

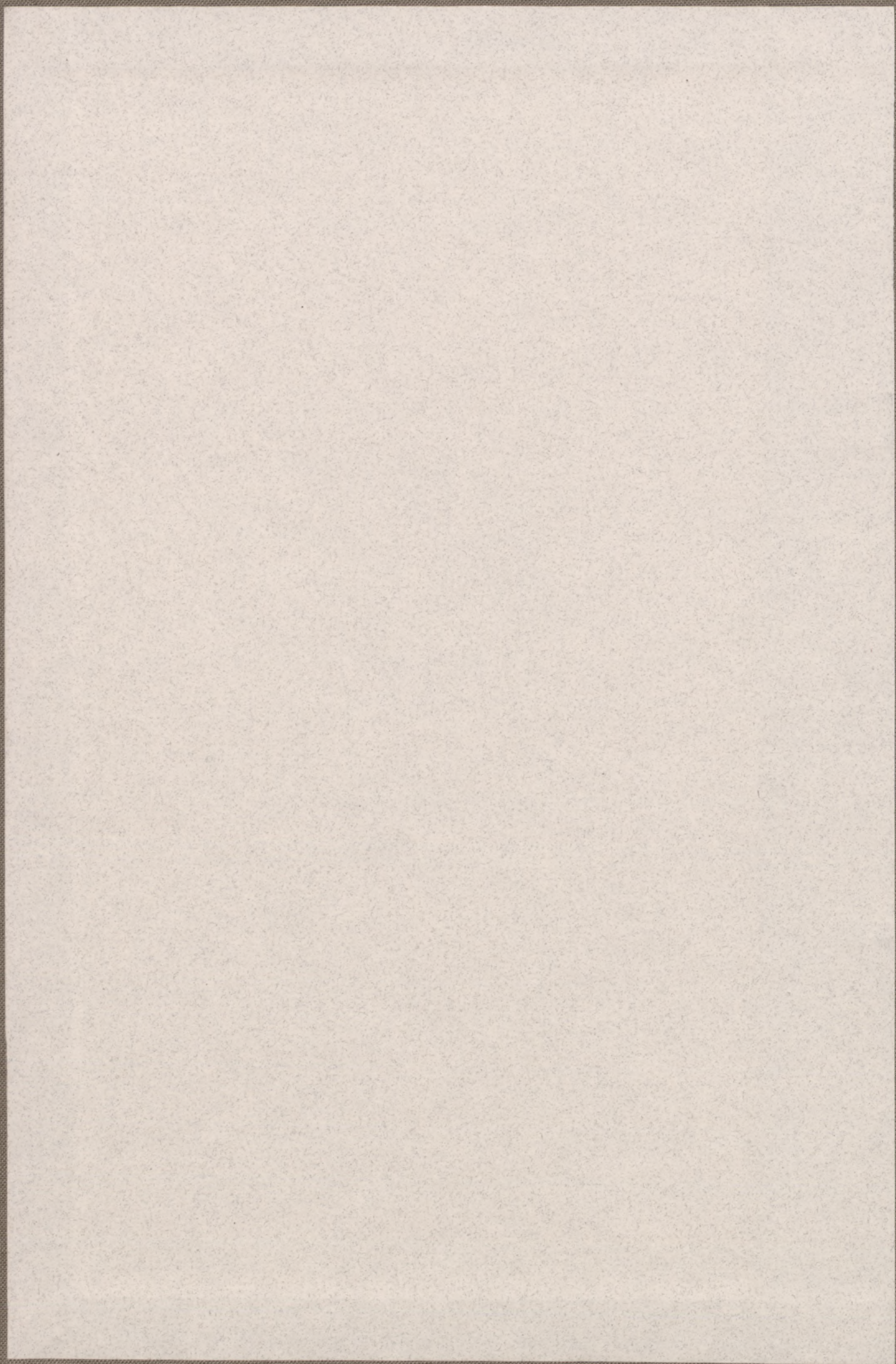
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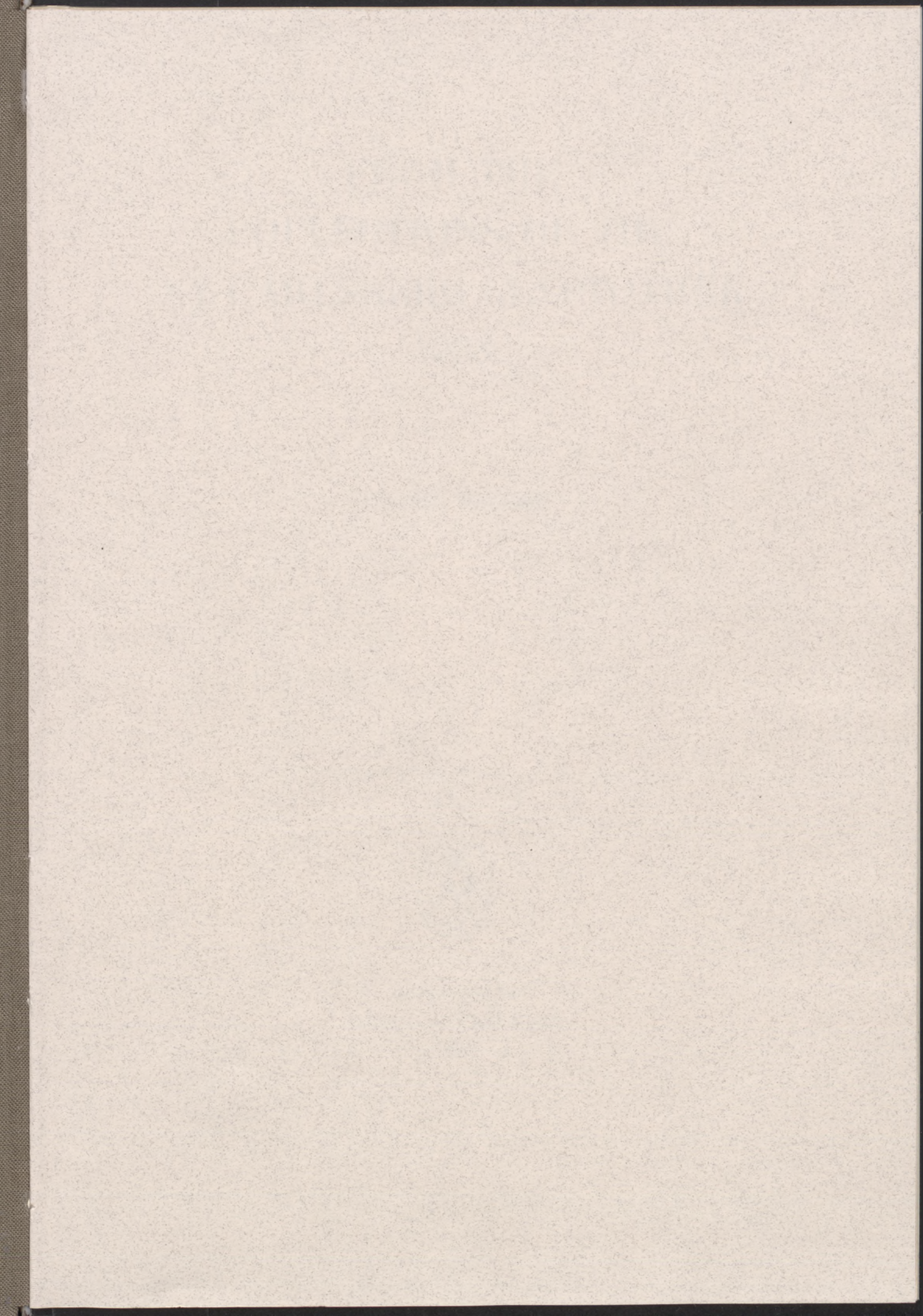
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NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTHEK
1938**

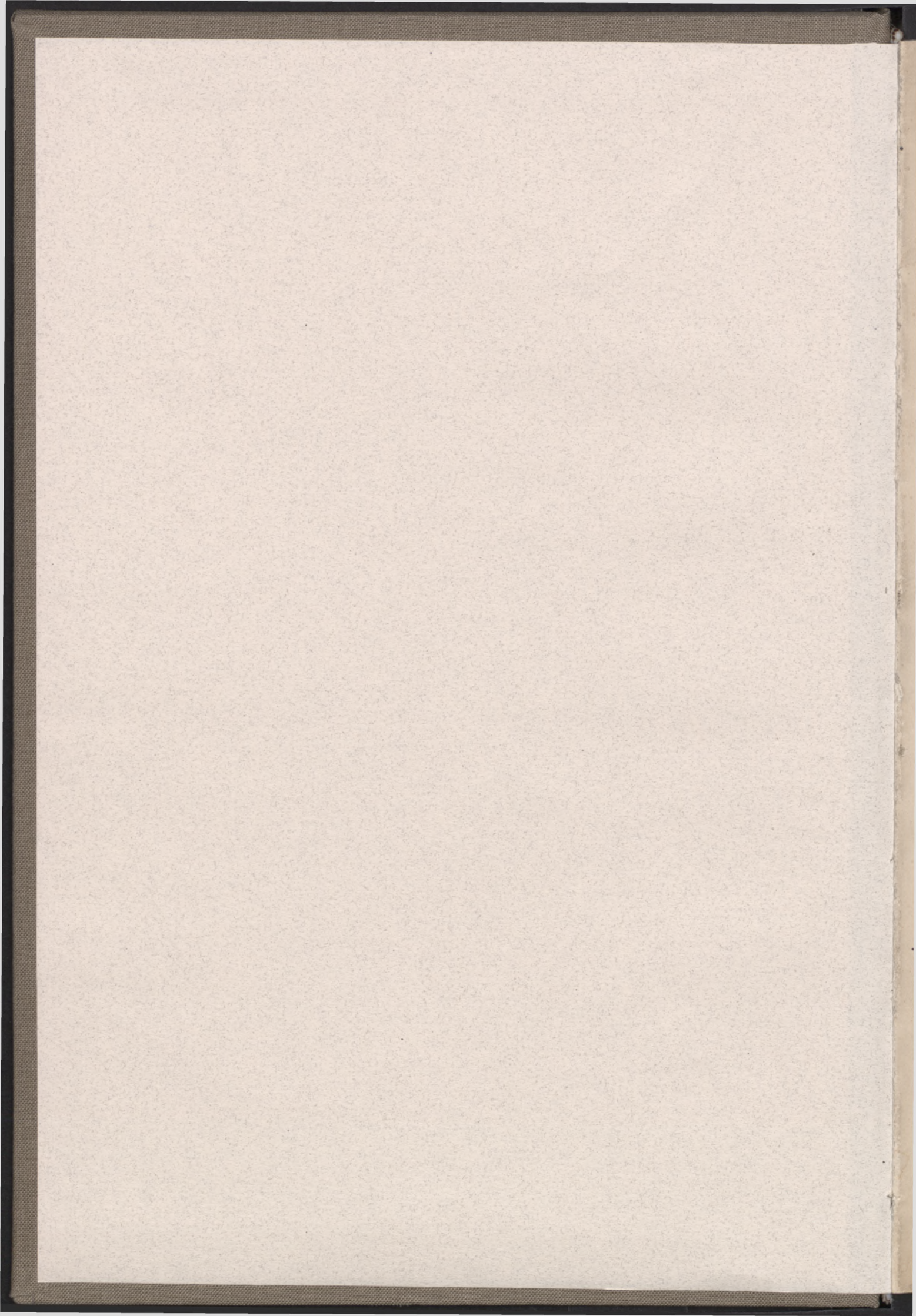
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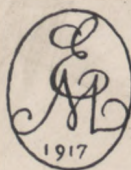






FROM THE
COLLECTIONS OF THE
NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTHEK
1938

SECOND VOLUME



COPENHAGEN
EJNAR MUNKSGAARD
1939

PUBLISHED WITH THE AID
OF THE NY CARLSBERGFUND

BIANCO LUNOS BOGTRYKKERI A/S
KOBENHAVN

PREFACE

It was in 1931 that the first volume of this publication was published, and it was pointed out then in the Preface that there was no intention of making the publication an annual one; volumes would appear as and when sufficient scientific material was collected and treated. That is the case now, and, as will be seen from the List of Contents, there are many new contributors. In every article the impulse to the investigation has been some work in the collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, even where the authors, as for instance when dealing with the question of Alexandrine art or the development of Campanian terra-cottas, had a wider purpose than the mere presentation and description of the objects. On the other hand, not all the sections of the collections are represented, though their claim to inclusion was undeniable; inter alia, the important collection of Roman portraits, perhaps the very core of our museum, is entirely wanting in this volume. Consequently, it will be an easy matter to issue a number of similar volumes treating of subjects in the collections founded by Carl Jacobsen, whose wealth of both antique and modern art will provide the workers at the museum with material for many a year.

The articles appear in the three principal languages: English, French and German, at the free option of the authors, and the Management of the Glyptotek offers its thanks to the translators: Mr. W. E. Calvert, Mlle France Gleizal, Fräulein H. Kobylinski and Mrs. Ellinor Mackeprang.

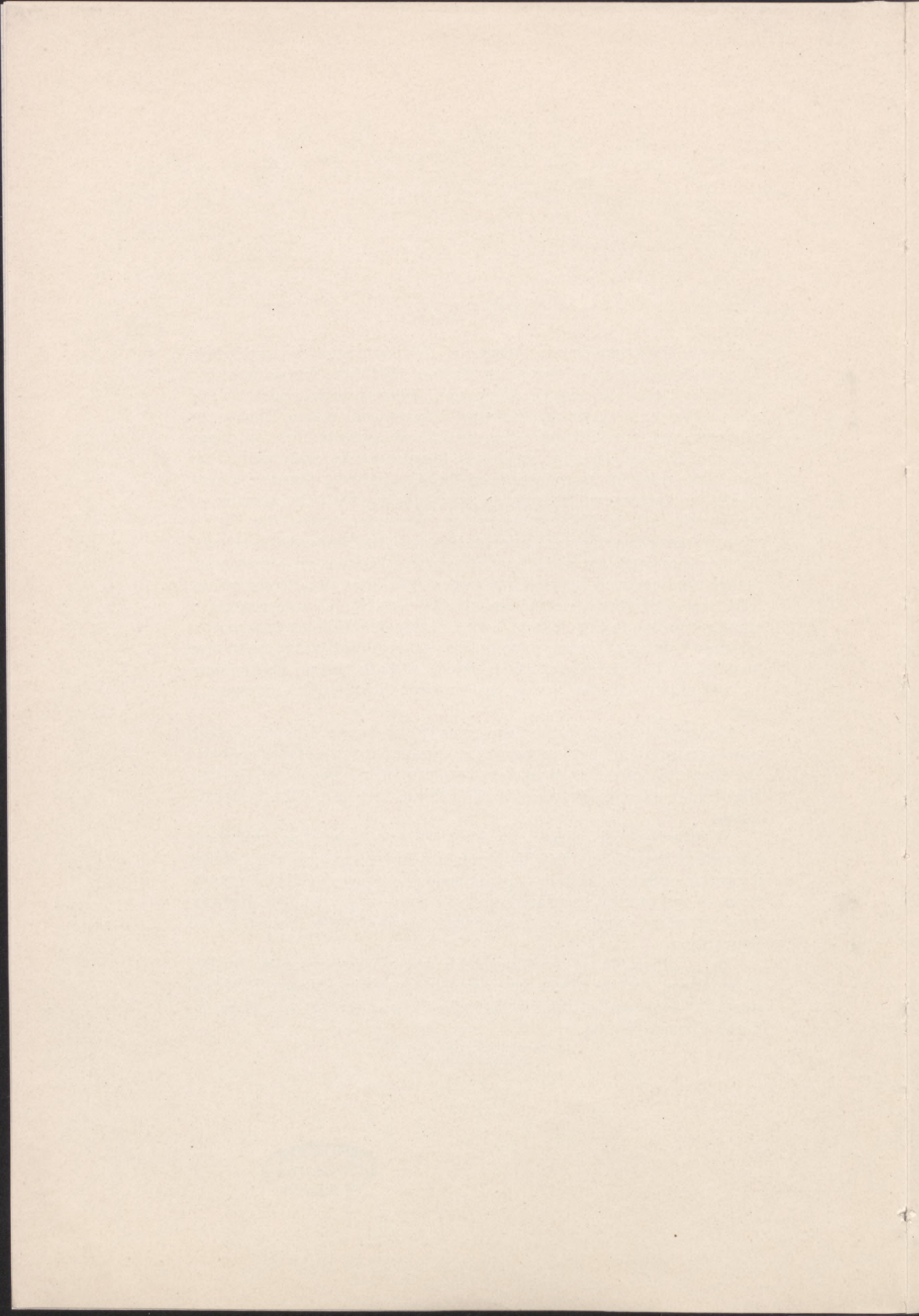
As with the first volume, the Ny Carlsberg Foundation undertook the cost of the printing and the blocks for this volume, thereby making it possible both to publish it — a task beyond the power of the Glyptotek alone — and to keep its selling price at a reasonable level. The Management therefore tenders its most sincere thanks to the Board of the Foundation.

The photographs of the Glyptotek's own works were made by Mr. S. Bengtsson, and the blocks were entrusted to the two houses: F. Hendriksen & Sons and Bernhard Middelboe. The printing was done by Bianco Luno's Works.



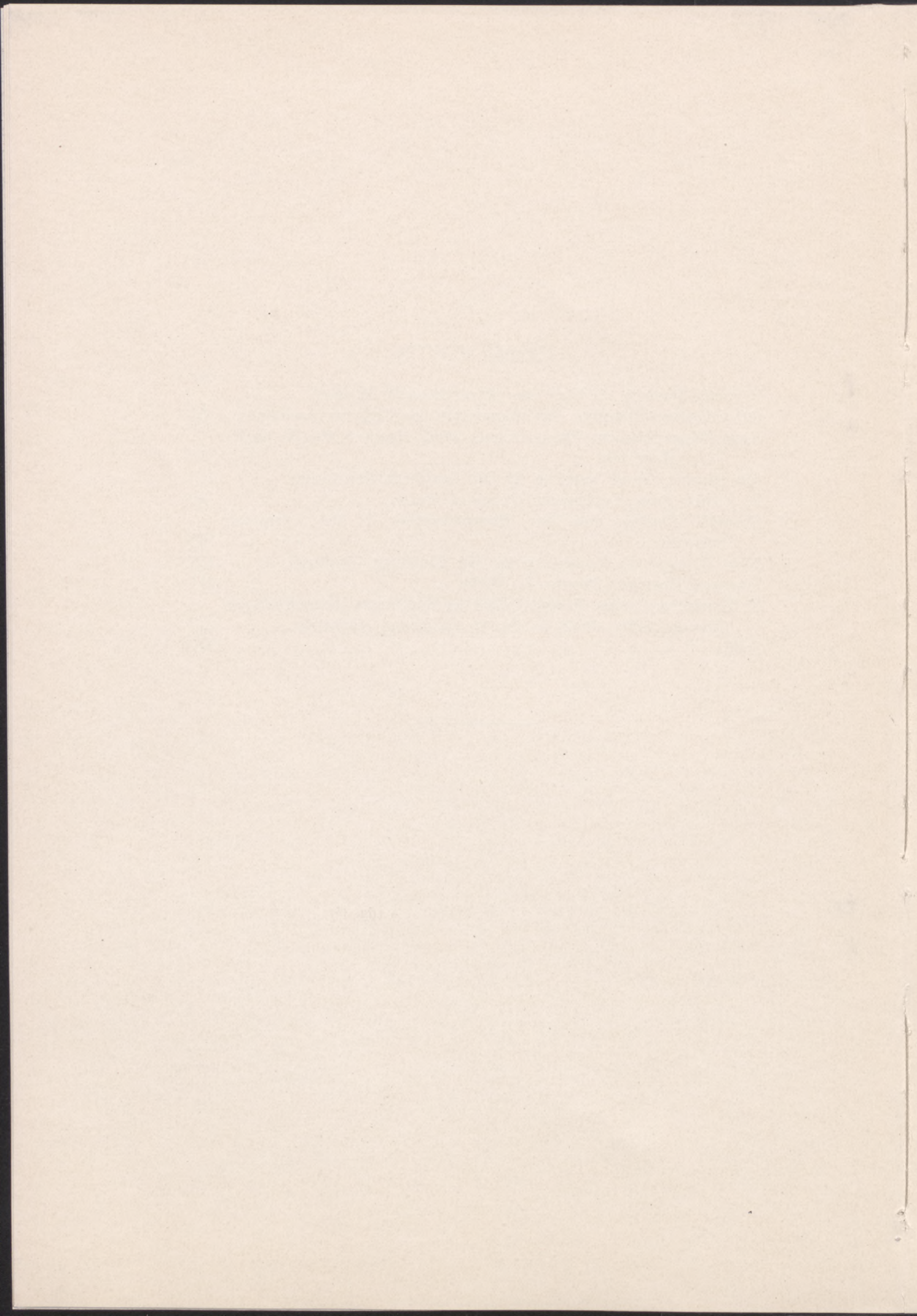
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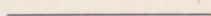
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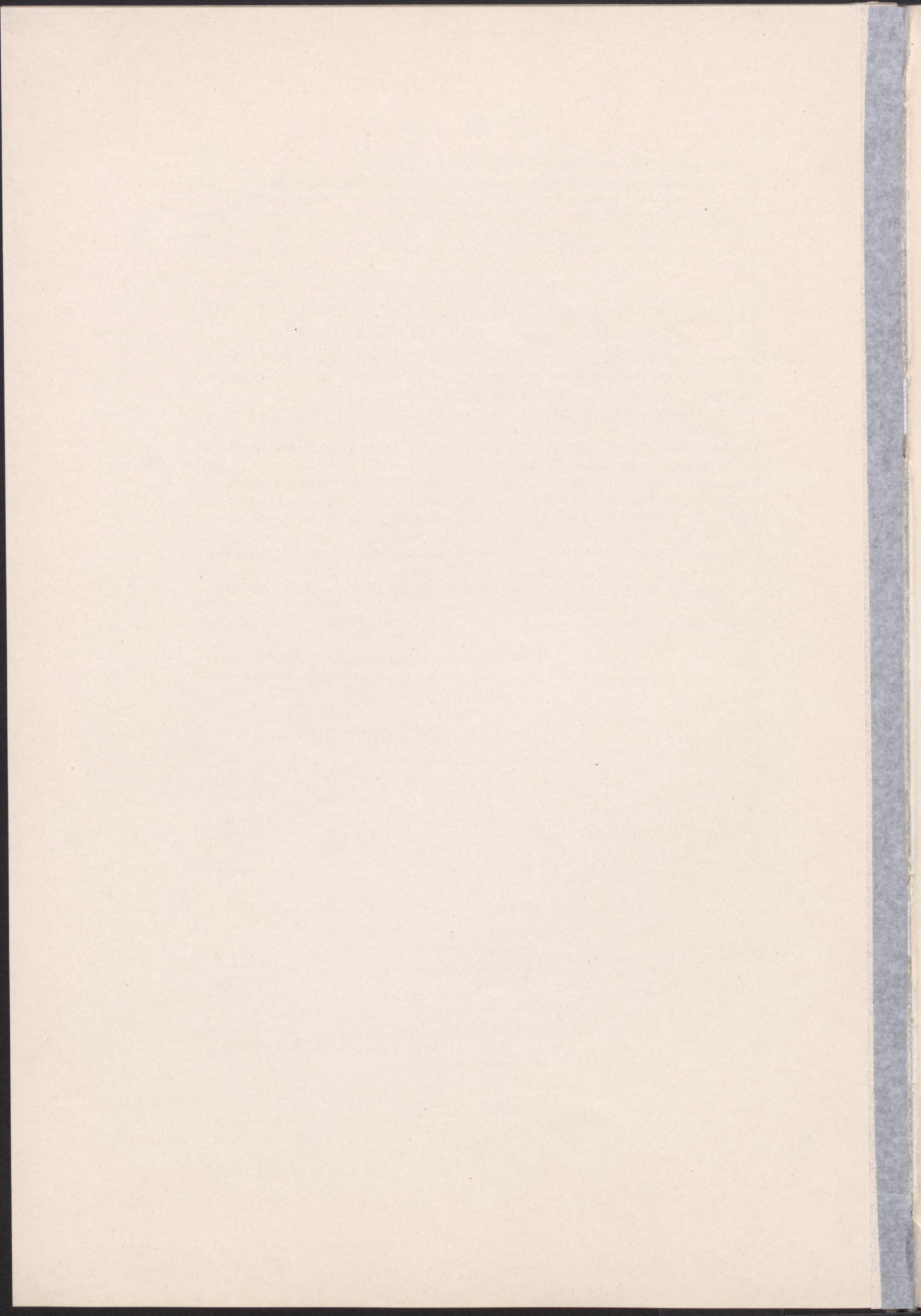
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GAB ES EINE ALEXANDRINISCHE KUNST?

VON

FREDERIK POULSEN

DIE Grossstadt Alexandria der hellenistischen Zeit ist wie das Grab des Heros Ktistes, Alexanders des Grossen¹ so vollständig verschwunden, dass der alte, feine Kenner der Stadt Ev. Breccia die trostlose Lage der Dinge mehrfach durch die Dichterworte Lucans charakterisieren konnte:

»Etiam periery ruinae.«

Trotz dieser Tatsache hat man es jedoch früher häufig versucht, verschiedene technische und formelle Neuerungen der hellenistischen Baukunst auf Alexandria und alexandrinischen Einfluss zurückzuführen, eine Bestrebung, die v. Gerkan mit Recht scharf abgelehnt hat². Aber die Archäologen geben es nicht gern auf, ein so wichtiges Stadtbild wie das hellenistische Alexandria wiederzugewinnen, und von der Stadtbeschreibung Strabons (XVII 1, 6 ff.) und von den Angaben der Papyri ausgehend hat man es immer wieder versucht, die alte Grossstadt vom Dornröschenschlaf zu erwecken³. Die Stockwerkbauten, in den Papyri Pyrgoi benannt, wie die schon von Herodot (II 95) erwähnten Türme, die in der heissen Zeit den Einwohnern der Dörfer gegen die Mücken Schutz gewährten, können in ihren verschiedenen Formen durch die kleinen Modelle in Ton und Kalkstein, die überwiegend als Lampen gedient haben, veranschaulicht werden⁴, und selbst die hohen Stein-

¹ Über das Alexandergrab vgl. besonders H. Thiersch, Arch. Jahrb. XXV 1910 S. 55 ff. und v. Bissing, Bull. de la Soc. arch. d'Alexandrie 1933 S. 7 ff.

² Griechische Städteanlagen (Berlin 1914) S. 67 ff.

³ Wilhelm Schubart: Ägypten von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf Mohammed. Berlin 1922. Fritz Luckhardt: Das Privathaus im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten.

Giessen 1914. Alfred R. Schütz: Der Typus des hellenistisch-ägyptischen Hauses. Würzburg-Aumühle 1936.

⁴ Botti: Catal. du Musée d'Alexandrie S. 417 nr. 712. Derselbe, Röm. Mitt. XXVI 1911 S. 67 und Abb. 39—40. Wilhelm Weber: Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten (Berlin 1914) S. 252 ff. und Taf. 41 nr. 467. Engelbach: Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte 31, 1931 S. 129 und Taf. III.

pfeiler von Aksum in Abessinien scheinen in ihrem Aufbau den gewaltigen Etagenbauten der griechisch-ägyptischen Grossstädte nachgebildet zu sein¹. Aber diese grossen wie auch die kleinen Nachbildungen müssen wiederum durch die Papyrustexte ergänzt werden, die uns lehren, dass die Stockwerkbauten gewöhnlich einen viereckigen Block bildeten um einen Binnenhof, ein Aithrion herum, das bald ganz klein als Luftschacht diente, bald sich zu einem wirklichen Hof mit einem Brunnen in der Mitte erweiterte. Die Wohnungen, die zum Aithrion hinauskehrten,



Fig. 1. Bemalte Stuckwand in einem Grabe in Hermopolis Magna.

waren nummeriert, ein Verfahren, das noch heutzutage in den Mietskasernen Russlands und Polens stattfindet².

Das einfachste Baumaterial der damaligen Häuser war der mit Stroh vermischte Nilschlamm, aber nur die armseligsten Wohnungen zeigten wohl die kahlen, grauen Fassaden, die meisten waren gewiss wie die Grabhäuser von Hermopolis mit Stuck bedeckt, und die Häuser der wohlhabenden hatten die Lehmwände mit Steinplatten verkleidet³. Dieses letztere Verfahren war auch anderswoher bekannt. Plinius⁴ erwähnt den Palast des Mausolos als ältestes Beispiel, dessen Wände mit Marmorplatten und dessen Decken mit Stuck bekleidet waren, und er erörtert dabei, ob diese Technik vielleicht in Karien selbst erfunden worden ist. Wir wissen, dass diese Bauweise: Lehmwände mit Plattenbelag in Mesopotamien uralt war, in Alexandria wurde sie aber durch

¹ Arch. Anz. L, 1935 S. 710 ff. (D. Krencker).

² Wilh. Schubart o. c. S. 147 f.

³ A. Schütz o. c. S. 52.

⁴ 36, 47; vgl. Vitruv II 8, 10.

die Verwendung von bunten, kostbaren Steinsorten besonders eigenartig und prächtig. Immer wieder finden wir in den Wandgemälden der alexandrinischen Gräber von Sidi Gaber¹, Mustafa Pacha², besonders aber von Anfouchi³ gemalte Streifen als Nachahmungen von Platten aus Alabaster, Porphyry, Granit und verschiedenfarbigen Marmorarten oder Fayencen. Wir geben als Beispiel den Wandsockel eines Grabes aus Hermopolis Magna, aus dieser merkwürdigen Gräberstadt, in der



Fig. 2. Das Alabastergrab in Alexandria.

sich ägyptische und ptolemäisch-griechische Stilelemente so eigenartig begegnen⁴. In bemaltem Stuck (Fig. 1) sehen wir seitlich Felder von bunten Marmorplatten und in der Mitte eine grosse Alabasterplatte imitiert.

Dass diese Imitationen in Stuck auf Realitäten beruhen, zeigen die zahlreichen Fragmente von kostbaren Steinsorten, die im Boden Alex-

¹ H. Thiersch: Zwei antike Grabanlagen bei Alexandria.

² A. Adriani: La Nécropole de Mustafa Pacha (Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain 1933—35) S. 49, 54, 119. Vgl. wegen der Datierung S. 173.

