile imputations; they were men, noble men and women, without any of the limitations attached to humanity. In the performance of their divine duties they could assume any shape at will, but when they appeared to mortals they assumed human form, which mortals could understand. It must never be believed that the Greeks were idolatrous to the extent of seeing actual divinity in their statues. Far from it! The Athena in Athens actually revealed the very shape which the goddess would assume if she deigned to show herself to mortal eyes.



*The Statue of Zeus at Olympia by Phidias, Greek coin.
Museo Archeologico, Florence.*

To create the statue of a god, therefore, meant not only to have a perfect understanding of him but also to conceive of a human body which could worthily contain his personality and reveal it to the world. It is not difficult to see that men working along these lines encountered few obstacles in perceiving the divine side of the human body, and preferred to represent this side at all times rather than to stop at the reproduction of forms which could never hold a god. The chief sculptor along these lines was Phidias. He was, as even the ancients unanimously agreed, the greatest of all artists. No other sculptor, however high at times he stood in popular favour, could attain the grandeur of his stature; and on no other did they feel less qualified to pass a verdict than on him. No word of blame, no wish that this or that might be different in his statues ever occurs in their writings. And the fact that their eulogies also are few is readily explained by such confessions as Pliny made, when he wanted to prove the justice of the universal praise of Phidias, and declared that he was unable to discuss any of his great works – for they were above human aspirations, they



Bust of Perikles, copy after a Greek original, c. 425 B.C. Marble, h: 48 cm. British Museum, London.



Lemnian Athena, by Phidias. Marble, h: 60 cm.
Museo Civico, Bologna.



Lemnian Athena, Furtwängler's arrangement of an original by Phidias.



Richelieu Mercury, type "Apollo of Kassel", copy after a Greek original by Phidias, the Apollo Parnopios created around 450 B.C., c. 2nd century B.C. Marble, h: 200 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Apollo, copy after a Greek original by Phidias, the Apollo "Parnopios" created around 450 B.C. Marble, h: 197 cm. Staatliche Museen, Kassel.

were divine – and was obliged to content himself with the description of a minor decoration of the Athena Parthenos.

None of the most important statues by Phidias remain. They were of gold and ivory and colossal in size. The head of his Olympian Zeus is traced on a coin of Elis (p. 144), and the type of the Athena Parthenos, once almost forty feet in height, is preserved in two statuettes, of which the largest measures barely three and a half feet, and a few more statues of varying sizes and doubtful authenticity. In the absence of any actual reproductions of these two important statues we fortunately possess the record of their impressions upon some art critics and archaeologists of antiquity. “The measurements,” says Pausanias, in speaking of the colossal chryselephantine Zeus in Olympia, “are recorded, but I will not praise those who made them, for the measurements which they give fall far short of the impression which the statue makes upon the spectator.” Quintilian, a Roman writer of the first century, even believed that this statue kept adding new strength to the religion which, in his time, was beginning to weaken before the wave of learned scepticism. And Dio Chrysostom, after saying that “our Zeus is peaceful and mild in every way, as it were the guardian of Hellas when she is of one mind, and not distraught with faction,” adds his own confession, that the man who has once seen the statue cannot henceforth form another impression of the god, or think of him in any other way; and concludes with these memorable words: “If there is a man heavy laden and full of sorrow in his soul, who has suffered many evils and experienced much woe in life, so that sweet sleep does no longer visit him, I believe, if he were to stand before the statue, he would forget his sorrows, one and all, and would recover²⁶.”

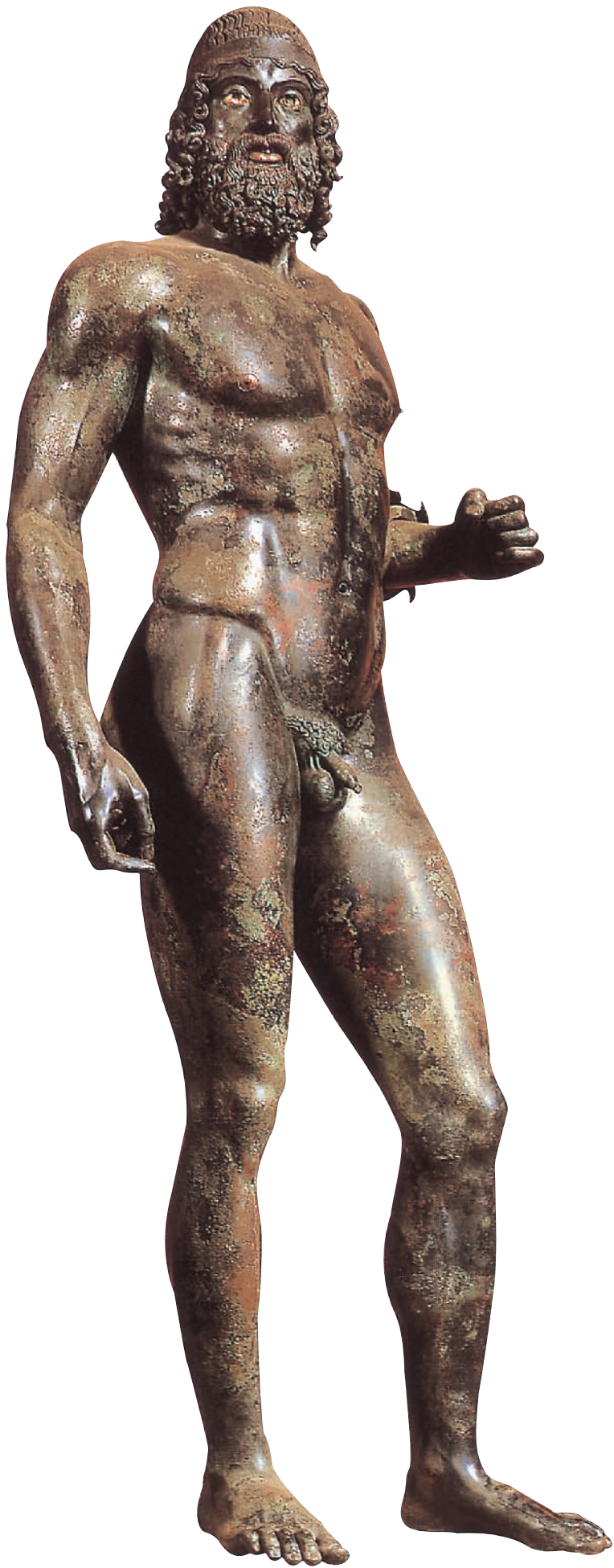
Such and similar expressions of admiration by the ancients give one a better idea of the importance of Phidias than is derived from a minute study of the small copies which have lost all the grandeur of the original, and bear, as Mr. Gardner puts it, about “the same relation to Phidias’ statue as the coarsest German oleograph after the Sistine Madonna bears to the picture which it affects to reproduce.” The value of these literary statements is by no means lessened by the fact that all of them were written centuries after Phidias lived, and at a time when Greek art had run its course and was counted among the relics of the past. If men of later days, who were accustomed to view the very best that human skill had created, could appreciate the statues of Phidias and could read in them thoughts to satisfy their own religious needs, is the best proof of the singularly pure conceptions which the Greek artist had embodied. A genius like his, working so soon after the spirit of freedom had laid hold of his people, and able not only to conceive but also to express thoughts that were to govern the religious world for more than half a millennium, could not help leaving its impress alike on contemporaneous and on subsequent art. Even without Phidias, Greek sculpture might eventually have developed as it did, but it would surely have taken more time to reach its heights.

Phidias’s actual dates, both of the birth and of the death, remain unknown. He was born in Athens probably about 500 B.C., and completed his studies outside his native country with Ageladas of Argos, who in antiquity had the proud reputation of having taught not only Phidias but also Myron and Polykleitos. Soon after the Persian wars he received the commission from Athens for a large bronze group of national heroes with Miltiades as the central figure. None of the other works of Phidias can be accurately dated except his Athena Parthenos, which was dedicated in 438 B.C. Phidias died before Perikles (bust, p. 45), his lifelong friend and

admirer, who succumbed to the plague in 429. Perikles made him general supervisor over all the buildings that he erected during the many years of his supremacy in Athens. Perikles’s last years of life were embittered by the ingratitude of the Athenians and their slanderous attacks on him and on his friends. Phidias had to stand his share of it. He was accused of having embezzled gold entrusted to him for the making of the Athena Parthenos. From this accusation, whose validity of certain later writers did not deny, a number of stories grew, many of which have come down to the present day.

Most modern writers – one blushes to confess it – incline to believe in the guilt of Phidias. It is, however, impossible to believe that Phidias correctly understood the gods, and at the same time was willing to steal the sacred material given to him for the making of their statues. Considering the most recent contributions to this subject, the weight of the argument may now be said to be overwhelmingly in favour of the innocence of Phidias. Of the many attempts to identify with existing statues some of the twenty-one works with which the ancients credited Phidias, only one probably has been successful. This refers to the brilliant discovery of Professor Furtwängler, who has recognised the type of the Lemnian Athena in a beautiful head in Bologna (p. 146) and in two statues in Dresden. This discovery was the more difficult to make since the appearance of the statue was completely changed by marred restorations. By combining the three remains Professor Furtwängler has created a new figure in plaster (p. 146), which is probably a fair reproduction of the statue of Phidias. The original was dedicated on the Acropolis of Athens by Athenian colonists who had received free land in Lemnos, at a date which is not definitely known.

The dignity of the statue is self-evident. It is a somewhat austere though kind conception of the patron goddess of Athens, and appeals to the imagination even more than to the senses. The generous bend of the magnificent head, together with the apparently voluntary rigidity of pose, conveys an excellent idea of the character of the virgin warrior who at all times had the welfare of her city at heart. That the original was of bronze is clearly seen not only from the general design of the figure but also from the execution of its details. The short garment, showing the feet, is characteristic of the transitional period and the years immediately following it; it occurs on several metopes from Olympia, but has disappeared in the copies of the Athena Parthenos. Professor Furtwängler has based on it his theory of the date of the statue, believing it to belong to the early period of the artist’s activity. It would, of course, be a mistake to make this statue the starting point of an appreciation of Phidias; one may, however, be permitted to take it into consideration, for if not actually made by him, it was doubtless created under those influences which are commonly agreed to have come from him. They are perfection of transmitted forms, and expression of a profound and divinely noble character. Both these qualities are found to such a high degree in this statue that they entitle it to the attention which Professor Furtwängler’s probably correct identification has given it. The *discovery* of this statue has not taught us anything new concerning the style of Phidias, but it has supplied us with one of the best illustrations of his art, the essence of which was the appreciation of man’s noblest side. Finer bodies have been carved than that of the Lemnian Athena, and more delicate draperies have been designed than she wears. But rarely, if ever, has a single body conveyed better than hers the conviction of the artist that the spark of the divine does live in men and that it possesses the power to transform what is mortal into the image of God.



Riace Bronze A, attributed to Phidias, c. 450 B.C. Bronze, h: 198 cm.
Museo Nazionale, Reggio Calabria.



Riace Bronze B, attributed to Phidias, c. 450 B.C. Bronze, h: 197 cm.
Museo Nazionale, Reggio Calabria.



THE PARTHENON

That Phidias, as is popularly believed, had an intimate connection with the Parthenon cannot be proved. Ikteinos and Kallikrates were the architects of the building, and many sculptors were engaged to carve in stone its friezes and pedimental figures. When Perikles decided upon the building of this the largest of all the Athenian temples, he did so, at least in part, in order to provide occupation for large classes of citizens whom he found it desirable to keep well occupied. Under these conditions it was impossible to engage the best sculptors only, and this is shown by the differences in workmanship, which are at times pronounced. Phidias, who, we are told, had general charge of all the art activities during the ascendancy of Perikles, may naturally have paid special attention to the decoration of the Parthenon; but this is merely an assumption, not even based on transmitted evidence. Phidias himself, while the temple was being built, was actively engaged in the making of his colossal gold and ivory statue of Athena, and doubtless had little time for anything else.

The unity of conception, however, which is noticed in the frieze, and the perfection especially of the figures of the east pediment, suggest that the mind of one great man was responsible for their design. For this reason, in the absence of artists to equal Phidias, one turns to him; and all the more readily since we know (though of a somewhat later time) that one sculptor made the designs for a pediment, while others were engaged to execute them.

This was probably the case with the Parthenon. The two friezes alone contain about 3,300 and 3,200 square feet of sculpture respectively, which proves that no one man could possibly have carved all of them in the few years allotted to the task. The temple was of the Doric order. Its outside frieze, therefore, was broken up into *metopes* and *triglyphs*.

The triglyphs were projecting blocks with two grooves in the centre and two half grooves at the ends, which gave them the name *three-grooved* – that is, triglyphs. The metopes were the squares between the triglyphs. On the Parthenon they were decorated with figures in high relief; on other temples they were sometimes filled with paintings or left entirely undecorated. This probably was the case on the Zeus temple in Olympia, for the carved square slabs from that temple which are known as metopes belonged to the inside of the colonnade, where they were placed above the entrance doors. In the Parthenon the interior of the colonnade was decorated in a different way, for it contained a continuous frieze, which is an ornament unknown to strictly Doric temples. It was

copied from Ionic buildings, and is known as the Ionic frieze. To distinguish the two groups of sculpture on the Parthenon briefly, the outer figures of the Doric frieze are called *metopes*, and the continuous inner frieze *the frieze*.

The Metopes

When the Parthenon (p. 162) was destroyed in 1687 the metopes suffered most, and of ninety-two which originally encircled the building only about eighteen of the south side are well enough preserved to deserve attention. The others are so completely destroyed that not even the subjects they represented can be distinguished with certainty. The east side may have contained the struggle between the gods and giants, the west side the battle with the Amazons, the north side the scene from the Trojan war; while the majority of the metopes on the south treated the subject represented on one of the Olympia pediments – the struggle between the Centaurs and the Lapiths.

The workmanship on the preserved metopes is uneven. Some contain indications that their sculptors accepted the new order, and belong to the age of Phidias; others reveal practices in keeping with the older school. Such survival of old traditions is not at all astonishing. Indeed, it would have been a marvel if the entire art of sculpture had completely changed in one short generation. The thing of importance is that none of the adherents of the older mode of carving left any pupils for the next generation; from that point people then built entirely upon the new achievements of Phidias and his school, and paid no attention to the conservatives.

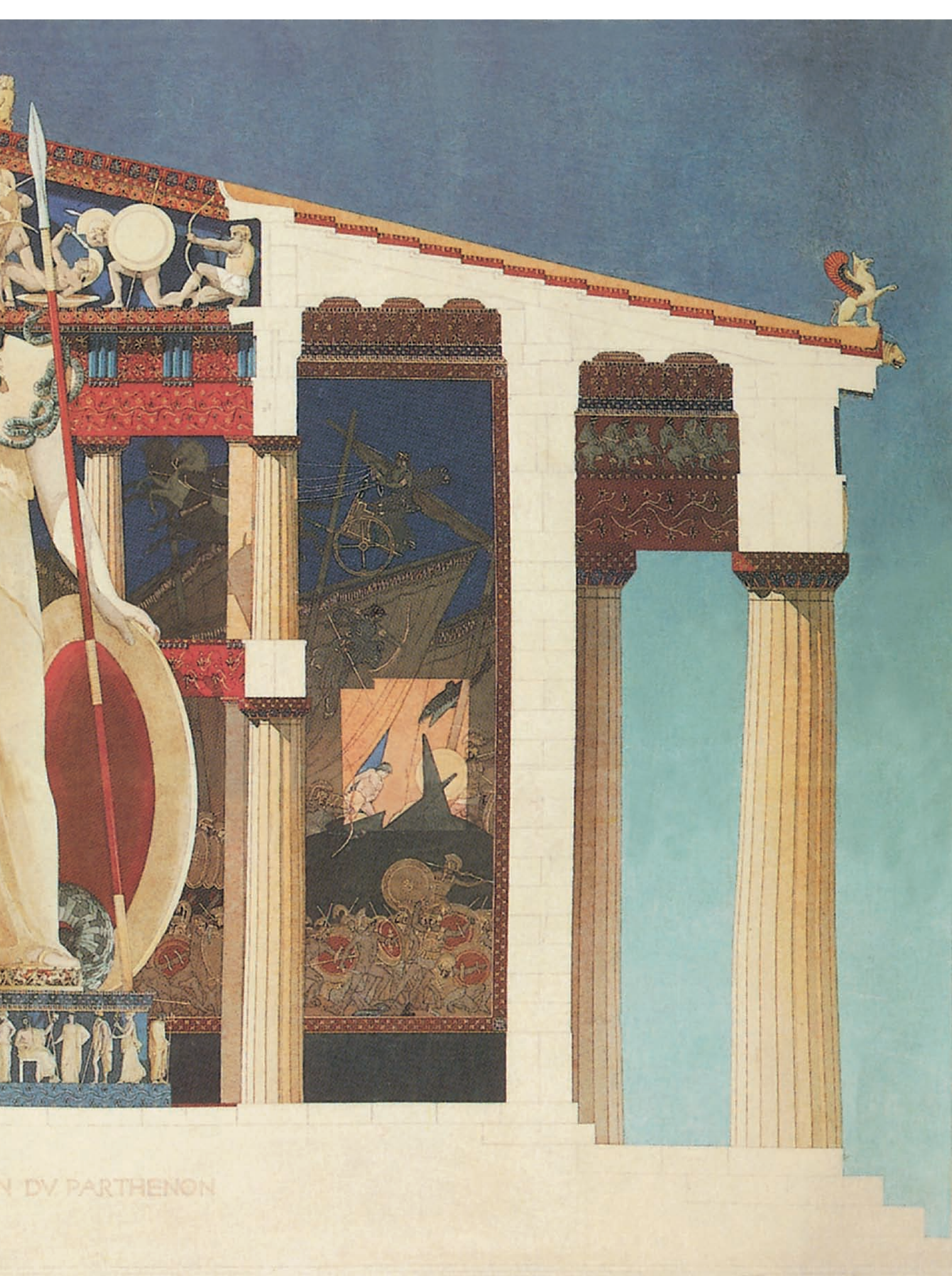
One of the best metopes (p. 156), shows a Lapith victorious over a centaur. He has wounded him in the small of the back, as the gesture of the beast indicates, and running up behind him, wheels about to throw a blow. The conception of the figures is full of life, but retarded by the introduction of the drapery. If he disregards the garment, the youth gains in power and swiftness. Before one's very eyes he seems to turn, ready to deal his blow. Why should the sculptor have been willing to spoil the vigour of his composition by hanging a piece of drapery over the arms of the Lapith? Why should he condemn him to eternal inactivity? The answer: because it was almost impossible to fill the entire space of a metope with two figures without leaving either in the corners or in the centre an empty space of noticeable dimensions. Empty spaces,

Iris, west pediment, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C. Marble, h: 125 cm. British Museum, London.

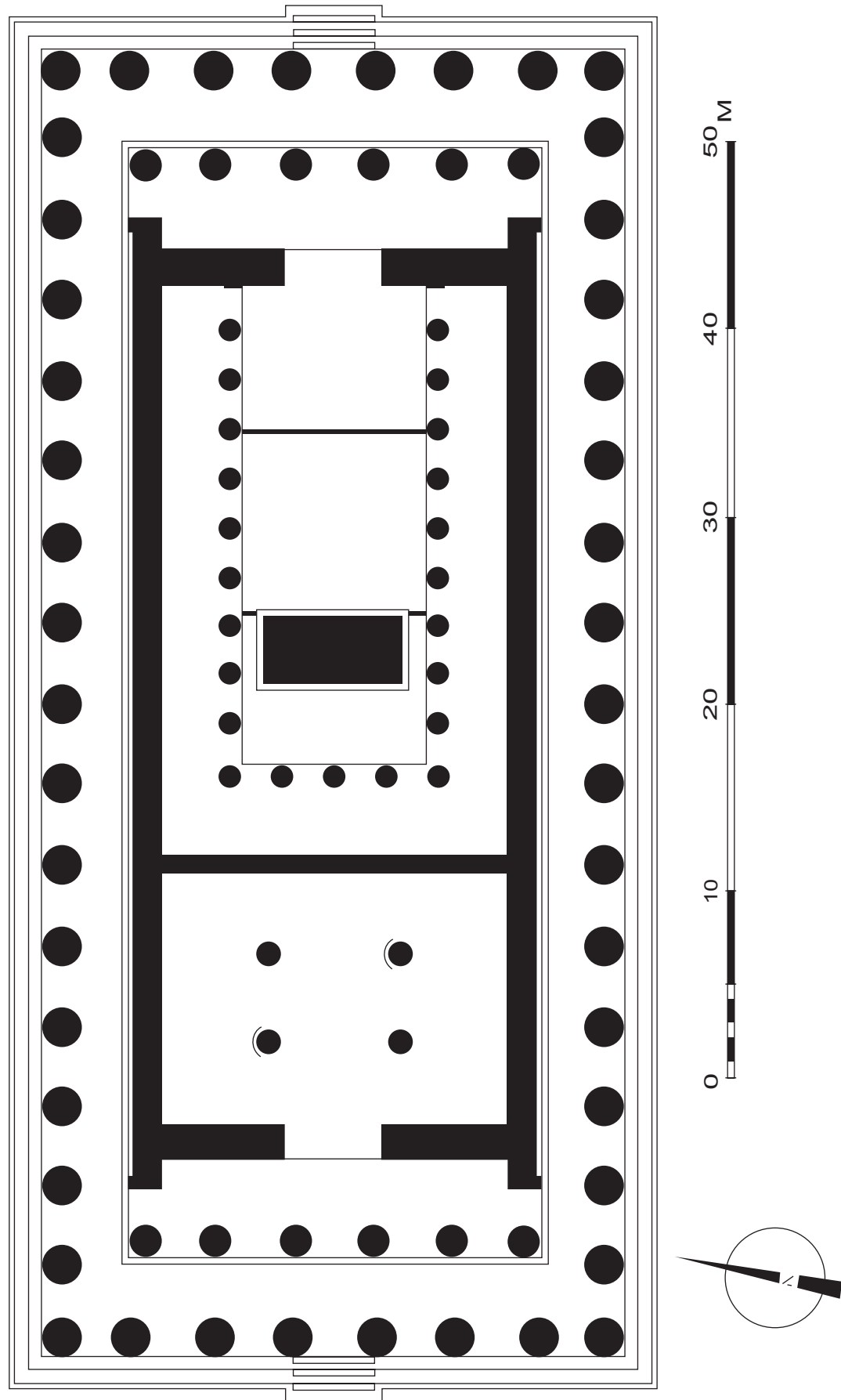
Transversal Section of the Parthenon in Athens, by Benoit Luvion, 1879-1881. Drawing. Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris.



ATHENES RESTAVRATION



N DV PARTHENON



Ground Plan of the Parthenon, Athens.

however, were, especially in the fifth century, a horror to the Greeks. Rather than offend the eye with such a space, this sculptor chose to weaken the original design. The design may be by Phidias, the drapery this man's own addition.

On the next metope (p. 159), the tables are turned with a vengeance. The Lapith is dying; and while his head is sinking low, the centaur dances above him in exultant glee. The right leg of the centaur – now broken – is locked with the limb of his foe. Swinging the boy's leg up and down, the prancing beast draws fresh hilarity from every touch. The panther skin catches the frenzy, and behind the centaur's back its lifeless tail and paw swing in the wind in wildest excitement. Even its

as dying rather than as dead. A body lying flat on its back at some height is hardly seen, not to speak of the fact that its thickness, if correctly carved, appears disproportionately thin, owing to the peculiarity of human vision. Considerations of this kind explain the readiness of subsequent sculptors to deviate from the even level upon which the action of their figures on temple sculptures ought to take place.

The artist of this metope has successfully filled one of the empty spaces of his slab with the panther skin. This skin, initially a technical necessity, eventually became such an integral part of the composition that without it the metope would have lost vital interest. This shows mastery over the limitations of space and material. The artist, no longer their slave, has



Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs, south metope 30, Parthenon, Athens, c. 446-438 B.C. Marble, h: 134 cm. British Museum, London.

Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs, south metope 29, Parthenon, Athens, c. 446-438 B.C. Marble, h: 134 cm. British Museum, London.

grimace stares down cruelly on the dying boy. The lost head of the centaur possibly showed some of the wanton bestiality still reflected in its whisking tail.

The dying boy is less well represented because, in the first place, the representation of the dead offered problems which were not fully solved for several generations. It is not enough to carve a *lifeless* form; the artist must show that it is a form *created to live*, that is, a living body with life now suddenly departed. Another reason was that the high position of the metope, and the sharp angle at which it was seen, offered the same difficulties that had induced the Aegina sculptors to show their warriors

begun to be their control them. Herein perhaps lies one of the foremost characteristics of Greek art at its best – that the artists voluntarily submit to restrictions, but turn them into successes. In early Greek sculpture the submission was less voluntary and the skill too slight to overcome difficulties. In later times the skill was so great and the submission so well disguised that it appeared almost unintentional, the unhampered expression of a first conception. Throughout, however, the ultimate success was due to the delight which the artists took in proving themselves masters over all those outside considerations which under different conditions would have been powerful checks upon the free exercise of their art.



A Lapith tackles a Fleeing Centaur and prepares to Strike a Decisive Blow, south metope 27, Parthenon, Athens, c. 446-438 B.C. Marble, h: 135 cm. British Museum, London.

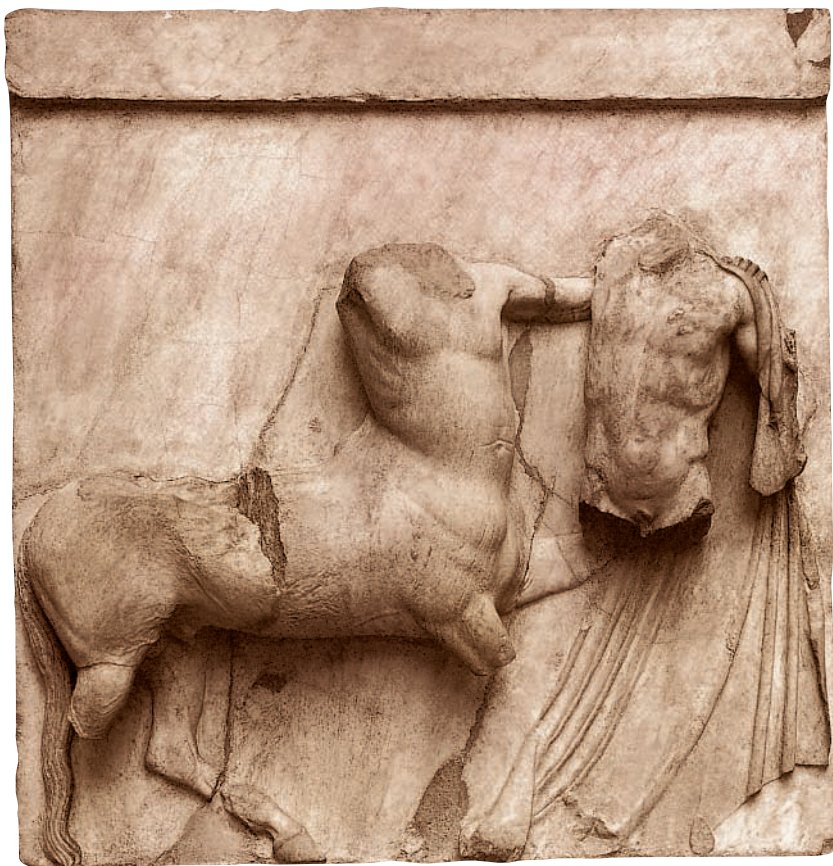


Centaur and Female Lapith, south metope 11, Parthenon, Athens, c. 446-438 B.C.
Marble, h: 135 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

On another Parthenon metope (p. 155), the sculptor has shown that he has not yet attained freedom in his profession. His subject is a centaur cantering off with a Lapith woman. The artist realised that the representation of the similar motive in Olympia (p. 140), had not been altogether successful; for as long as the woman had her feet firmly planted on the ground, the progress of the centaur had to be slow. In the metope, therefore, the beast has snatched the woman high in the air; and this, of course, meant that her head projected above his. The highest point at which her head could be represented was given by the upper edge of the block. But at this level, generally, the centaur heads were carved. It was therefore necessary to compress the upper part of his body to execute the composition's idea.

upper corner of the slab unfilled. Altogether this metope is perhaps the least satisfactory of all that are preserved, and that in spite of the soundness of the considerations which led to its first design. The sculptor realised at every turn the obstacles that arose, without being able to cope with them.

Almost every one of the metope figures of the Parthenon is an independent and new creation, at least in so far as the scarcity of existing contemporaneous sculpture permits one to judge. In one slab, however, the youth bears considerable resemblance to the Harmodios of the Tyrannicide group. It is therefore not at all unlikely that some of the other figures also may have preserved the types of now lost statues.



A Lapith grappling with a Centaur, south metope 7, Parthenon, Athens, c. 446-438 B.C. Marble, h: 135 cm. British Museum, London.

The general proportions of the centaur, however, were given by the length of his horse's body, which, considering the architecturally fixed width of the metope, could not be lessened for fear of leaving too great a space unfilled at either side. The result was a deformed and almost hunchbacked centaur, distorting the general conception the Greeks had of his race. The metope is, moreover, decidedly unpleasant to look at; empty spaces are not avoided.

The compression of this figure and the necessarily slight drapery of the woman, fluttering behind his back, leave a large part in the left-hand



A Centaur and a Young Man, south metope 6, Parthenon, Athens, c. 446-438 B.C. Marble, h: 135 cm. British Museum, London.

The Frieze

The Ionic frieze encircling the temple walls on the inside of the colonnade measured originally almost five hundred and twenty-three feet, of which four hundred and ten feet have survived the explosion; but of these only about three hundred feet are well enough preserved to repay a detailed study. The frieze was continuous; it was nearly forty feet above the ground, and seen under dim light. The impression, therefore, of disjointed slabs in well-lighted galleries today is different from, and probably far



*A Centaur prances in Triumph over a Fallen Lapith, south metope 38, Parthenon, Athens, c. 446-438 B.C.
Marble, h: 135 cm. British Museum, London.*



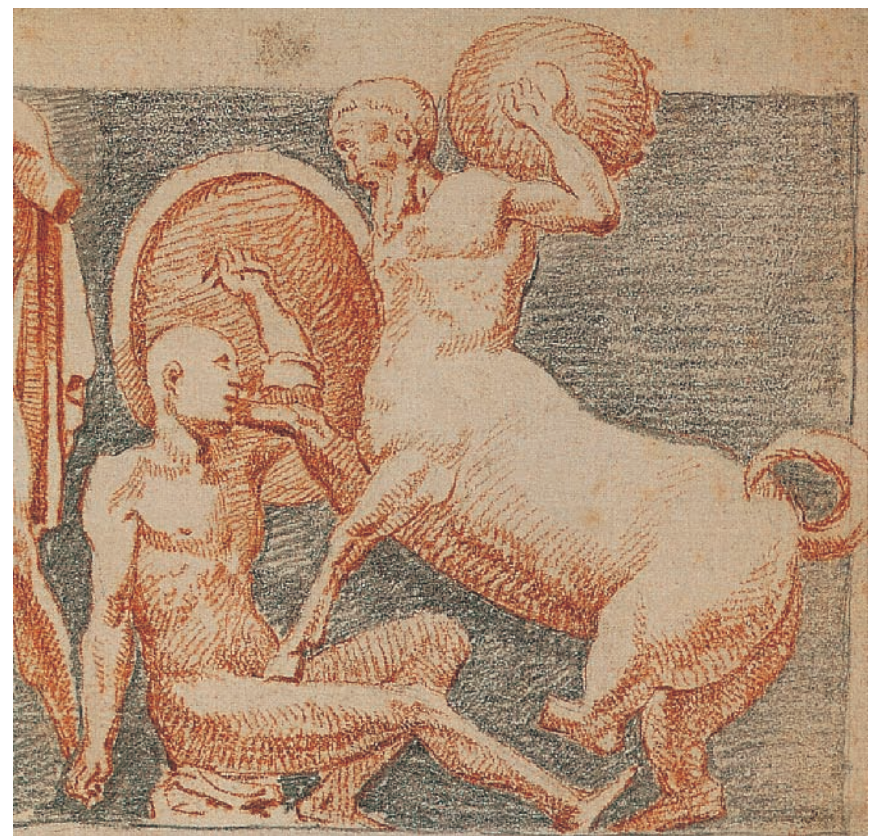
*Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs, south metope, Parthenon, Athens, c. 446-438 B.C.
Marble, h: 133 cm. British Museum, London.*

inferior to, the impression intended by the artists. Of no other Greek work can it be said with equal truth that to form even an approximate idea of its lost magnificence is impossible. But what the frieze has lost in artistic value by having been brought close to the eye of the spectator, it has gained in another direction; for today one can follow along it, as never before, the artists' devices enabling them to gain complete mastery over difficulties of technique and design. It is not necessary to mention all the devices, for with hardly an exception they go to show that the artists were willing to accept some well-defined laws of their art as binding upon them, but never as offering insurmountable obstacles. The subject of the frieze was the procession of the Panathenaic festival²⁷. It was as little an accurate rendering of the gorgeous pageant as contemporaneous sculpture

moment to be represented in the frieze, he will be disappointed. After having decided upon the subject and its general mode of representation, the artists had to settle the question of how to arrange it about the building. Beginning at the southwest corner on the west side, which was the nearest to the Propylaea, the only gate of the Acropolis, the procession continued from right to left along the north to the east, where before the quiet company of gods it came to a standstill. A similar procession was seen approaching the gods from the other side, and if one followed it back around the corner to the south wall it too was seen to begin on the southwest corner. It may be questioned whether such an arrangement is altogether satisfactory, for there was a definite break in the composition at the corner where the procession started in opposite directions. The



A Centaur about to Strike a Fallen Lapith with a Water-Pot (Hydria), south metope 4, Parthenon, Athens, c. 446-438 B.C. Marble, h: 135 cm. British Museum, London.



A Centaur about to Strike a Fallen Lapith with a Water-Pot (Hydria), south metope 4, Parthenon, by Jacques Carrey, 1674. Drawing. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

was a copy from models; both alike were the expressions of the artists' conceptions. The chief integral parts of the procession – the cavalcade and the chariots, the sacrificial implements and the victims, the men and women on foot, and the assembly of magistrates on the Acropolis – are distinguished, but they are not brought out with the accuracy expected of the modern portrayer of historic events. No one who walks along the Parthenon frieze can help feeling the spirit of religious enthusiasm and national pride which was the quintessence of the Panathenaic festival. But if a man has familiarised himself, from literature, with the exact procedure followed on these occasions, and is looking for any particular

artists, however, carved the figures here in such a fashion that the break became less noticeable. Few people, moreover, approaching, as was customary, from the west, would be apt to go round to the southwest and along it to the entrance door, because the regular way led along the north. No one, therefore, under ordinary conditions would ever actually see the procession start in opposite directions.

The meeting of the two processions on the east frieze was even more skilfully managed. The extensive group of the gods in the centre was divided in two by five figures, probably the priest and priestess and three attendants, immediately over the middle of the entrance door, while six or

*Parthenon, Acropolis, Athens,
c. 447-432 B.C. In situ.*







Artemis, east frieze, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C. Marble, h: 100 cm. British Museum, London.

more magistrates were seen on either side of the gods. They stood about in a haphazard way, passing in conversation the time they waited. Those nearest the corner watched the maidens who headed the procession, and gave word to the others, "They are coming!" This moment causes one to utterly overlook where they are coming from, especially since all are heading for the entrance of the Parthenon.

It would have been possible, of course, to arrange the composition differently – to begin, for instance, at one corner and carry the procession around the four sides of the temple, or to begin in the centre of one side and divide the composition in two equal halves; but if one takes the pains of thinking out the logical difficulties accruing from such arrangements, one soon realises that the Parthenon sculptors were wise in their selection.

The impression one has with the procession is harmonious, as if complete and not the many parts. There were no breaks permissible in the

with the rest to move from right to left. The two horses near him already hold the direction of this half of the procession, but a youth leisurely tying his sandal strap is pointing to the right. He has his foot on the stepping-stone and may soon mount his horse. In thought, therefore, he clearly belongs to the direction of his horse; in mass, on the other hand, he points just as distinctly towards the movement around the corner on the southern frieze. On the next slab a horse is running away; he has turned and is cantering off, when then caught by another man. Nothing is more natural than a horse breaking away from the direction followed by his companions. It does not break the idea of movement contained in this side of the frieze, while its new direction contains a final hint of movement on the other side.

If nothing was left of the west frieze except these three slabs, it would be difficult to determine, at the first glance, in which direction the procession was to move, for the figures on them, designed as connecting



Two Girls carrying Stools, the Priestess of Athena, the Archon Basileus and a Child holding the Peplos, Athena and Hephaistos seated, part of slab 5, east frieze, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C. Marble, h: 100 cm. British Museum, London.

frieze. The rapidly moving cavalcade followed upon the preliminary preparations, without exhibiting any figures on which the spectator could fasten his eyes and say, "Here they begin to canter rapidly"; and the slower chariots, and men and women on foot, had to follow upon the galloping horsemen without showing a definite spot which could be said to mark the end of the rapid movement and the beginning of the more stately advance. All this had to be done without violence to the spirit of each part of the procession. How well the artists solved these problems can only be seen when one views the frieze in its entirety, although even the study of separate slabs offers some definite hints.

The whole west side, was reserved for what may be called "preparations." The very first figure is a marshal. Many of them are scattered along the lines, arranging the men and urging them forward, pacing their progress. The first marshal has half turned towards the southern side, where the procession is to move from left to right. His gestures seem to beckon to unseen persons to move along and get ready

links between the two opposite directions, are neutral as regards their lines and mass. Upon careful inspection, their thoughts leave no doubt of the direction they shall follow. In coming to the runaway horse, one has sufficiently entered upon the general spirit of the west frieze to render further reference to the south side unnecessary. For safety's sake, before turning the north corner, the artists introduced two or three more echoes of the opposite direction.

The next problem was how to double up the horsemen gradually, when the first groups had been single men and horses. The first two horses are standing one in front of the other, with their riders nearby. Then comes the runaway. He is caught by his owner, with the assistance of a friend, whose own horse in the meantime canters up close to the next man. In front is a group of an impatient horse and a talkative owner, and then a group of two horses mounted. These horses, however, barely closer to one another than those on the earlier slab, show no intentional doubling up, following quite naturally upon the lines and masses preceding. The possible danger of



Mounted Riders, slab 38, north frieze, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C.
Marble, h: 106 cm. British Museum, London.



having a different message from these groups noticed is avoided by introducing an especially interesting slab between them, where a restive horse is scratching his nose on his fore legs.

What the Olympia sculptor had for the first time tried on the west pediment works to perfection here. Both the lines and the mass appeal to the spectator, whose attention moves quickly to new sections, owing to differences in thought expressed, in seemingly similar groups. Such treatment renders transitions quick and seamless; for the mass is sufficiently alike to disguise them. Without being superfluous to the composition, groups of individual and immediate interest are interposed. Each new group contains an echo of that preceding and each a hint of that to follow.

Utilising a group's dual appeal upon the eye and imagination, it was not difficult to increase or decrease the procession's pace without

On the northern frieze the calvacade forms and canters away at speed. But the first figures, stand quietly in lines, the very first in fact being a standing boy fastening his master's belt (p. 175). In the background a rider is seen, and in front a dismounted horseman, whose figure preserves an echo of the lines from the last boys in the west frieze. Here he follows his prancing steed, and by gesture urges his slow companion to hurry along. In mass the first two figures in the north frieze are as quiet as the first two of the west frieze. In thought, suggested by the waving arm of the youth in front, they are more closely connected with the north frieze's quicker movement. At first the cavalcade proceeds in rows of four, then six deep. The seemingly confused lines of the horses' legs give an impression of great rapidity.

A few slabs further one enters the rapid spirit suffusing the Athenian cavalry, the pride of the city. Continuing the mixed lines of closely



Riders in the Procession, slabs 41 and 42, north frieze, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C. Marble, h: 100 cm. British Museum, London.

disclosing the devices employed. The entire west frieze was to give the impression of preparation. Its last figure, like the first, is a marshal. But this time the marshal does not urge his men to hurry, but calmly awaits the approach of two youths cantering up to him. They do not ride side by side, but the one behind the other; for just as cleverly as the figures are doubled up in the beginning they are separated towards the end. A second runaway horse is then introduced, and later, after another group of two, a leader of nobler bearing and richer accouterments, who would naturally ride alone. Then a boy, dismounted, and finally, after two more riders – one of whom has fallen behind and is trying to catch up with his companion – an entirely different group: a youth is fixing his fillet, while one of the marshals, who is holding the boy's horse, is conversing with a small slave.

packed, prancing horses too long would have tired the eye. Occasionally, relief appears in one or more figures singled out from the rest. In these comparatively quiet lines the danger existed of lulling a suggested tension, which was maintained by the figures. The artists did this with astounding skill. The first of these horsemen riding alone (p. 168), checks his horse and falls behind his companions; leaning back, and by word and gesture, he seems to urge those behind him to gallop forward to fill the space between their squad and his. The single rider, far from suggesting a break in the rapidity of the procession, adds to its swiftness; for the cavalcade, whatever its speed until then, must go even faster to catch up with those ahead. The impression of speed, therefore, given the spectators is not only due to the lines they have already seen, but in great part to the suggestive gestures of this one horseman.

Again, an appeal is made not only to the eye but also to the imagination. Another single figure (p. 170), is introduced when, towards the end of the cavalry lines, provision must be made for the quieter movements of the chariots. Here the straight and quiet lines of a marshal break the previous confusion. He is standing fairly apart. Before him the horses are less crowded, as if curbed await the battalions in the rear, to whom the marshal seems to be beckoning.

The thought of speedy onward movement, therefore, is not hindered by his presence, while the stability of his body lines prepare for more peaceful figures to come, the charioteers, and before them old men and musicians, youths with sacred implements, and then the heavily draped men leading animals to the sacrifice. Their draperies and measured steps lead to the procession of maidens beginning at the corners of the east frieze. The arrangement of the south frieze is

restful in lines, suggest movement. To the right of the gods are six magistrates, four in conversation, with two having just separated, one turning towards the oncoming procession, the other alerting their colleagues to the maidens' approach. Another man, who seems to have received a vessel from the first girls, while behind them a marshal gives final instructions to two more, greets the maidens themselves.

His message is passed along the line, and in order to repeat it one girl in the third couple falls behind to speak to her sisters behind her. This marks the transition from the maidens who pass in two's, to those walking alone, in keeping with the single men around the corner leading the animals.

Both ends of the east frieze closely correspond to one another, but exhibit sufficient variety to guard against any seeming repetition or monotony. The right-hand side is the most interesting. The twelve



Riders in the Procession, slabs 10 and 11, south frieze, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C. Marble, h: 100 cm. British Museum, London.

much like that of the north, except that the musicians and sheep are omitted and that the other parts of the pageant are correspondingly enlarged. This frieze is not as well preserved as the other, but contains some of the most beautiful creations among the cavalymen and the chariot horses. The technique, however, is often less excellent, as was the case with the metopes on this side.

The east frieze, is the most peaceful. About two thirds of its length is reserved for the gods seated in the centre and the group of priests between them (pp. 164-165). Of the remaining third a considerable portion is given to the magistrates who have not taken part in the procession but have assembled on the Acropolis to receive it. The maidens' gradual approach to these quiet figures is splendidly done. The transition from the standing to the walking figures was managed by interposing others who, though

seated gods, whose similar positions might have been an easy excuse for identity of conception, show such remarkable individuality that only today's lack of knowledge surrounding their characters renders it impossible to call them by name in every instance. Zeus, father and king of the gods, is readily recognised by his royal bearing, especially when compared with the others, who sit on simpler seats. Of these chairs, or thrones, none are carved with the delicacy and the care which characterise the pieces of furniture on the "Harpy" tomb (p. 93), where the accessories received fully as much attention as the figures themselves. On the Parthenon this is different, only those accessories absolutely necessary being are represented.

More than three hundred and fifty human figures are represented on the Parthenon frieze. No two are alike, and this despite the fact that

many are seen in practically identical positions. Of approximately one hundred and twenty-five cavalry horses each is unique. There are many transitions from slow to rapid movement and vice versa, but there is not one place upon which one can lay one's finger and say, "Here is a break." Despite its great variety, the frieze gives the impression of a complete, harmonious whole.

For almost a century people have admired the Parthenon frieze without considering the problems which the artist had to solve. The solutions, however, are so perfect that the frieze appears more wonderful the more one realises this; finally, one comes to look upon it as something quite marvellous. In antiquity sculptured decorations of temples did not rank

marshal in front of the fourth chariot on the northern frieze, had to be carved in unnaturally large dimensions. These instances of comparative failure in selecting the best manner of overcoming difficulties of space are rare indeed, and always treated with such fluidity that they pass unnoticed in a general survey of the overall composition. The frieze blocks forming integral parts of the architectural structure in the Parthenon were probably first done when the building was dedicated in 438 B.C. The first definitive plans for the Parthenon's erection were made in 454. Owing to the time it must have taken to carve the frieze, its design doubtless dates from the earlier year. Remember, this occurred barely thirty years after the Persian wars!



Riders, slab 34, north frieze, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C. Marble, h: 100 cm. Acropolis Museum, Athens.

among the great masterpieces²⁸. The masterpieces themselves are now lost, or preserved only in fragmentary condition, many only in copies. From such *secondary* creations, however, as the Parthenon frieze, it is possible to draw conclusions regarding lost works of art, and to learn how to appreciate them.

Such appreciation is by no means impaired by the few instances of failure on the frieze, as when a horseman without a horse had to be introduced on the west frieze to fill a gap; or, for the same reason, the

The Pediments

The Parthenon's east pediment contained large groups of figures, telling through their actions and attitudes the birth of the goddess Athena. When the Christians changed the temple into a church, and placed the new altar in its east side, they built there, according to custom, a rounded apse. To do this they removed all the decorations' central portions; they were so careful that certain slabs of the frieze were preserved in the building's



Riders in the Procession, slab 3, south frieze, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C.
Marble, h: 100 cm. British Museum, London.



Panathenic Relief, slab 7, east frieze, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C. Marble, h: 96 cm, l: 207 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



interior, and did suffer at all. This establishes a presumption in favour of equal care bestowed on the central pedimental figures. They have all disappeared, but it remains that some day they may resurface, perhaps in a museum, where they have passed unnoticed because separated and therefore less readily recognised. More than once the attempt has actually been made to identify one or the other Athena statue with the Parthenon pediment, but never yet to universal satisfaction. This is largely due to the uncertainty surrounding which moment in “relating to the birth of Athena,” as Pausanias puts it, the artist selected for representation.

According to the myth, Athena sprung fully armed from the head of Zeus. Both she and her father, therefore, were doubtless among the prominent figures of the pediment. But which of them held the central place? Zeus in similar scenes on vase paintings, and also on a marble relief now in Madrid, which may have been inspired by the Parthenon, is seated. Assuming this was also the case on the Parthenon, and that Zeus was represented on his throne directly under the roof’s apex, where the pediment is the highest, then a moment slightly subsequent to the birth itself might have been represented, when Athena jumped from her father’s head and advanced either to his right or his left. This arrangement, however, by adding special weight to the side where the goddess was represented, would have spoiled the harmonious balance of the two halves of the pediment; for on her own temple no one, of course, could be a proper balance to Athena save perhaps Zeus himself. If, on the other hand, the birth was actually represented, i.e. the very moment Athena sprang from her father’s head, limited space would have made her diminutive; the gods standing right and left of centre prevented the sculptor from reducing the seated Zeus’s proportions to make room for Athena. This pint-sized goddess (seen in vase paintings) was particularly out of place in her own temple, presenting design difficulties in producing an artistically satisfactory two-figure group, with one figure appearing through an unnatural aperture in the body of the other.

