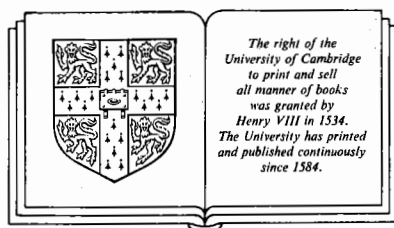


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THE ART OF ANCIENT GREECE: SOURCES AND DOCUMENTS

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the Graces for the Athenians in front of the entrance to the Acropolis. And these too are all draped.

Pliny, N.H. 36.32: Nor are the Graces in the *propylaia* of the Athenians less esteemed, the ones which Socrates made; this is another man, not the painter, though some think he is the same.

On the painter Socrates see p. 166.

The tradition that the philosopher Socrates was also a sculptor was apparently taken for granted in the Roman period,³⁴ although some degree of uncertainty is indicated in the passage from Pliny and in Pausanias's use of the phrase "they say." A number of modern scholars,³⁵ however, have doubted that there is any truth in the tradition and perhaps with good reason. The earliest sources for it are the sensational chronicler Douris of Samos (c. 340–260 B.C.) and the Skeptic philosopher Timon of Phlius (c. 320–230 B.C.).³⁶ Undoubtedly there was a group of the Graces carved by a sculptor named Socrates, but the name was not uncommon, and the attribution to the sculptor may be a later tradition that developed from Socrates' playful reference to himself as a descendant of Daidalos (Plato, *Euthyphro* 10c).

The sculptors of the High Classical period treated up to this point have been those whose artistic fortunes were bound up in some way with Athens, either because they were citizens or because their patrons were Athenians (or Athenian allies).

The other great center for the production of sculpture in this period was Argos.

Polykleitos of Argos

See also pp. 222–3.

Pliny, N.H. 34.55: Polykleitos of Sikyon, a disciple of Ageladas,³⁷ made a *Diadoumenos* [one who binds a fillet on his head], a soft-looking youth which is famous for having cost one hundred talents; and a *Doryphoros* [spear-bearer], a virile-looking boy. He also made a statue which artists call the "Canon" and from which they derive the basic forms of their art, as if from some kind of law; thus he alone of men is deemed to have rendered art itself in a work of art.³⁸ He also made a man scraping himself with a strigil and a nude figure attacking with a javelin,³⁹ and two boys, also nude; playing with knucklebones, who are called

³⁴ See Diogenes Laertios 2.18; Lucian, *Somnium* 12; Valerius Maximus 3.4.ext. 1.

³⁵ See J. Burnet's edition of the *Euthyphro*, *Apology* and *Crito* (Oxford 1924), notes p. 51; A. E. Taylor, *Socrates, the Man and his Thought* (1933; reprint New York 1956), pp. 40–2.

³⁶ Both cited by Diogenes Laertios 2.19. Douris apparently said that Socrates was a slave as well as a stone-cutter, another reason to question his reliability.

³⁷ Plato and Pausanias, as well as Polykleitos's own signatures (Loewy, *IgB*, no. 91), indicate that he was an Argive; Sikyon succeeded Argos as the leading artistic center of the Peloponnesos; Pliny here may be under the influence of Xenokrates (see Introduction, p. 3) who was a member of that school. On Ageladas see above, pp. 32–3.

³⁸ *Artem ipsam fecisse artis opere indicatur. Ars* (Greek *technē*) in the first instance probably refers to artistic theory; compare Pliny's comments on Myron, p. 49, n. 11. ³⁹ Reading *telos incessentem*.

the *astragalizontes* [dice players] and are now in the Emperor Titus's atrium – a work than which, some claim, there is none more perfect. He also made a Hermes, which was once in Lysimacheia,⁴⁰ a Herakles, which is in Rome, a military commander⁴¹ putting on his armor, and a statue of Artemon, who was called the *periphoretos*.⁴² Polykleitos is deemed to have perfected this science and to have explained the art of *toireutike*, just as Pheidias had opened up its possibilities. It was strictly his invention to have his statues throw their weight on one leg; Varro says, however, that they are “square” and almost all composed after the same pattern.⁴³

Of the works of Polykleitos mentioned by Pliny, at least two, the Doryphoros and the Diadoumenos, have been identified with confidence in Roman copies. Other identifications are more speculative. See Bibliography 39.

The Canon of Polykleitos mentioned by Pliny was the name of a theoretical treatise as well as of a statue. Galen and other writers give some idea of the contents of the treatise.

Galen, *de Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 5 (ed. Müller, p. 425): Beauty, he [Chrysippos] believes, arises not in the commensurability of the constituent elements [of the body], but in the commensurability [*symmetria*] of the parts, such as that of finger to finger, and of all the fingers to the palm and the wrist, and of these to the forearm, and of the forearm to the upper arm, and, in fact, of everything to everything else, just as it is written in the *Canon* of Polykleitos. For having taught us in that work all the proportions of the body, Polykleitos supported his treatise with a work of art; that is, he made a statue according to the tenets of his treatise, and called the statue, like the work, the “Canon.”