³ Breccia: Rapport du Musée d'Alexandrie 1919—20 (1921). Derselbe: Alexandria ad Aegyptum (1914) S. 119 fig. 31.

Zusammenfassend Ibrahim Noshy: The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt. Oxford 1937.

⁴ Die Photographie ist mir freundlichst von Prof. Sami Gabra überlassen worden. Über die Grabungen in Hermopolis vgl. Ill. London News 8 Juni 1935 und 12 Juni 1937. Weiter Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte 32, 1932 S. 56 ff. und »Terre d'Égypte« August 1935.

andrias gefunden worden sind und in einer Vitrine des dortigen Museums aufbewahrt werden. Noch beweiskräftiger ist aber das merkwürdige Alabastergrab auf dem lateinischen Friedhof von Alexandria, von dem ich durch die Güte des Direktors A. Adriani zwei Abbildungen geben darf (Fig. 2—3). Das Grab¹ liegt tief unter dem jetzigen Niveau, und die rohen, äusseren Blöcke deuten auf Verdeckung durch einen Tumulus, also eine nördliche, »mazedonische« Grabform. Das erhaltene Innere, offenbar der Teil eines Vorraumes, ist von gewaltigen Alabasterblöcken gebaut; der Boden, die Decke und jede der drei Wände bestehen aus je einem Block, nur die Eingangswand ist aus zwei oder drei Blöcken gebildet. Dieses prächtig leuchtende Grab gibt eine Vorstellung von den bunten Hausfassaden Alexandrias und legt sogar den Gedanken nahe, dass die allerreichsten Alexandriner sich nicht mit einer Verkleidung der Wände durch bunte Platten begnügt haben, sondern ihre Paläste aus Blöcken von Alabaster, Granit, Porphyrt u. ähn. bauten.

Eine reich ausgestattete Palastfassade gibt, wie es scheint, in einem nubischen Grab des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. gefundener Holzkasten wieder² (Fig. 4), von dessen vier Stockwerken das untere sich mit Bogengängen öffnet, während die oberen frontongeschmückte Fenster zeigen. Durch Bemalung und Elfenbeineinlagen sind in diesem Schrein die bunten Inkrustationen einer Hauswand veranschaulicht. Falls die Häuser der alexandrinischen Hauptstrassen so farbenprächtig ausgesehen haben, dann können selbst die azulejosgeschmückten, reichen Häuser in Spanien und Portugal nicht dagegen aufkommen, und nur die Innenwände der Aja Sofia in Istanbul mit ihrem Alabaster-, Porphyrt- und verschiedenfarbigem Marmorbelag vermögen es, uns eine Vorstellung von der Wirkung der alten Grossstadt zu geben. Nehmen wir dazu die Überlieferung in einem Papyrustext von den bunten, farbenreichen Gewändern der Frauenwelt Alexandrias oder die Worte des Clemens von Alexandria über »die Kleider wie Blumen, die eigentlich in die bacchischen Weihen gehören«³, dann erst verstehen wir den Eindruck, den diese Strassen und das Strassenleben Alexandrias auf alle Fremden haben machen müssen. Selbst das Rom der Kaiserzeit hat mit seinen marmorverkleideten Ziegelmauern nicht Alexandria in Schatten stellen können.

Haben wir so trotz der schlechten Überlieferung und bei aller berechtigten Skepsis wenigstens annähernd ein Bild von der verschwundenen Grossstadt gewinnen können, so gilt etwas ähnliches von der alexandrinischen Plastik. Mit der Stadt selbst sind ja ebenfalls alle bedeutenden Kunstwerke, die diese schmückten, aus dem Dasein ver-

¹ Erwähnt A. Adriani o. c. S. 92.

³ W. Schubart: Ägypten von Alexander

² Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte 32, 1932, Taf. 3 oben. dem Grossen etc. S. 151.

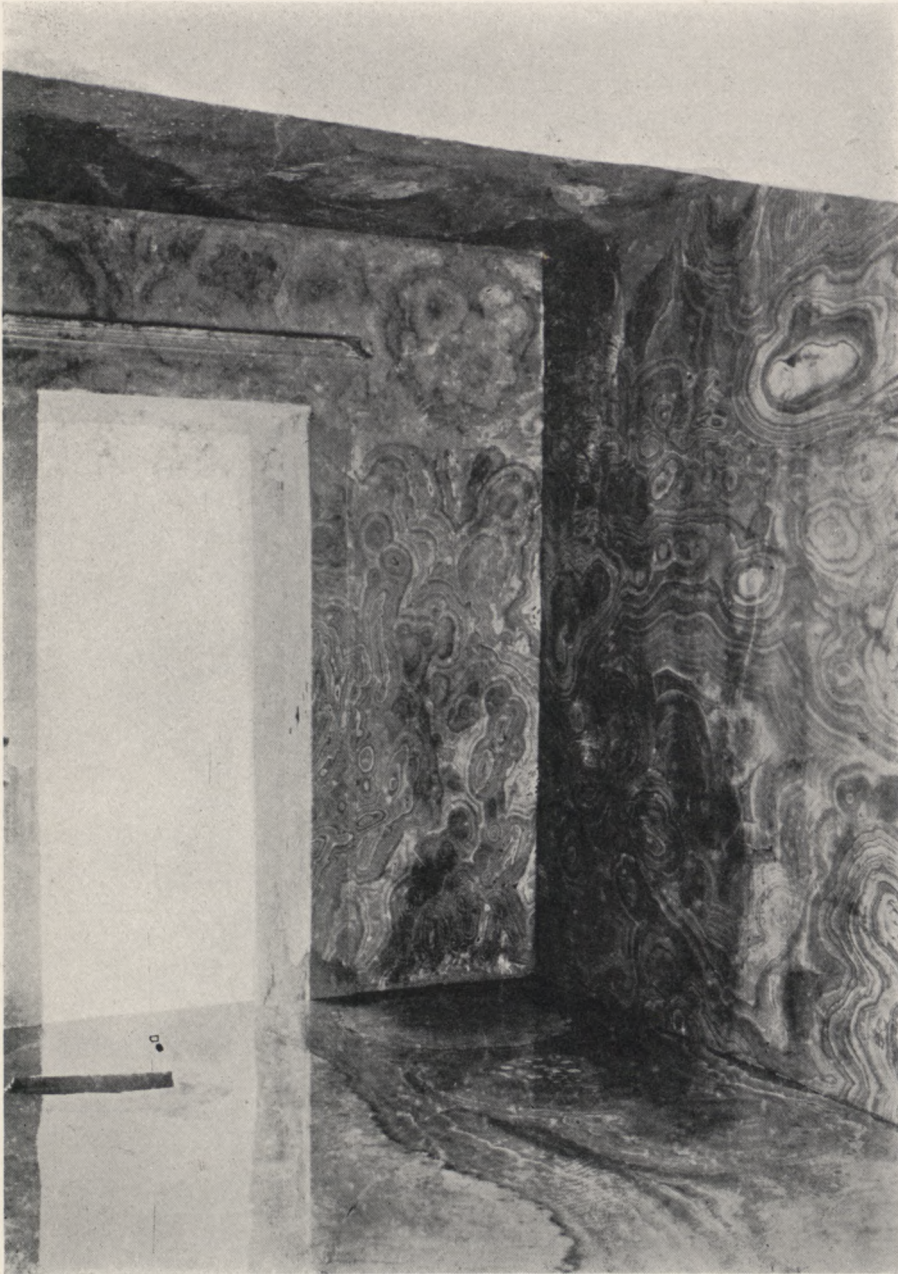


Fig. 3. Inneres des Alabastergrabes in Alexandria.

schwunden, und das gilt vor allem von der Hofkunst, der plastischen Ausschmückung des gewaltigen Königspalastes. Wenn dazu noch die Tatsache kommt, dass keine Namen von bedeutenden alexandrinischen Bildhauern litterarisch überliefert sind, begreift man ganz gut, dass eine ähnliche Skepsis, wie der Bedeutung der alexandrinischen Baukunst

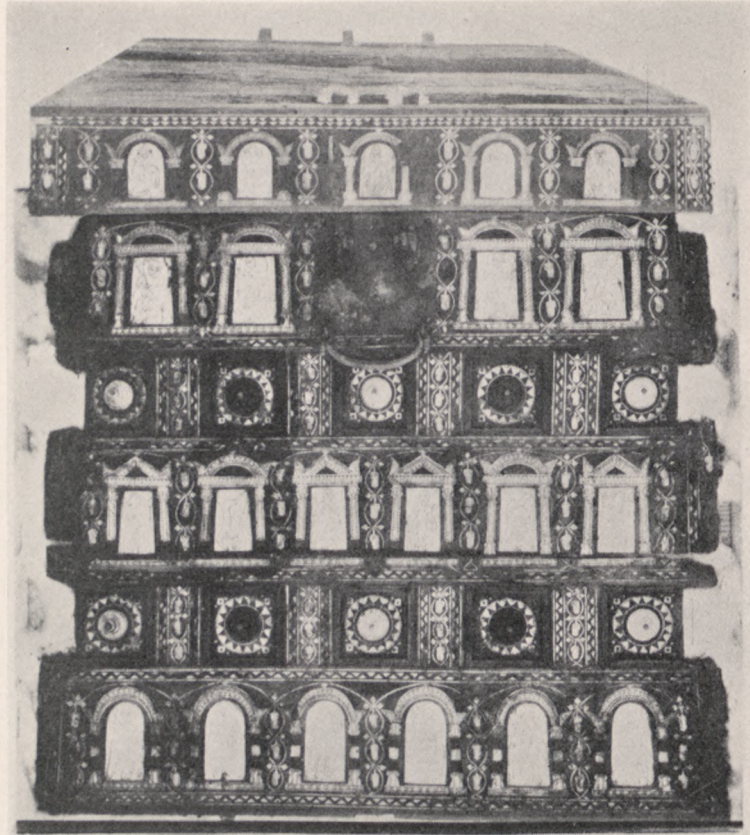


Fig. 4. Holzkiste aus einem nubischen Grab.

gegenüber, auch hier aufgekommen ist, und dass schon der alte Brunn den Schluss zu ziehen wagte¹, dass es keine eigentliche alexandrinische Bildhauerschule gegeben habe. Diese Auffassung hat mehr Anschluss als Widerstand gefunden², und ganz kürzlich haben Beazley und Ashmole in ihrem Handbuch³ die alexandrinische Skulptur mit ganz wenigen

¹ Geschichte der griechischen Künstler I S. 505.

² Zusammenfassend Lawrence: Journ. of Egyptian Archaeology XI 1925 S. 179 ff. und Ibrahim Noshy: The Arts in Ptolemaic

Egypt (Oxford 1937) S. 83 ff. Vgl. auch Schreiber: Athen. Mitt. X 1885 S. 386 ff. und Amelung: Bull. comm. XXV 1897 S. 110 ff.

³ Greek Sculpture and Painting S. 70.

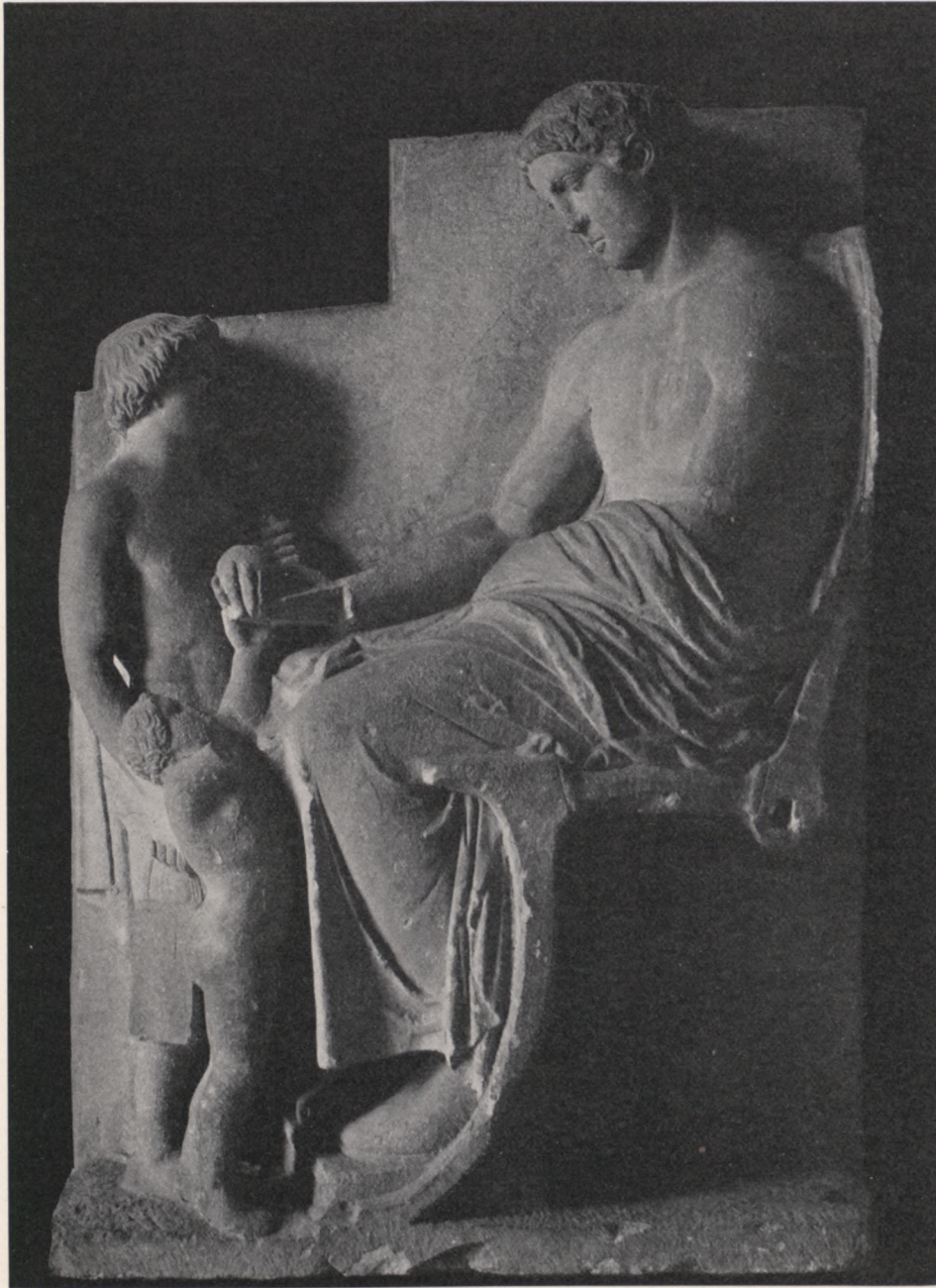


Fig. 5. Grabstele in Istanbul (Photo 1615).

Zeilen abgefertigt, während Zschietzschmann sie überhaupt nicht erwähnt¹. Dagegen hat Lippold in einer Rezension² mit Recht betont, man müsse die verlorenen, grossen Bronzestatuen in Rechnung stellen, bevor man das schliessliche Urteil über alexandrinische Plastik fällte, denn grade im marmorarmen Ägypten und besonders am reichen Hof der Ptolemäer müsse die Bronze das bevorzugte Material gewesen sein. Lippold gibt die Berufung griechischer Bildhauer von allen Gegenden zu, meint aber annehmen zu dürfen, dass eine einheimische Bildhauerschule sich allmählich in Alexandria gebildet habe, die dann ihrerseits auf die dem Ptolemäerreich untertanenen Gebiete der Ägäis gewirkt haben mag.

Es leuchtet ein, dass eine neuangelegte Stadt wie Alexandria am Anfang fremde Bildhauer wie ebenfalls fremde Forscher und Techniker hat einberufen müssen. Auch die Stadt Rhodos der hellenistischen Zeit verwendete Bildhauer von Kleinasien, Kreta, Chios und Kypros, und doch leugnet niemand die Existenz einer rhodischen Bildhauerschule³. Am klarsten erkennt man, wie Pfuhl es schon vor Jahren erwiesen hat, diese Tatsache an den alexandrinischen Grabreliefs. Die berühmte Stele mit zwei Frauen im Museum von Alexandria⁴ ist nicht nur eine sichere attische Arbeit vom Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., sondern selbst das Material, pentelischer Marmor, weist auf Attika hin. Zweifelhaft bleibt nur, ob das Stück fertig importiert ist, oder ob ein attischer Künstler es in importiertem Material in Alexandria selbst angefertigt hat. Ähnlichen Zweifel fühlt man gegenüber dem kleinen, in Alexandria gefundenen Strategenkopf im Allard Pierson Museum von Amsterdam⁵.

Pfuhl spricht bei dieser Gelegenheit⁶ den richtigen Gedanken aus, dass attische Bildhauer, durch das im Jahre 317 gegen Gräberluxus erlassene Gesetz des Demetrios von Phaleron brotlos geworden, in grosser Zahl nach Alexandria ausgewandert seien. Der auswärtige Einfluss von attischen Grabreliefs war auch anderswo und in früherer Zeit fühlbar gewesen. Nur so findet die auf Rhodos gefundene und offenbar auch dort gearbeitete Grabstele im Stil der Hegeso ihre Erklärung⁷, und selbst in der fernen, kleinasiatischen Stadt Samsun zeugt ein jetzt in Istanbul befindliches Grabrelief, obwohl aus einheimischem Marmor, von der Nachwirkung attischer Kunst (Fig. 5)⁸. Die spätere Weiterbildung

¹ Die hellenistische und römische Kunst. (Verlag Athenaion, Potsdam).

² Deutsche Litteraturzeitung 1928 S. 1517 f.

³ Lawrence: Ann. of Brit. School at Athens XXVI 1923—25 S. 68 f. Shear: Amer. Journ. of Arch. XX 1916 S. 283 ff.; vgl. andere Arbeiten dort S. 283 Anm. 2—3.

⁴ Pfuhl: Athen. Mitt. XXVI 1901 S. 264 f.

⁵ Allgemeine Gids (1937) S. 58 nr. 529; Taf. XXXI.

⁶ I. c. S. 304.

⁷ Jetzt in Istanbul. Vgl. Mendel: Catalogue I S. 2 nr. 2. Schede: Meisterwerke der türk. Museen Taf. 10 links. Pfuhl, Arch. Jahrb. 50, 1935, S. 25.

⁸ Mendel o. c. III S. 16 nr. 7. Photo 1615. Ich verdanke die Photographien von Istanbul der Güte des Direktors Aziz Ogan.



Fig. 6. Grabstele in Istanbul (Photo 380).

attischer Tradition in hellenistischer Zeit zeigt, besonders in der Gewandbehandlung, die schöne Frauenfigur einer rhodischen Grabstele (Fig. 6)¹.

Aber in Alexandria liegen die Verhältnisse doch anders, der attische Stil kommt in den älteren Grabreliefs direkter zum Ausdruck. In diese

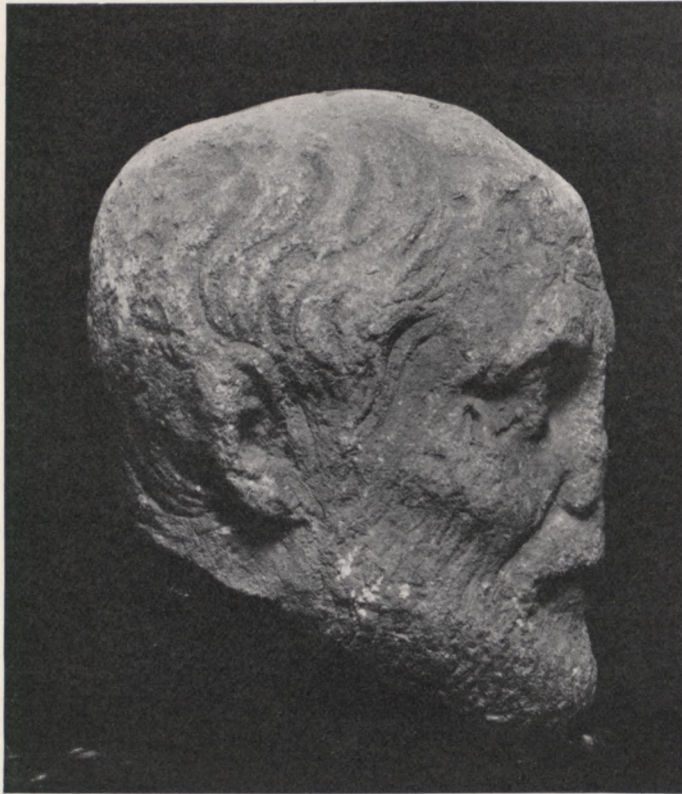


Fig. 7. Fragment einer Grabstele. Alexandria.

Gruppe gehört ein Relieffragment im Museum von Alexandria (Fig. 7)², dessen Fundort zwar unbekannt, dessen Material aber der gewöhnliche, graue, alexandrinische Muschelkalkstein ist. Trotz der Beschädigung und Verwitterung und trotz des lokalen Steines erkennt man mit Sicherheit die vorzügliche Arbeit eines attischen Bildhauers aus der Zeit um 300 v. Chr. Denn dieser Kopf, der gewiss von einer Grabstele stammt, zeigt Verwandtschaft mit dem Aristoteles- und dem Demostheneskopf, ganz wie ein von Hekler veröffentlichter Grabreliefkopf³ mit dem

¹ Mendel o. c. III S. 92 nr. 878. Photo 380. Lawrence: Ann. of Brit. School at Athens XXVI, 1923—26, S. 69 und Taf. X.

² Museumsnr. 24 (3408). Grösste Höhe 0,28 m. Die Nase gebrochen, das Scheitelhaar

und der Unterteil des Bartes stark zerrieben. Die ganze Oberfläche verwittert.

³ Archaeologiai Ertesítő 48, 1935, S. 179 fig. 133 und S. 191.

Theophrastosbild Berührung hat. Dem alexandrinischen verwandt ist ebenfalls der Kopf eines Grabreliefs, in pentelischem Marmor ausgeführt, also von sicherer attischer Provenienz, Ny Carlsberg 214 (Fig. 8)¹. Die Behandlung der langen, fließenden Locken des alexandrinischen Kopfes

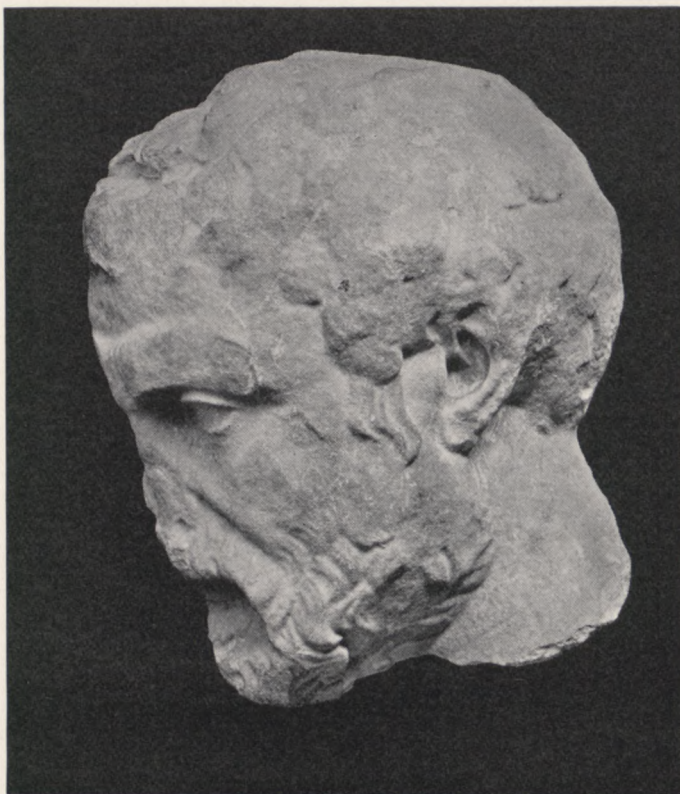


Fig. 8. Kopffragment von einer Grabstele. Ny Carlsberg 214.

in ihrem grossen Schwung erinnert auch an das gleichzeitige Menanderbildnis.

Die Weiterführung dieser edlen, attischen Tradition im 3. Jahrhundert veranschaulichen zwei der von Pfuhl veröffentlichten Grabreliefs, nämlich die Stele aus Hadra mit ihrer sanften Linienführung² und noch eine ganz kleine Stele³. Bald flaut aber die künstlerische Qualität ab und zwar sowohl in den skulptierten als in den bemalten Grabstelen Alexandrias, und das Ende ist eine trostlose Gleichartigkeit und Unfähigkeit dieser Kunstart⁴. Sobald die alexandrinische Kunst volkstümlich wird, ist sie, wie wir es auch weiter unten sehen werden, auffällig

¹ Arndt-Amelung 3997.

² Pfuhl l. c. S. 274 und Taf. XVIII, 2.

³ l. c. S. 284.

⁴ Ibrahim Noshy: The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt S. 106 f. Breccia: Bull. de la Soc. d'Arch. d'Alexandrie Nr. 20, 1924, S. 252 ff.



Fig. 9. Ptolemaios I Soter. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Fig. 10. Ptolemaios I Soter. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

gering. Diese Kunst gab offenbar in ihrem Gegensatz zwischen Hofkunst und Volkskunst ein treues Bild des grossen, sozialen Unterschieds in der hellenistischen Gesellschaft.

Die Hofplastik und die grosse, verlorene Bronzeskulptur kann der wunderbare Kopf von Ptolemaios I in der Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek illustrieren (Fig. 9—10)¹. Der Fundort ist Ägypten, und die Technik: ursprüngliche Ergänzung der Rückseite mit Gips bestätigt diese Angabe. Die Identifizierung des Kopfes mit Ptolemaios Soter wurde seinerzeit von Dickins², eine Zeit lang auch von mir bestritten³, und die Über-



Fig. 11. Münzbild des Ptolemaios I.

einstimmung mit den Münzen ist denn tatsächlich auch nicht so gross wie bei dem arg verstümmelten und stark ergänzten Kopf des Ptolemaios im Louvre, den Wolters schon vor langen Jahren richtig benannt hat⁴. Während der ebenfalls schlecht überlieferte Kopf von Thera den König in hohem Alter zeigt⁵, und viele andere Porträts keineswegs sicher als Ptolemaios zu bestimmen sind⁶, so stellt der Kopenhagener Kopf einen Mann von nur 50 Jahren dar, also den König noch zur Zeit der Statthalterschaft, und unter den zahlreichen, stark abweichenden Münzbildern gibt es tatsächlich ein paar, die mit diesem Marmorkopf gute Übereinstimmung zeigen (Fig. 11)⁷. Nur haben die Köpfe der Münzbilder immer den Mund geschlossen, und die Züge sind stark vergrößert. Bestätigend tritt die Tatsache hinzu, dass es noch zwei Bildnisse desselben Herrschers von noch jugendlicherem Charakter gibt. Das eine ist ein Kopf in Berlin, der aus dem ionischen Tempel in Pergamon stammt (Fig. 12—13)⁸. Es ist ganz wie in Kopenhagen nur die Gesichtsmaske erhalten; der hintere Teil war nach echt ägyptisch-hellenistischer Art

¹ Tillæg til Billedtavler Taf. VIII 453 a. Arndt-Bruckmann 853—54. Pfuhl: Arch. Jahrb. 45, 1930, S. 6 f., fig. 2—3. Fr. Poulsen: Mélanges Glotz S. 751 Anm. 2. Fr. Poulsen: Græske Originalskulpturer Taf. 32—33. Elmer G. Suhr: Portraits of Greek statesmen S. 142 und fig. 20. Ibrahim Noshy o. c. S. 90.

² Journ. of hell. stud. XXXIV 1914 S. 295 f.

³ Kunst og Haandværk, Festschrift for Johan Bøgh S. 164 ff. Die dort gegebene Deutung auf Lysimachos ist durch Brendels Auffindung des richtigen Lysimachosporträts hinfällig geworden. (Die Antike IV 1928 S. 314.)

⁴ Röm. Mitt. IV 1889 S. 33, Taf. III. R. Delbrück: Antike Porträts Taf. 23.

⁵ Hiller v. Gaertringen: Thera I S. 245, Taf. 21. Nur die eigenartig tief liegenden

Augen in Verbindung mit den schweren Brauenbogen und der starken Unterstirn sind so gut erhalten, dass ein Vergleich mit dem Ny Carlsberg Kopf möglich ist. Aber die Identität der Persönlichkeit kann man bei der Zerstörung des theräischen Kopfes natürlich nicht als gesichert bezeichnen.

⁶ So der Kopf, Museo Torlonia Taf. XI 43. Ferner die kleineren Bildnisse, Delbrück o. c. Taf. 58, 14 und 60, 5. Rubensohn: Hellenistisches Silbergerät Taf. VI 32 und X 12.

⁷ Nach Kurt Regling: Die Münze als Kunstwerk Taf. XLI nr. 843. Vgl. Pfuhl: Arch. Jahrb. 45, 1930, Taf. 2 nr. 12. Vgl. auch nr. 11.

⁸ Winter: Altert. v. Pergamon VII I S. 150. Ich verdanke Professor Neugebauer die photographischen Vorlagen der Abbildungen.



Fig. 12. Ptolemaios I. Kopf aus Pergamon. Berlin.



Fig. 13. Profil des Kopfes fig. 12.

wohl mit Gips ergänzt. Das Gesicht ist hier, wie gesagt, noch jugendlicher, aber man erkennt die sehr gewölbte Unterstirn, die fein gebogene Nase und das kräftig profilierte Kinn wieder. Selbst die stark hervorgehobene, fleischige Partie zwischen den Nasenlöchern ist am Berliner Kopf erkennbar; diese eigentümliche Nase erinnert an eine Stelle eines griechischen Physiognomikers¹: »Wenn die Nasenspitze fleischig, unscharf, rund und kräftig ist, zeugt es von Mannesmut und Hochsinn, und man denkt dabei an die Löwen und die edlen Hunderassen«.