Professor Kekulé von Stradonitz²⁹ pointed out that Christian art had to grapple with a similar problem in depicting the creation of Eve. Michelangelo and Raphael provided the best solutions. Michelangelo showed a nearly completed woman, whose feet remain hidden in Adam’s side. A deep shadow obscures the earlier unpleasant representations of an open wound. In contrast, Raphael pictured the moment following her creation with Eve standing before a startled Adam.

No direct inferences can be drawn from these pictures regarding the Parthenon pediments, beyond perhaps the lesson that the genius of the Greek sculptor could have found as satisfactory a solution for the problems which confronted him as Michelangelo and Raphael found for theirs, although the sculptor’s problems as compared with the painters’ would certainly have been more difficult. If today we were able to reconstruct it, with all the central figures of the pediment lost, we might be able to demonstrate a genius equal to his; then again, after studying the frieze, perhaps not. It is therefore a futile, though for many people an apparently not uninteresting, attempt to offer imaginary reconstructions of the lost parts of the pediment. In all that have been published the grand simplicity and convincing directness of the few preserved corner figures is completely lost.



Heifer being led to Sacrifice, slab 40, south frieze, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C. Marble, h: 106 cm. British Museum, London.



Horse Men, slab 42, north frieze, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C. Marble, h: 106 cm. British Museum, London.

For an understanding of the ten preserved figures, it is fortunately not necessary to know just how the centre was arranged; it's enough knowing that some moment of intimate connection with the birth of Athena was represented. Athena was the goddess of the air, that Clear atmospheric crispness the Athenians believed had given them intellectual superiority. She was the goddess of wisdom and thrifty pursuits of the house and home, as well as the patron goddess of Athens. For her people her birth represented the creation of the only kind of life worth living. It is little wonder, therefore, that the message of her birth should arouse in the Athenians an intensity of emotion not unlike the feelings with which devout Christians listen to the message of Bethlehem.

The east-pediment sculptor had to portray these feelings. He could absolve himself of his task in two ways – either by showing the figures which surrounded the central scene transported by joy and admiration, or by suggesting in their forms and attitudes those feelings they would display upon receiving the news. The sculptor, knowing the impossibility of catching in stone the height of an emotion, selected the latter.

An attempt in the other direction may often make a more powerful first appeal; however, it always falls short of that intensity of feeling left to the imagination. Thus the corner figures lie away from the centre, unaware of Athena's birth, an event of surprising suddenness, according to legend.

Only the sun god, tucked away in the farthest left-hand corner, seems to have had an idea of the day's importance. With his four horses of "snowy whiteness," his head and shoulders bursts from the sea. The horses' heads show above the rippling waves, water sheeting from their necks and the muscular arms of the god. The roof of the pediment overhangs, shutting out the sun's rays. The sun had swung to the south by the time the procession arrived before the Parthenon. This was corner was the darkest spot in the entire composition. The horses were exposed to slightly more light. In their eagerness they pull in uneven rows, pushing the nigh horse far out. Its reared head projects considerably beyond the edge of the pediment's roof, catching and fully reflecting the rays of the sun – the dawn announcing Helios! Helios is the only preserved figures

on this side facing the central action. The next three figures (pp. 182-183 and 185) form one group, of which the nearest is a god or hero in a remarkably quiet attitude; he is seated on a rock draped with a cloth, and perhaps watches the sunrise. In the absence of a better name (most of the names given these figures are hypothetical) he is often called Dionysos. “Dionysos” (p. 185), has his back turned upon the central scene. He has heard no word of what is taking place there; he is not engaged in anything in particular, and appears to be the embodiment of perfect repose and equanimity. The lines of his figure are self-centred, not transporting the eye with sweeping force to his neighbours on either side, frequently the case on the slabs of the frieze.

The drapery on his seat, with all the folds radiating from one point in beautiful variety, is a study of perfection. They remind one of the folds on the metope with the victorious Lapith (p. 156), or the indications of folds on the panther skin on another metope (p. 159), but they are far ahead of either. Even his back is carved with great skill, offering an indication of the original appearance of the front before it had suffered under the inclemency of the weather. His feet and hands are broken in the most unfortunate places, because the pointed stumps of the arms and legs are unpleasant. His face is battered beyond recognition; only the powerful contours of his head are discernible. He was carved for an exalted position, and was not intended to be studied close at hand or removed from his surroundings. He was a part of a composition, and not an individual with passions of his own. Now he often fails to arouse interest when placed by himself, or often close to Hermes of Praxiteles. The ancient sculptor would be the first to recognise this. To draw conclusions as to the art standards of his time from this figure would be unfair. In mass the “Dionysos” belongs as clearly to the next two figures (p. 180), as the “Three Fates” (pp. 182-183) on the other side of the pediment belong together. The two women are carved as one intimate group. This is seen not only from their attitudes but also from as their seats and bodies appear hewn from one block. Because of this intimacy they are generally called Demeter and Persephone. They are engaged in conversation.

The taller woman’s neck indicates that she had turned her head to her companion. Her attitude demonstrates her inability in keeping her head long in this position; she has *just* turned, and in this instant Athena is born. The next minute she will look back to the centre, towards which her body is inclined, and to which the lines of her raised arm are pointing; then she will see Athena, and will rise – her left leg is drawn in – and pass the word, and her companion will jump up, and “Dionysos” will hear the

news, and from Helios and his eager horses on to the centre there will be one group of figures revealing their joy and awe at the glorious event of the birth of Athena.

The last of the preserved figures helps this idea along; perhaps Iris³⁰, the messenger of the gods, who, with her message of realised freedom, is hurrying past the women down to awaiting humanity. The swiftness of her onward movement is shown in the long, deep gulfs of her folds, and in the lines of her body, which leans forward to gently encounter the powerful winds. Somewhere near by, but perhaps on the other side, there was

another figure (p. 150), probably sent on the same errand. This figure is not running, but flying like Iris. She wears a short chiton, which leaves her knees bare, and cannot therefore be Nike, as she is generally called; for Nike was never thus represented. Catching the breath of air, the thin fabric presses against her beautiful body, at the side it flutters away with the passing wind. This figure, not in the east pediment drawings, Jacques Carrey made eleven years before the explosion of the Parthenon, bears a faint resemblance to one of the figures he drew on the west frieze, and which is now lost. When the Parthenon sculptures were removed to England, Visconti, the greatest archaeologist of the time, published detailed accounts of them. He said of this figure that he did not know its provenance. In a later publication, he stated the figure belonged to the east pediment, without giving the reasons for this change of mind; but this omission is responsible for the mistake of certain scholars who, disregarding his later statement, have assigned the “Nike” to the west pediment. These same men, however, constantly accept other assertions of Visconti without proof. If the order of his publications was reversed, there might be an excuse for discrediting him; but since he made the affirmative statement last, probably after the discovery of additional data, there is no reason to doubt his

word. The fractures of the arms, moreover, show that “Nike” held her arms in a different way from the figure by Carrey; and since in spirit, finally, she belongs unmistakably to the east pediment, it is wrong to assign her to any other place.

Perhaps the most beautiful, and surely the best known, figures of the east pediment are the “Three Fates” (pp. 182-183). They balance “Dionysos” and the two seated figures on the other side. But while the two seated figures there are carved from one block and in close juxtaposition, one seated and one reclining figure are treated here. The sculptor was prompted by the same feeling for variety in the balance of his figures that



Youth carrying a Tray of Offering on his Shoulder, slab 5, north frieze, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C. Marble, h: 100 cm. British Museum, London.

had controlled the compositions of the earlier artist who carved the relief of Apollo and the Nymphs and Hermes and the Graces (pp. 94 to 97). The perfect ease and graceful indifference of the reclining figure are beyond description. Who could, even for a moment, imagine her lying in her sister's lap for any other reason than that she wants to? Who could imagine otherwise, seeing the limitation of space, and that the pediment roof descends so low here that she *has* to be represented reclining? The perfection of these figures is that they best express their concept. It is more disturbing than helpful to have someone point out the way the artists attained their success.

rise and pass the word, and her companion will hear it and in her turn counsel the resting sister to wake to the full realisation of what has occurred. In a minute these figures will join in the joyful expression of the one thought pervading the pediment – “Athena is born!”

With these ten figures one forgets the limitations of a triangular space they were designed to fill. In Aegina such limitations were ever present; in the west pediment of Olympia they could not disappear because the spectator was constantly reminded of the skill with which the artist had successfully striven to overcome them; in the Parthenon they are non-



Directly in front of the “Fates” the moon is driving her chariot into the sea. The well-preserved head of one of her horses (pp. 178-179), is often called the most sublime creation of ancient animal sculpture. It is a beautiful head, but hardly nobler in conception than the spirited nigh horse of Helios welcoming the day. The two horses are different: there the joy at the beginning, here the quiet pleasure at the course that has been run. Between them they may mark the day of the birth of Athena.

In keeping with the more peaceful representation of the moon, all the figures on this side are quieter. The seated figure, however, has already drawn in her foot, preparatory to rising, and is half-leaning forward. Soon the news of the central action will come to her, and she will

existant. It is impossible to think of these figures as carved in any other way. However much or however little space there may be above them, they must be thus or not at all.

Because of this supreme mastery, this willingness to submit to restrictions and then make them appear not to be restrictions, one is tempted to assign this pediment to the greatest sculptor of the time, to Phidias. This attribution, therefore, is not made on the strength of any external evidence, such as the story that he had charge of all the buildings, but on the internal evidence of unrivaled excellence of composition. To assign the pediment to Phidias does not mean to credit him with having carved all or even a majority of the figures with his own hand.

Men carrying Hydries, slab 6, north frieze, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C. Marble, h: 100 cm. Acropolis Museum, Athens.



Horse of Selene, east pediment, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C.
Marble, l: 83.3 cm. British Museum, London.





Two Draped Females seated : Demeter and her Daughter Persephone, east pediment, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C. Marble, British Museum, London.

That would have been impossible. It suggests, however, that the superiority of the “Fates” over all other figures, even “Nike,” may possibly be due to his touch.

The west pediment is less successful, although it too marked a great advance over previous achievements. When Carrey³¹ made his drawings it was almost intact, so that its composition is well known today. The figures themselves, however, were almost completely destroyed. When Morosini was forced to leave Athens in 1688 he wanted to take some “keepsakes” with him, and decided upon the central figures of the west pediment. His workmen were careless and lacking in skill; the ropes broke, the figures fell, and “were broken to dust,” as the old chronicler relates. This was not literally true, because fragments of them have been found about the Parthenon; they were, however, so badly broken that Morosini no longer cared for them. It appears he and his companions took other pieces with them to Venice. A head among them was probably from the Parthenon; for it shows the same formation of the skull as “Dionysos” who is the only figure whose head is not lost. This head (p. 202), eventually came into the hands first of a Mr. Weber, and then of Comte

Laborde. Today it is in Paris, known as the Weber or the Laborde head. The restoration of an outrageous nose and of conventional lips has completely spoiled it. What has become of the other figures is not known. Carrey drew eighteen (perhaps twenty) almost intact, today not more than six have remaining recognisable fragments, while only one fairly complete statue is known.

This well-preserved statue (pp. 186-187), from the north corner of the pediment, Pausanias called a river god; today it is known as “Cephisus” or “Ilissos.” The flowing lines of the figure and of its drapery, actually damp in appearance, are certainly more in keeping with the conception of a river god than were several of the Olympia figures Pausanias explained in the same way. The southeast figure there, with its bold twist, marked a great advance over the dying warrior from Aegina (pp. 122-123), and showed the comparative freedom of conception to which the artist had advanced. Compared with the “Cephisus” that freedom was slight, for it was new and untried. The Parthenon sculptor, on the other hand, who knew the human body better, and was familiar with every twist and turn that the several sets of muscles that permit a man to make simultaneously,



Demeter of Knidos, c. 340-330 B.C. Marble, h: 153 cm. British Museum, London.



Goddesses, east pediment, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C. Marble, h: 130 cm. British Museum, London.



has shown his knowledge to a degree verging on perfection. This is largely due to the fact that he selected a moment for representation which at best is instantaneous; for it requires a painful exercise of muscular energy to maintain the position of "Cephisus." The transitory ought only to be represented when the movement is swift, as in the figures by Myron; for it leaves the impression of a permanent position when the movement is slow. This is the case with "Cephisus," who, if not altogether painful to look at, especially not at a casual glance, owes this to the use that is made of his drapery.

Apparently the artist intended to give the impression of an easily flowing curve suggestive of flowing water. Knowing the impossibility of pressing the human form into such a curve without doing great violence to nature, he designed the drapery to convey his idea. The drapery is not seen to its full extent; for it disappears behind the back of the god, and towards the end is only dimly recognised. Enough of it is seen, however, to *suggest* the rest. The curve of the body compared with the curve of the drapery is slight; and because it is so much less than that suggested by the drapery, the fact is overlooked that it is more than a body can express without losing its graceful appearance.

This a new principle of art was established, the natural outcome of suggesting more than can be seen. It consists of suggesting *less than is actually carved*. Such a device is only permissible when the position of the figure, or other conditions, renders a continuous inspection impossible, so that the observer must rely on his first impression. This was the case with "Cephisus"; for at more than fifty feet it would have been painful for the visitor to crane his neck to look to gaze. The dangerous twist of his body, therefore, was probably consciously resorted to by the artist, who not only knew the help it would be in carrying out the suggested idea of the flowing curve but who also trusted to the height of the pediment to have it go unnoticed. Today, when the statue is viewed much lower and constantly photographed, scrutiny can no longer be deferred.

The subject of the pediment was the struggle between Athena and Poseidon for the guardianship of Athens. Was the future of Athens to lie on the sea or on the land? Everybody knows that it was the Athenian fleet which brought her her victories, and nobody doubts that it was this same fleet which hastened her fall. The most conservative men in Athens always opposed her dominion of the sea. And even the great majority of the people, carried away by the brilliant policies of Themistokles and

Alkibiades, believed, it seems, in their hearts that Athens was most securely founded in the resources of her land. The empire gained on the sea was lost within one century; the achievements made on land, under the guardianship of Athena, have survived two millennia.

The contest of the rival gods was to take place before their assembled peers. They agreed that he who gave the citizens of Athens the most valuable gift should receive the prize. Poseidon struck a rock with his trident, and revealed a salt spring. This was his symbolic gift of the dominion over the sea. So confident was he that this was the best possible present, that in the pediment he is seen stepping over the centre line, ready to assume his place as guardian god. Then Athena creates the olive tree, and Poseidon himself has to recoil before the superiority of Athena's gift. This sudden retreat of the god, who had begun to place himself in the centre of the pediment, was the most powerful tribute that could have been paid to Athena's gift. The importance of the olive tree was thus brought out much more strongly by means of suggestion than it could have been actually represented.

These two gods filled the large centre space of the pediment well. Poseidon was naturally of larger proportions than Athena, and belonged directly under the apex of the roof, on account of his forward position; here the pediment was higher than where Athena stood. Both gods are accompanied by their chariots. Their horses³³ enter into the spirit of the contest and rear, with their heads high in the air. In this way the artist tried to fill the large spaces at the sides of Athena and Poseidon. The result, however, was unsuccessful. The chariots occupy too much space, putting the corner figures out of touch with the powerful central scene. The resulting relation of all these figures to the general plan of the composition is slight, for they appear to be introduced for the sole purpose of filling the corners. The whole story is told by the two central figures; the other figures, instead of intensifying it, detract from its vividness.

The Parthenon sculptures, then, in spite of their excellence, are not perfect, nor can any work of art be perfect in the sense of suggesting no thoughts that have not found full expression. Perfection in mediocrity is readily attained, but in the highest regions it is rare. The thoughts here are so many and lofty that they defy concrete interpretation. The greatest work of art is one which, while it stimulates the noblest feelings, offers the intellect the least chance of finding fault with its execution. Judged by this standard, the Parthenon sculptures in the field of art rank, and probably always will rank, second to none.



Dionysos, east pediment, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C. Marble, h: 130 cm, l: 200 cm. British Museum, London.



Bust of Cephisus, west pediment, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C. Marble, h: 82 cm. British Museum, London.





Maenad, copy after a Greek original by Skopas created around c. 370-330 B.C. Marble, h: 45 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.

THE GREEK IDEAL

While Phidias the Athenian strove to express his vision of gods and godlike men, some of his contemporaries struck out in a different direction. A body is a body, they apparently thought, beautiful in itself and well deserving of careful study. The question with them was not, “What is the noblest thought which a body may be made to express?” but, “What is the best way of representing the body itself?” Men like Phidias and his immediate co-workers might be divinely unconscious of the best mode of carving the human form; the depth of their thoughts ennobled whatever vehicle they chose. In the hands of lesser men the practice of Phidias might have been unsuccessful if it had not been for the beneficial influence of this other school.

This school was headed by Polykleitos of Argos, a man who in skill and science was second to none, but who was impatient of the vastness of ideas by which men are elevated above themselves. “True art,” Ruskin says, “emanates from the heart, and associates with it the head, yet as inferior to the heart, and the hand, yet as inferior to the heart and head, and thus brings out the whole man.” All the art of Phidias emanated from the heart – that is, the soul, the noble personality of man. It makes its chief appeal, to those people who possess vigour and sincerity of emotion. Argive art emanated from the head, to which the skill of the hand was added as a worthy second. Dr. Waldstein in his recent essay on Polykleitos comes to the conclusion that Polykleitos was the Greek sculptor of beauty *par excellence*. This may be so, but his was only physical beauty, pleasant to behold when it was at its best, as in the fragments from the Argive Heraion (which may be his), but never synonymous with goodness and nobility, the contact with which makes men better and happier.

One of the most famous works of the Argive school is probably preserved in a Roman marble copy in the Naples Museum (p. 193). It represents a young man who has shouldered his spear and is walking. His abdominal muscles are rather prominent. In the original, however, of bronze, the glittering hue of the metal doubtless subdued what the softer surface of the copy reveals to excess.

The story goes that Polykleitos made a most careful study of the proportions of the human body, and even published a treatise on the subject. To elucidate his views still further he carved a statue, known as the Kanon (Rule), and there are good reasons to believe that the Kanon and the Doryphoros are identical. If this is the case, the origin of the statue explains its soulless appearance. It is not a personality the artist wanted to carve, but a body; it is not the voluntary movement of a thinking human being which supplies the pose, but the desire on the part of the artist to show the body to its best advantage. No longer represented as starting off to walk like the “Apollo” of Tenea (p. 83), the Doryphoros is seen in the act of walking, the right foot in advance. The left heel is raised from the ground in accordance with the greater skill of the artist. In general design,

however, the figure is the unmistakable descendant of the early “Apollo” statues, conceived on a front plane and with a vertical centre line. There is, to be sure, no visible line in the Doryphoros. He has taken a step, and with it his right side, head included, has moved in that direction; but soon the left leg will advance, and then a corresponding movement will be made to the left.

Between these two movements lies the vertical centre line. Think of the figure at rest, and the correspondence with the early type becomes apparent. The Doryphoros is really conceived on the front plane with the two halves of his body evenly distributed. The pose actually seen is but a second thought, in keeping with the greater skill of Polykleitos. He never advanced beyond this. It is found in all his statues known today. The ancients even commented on it, saying that his figures were all as if after the same pattern.

The direction of the head, following the weight of the body, is noteworthy; the Doryphoros is a thoughtless, brainless, soulless automaton. Many modern figures are modelled after the Doryphoros. Clothed in a uniform, with a gun instead of a spear, he becomes the volunteer. But a volunteer thinks his own thoughts, and while he marches in the direction which the captain has prescribed, he looks about him to the left or to the right.

This turn of the head, away from the direction of the onward movement, is a touch which an American sculptor recently introduced in her statue with great success. It never occurred to Polykleitos; his Doryphoros was not to be a man, but the body of a man. Today we are not much interested in a mere body – we want the man; and it is therefore natural that the Doryphoros no longer pleases. This is more especially the case because the defects of the statue were such that the Roman copyists could, and naturally did, reproduce them: they were defects in design. The beauties of the statue, on the other hand, which consisted in its delicacy of finish, its surface modelling, and the skill which was shown in its unsupported pose, are entirely lost; for the change of material, among other things, necessitated the addition of the clumsy tree trunk, and prevented the reproduction of the play of light and shade on the polished surface of the original.

The verdict of the ancients that Polykleitos knew how to give to bodily forms an almost supernatural splendour sounds little convincing if listened to in front of the Naples statue, while it gains in probability when one runs one’s finger tips over some of the fragments from Argos now in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens. Small and broken though these fragments are, they are of prime importance; for through them it has become possible to appreciate the strong points of Polykleitos. He designed bodies that enabled him to show that each part of the human form can become by skilful treatment a thing of beauty in itself.



Diadoumenos, the Young Athlete, copy after the bronze original by Polykleitos created around 420 B.C. Marble, h:186 cm. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

Its appeal is to the senses and not to the nobler side of men. Little or nothing was left to the imagination; everything was visible, and great accuracy required. This naturally led to the study of proportions in the human body. The Doryphoros is accurate; its dimensions are true to nature, but only of a certain type of people. It is neither the type we prefer today nor the one which appealed to most of the Greeks. It is too stocky; the large head, about one seventh of the total height of the body, gives the figure the appearance shortness. Consequently, changes were soon introduced; for about a century all of these changes were based upon the studies of Polykleitos.

A Diadoumenos, which is almost the companion piece to the Doryphoros, is preserved in several Roman copies and one Greek copy. The statue from Vaison, in the southern part of France, now in the British Museum, is probably the most accurate reproduction of the original bronze. It represents a victorious athlete tying a fillet around his head, and is designed in the same walking attitude as the Doryphoros, although this pose is singularly out of place here. The surface finish of the Diadoumenos is, like that of the Naples statue, poor, and its abdominal muscles are also too prominent. This suggests the value of the experiment, which Overbeck once recommended, of covering a cast of a Polykleitean statue with a bronze coating in order to obtain the effect of the prominent muscles on a surface like that of the original. Until this has been done it is impossible to judge how much of the unpleasant appearance of the statue is due to the copyist, and how much of it must be attributed to Polykleitos. In a few cases such experiments have been made, and only recently a cast of a small statue thus treated has been placed on exhibition in Dresden. The bronze coating has completely changed the appearance of the statue.

The Greek copy of the Diadoumenos (p. 190), was found in Delos in 1894. It can serve as an illustration of the different workmanship of Greek and Roman sculptors. The Roman copyist was like a machine: he reproduced the original as accurately as his technique permitted; there was no place for the personal equation in his work. The Greek was far more concerned with the appearance of the statue than with its actual dimensions.

He knew that half an inch of muscle carved in marble looks different from the same amount in bronze, and deviated, therefore, from the original. The result is less prominence of the muscles, owing to the fuller proportions of the body. This fullness, however, introduces an undesirable factor into the composition, making an almost voluptuous, somewhat lazy-looking boy of the well-trained athlete.

Another explanation of the boy's soft, flabby flesh attributes it to the tendencies of later times, when men preferred soft modulations to the hardness of strong muscles. Either view proves that the maker of the Delian statue introduced into his copy his own personal ideas and preferences. A true Greek was ever concerned with the appearance of things, and cared little for absolute correctness. "As a thing appears to me, so it is," was at all times his conscious or unconscious motto.

One more point in connection with the copies of Polykleitean statues may be mentioned. It has generally passed unnoticed, but when observed is apt to be used as a reflection upon Polykleitos, although it is doubtless due to the carelessness of the copyist. The back of the head of the



Hermes with the Infant Dionysos, attributed to Praxiteles, copy after a Greek original from the end of the 4th century B.C. Marble, h: 215 cm. Archaeological Museum, Olympia.

Doryphoros shows a greater diameter than is suggested by the face. This was a labour-saving device of the Roman stonecutter, who did not care to carve the ears standing away from the head; the skull is therefore broadened and the ears are not undercut. This can only be seen halfway back of the statue from a position which the ordinary spectator would not be apt to take. The Roman copyist, who worked for the ordinary people, as is shown by his lack of refinement and surface modelling, could afford to take liberties with those parts of his statues which were not to be seen. The better bronze head of the Doryphoros, from Herculaneum exhibits none of these defects, although its ears are even less Polykleitean than those of the Naples statue; they are the swollen ears of the professional boxer, which the coarser taste of a later age had begun to prefer.