Galen, *de Temperamentis* 1.9: Modellers and sculptors and painters, and in fact image-makers in general, paint or model beautiful figures by observing an ideal form in each case, that is, whatever form is most beautiful in man or in the horse or in the cow or in the lion, always looking for the mean within each genus. And

⁴⁰ Lysimacheia, a city on the Hellespont built by the Hellenistic monarch Lysimachos (c. 360–281 B.C.).

⁴¹ Some editors interpret “military commander” (Latin *Hageter*) to be another name for the Herakles rather than a separate work.

⁴² *Periphoretos* can mean either “the infamous” or “he who is carried around.” If the second meaning is intended, the reference may be to an engineer named Artemon who worked under Pericles (Plutarch, *Pericles* 27.3–4). Artemon was lame and had to be carried around in a litter.

⁴³ The phrase “this science” (*hanc scientiam*) seems to refer in the text to the art of metal sculpture as a whole; perhaps in Pliny's original source the reference was to Polykleitos's theories of proportion and design. “Square-like” here translates the Latin *quadrata* (Greek *tetragonos* in Pliny's source) which has been interpreted in several ways. Some have interpreted it in a metaphorical way as “four-square”; others view it as a reference to the carefully balanced and essentially torsionless composition of Polykleitos's figures and translate it with phrases like “squarely built.” Silvio Ferri interprets the terms *quadratus* and *tetragonos* by analogy to their use in rhetoric; where they refer to the balancing of four cola in a sentence through either a paratactic or chiasmic scheme. Elements in the statues of Polykleitos are similarly balanced. See Bibliography 39A and B.

a certain statue might perhaps also be commended, the one called the “Canon” of Polykleitos; it got such a name from having precise commensurability of all the parts to one another.

Quintilian implies that the Doryphoros and the Canon were the same work, and the fact that the fourth-century sculptor Lysippos (see pp. 98–104) claimed to have used the Doryphoros as his model (Cicero, Brutus 296) seems to confirm this.

Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 5.12.21: And indeed the outstanding sculptors and painters, when they wish to represent bodily forms which are as beautiful as possible, have never fallen into this error – namely that they use some Bogoas or Megabyzus⁴⁴ as the model for their work – but rather they use the *Doryphoros*, a work suitable both for the military and for the wrestling-court . . .

Plutarch and Philo Mechanicus preserve what appear to be two direct quotations from Polykleitos's treatise.

Plutarch, *Quaestionum Convivialium Libri VI* 2.3.2 (*Moralia* 636C): The artists first of all model their figures so as to be without surface detail and shapeless, and then later distinguish the individual forms. For this reason, Polykleitos the sculptor said “the work is hardest when the clay is on the nail.”⁴⁵

Philo Mechanicus, *Syntaxis* 4.1 (ed. Schöne (Berlin 1893) p. 49.20; Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*⁷ 40B2): . . . thus the statement made by the sculptor Polykleitos may be suitably repeated for the future. For “perfection,” he says, “arises *para mikron*⁴⁶ through many numbers.” Indeed, it happens in the same manner in that art [sculpture] that, in finishing off works through many numbers [measurements], they make a slight deviation in each part and in the end these add up to a large error.

Polykleitos also made many statues of victorious athletes. The Doryphoros and Diadoumenos, in fact, may have been originally in this category, although no specific name is connected with them. Pausanias also mentions a number of these athlete statues without describing them: Thersilochos of Corcyra and Aristion of Epidauros

⁴⁴ The names are perhaps intended to suggest an oriental eunuch.

⁴⁵ Also quoted in Plutarch, *Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus* 17 (*Moralia* 86A). “On the nail” was a proverbial phrase meaning something like “in the fine points.” The reference was perhaps originally to the fact that the artist put the finishing touches on his clay model with his fingernails.

⁴⁶ *Para mikron* – the meaning of this Greek phrase is debated. Philo's interpretation seems to be that it means “from a minute calculation,” that is, a very slight difference in measurements can make the difference between a work which is successful and one that is not. (This meaning is accepted in Diels (and Kranz), *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*,⁷ 40B2.) Another interpretation is that the phrase means something like “except for a little” or “almost,” implying that, when all the correct measurements are made, there is still something else needed (for example, alterations based on the artist's subjective preferences) before a work can achieve beauty. Others take the phrase to mean “from a small unit,” that is, a module; still another meaning might be “gradually,” “little by little.” A useful summary of the interpretations is given by Schulz (1955). See Bibliography 39B.

(6.13.6),⁴⁷ Xenokles of Mainalos (6.9.2), Antipater of Miletos (6.2.6), and Kyniskos⁴⁸ of Mantinea (6.4.11) – all at Olympia.

In addition to works that reflected his interest in systems of proportion and to statues of victorious athletes, Polykleitos also made images of deities. Most of these receive only scant mention in the sources, but one of them, a colossal gold and ivory image of Hera in the Argive Heraion, is described in some detail by Pausanias.