Wie kam aber ein Kopf oder vielmehr wohl ursprünglich eine Statue des ersten Ptolemaios nach Pergamon? Da muss man bedenken, dass diese Stadt lange Zeit, bis zum Verrat des Philetairos 283 v. Chr., den thrakischen König Lysimachos als Oberherrn hatte. Lysimachos war dreifach mit dem ägyptischen Königshaus verschwägert: seine Frau Arsinoë, die er 301 heiratete, war die Tochter von Ptolemaios I; sein ältester Sohn Agathokles hatte als Gattin eine Halbschwester dieser Arsinoë, und endlich heiratete Ptolemaios II 283 eine Tochter des Lysimachos². Der König von Thrakien mag seinem Schwiegervater allein eine Statue geweiht haben, oder es kann eine der gewöhnlichen fürstlichen Familiengruppen der hellenistischen Zeit dargestellt gewesen sein. Im ersten Fall entspricht das Bildnis dem von Livius (XXIII 10, 11) erwähnten des Ptolemaios VI in Kyrene, das, wie sonst nur ein Tempel oder ein Altar, während des Hannibalkrieges einem Flüchtling Schutz gewähren konnte, eine Rolle, die in späterer Zeit auch eine römische Kaiserstatue spielen durfte³. Im zweiten Fall darf man annehmen, dass der ionische Tempel, in dem der Kopf gefunden wurde, und der eine für eine Gruppe geeignete längliche Basis enthielt, ursprünglich als Familienkapelle des Königs Lysimachos gebaut wurde. Über die spätere Verwendung des Baues gehen jetzt die Ansichten aus einander. In der Römerzeit hat Caracalla den Tempel für den Kaiserkult umgebaut⁴.

Mit diesem Kopf aus Pergamon ist das Kopffragment aus Ägypten, das Paul Graindor irrig als Drusus Minor veröffentlicht⁵, so eng verwandt, dass wir behaupten dürfen, hier zum dritten Mal dieselbe königliche Persönlichkeit dargestellt zu finden (Fig. 14—15). Denn auch mit dem Kopenhagener Kopf ist die Ähnlichkeit auffallend, besonders wenn man die Profile vergleicht: es ist dieselbe gebogene, unscharfe Nase mit dem starken Zwischenstück zwischen den Nasenlöchern, dasselbe

¹ Adamantios: Physiogn. II 25 (ed. Förster I S. 375).

² W. Hühnerwadel: Forschungen zur Geschichte des Königs Lysimachos. Züricher Dissertation 1900. S. 96 f.

³ Tacitus: Annales III 36.

⁴ Altertümer von Pergamon IV S. 41 ff.,

bes. S. 49, 55 und 64 f. und IX: Boehringer und Kraus: Das Temenos für den Herrscherkult S. 90 f.

⁵ P. Graindor: Bustes et statues portraits d'Égypte Romaine Taf. VI. Der Kopf befand sich im Kunsthandel in Kairo.



Fig. 14. Kopf von Ptolemaios I. Kunsthandel. Kairo.

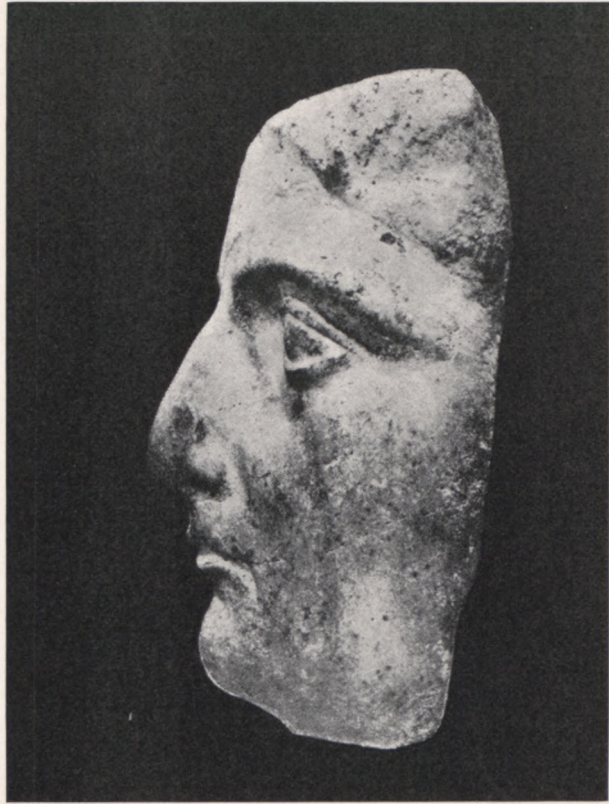


Fig. 15. Profil des Kopfes fig. 14.

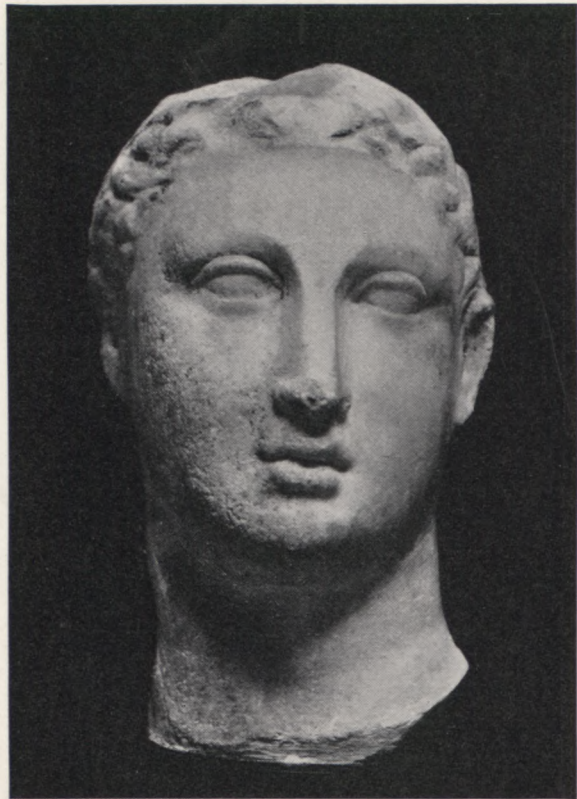


Fig. 16. Ptolemaios III Euergetes. Alexandria.



Fig. 17. Ptolemaios III Euergetes. Alexandria.

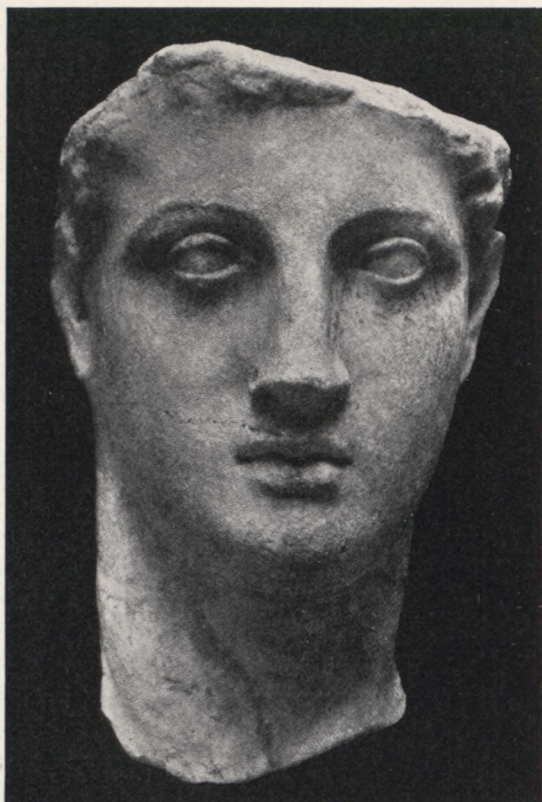


Fig. 18. Kopf des Ptolemaios III. Kyrene.



Fig. 19. Profil des Kopfes fig. 18.

3*

kräftige Kinn, dieselbe Form der Augen, die gleichzeitig hervorquellen und von den Lidern straff gehalten werden. Nur ist der Mund des Kopfes, der sich im Kunsthandel in Kairo befand, fest geschlossen. Der Kairener Kopf ist weniger jugendlich als der pergamenische, aber doch etwas jünger als Ptolemaios in Kopenhagen. Diese jugendlichen Bildnisse des Gründers der Dynastie sind wahrscheinlich posthum und geben den verstorbenen Herrscher jung und idealisiert, vielleicht nach einem Vorbild aus der Zeit wieder, wo er noch zum Offizierskorps Alexanders gehörte¹.

Von den drei Bildnissen ist aber nur der Kopenhagener Kopf künstlerisch und psychisch völlig befriedigend, in seiner wunderbaren Rhythmik, die schon Pfuhl voll gewürdigt hat, und wegen der geistigen Kraft des Antlitzes, die diesen Kopf zu einem der edelsten Herrscherporträts aller Zeiten macht². Die grosse Bronzekunst des alexandrinischen Hofes, deren Verlust wir bedauern, dürfen wir uns als formell ebenbürtig vorstellen, woher denn auch die arbeitenden Künstler in der ersten Periode der Stadt gekommen sein mögen.

Das Museum von Alexandria enthält ein vom König Fuad geschenktes, 15 cm hohes Kalksteinfragment mit der Darstellung eines Herrscherpaares, in dem wir Ptolemaios I und Berenike erkennen dürfen, aber wir müssen die Veröffentlichung durch Direktor Adriani abwarten, bevor wir nähere Vergleiche anstellen.

Die Bildnisse der folgenden Ptolemäer stehen keineswegs auf der künstlerischen Höhe des Kopenhagener Kopfes. Wegen der Attribute kann man zwei Bronzen im British Museum als ein ägyptisches Königspaar bezeichnen³, aber der Herrscher mit dem fetten Hals und Kopf könnte ebenso gut Ptolemaios VIII Physkon als Ptolemaios II oder III darstellen, und die Königin zeigt nicht die entfernteste Ähnlichkeit mit den Münzbildern der Arsinoë II. Der schöne, kleine Terrakottakopf in Dresden⁴ ist wegen der Übereinstimmung mit den Münzbildern gewiss Ptolemaios II, dagegen kann dieselbe Person kaum in der kleinen Marmorbuste in Alexandria dargestellt sein⁵, in der wir dann wiederum eher

¹ Da Ptolemaios I vier Jahre früher als Lysimachos starb, kann diese Erklärung auch für den in Pergamon gefundenen Kopf gelten.

² Merkwürdig ist die physiognomische Übereinstimmung mit dem Gesicht eines modernen Politikers adeliger Rasse, des liberalen Premierministers Lord Rosebery: Augen, Nase, Ausdruck ähneln. Vgl. Winston Churchill: *Great contemporaries*, London 1937, Abbildung zur S. 13.

³ *Journ. of hell. stud.* XXVI 1906, S. 281 und Taf. 18.

⁴ Expedition E. Sieglin II, I B, Text Blatt 1, 4a.

⁵ Nr. 19122. Breccia: *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* (1922) S. 181 fig. 87. Pfuhl: *Arch. Jahrb.* 45, 1930, S. 35 fig. 18—19. Die kleinen Köpfe, *Bull. de la Soc. Arch. d'Alexandrie* 26, 1931, Taf. XXX 3 und S. 266 nr. 10, und *Bull. van de vereeniging tot bevordering der kennis van de antieke beschaving* XII 1937, S. 1 können dagegen sehr wohl den Ptolemaios II wie der Dresdener Kopf darstellen. Auch der fette Kopf, Pfuhl l. c. S. 33 fig. 16—17, gehört in diese Reihe.

den Physkon erkennen möchten, während Pfuhl sie unrichtig als Ptolemaios III bezeichnet.

Etwas festeren Boden gewinnen wir durch den kleinen Kopf in Alexandria (Fig. 16—17)¹, weil es von demselben eine ganz sichere Replik gibt, ein Kopffragment von Kyrene (Fig. 18—19)². Es ist ein jüngerer Mann von kräftigem Gesichtsbau; besonders das Kinn ist sehr voll, und die kleinen Augen sowie der kleine Mund mit den aufgeworfenen Lippen geben dem Gesicht ein hochmütiges Aussehen. Es ist die etwas schläfrige Vornehmheit eines Herrschers zweiter oder dritter Generation, von dem aktiven Herrscherbewusstsein des ersten Ptolemäers ganz verschieden. Die Münzbilder der Ptolemäer II und III zeigen vielfach eine so chamäleonenhafte Abwechslung³, dass eine Entscheidung über die Benennung von diesem jungen König schwer zu treffen ist, aber ich möchte doch am ehesten das Münzbild des Ptolemaios III mit Strahlenkrone mit diesen beiden Marmorköpfen vergleichen (Fig. 20), die auf jeden Fall nach einem gemeinsamen Vorbild kopiert sind und somit wiederum von einem Originalwerk der alexandrinischen Hofkunst eine Vorstellung gewähren können.



Fig. 20.
Münzbild des
Ptolemaios III.

Ich halte es für wahrscheinlich, dass ein Marmorköpfchen aus Alexandria in der Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek (Fig. 21)⁴ denselben Herrscher darstellt, und dasselbe gilt von dem riesigen Kopf aus schwarzem Basalt derselben Sammlung (Fig. 22—23), den schon Dickins als Ptolemaios III Euergetes identifizieren wollte⁵. Es ist derselbe Gesichtsbau mit schrägen Wangen, kräftigem Kinn und kleinem Mund, und auch der hochmütige Ausdruck kommt in diesem Porträtkopf ägyptischer Arbeit gut zum Vorschein⁶.

Es ist aber nicht unsere Aufgabe hier die Ikonographie der ptolemäischen Könige zu schreiben⁷, sondern nur durch typische Beispiele den Wert und die Bedeutung der alexandrinischen Plastik einleuchtend zu machen, und als weiteres Beispiel greifen wir aus der Menge einen schönen Frauenkopf im Museum von Alexandria heraus, in dem man gewiss mit Recht das Bildnis einer ägyptischen Königin vermutet hat

¹ Nr. 3270. Breccia: *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* (1922) S. 180 fig. 85—86.

² Guidi: *Africa Italiana* III 1930, S. 95 ff., fig. 1—3 und S. 102 f., wo die beiden Köpfe verglichen werden.

³ Pfuhl l. c. Taf. 3. Vgl. Furtwängler: *Gemmen* I Taf. XXXII 16.

⁴ Ny Carlsberg 451. Arndt-Bruckmann 356.

⁵ Maria Mogensen: *Coll. égypt. A* 21. Dickins: *Journ. of hell. stud.* XXXIV 1914

S. 297 f., fig. 4. Dagegen fällt der Kopf im Thermenmuseum, Pfuhl l. c. S. 37 fig. 21—24, als Ptolemaios III aus.

⁶ Zweifelhafte scheint mir die Identität mit der Statue von Kos, Clara Rhodos V 2 S. 75, Taf. IV—VI, obwohl einige Züge ähneln. Ich halte aber die koische Statue für viel jünger, aus der Zeit um 100 v. Chr.

⁷ Vgl. dazu Lawrence: *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* XI 1925 S. 187 und Taf. XXIV. Noshy: *The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt* S. 95 f.

(Fig. 24)¹, denn hinter dem Vorderhaar liegt eine Senkung für eine Haarbinde, die, wie zwei kleine Vertiefungen zeigen, aus Metall war, und vorne über der Stirn kommt dazu ein etwas tieferes Loch, in dem wohl ein göttliches Emblem befestigt war. Man denkt an die zweite Frau des Ptolemaios II, Arsinoë II. Das kleine Format passt, wie bei



Fig. 21. Kopf des Ptolemaios III. Ny Carlsberg 451.

dem Kopf fig. 16—17, für das Porträt eines Mitgliebes der königlichen Familie, das in einem nicht allzu reichen Haus der Stadt aufgestellt war. Die Züge sind idealisiert, ohne dass jedoch der individuelle Charakter verloren gegangen ist; die Backenknochen und das kräftige Kinn heben wie die schmalen, leicht geöffneten Lippen das persönliche heraus. Die duftige Behandlung der in gebrochenen Strähnen zerlegten Vorderhaare erinnern an nachpraxitelische Werke wie die Aphrodite von Petworth².

¹ Nr. 3262. Breccia: Alexandria ad Aegyptum S. 179 fig. 84. Höhe 0,24 m; Gesichtshöhe 0,12 m. Aus Inselmarmor. Erg. in Gips Nasenspitze und Unterteil des Halses.

Der Schädel und der Hinterkopf sind roh ausgeführt.

² Margaret Wyndham: Catalogue of the Leconfield Collection Taf. 73.



Fig. 22. Kolossalkopf des Ptolemaios III. Ny Carlsberg A. 21.



Fig. 23. Profil des Kopfes fig. 22.

Der praxitelische Einfluss geht in anderen alexandrinischen Skulpturen viel weiter¹, und die Vitrinen der Museen von Alexandria, Kairo, Dresden, Stuttgart, Rom sind wie die der Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek mit puppenhaften, alexandrinischen Köpfen von schimmernder Oberfläche gefüllt. Dieser Stil steigert seine Effekte in der römischen Kaiserzeit



Fig. 24. Bildnis einer Königin. Alexandria.

und wird im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. gradezu unerträglich, wie einige neue Funde aus einem Heiligtum in Alexandrias Nähe zeigen: ein Harpokrates, eine Isis und zwei Osiriskanopen sehen aus wie talentlose Nachahmungen nach Werken von Canova.

Diese Anlehnung an Praxiteles ist um so auffälliger, als derselbe Bildhauer in der kunstwissenschaftlichen Litteratur Attikas aus dem 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr., besonders bei Xenokrates, ziemlich unbeachtet bleibt². Wir spüren auch seinen Einfluss wenig in der gleichzeitigen,

¹ Lawrence l. c. S. 181. Noshy o. c. S. 89. Amelung: Bull. comm. XXV 1897 S. 110 ff. Bieber: Text zu Arndt-Amelung 4492.

² Bernhard Schweitzer: Xenokrates von Athen (Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellsch. 9, 1932, Heft 1) S. 17.

attischen Kunst. Dagegen lebt die praxitelische Tradition weiter nicht nur in Alexandria, sondern auch auf den Inseln der Ägäis. Es kann vorkommen, dass skopasische Stilelemente eingemischt werden wie in dem grossen Frauenkopf vom alexandrinischen Serapeion¹, von dem es zahlreiche »Nachkommen« in der gleichzeitigen kyprischen Skulptur gibt². Häufiger aber verbindet sich das praxitelische mit einem leichten Anflug individueller Charakterisierung, wie z. B. in einem alexandrini-



Fig. 25. Frauenkopf aus Abukir. Alexandria.

schen Mädchenkopf in Stuttgart³ oder in dem schönen Frauenkopf aus Abukir im Museum von Alexandria (Fig. 25)⁴, der wie so viele andere alexandrinische Bildwerke in Inselmarmor gearbeitet ist. Die Meissel-
führung in den seidenartigen Locken und die Augenbildung ist praxitelisch ohne die gewöhnliche Süsslichkeit, und wie individuell dabei die Formgebung der schmalen Wangen ist, lehrt der Vergleich mit einem in Lindos gefundenen Kopf in Istanbul (Fig. 26)⁵, der so rein attisch-praxitelisch ist, dass wir in ihm vielleicht ein Werk der Praxitelessöhne

¹ Breccia: *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* S. 115 fig. 48. Lawrence l. c. Taf. XXI rechts. Picard: *Mon. Piot* 28, 1925—26, S. 113 ff. und Taf. IX.

² A. Westholm: *The Temples of Soli* S. 188 ff.

³ Expedition Sieglin II I B Taf. XIX.

⁴ Nr. 18703. Höhe 0,21 m. Haar, Stirn, Nase und Kinn beschädigt.

⁵ Photo 2081. Mendel: *Catalogue III* S. 608 nr. 1397.

sehen dürfen. Ein wunderbarer Kopf aus Kyzikos in Dresden¹ zeigt, wie weit sich der praxitelische Einfluss im 3. Jahrhundert ausdehnt.

Im Laufe der Zeit wird in Alexandria die Darstellung der schönen Frau immer individueller. In dem feinen Frauenkopf aus Kyrene, den Anti auf Berenike von Kyrene bezieht², könnte man noch von praxi-

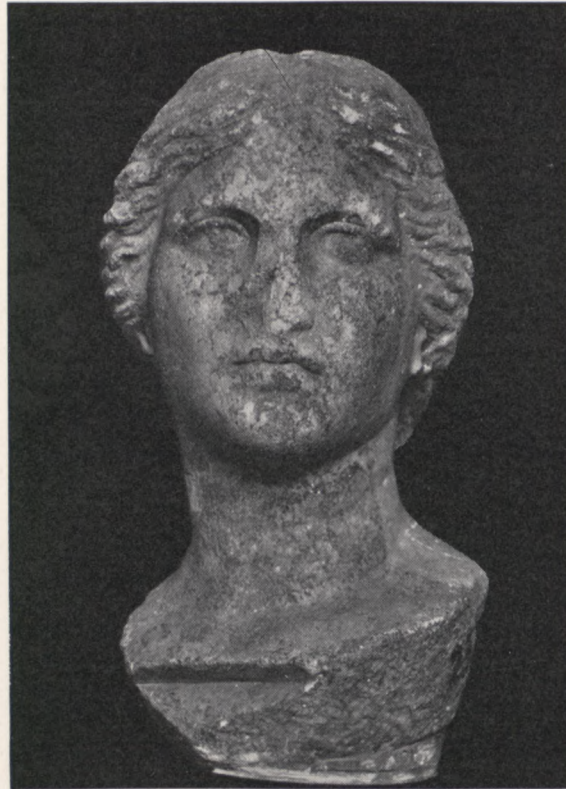


Fig. 26. Frauenkopf aus Lindos. Istanbul.

telischer Nachwirkung reden, dagegen ist das Fragment eines alexandrinischen Frauenkopfes in Dresden (Fig. 27)³ wegen der gross angelegten Form der Wangen und des festgeschlossenen Mundes eher von der Kunst des 5. Jahrhunderts beeinflusst und darf als ein frühes Beispiel, wohl noch aus dem 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr., des alexandrinischen Klassicismus bezeichnet werden. Denn alexandrinisch ist dieses klare und kluge Frauenbild nicht nur wegen des Fundortes, sondern auch wegen der Technik: die erhaltene, 21 cm hohe Gesichtsmaske war hinten durch Stuck ergänzt.

¹ Arch. Anz. IX 1894 S. 28 nr. 10.

² Die Antike V 1929 S. 6 ff. und Taf. 2—4. Der delphische Kopf dort Abb. 4 gehört nicht in diesen Zusammenhang. Vgl.

meine Ausführungen Revue arch. 1936, I, S. 43 f.

³ Expedition Sieglin II I B Taf. XXVII—XXVIII.

Und vor dem Untergang der ptolemäischen Herrschaft, in der Zeit um 100 v. Chr. herum, hat Alexandria endlich eine durchaus naturalistische Porträtkunst gekannt. Das Hauptstück ist hier der aus der Sammlung Zogheb stammende Frauenkopf im Museum von Alexandria (Fig. 28)¹. Diese Frau, die törichterweise als alternde Kleopatra be-



Fig. 27. Frauenkopf aus Alexandria. Dresden.

zeichnet worden ist, mit den schon welken, aber straffen Zügen, den tiefliegenden, aufmerksam blickenden Augen und dem feingebauten Mund mit den dünnen Lippen erhält durch den leicht gebogenen Hals das der hellenistischen Porträtkunst geläufige, pathetische Aussehen. Die Haartracht zerfällt in zwei Teile: vorne eine Art Melonenfrisur, straffgezogene, nur roh skizzierte Locken, hinten, wie die Spuren erkennen lassen, den eigenartigen Lockenkranz, der flüchtig an den trajanischen Haarturban erinnert, den aber l'Orange richtig als typisch für eine ganze Gruppe römischer Frauenporträts aus dem Anfang des 1. Jahr-

¹ Nr. 19123. H. 0,26 m, vom Kinn zum Nase, Ohren und Nacken bestossen, die Oberflä-
Haarrand 0,15 m. Grosskörniger Marmor. fläche, besonders der Haare, verwittert.

hunderts v. Chr. nachgewiesen hat¹. Unserem Kopfe formell nahe verwandt ist der sog. Kopf der Kleopatra im British Museum (Fig. 29)², der auch die etwas unruhige Melonenfrisur in Verbindung mit dem Kranzgeflecht am Hinterkopf zeigt. Dieser aus der Sammlung Castellani stammende Kopf ist in einem Steinmateriel gearbeitet, der mit dem gewöhnlich verwendeten in Alexandria grosse Übereinstimmung aufweist.

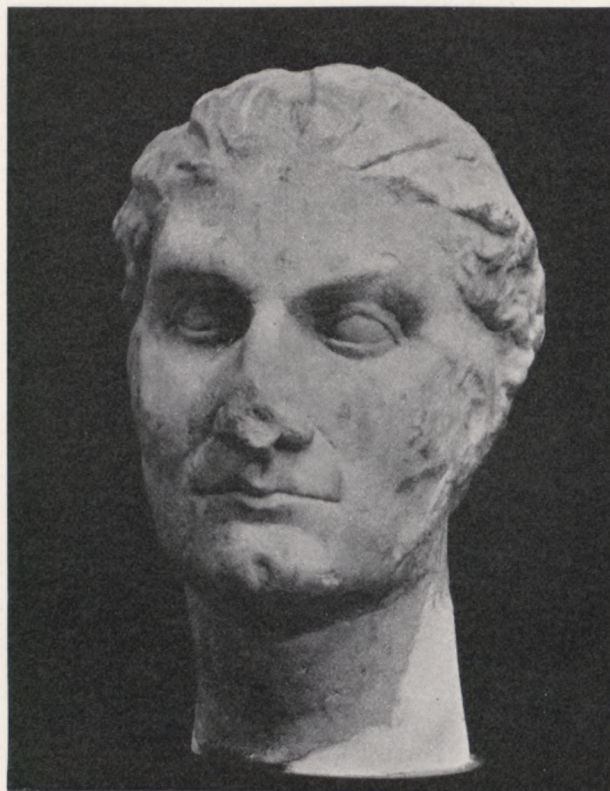


Fig. 28. Frauenkopf. Alexandria.

Diese beiden Köpfe halte ich für alexandrinisch. Ein auf Delos gefundener Kopf einer älteren Frau³ mit ernsthaftem Ausdruck, scharf accentuirten Backenknochen, grossem Mund und kräftigem Kinn gehört auch in diese Reihe hinein und zeugt einerseits von dem Einfluss der spätalexandrinischen Plastik in der Ägäis, zweitens vermittelt er den Übergang zu den römischen Frauenporträts mit ähnlicher Formgebung und ähnlicher Haartracht.

¹ Röm. Mitt. 44, 1929, S. 167 ff. Vgl. Arndt-Amelung 3336—7.

² Röm. Mitt. 44, 1929, S. 171 und Taf. 35—36. R. P. Hinks: Greek and Roman portrait sculpture in the Brit. Mus. fig. 18 a. L. Curtius, Röm. Mitt. 48, 1933, S. 188 Anm. 1.

³ Michalowski: Portraits hellénistiques et romains de Délos Taf. XXXIII—XXXV und S. 46 ff. Michalowski datiert den Kopf, der Melonenfrisur und Kranzgeflecht zeigt, zu spät (in die augusteische Zeit).



Fig. 29. Frauenkopf aus Alexandria. British Museum.



Fig. 30. Jünglingskopf aus Alexandria. British Museum.

Damit stehen wir vor der Frage, ob nicht überhaupt die frührömische Porträtkunst, die grade in der Zeit um 100 v. Chr. herum ihren Anfang nimmt¹, ihre wichtigsten Impulse aus der spätalexandrinischen, nüchtern-naturalistischen Porträtkunst erhalten hat. Denn das umgekehrte

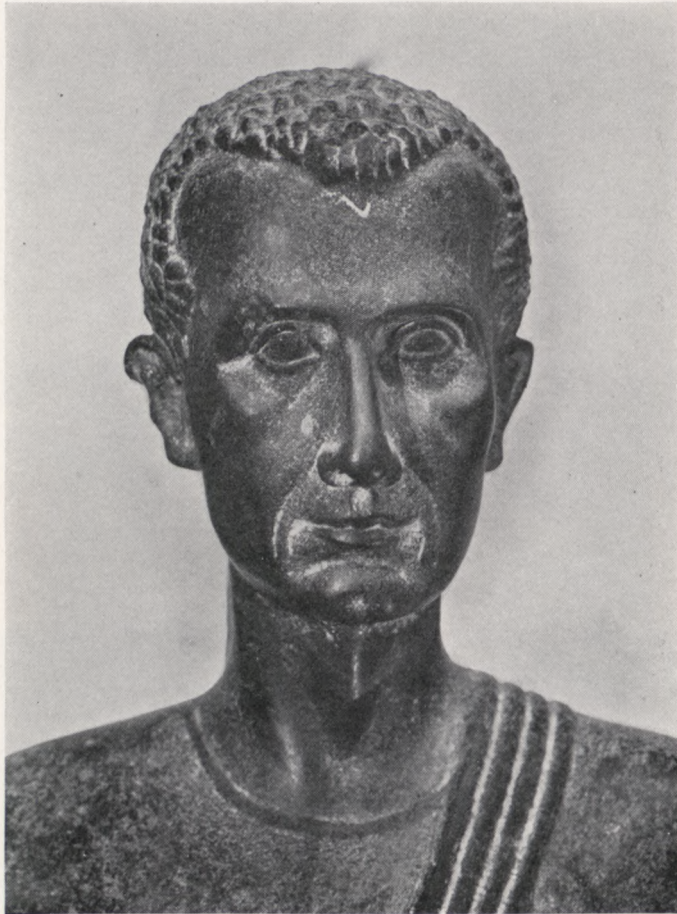


Fig. 31. Kopf einer Priesterstatue aus Alexandria. Kairo.

ist kaum möglich; dazu wurzelt der Frauenkopf aus der Sammlung Zogheb (Fig. 28) mit seiner pathetischen Halsneigung zu tief in der hellenistischen Tradition.

Dasselbe gilt von dem 1875 in Alexandria erworbenen Jünglingskopf aus schwarzem Schiefer im British Museum (Fig. 30)². Die Formgebung macht eine Datierung in die Zeit kurz nach 100 v. Chr. wahrscheinlich³.

¹ Fr. Poulsen: Probleme der römischen Ikonographie. Kopenhagen 1927.

² Hinks o. c. fig. 15a.

³ Vgl. andere ägyptische Köpfe dieser Zeit bei Poulsen: Probleme S. 14.

Wir finden hier die besten Traditionen der alten ägyptischen Plastik von einem tüchtigen, griechischen Bildhauer weitergeführt. Wunderbar ist der Kontrast zwischen den glatten, still bewegten Flächen des Gesichts und der rauhen Oberfläche der Haarlocken. Die Nase ist leise gebogen, der ganze Ausdruck von leuchtender Intelligenz.