Torso, type "Satyr at Rest", Roman copy after a Greek original by Praxiteles, c. 81-96 A.D. Marble, h: 109 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Together with the head of the Doryphoros was found the head of an Amazon, repeating the type of many existing statues. We know that Polykleitos made an Amazon, and are told that with it he won a competition over several famous artists, including Phidias. An attempt to assign the several existing statues to the different competitors has met with little success. The story of the competition has too much of the character of an anecdote, and the statues themselves are too similar in composition to enable classification according to styles. All of them, moreover (pp. 194-195) exhibit some Doryphoros characteristics, which makes it probable that they all go back to a type created by Polykleitos. Whether any accurately copies the original Amazon is beyond the possibility of proof.

The whole series has been divided in three or four types, of which the most important is called the Berlin type (p. 194), from the statue in a museum in Berlin. The square pillar is a restoration after another copy in the Lansdowne collection, and introduces a motive of support which is little known before the time of Praxiteles, but which Polykleitos may have anticipated. The strong and graceful lines of the figure make an immediate and powerful appeal, and continue to do so even when the unnaturalness of the composition is noticed. The Amazon is wounded; drops of blood trickle from a cut near her right breast. Weary of the strife and pained by her wound, she has withdrawn to rest. But can she rest as we see her? The striding posture of her legs, so characteristically Polykleitean, is also characteristically out of place.

Though wounded under the right shoulder she is resting the weight of her body on that side, even raising her right arm, so that the unusual tension of the muscles must greatly aggravate her pain. And yet she appears to be resting! Such a contradiction, such a disregard of the portrayed person's mental state, is just what we should expect of Polykleitos, or those working along his lines. The body, the visible, tangible body, was everything to them; the mind or a person's feelings did not concern them. It is true that not all the copies of this type show a wound; but when the cut was not carved it was most probably painted, for it is not likely that a later artist introduced a wound not contained in the original design.

The drapery of the figure, carved with much skill, is pleasant. Its real importance, however, lies in the splendour which it sheds upon the nude by means of contrast. The nude is never so beautiful and captivating as when set off by a bit of drapery. The garment is pulled up to leave the legs bare; on the left shoulder it is unclasped, conveying the idea that the woman has just emerged from a violent fray. This unclasped robe is not an accident, nor a mere trick of the artist by which to show more of the nude; it is a well-conceived and telling detail of the whole composition. Similarly unclasped garments are found on the Theseion and on the Parthenon friezes among the most hurried youths. One of the apobates on the north frieze, catching hold of the chariot, with which he is keeping pace, has his garment fallen from the shoulder as the result of his violent movement.

The proportions of the Amazon, which in keeping with the traditional character of her people are rather full, are incompatible with the typically graceful lines of a woman's body. The discovery of these lines, or at least their introduction in sculpture, was reserved for a later age, when they became the most prominent and, to a certain extent, most charming features of a new phase of art. Except for the upper part of the body this Amazon, with her slim though well-developed legs and her muscular arms, might be a youthful athlete.

None of the other chief types of Amazons, the Capitoline (p. 195) and the Mattei (p. 194) type, can compare with the Berlin type in spontaneity and charm. The Capitoline type is a seemingly conscious effort to correct the contradiction between the pose and the wound. The Amazon has shifted the weight of her body to the left, while her arm is raised somewhat less, only high enough to suggest a gesture calling for pity, although pity is ill applied to an Amazon, and we like the Berlin girl the better for refusing to accept it.



Doryphoros, Roman copy after a Greek original by Polykleitos created around 440 B.C. Marble, h: 196 cm.
The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis.



Doryphoros, Roman copy after a Greek original by Polykleitos, before 79 A.D. Marble, h: 200 cm.
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.



Wounded Amazon, copy after a Greek original by Polykleitos created around 440-430 B.C. Marble, h: 204 cm.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

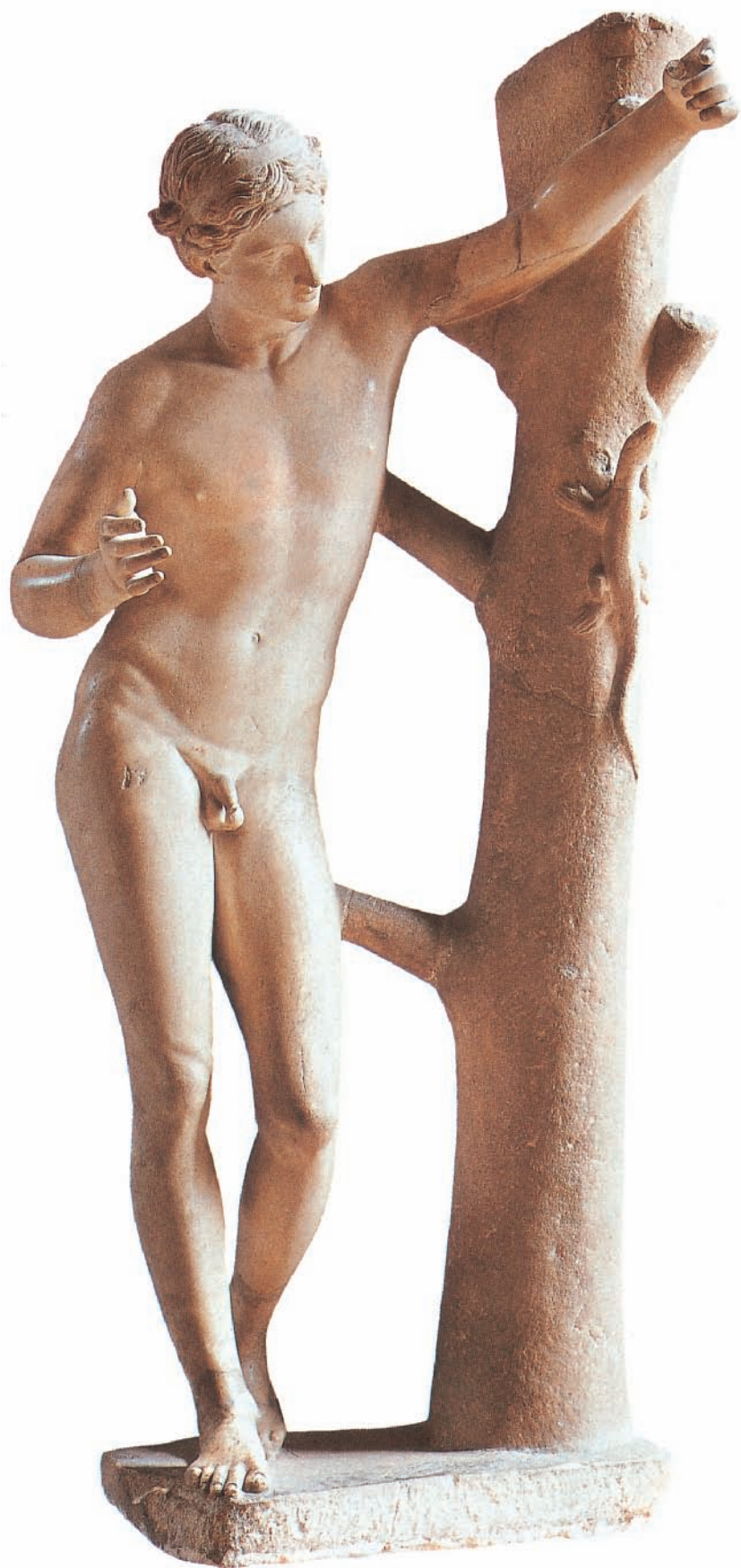
Mattei Amazon bending the Arch, copy after a Greek original by Polykleitos created around 440-430 B.C.
Marble. Musei Capitolini, Rome.



Wounded Amazon, Roman copy after a Greek original by Polykleitos created around 440-430 B.C. Marble, h: 202 cm. Musei Capitolini, Rome.

Mazarin Amazon, copy after a Greek original by Polykleitos created around 440 B.C., c. 130 A.D. Marble, h: 188 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.





A little cloak slung around the neck, is added, while the short garment, somewhat altered, exhibits less graceful lines. Its motive, as if unclasped in the fray, has been changed, for the Amazon is holding it away from her wound to prevent its chafing. Her head is bent in the direction of the cut, but she is not actually looking at it, for if she were her head would be turned down so far that her face could not be seen. In sculpture it is not necessary to have the figure actually look at an object – a turn of the head away from the ordinarily desired direction is sufficient to make the spectator understand the composition. The Mattei type shows a further deviation from the Berlin Amazon. The striding posture with the right leg in advance is preserved, but the wound has been omitted; the drapery is somewhat changed, and the attitude of the arms is such that it has never yet been satisfactorily explained.

Frequent mention has been made of the fragments from the temple of Hera near Argos. This temple was built soon after 423 B.C. from plans of Polykleitos. Dr. Waldstein believes that Polykleitos was also more or less directly responsible for the more important sculptured fragments excavated on its site by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. He makes a strong point of his case, and it may unhesitatingly be conceded that in these sculptures we see some of the best existing works of the Argive school.

Some of the heads exhibit, to echo the old Greeks, an almost supernatural beauty of bodily forms. This is their charm; but it is the charm of physical perfection, of a beautiful face, and not the charm of a noble character revealed in a worthy body. On technical grounds a comparison of these heads with the best heads from Olympia is very instructive. Here as there the profile view is the only one that is satisfactory; the rest is hard and almost unfinished.

Polykleitos lived to be an old man. He left several prominent pupils who apparently continued his manner of work for a little more than a generation. Then the immediate importance of his school comes to an end; his method served its purpose. It taught the Greeks the invaluable lesson of how to represent the human body. The teaching of Polykleitos is like that of an art school: it prepares one for the creation of masterpieces. As executing artist Polykleitos, though a Greek by birth, was most distinctly un-Greek.

He began with the “head,” and neglected the “heart”; he paid more attention to things as they are than as they appear to be, and never penetrated to the soul of things. His importance, however, in an age when men ran the danger of thinking that heart and hand alone can create the best works of art, is such that it cannot possibly be overestimated. Un-Greek though he was in his work, he prepared the way for Praxiteles and the other great artists of the fourth century, and enabled them to be among the most Greek of all. Polykleitos today may be a favourite with only a few; all, however, even if they feel inclined to criticise him, will be ready to forgive his shortcomings when they understand his mission, – *Comprendre c’est pardonner.*

Apollo Sauroktonos, Roman copy after a Greek original by Praxiteles
created during the 4th century B.C., c. 1st-2nd century A.D.
Marble, h: 149 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

The Individual Soul and Body

Athens had hardly forged to the front and begun to put its stamp of the noblest conception of life upon the world, when the folly of some of her own people entrapped her in a disastrous war. Not fifty years after the last Persian was driven from Athens, the Peloponnesian war broke out. It lasted nearly thirty years. When peace was declared Athens was no longer the mistress of Greece. She never regained her political ascendancy, but neither the war, nor the Roman yoke that followed with the centuries, nor the Goths, nor the Turks, nor any other power has been able to shake her influence over the most refined minds of the ages both past and present.

The map of Greece was altered – her intellectual superiority continued undiminished. The changes, therefore, that took place in her art cannot rightly be explained, as is often done, as the result of the Peloponnesian war. Artistic activity was never suspended: the Erechthion was erected, and the caryatides used in lieu of columns in its south porch (pp. 36-37); the Athena-Nike temple was built and surrounded with its famous balustrade (pp. 32-33); while in Olympia Paionios erected a Nike (p. 88), which, though badly broken, still rallies as many genuine admirers about it as any existing statue. In view of such an uninterrupted expression in art it is clearly impossible to hold the Peloponnesian war responsible for the differences in the sculpture of the fifth and the fourth centuries B.C. On the contrary, the differences accompanied the intellectual growth of the people. Greek art at its best was always the genuine expression of the people's conceptions. When these changed, art could not remain the same.

Keeping this in mind, another view, frequently advanced, is erroneous. Phidias, some people say, had done the best that could be done in sculpture; his successors, aware of this and anxious to preserve the appearance of originality, bestowed their attention upon the refinement of details for which the mighty genius of Phidias had found no time. Such a view reduces the artists of the fourth century B.C. to a low level, and *a priori* renders a just appreciation of their work impossible.

The fact is that the attitude of the Greeks had undergone a gradual but complete change towards the individual. In the middle of the fifth century B.C. the individual does not exist. He is but a part of the state to which he owes allegiance. The state is supreme, and to it every one must subordinate himself. If he does not – if he begins to raise his head, and comes into prominence on his own merits – he is a dangerous member of the community, and is ostracised. The state, the people, the world as a whole are studied; the personal emotions of this man or that man are not

Apollo Sauroktonos, Hellenistic copy after a Greek original by Praxiteles created during the 4th century B.C. Marble.
Museo Pio Clementino, Vatican.





Aphrodite of Knidos, Roman copy after a Greek original by Praxiteles created around 350 B.C., c. 2nd century A.D. Marble, h: 122 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

considered except in so far as they are characteristic of large classes of people. Such a state of affairs is impossible for any length of time. Perikles could submit to it, but he was as much above the ordinary man as the Zeus of Phidias was above the ordinary conception of a god; Kreon chafed under it, and Alkibiades did not suffer it. The individual was calling for his rights, and they could not be withheld. In times of great peril, when the nation has to stand up against a common foe, the person sinks into the community; but under the sunshine of an easy life the conception of individual existence ripens. This took place in Greece, and we can follow it in Athens.

We do not know in what kind of house Perikles lived, but we do know that Alkibiades pressed one of the great painters into his service to decorate his dining room. The unwillingness with which this artist complied, for he thought it undignified to place his art at the service of a private individual, and the eagerness with which Alkibiades insisted, show the transition from the old to the new. This change was bound to come, and it would have resulted even without the disastrous end of the war which left no worthy state with which the individual could feel proud to identify. If one were writing a history of Greece and were looking for captions, one might call the fifth century "The State," and the fourth century "The Individual."

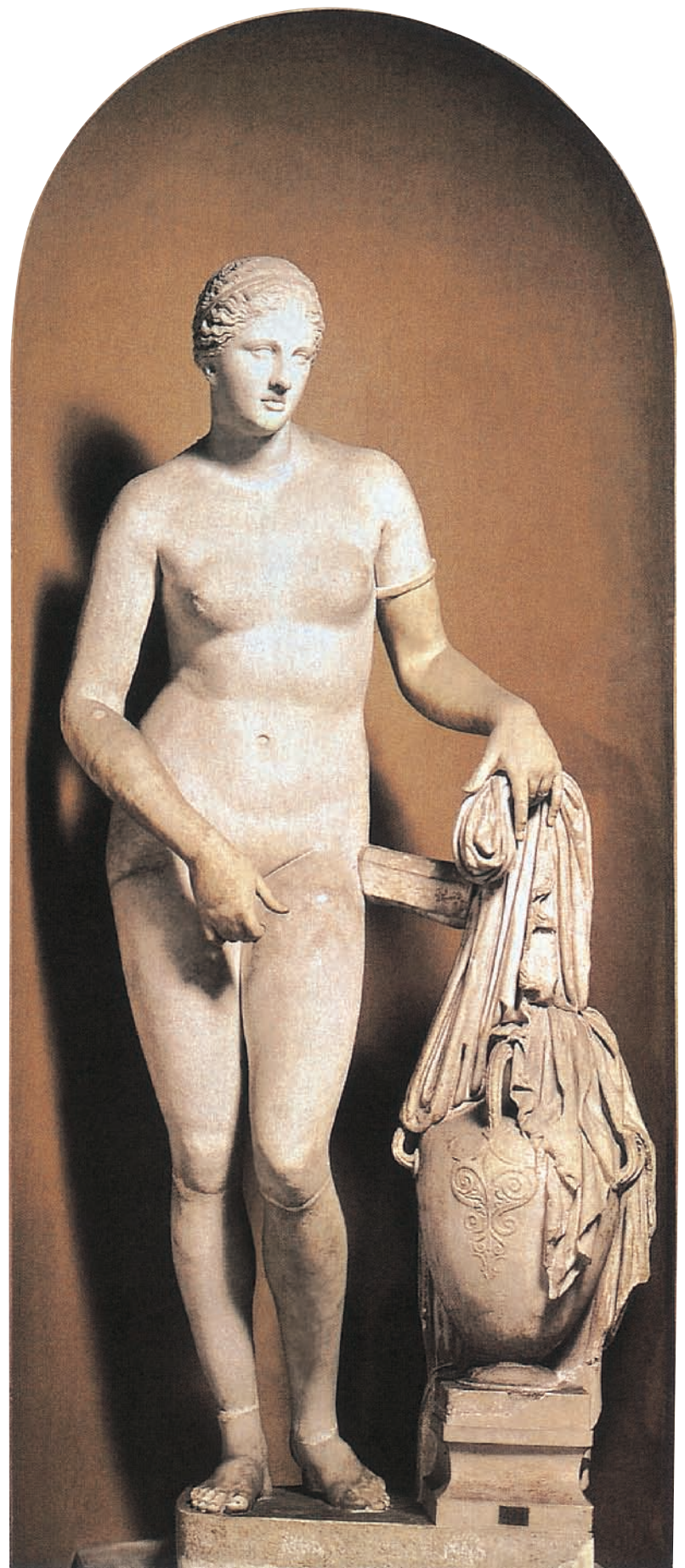
Contact with the individual brought contact with his soul, for it is impossible to study *hint* without noticing his various moods and the constant strife and truce between his body and his soul. Once realised and deeply felt, such a view clamours for expression. In Greece it readily found it in the art of the fourth century B.C.

It cannot be denied that in the grandest works of the preceding century the soul had a place, but it was never the soul of the individual, never its manifestation at a given moment. It was always the imperturbable depth of character which may be compared to that stillness of the ocean of which the poet sings:

When winds are raging o'er the upper ocean,
And billows wild contend with angry roar,
'T is said, far down beneath the wild commotion
That peaceful stillness reigneth evermore.³⁴

It is this stillness of character, far removed from the turmoil of everyday life, which gives grandeur to the art of Phidias; it is the billows on the upper ocean or the ripples on its smiling surface which account for the living and appealing art of the fourth century. The artists of this age cared little for abstract character, but much for its manifestation under the adversities or amenities of life. The distinguishing mark in the sculpture of these two centuries, therefore, is entirely due to the attention which had begun to be paid to the individual.

The best works created under the new influences are connected with the names of Praxiteles and Skopas. Masters both of technique and of design, they are yet as different as two men of the same age can be. Sunshine and loving thoughts that come with it appealed to Praxiteles; Skopas saw grandeur and beauty in the elements of nature and in the passions of men. His theme was the strife between the soul and the body; the complete, though momentary, truce between them he left to Praxiteles.



Aphrodite of Knidos, copy after a Greek original by Praxiteles created around 350 B.C. Marble. Museo Pio Clementino, Vatican.



*Head of Aphrodite, from the Knidos type, called "The Kaufmann Head", copy after a Greek original by Praxiteles, c. 150 B.C.
Marble, h: 35 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.*

Praxiteles

All the works attributed to Praxiteles are bathed in the sunshine of love, and Professor Klein³⁵ is right when he says that whenever Praxiteles put his chisel to the stone the little god of love was peeping over his shoulder. Moments of peace and pleasures of dreamy absent-mindedness Praxiteles knew how to portray as no one since. Our museums are filled with copies of his works, many of which, it is true, were only inspired by him, while they were executed by his pupils. But even they show his importance. An intimate knowledge with a few will make us know Praxiteles better than a hasty review of many.

There is, in the first place, the “Marble Faun”. This little satyr has left the company of friends; at the edge of the woods he stands, easily leaning against a tree trunk. The tune that he may have played on his pipe is forgotten. Has the tune perhaps made him forget the present, and directed his thoughts to that fairyland whence we reluctantly return? The boy is at rest: the bones of his left leg are “locked,” relieving the muscles of their strain, while much of the weight of the upper part of his body is supported by the tree trunk. His mind is equally at ease. His rest, however, is only the momentary suspension of activity. Let the least sound call the satyr back to the present and startle him, and off he will dart, like a doe, on his long, nimble, powerful legs. And look at his face – the sunshine playing on it! Watch it and the muscles of your own face will relax.

This is not a smile, but readiness for a smile. Without a moment’s notice he will burst out in one of those hearty gusts of laughter with which we credit his people – half man, half thoughtless beast. For such he is; the ears betray him, for all his lovely form. Pointed like an animal’s, they seek a hiding place in his tousled shock of hair, but they cannot be hidden. They have given him away and have explained the spell of his appearance. He is not a boy, but a bewitching satyr. The ears revealed it, and now we see it in the leopard skin slung about him, in the lines of his face, in the nose, so beautiful in shape yet so un-Greek, and marvel at not having noticed it before.

Who dares to speak of growing skill? This is mastery, and appears as such in spite of the loss of many a pleasing touch in the copy. The leopard skin at first had a long tail dangling at the side of the leg; the lazy fingers played with it, and seemed to move it to and fro – a sign of life and of activity which made the stillness of the little fellow only more conspicuous. The statue’s surface finish also is not all that could be desired, being much inferior to that of a torso in the Louvre. This torso (p. 192), is so beautiful that Brunn³⁶ once believed it was the original. He was mistaken, for its finish is uneven and the dangling tail of the leopard is absent. The marble copyists were wise in omitting this detail of the original. In marble the suggestion of the swinging movement of the tail, which had to be attached to the leg in several places, could not be retained. With this suggestion gone the tail became an unsatisfactory addition. It spoiled the outlines of the leg. This is best seen in the unsatisfactory statue in the Vatican, the only copy where the tail has been preserved.

If in this satyr we see the fanciful creation of a strange type, the so-called Apollo Sauroktonos (pp. 196-197), represents a boy in forms that came more natural to a Greek. The Sauroktonos is known in several

statues, of which the one in the Vatican (p. 197) most resembles the original. Unfortunately, it is in such a poor state of preservation that extensive restorations have become necessary. The face is almost entirely modern, and so are the greater part of the right leg and the lower part of the right arm. The original was of bronze and needed no limb to connect it with the base of the tree trunk. In his right hand the boy held an arrow, which made people believe he was trying to slay the lizard on the tree. He was therefore called Lizard Slayer (Sauroktonos), a name which has stuck to him in spite of its inaccuracy.

Easily leaning against a tree, and still holding the arrow, a reminder of the pastime from which he has fled, a boy loses himself in thought. Here in body, his mind is far off. He is so still that even a lizard, the shyest of all reptiles, does not notice him. Full of curiosity, the lizard sets out up the tree to explore where the boy’s arm has met his eye. The lizard frequently appears in Greek art.

The ancients had a legend of the beautiful sleeper Endymion, whom Artemis, the goddess of the moon, came down to kiss because she loved him. This pleasant story is the subject of many a piece of sculpture. Endymion is so peacefully asleep that a lizard plays about him with perfect confidence, undisturbed by Artemis, who approaches with the mysterious silence that characterises the movements of the moon. Not less quiet this boy, called Apollo, leans against the tree. He is not asleep but lost in waking dreams, and his stillness is the more apparent since it is contrasted with the nimble lizard.

The “Sauroktonos” is perhaps the best statue in which to point out the great difference between Praxiteles and his predecessors in the conception of the human body. The straight centre line has disappeared, giving way to a graceful curve. This curve is not an afterthought, as the deviations from the vertical line were with Polykleitos. It embodies the first and only conception of the figure. No longer tied to the child’s idea of man as one of bilateral symmetry, Praxiteles was able to capture glimpses of different attitudes expressive of varying moods. One he preferred to all others. It occurs with slight variations in almost all the statues which are attributed to him with certainty, and is the result of distributing the weight of the body between the leg of one side and the arm of the other side, which rests on an external support.

The resulting curve is one of grace and ease, well capable of sustaining the idea of effortless repose. It also draws the support intimately into the composition. The tree trunk in the “Marble Faun” is not only an external necessity, but an integral part of the design, without which the thought of the artist could not have been expressed. In the case of the “Sauroktonos” Professor Klein has demonstrated the importance of the tree as the bearer of the supporting lines.