Pausanias 2.17.4–5: The image of Hera is seated on a throne; it is very large, made of gold and ivory, and is the work of Polykleitos. On her head is a crown which has the Graces and the Seasons worked upon it; in one of her hands she holds a pomegranate and in the other a scepter. As for the details about the pomegranate⁴⁹ – since it is a teaching which must not be talked about – I will pass over it. They say it is a cuckoo that is perched on the scepter and explain it by the story that Zeus, when he was in love with the virgin Hera, changed himself into this bird, and that she caught it to have as a pet. This story and others like it that are told about the gods I record without believing them; nevertheless I do record them. It is said that the image of Hebe, which stands next to the Hera, is the work of Naukydes [see pp. 79–80]; it too is of ivory and gold. By it there is an ancient image of Hera on a column. This most ancient image is made of wild pear wood; it was set up in Tiryns by Peirasos the son of Argos, and when the Argives sacked Tiryns they carried it off to the Heraion.

Strabo 8.6.10: . . . the Heraion near Mycenae was the common property of both [Argos and Mycenae]; in the temple there are statues by Polykleitos, which in artistic quality are the most beautiful of all works, but in value and grandeur they are inferior to those of Pheidias.⁵⁰

Other images of deities simply mentioned by Pausanias: a Zeus Meilichios in Argos (2.20.1) and a group of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis on Mt Lykone between Argos and Tegea (2.24.5). There was also a statue of Aphrodite at Amyklai set up after the battle of Aigospotamoi (405 B.C.), which Pausanias (3.18.7–8) says was “by Polykleitos,” but this may have been the work of the younger Polykleitos (see pp. 106, 195).

Another work of Polykleitos was a pair of statues called the Kanephoroi (“basket bearers”). The exact nature of the subject and the purpose of the statues is obscure, but they probably represented women or girls who took part in a religious procession.

Cicero, in Verrem 2.4.3.5 (discussing the art collection of Heius in Sicily, which was plundered by Verres): In addition there were two bronze statues, not

⁴⁷ Aristion's victory was in 452 B.C. This was probably one of the earliest works of Polykleitos.

⁴⁸ The base of this statue with its accompanying inscription has been found at Olympia. See Loewy, *IgB*, no. 50. The “Westmacott Athlete,” a Roman copy in the British Museum, has sometimes been connected with the Kyniskos. See Richter, *SSG*, fig. 703.

⁴⁹ The pomegranate was sacred to Demeter and Persephone and was connected with the symbolism of death and resurrection in some of the Greek mystery cults.

⁵⁰ “Value” and “grandeur” here translate, with intentional ambiguity, the Greek words *polyteleia* and *megethos*. The words may literally mean “cost” and “size,” or they may have a metaphorical meaning, as for example, “richness” and “grandeur of conception.”

large, but of truly outstanding beauty, clothed in garments such as virgins wear, who, with their hands raised, were carrying certain sacred objects on their heads in the manner of the Athenian virgins. These are called the *Kanephoroi*. Who is the artist who made them? Who indeed? You admonish rightly; they were said to be by Polykleitos.

Finally we may add an anecdote from Aelian which, though of doubtful historical veracity, may perhaps be a true reflection of Polykleitos's attitude as an artist.

Aelian, *Varia Historia* 14.8: Polykleitos made two statues at the same time, one which would be pleasing to the crowd and the other according to the principles of his art. In accordance with the opinion of each person who came into his workshop, he altered something and changed its form, submitting to the advice of each. Then he put both statues on display. The one was marvelled at by everyone, and the other was laughed at. Thereupon Polykleitos said, “But the one that you find fault with, you made yourselves; while the one that you marvel at, I made.”

Naukydes of Argos

Naukydes, who, as has already been noted, did the statue of Hebe which stood next to Polykleitos's Hera at Argos, was the son of the sculptor Patrokles (attested by an inscription, *Loewy, IgB*, no. 86). These two artists were apparently relatives of Polykleitos, although in exactly what relationship they stood to him is difficult to determine. Patrokles had another son named Daidalos (*Loewy*, no. 88). According to Pausanias (2.22.7) Naukydes was the brother of a sculptor named Polykleitos.⁵¹ This may have been the younger Polykleitos, whose existence is well attested (see pp. 106, 195). In that case, Naukydes, Daidalos, and Polykleitos the Younger may all have been sons of Patrokles, who in turn may have been a brother or cousin of the elder Polykleitos. Pliny (*N.H.* 34.50) dates Naukydes and Patrokles in the 95th Olympiad (400 B.C.). Daidalos and Polykleitos the Younger were presumably somewhat younger than Naukydes and were active mainly in the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.

Of Patrokles we know only that he made figures of athletes, warriors, hunters, and men engaged in sacrifice (Pliny, *N.H.* 34.91), and that he worked on a large Spartan votive at Delphi (see p. 80).

Pliny, *N.H.* 34.80: Naukydes is valued for his Hermes and his discus-thrower and his figure of a man sacrificing a ram.⁵²

The discus-thrower of Naukydes has sometimes been identified with a marble figure in the Vatican. See Bibliography 40.

⁵¹ One manuscript reads “Perikleitos,” however, and Naukydes is called the son of Mothon, not Patrokles.

⁵² The last is sometimes associated with a group of Phrixos sacrificing a ram seen by Pausanias on the Athenian Acropolis (1.24.2).