Dadurch verbindet sich der Kopf mit der Priesterstatue in Kairo,

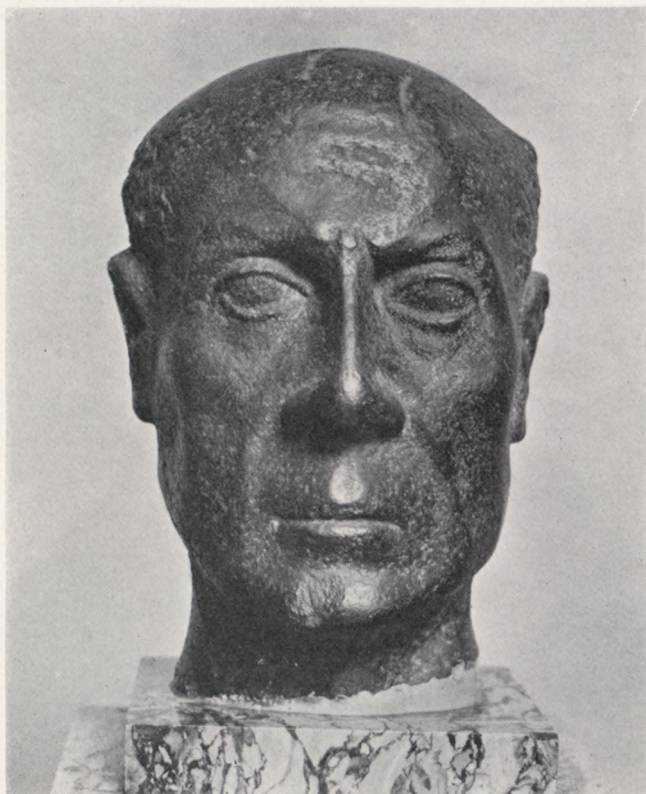


Fig. 32. Granitkopf aus Ägypten. Leipzig.

die ebenfalls in Alexandria gefunden wurde¹. Wir geben nur den Kopf wieder (Fig. 31). Die Haartracht — die »Flockenhaare« — erlaubt wiederum die Datierung in den Anfang des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.². Die Charakteristik des klugen, weltmännisch gebildeten Priesters, der einen der hervorragenden Astrologpriester vertreten könnte³, ist ohne

¹ v. Bissing: Denkmäler äg. Skulpt., Text zu Taf. 105—111. H. Schäfer: Das Bildnis im alten Ägypten fig. 21. Paul Graindor: Bustes et statues portraits d'Égypte Romaine S. 138 nr. 74 und Taf. LXV—LXVI. Ich verdanke Herrn Direktor Drioton die Photographie. Höhe des Statuenfragments 0,86 m. Die Inschrift in Hiero-

glyphen besagt: Hor, Sohn des Hor, Priester des Thot, Erneuerer des Osirisgrabes.

² Vgl. meine Recension, Revue des études anciennes 39, 1937, S. 390.

³ Vgl. Franz Cumonts ausgezeichnetes Buch: L'Égypte des Astrologues. Bruxelles 1937. Besonders S. 114 ff.

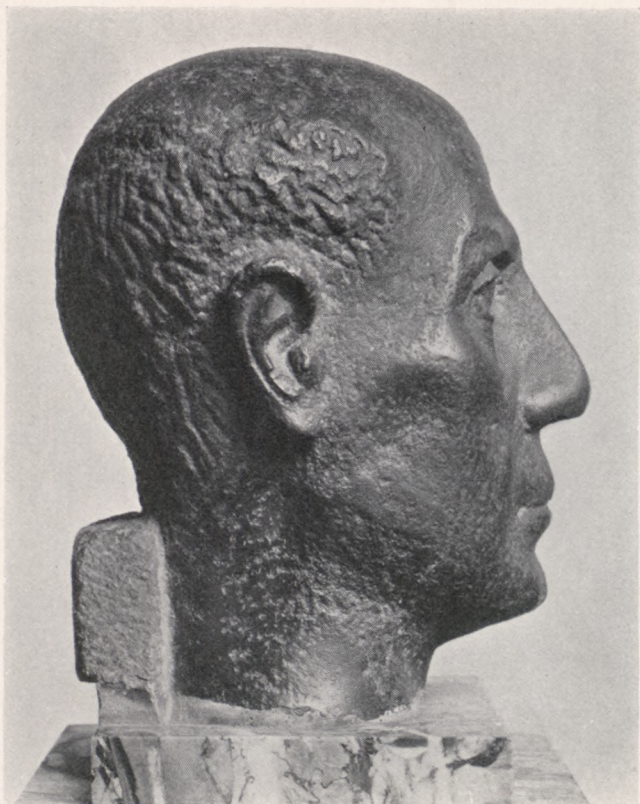


Fig. 33. Profil des Kopfes fig. 32.



Fig. 34. Profil des Kopfes fig. 32.

besondere geistige Vertiefung, aber von einer Nüchternheit und Treffsicherheit, die der frührömischen Darstellungsart nahe verwandt ist. Und dasselbe gilt von dem Gegenstück, dem ebenfalls späthellenistischen Priesterkopf aus Granit in Alexandria, einem unheimlichen Vertreter der niedrigen, ägyptischen Priesterschaft¹. Seine Züge sind ganz affenartig, mit dicht sitzenden Augen und stark hervortretenden Brauenbögen und Backenknochen. Ob griechische Künstler oder Ägypter, die in den griechischen Werkstätten ausgebildet waren, solche Skulpturen verarbeitet haben, wissen wir nicht. Es bleibt aber die Tatsache bestehen, dass eine ganze Reihe spätalexandrinischer Skulpturen eine auffallende Ähnlichkeit mit den frührömischen Porträtwerken aufweist. Dieses Problem hat schon v. Bissing beschäftigt, und er veröffentlicht mehrere spätalexandrinische Porträts, die uns für die These beweiskräftig erscheinen².

Die von v. Bissing gegebenen Beispiele können wir jetzt durch andere vermehren: eine Beamtenstatue aus Dimeh im Berliner Museum³, einen Priesterkopf desselben Fundortes im Pelizäusmuseum von Hildesheim⁴ und, ganz besonders überzeugend, einen Granitkopf im Universitätsmuseum von Leipzig, der wiederum durch die »Flockenhaare« in die erste Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. datiert werden kann. Mit gütiger Erlaubnis des Herrn Professor Walther Wolf kann ich den interessanten Kopf



Fig. 35. Totenbraut. Alexandria.

¹ Graindor o. c. Taf. LXVIIa. Höhe 0,37 m.

² Denkmäler äg. Skulpt. Taf. 107—108, besonders 107b und 108b und die Texte dazu. Vgl. Allgemeine Gids des Allard Pierson Museums Taf. XXXIII.

From the Collections. II.

³ Schäfer und Andrae: Die Kunst des alten Orients (Propyläenverlag, Berlin 1925) S. 427 r.

⁴ Roeder: Die Denkmäler des Pelizäusmuseums (1921) S. 82 fig. 27.

abbilden (Fig. 32—34)¹. Falls das Stück in Latium gefunden und in Travertin gefertigt wäre, würde stilistisch kein Zug befremden und die Bezeichnung als rein römisch-republikanisch verhindern². Eine solche Porträtkunst: formensicher, nüchtern und ohne besondere geistige Vertiefung konnten die römischen Bildhauer offenbar viel besser gebrauchen als die ältere oder gleichzeitige, hellenistische Bildniskunst.



Fig. 36. Lampe mit Darstellung eines Negers. Alexandria.

Vergleicht man dagegen die gleichzeitigen Porträtskulpturen von Kos und Rhodos, die ich neulich im Museum von Rhodos habe studieren können, erkennt man, dass diese nichtsagenden, stereotypen Bildnisse von den ägäischen Inseln keine Beziehung zu den alexandrinischen oder früh-römischen haben können. Die von Michalowski veröffentlichten Porträts von Delos sind schon derber und ausdrucksvoller, wohl unter dem doppelten Einfluss von Alexandria und Italien. Und die Porträts von Komesch-Schukafa zeigen die Fortsetzung dieser kernigen Kunst in Alexandria am Anfang der Kaiserzeit, während die entsprechenden Skulpturen in Kos und Rhodos noch flauer sind als die der hellenistischen Zeit.³

Von sicheren alexandrinischen Gruppen in Marmor ist die wichtigste die in Alexandria gefundene Darstellung von Aphrodite und Triton in Dresden, die ich nicht mit Lawrence und Zschietzschmann für frühhellenistisch, sondern eher für späthellenistisch halte⁴. Die Modellierung der Aphroditefigur ist nämlich nicht ohne eine gewisse Härte, obwohl eine Kontrastwirkung zwischen den glatten, fließenden Formen der Frauengestalt und den rauhen, unruhig bewegten des Tritonkörpers erzielt worden ist. Die typisch alexandrinische Sfumato-Technik kommt eigentlich nur in den schattigen, liderlosen Augen des Triton zum Vorschein.

Wie Vagn Poulsen in seinem Buch: *Der strenge Stil*⁵ die Terrakotten

¹ H. 0,175 m, vom Kinn zur oberen Stirnkante 0,12 m.

² Vgl. z. B. Arndt-Bruckmann 269—70 und 829—30.

³ Vgl. Clara Rhodos V 2 S. 87 ff., fig. 5—7. S. 92 ff., fig. 9—11. S. 98 ff., fig. 12 und Taf. VII. S. 102, fig. 13 und Taf. VIII. Clara Rhodos V 1 S. 58 nr. 11 und fig. 34—35

(noch späthellenistisch), S. 63 ff. nr. 12, fig. 36—38 (augusteisch) u. s. w.

⁴ Arch. Anz. IX 1894 S. 29, 12. Lawrence, Journ. of Egypt. Arch. XI 1925 S. 183 und Taf. XX. Zschietzschmann: *Hellenistische und römische Kunst* (Verlag Athenaiion, Potsdam) S. 32 und Abb. 20.

⁵ Acta Archaeologica VIII 1937.

benutzt hat, um die grossen Marmorskulpturen des 5. Jahrhunderts zu lokalisieren und ihren Stil zu erklären, so darf man auch die sicheren alexandrinischen Terrakottafiguren und Kleinbronzen zur Erklärung und Würdigung der alexandrinischen Grossplastik verwerten. Ein einfaches Durchblättern der beiden Bände Breccias¹ genügt, um von dem



Fig. 37. Terrakottafragment einer Frauenfigur. Alexandria.

Kunstsinn der Alexandriner und von dem Reichtum der plastischen Typen eine Vorstellung zu geben. Und wenn man mit kurzem Zwischenraum Gelegenheit gehabt hat, die Terrakotten in den Vitrinen des Alexandriamuseums, wozu wir auch gern die charakteristischen Tier- und Genrefiguren des Allard Pierson Museums fügen², mit den hellenistischen von Babylon und anderen mesopotamischen Ortschaften in Bagdad und Berlin zu vergleichen, erkennt man den gewaltigen Unterschied nicht nur in Ausführung und in künstlerischem Wollen, das in Mesopotamien sehr niedrig steht, sondern auch im Typenvorrat. In Babylon vermissen

¹ Ev. Breccia: Le terrecotte greche e greche-egizie del Museo di Alessandria. Monu-

ments de l'Égypte Gréco-Romain II 1—2.

² Allgemeine Gids Taf. XXII—XXV.

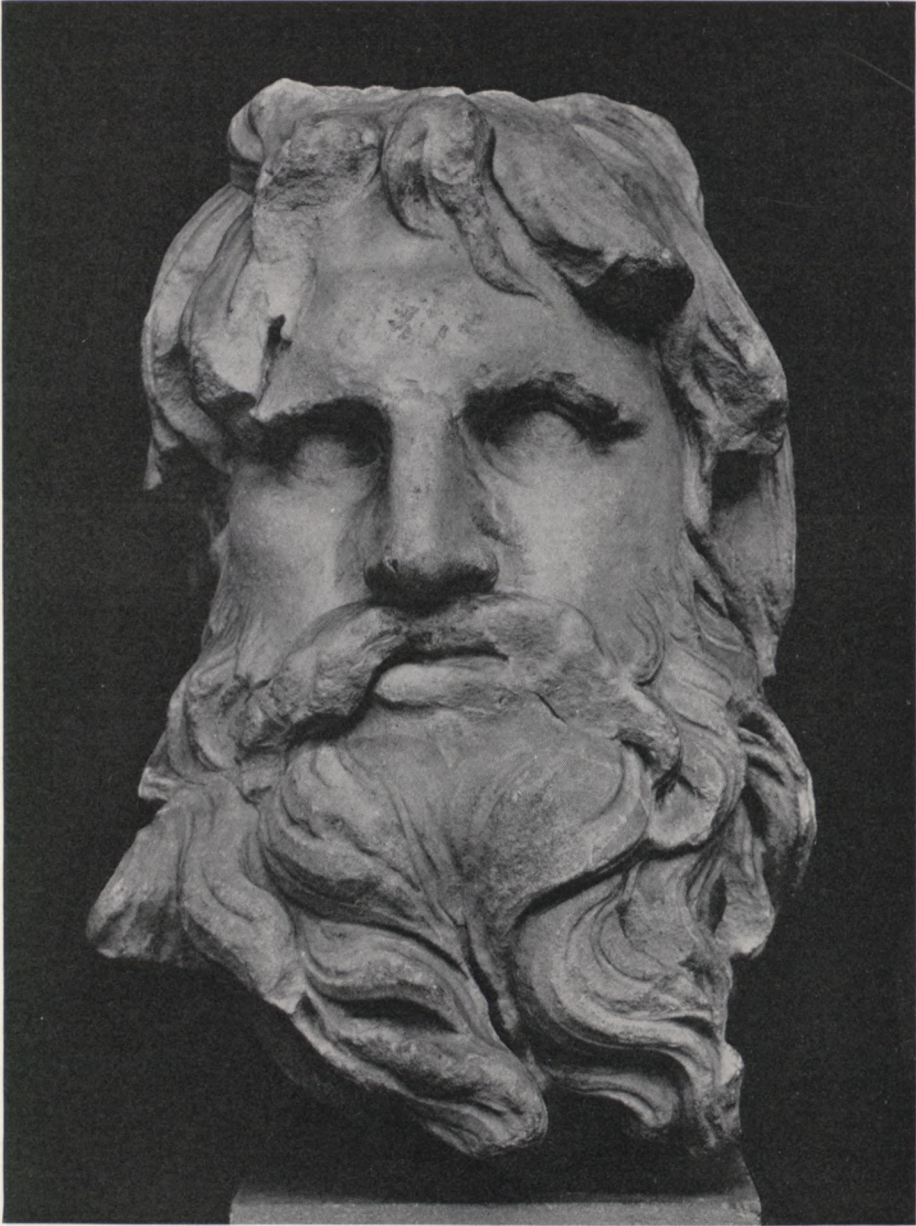


Fig. 38. Poseidonkopf aus Kreta. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

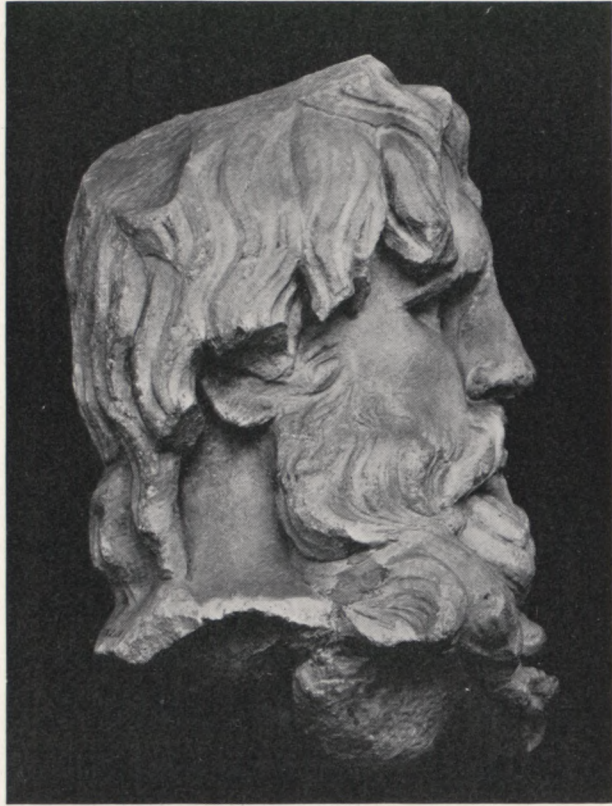


Fig. 39. Profil des Kopfes fig. 38.

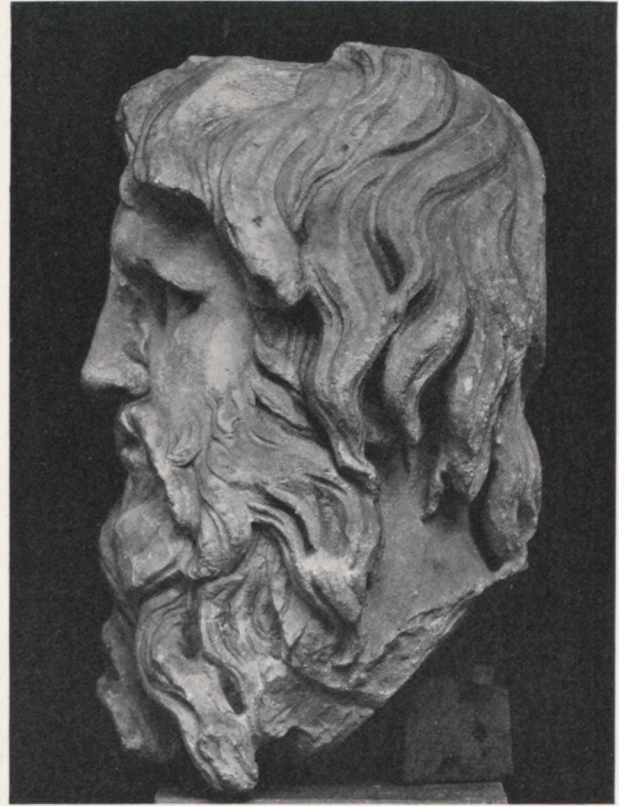


Fig. 40. Profil des Kopfes fig. 38.

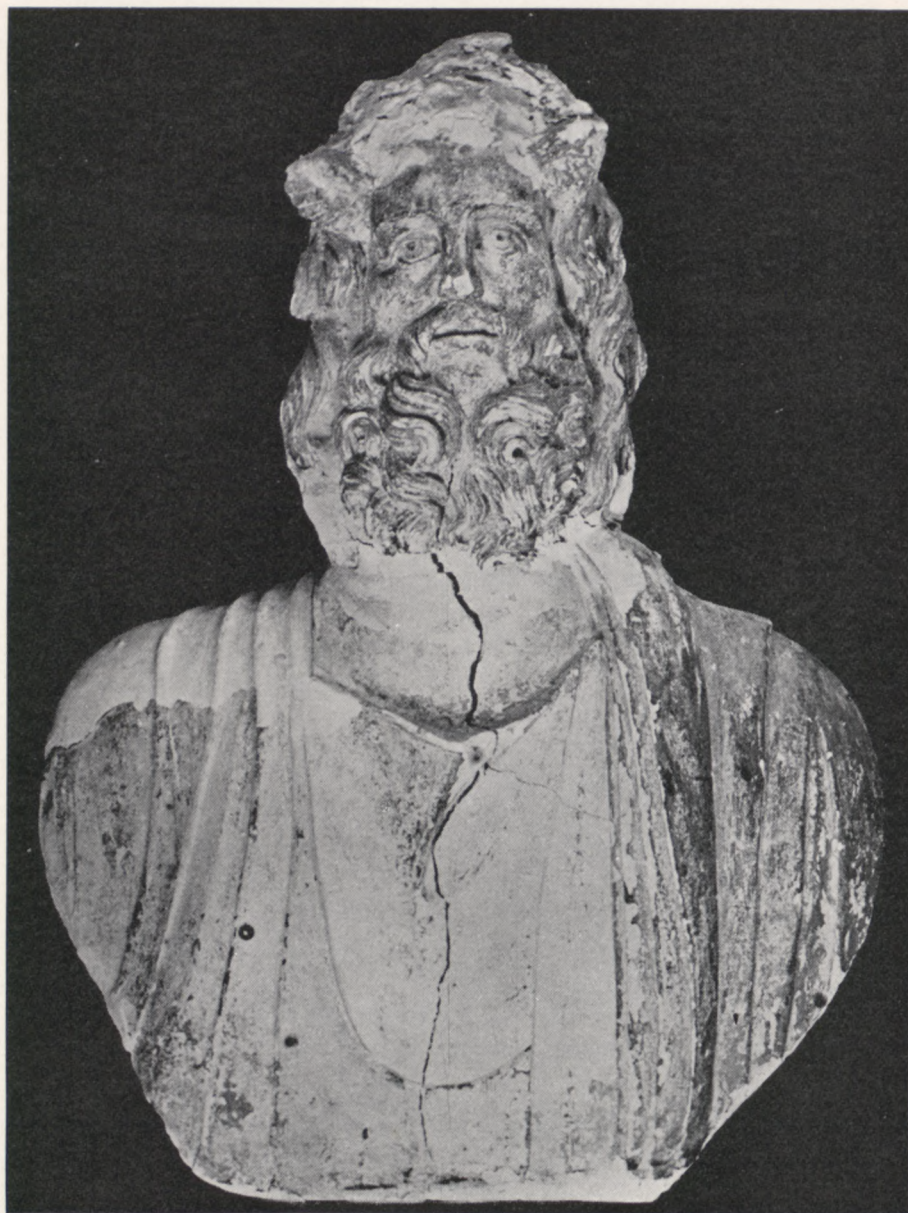


Fig. 41. Stuckbuste in Alexandria (Nr. 16160).

wir die in alexandrinischen Terrakotten und Kleinbronzen üblichen Darstellungen der Fremdvölker und der Volkstypen, und auch die Karikaturen sind sehr selten. Nur die kleinasiatischen Terrakotten können da mit den alexandrinischen wetteifern¹.

Schon die Durchsicht der Frauenfiguren vom gewöhnlichen Tanagrastil zeigt das hohe Niveau der alexandrinischen Kleinkunst². Zu den himationverhüllten Frauen in ihrer Anmut und Farbenpracht gesellen sich die graziösen »Totenbräute«, die den Sensualismus dieser Grossstadt so elegant verkünden³. Zu den allerfeinsten gehört eine dem Alexandriamuseum vom König Fuad vermachte, 43 cm hohe Terrakottafigur, die ich durch das Wohlwollen des Herrn A. Adriani hier veröffentlichen darf (Fig. 35). Die Statuette war ursprünglich mit weissem Überzug gedeckt, der, wie Farbreste zeigen, hellblau bemalt war. Die sanften Züge, die träumenden Augen, die jugendlichen und dabei kräftigen Glieder geben dieser Kleinfigur einen unwiderstehlichen Reiz. Das hochgetürmte Haar ist ein reines Kunststück: richtige Stirnlocken werden von zwei punktierten Wülsten und einem glatten Wulst abgelöst und durch einen Polos gekrönt, und hinter dem Nacken bilden grosse Blätter den dekorativen Hintergrund.

Aus dem Gewimmel der alexandrinischen Genrefiguren greifen wir ein paar heraus. Eine Lampe (Fig. 36)⁴ zeigt auf dem Fussgestell einen kleinen Neger mit runzeligem Gesicht, der zitternd sich an einen Leuchter schmiegt, ein Bild aus einer kalten, alexandrinischen Winternacht. Denkt



Fig. 42. Bronzestatue aus Alexandria. Sammlung Fouquet.

¹ Vgl. z. B. Encyclopédie photographique de l'art: Musée du Louvre, Terracuites grecques II S. 204 ff.

² Breccia o. c. II 1 Taf. A—P. Bulletin van de vereeniging tot bevordering . . . van de

antieke beschaving VI, Dezember 1931, S. 16.

³ Vgl. z. B. Expedition Sieglin II 2 Taf. LXX.

⁴ Breccia o. c. II 1 Taf. XXXI 8 (Nr. 470) und Taf. LVI 2.

man sich die beiden Döchte in den schalenförmigen Öffnungen unten angezündet, fällt das milde Licht auf diesen kauernenden Neger, dessen magerer Rücken ein Meisterstück von Modellierung ist. Die ganze Höhe der ergreifenden Kleingruppe mit Plinthe beträgt nur 8 cm, und das ganze gibt eine hohe Vorstellung von der alexandrinischen Gebrauchskunst.

Von grässlichem Naturalismus ist das 0,105 hohe Terrakottafragment einer Frauenfigur (Fig. 37)¹. Das alte Weib mit dem Blumenkranz um den Hals hat im Nacken eine Öse und war somit zum Aufhängen bestimmt, schwebte also dem in das Zimmer eintretenden entgegen, wie sonst nur Eroten und Niken. Dieselbe Bestimmung hatte eine der bronzenen Tänzerinnen des Mahdiafundes², und ich bin geneigt, die drei grotesken Figuren dieses Fundes wegen der Verwandtschaft mit sicheren alexandrinischen Terrakotten und Bronzen³ für originale Werke aus Alexandria zu halten⁴.

Das Repertoire der alexandrinischen Bildhauer ist somit reichhaltig genug. Die Könige und Königinnen, die Priester, die Frauenwelt, von den schönsten bis zu den abschreckendsten Vertretern, die Typen des bunten Volkslebens dieser Weltstadt: Sklaven⁵, Wasserträger, Tänzer, Boxer⁶, Neger und Libyer⁷, alle leben sie weiter in grossen oder kleinen Bildern, die zugleich von feiner und scharfer Beobachtung und von erquickendem, bisweilen aber auch etwas makaberem Humor zeugen. Aber das legt die Frage nahe: haben die Alexandriner keine hohe Kunst gekannt, keine Götterdarstellungen, die die grossen, klassischen Traditionen weitergeführt haben?

Als Ausgangspunkt bei einer derartigen Untersuchung lohnt es sich einen kolossalen Marmorkopf des Poseidon, Ny Carlsberg 470 a (Fig. 38—40) zu nehmen⁸. Der Kopf misst 49 cm, die Nase ist ergänzt, viele Lockenpartien von Haar und Bart sind wie die Lippen arg beschädigt, die ganze Oberfläche ist verwittert, nur die Stirn und die linke Wange haben die alte, lichte Epidermis bewahrt. Der Kopf war für Einlassung in eine Statue gebildet, und im Nacken ist noch die Spur einer Mantelfalte erhalten. Ein Bruch verläuft schräg unterhalb des Mundes und

¹ Breccia o. c. II 2 Taf. XCVII 544, wo auch ein zweites, ebenso schauerhaftes Weib abgebildet ist.

² Monuments Piot XVIII 1910 Taf. III.

³ Vgl. Breccia o. c. II 2 Taf. LXXV und P. Perdrizet: Bronzes grecs de la Collection Fouquet Taf. XXX—XXXI.

⁴ Der Typus ist freilich so international, dass sie auch kleinasiatisch sein könnten.

⁵ Vgl. besonders Expedition Sieglin II 2 Taf. LXX.

⁶ Perdrizet: Collection Fouquet Taf. XXVI.

⁷ Perdrizet o. c. Taf. XXV. Breccia: Bull. de la Soc. Arch. d'Alexandrie IV 1914 S. 48 und Taf. II. G. H. Beardsley: The Negro in Greek and Roman civilization. Baltimore 1929. S. 77 ff. und 92 ff. Zu den feinsten Darstellungen fremder Rassen gehört der Marmorkopf eines Libyers, der sich jetzt im Allard Pierson Museum von Amsterdam befindet. Athen. Mitt. 34, 1909, S. 29 und Taf. I.

⁸ Tillæg til Billedtavler Taf. VIII 470 a.

teilt den Kopf in zwei Hälften; die Bruchflächen passen jedoch auf einander und sind nur wenig mit Gips gefüllt.

Als Fundstelle wurde Kreta angegeben, aber der Kopf soll lange Zeit in einem Privathaus in Syra aufgestellt gewesen sein, bis er 1913 von Carl Jacobsen erworben wurde.

Dieser temperamentvolle Kolossalkopf, der nur den Meergott darstellen kann und mit seinem düsteren Ausdruck und fliegendem Bart an Michelangelos Moses erinnert, machte zunächst einen so fremdartigen Eindruck, dass ein so feiner Kenner wie Paul Herrmann ihn — mündlich — für eine Fälschung erklärte. Das Stück war allerdings schwer einzuordnen, denn mit dem pergamenischen Altarstil hatte es weder die raffinierte Detailbehandlung¹, die eigenartigen, wie auf der Drehbank hergerichteten Locken, noch, was mehr bedeutet, jene bewusste Abgrenzung des einzelnen Teiles und dessen »Erfüllung mit Eigenleben« gemeinsam, die Kraher mit feinem Sinn als einen für die pergamenische Kunst charakteristischen Zug bezeichnet hat². Nirgends wird an diesem Kopf die Gesamtauffassung dem Detailreichtum und der Kultivierung der »Provinzen« geopfert oder untergeordnet.

Aber ganz schwebt der grosse Poseidonkopf jedoch nicht in der Luft, sondern er hat nahe Verwandten innerhalb der alexandrinischen Plastik. Am nächsten steht wohl die 98 cm hohe, in Alexandria gefundene Stuckbuste, die zuerst in Kairo, jetzt aber in Alexandrias Museum aufgestellt ist (Fig. 41)³. Die Buste war ursprünglich in einem Holzrahmen gefasst und diente wie eine gleichzeitig gefundene, entsprechende Isisbuste⁴ als Medaillonschmuck einer Tempelwand. Die Beziehung auf Isis weist auf Serapis, und Reste von kleinen Flügeln an den Schläfen lassen die in Ägypten nicht ungewöhnliche Kombination: Dionysos-Serapis vermuten⁵. Die gebohrten Pupillen weisen die Arbeit in die römische Kaiserzeit, aber zu Grunde liegt offenbar ein hellenistisches Original, das in dem düsteren und machtvollen Ausdruck der Augen, in dem gewaltigen Schwung der Haar- und besonders der Bartlocken und in der unruhigen Flächenbildung von Stirn und Wangen dem Poseidonkopf Ny Carlsberg nahe verwandt gewesen sein muss.