He suggests that one imagine another boy standing on the right side of the tree to correspond to the Praxitelean figure, and notice how the vertical centre of such a composition coincides with the trunk. Some copyists have failed to notice this; they have looked upon the tree as the material support, and have spoiled the delicacy of the design by drawing it too close to the figure. This is the case with the statue in the Louvre (p. 196), and more especially with the one in Dresden, where no space at all is left between the boy and the tree. The surface finish is inferior on all the existing “Sauroktonos” statues, but the imagination readily supplies it; for we possess

one original by the hand of Praxiteles himself³⁷, and can there study the delicacy of his touch. His Hermes was excavated in Olympia in 1877. It once stood in the temple of Hera, which was the oldest of all temples in the sacred precinct. Its walls were of sun-dried bricks, its floor of clay. When destruction befell Olympia, and the statue was knocked down, it fell on the soft floor and was covered with the dusty clay of the crumbling walls. This accounts for its remarkable state of preservation. In antiquity it was not classed among the best works of Praxiteles, and received only passing notice by Pausanias, who said, in speaking of the temple of Hera, “Later they dedicated there some other things, also a Hermes of stone carrying the young Dionysos; it was made by Praxiteles.”

trunk are there, but the general design of the composition seems to be somewhat crowded, and is certainly less free and masterful than in the “Sauroktonos” or the “Marble Faun,” the of which cannot be assigned definitely to Praxiteles.

The statue represents Hermes the Dreamer. On his way from heaven to the nymphs with his younger brother Dionysos, he has alighted near the edge of the woods to take a rest. He has thrown his cloak over the trunk, and with the babe still on his arm he grows forgetful of the present. Look at him, and your own eyes will wander off with his into the mysterious distance. The longer one looks the more oblivious one grows of one’s surroundings, and, like Hermes, one fails to notice the struggling baby



*Iris Head, called “Laborde Head”, fragment of figure, west pediment, Parthenon, Athens, c. 438-432 B.C.
Marble, h: 40 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.*

The delight with which this statue was greeted is equalled only by the admiration which has been bestowed upon it from the first. Words, inadequate at all times to interpret great beauties, fail in attempting to describe the wonderful play of light and shade on the surface of this statue. In this respect it is a masterpiece, and well deserves the praise which it lavishly receives. But one must not be carried away by one’s admiration of the technique. Nothing is less fair than to judge the entire art of Praxiteles by this one statue, even though it is the only existing original. There is justice in the silence of the ancients, for among the greatest works of Praxiteles the Hermes has no place. It probably belongs to the younger days of the artist. The curving line of the body and the tree

god on his arm. It is in spite of the little Dionysos, whose vigorous movements might be expected to call the older brother back from his dreams, that Hermes revels in utter self-abandonment.

Praxiteles has achieved his great success largely by means of the eyes of the figure, without, of course, disregarding all the other devices which could assist him in carrying out the intended illusion. *Nolens volens* we look at the eyes of Hermes; we are drawn into their spell, and held there as if in a vise. Try as we may to scan the other features, back we find ourselves at the eyes. Not that the mouth, nose, and cheeks are not beautiful; but they do not hold our attention: they are so much less beautiful than the eyes. It is here that Praxiteles has shown his

supreme mastery; the eyes were to be prominent, and to them everything had to be subordinated. The Roman art critics did not understand him; they looked at details and were not concerned with general impressions. They are therefore on record as saying that Praxiteles knew how to make eyes better than anyone else, but that his mouths were less good. Less good indeed, if studied separately; perfect if studied in connection with the general idea their subordination was to enhance. A comparison of the Hermes mouth with the mouth of one of the Acropolis *ladies* (p. 53), is instructive.

The Romans are right: the mouth is less perfect. But let one compare the faces as a whole. The Hermes brings out one definite, vivid thought; the Acropolis figure fails to live before one. The mouth and the eyes are equally good: the impression of the one is counteracts, if not actually contradicts, the impression of the others. Praxiteles, we may feel sure, knew how to carve as lovable a mouth as his early predecessors; that he did not do it shows no lack of skill on his part, but an accurate knowledge of the requirements of his art.

The attempt has been made to restore the Hermes, not in the original but in the cast. The restoration, which was made under the supervision of Professor Treu³⁸, is widely known and is generally accepted as correct. In it Hermes is holding up a bunch of grapes which he – the teasing older brother – is withholding from the future god of grapes and wine and revelry. These grapes are an abomination; it calls Hermes back from fairy dreamland, and makes of the vision-seeing youth, whose happy dreams we long to share, a common, bantering mortal. For this reason alone Treu's restoration ought to be rejected. But it also introduces into the composition the idea of the group, which is foreign to it. In this instance popular opinion is correct, refusing to label the Olympia statue "A group: Hermes and Dionysos," but speaking of it as the "Hermes of Praxiteles." That this was the master's own conception is clearly seen from the treatment he has given to Dionysos, who in every respect is executed as an accessory. His form is conventional; his drapery is rough and without the excellence of finish notable on the cloak of Hermes. Dionysos was in no way to detract from the interest which the spectator took in Hermes; and was certainly not intended to share it, as he doubtless does, when by the introduction of the grapes he becomes an integral part of a spiritless group – the Teased and the Teaser. The exact meaning of the upraised right arm of Hermes cannot be determined, but we may feel sure that it too was calculated to enhance the thought of the composition Hermes the Dreamer.

By far the most famous of the Praxitelean statues in antiquity was the Aphrodite of Knidos. From all over the world, Pliny says, people came to see her; and so great was her fame that, despite many other beautiful statues in Knidos, their names were forgotten with the attention paid to the Aphrodite. Kings offered to buy her, ordinary mortals fell in love with her, and poem after poem was written vainly endeavouring to express her wonderful charms. None of the existing copies even attempts to do this, so that the best – a statue in the Vatican (p. 199), which to judge from ancient coins and descriptions reproduces the general mass and outlines of the figure fairly well – is singularly unable to give as much as an idea of the beautiful finish of the nude, which was the great force of Praxiteles.



Head of Ariane (?), Acropolis, Athens, second half of the 4th century B.C. Marble, h: 38 cm. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

Aphrodite, housed in a half-open shrine on the coast of Knidos, has prepared for a bath. Her eyes are scanning her native element, the sea. The charm of this view makes her forget her immediate purpose and causes her to tighten her fingers on the garment that she was ready to drop on the urn at her side. In the reproduction of this garment the copyist was miserably unsuccessful.

To him it was but the material support of the statue; the pliability of the cloth has vanished before the consistence and heaviness of the stone. One has only to compare this garment with the cloak of Hermes, or better still with the shawl in the hands of a woman from Ephesos (p. 209), to appreciate the inadequacy of the Vatican reproduction. The figure from Ephesos is in relief on the drum of a column, now in the British Museum, and is by some, on doubtful evidence assigned to Skopas. The part of the garment which the woman holds up is so light and airy that the peculiar coherence of the marble is forgotten. One receives the impression of an actual piece of cloth: let the woman open her hand and the shawl will fall and trail at her side. What has been accomplished here was doubtless also done by Praxiteles, only with even greater perfection. The garment of Aphrodite was held up not by its own massiveness but by the momentarily suspended activity of the absent-minded goddess. The head of the statue, broken off, has received a mistaken tilt in the restoration. It is not a good piece of sculpture at that, decidedly inferior to another head of the same type in the Kaufmann collection in Berlin (p. 200). The beauty of this Berlin Aphrodite is so great that it gives one a far better introduction to the art of Praxiteles than did the complete statue in the Vatican. Her eyes are her strongest point. With their peculiarly dreamy sentimentalism, or, as the old Greeks called it: moistness or softness; they immediately appeal to the spectator, whom they hold under a powerful spell.

In almost all the statues of Praxiteles, whether we know them through copies or only through descriptions (about fifty are mentioned in ancient literature), we find the same musing stillness. Ease of mind is coupled with repose of body; there is no struggle, no despair, not even an indication of restlessness on the part of the spirit at being tied to matter. Perfect peace is the keynote of the work of Praxiteles. He accepts the existing order of things as cheerfully as we all do when we view them under bright sunlight and eyes of love. But the sun does not always shine, and the time comes when we must face the wild discord between mind and matter. When men are swayed by passion and the height of their emotion finds an outlet in the violence of their bodies, it is soon spent. But when the will controls their limbs, and pent-up excitement shows only in the eyes and the hard-breathing mouth, or in the heaving breast, then the storm is at its height and altogether beyond the power of expression by ordinary men. Such scenes, it seems, appealed to the restless vagrant master of sculpture – to Skopas.

Skopas

A man without a settled home, working here and there, seems to have taken keen delight in expressing what he himself may often have felt. We know too little of Skopas to be sure on this point, but the presumption both from external and internal evidence is in its favour. Copyists were singularly unable to reproduce his work; they knew how to retain the

general outlines of a figure, but did not do justice to the fierceness of flashing eyes. This is the reason why no indubitably Skopasian works are known today. The first accurate glimpse of his art was from two heads discovered in Tegea, and may be by him. They are poorly preserved, and of such a scale, because intended for the high pediment of the temple which he built, that they are unsatisfactory for close inspection. By their measure, however, other statues have been attributed to him, and among them, as the most important, a Meleager.

This statue is known in several copies of varying excellence. A head in the Villa Medici is famous for its impressive beauty; a torso in Berlin for its delicacy of treatment, and an inferior statue in the Vatican, for its almost perfect state of preservation. All these copies are far surpassed in beauty by a Meleager excavated in 1895 at San Marinella near Rome, and deposited as an indefinite loan in the Fogg Museum of Harvard University by Miss Forbes (p. 205). Both legs and both arms are broken, and although substantial fragments have been found, no attempt has been made to restore them. Among the fragments is a most exquisite knee.

Meleager is the Greek hero of the hunt. In one of the Tegea pediments he was represented as fighting the Kalydonian boar. Here the fight is over. With his short hunting spear at his side and his right hand on his back, the hero stands seemingly at rest; but his mind is actively at work. The parted lips and the intent gaze of the eyes reveal the contrast between the quiet outlines of his body and his restless mind. The eyes, by a multitude of devices, have been sunk in mysterious depths of shadow. The eyebrows and the surrounding muscles are prominent; the eyelids project beyond the balls, the latter actually undercut, thereby producing one more dark line, which the gaze of the eyes has to penetrate. The same device of undercutting has been resorted to in the mouth. Behind the lips rows of teeth appear, and beyond them a groove marks one deep plane of utter darkness. These carefully wrought eyes and this mouth make Meleager live and think. Let one replace them by an ordinary mouth and by conventional eyes, and the entire statue sinks back, as does the Vatican copy, to the commonplace.

In spite of some scratches and abrasions the Harvard Meleager shows a delicacy of modelling which is hardly surpassed by the Hermes of Praxiteles. To run one's finger tips over the body gives one the sense of touching real skin and of feeling the blood course under the skin. The modelling of the left shoulder is especially sympathetic; as in nature, one can feel and see the shape of the shoulder blade beneath the bolster of muscles and fat.

Side by side with this excellence there are a few signs of carelessness in workmanship which conclusively disprove the authorship of Skopas himself, or any other original creator of the Meleager type. The left cheek is perfect, but the right cheek is cold, lifeless, stony; the left shoulder is full of the most delicate modulations, while parts of the arm below it are ordinary. Such partial poverty of execution is incredible of the man who conceived the beautiful statue, and thus seems to point to a later adapter. The same is true of the supports, attachments for eight of which can be noted in different places, and of the use of the grooved drill for the demarcation line of the legs near the abdomen.

The pose of the Harvard Meleager has erroneously been compared with that of the Hermes of Praxiteles. The place of the tree trunk of



Meleager, copy after a Greek original
by Skopas created around c. 340 B.C.
c. 70-100 A.D.
Marble, h: 123 cm.
Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard.



Young Girl running, pediment,
Temple of Eleusis, Eleusis, c. 490-480 B.C.
Marble, h: 65 cm.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

the Hermes, it has been said, is here taken by the spear on which the hero is leaning. Such a view is untenable. No one can rest his body on the pointed end of a spear; and it is the pointed end which is still seen between the left side and the arm. The spear, moreover, does not reach up to the highest point of the armpit, where it would have to be if it were to serve as a support. The apparent correspondence in the attitude of the two figures, therefore, is rather an indication of fundamental difference than of similarity. The lines of the body of the Hermes, half supported by the tree, suggest complete rest, while those of the Meleager, entirely unsupported from the outside, are not restful. The pose, far from being an easy one, is indicative of high nervous tension. It supplements, therefore,



Niobe with the Smallest of her Daughters, copy after a Greek original created at the end of the 4th century B.C. Marble, h: 228 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

the impression of an active mind conveyed by the face. A worthy companion piece to the Meleager is the head of a woman found in 1876 on the southern slope of the Acropolis (p. 203). The appealing tilt of the head and the eager gaze of the deep-set eyes, together with the half-open mouth and the fine finish of the cheeks and neck, make it one of the most beautiful heads in existence in spite of its disfigured nose. We seem to feel the calm resignation of a passionate spirit under trying circumstances.

Even grander in conception is the so-called Mater Dolorosa of Antiquity (p. 181), a seated figure from Knidos. She may be Demeter, whose daughter Persephone was compelled to spend six months of every

year away from her. The body of this Demeter is poorly preserved, but her head, which was carved of better marble, has retained all its original charm. In the peaceful beauty of the face one may perhaps see a reminder of Praxiteles, while the intent gaze of the shadowed eyes seems to recall the art of Skopas.

The Niobe Group

Such a mingling of Praxitelean and Skopasian tendencies need not surprise us. It was not uncommon in the generations following these men, and is perhaps seen at its best in an extensive group representing the



Coachman, frieze, Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, Bodrum, c. 360-350 B.C. Marble, h: 86 cm. British Museum, London.

sorrows of Niobe. Pliny said of this group, that it was not known whether it was made by Praxiteles or by Skopas. Perhaps neither of them was directly responsible for it, and a third man, now unknown, who had imbibed much of the art tendencies of both, carved it. Most of the figures of this group exist only in poor copies in Florence. A splendid head of Niobe, however, in a private collection in England, and the torso of one of her daughters in the Vatican, enable one to imagine the excellence of the composition, in spite of its inferior reproduction. The two gods, Artemis and Apollo, who are taking vengeance on Niobe for her overbearing behaviour towards their mother Leco, are not represented. The flying arrows seem more unerring since we do not know from where

they come. On later sarcophagi both Artemis and Apollo are often carved. Their presence lessens the conception of divine wrath wreaking its vengeance on helpless mortals, and reveals the wisdom of the maker of our group.

Many touches of deep human feeling he has introduced – as when a sister flees for refuge to her brother, and he pulls his robes to shield her, unaware that the god has already killed the girl and that she has fallen dead on his knee; or when Niobe, with her youngest daughter in her lap (p. 207), turns a beseeching look to heaven as if to say, “Spare her! Kill me, but do not harm my girl.” The gods, however, are implacable; there is no escape. “Whither shall I flee to escape destruction?” seems to be the cry of the daughter who is best preserved in the Chiaramonti collection in the Vatican. The deep engulfing folds of her garment show the rapidity of her onward movement, the curving lines of her fluttering shawl tell of the uncertainty of her direction. Hither and thither she turns; soon, however, she too will be struck down, and lie at the side of her dead brothers.

Niobe herself is suffering the punishment which her overbearing character deserves. Her children, however, are guiltless, and the fate they meet is hard to bear because unmerited. Perhaps nowhere in Greek sculpture has the dramatic pathos of human agony been more vividly portrayed than in this group. We seem to feel what every one of the Niobids is suffering in mind and body, and are thus brought in close contact with every individual. The date of this group is uncertain. Some scholars assign it to a late period because of its dramatic interest, others to the fourth century on the strength of Pliny’s statement. One thing is sure: the Niobids could not have been made before Praxiteles and Skopas had taught the expression of the individual and his momentary states of mind.

The Tomb of King Mausollos

The names of these two great sculptors were once more, probably erroneously, coupled in connection with the tomb of King Mausollos of Caria, who died in 351 B.C. Together with several other artists, Praxiteles and Skopas are said to have been summoned to Asia Minor by Artemisia, the widow of the king, who wished to erect in his honour a grave monument of such splendour that it should surpass the most beautiful tombs of Greece and Asia. She succeeded so well that to this day every unusually fine sepulchral structure is called a “mausoleum.” The original mausoleum has disappeared, and only fragments of its sculptured and architectural decoration are preserved. Despite uneven workmanship, all the sculptures exhibit intensity of feeling and character delineation. On one slab (pp. 212-213), an Amazon is on her knees, begging for mercy with outstretched arm. The Greek ready to deal her a blow, seems seized with pity. His compassion will cost him dearly, for another Amazon is bearing down upon him. She knows not no mercy, and will strike him a fierce blow, to pay for her sisters’ supplications. There is cruelty in the clear-cut lines of her masculine body, in keeping with the “traditional” Amazon character, here depicting wrathful indignation at a sister’s weakness.

On another slab, a splendid figure furiously drives a Greek to the corner. Escape is impossible, so he falls back, cowering, vainly endeavouring to ward off the blow with his shield. On both these slabs the spaciousness of

the composition is remarkable; the artist has discarded the idea of filling every available space. The sweeping lines of the bodies, bent to their utmost, are wonderfully expressive. Compared with earlier works of art, nothing could show a greater contrast than the recoiling Greek on one of these slabs and the Marsyas of Myron (p. 119). The value of reserved force has disappeared before the intensity of passionate representation. The best of the figures in this Amazon frieze also exhibit marvellous skill in the treatment both of the nude and the drapery (pp. 42-43); while certain Amazons’ loveliness increases the sense of cruelty. Very different in subject, though similar in passionate feeling, are the charioteers of a smaller frieze from the same building. Professor Gardner describes one of them (p. 207), by quoting these lines from Shelley.

Others, with burning eyes, lean forth, and drink
With eager lips the wind of their own speed,
As if the thing they loved fled on before,
And now, even now, they clasped it.

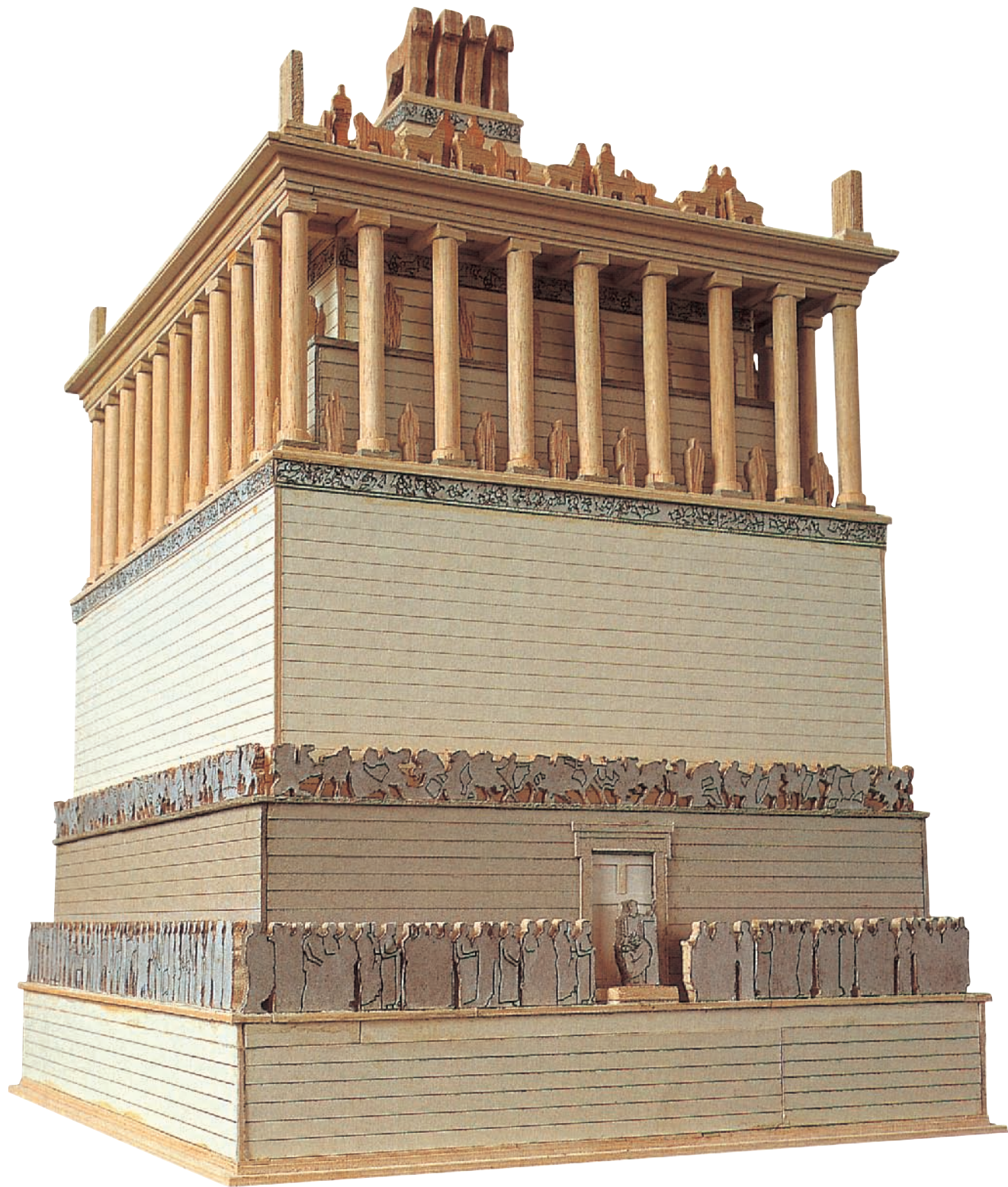
Somewhere in or on the tomb of Mausollos there stood the statues of the king (p. 211), and his wife. Every inch a king, he stands before us; not a Greek, but none the less a noble personage. A barbarian, to be sure, but a dignified individual. His statue was badly broken, and had to be put together from sixty-three fragments. The statue of Artemisia is even less well preserved; her face is lost, but has been successfully restored, in the cast, by the American sculptor Story.

One of the later creations that show strong Skopasian influences, especially in the treatment of the faces, is the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus (pp. 216-217), in Constantinople. Aside from the powerful impressions made by the eager hunters and merciless fighters, the sarcophagus holds a unique place among ancient monuments, because it has preserved to an unprecedented extent its original colours. The aesthetic enjoyment of the monument, it is true, is somewhat restricted, owing to the fact that some colours have faded while others are still bright; as an archaeological treasure, however, and as an argument in favour of the theory of the painting of ancient sculpture, this sarcophagus ranks second to none.

In the sculptures involving Skopas and Praxiteles, in each instance the individual has taken on his rights, and the momentary expression of character supplies the motive of the composition. This expression is not accidental but deeply rooted in the essential character of the person portrayed. If it were not so, its representation would fail to please; for the momentary in sculpture is permissible only if it evokes the eternal and unchangeable. It is the application of the *pars pro toto* in sculpture. Hermes forgets Dionysos and goes off into dreams; Meleager has the opportunity for rest and does not rest; Demeter longs for her daughter; and the Amazon prepares to avenge her sister’s weakness – not because *once* in their lives an occasion for such an action or lack of action occurred, but because all these people always behave as expected, or better still because they tend constantly to create such conditions for themselves. It is because of this intimate relationship between the momentary and the eternal, and because of the studious, though seemingly unconscious avoidance of the accidental, that the art both of Praxiteles and of Skopas is far removed



Thanatos, Alceste, Hermes and Persephone, drum of column, Artemision, Ephesos, c. 350-300 B.C. Marble, h: 155 cm. British Museum, London.



Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, Bodrum, c. 360-350 B.C. Reconstitution by Kristian Jeppesen. Mausoleum Museum, Bodrum.



Artemisia, Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, Bodrum, c. 360-350 B.C.
Marble, h: 267 cm. British Museum, London.



King Mausollos, Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, Bodrum, c. 360-350 B.C.
Marble, h: 300 cm. British Museum, London.