Vergleichbar ist ferner eine alexandrinische Kleinbronze des geflügelten Silen in der Sammlung Fouquet und zwar wiederum wegen des

¹ Vgl. z. B. den Nereus des Pergamenerfrieses, *Altert. v. Pergamon* III 2 Taf. XXII, oder den Satyrkopf des Berliner Silberreliefs, Winnefeld im 68. Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm Taf. I.

² Kraher: *Hellenistische Köpfe*. Göttinger gelehrte Nachrichten, Phil.-hist. Kl., Altertumswissenschaft, Neue Folge I Nr. 10.

³ Nr. 16160. Breccia: *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* S. 208 nr. 26. C. Edgar: *Catalogue*

du Caire, Greek Sculpture S. 69 und Taf. XXXII nr. 27603. v. Bissing: *Aegyptische Kultbilder der Ptolemaier- und Römerzeit* (1936) Taf. 1 Abb. 3a.

⁴ Edgar o. c. Taf. XXXII nr. 27604. v. Bissing o. c. Taf. 1 Abb. 3b und S. 10, wo er auch den Isistypus als hellenistisch bestimmt.

⁵ P. Perdrizet: *Collection Fouquet* S. 18 f.

drohenden Ausdrucks der Augen und der Linienführung der langen Bartlocken (Fig. 42)¹. Hier haben wir, wie in dem Kopenhagener Marmorkopf aus Kreta, entschieden ein hellenistisches Original des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. vor uns.

Wegen der ähnlichen Bildung der Augen, die so pathetisch aus den schattigen Augenhöhlen herausblicken, wegen der unruhigen Stirn und

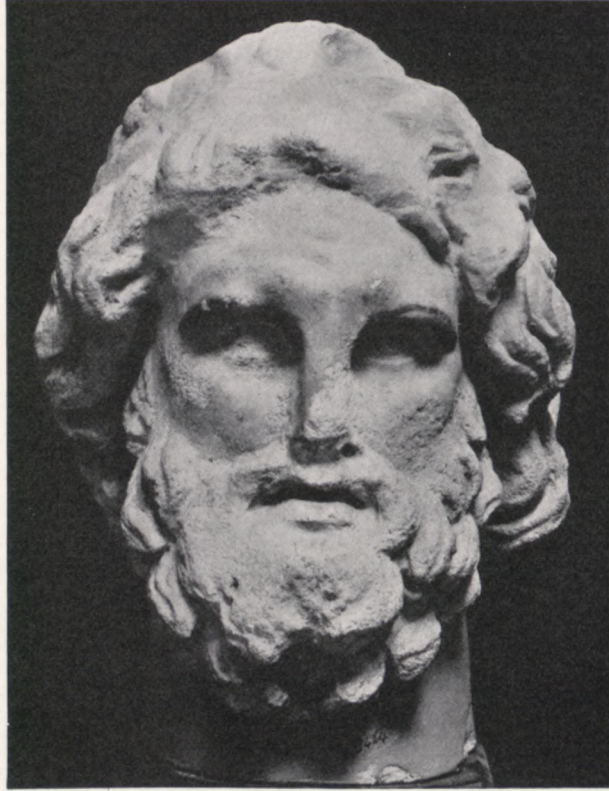


Fig. 43. Poseidonkopf. Alexandria.

der asketisch mageren Wangen lässt sich auch ein anderes alexandrini-sches Werk, ein 33 cm hoher, ursprünglich mit Stuck überzogener Kalksteinkopf im Museum von Alexandria heranziehen, den man ebenso gut Poseidon wie Serapis benennen dürfte (Fig. 43)². Haar und Bart sind kürzer, aber die Bohrtechnik und die charakteristische Ausarbeitung der einzelnen Locken sind wie am Kopenhagener Poseidon. Ob die Arbeit noch hellenistisch oder schon römisch ist, lässt sich schwer entscheiden, weil dieser eigentümliche Barockstil sich offenbar ziemlich unverändert durch Jahrhunderte erhielt.

¹ Perdrizet o. c. Taf. IX. oben in der Mitte.

² Nr. 3464.

Ein gutes Beispiel dafür ist das aus Fayum stammende, 39 cm hohe Marmorfragment in Alexandria, das man wohl mit Sicherheit als Poseidon bezeichnen darf (Fig. 44)¹. Der Kopf war in zwei Stücke zerbrochen, ist aber richtig zusammengesetzt, der Hinterkopf war, wie auch eine Partie mitten im Kinnbart, in Stuck ergänzt. Der Ausdruck ist sanfter, aber es bleibt viel vom Pathos des Kopenhagener Poseidon. Die

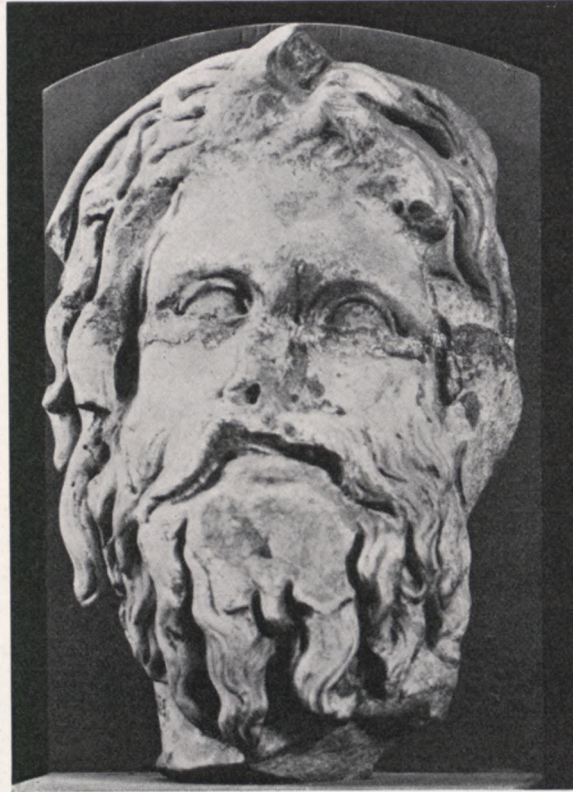


Fig. 44. Poseidonkopf. Alexandria.

tiefe Auflösung der Locken durch Bohrung und die ganz klassische Augenbildung weisen das Kopffragment in die römische Kaiserzeit.

Wir haben somit eine ganze alexandrinische »Götterwelt« um den Kopenhagener Poseidon herum gruppieren können. Dass dieser Kopf auf Kreta gefunden wurde, darf nicht befremden, denn Kreta gehörte ja politisch der Machtsphäre der Ptolemäer an, und die Auffindung eines Marmorkopfes von solchem Aussehen auf dieser Insel bestätigt sehr schön die Vermutung Lippolds (oben S. 8) von einer Verbreitung des alexandrinischen Kunststils nach der Ägäis.

¹ Nr. 22235. Bull. de la Soc. Arch. d'Alexandrie Nr. 26, 1931, S. 268 und Taf. XXXII fig. 2.

Für noch weitere Verbreitung spricht ein bei den Ausgrabungen in Korinth gefundener Marmorkopf¹, den man beliebig als Zeus, Poseidon oder Asklepios benennen darf, und dessen formelle Einzelheiten — Stirn, Augen, Lockenfülle, Bartbildung — diesem kretischen Kopf so nahe stehen, dass er von derselben Künstlerhand herrühren könnte.

Ferner halten wir diese alexandrinische Barockgruppe² trotz der Verschiedenheit des Stiles für gleichzeitig mit dem Pergamonaltar. Wo finden wir aber die Werke, an die die Künstler dieser Skulpturen ihren Stil angeknüpft haben?

Die erste Stufe innerhalb der vom Kopenhagener Poseidon (Fig. 38—40) vertretenen Tradition bildet der 17 cm hohe Bronzekopf des Poseidon, den Arndt neulich veröffentlicht hat, und der sich damals bei Barsanti in Rom befand (Fig. 45—46)³. Die fliegenden Haarlocken, der gewaltige Schwung des Bartes, der Bau des Gesichtes im allgemeinen erinnern an den Ny Carlsberg Kopf, aber der Ausdruck ist weniger düster, die Wangen voller, die Lockenmassen sind nicht so aufgelöst. Arndt verglich mit dem Poseidon des Kronprinzen Rupprecht⁴, besonders aber mit dem Poseidon der Sammlung Loeb⁵ und datierte die ganze Gruppe noch ins 4. Jahrhundert hinauf. Diese Datierung scheint mir zu früh. Die beiden Werke sind dazu viel zu theatralisch, und der Körperbau wie die Linienführung der Bronze Loeb erinnern so deutlich an den Termenherrscher, den Lippold jetzt wiederum ins 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. hinaufdatiert⁶, dass wir mit Entschiedenheit die genannten Werke als hellenistisch bezeichnen dürfen. Mit Recht verglich Arndt den Kopf Barsanti mit dem nur 4 cm hohen Bronzekopf des Zeus, der 1927 im Heiligtum des Zeus Atabirios auf Rhodos gefunden wurde. Dieses mit Olivenkranz geschmückte Köpfchen bilden wir deshalb hier (Fig. 47—49) wieder ab, weil es nicht nur ein stilistisches Bindeglied zwischen dem Kopf Barsanti (Fig. 45—46) und dem Kopenhagener Poseidon (Fig. 38—40) bildet, sondern auch weil es das einzige auf Rhodos gefundene Werk ist, das die Entstehung der Laokoongruppe grade innerhalb der rhodischen Kunst verständlich macht. Sonst sucht man vergebens im Museum von Rhodos nach Vorläufern des pathetischen Laokoon innerhalb der hellenistischen Skulpturen. Diesen kleinen Zeus-

¹ De Waele: Amer. Journ. of Arch. 37, 1933, S. 439 und Taf. LII, 1.

² Wir rechnen dazu auch den Herakleskopf auf einer Gipsform, Otto Rubensohn: Hellenistisches Silbergerät Taf. VIII 7 und S. 21. Vgl. dazu Noshy: The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt S. 113.

³ Corolla Curtius S. 109 und Taf. 30—31.

⁴ Ebenda S. 108 und Taf. 28—29.

⁵ Joh. Sieveking: Die Bronzen der Sammlung Loeb Taf. 17.

⁶ Gnomon 1936 S. 584. Er vergleicht mit Arndt-Bruckmann 1071—2 und bezeichnet die Statue als Ausläufer der lyssippischen Tradition. Dasselbe gilt von dem Bronzeposeidon Loeb, den A. Rumpf (Griech. und röm. Kunst S. 72) für noch später, d. h. für gleichzeitig mit dem Pergamonaltar hält. Darin stimmt ihm Zschietzschmann (Hellenistische und römische Kunst S. 51) zu.



Fig. 45. Bronzekopf des Poseidon Barsanti. Rom.



Fig. 46. Profil des Kopfes fig. 45.

kopf datiert Jacopi richtig ins 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.¹, und in dasselbe, vielleicht sogar in den Anfang des 2. Jahrhunderts, gehört die ganze Gruppe, von der wir also einige alexandrinische Skulpturen des 2. Jahrhunderts ableiten möchten.

Sonst ist das Serapisbild das bekannteste von allen Götterbildern Alexandrias, und unzählig sind die Variationen aus den vielen Serapis-



Fig. 47. Kopf des Zeus Atabirios. Rhodos.

kapellen, die sich dem von Bryaxis² geschaffenen Bild des Gottes anschliessen³. Wegen der besonderen Technik greifen wir zwei Serapisbildnisse aus der Reihe heraus. Zunächst ein Kopffragment von un-

¹ Clara Rhodos V 1 S. 71 ff., Nr. 14, fig. 43—46. Ich verdanke Direktor Laurenzi die den Abbildungen zu Grunde liegenden Photographien.

² Amelung: *Revue arch.* 1903, II, S. 177 ff. Picard: *Mon. Piot* 28, 1925—26, S. 127 ff. Lippold: *Vat. Katalog III* S. 110 ff., Nr. 539 und *Festschrift Arndt* S. 115 f. Harald Ingholt: *Rapport préliminaire sur la*

première campagne des fouilles de Hama (Vid. *Selsk. Arch. Kunsth. Medd.* I 3. 1934) S. 23 ff. W. Weber: *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten zu Berlin*, Textband S. 25 ff.

³ *Athen. Mitt.* 31, 1906, S. 55 ff. und *Taf. VI—VII. Breccia: Alexandria ad Aegyptum* S. 215 f., nr. 49, fig. 109.



Fig. 48. Profil des Kopfes fig. 47.



Fig. 49. Profil des Kopfes fig. 47.

bekanntem Fundort im Museum von Alexandria (Fig. 50)¹. Nur die 50 cm hohe Maske ist erhalten, der ganze Nackenteil war in Gips ergänzt. Es ist ein ruhiger zeusartiger Typus. Merkwürdig sind die Reste roter Farbe am Bart, an den Augen und an der Stirn unterhalb der Haargrenze; die erhaltenen Spuren lassen erkennen, dass der ganze Kopf ursprünglich zunächst rot bemalt und darauf vergoldet war; viele Über-

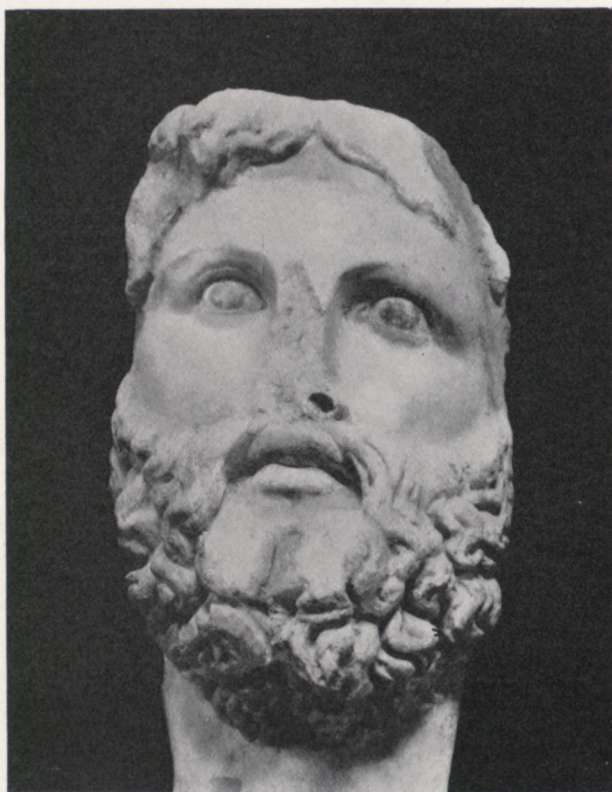


Fig. 50. Serapiskopf. Alexandria.

reste der Vergoldung waren bei der Auffindung des Kopfes noch sichtbar. Diese eigenartige Technik, die Kobylina an einem alexandrinischen Knabekopf im Museum für bildende Kunst in Moskva erkannt und von der geläufigen Vergoldung der Mumienmasken von Stuck richtig abgeleitet hat², ist in Alexandria gar nicht selten. Wir bilden als zweites Beispiel das grosse Fragment der hölzernen Serapisstatue aus Batn Herith im Fayum, jetzt in Alexandria ab (Fig. 51)³. Das 1,90 m hohe Stück war also aus demselben Material wie der Kern der Serapisstatue von Bryaxis gebildet⁴, und das Holz war zunächst mit einer Schicht

¹ Nr. 3912. Breccia o. c. S. 216, nr. 52.

² Arch. Anz. 43, 1928, S. 69 ff., Beilage 6.

³ Nr. 23352.

⁴ Amelung l. c. S. 187.

von Stuck bedeckt, darauf waren die Gewänder rot, die Augen schwarz gemalt, während Gesicht, Hals und Bartlocken noch reichliche Spuren der Vergoldung zeigen. Diese Farbenverteilung hat nichts mit chryselephantiner Technik, sondern, wie schon gesagt, nur mit derjenigen der Mumienmasken zu tun und bestätigt dadurch ihren alexandrinischen Ursprung. Der rohe Stil dieser Holzstatue lässt wiederum die niedrige Stufe der alexandrinischen Volkskunst erkennen, die wir (oben S. 11f) auch in der Marmorkunst haben beobachten können.

Rote Bemalung als Unterlage für Vergoldung ist auch, obgleich spärlich, ausserhalb des Gebietes alexandrinischer Kunst nachzuweisen. Die Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek besitzt einen 54 cm hohen Kolossalkopf des Zeus (Fig. 52)¹, der in Ceperano (Fregellae) im südlichen Latium gefunden worden ist. An diesem Marmorkopf sind die Augen in roter Farbe mit hell ausgesparten Pupillen gemalt, ebenso sind die Augenbrauen, die Lippen, der ganze Bart und Teile der Wangen mit roter Farbe bedeckt, und zwar ist die Verteilung so, dass man die Farbe nur als Untermalung für Vergoldung auffassen kann. Das wird noch durch einen Hephaistoskopf im Museo Mussolini bestätigt, dessen ähnlich verteilte, rote Bemalung noch Reste von Vergoldung bewahrt hat. Es sind beide Werke römische Arbeiten der Kaiserzeit — der Zeuskopf mit dem Typus: Zeus von Otricoli eng verwandt —, und doch haben wir also hier technisch ein Stück Alexandrinismus, sogar von der unerfreulichsten Art: Vergoldung des edlen Marmors. Der Weg, den diese Technik nach Rom genommen hat, zeigt eine von den Italienern in Lebena, der Hafenstadt von Gortyn, ge-



Fig. 51. Holzstatue des Serapis. Alexandria.

¹ Nr. 520. Brunn-Bruckmann Text zu Taf. 605, fig. 1. Lippold in Festschrift Arndt S. 123 fig. 7 und Vatik. Katalog III I S. 111.

Roschers Lexikon s. v. Zeus S. 736. Fr. Poulsen: La Collection Ustinov S. 16 f. Franklin P. Johnson: Lysippos S. 140 f.

fundene, von den Bauern zerschlagene, vergoldete Marmorstatue des Asklepios, von der ein Fuss als einziger Überrest im Museum von Kandia aufbewahrt wird¹. Wiederum scheint Kreta der Vermittler des alexandrinischen Stils zu sein.

Das Nachleben des alexandrinischen Barockstils in der Römerzeit geht noch aus anderen mit dem Kopenhagener Poseidonkopf verwandten

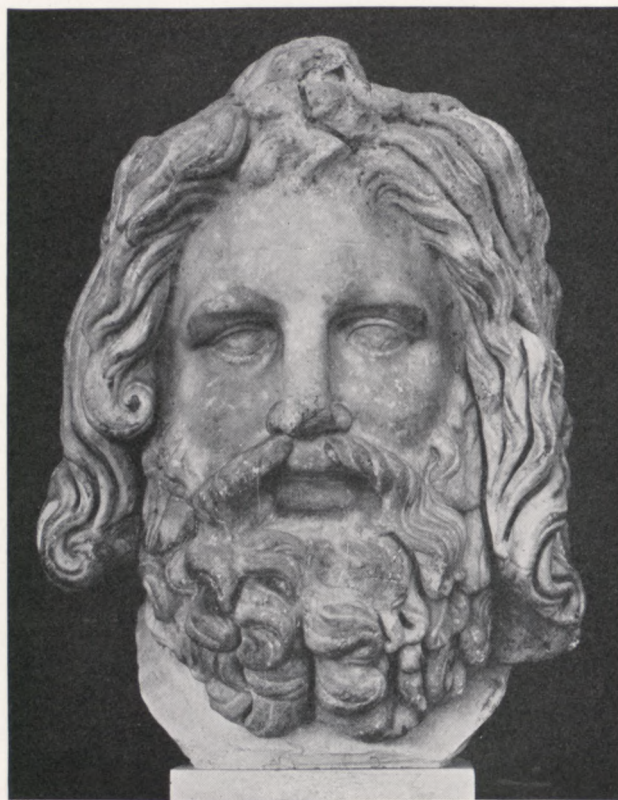


Fig. 52. Zeuskopf. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

Werken hervor. Ähnlich sind z. B. ein Kentaurenkopf des Konservatorenpalastes² und — freilich mit etwas übertriebenen Einzelheiten — die Herme eines Meergottes in der Villa Albani³.

Damit kommen wir auf die viel erörterte Frage nach der Beeinflussung der römischen Kunst von Alexandria her⁴. Die in den alexandrinischen Gräbern erhaltenen Wandmalereien geben zwar keine hohe

¹ Halbherr: Rendiconti dei Lincei 1901 S. 301.

² Brunn-Bruckmann 535. Helbig-Amelung: Führer nr. 925.

³ Arndt-Amelung 3580.

⁴ Bandinelli: Bull. de la Soc. d'Arch. d'Alexandrie 24, 1932, S. 33 ff.

Vorstellung von der Malerkunst Alexandrias, aber da haben wir eben mit Volkskunst zu rechnen, und die Wandgemälde z. B. des Königs-palastes mögen auf einem viel höheren Niveau gestanden haben. Die vielen Motive aus dem Nillande in der römischen Malerei¹ beweisen ebenso wenig, wie die chinoiseries der Rokokokunst eine künstlerische Abhängigkeit von chinesischer Malerei beweisen. Aber mit Recht hebt Rizzo hervor, dass viele Einzelheiten, besonders die Rautenmuster und die Nachahmung von Alabasterwänden in Stuck, der Wandmalereien der Casa dei Grifi auf dem Palatin auf alexandrinische Vorbilder schliessen lassen². Ich möchte sogar einen Schritt weiter gehen und vermuten, dass diese farbenprächtigen Gemälde aus der sullanischen Zeit uns wenigstens eine Idee von dem reichen Wandschmuck der alexandrinischen Paläste geben können. Im einzelnen bleibt aber die Abhängigkeit römischer oder kampanischer Wandgemälde³ von den verlorenen Werken der grossen alexandrinischen Malerei natürlich zweifelhaft. Ebenso wenig können die wichtigen Ausgrabungen von den Gräbern in Mustapha Pacha, die als Häuser bald von echt ägyptischem, bald — wie Grab II mit dem Oikos — von griechisch-nordischem Typus und mit Peristylgärten als Centra angelegt sind, für die sichere alexandrinische Herkunft der ausgedehnten Peristylhäuser der kampanischen Städte beweiskräftig sein, aber das Problem muss immer wieder erwogen werden, um so mehr, weil das Gartengrab seit der 12. Dynastie in Ägypten einheimisch war⁴, und eine Verbindung von Grab und Wohnhaus immer naheliegt. Dazu kommt, dass die bisher bekannten griechischen Häuser in Olynthos, Delos, Priene gepflasterte Höfe, aber keine Peristylgärten haben und somit für das römische Patrizierhaus kein Vorbild gewesen sein können. Dass ein besonderer Teil des römischen Wohnhauses, die sogenannten diaetae, schon im alexandrinischen Königspalast vorhanden war, hat man aus Strabo schliessen können⁵.

Unmöglich ist es vorläufig zu entscheiden, ob das bekannteste der griechischen Idealporträts, das Bildnis des blinden Homer, wie Bernoulli glaubt⁶, von einem alexandrinischen Vorbild abzuleiten ist, oder wie andere es halten, eher mit dem Laokoon und der rhodischen Kunst zu verbinden ist⁷. In der Behandlung dieser Frage ist jedoch schon ein Ergebnis gewonnen worden, indem man erkannt hat, dass das Homerbild ursprünglich mit anderen Dichterbildnissen zusammen gruppiert gewesen

¹ Z. B. G. E. Rizzo: La pittura ellenistico-romana Taf. 79 und 83.

² Monumenti della Pittura Antica fasc. I Taf. I und S. 11. Für die Datierung vgl. Journ. of hell. stud. 57, 1937, S. 270.

³ Vgl. Monumenti della Pittura fasc. II S. 30. L. Curtius: Die Wandmalerei Pompejis S. 68 f.

⁴ Maspéro: Bibliothèque Égyptologique VIII 1900 S. 241 ff.

⁵ Vgl. F. Noack und Lehmann-Hartleben: Baugesch. Untersuchungen ... von Pompeji (Berlin-Leipzig 1936) S. 205 Anm. 4.

⁶ Griech. Ikon. I S. 2 und 17.

⁷ Vgl. meine Ausführung in Die Antike X 1934 S. 202 f.

ist, von denen man noch die Kopien nach zwei Köpfen — in Athen und Kopenhagen — nachweisen kann¹.

Vielleicht wird der Zufall uns eines Tages weiter führen, wie bei dem Poseidonkopf von Kreta in der Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, und uns auch über den Stilzusammenhang dieser Köpfe aufklären.

Ohne, wie einst Schreiber, dem Panalexandrinismus zu verfallen, gilt es, sich von der trostlosen Erhaltung dieser alten Weltstadt nicht entmutigen zu lassen, sondern sowohl für die Rekonstruktion der Stadt selbst als auch für die Wiedergewinnung der alexandrinischen Plastik alle Quellen zu erforschen, alle Bausteine zusammenzusuchen².

¹ Vgl. Poulsen: *Acta Archaeologica* I 1930 S. 31 ff.

² Ueber die Bedeutung Alexandrias für die Ausbildung der altchristlichen Kunst vgl.

v. Bissing: *Die Kirche von Abd el Gadir* (Mitt. des deutsch. Inst. in Kairo 7, 1937) S. 128 ff., bes. S. 182 f.

UN HIPPOPOTAME DE L'ÉGYPTE ARCHAÏQUE

PAR

OTTO KOEFOED-PETERSEN

LA dernière acquisition de la collection égyptienne de la Glyptothèque, une petite statuette représentant un hippopotame (fig. 1—2 et 8), provient de la collection du baron von Bissing, l'une des plus importantes collections particulières d'œuvres d'art et d'antiquités égyptiennes qui aient été rassemblées. Peu après la grande guerre, la collection v. Bissing fut incorporée à celle du banquier hollandais, C. Lunsingh Scheurleer, à la Haye, et, à la dispersion de celle-ci, il y a quelques années, la Fondation Ny Carlsberg acheta l'image de l'hippopotame et la déposa à la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg¹. Ce fut, pour cette dernière, une acquisition considérable, car cette pièce montre une phase de la sculpture égyptienne qui, jusqu'alors, n'était pas du tout représentée dans notre galerie, et qu'en soi-même elle constitue, peut-on dire une oeuvre maîtresse de la plastique animale égyptienne.

La figure a déjà été précédemment publiée et traitée par le baron v. Bissing, qui l'a comparée avec une série d'autres images d'hippopotames de l'ancienne Égypte dans son étude: «Altägyptische Nilpferd-Statuetten», dans «Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst», 1909, pp. 127—131², étude que je suppose connue et à laquelle je me réfère pour ce qui suit.

L'hippopotame a été acquis par le baron von Bissing en 1909 au Caire, dans le commerce d'art. Il n'existe aucun renseignement sur sa prove-

¹ acquise en Mai 1933, inventoriée sous la signature A. I. N. 1722.

² mentionnée plus tard par v. Bissing: *Ägyptische Kunstgeschichte* I p. 21, fig. 150, 158; Fr. Poulsen: *Ägyptens Kunst* 2ème éd. p. 19. La figure a été exposée, au printemps 1929, chez Dr. Burg & Cie à Berlin, cf.

Katalog der Ausstellung ägyptischer Kunst, Mars et Avril 1929 p. 10, pl. I; dans l'automne 1931, à Amsterdam, à une exposition organisée par Koninkl. oudheidkunning Genootschap dans le Rijksmuseum, cf. D. Cohen: *Egypte en Voor-Azië*, pl. II.

nance; vraisemblablement, et comme von Bissing le suppose¹, il provient d'Abydos. La figure est exécutée dans une lourde pierre calcaire² formée de couches superposées, de couleur brun-rouge, à nombreuses taches sombres, qui d'une manière saisissante rend la peau épaisse de l'animal, effet encore accru par le polissage et le brillant de la pierre. L'alternance des couches dures et tendres du calcaire le rend extrêmement friable, causant à l'exécution de grandes difficultés, que le sculpteur a toutefois su vaincre avec une sûreté professionnelle consommée, réussissant à se rendre pleinement maître de sa matière.

La statuette mesure, sur le dos, 0 m 165 de hauteur et, du museau à la pointe de la queue, 0 m 32. Elle est excellemment conservée: sauf quelques insignifiantes éraflures de sa surface, ça et là, et quelques légères détériorations à la pointe de la queue et aux pieds, elle a totalement échappé aux injures du temps.

Au premier aspect, le petit hippopotame fait l'impression d'être une copie très réaliste de la nature; mais une observation plus approfondie montre qu'en réalité il a été l'objet d'une rigoureuse stylisation qui, à la propre manière égyptienne, rejette au second plan tous les détails de moindre importance, pour ne s'attacher qu'aux traits qui distinguent et caractérisent le balourd hippopotame. L'attention du sculpteur s'est concentrée tout entière sur la lourde tête pendante de l'animal qui, par une profonde entaille sur les épaules, représentant sans doute l'épaississement de la peau formant cuirasse sur le corps, est séparée du tronc court et informe. Celui-ci n'est indiqué qu'à grands traits et beaucoup d'importance n'a pas été attachée à son exécution. La forme du museau pendant, à la lèvre inférieure légèrement avançante, offre la belle courbe d'une lyre. Entre les yeux énormes et saillants, le front forme une dépression rhomboïde, à côtés convexes (Fig. 8, p. 64). Les gros yeux sont d'un ovale très allongé; dans les paupières supérieures, à demi retombantes, les plis de la peau sont traduits par quatre demi-cercles concentriques qui y sont gravés, et, sous l'oeil, un pli de peau, en forme nettement accusée de bourrelet, s'étendant du coin interne de l'oeil aux petites oreilles pointantes, répond exactement, dans la construction rigoureusement symétrique de la figure, aux saillies des narines dépassant la pointe du nez.

La forte stylisation et la concentration des formes de l'animal ont conduit, certainement de façon tout à fait consciente, à certaines divergences de la nature dont les plus frappantes sont qu'en opposition

¹ d'après renseignement verbal.

² la matière a été désignée jusqu'ici, selon l'indication de v. Bissing, comme du bois pétrifié — D. Cohen: *Egypte en Voor-Azië* p. 7, la désigne prudemment comme «steen» — mais un traitement à

l'acide montre que ce doit être un calcaire. Je suis reconnaissant à M. Jørgen Knudsen pour cette définition de la matière. Sur l'emploi de bois pétrifié dans l'art et l'artisanat égyptien, voir A. Lucas: *Ancient Egyptian Materials* 2ème éd. p. 395.