Amazonomachy Frieze, slab 1022, by Thimotheos, Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, Bodrum, c. 350 B.C. Marble, h: 90 cm. British Museum, London.



from the trivial and the commonplace. Nothing can be simpler than the motive of the little “Marble Faun”; nothing, on the other hand, more indicative of the master’s mind than the perfect correspondence of the satyr’s momentary state of mind and his real character. Praxiteles and Skopas have left no records of their views of art, and although their works exhibit many of the principles which their great successor Lysippos formulated in a definite code, one loves to think that the wise selections of both men were matters of instinct rather than intellect.

Formulated Principles; Perfect Skill

The names of great men are like magnets – they gather about them works and sayings of friends and pupils; and after some centuries it has become impossible to distinguish what properly belongs to them and what tradition

art,” Lysippos said, “is to represent things as they appear to be.” What true Greek of the past three centuries would not cheerfully have subscribed to this creed? – except perhaps Polykleitos. As a swipe at him Lysippos seems to have added, “and not as they really are, as my predecessors did.” Pliny, who preserves this statement, makes Lysippos place himself in opposition to all the older sculptors, but this is obviously a mistake. No one ever wrought figures more carefully “as they appear to be” than the sculptors of the Parthenon frieze.

Lysippos, however, who belonged to the school of Argos and Sikyon which Polykleitos had brought into prominence, doubtless directed the last part of the above statement against his immediate and more local predecessors. Almost a century before Lysippos it was said of the great tragedian Euripides that he represented his characters as they were, while others had drawn them as they ought to be. The similarity of these state-



Lion Hunt, Lycian Sarcophagus, royal necropolis, Sidon, first half of the 4th century B.C. Marble. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.

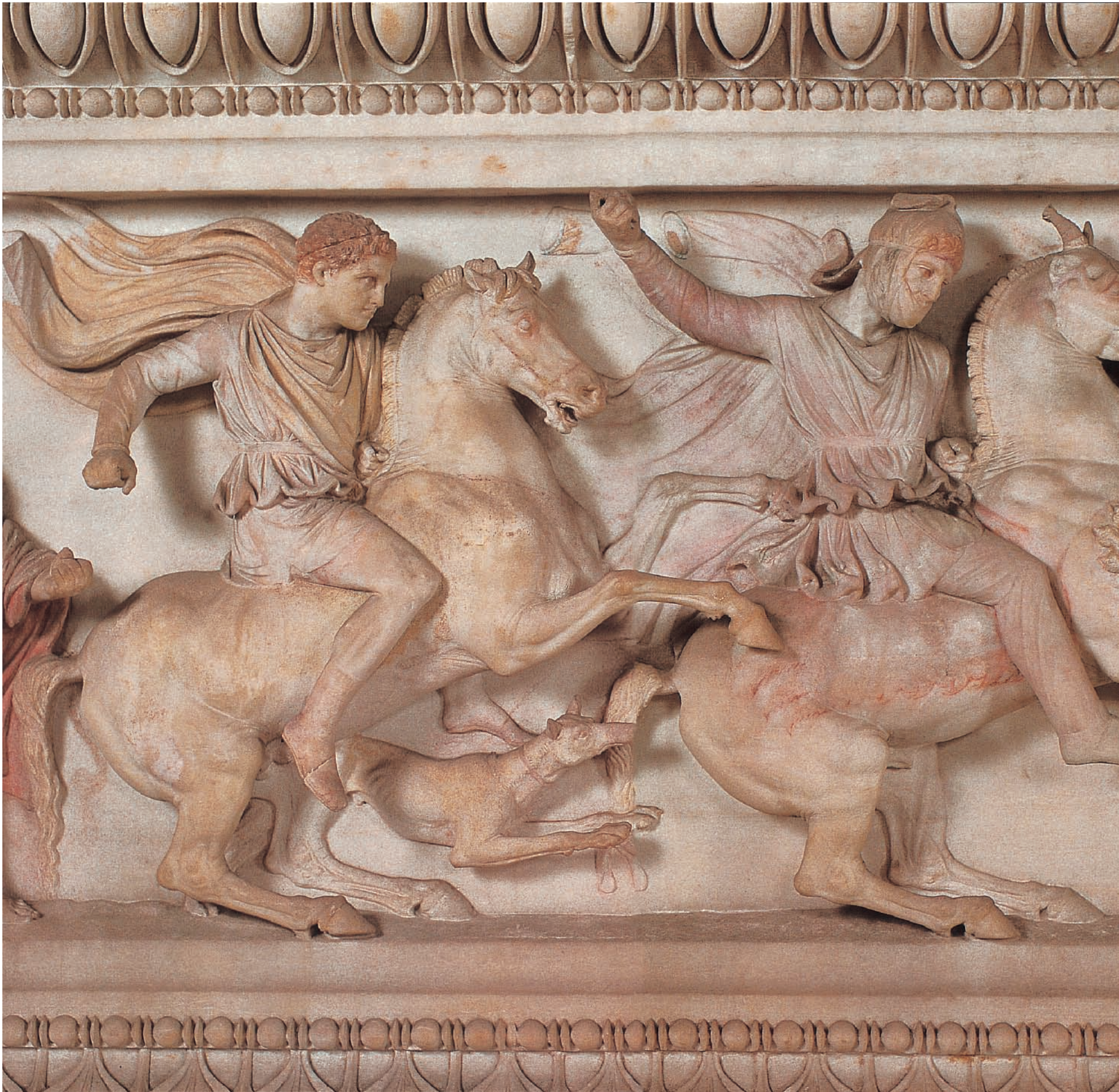
has added. The biographer is much inconvenienced by such a state of affairs: the art critic can view it with complaisance, for he cares less for the individual who first gives expression to a definite thought than for the thought and the time when it makes its appearance. It may sound like a paradox, but it is a fact that a truth is rarely formulated while it continues to be an active force, and never at the beginning of its career. Towards the end of its period of influence, when it is threatened with extinction, the man is apt to appear who, looking back over the past, discerns more clearly than any one before the essential principles which have guided his predecessors. He expresses them, and by so doing preserves the image of this dying force for posterity. Almost all the sayings accredited to Lysippos must be explained in this light. They are convincing only if thus understood. “The principle of my

ments alone would suffice to show that Lysippos did not lay down new principles, but simply put into words what had been the guiding spirit of the best works for generations. The conclusive proof, of course, is found in existing monuments.

Another statement in regard to Lysippos is that he was as great in *constantia* as in *elegantia*. The translation and interpretation of these words have given no end of trouble to modern scholars. They have looked for new principles which he formulated and which distinguished him from his predecessors, instead of realising that here again we have probably nothing but the attempt at putting into words the guiding principles of the past. The difficulty is, of course, somewhat increased by the uncertainty as to the Greek words rendered by the Latin *constantia*



Lycian Sarcophagus, royal necropolis, Sidon, first quarter of the 4th century B.C.
Marble, h: 296 cm. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.



Lion Hunt, Alexander Sarcophagus, royal necropolis, Sidon, end of the 4th century B.C. Marble, h: 69 cm. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.

The Battle of Alexander the Great and Darius (detail), "House of the Faun", Pompeii, 300 B.C. Mosaic, h: 271 cm, l: 512 cm. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.



and *elegantia*. The application of *elegantia* to the outer form of a statue, that is to its appearance, is almost self-evident; and since the two Latin terms are contrasted, there is a strong presumption in favour of referring *constantia* to what in literary criticism is sometimes called the “inner form.” By inner form is meant the perfect agreement of the thought with the particular mode selected for its expression. In poetry, there are subjects which are best treated in an epic poem, and others which demand a lyric expression.

The outer form of the epic or the lyric may be perfect, may exhibit *elegantia*, but unless it is the *natural* vehicle of the particular thought it is lacking in “inner form,” *constantia*, and is unsatisfactory as a work of art. The same is true of sculpture. It is not enough to give to a statue a symmetrical outline and pleasing finish, that is *elegantia*; the whole statue must be the natural expression of the thought which it is intended to convey.

The outer and the inner form must “hang together,” or, as the old Greeks would have put it, “stand together” (*constare, constantia*). The Latin passage thus explained is seen to have no reference to new discoveries by Lysippos, but to contain a clear statement of principles characteristic of all the best Greek art, and most especially of Skopas and of Praxiteles. The importance of the principle of the outer and the inner form is readily comprehended when once pointed out, and the neglect of it is without doubt responsible for many unsuccessful pieces of sculpture both later Greek and modern.

The work of Lysippos which best shows adherence to this principle is his portrait of Alexander the Great. Alexander was afflicted with a stiff neck. The muscles of one side were shorter than those of the other, making it necessary for him always to tilt his head. In actual life, it seems, this defect passed almost unnoticed before the dazzling vivacity of the king, but to most sculptors it proved an unsurmountable obstacle. Lysippos, however, made good use of it, and converted it into a most telling device for the expression of the king’s character. Alexander was overbearing and proud of his position and achievements, and Lysippos represented him with a sidelong look to heaven, by which he seemed to be addressing Zeus, with these words of a Greek poet.

The world by might is mine,
Zeus, Olympos keep for thyself.

This same look also required the representation of eyes natural to Alexander at all times, but in an ordinary bust out of place – eyes focused as into the distance and exhibiting the moist sentimentality peculiar to them. Alexander was so delighted with the work of Lysippos that he appointed him his court sculptor, and refused the right to carve his likeness to all others.

Of the existing Alexander busts none, unfortunately, is above the commonplace. The tilted head and the king’s shaggy mane are seen, but the telling eyes are lost. We do not know for sure that any of the copies reproduce the work of Lysippos, for despite Alexander’s prohibition, portraits of him are also mentioned by other sculptors.

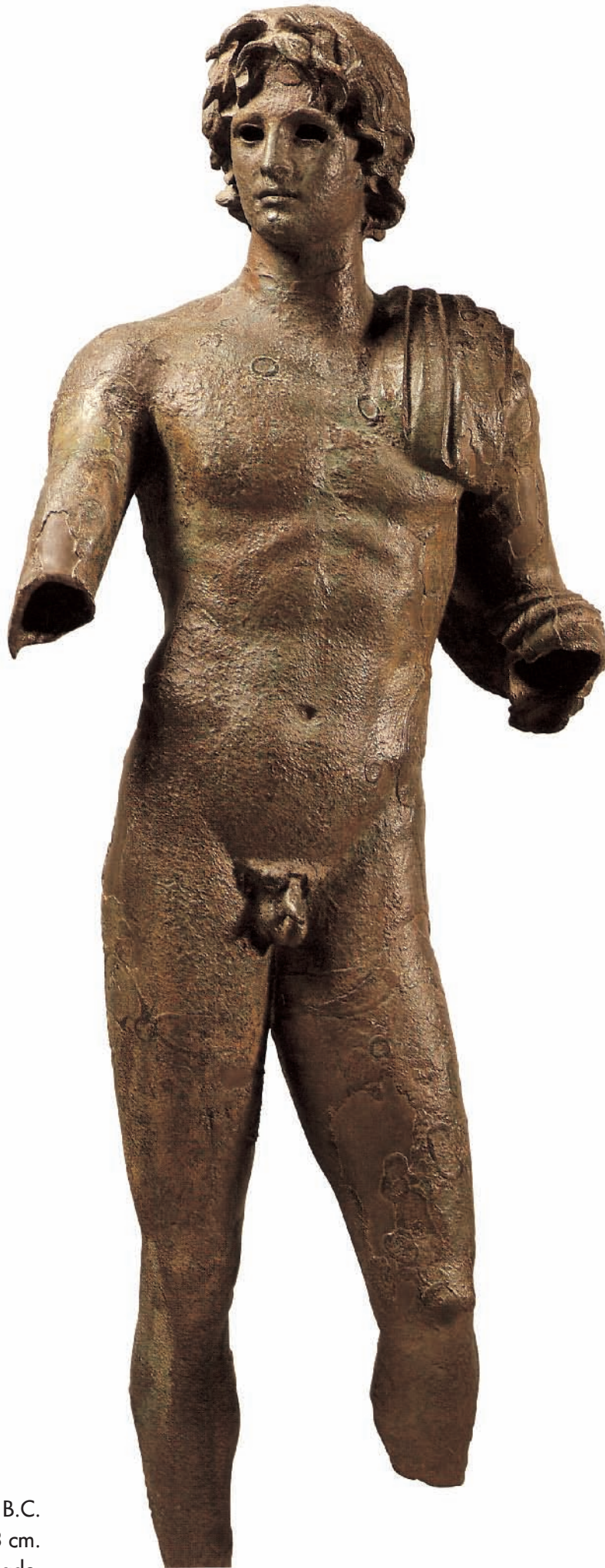
Of complete statues of Alexander only three of importance are known today – one in the Louvre, one in Munich, and one in Constantinople,







Apoxyomenos, copy after the bronze original
by Lysippos created around c. 330 B.C.
Marble, h: 205 cm. Museo Pio Clementino, Vatican.



Ephebe of Agde, second half of the 4th century B.C.
Bronze, h: 133 cm.
Musée de l'Ephèbe, Le Cap d'Agde.

formerly called Apollo. All are inferior copies (two of them much restored), and all have preserved little except the general lines of the original. The statue in Munich shows the king with his right leg raised on a stone, as the restorer has it, or on a helmet in the act of putting on his greaves, as has been suggested by Lange⁴⁰, who sees a characteristically Lysippean motive in the raised leg. It is a pose which from now on enters largely into Greek statuary, and is for Poseidon, whom Lysippos represented with preference, almost characteristic. With one foot on a rock the god pulls himself up tall and straight to pound the ground with his trident. But even this posture is nothing new with Lysippos; it is the conscious adaptation of a design found more than once in the Parthenon frieze, in groups where the stepping stones are taking the place of the modern stirrups.

Thus far we have seen Lysippos only as the clever interpreter of past achievements; in one direction, however, he made a distinct contribution to art. This he did not so much as the successor of Skopas and Praxiteles as in his capacity as head of the Argive school. The Polykleitean dimensions had continued in force despite the changes, which several intervening sculptors had endeavoured, with little success, to introduce. Their failure was probably due to the fact that they had shrunk from abandoning the general ratio given by Polykleitos. Euphranor, we are told, kept the Argive dimensions of the head and the joints, making only the body less heavy.

The result was unpleasant, because the head and joints of his statues appeared disproportionately large. Lysippos, it seems, was the first to realise the chief faults of the Polykleitean Kanon, which reproduced the means, as it were, of all measures offered by nature, without noting that nature herself does her best only occasionally. A satisfactory system of proportions, if based on nature, is only possible if it gives the average measurements of the very best specimens and refuses to pay attention to the majority of people who fall short of the standard of beauty. The result of the labours of Lysippos in this direction was an entirely new canon.

Compared with the old it reveals a slender torso, longer arms and legs, and a smaller head, only about one eighth of the total height of the body. A figure based upon these proportions gives one the appearance of height and of nobility, as is seen in a statue in a museum of the Vatican (p. 220), representing an athlete scraping himself (Apoxyomenos). We know that Lysippos made such a statue, and the Vatican Apoxyomenos is considered to be a copy of his work. The fingers of the right hand with the die, the toes, and other minor parts are restored, and the supports for the legs and the arms are doubtless additions of the sculptor who translated the original bronze into marble. Not larger than the Doryphoros, the Apoxyomenos gives nevertheless the impression of a much taller man. The head no longer adopts thoughtlessly the direction of the leg which

supports the body's weight; and the entire pose is one far removed from that limited conception of the early artists which still supplied the motives of the Polykleitean statues.

Notice how readily the Doryphoros will return to the primitive position, and contrast with it the several turns and twists of the body and the limbs which are necessary before the Apoxyomenos can be imagined as standing as straight and erect as the "Apollo" of Tenea. The right leg has moved not only backwards but also sideways, and has thus occasioned a rearrangement of the muscles which is as gracefully perfect as it is seemingly simple. The design of the figure implies, on the part of the artist, control over the conception of a body of three dimensions moving in limitless space. The ease with which the right leg may be imagined moving in a circle about the left is marvellous; while the satisfaction of a complete view of the statue, when it is given a turn on a revolving base, reveals how firm a grasp the artist had of the truly sculptural. This Apoxyomenos is, if one is permitted to stretch the term, the first real statue *in the round*. It is the culmination in technique of the endeavours which began with the earliest "Apollo" statues. The artist who carved it has mastered the technical side of his art; nothing is left for him to learn.

This fact was clearly understood by all the old Greeks, and is universally accepted today. After Lysippos the question, What *can* the sculptor represent? no longer exists; it is only, What *does he care* to represent? Great skill in anything is a dangerous boon; it often leads to thoughtless creations, and is a valuable gift only to the man who feels and thinks before he sets out to produce.

In times of halting skill only those people are apt to undergo the hardships of production who feel the urgent need of expressing a well-conceived thought. With ease of workmanship, haste or lack of thought are wont to make their appearance. But it must not be believed that this is invariably the case; for it is not only possible but also recorded in history that technical skill and depth of personality may go hand in hand. The rapid disintegration of national and religious ideas in Greece after the death of Alexander the Great prevented her from producing a Michelangelo, but not a few of her late creations are comparable to the works of the mighty Florentine.

Lysippos and his immediate followers may be said to have reached the summit of the mountain which the "Apollo" artists had begun to climb. The belief of many that after Lysippos the downhill journey was immediately begun is erroneous. Art broadened on the top and enjoyed a long season of autumn days.

Occasionally a sculptor came dangerously near the precipice, or even fell to the bottom, but such cases were rare. Perfection had been won with too much hard labour to be immediately abandoned. Lysippos may mark the end of *unconsciously* perfect art. The end of art was not to come for several centuries.



Hermes tying his Sandal, Roman copy after a Greek original by Lysippos created during the 4th century B.C., c. 1st-2nd century A.D. Marble, h: 161 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



AUTUMN DAYS

After working and waiting come rest and the season of enjoyment. Rest for the healthy man is not inactivity. Not even the simpleton finds recreation in doing nothing, Mr. Bigelow has said. Greek artists least of all were satisfied to rest on the triumphs of their predecessors; and in spite of the much-abused and erroneous statement of Pliny that at about 300 B.C. art had come to a standstill, the creations of the Greek sculptors continued in undiminished quantity. The quality of their work was so high and varied, and their own number so large, that it became impracticable to group even the best statues around a few famous names. Nor was it possible, as in preceding ages, to mark strong personal characteristics in the creations of any one, man or school; for all partook of the achievements of the masters of the past.

A leaning towards Praxiteles in one statue might be offset by a preference for Phidias in another made by the same sculptor, and men of widely different periods might be drawn to the imitation or adaptation of the identical old master. It is therefore impossible today to say whether a statue was carved in the third or the second or even the first century before Christ. The intellectual horizon of the sculptors of these different centuries was practically the same, and with sufficient application on their part there was no reason why they should not all master an equal amount of skill. All the works, therefore, of the autumn days of Greek sculpture must be discussed together in one class. It is true that a few of them may be more definitely dated by means of inscriptions, literary references, and historical deductions, but these only go to strengthen the above conclusion.

Indistinguishable from each other, the works of this long period are yet readily recognised from those of the preceding centuries. Statues which owe their origin to mere skill of hand, without pressing into use either “heart” or “head” or both, are inconceivable in the time of Phidias and of Praxiteles. And even the truly great works of this period possess distinctly new qualities by which they are known, and which not only justify the name given to this age but also refute the theory of its being one of decadence. There is a season of the year when the ripe fruit, with characteristic fullness, commands our admiration, and the variety of changing foliage tries to crowd from our memory the pleasures in the fresh verdure of springing buds.

It is a singularly happy season, when a sense of joyful stability is felt after the long months of waiting and watching. The light blossom of the spring has made way for the red-cheeked apple, and assurance has taken the place of faith in nature’s growing powers. Of all the clays of the year

none are more self-sufficiently beautiful than the crisp, clear autumn days. They are neither full of promise for the future nor teeming with reminiscences of the past. It is to them we may compare the best works of this period; for they exhibit a fullness and a self-sufficiency that seem to deny all preparation and to carry no hint of the hereafter. A sense of confidence marks them in contrast to the faith that can remove mountains. They are, in the truest sense, creations of the autumn days of Greek sculpture.

The Aphrodite of Melos

One of the most generally admired statues of this period is the Aphrodite of Melos, more widely but less properly known as the “Vénus de Milo” (p. 224). Discovered in 1820 in a cave on the island of Melos, she was brought to Paris as a present to the king. Now she is in the Louvre, the recipient of homage by multitudes of visitors, the true goddess of love; and at the same time, in the second rôle of her well-known character, the inspirer of feuds, although in this case only among scholars. Who made her, and when? How ought she to be restored? Who is she? – these questions are constantly asked.⁴¹

Inscriptions containing the name of a sculptor and fragments purportedly found in the same cave are urged in argument by some, and on account of their doubtful authenticity rejected by others. One man is struck by her “Lysippean proportions and pose,” another by her “Pheidian drapery,” and still another by her individual expression. All admire her and would assign her to that period which they believe the best. As long as the autumn days of Greek sculpture were considered a period of decadence, there was no place in them for this Aphrodite. “Let us put her in the fourth century,” people said; but they came to grief. The self-sufficient grandeur of the figure finds there no parallel. “Well, then, back to the fifth century!” they shouted; and when everything – pose, finish, dimensions, expression – proved the inaccuracy of their view, they urged a superficial resemblance between the folds of her drapery and some of the Parthenon figures.

The folds in a few instances are not dissimilar, but the garments themselves are entirely unlike. The slightest familiarity with Greek costumes shows that the drapery of the Aphrodite is altogether too small to serve as an actual garment. It is suppressed for reasons of design, and is in this respect very different from the draperies of all the Parthenon figures, and even in strong and perhaps conscious contrast to the Aphrodite of Arles (p. 228), which with probability is assigned to the

Aphrodite of Melos, called “Vénus de Milo”, c. 100 B.C. Marble, h: 202 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Praxitelean cyclus. The correspondence in the treatment of folds, therefore, instead of pointing to the origin of this statue as in the fifth century, argues in favour of a later date, when men with perfect freedom knew how to adapt and how to combine into one harmonious whole the pose of Lysippos, the charm of Praxiteles, and a bit of technique from the Parthenon. The only time when this was possible was, of course, the Greek autumn days. The Aphrodite is the fruit which with characteristic completeness drives from one's memory past pleasures in the growing efforts of nature.

The correct restoration of this figure was until recently as perplexing as its attribution to a definite period used to be. The front view of the statue, is the one most generally known. It exhibits the beauty of Aphrodite's right side, and at the same time shows a very unpleasantly straight line and impossible hip on her left. This has led people to believe that Aphrodite originally was coupled with another figure whose outer contours corresponded to those of her beautiful right side. Several figures have been suggested, but none have stood the test; the most formidable objection to all of them being the fact that Aphrodite is too obviously not part of a group but sufficient in herself. In just appreciation of this fact some scholars have suggested a column or a tree or some other object at her side to complete the composition on her left. It is difficult to think of any such object the shape of which would not be unduly prominent.

And yet something, it is reasoned, must have been on this side, if for no other reason than to serve as a support for the arms. Both arms are broken away, but there is not a single place of attachment on the whole figure from which they originally could have been supported. It is therefore clear that they were attached to some outside object, for being of marble they were too heavy to do without any stays. The position of the left arm is altogether problematic; the right arm, Robinson has proved, crossed the body at a right angle, with the hand held downward. Only in this position does the biceps of the upper arm press closely enough to the breast to make that little muscle appear which is seen over the right breast. It is the consideration of the arms which has made the introduction of an outside support appear to be even more necessary than the aesthetic requirements of the design.

But another and infinitely simpler solution offers itself. It is based upon the appreciation of the peculiar technique of the figure, which is not completely finished in the round, but of excellence only on the right side of a plane erected on a line connecting the right heel with the left ankle. A view of the figure from this side is of surpassing beauty. The unpleasant straightness of the left disappears, the prominence of the right hip is abated, the breasts appear to their best advantage, and the noble profile of the face steps into its rights, while the arrangement of the hair and the dainty lock on the back of the head are seen for the first time. Suppose this was the view intended by the artist, who, to prevent other and less satisfactory views, placed his figure in a niche or at least close to the wall! The disposition of the arms becomes then a matter of no

difficulty, for the background offers ample opportunities for invisible places of attachment.