Fig. 1. Hippopotame archaïque. Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg.

nette avec la réalité, les pattes de derrière sont plus courtes que celles de devant et que les narines divergent par en bas, au lieu de converger. Par contre ce ne saurait guère être volontairement que, des pattes de derrière, la gauche est plus courte que la droite, ce qui fait que l'animal boite un peu: mais la cause en est sûrement due à la pierre employée. L'exécution très superficielle des pattes porte à croire que la figure a été faite d'un bloc de pierre offrant, dans son état naturel, une certaine ressemblance avec un hippopotame et qui, par sa forme, a invité le sculpteur à cette présentation. Ces divergences de la nature, de même que la reproduction synthétisée des formes de l'animal, montrent aussi, comme von Bissing l'a souligné également, que la figure, si excellente que soit la forme de l'animal, et si complètement réaliste qu'en soit l'effet, ne peut cependant impliquer une étude préalable du modèle, mais est basée sur une série d'images spontanées qui sont restées dans la mémoire de l'artiste.

Dans une petite figure, en breccia rougeâtre, d'un taureau couché du British Museum, von Bissing a trouvé un proche parent de notre hippopotame; E. A. Wallis Budge le date du début de l'époque historique¹. Mais plus prochainement apparentée avec lui que ce taureau est pourtant la magnifique statue en aragonite d'un bavien assis (Fig. 3—4) qui fut acquise, il y a une dizaine d'années par le Musée de Berlin² et qui seul, parmi les grandes images d'animaux en ronde-bosse du «Frühzeit» de l'art égyptien, est sûrement daté par une inscription: sur la face antérieure du socle est gravé le nom du roi «Narmer»³, encadré du faucon couronné Serekh (= façade de palais?). De la même manière magistrale, la forme des animaux est dégagée du bloc de pierre, dans les deux sculptures. L'hippopotame de la Glyptothèque et le singe du Musée de Berlin concordent si exactement, trait pour trait, qu'ils doivent provenir de la même école d'art, sinon du même atelier. On rencontre, dans ces deux oeuvres, le même traitement supérieur de la masse de pierre, la même exacte reproduction des formes de l'animal, n'insistant que sur les traits essentiels, apparemment si complètement réalistes, mais en vérité adoucis pourtant par la stylisation.

L'hippopotame nouvellement acquis par la Glyptothèque indique certainement non seulement un apogée dans la représentation de cet animal dans l'archaïsme égyptien, mais est, sans nul doute, la reproduction la plus importante que l'art égyptien en ait laissé. Il ne se trouve — à ma connaissance — aucune autre reproduction plastique

¹ (E. A. Wallis Budge:) Guide to the fourth, fifth and sixth Egyptian Room (1922) p. 14. L'inscription gravée sur le socle, qui nomme le roi Teti, de la 6ème dyn., est une falsification moderne.

² A. Scharff: Die Altertümer der Vor-

und Frühzeit Ägyptens II (Staatl. Museum zu Berlin. Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung Bd. 5) p. 64 f, pl. 19.

³ = Menes, le fondateur à demi mythique du royaume des pharaons?, ou plutôt un de ses prédécesseurs les plus immédiats.

d'un hippopotame de l'Égypte donnant, comme notre figure, une telle impression de solidité et de concentration dans la composition artistique, une conception aussi surprenante et vivante de la nature de l'animal dans le cadre rigoureux d'un style.

Appartenant à la grande faune du Nil, l'hippopotame a de bonne heure conquis place à ce titre dans l'art égyptien, et — particulière-



Fig. 2. Vue frontale de l'hippopotame archaïque de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg.

ment aux temps préhistoriques et au commencement de l'époque historique, ainsi qu'à l'époque féodale, celle dite «Moyen» Empire — a été souvent représenté avec une grande compréhension des curieuses formes de l'animal¹.

Un hippopotame, que nous montre une pétroglyphe gravée sur la paroi d'un rocher, sur la route qui, à travers le désert, conduit de Koptos

¹ dans Münch. Jahrb. 1909 p. 127, v. Bis-sing fait observer que les plus anciennes images égyptiennes d'hippopotames ne représentent pas l'espèce vivant actuellement en Afrique, mais une espèce naine, largement répandue autrefois dans les régions

littorales, au sud-est de la Méditerranée; cela expliquerait aussi l'image, qui se rencontre dans les reliefs de mastabas, d'un crocodile portant dans sa gueule un hippopotame, par ex. Steindorff: Ti pl. 113.

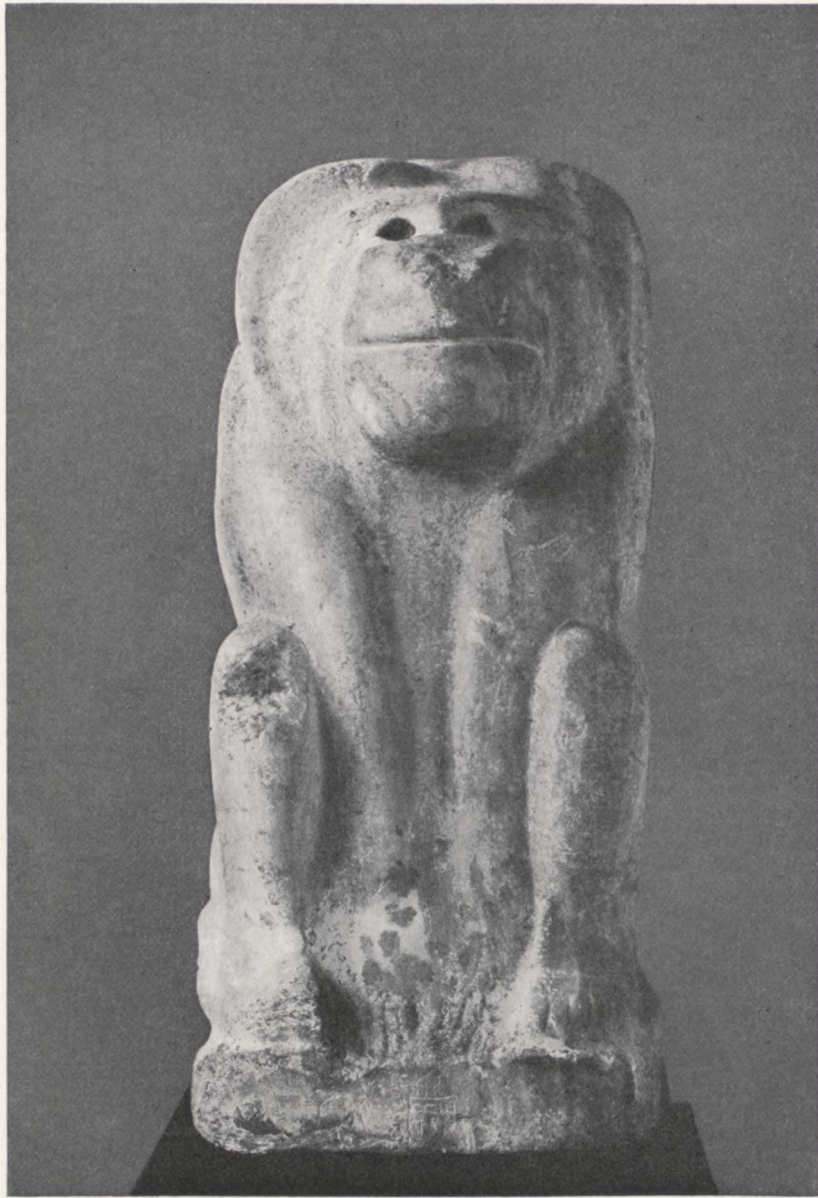


Fig. 3. Statue de singe, époque de Narmer. Musées d'Etat, Berlin.

à la Mer Rouge, compte certainement parmi les plus anciennes représentations de cet animal. On voit un homme lançant une pique contre l'hippopotame déjà atteint d'un harpon¹. Il date de la période de la

¹ H. A. Winkler: Völker und Völkerbewegungen im vorgeschichtlichen Ober- ägypten im Lichte neuer Felsbilderrunde, fig. 8.

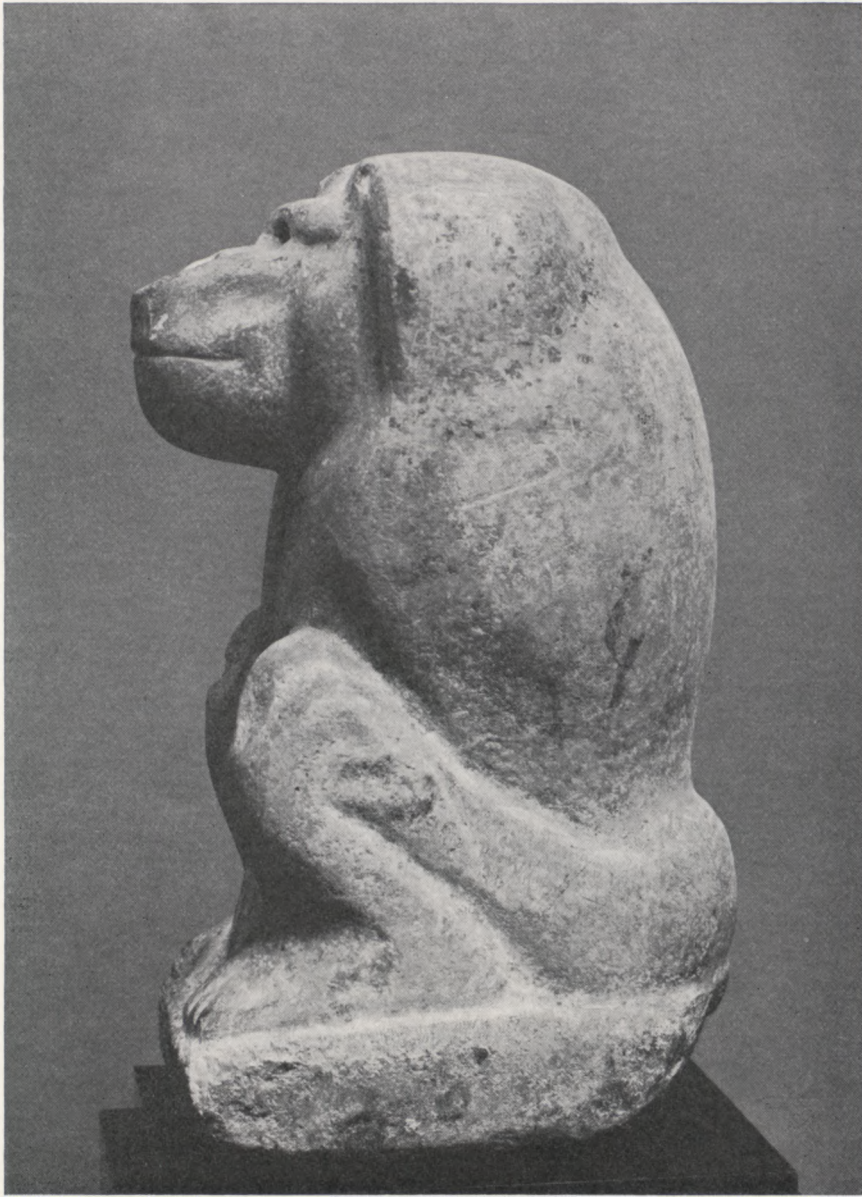


Fig. 4. Le singe de Berlin de profil.

civilisation nagadienne et, par conséquent, est contemporain des vases de la poterie dite «white-lined pottery»¹. Les figures en silhouettes de l'animal découpées dans un galet plat, qu'on trouve dans presque

¹ les matériaux les plus importants ont été rassemblés par Winkler: op. cit. p. 25, note 5. Parmi les marques des potiers, sur

les vases d'argile préhistoriques, on trouve de grossières esquisses d'hippopotames, Capart: Primitive Art in Egypt, Fig. 111.

toutes les fouilles de lieux préhistoriques¹, font presque l'effet de dessins. Ces images ont été employées tantôt comme amulettes², tantôt comme palettes à fard³ et parfois elles ont tenu l'emploi de figures funéraires, devant servir au mort de gibier de chasse, dans l'autre monde⁴.

La représentation des hippopotames en ronde bosse remonte tout aussi loin dans le passé que celles des vases et celles qui sont gravées au trait. A travers différents types et formes, on peut les suivre jusqu'au commencement de la période historique. A l'exception de la statuette de la Glyptothèque et d'une autre au Musée d'Athènes, qui sera mentionnée plus loin, ces images sont toutes de petites figures qui présentent deux types principaux⁵. Le type le plus ancien se distingue par une stylisation presque géométrique, bien que le plus souvent fort maladroite, et représente toujours l'animal debout: la grosse tête pendante a tendance à se réduire en un système de quadrilatères, les narines saillantes, ainsi que les yeux et les petites oreilles, sont quelquefois traduits plastiquement par des saillies, d'autres fois ils ne sont indiqués que par des forages, de même que la gueule. Le corps, boudiné et lourdaud, pourvu d'une petite queue dans les meilleures pièces, est porté par quatre pattes rabougries, du traitement plastique desquelles on ne s'est jamais soucié. Un type plus récent, qui manifestement appartient déjà à l'époque historique et n'est également connu que par des animaux debout, suit dans l'ensemble les mêmes lignes essentielles pour la représentation de l'animal; il est caractérisé par des formes plus élancées et particulièrement par la tête qui est redressée et tendue, ce qui, dans les plus mauvaises pièces, donne à l'hippopotame représenté une certaine ressemblance avec un porc⁶.

Parmi les nombreuses représentations plastiques d'hippopotames de la période préhistorique et des premiers temps de la période historique de l'Égypte, outre la statuette de la Glyptothèque, ne se trouve, nous l'avons déjà dit, qu'une seule autre grande statuette de l'animal, qui doit également être datée du commencement de l'époque historique. C'est une curieuse statuette qui se trouve au Musée d'Athènes⁷ et repré-

¹ Capart: op. cit. p. 176.

² Petrie: Prehistoric Egypt pl. 9, fig. 28—31.

³ Petrie: Prehistoric Egypt Corpus pl. 52.

⁴ il en est manifestement de même pour une petite figure de silex trouvée près de Kahun. Petrie: Kahun, Gurob et Hawara p. 30, pl. 8, 22, qu'il, en raison du lieu de la trouvaille, datait de la XIIème Dyn. Capart: Prim. Art p. 152 l'attribuait exactement à la période préhistorique.

⁵ clairement indiqué par v. Bissing,

Münch. Jahrb. 1909 p. 127. Cf. aussi v. Bissing, Zeitschr. f. ägypt. Sprache. 36 p. 124; Capart: Prim. Art p. 176; Petrie: Prehistoric Egypt pl. 8, fig. 44—45.

⁶ Il faut ajouter que l'hippopotame se trouve aussi représenté sur les vases à figures zoomorphes, v. Bissing, Zeitschr. f. ägypt. Sprache 36, p. 123.

⁷ A. Wiedemann, Orient. Lit-Zeit. 3 (1900) col. 86; Capart, Prim. Art p. 177 fig. 139; v. Bissing, Münch. Jahrb. 1909 p. 128.

sente un hippopotame dans une attitude couchée qui n'est autrement employée dans l'art égyptien que pour représenter des lions. C'est une oeuvre très grossière. La maladroite exécution des formes est peut-être en partie due à la matière employée, un bloc de granit blanc et noir qui a causé de grandes difficultés au sculpteur. Le corps et les membres



Fig. 5. Hippopotame en faïence bleue. Moyen Empire. Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg.

ne sont pas du tout travaillés, mais paraissent presque n'être qu'une masse informe dont la tête se dégage, seulement indiquée à grands traits. Malgré la lourdeur et la maladresse de son exécution, cette figure n'est pourtant pas sans produire une certaine impression de monumentalité.

Avec la disparition des civilisations archaïques de l'Égypte, peu après la fondation de l'Empire des Pharaons, les statuettes d'hippopotames disparaissent, pour ne reparaitre que de nombreux siècles plus tard, pendant l'époque consécutive à la chute de la puissance des constructeurs de pyramides. Dans l'équipement funéraire de l'époque féodale, se trouvent souvent de petites figures d'hippopotames, déposées là dans le même but que l'ont été leurs lointains ancêtres des temps préhistoriques: constituer le gibier de chasse du défunt, dans l'au-delà. Côte à côte avec ces figures, répondant complètement par la forme et

par l'exécution aux hippopotames de la période préhistorique¹, apparaît une production toute différente et spéciale à l'époque féodale: des statuettes de faïence bleue ou vert-bleue, richement décorées de diverses plantes aquatiques peintes², où paraissent parfois des oiseaux, des grenouilles et des insectes, peinture qui doit faire comprendre et évoquer le milieu dans lequel l'animal vécut. Il est probable que ces figures ne devaient pas être seulement une symbolisation de la proie de la chasse,



Fig. 6. Hippopotame en faïence bleue. Collection du Baron Edmond de Rothschild, Londres.

mais aussi de l'endroit où celle-ci avait lieu, le fleuve, avec la faune et la flore luxuriantes de ses bords et du courant.

La Glyptothèque possède un excellent exemplaire de ce type (Fig. 5) dans une statuette de 0 m 075 de hauteur, en faïence bleu-foncée, représentant un hippopotame qui, après avoir été étendu, est en train de

¹ Le Musée de Turin possède ainsi toute une série de figures d'hippopotames en argile qui seraient très certainement attribuées aux époques préhistoriques, s'il n'existait pas le renseignement absolument sûr qu'elles ont été trouvées, près d'Assiut, dans des sépultures de l'époque féodale. Scharff, *Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit* II p. 38.

² Selon les recherches de M. Ludwig Keimer le *potamogeton lucens* L. et feuilles,

boutons et fleurs de *nymphaea*. Comp. L. Keimer, *Nouvelles recherches au sujet de potamogeton lucens* L. dans l'ancienne Égypte et remarques sur l'ornementation des hippopotames en faïence du Moyen Empire, dans la *Rev. de l'Égypte ancienne* II p. 210; pp. 216—225, Keimer donne un catalogue ample, bien qu'incomplet, des statuettes d'hippopotames de ce type.

se relever¹. Assis sur l'arrière-train, il tend la tête de côté sur l'épaule gauche et ouvre une large gueule pour un puissant mugissement. Les grandes défenses, qui ont maintenant disparu, ont été exécutées dans une autre matière (os ou bois?) et encastrés dans des trous dans les mâchoires, tandis que les autres dents ne sont indiquées que par des points peints en noir.

Avec ses quelques rares parents (Fig. 6—7)², cette figure compose un groupe homogène, parmi les nombreuses statuette d'hippopotames



Fig. 7. Hippopotame en faïence bleue. British Museum.

debout ou assis de l'époque féodale, et elle se distingue par une présentation animée de la forme, par laquelle l'humeur et le mouvement de l'animal sont fortement soulignés, ce qui ailleurs est rarement le cas dans ces pièces. Par un élément de motif, ce groupe montre un lien avec

¹ précédemment dans la collection Hilton Price, de là, dans la collection MacGregor, et, à la vente de celle-ci, en Juin 1922, acquise pour la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg. H. Wallis: *Egyptian ceramic Art, The MacGregor Collection*, p. 4, fig. 7; von Bissing, *Münch. Jahrb.* 1909 p. 131; *Catalogue of Ancient Egyptian Art, Burlington Fine Art Club* (1922) pl. 37, 1; (Percy E. Newberry:) *The MacGregor Collection of Egyptian Art*, p. 36

(no 258) pl. 4; M. Mogensen: *La Collection égyptienne* p. 56, pl. 53.

² a) *British Museum 36.346. Hall, Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* 13 p. 57, pl. 22. b) Berlin 13.890, non pub. comp. *Ausf. Verz.* 2. Aufl. p. 106. c) Statuette de la collection du baron de Rothschild, à Londres, anciennement aussi dans celle de MacGregor. *Catalogue of the MacGregor Collection* p. 34 (n° 250), pl. 4. Schäfer & Andrae: *Kunst des Alten Orients (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte II)* p. 282.

le passé: l'hippopotame hennissant se rencontre aussi parmi les représentations préhistoriques de l'animal¹, mais la force et la tension, qui caractérisent les figures du groupe auquel notre statuette appartient, sont spéciales à l'époque. C'est l'art énergique et puissant de la période féodale qui s'est aussi manifesté dans ces oeuvres de grès produites par des artisans²⁻³.

¹ Petrie: *Diospolis parva* pl. 6; Capart, *Prim. Art.*, fig. 102.

² v. Bissing, *Münch. Jahrb.* 1909 p. 131.

³ avec les figures en faïence bleue de l'époque féodale, la représentation en ronde bosse de l'hippopotame, dans l'art égyptien, touche pour ainsi dire à sa fin. Du «Nouvel»

Empire, je ne connais qu'une petite figure, médiocrement exécutée, trouvée dans les fouilles anglaises d'El-Amarna (Frankfort & Pendlebury; *City of Akhnaton II* pl. 40, 8), et un poids en forme d'hippopotame (Petrie: *Qurneh* pl. 35).



Fig. 8. La tête du hippopotame archaïque de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg.

THREE ARCHAIC GREEK HEADS IN THE NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK

BY

VAGN HÄGER POULSEN

Since the issue of the first volume of this publication the Glyptotek has been able to make a valuable addition to its collection of Greek sculpture, the Ny Carlsberg Foundation having deposited on loan three archaic marble heads. By means of these acquisitions the management of the Foundation has helped to extend the collections in a very important sphere. It must also be said in gratitude that the late Valdemar Graae Esq. gave valuable assistance in the acquiring of the Thasian head. The writer of the present paper owes thanks to the management of the Foundation and the director of the Glyptotek for kind permission and encouragement to publish these sculptures¹.

A. *Colossal Head of Kuros*. (Fig. 1—4). Inv. No. 2821. Total height 0.41; width 0.35; depth 0.32. Facial height ca. 0.295; width 0.235.

Provenance unknown, unpublished. White, very coarse-grained marble with brown patina. Island marble, probably Naxian (Mr. Stanley Casson drew my attention to the probability of the marble being Naxian and kindly sent me a sample of Naxian marble, which is very similar to the present material). The head is damaged a good deal, both through blows and through weathering of the surface. Most deplorable is the extensive destruction of nose and mouth, but as a whole the head is in a better state of preservation than would appear at first glance. On making a close examination it is possible to gain quite a reliable impression of its aesthetic value and the character of its style. Without a doubt the head is all that remains of the statue of a man in calm,

¹ After completing my work on this paper I learn of Knoblauch's "Studien zur archaisch-griechischen Tonbildnerei in Kreta, Rhodos, Athen und Bötien", and I have been able to make some references to that

useful work in the notes. It has been a source of satisfaction to me to find that on several points my conclusions are in conformity with Knoblauch's.



Fig. 1. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble. H. 0.41.

erect posture, one of the colossal kuroi which in early archaic times were set up in the sanctuaries of the gods and on tombs¹. The face has large, calm features. The damage has increased the effect of the large, curved surfaces of cheeks and forehead. The eyes are large and open. The lower eyelid forms a slightly curved line above which the upper lid rises in an arch, which is repeated in the broadly curved brow. The line of the brow continues in a fine arc into the nose, of which the root

¹ Cf. Buschor, *Athen. Mitt.*, 55, 1930, p. 164 ff. and below, p. 95 ff.



Fig. 2. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble. H. 0.41.

is partly intact. As the position of the nostrils can also be seen, it is actually possible to visualize the rather broad nose. The mouth is straight; it is seen that the lips were sharply moulded and finely curved. Its termination towards the cheeks is marked by short vertical furrows which pass into the broader cleft between lower lip and chin. The well-marked, slightly damaged chin terminates the face below with a larger repetition of the lower-lip motif, just as above, the brows repeat and terminate the movement of the upper eyelids. The ears are large and



Fig. 3. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble. H. 0.41.

massive, reproduced with summary naturalism. The long hair falls broadly down the back of the neck, loosely held by a band done into a Hercules knot at the nape¹. Another band runs from the nape from the first-named, upwards and thereafter at a distance of about 5 cm parallel with the other across the forehead. Between the two bands, from ear to ear, the front hair is represented as a row of flat spirals starting below and rolling upwards towards the viewer's left. The rest

¹ Athen. Mitt. 52, 1927, p. 207 — Bull. Corr. Hell. XXXI, 1907, p. 194.



Fig. 4. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble. H. 0.41.

of the hair is stylised as "strings of beads". A parting is indicated in the middle from a whorl at the back of the head, but almost at a level with the ears the hair has a different lie, and the front hair is set to lie forwards with a transversal parting which is not straight but has its foremost point at the median parting. From this arrangement of the hair it appears with unusual clarity that the spirals on the forehead are the ends of the forward-lying hair. If this representation of the front hair must be called very stylised, that fact should not divert us

from acknowledging that the artist from his point of view has portrayed a style of hair-dressing realistically. Here it must be particularly pointed out that he undoubtedly lived long before the differentiation of the concepts stylisation and realism. The unification of the spirals is unusual; indeed among the extant archaic stone sculptures it is probably unique. Usually we see them arranged symmetrically about a middle axis¹. It is a trait that points back to the 7th century B. C., from which we know of the same arrangement in terracottas². As a matter of fact, this understanding of the spirals and the manner in which they rise from below places them in close analogy with another representation of frontal hair, the so-called flame hair, recorded on a group of sculptures, most of them of Attic origin, which chronologically are not far removed from our head (e. g. the Volomandra kuros, our fig. 14)³.

B. Kuros Head from Thasos. (Fig. 5—7). Inv. No. 2823. Total height 0.275; width 0.17; depth 0.21. Facial height 0.15; width 0.115. Found in Thasos, seemingly in the necropolis of the town, thereafter in private ownership in Vienna. After sporadic references the head was handsomely published in 1908 by Sitte in *Österreichische Jahreshefte*; since then it has often been mentioned and reproduced in archaeological literature⁴.

White, coarse-grained marble, undoubtedly Thasian, which is confirmed by comparison with a sample from Thasos kindly given me by Mr. Stanley Casson. The tip of the nose and back of the head are damaged, the latter no doubt when breaking out a metal point on the top of the head, traces of which are still visible. The surface is somewhat weathered, but without essentially harming the shape. The head belongs to a less than life-size kuros, and the find tradition, the metal point for keeping birds from the figure, and the weathering, all combine naturally to form the picture of a sepulchral statue of rather less than life-size like the unusually well-preserved kuros of Tenea in the Munich Glyptothek⁵. The face embodies a strong accentuation of the features, which produces an expression which, to the unsophisticated viewer,

¹ Déonna, *Les Apollons archaïques* p. 108, fig. 207 ff. Compare Medusa and Perseus from the Corfu pediment, Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce*, fig. 108 ff.

² Fr. Poulsen, *Orient u. frühgriechische Kunst* p. 150, fig. 177. — *Mon. Piot* XX, 1913, p. 27. — *Hesperia* II, 1933, p. 605 ff. — Jenkins, *Dedalic* pl. 1, 1 and 7, 3.

³ Déonna, *Les Apollons arch.* p. 111. — G. Richter, text of Br. Br. 721 with impossible suggestion of an alternative explanation; the spirals of the Sunion colossus, too, are true hair. "Bluebeard" on the Acropolis has the same frontal hair: *Athen. Mitt.*

47, 1922, pl. 15. Examples from vase painting: Payne, *Necrocorinthia* Nos. 1154, 1420, 1451. — *Ant. Denkm.* I, pl. 7, Nos. 1, 25, 28; II pl. 23, Nos. 17, 18b; pl. 24, No. 11. — Clara Rhodos III, 1929, p. 78, fig. 69. — VI/VII, 1932—33, p. 31, fig. 19. — *Proto-Panathenaic amphora*: *Arch. Anz.* 1937, p. 91, fig. 1. — Graef, *Akropolisvasen* I, pl. 27. — *The François vase*. — Rumpf, *Sakonides* pl. 25. — Technau, *Exekias* pl. 10b. — *Hesperia* VI, 1937, p. 475.

⁴ See appendix 1, p. 102.

⁵ *Fünzig Meisterwerke* pl. 4.

would seem to be merriment. The eyes are wide open and dominate the whole, both by their size and by their plastic prominence. The nose is powerful. The thin-lipped mouth is drawn up in a so-called archaic smile. The chin and cheek bones are richly accentuated in relation to the calm surfaces of forehead and cheeks; in profile particularly it is clearly to be seen that the features in the strict sense lie in an advanced plane out towards the viewer, delimited and emphasized by the cheek surfaces. The air of fineness and lightness which stamps the whole sculpture is well sustained by the carriage of the head on the slender, elegant neck. The slanting ears are of a peculiar, almost geometric form, with very large lobes. It is possible that the surfaces of the lobes were improved by painting¹. The hair is long and falls in a broad mass down the back. It is held in to the crown by a broad band and held together behind the ears by a narrower band. Below the latter horizontal band the hair is stylised as strings of beads, whereas on the crown and over the forehead more linear methods represent very wavy hair parted down the middle. Behind the left ear between the two bands is a rather primitive rendering by means of incised lines.

C. *Bearded Head*. (Fig. 8—10). Inv. No. 2822. Total height 0.20; width 0.135; depth 0.14. Facial width 0.10. Provenance unknown, unpublished. Fine white marble with reddish-brown patina, undoubtedly Pentelic. This head, which judging from its type has probably crowned a herm, is broken off very close, so that the lower parts of the beard and hair are missing. The nose is also broken off, and the surface is chipped and damaged in several places. The head represents a man with a full beard and moustache with long drooping points. The long hair falls down the back and is held in to the crown by a narrow ring or cord. The frontal hair terminates in spiral curls in two rows. In contradistinction to beard and frontal hair, the rest of the hair is very summarily executed, a slight horizontal wave alone being suggested; it is credible that paint was employed as a supplement. The oval eyes are placed straight in the head and are framed in thick borders. The cheek bones stand out clear against the edge of the beard. Below the moustache the full lower lip comes to view. The expression is an amiable one.