This solution of the seemingly hopeless problem of restoration is so simple that one wonders at its not having been suggested before. It has certainly never before found its way to the front, although it is the only one that enables one to appreciate the statue to its full extent without relying upon outside additions to supplement its design.

The general type of the Aphrodite of Melos has been preserved in several figures. Draped and holding the shield in the museum in Brescia, she is called Nike; nude and with outstretched arms (restored) in Naples, she is known as the Venus of Capua (p. 229), and on the Arch of Trajan she again appears as Nike. Reinach⁴² believes she is not an Aphrodite but an Amphitrite, and the English sculptor Westmacott added wings to her and folded lint-hands on her knee and called her a Peri. The Peri, in Persian mythology, are beings of wonderful beauty and kindness. We do not know what the original sculptor, who may have known the Oriental legend, intended her to be; but that a Greek who saw this figure of great physical and spiritual beauty, without any attributes to give her a definite character, would have been tempted to call her Aphrodite cannot be doubted.

And to us moderns, too, especially to those of us who know Greek life and thoughts, no name seems so applicable to this perfect statue as Aphrodite, the name of the most lovable and most reverently worshiped Greek goddess.

The Nike of Samothrace

Sharing the popular favour of this statue is the Nike of Samothrace, likewise in the Louvre (p. 227). She was erected on Samothrace by Demetrios Poliorketes of Macedon, to commemorate the battle of Myonnisos or the victory at Sidè against the fleet of Antiochos III of Syria, around 190 B.C. Coins also were struck, and on them we see Nike in the prow of a ship, blowing the fanfare of victory on a trumpet which she holds in her right hand, while in her left she carries what seems to be a trophy.

These were, of course, also the attributes of the marble statue. The marble prow has been discovered, and in it Nike, the goddess of successful battles, seems to be moving onward. Space is nothing to her; she glides through it easily, hardly using her wings, while the breeze is playfully pressing the folds of her garments against her. The head is gone, but one never fails to see in the glorious breasts and in the beautiful abdomen the hilarious joy with which the swift motion through space has imbued her. The figure is best appreciated if one revives memories of a similarly swift motion experienced, for instance, in the prow of an ocean steamer. For the moment the cares of the world fall away, and one is filled with a sense of masterful confidence, listening to voices that deny the existence of the impossible. It is then that the essence of real victory is felt, which is faith in the success of the noblest ideas.

Nike of Samothrace, c. 190 B.C. Marble, h: 328 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.





Aphrodite, called "Venus of Arles", Roman copy after a Greek original by Praxiteles, end of the 1st century A.D. Marble, h: 194 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

This was the artist's conception. Success has crowned his endeavours, for he has struck a true chord in every man's heart. Mutilated though the statue now is, it is as well liked by the peasant or tourist who happens to stray into the large hall of the Louvre as by the scholar who goes there to study. The latter often feels perplexed by the arrangement of the drapery, which with its violently twisted folds makes a continuous observation from one point almost painful. Viewed from the front, the folds make one desirous of stepping to the side; and even there, they are not restful, for they give one the suggestion of the rapidity with which the figure is thought of as passing out of sight. It may be doubted whether such conceptions of motion properly belong to the sphere of sculpture, but if one accepts them, as this sculptor apparently did, one is carried away with admiration for the skill of the ancient artist.

The Belvedere Apollo and the Artemis of Versailles

The same is true of the Apollo of the Belvedere Gallery in the Vatican (p. 231), and the Artemis of Versailles (p. 230), now in the Louvre in Paris. They are masterpieces, and have received tribute as such by admiring crowds ever since they became generally known, about the sixteenth century. They were by far the best of all the statues in existence then, and even at the end of the eighteenth century, when people again began to be interested in Greek art after long neglect, there were no other statues accessible that could be called their equal. Excavations in Greece had not yet yielded the treasures of the earlier periods. No wonder, therefore, that the admiration paid at first in just tribute to these figures soon exceeded natural bounds, and that people, yearning to find in art the embodiment of those high ideals which the Greek studies had begun to teach them, believed they saw qualities in them which they did not really possess. The dignity of the earlier figures, for example, they completely lack. Almost sneeringly the Belvedere Apollo is watching — perhaps the flight of an arrow. Let one look in his face, and study his features, and then analyze one's own emotions. They are hardly of the nobler sort. The conception of the Apollo is not noble; the execution, however, is of surpassing beauty.

The first sight of him upon entering the Belvedere Gallery where he stands, reveals this, though *Stands* is hardly the proper word — *walks* would be better. With an easy, noiseless step this figure of ethereal beauty is gliding along. Sunshine envelopes him, sunshine is reflected from his supple body; and the longer one looks the more completely one is drawn under the spell of his physical charm.

The proportions of the figure are unusual; the legs are too long for the short trunk, but probably intentionally so in order to increase the impression of movement. The attention paid to them by the sculptor may be compared with the higher degree of care which Praxiteles was wont to bestow on the eyes of his figures.



Aphrodite of Capua, copy after a Greek original by Skopas or Lysippos created during the 4th century B.C. Marble, h: 210 cm.
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.





Artemis with a Hind, called "Diane of Versailles", Roman copy after a Greek original by Leochares created around 330 B.C., c. 1st-2nd century A.D. Marble, h: 200 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Belvedere Apollo, copy after a Greek original created around c. 330 B.C. Marble, h: 224 cm. Museo Pio Clementino, Vatican.



Ludovisi Group, Roman copy after a bronze original erected by the kings of Pergamon, Attalus I and Eumenes II, around 240 B.C. Marble, h: 211 cm. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.

Laokoön, Roman copy after a bronze original made in Pergamon around 150 B.C. Marble, h: 184 cm. Museo Pio Clementino, Vatican.



Brought to France under Francis I, the Artemis of Versailles (p. 230) – often called by her French name, from the hind at her side, *La Diane à la biche* – may be mentioned as a worthy companion piece to the Apollo of the Belvedere. In her case it seems to be certain that she is carved of Greek marble, while of the Belvedere Apollo some contend that he is hewn of Carrara marble. Certainty in such matters is difficult to obtain. In her case it is even less the thought or spirit of the composition which kindles one's own with quickening fire – it is her body and the movement of her body alone which call for admiration. As queen of the woods she has girt up her garment and bared her softly rounded legs. The breeze blowing the fold from her left knee unveils the loveliness of her thigh, and mischievously tries to reveal what the garment would decently hide.

This is a touch as artfully suggestive as it is out of keeping with the conception of a really divine character. The fact is, this Artemis is a goddess only in name, and in reality naught but a pretense for carving the body of a beautiful woman. Her drapery, too, contains more folds, perhaps in the endeavour of suggesting the breezes that fan her, than are altogether pleasing. The museum in Copenhagen possesses a torso of a similar type which shows greater dignity in the treatment of the garment, and thereby suggests that the Artemis of Versailles is not an original but a copy, an idea which is well sustained by the rather poorly modelled hind and the awkward support.

The Laokoön Group

No work on Greek sculpture today is considered complete which does not discuss the Laokoön, such is the high esteem in which this group is held. Lessing⁴³ based his essay on artistic principles on it, which he called Laokoön, and which contains as many valuable suggestions, because they are true, as inaccurate inferences, because they are based on a misunderstanding of the spirit of Greek sculpture which Lessing, together with many of his contemporaries, believed was exemplified in this group. The skill of the artists (three are mentioned) is almost painful in its perfection and realism. One comes upon the group (p. 233), suddenly in the Vatican galleries, and experiences a sense of horror as one sees and feels the pain of Laokoön. It is not the *statue* of the sufferer, it is the sufferer *himself*.

If it were not for the cruel sense of curiosity innate in most people, one would gladly turn one's back upon such agonies. The many devices by which pain has been represented need no description: the strained position and compressed abdomen, the heaving breast, the open mouth which yet gives forth no sound, the anguished face – they all combine to convey the one thing – physical pain. Nor is there a redeeming feature in suggested justice.

Those familiar with ancient traditions remember that Laokoön had to suffer not because he was wicked or careless, but because he had done his duty as seer, and had warned the Trojans. By uttering the truth he had offended some of the gods, who were determined to destroy his city, and therefore sent the snakes to make it appear that he had lied. The thought of the group is ignoble, for it teaches the injustice of God. Unless one has studied the preceding periods of Greek art in vain, one knows that such a subject is fundamentally un-Greek in spirit.

The disapproval of the subject, however, does not dispose of the group, for as an achievement of artistic skill it stands as high as it is low in artistic conception. To judge of it properly one must understand the aims of the artists and their times, which did not always call for the expression of a noble idea, but were incessantly clamouring for the highest exertions in the field of manual dexterity.

The right arms of Laokoön and the boy at his right are wrongly restored; the father's hand should be slightly back of and above his head, and the boy's arm in a similar position. When these changes are made the group is seen to gain in unity, with the attention centred in Laokoön even more than before. The boys are but accessories, of use in the building up of the group, and intended to reflect by their innocent presence upon the injustice of the gods. Incidentally they increase the anguish of the father, who sees them perish with him. Their diminutive proportions clearly relegate them to the position of inferior members of the composition, while the skill of the artists, who have treated them as such without making the inaccuracy of their smaller scale immediately noticeable, is nothing short of perfect.

The head of the Laokoön, is not an individual creation. If one imagines the snakes dead, and the priest's sufferings at an end, his features regain their natural composure, and reveal their close resemblance to those of a colossal head in the Vatican known as the Otricoli Zeus. Herein lies one of the strongly realistic points of the Laokoön, that his brow is not always knitted; one feels that the forehead can be straightened, and that the eyes can shine with the kind dignity of Zeus.

The School of Pergamon

It is just the opposite with the giants suffering defeat at the hands of the gods in the gigantic frieze from Pergamon now in Berlin (pp. 236 to 245). Their deep-set eyes and darkened brows are theirs always. They are, as their features imply, a fierce and unjust race. One shudders at the pangs of pain they suffer, but one turns away from them with a feeling of satisfaction that right has won another battle over wickedness. There is, according to Ruskin, no reason why the ugly should not be represented, provided it is so represented that it makes one hate the ugly and admire the beautiful. This has been done by the Pergamean sculptors.

The discovery of the Pergamon reliefs, which decorated a huge altar, and their importance for the study of Greek sculpture, is an interesting story. Not mentioned in ancient literature, except perhaps once, and referred to in the Revelation of St. John as the seat of Satan, the mighty altar built under Eumenes II (197-159 B.C.) had been entirely forgotten. The reliefs, however, were preserved in the ruins of the city, where the Turks found them.

Eventually they were used in the construction of heavy walls. The smooth back side of the large slabs, which are over seven feet high, made an excellent facing of the walls, and served this purpose for centuries, until a fortunate accident in the seventies revealed their identity. Excavations, which were soon undertaken, yielded such large portions of the reliefs that it became possible to reconstruct the altar, at least in part. This has been done in the Pergamonmuseum in Berlin (p. 236). The accurate date which could be assigned to these pieces of sculpture proved

their origin in the Greek autumn days, while their high quality added one more important argument in favour of the continued excellence of sculpture during this period.

There are differences of technique in the slabs, but the points of resemblance – a kind of family relationship – are so frequent that one readily recognises them. The group with Athena as central figure is one of the best (p. 239). She has taken hold of the giant, and although she uses no weapon, he sinks before her, and falling receives the mortal bite from her snake. The goddess sweeps on, and before her the

the Capitoline Museum known since the sixteenth century, and until recently wrongly called the Dying Gladiator (p. 235). The figure represents a Gaul. The tribe of the Gauls to which he belongs attacked Rome in 390 B.C., and later attempted to plunder Delphi. On the passes of Mt. Parnassus the Gauls were probably overtaken by one of the violent snowstorms frequent there, and driven back. Badly frightened, they spread the story that Apollo himself had appeared to them and shaken his aegis in their faces to protect his sanctuary. Leochares is said to have made a statue of Apollo to commemorate this event. The Gauls left



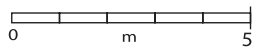
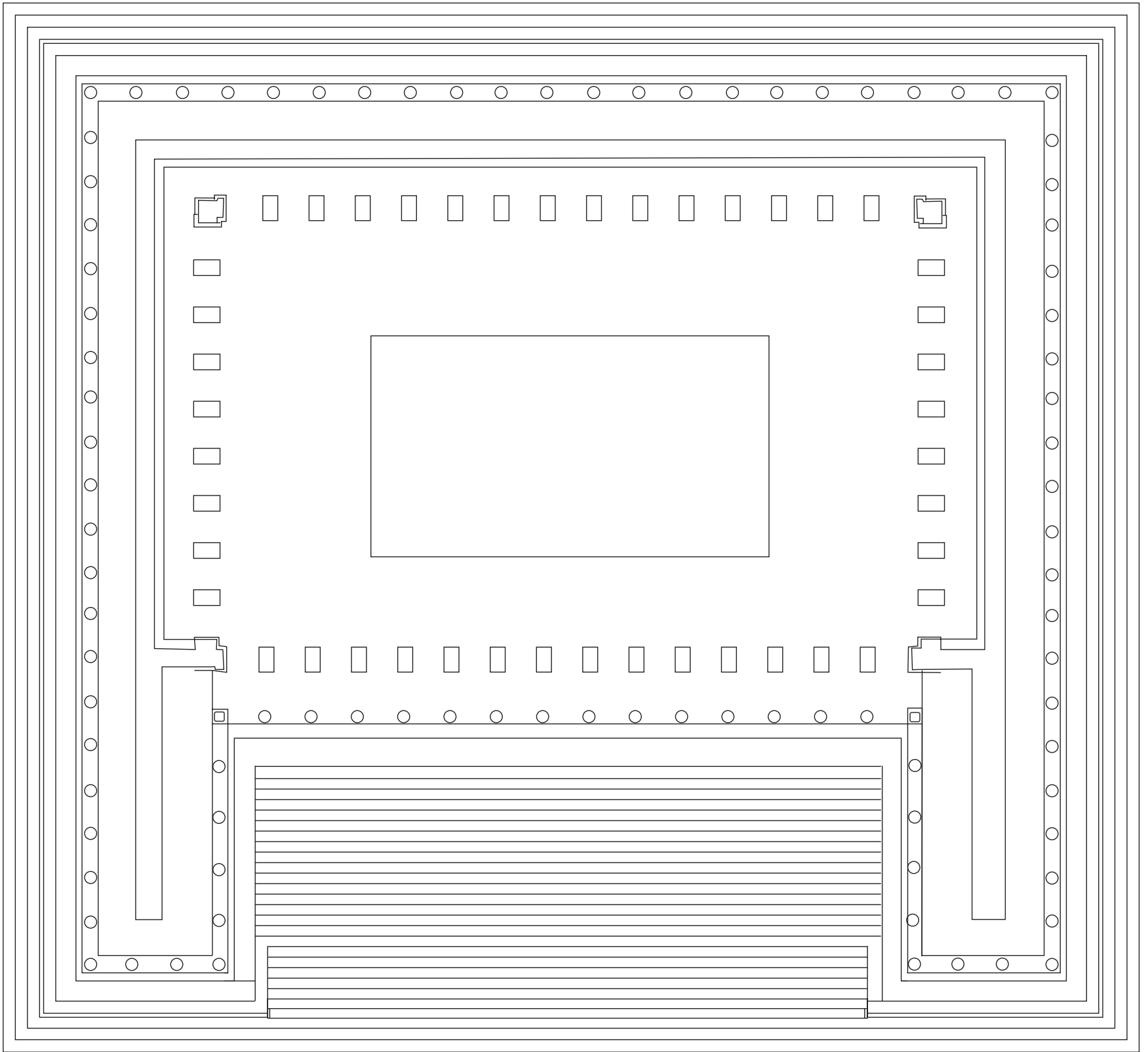
Dying Gaul, Roman copy after a bronze original erected by the kings of Pergamon Attalus I and Eumenes II around 240 B.C. Marble, h: 93 cm, Musei Capitolini, Rome.

ground opens and Mother Earth herself implores her to spare the giant; but Athena refuses, and is met by her constant companion, Nike, the goddess of victory. The case with which Athena has conquered the giant reminds one of the often-quoted words of Aeschylus, that “all the gods’ work is effortless and calm.” This, however, is apparently not the case on another slab (pp. 46-47), where Zeus has to exert all his power to overcome his formidable opponents. One of the most pleasing figures of all is a goddess on horseback (p. 245) – as noble a creation as any of Greek art, and perfect in execution. To the Pergamon school, but probably to an earlier phase of it under Attalos I (241-197 B.C.) belongs a statue in

Greece, and settled in the northern part of Asia Minor, where they spread terror until Attalos and later Eumenes of Pergamon forced them into submission, after which they became the peaceful settlers to whom St. Paul wrote his “Epistle to the Galatians.”

This spirit of humility and submission has yet to be fostered in the Gaul dying in the Capitoline statue. He is a typical Gaul, with short, shaggy hair and the characteristic torque on his neck. He has fought and been wounded; now he must die, but he keeps up his fight even against death. With pain in his side and his blood ebbing fast, he wills himself to rise. His strength, however, is spent; his muscles are weak, and he cannot





The Great Altar of Zeus, pedestal frieze, north side, Pergamon, c. 180 B.C. Marble. Pergamonmuseum, Berlin.

Ground Plan of the Great Altar of Zeus, Pergamon.





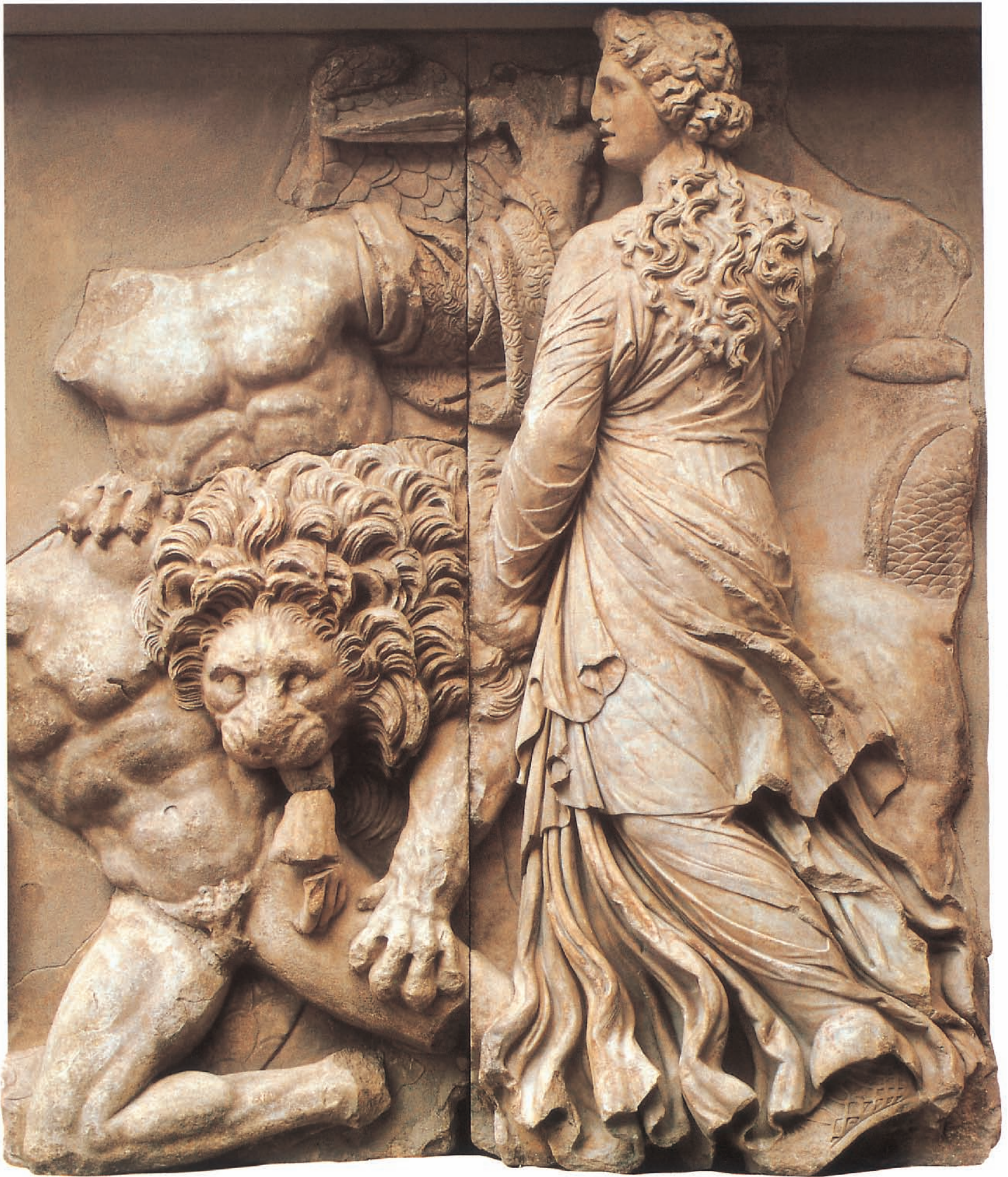
Augeas observes the Preparation for the Abandonment of her Son Telephus, platform frieze, Great Altar of Zeus, Pergamon, c. 180 B.C. Marble, h: 158 cm. Pergamonmuseum, Berlin.

Athena fighting with the Son of Gaea the Earth Goddess, pedestal frieze, Great Altar of Zeus, Pergamon, c. 180 B.C. Marble, h: 230 cm. Pergamonmuseum, Berlin.

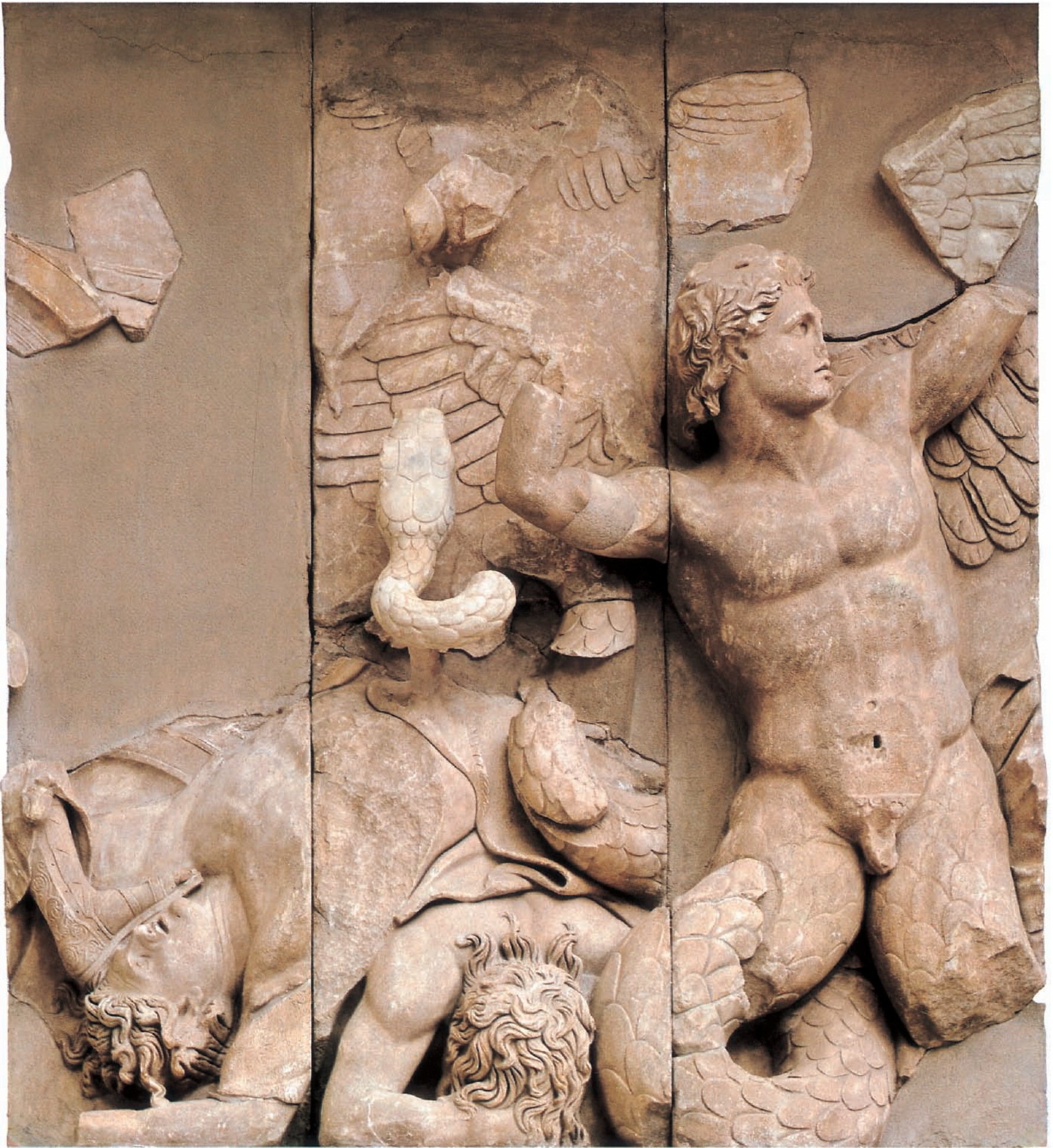


Artemis and Hecate, pedestal frieze,
Great Altar of Zeus, Pergamon, c. 165 B.C.
Marble, h: 230 cm. Pergamonmuseum, Berlin.