No doubt it will be practical to anticipate the results of this investigation and make oneself clear as to the approximate dating of these

¹ Compare the very similar form of ear on the early Attic head from Dipylon, Buschor, *Athen. Mitt.* 52, 1927, p. 208. There, and on the Sunion colossus, *Ant. Denkm.* IV, pl. 52—53, the lobe is plastic

in execution. Buschor assumes the presence of an ear ornament, which is scarcely necessary or plausible. On the new kuros from New York, Br. Br. 755, the lobe is smooth as on our head.

three works of art. The large head (A) dates from the first quarter of the 6th century, the Thasian head (B) from the period towards the middle of that century, and the herm head (C) is Late Archaic. All three are Greek originals, but there are profound differences in the quality, A and B being outstanding representatives of their era, whereas C is a more modest effort — which is not the same as saying that it is devoid of fineness. In the case of the sculptures of unknown provenance the task is to find their proper position on the basis of a survey of all the sporadic productions of the time; but whereas the solution for C practically speaks for itself, A's placing in the history of Greek art is a matter of some difficulty. With regard to B, one might have expected to be on firmer ground with our incontestible knowledge of the finding place; but as a matter of fact this head gives rise to far-reaching considerations on the history of styles. We shall therefore endeavour to arrive at an evaluation of these three heads—but especially the first two—on the background of a general survey of Greek sculpture of the period of time that can come into question, in the conviction that a true placing can be found with greater certainty on the basis of such a general survey than would be possible by a piecemeal examination of details.

The Greeks seem to have known cult sculptures of large size back to Geometric times, but it was especially as from the middle of the 7th century that we see the beginning of the development which led to the creation of a monumental sculpture in the real sense of the term¹. And it is not until the time round about 600 that we find works of art in stone, of large scale and corresponding artistic quality. This first period of florescence in Greek sculpture in the early 6th century is of overwhelming vigour and wealth. There is nothing primitive (if by that we mean crude) about its products, and just as little is there anything vernal. It is a stern and grandiose art, in its perfection of form evidence of generations of artistic endeavour (known to us mainly through works of smaller size) but still full of the undifferentiated mind of that early society and therefore to us satiated with the sweetness of the lost paradise. Had the Greek nation stagnated about the year 580 B.C. (in which event this paper would not have been written), they would nevertheless in these works have stood as the equals of the incomparable Egyptians and Mesopotamians. In this monumental style, which only apparently arose so spontaneously, we encounter round about the year 600 B.C. the styles of the three provinces fully developed in their own peculiarities, which all through the archaic period were destined to be the leaders in Greek sculpture: Ionia, Northeast Peloponnesus, Attica. Besides these the Cyclades, Boeotia and Magna Graecia.

¹ Cf. Matz, *Gnomon* XIII, 1937, p. 408 ff.



Fig. 5. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble. H. 0.275.

The chief works of Peloponnesian art about the year 600 are the two Argive statues of Cleobis and Biton at Delphi¹. In Attica the first—and ever unsurpassed—masterpiece in large dimensions is the

¹ Homolle, *Fouilles de Delphes* IV, p. 5 ff., pl. 1 f. Frederik Poulsen, *Delphische Studien* I, Kgl. danske Vid. Selsk. hist.-filol.

Medd. VIII, 5 p. 48 f. Jenkins, *Dedalia* p. 74 ff. Heidenreich, *Corolla L. Curtius* p. 67 ff. Daux, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* LXI, 1937, p. 61 ff.



Fig. 6. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble. H. 0.275.

famous kuros of Dipylon, of which the head and the right hand are extant¹. Of a correspondingly early archaic colossal kuros from Ionia we have the sad but magnificent remains of "the southern colossus"

¹ Buschor, *Athen. Mitt.* 52, 1927, p. 205 ff.; 55, 1930, p. 163 ff. — *Arch. Anz.* 1935, p. 354 ff., Beil. 3 ff.



Fig. 7. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble. H. 0.275.

from the Hera sanctuary on Samos¹. For Ionia we must therefore supplement our picture of this early sculpture with better preserved works on a smaller scale, a method to which we must often have recourse on account of the gaps in what is handed down to us of Greek sculpture,

Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder* p. 8 f., fig. 1 ff., 19.

and one that is justified by the concord of style and spirit which in archaic times and beyond them unite the really outstanding works, regardless of size and material. Ergo, for the purpose of forming a picture of an early Ionian kuros we shall consider two small bronzes from Samos¹, but not as suggested a bronze in Stockholm². There is also great artistic value in some small Ionian vases in the form of female busts, a particular type occurring in several specimens and, with some certainty, datable to the immediate beginning of the 6th century (Fig. 11)³. In these works the three leading styles of sculpture stand out clearly to us in their individuality. With their quite mathematical joy in stereometric form the Delphian statues represent the continuation of that style of the 7th century which has been called Daedalic. The sculpture gives the impression of being constructed of clear, often edged units of form; great weight has been attached to the delimitation of the single planes and the course of single lines is consistently emphasized. The prodigious force of the time appears here in sternly disciplined form. Quite another principle of form dominates the Ionian sculptures, most easily recognizable by their greater roundness. One always feels about them that surfaces and lines form the limitation and articulation of one heavy, collective mass. So rich is this early Greek monumental sculpture that in two separate provinces it manifests itself in two expressions of plastic form, both different, both eminent. Nevertheless, the period attains its highest in a third province, Attica, in the incomparable Dipylon head. There can be no doubt that in construction this head, which is somewhat earlier than the comparative works of other schools and is still of the 7th century, associates itself with the Peloponnesian, "Daedalic" principle of form⁴. On the hand alone from Dipylon, and that of the "southern kolossus" of Samos⁵, the profound difference between westerly and easterly form conception is demonstrated; it betrays itself merely in the bend of the fingers in a clenched fist. But no less decisive is that which distinguishes this Attic work from Argive, to which in certain respects it is related. Firstly it is the greater utilization of cubic depth, but in particular it is the spiritual absorption, the scintillating intellectual superiority which here already—about the year 600—singles out Attica from among the other provinces and makes a work like Cleobis seem heavy.

In Peloponnesian art the nearest to Cleobis chronologically is the slightly later Hera head in Olympia, presumably a local Olympian product but with contacts with both Spartan and Northeast Pelo-

¹ Buschor, *Altsam. Standbilder* p. 9, fig. 5 ff. One in our fig. 27.

² See appendix 2, p. 102.

³ See appendix 3, p. 103.

⁴ See appendix 4, p. 107.

⁵ Buschor, *Athen. Mitt.* 55, 1930, Beil. 48 ff. *Altsam. Standbilder* fig. 1—2.



Fig. 8. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble. H. 0.20.

ponnesian art¹. Just at the beginning of the second quarter of the century is Perseus in the Corfu pediment, which is reasonably assumed to represent Corinthian style². The place of discovery and the resemblance

¹ Buschor, *Athen. Mitt.* 52, 1927, p. 211, and *Plastik der Griechen*, p. 35. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* p. 235. *Acta Archaeologica* VIII, 1937, p. 128.

² Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce* fig. 110 ff. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* p. 242 ff. Hampe, *Athen. Mitt.* 60/61, 1935/36, p. 269 ff.



Fig. 9. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble. H. 0.20.

to Perseus make it reasonable to see a Northeast Peloponnesian work in the excellent, contemporaneous kuros head from Epidauros in Athens National Museum¹. The Corinthian tomb statue from Tenea, in Munich (Fig. 12)², takes us right over into the delicate and fine style of the

¹ Déonna, *Les Apollons archaïques* p. 183, No. 75.

² *Fünzig Meisterwerke* pl. 4 f. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* p. 237 ff. The head alone in our fig. 12 after photographs kindly given me by Dr. H. Diepolder.



Fig. 10. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble. H. 0.20.

subsequent period. The first large-scale Ionian head preserved to us, the magnificent kuros from Rhodos, in Istanbul (Fig. 13)¹, is contemporaneous with the kuros from Tenea. In Attica the Dipylon head becomes closely associated with the newly-published kuros in New York,

¹ Mendel, *Cat. II*, No. 530. Langlotz, No. 29, pl. 70a. Edhem-Schede, *Meister-Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* p. 119, werke I, pl. 1, our fig. 13.

a somewhat later and inferior work, probably of the period just after 600¹. Still later, and perhaps a little off the main track of Attic art, are the colossi of Sunion². The dissolution of the severe style is signified by the standing goddess in Berlin³, the Acropolis Moschophoros⁴, and the remarkably convulsive head in New York⁵. Corresponding to the



Fig. 11. Copenhagen, National Museum. Terracotta. H. 0.081.

Tenea kuros is the tomb statue of Volomandra, in Athens National Museum (Fig. 14)⁶.

If we consider the large kuros head in the Glyptotek on the background of the products of the three leading schools of art in the first quarter of the 6th century, we cannot remain in doubt as to its chronological position. It still belongs entirely to the severe, early archaic style, but it is decidedly later than the first works of that style. The profound sensation of power they give, the tremendous concentration of the gaze, is distinctly milder, and the treatment of details like the hair reveals a differentiation which exceeds what was possible round about the year 600. Nevertheless, this head by its size and its greatness is a fine representative of that style, of which it forms a worthy con-

¹ Gisela Richter, *Metrop. Mus. Studies*, V, 1934—1936, p. 20 ff. Br.Br. pl. 751 ff.

² Rhomaios, *Ant. Denkm.* IV, pl. 47 ff. Cf. Frederik Poulsen, *Acta Archaeologica* V, 1934, p. 55 f.

³ *Ant. Denkm.* IV, pl. 11 ff.

⁴ Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* p. 1, pl. 2 ff.

⁵ Br.Br. pl. 721.

⁶ Papaspiridi, *Guide*, 1927, p. 27, No. 1906. Buschor, *Plastik der Griechen* p. 26. Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce* fig. 118 ff., our fig. 14.

clusion. The date must be about 580 B.C. No evidence is required to show that our head cannot be Ionian or Peloponnesian, whereas it seems to fit very well into the picture of Attic art, in continuation of the tradition which begins with the Dipylon head. A chain of development—Dipylon head, kuros in New York, the Glyptotek head—makes



Fig. 12. Munich, Glyptothek. Marble. H. of face 0.14.

itself very acceptable. Details such as the shape of the eyes and the arrangement and reproduction of the hair fit in with it; the enframing of the frontal hair between two bands and the Hercules knot at the back occur again on the Dipylon head and the Sunion kuros, the latter also having it in spirals; and finally, the special arrangement of the spirals on our head, as we have seen, is closely related to the very popular "flame hair" of the second quarter of the century (cf. fig. 14). The ears differ from the Attic forms general in the first half of the 6th century, which with their greatly stylised elegance often recall the Dipylon head; in this respect our head, with its massive, more natural form, is before its time. There is also contact with works of the subsequent period — most distinct, of course, with those which still retain a certain association with the early archaic style. In this connection the most important example is a handsome marble head in the Louvre (Fig. 15—16)¹, which is not of much later date. In it we find great general similarity of plan and recognize a feature such as the sharp little fold at the corner of the mouth. The inferior and less well preserved

¹ Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen* p. 154, No. 10, pl. 95a. Our figs. 15—16 after photographs Giraudon 2594, 26250—26251, with kind permission of M. Jean Charbonneaux.

head on a sphinx of poros in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek is also like it (Fig. 17—19)¹. Finally, the Attic pretensions of our head are supported by its relationship with those Attic terracotta heads mentioned below (page 107 f.), especially the early one from the north slope of the Acropolis² and the slightly later one in Berlin³.

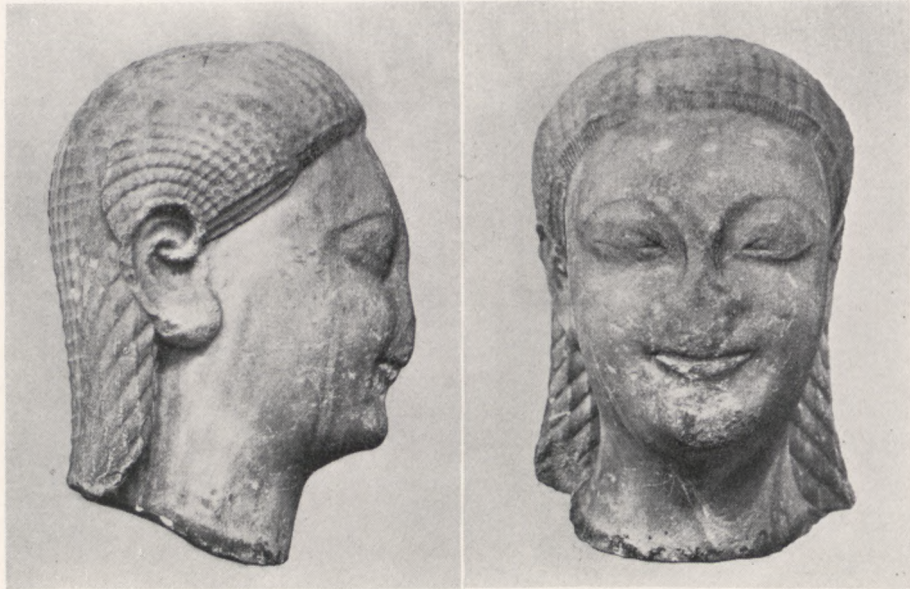


Fig. 13. Istanbul, Museum. Marble. H. 0.47.

Before establishing the fact as being beyond all doubt that our head is Attic, its relation to the remaining Greek art schools must be examined. It would seem obvious that Boeotia cannot come into consideration so early with a work of such high quality⁴. Nor can it have come from Magna Graecia⁵. On the other hand there is a possibility of genuine relationship when we come to the Cyclades, and especially when we make comparisons with works from the island which in early archaic times seems to have held the lead in sculpture: Naxos. The famous Artemis now in Athens National Museum, dedicated by the Naxian Nikandra on Delos, is undoubtedly Naxian art⁶. That it really

¹ Einzelaufnahmen 3762. Frederik Poulsen, Græske Originalskulpturer fig. 1. Our figs. 17—19 after new photographs and a drawing by Mr. P. J. Riis.

² Hesperia IV, 1935, p. 198, fig. 6a.

³ Knoblauch, Studien fig. 17.

⁴ Compare the primitive kuros from Orchomenos, Déonna, Apollons arch. p. 148, No. 26, and the earliest kuros from Ptoion, Bull. Corr. Hell. XXXI, 1907, p. 191, or the

angular head from the same place, which Lullies justly places well down in the 6th century, Arch. Jahrb. 51, 1936, p. 138 ff.

⁵ Compare the contemporaneous limestone head from Lajanello in Syracuse: Libertini, Guida, 1929, p. 152, No. 754. Einzelaufnahmen 752 f.

⁶ Papaspiridi, Guide, 1927, p. 19, No. 1. Jenkins, Dedalica p. 68.

is an early work dating far back in the 7th century, and not merely a crude product, is confirmed by a discovery of large sculpture in similar style on Thera¹. Unfortunately, the Naxian kuroi have been handed down to us in wretched condition, and none are preserved with a head that will permit of stylistic appraisal; this is so much the more deplorable,



Fig. 14. Athens, National Museum. Marble. H. 0.25.

as the remnants known from Naxos and Delos show that just in this sphere Naxos produced great works in early archaic times². For a comparison with our head we shall begin with the head of the Naxian sphinx in Delphi³. With it, as is often asserted, is associated the upper part of a statue found at the Athens Acropolis⁴. That this figure is not Samian but Naxian is clear, partly from the difficulty of placing it among the undisputably Ionian figures of the same type of drapery⁵. More positively is it to be seen in the fact that its facial features recur in a later, incontestably Naxian work, the bronze dedicated by Deinagoras, in Berlin⁶. It cannot be denied that the Glyptotek head has

¹ De Waele, *Arch. Anz.* 1931, p.102 ff.; cf. 1937, p. 171.

² Blümel, *Griech. Bildhauerarbeit* p. 48 ff., pl. 3 ff. Cf. von Massow, *Arch. Anz.* 1932, p. 264 ff. Déonna, *Apollons arch.* p. 191, No. 81 ff. Buschor, *Athen. Mitt.* 54, 1929, p. 158.

³ Homolle, *Fouilles de Delphes IV*, p. 41 ff., pl. 5 ff. Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen*

p. 126, No. 8. Picard, *Manuel, Sculpture I*, p. 570.

⁴ Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* p. 12, pl. 18 f. Buschor, *Alt-samische Standbilder* p. 24, fig. 80 ff.

⁵ See appendix 5, p. 108.

⁶ Neugebauer, *Kat. Br. Berlin I*, No.192, pl. 31.

points of similarity with these two almost contemporaneous Naxian marble heads, of which the sphinx is probably the earlier (the Deinagoras bronze dates from the third quarter of the century). Indeed, in a formal sense, in the cubic construction itself, they approach it closer than any of the non-Attic works so far available for comparison. But it seems just as clear to me that in a spiritual sense they belong to another world with their strange, remote atmosphere, manifested in the sphinx by something stiff and angular, in the Acropolis kore as something indistinct, dreamy, about the expression. How much more replete, more real, is the effect of the large kuros head in the Glyptotek. As long as new discoveries do not show that this, too, was possible in Naxian art, or in Cycladian art on the whole, we must regard our head as Attic work. But its discovery confirms the already pronounced supposition of some special connection between Attic and Naxian art in early archaic times¹. Which was the giver, and which the recipient cannot be said with certainty. Purely qualitative considerations argue in favour of the priority of Attica, as surely as it is a reasonable principle of style-history that the stronger influences the weaker; but it must not be forgotten that the Naxian material handed down has so much the greater gaps in it than the Attic.

By means of examples we have, as well as the remains permit, followed the transition in Ionia, Peloponnesus and Attica, from the monumental and severe early-archaic style to the fine, delicate style which emerged in the second quarter of the 6th century. We have seen the first incomparable style of Greek sculpture make way for a style which, notwithstanding transitional forms, can never be explained as a logical development, let alone an improvement, of the former. It is the first change in the history of Greek sculpture between the two tendencies on whose contrast and interplay Greek art seems always to rest: the grand and the refined. Every good Greek work of art embodies components of both, but their alternating predominance through time forms a sequence of undulations through the entire history of Greek art. And so this change of style about the year 575 is analogous to the displacement of the severe Olympia style by the fine Parthenon style about the middle of the 5th century. Even in large statues the new style brings an air of elegant lightness over the whole and a marked differentiation in the treatment of the details. The fundamental cause must have been a radical change of mentality, one that can be read whenever one compares heads from the two generations in question. In the earlier works the facial features are ponderous and the imperious gaze dominates the effect, concentrated to a degree, but passing above

¹ Lippold, *Philol. Wochenschrift* 57, 1937, pp. 800, 870; 58, 1938, p. 195.



Fig. 15. Paris, Louvre. Marble. H. 0.20.

the head of the viewer. In the later ones it is as if the features become smaller and drawn downwards, the figure draws itself together and comes closer to the viewer. A significant feature is the now common smile, symptomatic of the increasing consciousness, the advancing differentiation. This is to be observed in all provinces, in Ionia, when beside the earlier bronze kuroi from Samos one places their successors,

which seem to bow slightly (cf. figs. 27 and 28)¹, or the kuros head at Istanbul beside the earlier head vases (cf. figs. 11 and 13). In Peloponnesus the principal work of the new spirit of the age is the Corinthian kuros from Tenea (Fig. 12), whom Peloponnesian tradition distinctly connects with Cleobis. In Attica the style is very richly represented through the Acropolis discoveries, which for the works of this period in particular have experienced a resurrection in Payne's posthumous book². To these must be added heads in the Louvre (figs. 15—16) and the British Museum³, and some sphinxes⁴. Furthermore, we are fortunate enough to have preserved a good Attic kuros of this period: the sepulchral statue from Volomandra (fig. 14), in addition to a kuros head from Aegina at Athens⁵.

Before extending our survey to other provinces, it will be practical in dealing with the productions of the three leading schools to moot the question of the origin of this style. Is it a general phenomenon, a spirit of the time, in which all provinces have an equal share, or has any one of them a priority? We have seen that despite the common features that connect them, each of the works bears the stamp of the tradition and peculiarity of the province. On the other hand, one cannot escape from the impression that the change is most marked, has more the effect of a reaction, in the two western provinces, especially in Attica. That the Ionian works have an air of calmer, more continuous development, is so much the more remarkable as from Ionia we have comparatively few heads. From this the conclusion would seem to be obvious that the impulse to the change of style emanated from Ionia. Here we fringe upon one of the most debated problems of the history of archaic art. In his posthumous work on the Acropolis sculptures Payne gave a masterly rendering of the problem and an important contribution to its solution as regards the province where it is felt to be most burning: Attica⁶. Most important is his demonstration that Ionian traits can definitively be seen in Attic sculpture in the period after 550. If now, on the basis of style-historical considerations of principle, we would move the time of the first decisive impulse from Ionia a quarter of a century back, the task of producing the proof is found to be much more difficult. As we have seen, Naxian sculpture has been found at the Acropolis; but we have just emphasized the fact that Naxos is not

¹ Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder* fig. 5 ff. and fig. 35 ff. One of each period in our figs. 27—28.

² *Archaic Marble Sculpture* p. 1 ff., pl. 1 ff.

³ Pryce, *Cat. I, 1*, p. 201, B 473.

⁴ Payne p. 1, note 4, and p. 10, note 1. Add: sphinx in private ownership, Eichler, *Belvedere III*, 1923, p. 93 ff. and head in

Mariemont, *Coll. Warocqué*, 1903, No. 6.—The sphinxes in New York, *Handbook 1930*, p. 237, and *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, figs. 17—19, seem to belong still to the early archaic style.

⁵ Déonna, *Apollons archaïques* p. 182, No. 73.

⁶ *Archaic Marble Sculpture* p. 14 ff., 55 ff.

Ionian. The great export trade in Ionian terracottas does not begin till after the middle of the century. The difficulty is increased by the circumstance that this early Ionian influence on the art of the mainland was scarcely so tangible as it became later. Nor is it the intention to assert that the fine style in the second quarter of the century as such



Fig. 16. Paris, Louvre. Marble. H. 0.20.

is Ionian, but merely that we are induced to assume a direct or indirect knowledge of Ionian art as the ferment which started the change of style in the western art schools. It is scarcely possible to get closer to the matter on the basis of large sculpture alone; but, after a study of the plastic vases and the pottery on the whole, it seems possible to point to a certain western town as the intermediary in the process: Corinth. We have already touched upon the similarity between the heads on a group of Corinthian vases in the form of sphinxes and sirens from the beginning of the 6th century, and the magnificent Ionian head-vases of about the year 600 (cf. figs. 11 and 29)¹. In actual fact the similarity is so great that one is constrained to assume a closer connection than that of mere contemporaneity, and there can scarcely be any doubt of the superiority of the Ionian product and consequently its claim to priority². It must also be remembered that these Corinthian sphinxes and sirens are mainly known to us from Rhodian grave finds, which

¹ See appendix 3, p. 103.

pl. 7, 1—2 with IIC, pl. 7, 1—2 and J.H.S.

² Compare C.V.A. Oxford, fasc. 2, II D, LV, 1935, p. 125, fig. 2—or our figs. 11 and 29.



Fig. 17. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Poros. Scale ca. 1:3.

contain many other examples of Corinthian pottery of the beginning of the 6th century. It is also possible to see an Ionian impression—stronger or weaker—on the plastic terracotta heads of Corinthian pyxides of the period¹. Vase painting, however, distinctly indicates that in the first third of the 6th century Corinth was well able to be the intermediary between Ionian and Attic. The best known example of Corinthian influence on Attic pottery is the production of Sophilos²,

¹ Compare the early head vases, as fig. 11, with Payne, *Necrocorinthia* pl. 48, 1 ff., especially 5.

² Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure* p. 14. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* pp. 105, 346.



Fig. 18. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Poros. Scale ca. 1:3.

though this is no isolated phenomenon¹. Without doubt the Corinthian influence in this period extends southwards too².

The picture here outlined of the historical relations between the three leading art schools, Ionia, Attica and Peloponnesus, in the second quarter of the 6th century, may perhaps be little surprising, or rather

¹ One outstanding Attic vase with a touch of the Corinthian is the proto-Panathenaic amphora of ca. 580 in Athens: *Arch. Anz.* 1937, p. 91. See also Broneer, *Hesperia* II, 1933, p. 340 f. Kraiker, *Athen.*

Mitt. 59, 1934, p. 8 ff. Beazley, *Metrop. Mus. Studies* V, 1934—1936, p. 100.

² Cf. Jenkins, *Ann. Br. School Athens* XXXII, 1931—32, p. 38, 1, pl. 13, 5 and Polites, *Arch. Ephemeris* 1936, p. 156, fig. 8.

it may appear merely to be an expiatory reversion to the views of earlier times on the superiority of Ionian art. To this it may be remarked firstly that the theory expounded above in no way involves a qualitative inferiority for the great art of the mainland; and secondly, the picture is essentially enriched and complicated when we extend our survey to



Fig. 19. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Poros. Scale ca. 1:2.

Boeotia and the Cyclades. We find that these provinces also share in the fine style, and it is a more creditable share than they had in early archaism. These two provinces, however, seem directly and essentially influenced by Attic art, whose subsequent, ever more vigorous expansion begins in earnest just then, in sculpture as in pottery. For Boeotia this is particularly observable on account of the many kuroi from that province¹. From the Cyclades one of the principal witnesses is the Thasian head in the Glyptotek.

That the Glyptotek's head, found on Thasos, carved in Thasian marble, was also executed on Thasos by a local artist, should not be open to doubt, as all through and beyond the archaic period the island was a producer of marble sculptures². Still, we cannot expect to find a very individual and uniform style in a peripheral community such as that on Thasos, which was founded as a colony from Paros as late as in the 7th century. Indeed, a certain stylistic diversity has been recognized in the long series of Thasian works, on the background of which it becomes obvious that we are justified in seeking the stylistic origin of a Thasian work outside of the island. That the severe early-archaic style with its penchant for the colossal reached the island is witnessed by the unfinished Kriophoros, 3¹/₂ metres high³. The Glypto-

¹ See below, appendix 6, p. 110.

³ Blümel, Griech. Bildhauerarbeit p. 52,

² Picard, Manuel, Sculpture I, p. 557 ff. No. 7.
Cf. Acta Archaeologica VIII, 1937, p. 87.

tek head is an outstanding representative of the fine style in the second quarter of the 6th century, a worthy brother to the sepulchral statues from Tenea and Volomandra and the fine kuros from Ptoion in Thebes, and a much better piece of work than the famous kuros from Melos in Athens¹.

Now, on the basis of our above-explained theory of the importance of Ionian art to the appearance of the new style, and having regard to the geographical situation of Thasos, it would be natural to assume direct association with Ionian art. This, however, is opposed directly and with great distinctness by the style of our head. In its conception of form it places itself so definitively on the western, "Helladic" side of archaic art². And even at the risk of being reprehended for partiality we must hold that the head is in intimate association with Attic art. In order to prove this we must again turn to the oft-considered group of Attic works of the second quarter of the 6th century. At the very outset the standing goddess in Berlin impresses us just as much as the maternal source of the Attic works and our head³. In his fundamental publication Sitte pointed out the relationship with the Acropolis sphinx 632; still greater is the similarity, especially in profile, with the refined sphinx 630⁴. The wavy frontal hair we find again on the Gorgo head at the Acropolis and on the sphinxes in Copenhagen, from the Themistocleic wall and Acropolis 630⁵. The shape of the ears is, as we have seen, related to old Attic works (above, p. 71), their oblique position is also to be seen on Acropolis sculptures⁶. It may be mentioned that a sherd of an Attic vase of before 550 was found on Thasos, probably a fragment of a krater by "Sakonides"⁷. This likeness to Attic works is actually so great that it is difficult to express in words what really is left of stylistic individuality to show that our Thasian head is not Attic after all. Certainly, there is in it a hint of provinciality, expressed in the fact that it combines features which in Attica are not strictly contemporaneous. This has particular reference to the eyes, which occupy more of the head than those of contemporaneous Attic heads. These large eyes are an old feature as compared with, for example, the mouth⁸, though this is no shortcoming, from an aesthetic point of view. These large eyes, whose effect is supported by the marked cheek bones, give this both angular and graceful head a tone of its own. The head from Thasos does not stand alone among its contemporaries in its

¹ Papaspiridi, Guide, 1927, p. 27, No. 1558. Bull. Corr. Hell. XVI, 1892, pl. 16.

² Cf. Pfuhl, Athen. Mitt. 48, 1923, p. 162.

³ Ant. Denkm. IV, pl. 16 ff.

⁴ Payne, pl. 5 ff.

⁵ Payne, fig. 1C, pl. 1, pl. 5; our figs. 17—19.

⁶ Payne, pl. 8, pl. 100.

⁷ Bull. Corr. Hell. XLV, 1921, p. 142, fig. 26. Cf. Delos X, pl. 45, No. 593c. — Rumpf, Sakonides, p. 28, No. 93. Also cf. C.V.A. California, fasc. 1, III H, pl. 19, 1.

⁸ See again the Berlin goddess and Acropolis 630.

dependence on Attic art, as is evidenced by a number of works from other finding places: the fine sepulchral statue from Ptoion in Thebes, a head in the museum in Chalkis and doubtless from Euboia¹, a head from Aegina in Athens². Scarcely any more historically reasonable explanation can be given of the similarity between these works, whose finding places lie in a ring about Athens, than mutual dependence on Attic art. It is remarkable, and scarcely accidental, that the Corinthian kuros from Tenea has its own distinct character and that it stands outside of the above circle. We find a similar relationship about the year 530 between two kuroi found outside of Attica, a kuros from Ptoion in Athens National Museum³, and the magnificent, as yet unpublished kuros from Keos in the same museum⁴. For the purpose of illustrating the commutual Attic prototype we may take the Rayet head in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (figs. 20—23), or, if the first incomplete publication does not deceive, the Anavissos kuros recently acquired for the Athens National Museum⁵.

We have seen that the Glyptotek's Thasian head does not stand alone in point of style, for, correlatively with a number of contemporaneous works, it is closely allied to Attic art. This fact acquires deeper art-historical perspective by the circumstance that the style of the head undoubtedly leads over to a number of later sculptures from the Cyclades. Mention may first be made of a handsome, unfinished head in the Munich Glyptothek, whose finding place is unknown but with good grounds is regarded as being of Cycladic provenance⁶. Much more pregnant with consequences is the observation that we recognize the style of the Thasian head at a later stage in the famous Delos Nike in Athens National Museum, a work of about the middle of the century⁷. This statue has been attributed to Paros⁸, but whether justly or not remains to be seen, as the only Paros kuros preserved with the head does not definitively affirm it; on the other hand it cannot preclude the possibility, as it is a rather weak piece of work⁹. That the Nike is a fine Cycladic work and pronouncedly West-Greek in style is beyond dispute¹⁰. And it is probably not unjustifiable that the sculptures of

¹ Athen. Mitt. 60/61, 1935/36, pl. 82 f.