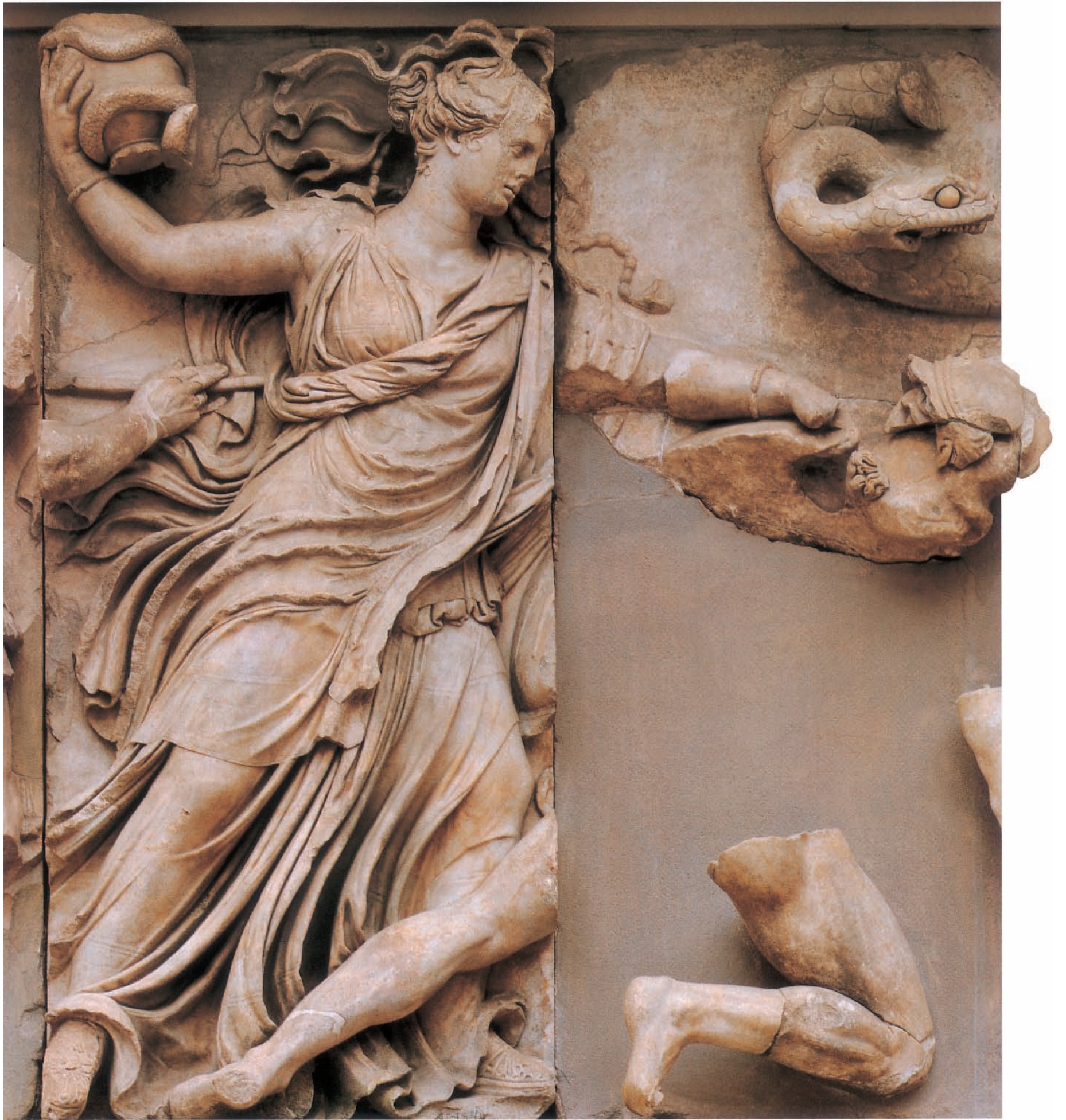




Lion-Goddess fighting a Giant, pedestal frieze, Great Altar of Zeus, Pergamon, c. 180 B.C. Marble, h: 230 cm. Pergamonmuseum, Berlin.



Dying Giant, pedestal frieze, Great Altar of Zeus, Pergamon, c. 180 B.C. Marble, h: 230 cm. Pergamonmuseum, Berlin.



straighten his right arm to a position where the *locked* bones relieve them. He fights to the end, and when he collapses he will still be fighting – a typical Gaul.

The statue itself is probably a copy after a bronze original, now lost. Other marble copies of contemporaneous bronze works have been recognised in a number of small figures of giants, Persians, and Amazons. The originals, it seems, were sent to Athens by Attalos to commemorate his victory over the Gauls. Side by side with a powerful giant in the Naples Museum lies a dead Amazon, graceful even in death.

Hers is a peaceful repose, such as the Greeks desired for themselves and those they admired. She did not struggle to the last, but, when the hour of death had come, submitted to the gods, dying as beautifully as she had lived. In her simplicity this Amazon is one of the most impressive creations of Greek sculpture, and yet she belongs to its autumn days. No better proof is required to demonstrate the inaccuracy of the view that this period represented decadence.

It is a noteworthy fact that only four or five Pergamon sculptors are named in literature, with no attempt to distinguish them by their works, for it proves the assertion made before, that in the autumn days the names of the sculptors were of less importance than the names of the art centres. Beside Pergamon, Rhodes, Tralles, and Alexandria are prominently mentioned.

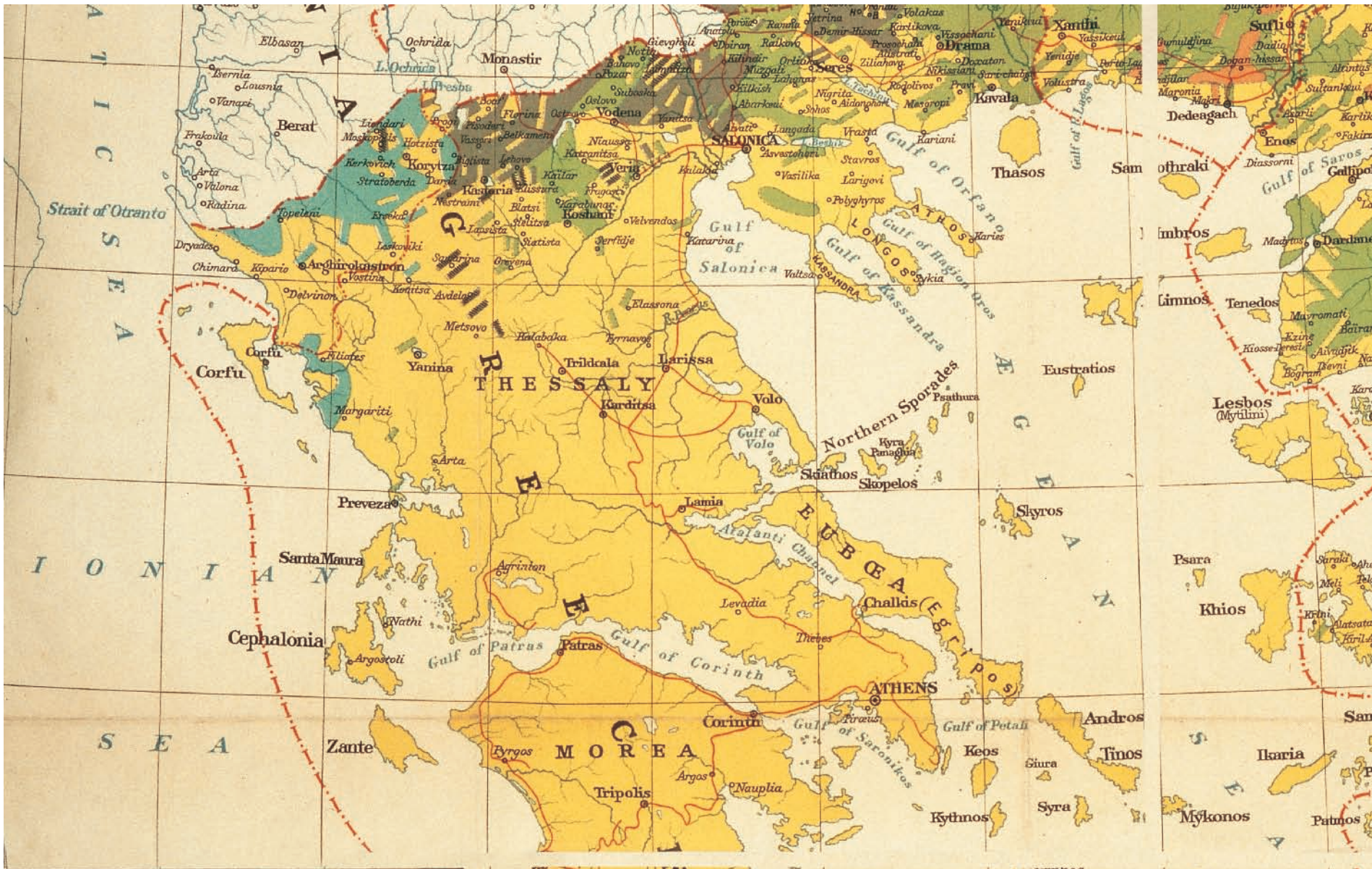
The Laokoön, according to Pliny, was made by three artists from Rhodes, and the colossal group of the “Farnese Bull” in Naples was accredited to Apollonius and Tauriskos of Tralles. With only one or two works existing of the several schools, it is impossible to formulate their distinguishing characteristics, for the known works may as well be exceptions as exemplifications of definite ideals. The case is slightly different with Alexandria, which was the great centre of culture and learning of the autumn days. She impressed her indelible stamp on the literature of this period, and gave birth to pastoral poetry. Several statues and reliefs owe their origin to similar pastoral tendencies, and are on that account assigned to the school of Alexandria. They are bits of sculpture of delicate finish and pictorial design, but on the whole too trivial and accidental to be of lasting interest.

Works of this kind whose dates are indisputable have caused these autumn days of Greek sculpture to be wrongly named a period of decline. As they are today, the people then had begun realising their rights. They shared with the “nobler” few the privileges of education, but lacked culture, which is the growth of generations. Their coarser taste demanded statues and reliefs in great numbers, while their well-filled purses were a continual source of temptation to the artists. Since subsequent ages were even less capable of appreciating the repose and the dignity of the best art, few copies and few originals are left of the grandest works both of this and of all other periods. But so powerful is the message of these few, so clear its meaning, and so noble and uplifting its spirit of truth that, like the ancient seeker of health at the shrine of Asklepios, the lover of ancient art leaves his studies better qualified to fill a worthy place in life. Truth, honesty, faith, moderation, patience, and diligence are the cardinal virtues of good men, as they are the chief characteristics of the best Greek sculpture.



The Goddess Nix hurling a Jar with a Serpent Entwined around It, pedestal frieze, Great Altar of Zeus, Pergamon, c. 180 B.C. Marble, h: 230 cm. Pergamonmuseum, Berlin.

Selene, south frieze, Great Altar of Zeus, Pergamon, c. 180 B.C. Marble, h: 230 cm. Pergamonmuseum, Berlin.



GREEK MACEDONIA.

Distribution of various Nationalities 1st of January 1916.



NOTE. Salonica is also inhabited by 85000 Jews, and another 2500 Jews inhabit other big centres.

MEDITERRANEAN



Stanford's Geographical Establishment, London

Map of the Ancient Greek World.

NOTES

1. Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) : One of the founders of modern art history. In 1755, he published his famous *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Mahlerey und Bilderkunst* (Thoughts on the Imitation of Greek Works) in Rome, that made him famous. There, Winckelmann worked as librarian to Alberico Cardinal Archinto (1698-1758), the papal secretary of state and to Cardinal Albani, one of the great connoisseurs of the eighteenth century. By 1763, Winckelmann became the prefect of antiquities of the Vatican (as Raphael once was). In 1764, he published *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (History of Ancient Art), where he founds the linear-style periodisation of art history. The esthetician Gotthold Ephraim Lessing based much of his ideas of his *Laokoön* (1766) on Winckelmann's writing on Greek art.
2. Sir Robert Ball (1840-1913) : Victorian astronomer.
3. Emmanuel Löwy (1857-1938): Austrian archaeologist. Professor of archaeology at the University of Rome (1891-1915) and Vienna (1918-1938), he specialised in ancient Greek painting.
4. Eden Musée : Wax Museum in Manhattan, owned originally by Leonard Sutton.
5. John Ruskin (1819-1900): Art critic, author of two influential books on artists and architecture. He graduated from Christ Church, Oxford in 1842, after a trip to Italy in 1840, where he embraced Venetian painting and architecture. His first great writing was *Modern Painters* (1843-60) originally written to honour Turner's paintings. Then, he published *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and *The Stones of Venice* (1851). Slade Professor of art at Oxford between 1870 and 1879 and again, 1883-84, his later writings are devoted to social reform which consumed him his last years.
6. The quotations from Ruskin in this chapter are taken from his *Aratra Pentelici, Six Lectures on Sculpture*.
7. Horatio Greenough (1805-1852) : American Neo-classical sculptor. He made a large statue of Georges Washington commissioned by the Congress of the United States in 1832. Not conformed to the American taste, his classical style caused much controversy. This statue is now displayed in the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
8. Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) : Italian humanist, physician and scholar. Known for his scientific and philosophical writings, he published two major texts : *De causis linguae latinae* (1540) and *Poetics* (1561).
9. Sir Charles Eastlake (1793-1865) : English painter. Raised to the presidency of the Royal Academy in 1850 he became the Director of the National Gallery in London between 1855 and 1865.
10. The uneven ground occurs on the frieze of the Theseion in Alheim, built *before* the Parthenon. The Parthenon sculptors, therefore, were familiar with it, and *consciously* rejected it.
11. Bronze preponderated over marble, with the exception of temple sculpture, at the rate of four or five to one. Accurate figures at present cannot be obtained. The preponderance, however, of bronze over marble is proved beyond a doubt.
12. Edward Robinson (1858-1931) : Museum director. Graduated from Harvard in 1879, where he lectured on classical antiquities between 1893 and 1904, again between 1897 and 1902. He was appointed Director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts between 1902 and 1905 and Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York between 1910 and 1931. His role as Director occurred at a time when conception of museums was changing and his legacy was composed as much of plaster cast as of original classical objects.
13. Further development in *Century Magazine*, 1892; and *The Hermes of Praxiteles and the Venus Genetrix, Experiments in restoring the Colour of Greek Sculpture by f. L. Smith described and explained by Edward Robinson* (Boston, 1892).
14. The most important have been made on casts in the Albertinum in Dresden under the direction of Professor Treu, who has published the results at various times.
15. In the essay quoted above *The Hermes of Praxiteles and the Venus Genetrix*.

16. Ernest Arthur Gardner (1862-1939) : Archaeologist and art historian. First student of the British School in Athens under Francis C. Penrose in 1886, he became director of it 1887. After excavating Megalopolis in the Peloponnese, he resigned his directorship and became Yates professor of archaeology at the University of London in 1896. His first publication, in 1897, a *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, was soon to become a standard in classical art history. Between 1897 and 1932, he was editor of the *Journal of Hellenistic Studies*.
17. The best preserved statue of this cargo is a bronze statue of a nude young man, which is now in the museum in Athens, where it has been restored in the original.
18. The current explanation of the “archaic smile” as a conscious endeavour to make the figures look pleasant is conclusively disproved by the fact that the so-called smile rarely occurs on reliefs where the heads are seen in profile. If the sculptors desired to enliven their compositions by *smiling* faces, they would have represented the smile everywhere, and not almost exclusively in figures in the round.
19. The habit of restoring figures, Professor Reinach, the great French archaeologist, has proved, dates from the time of Michelangelo, when the pope, tired of seeing broken arms and legs about him, asked this sculptor what could be done to make his pleasure in his collections more satisfactory. For the thoughtless and indiscriminate habit of restoring figures according to the likes or dislikes of owners Michelangelo is, of course, not responsible. If a collector had an Apollo but lacked a Hermes, the next torso which he acquired was restored as a Hermes even if it was another Apollo. All the old collections in Italy are full of such inaccurate “restorations.” Outside of Italy only the Albertinum in Dresden, most of the statues of which were bought in Italy, is rich – or until recently was rich – in such incongruities; for even there the untiring labours of the director, Professor Treu, have begun to bring order out of the chaos by removing from the statues all those parts which are clearly inaccurate additions.
20. The head on the London statue is antique, and probably belongs to the statue. It was broken off and badly damaged on the nose, lips, and chin. The Vatican head is modelled after it. Both heads have been wrongly attached to the statues. The London head, especially in the treatment of the hair, is not unlike the Lancelotti head, which was not broken from the statue, it is said, when the statue was found in 1781 on the Esquiline in Rome.
21. Charles Waldstein (1856-1927) : Anglo-american archaeologist. Lecturer on classical archaeology at Cambridge University in 1880, he was director of the Fitzwilliam Museum from 1883 to 1889. In 1889, he became the Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens until 1893. There he directed excavations in Eretria. Later he promoted the excavation of Herculaneum.
22. Blue was the colour that showed when the figure was found. It is impossible to determine the original appearance of the Typhon, because other colours, now lost, *may* have been superimposed on the blue. From comparison, however, with other works belonging to the same stage of artistic advance, I believe the now visible colours to have been substantially the ones which the artist intended should be seen.
23. Tufa and poros, although not necessarily the same material, are both soft stones, offering few obstacles to the untrained sculptor.
24. Adolf Furtwängler (1853-1907) : Professor of classical archaeology. In 1878 he participated to the excavation of the site of Olympia by Heinrich Schliemann. In 1894 he became professor of classical archaeology in Munich and soon director of the Glyptothek. His book, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, published in 1893 and translated in English in 1895 was considered as the “Bible of Archaeologists” by Johannes Sieveking. Furtwängler is considered as one of the most important art historian of pre-historical times because of his theory about pottery sherds, that he established as stratum marks.
25. Pausanias mentions Alkamenes and Paionios. There are, however, grave doubts as to the accuracy of his statement.
26. These translations are quoted from Stuart Jones, *Select Passages from Ancient Writers*.
27. This festival was celebrated annually. Once in four years, however, it was celebrated with special pomp and called the “Great Panathenaic Festival”.
28. Plutarch’s high praise for the Parthenon included not only the sculptured decorations of the building, but also the fluted columns, the tiles of the roof, and all the other parts of the temple. Single statues or groups, small reliefs, and large buildings, as such, were praised for their art. Their friezes or similar sculptures were rarely considered worthy of mention among the greatest masterpieces.
29. Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz (1839-1911): Museum director. Nephew of the chemist Friedrich August Kekulé von Stradonitz (1829-1896), he was personally requested by the Kaiser to become director of the collection of antiques at the Berlin Museum. There, he greatly increased the size of the imperial collection. Now known as the founder of modern iconology.
30. Note from the Editor: The figure that the author identifies as Iris has changed attribution and could be perhaps considered today as Hebe. The figure, in the past identified as Nike, can now be considered to be Iris.

31. Jacques Carrey (1649-1726) : painter. Appointed by Charles Francois Olier Marquis de Nointel (1635-1685), ambassador of Louis the 14th in Constantinople. During a journey to Athens in 1674, he made some drawings of the Parthenon, its pediments and frieze, now lost, that are the unique accurate vision left of the temple before the bombing by the Venetian general Francesco Morosini in 1687.
32. The wrong notion that the Greek profile presented a straight line, with no break between the forehead and the nose, has continued to our day. Excepting works of secondary or even less importance, the perfectly straight profile is unknown in Greek art. It was introduced by the imitators of the antique, who had noticed that the ancients endeavoured to reduce the unpleasant break at the root of the nose to a minimum. The beauty and vigour of a finely modelled Greek profile cannot be reproduced by the immovable emptiness of a straight line.
33. The chariot of Poseidon was probably drawn not by horses but by hippokampoi – mythical animals, half horse, half fish.
34. This poem is by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, first published in 1855 in the *Plymouth Collection*.
35. Wilhelm Klein (1850-1924): Hungarian-Autrian archaeologist. He engaged archaeological investigations in Italy and Greece for the Autrian government. Specialised in antique pottery, he became professor of archaeology at the German University of Prague. He published several books among which *Praxiteles* in 1897.
36. Heinrich von Brunn (1822-1894) : Art historian of ancient Greek Art. Member of the Deutsche Archäologische Institut (German Archaeologist Institute or “DAI”) from 1843 onwards, he published the first volume of his study on Greek Art in 1853. In 1865, he accepted a chair in archaeology at the University of Munich and became director of the Glyptothek in 1888. In 1893, he started the second multi-volume of his study on Greek Art (unfinished). While he never went to Greece, he was a pioneer in the transition from aesthetic appreciation to scientific delineation of artistic style.
37. Note from the Editor: This work that the author presents as a Greek original is today considered to be a Roman copy of the Greek original.
38. Georg Treu (1843-1921) : Archaeologist and museum Director. Between 1878 and 1881, he led excavations in Olympia. After, he became Director of the museum of Berlin.
39. The fact that it was made up of sixty-five pieces successfully disposes of the argument of Mr. Gardner (*Handbook*, page 386, note 2) that the statue could not have stood on the top of the monument because it was so well preserved
40. Julius Lange (1838-1896) : Professor at the University of Copenhagen, wrote about the “Law of Frontality” theory.
41. This discussion of the Aphrodite of Melos is based upon discoveries presented for the first time in an address to the Worcester Art Society, Worcester, Mass., in the spring of 1903.
42. Salomon Reinach (1858-1932) : Specialist in gems, ranked with Adolf Furtwängler, he became a member of the French School in Athens in 1894. Director of the Musée des Antiquités Nationales from 1902 onwards. Member of the Institut de France, named *Professeur de numismatiqueam* and Directeur propriétaire of the Gazette des Beaux-Arts. Founder of the Ecole du Louvre, he taught there between 1890-92 and 1895-1918.
43. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781): Art writer. Student at the University of Leipzig from 1746 to 1748, where he studied theology and Philology, he became a literary critic in 1751 in a popular journal of Enlightenment ideas. In 1767, he wrote his *Laokoön*, considered as the first counter argument to the work of Winckelmann.

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If the Soul is Christian, Beauty is Greek. Freud defines aesthetics as the intellectual construction of personal parameters that express themselves in sublime emotions. In Greek sculpture, man becomes God, and the gods lend their image to humanity. Defying the laws of gravity, Greek sculptors explored the harmony, forms, and spaces that have shaped our unconscious according to the canons of eternal beauty for more than two thousand years.

Art historian Edmund von Mach reflects on the epic story of how the hand of man came to transform marble into works of art, art that contributed substantially to the permanent legacy of civilisations.

This work is a study of Greek sculpture between the seventh and the first centuries B.C., based on an extensive examination of iconography and presented as an erudite, yet accessible text for everyone.