² Furtwängler, *Ägina* pl. 82. Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen* p. 137, No. 2, pl. 71 b.

³ Papaspiridi, *Guide*, 1927, p. 28, No. 12. Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce* fig. 116 f. Lullies, *Arch. Jahrb.* 51, 1936, p. 148. *Acta Arch.* VIII, 1937, pp. 108, 140.

⁴ Inv. No. 3686. *Arch. Anz.* 1930, p. 129.

⁵ *Ill. London News* Oct. 9, 1937, p. 626. *Am. Journ. Arch.* XLI, 1937, p. 623.

⁶ Blümel, *Griech. Bildhauerarbeit* p. 51, No. 6, pl. 7 f.

⁷ Papaspiridi, *Guide*, 1927, p. 24 No. 21.

Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce* fig. 100 f.

⁸ Buschor, *Athen. Mitt.* 54, 1929, p. 152.

⁹ Louvre. *Cat. sommaire*, 1922, pl. 25. *Athen. Mitt.* 27, 1902, pl. 11.

¹⁰ Cf. Pfuhl, *Athen. Mitt.* 48, 1923, p. 161 ff. Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen* p. 189. Not very convincing: *Gotsmich, Probleme der frühgriech. Plastik* p. 87 ff.



Fig. 20. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble. H. 0.31.

the Delphi Siphnos treasury have been placed to the same circle as the Nike.

With these observations, however, the Thasos head enters into a wider Cycladic relation, and, if we have seen rightly, the connection with Athens which we have assumed for this head will be capable of throwing new light over the much debated and delicate question of the relation between Attic and more easterly sculpture in the second half of the 6th century. We cannot delve deeper into this question without

going beyond the scope of this paper, but must let it suffice to make a few remarks by way of suggestion. In general it may be said that usually the complication of the art history of the 6th century is not appreciated sufficiently, and also that a sufficiently sharp distinction is not always drawn between true Ionian art and Cycladic art when treating of Attica's relations with the east. After Payne's epoch-making work on the Attic kore in Lyons¹ it is beyond doubt that at the middle of the 6th century Attic sculpture borrowed the late-archaic type of kore from Ionia, on that occasion certainly a direct contact in contrast to the indirect influence of Ionian art we assumed a generation previously (above p. 86). But just as in the second quarter of the century—indeed, perhaps still more so—in the second half of the century we must take it that Attic art, as soon as it absorbed the impulse itself, acted as master for the other provinces, not least the Cyclades, so that one cannot always conclude from the similarity between an Attic and a more easterly work that the Attic piece is secondary. It may be that a new examination of the material from this angle will to some extent modify the picture which Payne sketched in his masterly survey of the problem². In the history of pottery the stream moves very decidedly from west to east in the second half of the 6th century, and influences from Attica reach as far as Ionia proper³. We hope to revert elsewhere to this important art-historical problem, of which the main issue is the type of the late archaic kore. A question may be mooted here in conclusion, apart from these difficult korai: Is the far-reaching stylistic concordance between the Siphnos frieze (especially the god and giant frieze) and Attic vase paintings, on which Attic vase chronology is so intimately based⁴, possible without the assumption of mutual prototypes, though only Attic works—reliefs or large paintings—come into consideration as such?

It would be unreasonable renunciation to write on archaic heads in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek without referring to the work that is the nucleus and keystone of the collection, Carl Jacobsen's first Greek acquisition, which has never been, and can never be eclipsed by any later acquisition: the Rayet head (figs. 20—23). Such a reference will be so much the more reasonable, as it will fit naturally in with the disposition of this paper, and what is more, there seems to be something new to say about that phenomenal sculpture⁵. According to the first

¹ *Archaic Marble Sculpture* p. 14 ff.

² *Archaic Marble Sculpture* p. 55 ff.

³ Cf. Rumpf, *Arch. Jahrb.* XLVIII, 1933, p. 67 f. Kunze, *Athen. Mitt.* LIX, 1934, p. 119 f. K. Friis Johansen, *Acta Arch.* VI, 1935, pp. 190, 197, 203 f.

⁴ Langlotz, *Zur Zeitbestimmung* p. 17 ff. De la Coste-Messelière, *Au Musée de Del-*

phes p. 428. Cf. Rumpf, *Sakonides* p. 20.

⁵ Cat. No. 11. Arndt, *La Glyptothèque N. C.* pl. 1 f. Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen* p. 154, No. 16, pl. 97. Wrede, *Athen. Mitt.* 53, 1928, p. 69, Beil. 21 f. Frederik Poulsen, *Græske Originalskulpturer* p. 9, fig. 8 f. Our figs. 20—23. Total height 0.31; width 0.195; depth 0.245. Facial height 0.195; width 0.15.

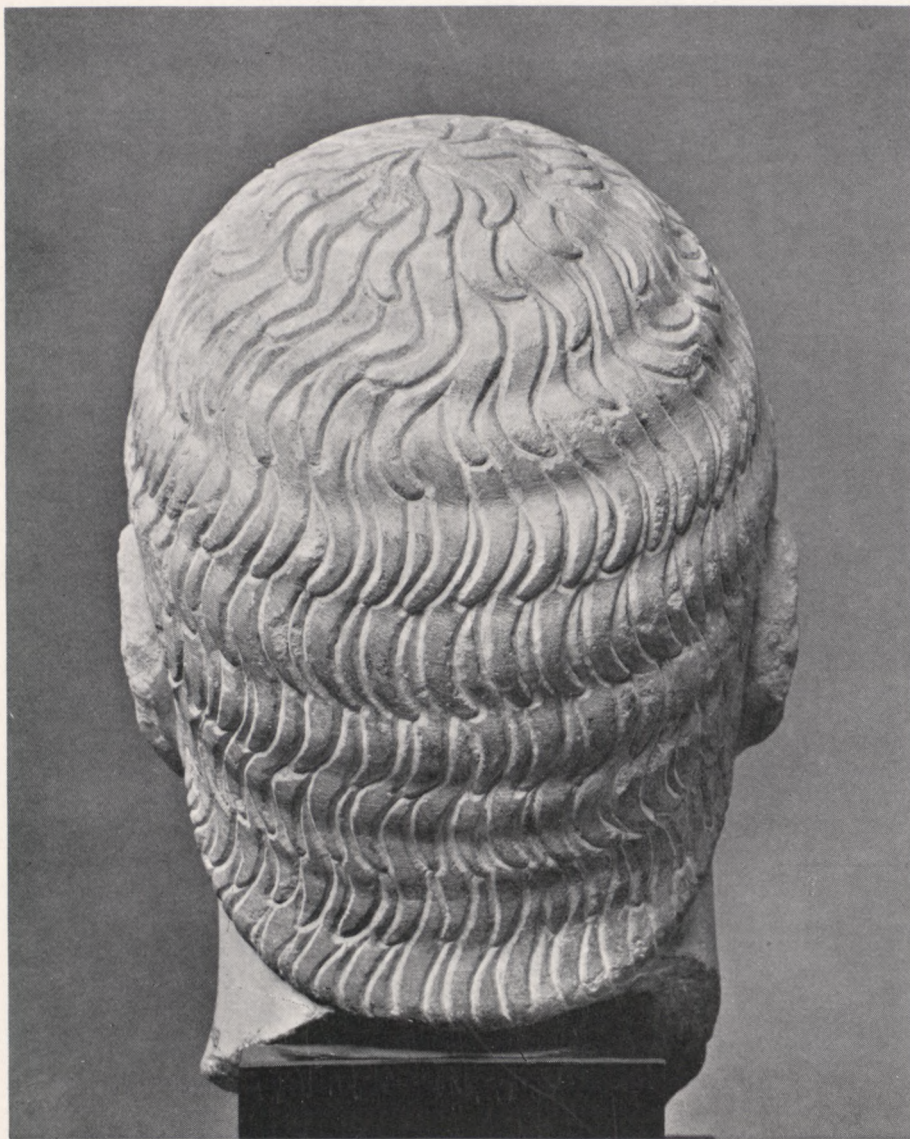


Fig. 21. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble. H. 0.31.

report the Rayet head was found in the quarter outside of Dipylon¹. There is hardly any reason for doubting the correctness of the report. Payne sought in vain for remains of the figure among the Acropolis fragments (verbal communication by P. J. Riis). It has belonged to a kuros. Lippold's postulate that the body must have represented movement is the result of an observational error². We receive an idea of the totality from a fine contemporaneous Acropolis bronze which should

¹ Rayet, *Mon. grecs* I, 6, 1877, p. 1 ff.

² *Antike Skulpturen der Glypt. N.C.* p.23.



Fig. 22. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble. H. 0.31.

never have been regarded as non-Attic¹. Since early days the head has been considered to be that of an athlete². To the best of my knowledge the fact that this is a misunderstanding has been stated in print only in a Danish newspaper article (by Lars Rostrup Böyesen). It was supported by two reasons: the short hair and the swollen "athlete ears". The hair is short, because at that time people began to wear their hair short, as may be seen from Exekias' vase paintings³. The ears are swollen

¹ Pfuhl, *Fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptoteks Samlinger I*, 1920, p. 56. Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen* pl. 35b. *Acta Arch.* VIII, 1937, p. 108.

² Lastly by Vanderpool, *Hesperia* VI, 1937, p. 433.

³ See e. g. Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 17.



Fig. 23. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble. H. 0.31.

because everything about the head swells, particularly the eyes, though this has not been used as an argument for pugilism. We sometimes see similar ears on female heads¹, and the ears of the Rayet head lack all sign of deformation, a typical feature of the athlete ears of a later, realistic art². But we also know now what could not be known at the time when the Rayet head was found, that archaic sculpture does not portray physical deformities or even features of corresponding individual

¹ Cf. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* pl. 11.

Terme Museum, Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments* p. 146.

² See e. g. Apollonios' pugilist in the *From the Collections. II.*

character. The Rayet head is that of a kuros, the noblest we have. The Greek kuros statue is consecrated to gods or the dead as the realised ideal picture of manly beauty. Consequently the Greek kuroi are always youthful and powerful. But to the archaic eye there was nothing ideal about them in our sense of the word, and possibly they were carved from models. It is scarcely imaginable but that to the people then the sight of a tomb statue like ours would be identical with a picture of the deceased; that, however, does not imply a likeness in the modern sense, as such portraiture was unknown in those days. The Rayet statue must have embellished the tomb of the scion of one of the richest and noblest Attic families of the time. Naturally, the youth of the leading class went in for athletics in the 6th century, in Athens as everywhere else in Greece. For this reason the archaic kuros is always athletic. So we return to the head of an athlete, but in another sense than when we began.

The Rayet head was carved within the decade 540—30. It has its relatives in the sculpture of this period: the Peplos kore at Acropolis¹ and the large, slightly earlier stele, of which the remains are in New York and Berlin²—to name two of the most outstanding. It has been credited with very close association with the giant gable at the Acropolis³ with the Antenor kore⁴, and with a Dionysos mask from Ikaria⁵. A connection has also been voiced with the earlier of the ball-player bases from Kerameikos, in Athens National Museum⁶. This base, however, dates from the last quarter of the 6th century, and, despite the typological likeness between the heads of the ball-players and the Rayet head, is distinctly later than the latter⁷. Hitherto, however, the Rayet head has by its qualitative superiority defied all attempts to prove it to be the work of the same master as any other contemporaneous sculpture. One might be disposed to see an earlier work of the same artist in the Lyons kore⁸, if here again the qualitative difference did not urge caution. The Lyons kore dates from the middle of the century. Payne has demonstrated its connection with Ionian art, which is manifest especially in the drapery and its stylization. The head, however, is very little Ionian and displays ancient Attic tradition. We can trace

¹ Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* p.18, pl. 29 ff.

² *Ant. Denkm.* IV, pl. 19—20. A badly damaged kuros head by the same master(?) in Boston: *Am. Journ. Arch.* XL, 1936, p.306.

³ Payne p. 53, pl.35 ff. Lastly: Frederik Poulsen, *Græske Originalskulpturer* p. 9.

⁴ Payne p. 31 ff., pl. 51 ff. Francis Beckett, *Gads danske Magasin* X, 1907, p. 292.

⁵ Wrede, *Athen. Mitt.* 53, 1928, p. 69.

⁶ Frederik Poulsen, *Græske Originalskulpturer* p. 9. Philadelphus, *Journ. Hell. Studies* XLII, 1922, p. 104 ff. Casson, *Journ. Hell. Studies* XLV, 1925, p. 164 ff. Rodenwaldt, *Kunst d. Antike*, 1927, pl. 216 f. Picard, *Manuel, Sculpture* I, p. 628 ff.

⁷ Free sculpture such as Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* pl. 100—102 corresponds stylistically and chronologically to the base.

⁸ Payne p. 14, pl. 22 ff.

its style via the Spata sphinx in Athens National Museum back to the severe early-archaic style (see appendix 7, p. 111). It is very interesting indeed that we can thus establish a connection with the Dipylon head retrogressively. For in all probability the Rayet head itself is a Dipylon



Fig. 24. Athens, Agora. Marble. H. 0.28. Fig. 25. Paris, Louvre. Marble. H. 0.20.

head, and it is a true-born child of the same spirit of greatness that we here see reviving in the noblest work of mature archaism. The style is different, as the age is different; the fine style which followed as a reaction to the early monumental style did not exist in vain, and the differentiation of life and art became ever more complete. But is not this just where the greatness of Greek sculpture lies, that, again and again as time goes on, in its happy moments it succeeds in rallying the disunited, in giving new and great form to its eternal ideal? The Rayet head has been handed down to us without a name, but if its sculptor also painted vases, his name must have been Exekias.

The last sculpture to occupy us here, the bearded head, takes us to the close of archaism, but to its period it is not what the other works were to theirs, a veritable expression of the artistic possibilities of the age. It is a moderate but handsome piece of work, a worthy

representative of the solid handcraftsman's production which, in what is left to us, forms the background which enables us to view the few happily preserved masterpieces. A bearded head of this kind and of this period can practically be no other than a Hermes or Dionysos. But as Wrede has shown, the Dionysos heads are broader in plan and more demoniacal in expression¹. As furthermore the head most resembling ours can be seen to have been that of a herm, we may safely say the same of the head in the Glyptotek. That it is Attic needs scarcely be proved. As its atmosphere and details such as the shape of the eyes show, it belongs to the close of archaism, the period round about 480. That it is not advisable to go below that limit is made evident by a comparison with a definitely dated work, the Aristogeiton of the Kritios and Nesiotes tyrannicide group². The head which in type, period and style approaches the Glyptotek head nearest is a much damaged herm head, brought to light during the American excavations of the Athens Agora (fig. 24)³. Together with these two heads there is one at Mariemont, known to me only from a photograph⁴. Very perceptible is the likeness between the Glyptotek's new acquisition and a bearded head which forms part of the older collection. It is stated to have been found in Boeotia, which is not contradicted by its Attic style. It is somewhat older than the new head and must be from the very beginning of the 5th century⁵. This head, and a herm head from Attica in private possession in Vienna⁶, form part of a group of bearded heads stretching back to the last quarter of the 6th century. To the same date must be placed a head at the Acropolis⁷ and a very similar herm head from Attica⁸. Furthermore, two heads in the Louvre (fig. 25)⁹. We are taken again to the beginning of the 5th century by the handsome warrior head at Acropolis¹⁰ and a herm head

¹ Cf. an almost contemporaneous head in Athens National Museum, Athen. Mitt. 53, 1928, p. 78, Beil. 22, 3; 23, 1.

² Acta Arch. VIII, 1937, pp. 66, 134 ff. The best picture of the best replica: Beyen, La Statue d'Artémision pl. 6.

³ Shear, Hesperia II, 1933, p. 514 ff., our fig. 24. The insignificant little head ibidem p. 517 f. did not seem original to me.

⁴ Coll. Warocqué, Cat. 1903, No. 7. Langlotz, Bildhauerschulen p. 155, No. 27.

⁵ Cat. No. 1. Einzelaufnahmen, 3754 f. Frederik Poulsen, Græske Originalskulpturer fig. 7. Also this head must have been part of a herm.

⁶ Crome, Athen. Mitt. 60/61, 1935/36, p. 301, pl. 105 f.

⁷ No. 642. Schrader, Antike Plastik W. Amelung gewidmet p. 228, pl. 18. Payne,

Archaic Marble Sculpture pl. 104. Crome, l. c. p. 303.

⁸ Lullies, Typen der griechischen Herme p. 11, pl. 1. Crome, l. c. p. 301, pl. 102.

⁹ 1) "From Athens". Cat. Sommaire 1922, p. 42, No. 2715, pl. 22. Lechat, Sculpture Attique avant Phidias p. 275. Our fig. 25 after photograph Giraudon 26252, with kind permission of M. Jean Charbonneaux. 2) Head Fauvel. Cat. Sommaire 1922, p. 42, No. 2718, pl. 22. Langlotz, Bildhauerschulen p. 173, No. 6, pl. 63. Lullies p. 37. Picard, Manuel, Sculpture I p. 199. Blümel, Arch. Anz. 1937, p. 56. M. Charbonneaux kindly informs me that the provenance of this head is not known, but that probability points towards Athens. Judging from its style the head is Attic, not Ionian.

¹⁰ No. 621. Schrader, l. c., p. 230 f. Payne pl. 103, 1—2.

from Attica in Mariemont¹. These latter heads stylistically take us over to the herm from Siphnos, which, even if it was not carved by an Attic artist, is very close to the Attic works typologically and artistically². As the material lies it seems most natural to assume priority on the Attic side.

The late-archaic herm became the norm for the subsequent

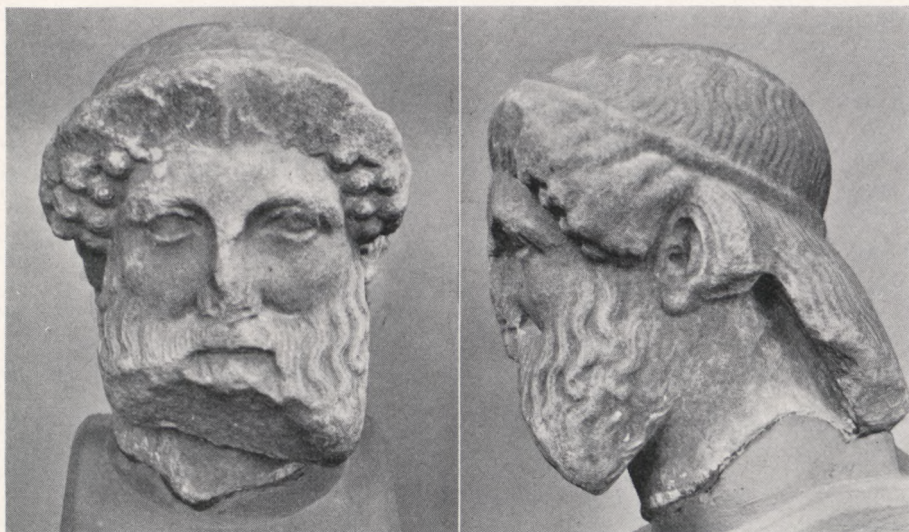


Fig. 26. Athens, National Museum. Marble. H. 0.19.

centuries. Ancient herms are imitated and, when new ones were created, a certain retention of the old style was required. This hieratic conservatism made the herms a very difficult sphere of the history of Greek sculpture. This is not the place to go into this problem³; but we may mention some bearded heads of a later period which copy heads such as that in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Heads in Athens National Museum (fig. 26)⁴, Eleusis⁵ and Leningrad⁶. Not the least valuable is the acquisition of the original herm head for the Glyptotek, for it offers a basis for comparison which clearly shows that, as was first recognized by Frederik Poulsen, the well-known herms from Count Tyszkiewicz' collection cannot be Greek originals from classic times⁷.

¹ Coll. Warocqué, Cat. 1903, No. 8; cf. Cat. 1909, p. 55. Lechat, l. c. p. 275.

² Crome, Athen. Mitt. 60/61, 1985/36, p. 300 ff., pll. 101, 103 f.

³ Cf. Lullies, Typen p. 49 f. L. Curtius, Zeus und Hermes, and Praschniker, Oesterr. Jahreshefte XXIX, 1935, p. 23 ff.

⁴ Nos. 106 and 110, the former in our fig. 26 after photograph of Wagner, with kind permission of M. A. Philadelphus.

⁵ No. 110.

⁶ Waldhauer, Kat. I, No. 57, pl. 34.

⁷ Kat. Nos. 24, 25, 149, 241, 514. Arndt, La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg pll. 11—15. Matz, Arch. Jahrb. XLVI, 1931, p. 18. L. Curtius, Zeus und Hermes, passim. Lullies, Typen p. 13. Of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek No. 514 there is an actual replica in the Louvre, Salle Clarac, No. 2656: Fröhner, Notice No. 187. M. Jean Charbonneaux has kindly confirmed this observation for me.

APPENDIX 1.

References to the Thasian Head.

- Sitte, *Österr. Jahreshefte* XI, 1908, p. 142 ff., pll. 1—2.
 Déonna, *Les Apollons archaïques* p. 227, No. 128.
 Fredrich, *Athen. Mitt.* 33, 1908, p. 245.
 Löwy, *Österr. Jahreshefte* XII, 1909, p. 275.
 Collignon, *Statues funéraires* p. 52.
 Picard, *Mon. Piot.* XX, 1913, pp. 41, 65 ff., *Rev. de l'Art* XXXVII, 1920, I, p. 18, and *Rev. Et. Anc.* XXXII, 1930, p. 113, fig. 8.
 Picard, *Manuel d'Archeologie grecque, Sculpture I*, p. 559, fig. 81 and pl. 6.
 Pfuhl, *Athen. Mitt.* 48, 1923, p. 162, and *Arch. Jahrb.* XLI, 1926, p. 132.
 Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* p. 132, No. 8, pl. 71 a.
 Richter, text of *Br.Br.* 721.
 Webster, *The Antiquaries Journal* XVI, 1936, p. 140.
 Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* p. 56.
 V. H. Poulsen, *Tilskueren* 1937, I, p. 359 ff.

APPENDIX 2.

An Alleged Ionian Bronze in Stockholm.

A bronze statuette of a kuros in the Stockholm National Museum in recent years has in archaeological literature enjoyed a popularity that is not surprising, when we read that it is generally regarded as Ionian work dating from about the year 600 B.C. (Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* p. 118, No. 1, pl. 59 c. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* pp. 75, 102, pl. 21 c. Complete literature: Ernst Kjellberg, *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* VI, 1937, p. 34. Furthermore: Jantzen, *Bronzewerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien* p. 71, No. 25. Webster, *The Antiquaries Journal* XVI, 1936, p. 142). The latest treatise of any length is Kjellberg's (l. c. p. 33 f.), in which, in a review of Buschor, *Alt-samische Standbilder*, he refers to the bronze as the earliest kuros from Samos and qualitatively superior to the bronzes published by Buschor. The Stockholm bronze, however, cannot possibly be earlier than, or even as old as the two earliest Samos bronzes already mentioned (Buschor fig. 5 ff., the one in our fig. 27). It is true that the torso type roughly corresponds to them, but the head is decidedly later in style, with its milder expression and the lower features (cf. Buschor fig. 35 ff., one in our fig. 28). A dating to the second quarter of the 6th century is supported by Kjellberg's comparison with a female figure in ivory from Ephesos (Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesos* pl. 21, 6; 22. Cf. Gjerstad, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology* XXIV, 1937, p. 34). Once the bronze being dated so late it must be removed from the art history of Samos—and on the whole from that of Ionia; for where in early Ionian art do we find so heterogeneous a work, which nevertheless is of a certain standard, though we must say that the quality has been considerably exaggerated? The loose attitude of the legs, the poorly formed arms, the expressionless contour of nape and hair, the unprecise placing of the features, are defects that are not outweighed by the good decorative effect of the whole. It is not good enough to be a good Ionian bronze, and it is too good to be a poor Ionian bronze. But if it is not Ionian, it is improbable that it ever has been in Greece. Without doubt it was made in Italy, and, rather than in Greek Southern Italy, in Etruria, among whose bronzes we can point to a number of partly younger relatives, if not to one that is its absolute equal: 1) From Fiesole. *Studi Etruschi* VIII, 1934,

pl. 45, 2. 2) Unknown provenance. Libertini, *Il Museo Biscari*, pl. 51, No. 299. 3) From Telamone. *Not. Scavi* 1887, pl. 5, 2. Cf. two bronzes with Greek provenance-records, but undoubtedly Etruscan: *Auct. at Sotheby's* 2nd April 1928, No. 63, pl. 1, and *Mariemont, Coll. Warocqué, Cat.* 1904, No. 183. With these is associated a bronze in Cassel: *Bieber, Kat.* No. 116, pl. 38. 4) From Impruneta. *Not. Scavi* 1918, p. 211. 5) From Corinaldo. *Not. Scavi* 1924, pl. 1.

APPENDIX 3.

A Group of Early Ionian Head Vases.

The two finest and most severe specimens of the group known to me are in Oxford (CVA. Oxford, fasc. 2, II D, pl. 7). Other specimens, some slightly deviating in details, are in the British Museum, the Louvre (Heuzey, *Cat. des fig. ant. de terre cuite*, 1923, pl. 225, pl. 13, 4), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (CVA. *Bibl. Nat.*, fasc. 2, I G et II D, pl. 93, 9—12), Rome, Villa Giulia (from Museo Kircheriano), the Vatican (Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano* pl. 9, No. 112; cf. No. 111), Berlin (Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium II*, p. 32, No. 30732—30733. Cf. *Furtwängler* No. 1301), Munich (Maximova, *Les vases plastiques* pl. 24, No. 95), Bonn (Greifenhagen, *Arch. Anz.* 1936, p. 388, No. 39), Boston (Fairbanks, *Cat. of Greek and Etruscan Vases I*, pl. 49, No. 499), Copenhagen National Museum (CVA. Copenhagen, fasc. 2, pl. 81, No. 1. Our fig. 11 after new photographs, with kind permission of the authorities of the museum), Collections du Dr. B. et de M. C. (*Auct. Paris* 19—21 May 1910, pl. 23, No. 215). Latest treatment of the group: Knoblauch, *Studien zur archaisch-griechischen Tonbilderei* pp. 40 f., 84 f., 132 f. *Cat. Nos.* 119—127. There is a possibility of dating this type, as pointed out by Payne (*Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* p. 16) in grave finds from Rhodos, where such bust-vases were found in association with the early 6th century. As all our exterior knowledge of the period of these vases originates with these grave finds, they deserve a closer examination. A well-preserved specimen and one badly damaged was contained in *Grave 45 (377)* in *Jalysos* (Clara Rhodos III, 1929, p. 72 ff., Nos. 12—13, fig. 66. CVA. Rhodos, fasc. 2, III F, pl. 4, 2). The grave is described as "Area di cremazione con quattro pozzetti". Of the remaining grave goods we must notice No. 5, vase in the form of a warrior head (Knoblauch p. 144, No. 134, c). No. 14, Ionian Oinochoe under incipient Corinthian influence (Rumpf, *Arch. Jahrbuch XLVIII*, 1933, p. 61 f., and p. 80, a, No. 9). Various Corinthian vases (cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* p. 284 ff.), especially No. 20: Alabastron with Nessos and Deianeira; cf. for the Nessos head and the horse head the famous Komast vase in the Louvre, Payne, *Necrocorinthia* p. 72, fig. 18E and p. 176, pl. 44, 5 and 48, 13—14. The environment of the grave furniture is the first quarter of the 6th century. The better preserved of the two female heads from this grave seems to deviate a little from the fundamental type, judging from the pictures published, but a practical test with the specimen in Copenhagen has convinced me that this must be a result of the angle of view from which it is photographed; viewed obliquely downwards the latter looks like the corpus picture of the one from Rhodos. (On the other hand, a curious bust-vase, found in an Etruscan chamber grave of the 6th century, seems to be a trifle later: CVA. California, fasc. 1, II D, pl. 57, 1). An excellent and typical specimen was found in *Grave 178 (118)* in *Kamiros* (Clara Rhodos IV, 1931, p. 313 ff. CVA. Rhodos, fasc. 2, III F, pl. 4, 4). The grave was a "Pithos a decorazioni imprese". The grave-goods is not contemporaneous (cf. p. 314: "all'esterno era collocato il ricco corredo . . ."),



Fig. 27. Samos. Bronze. H. 0.20.



Fig. 28. Samos. Bronze. H. 0.19.

for in addition it included a bust that is a quarter of a century later (Clara Rhodos IV, 1931, p. 315, fig. 349 left. CVA. Rhodos, fasc. 2, III F, pl. 4, 3). A very similar specimen, also stated to be from Kamiros, is in Manchester: Webster, *The Antiquaries Journal* XVI, 1936, p. 139 ff., pl. 24, 1 (cf. Knoblauch, *Cat. Nos.* 137—38). Furthermore the grave contained a ram's head (cf. CVA. Oxford, fasc. 2, II D, pl. 9, 5—6). The phase indicated by the Corinthian vases is "Middle Corinthian". It is obvious that these two grave finds do not provide objectively complete certainty for the dating of our head vases, but it is also certain that,



Fig. 29. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Terracotta. H. 0.062.

if we elect to use this basis, it is methodically correct to place them to the immediate beginning of the 6th century. This dating can now be supported by a direct comparison with Corinthian pottery. We have already made use of the Komast vase in the Louvre, which Payne dates to ca. 580. Our female heads are typologically older than the Komast head. Decidedly earlier than the latter, but not more so than a quarter of a century, is a magnificent plastic vase of a squatting man found in a chamber grave with two interments in Kamiros (Clara Rhodos VI—VII, 1932—33, p. 90, fig. 97 ff., pl. 4. Undoubtedly Corinthian, and not Ionian imitation as assumed by Knoblauch, *Cat. No.* 229A. The inscription is incised and proves nothing. Regarding the group cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* p. 180, CVA. Musée Scheurleer, fasc. 1, II D et III C, pl. 1, 5, and *Arch. Anz.* 1936, p. 343). The grave goods here clearly indicates an earlier phase than that in which the three female heads occurred. Within the group of female heads from Corinthian pyxides we also find the nearest relations around the year 600 (cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* pl. 47, 12—14, pl. 48, 1 ff.). And compare the heads on a group of plastic sphinxes and sirens of the beginning of the 6th century (Maximova, *Les vases plastiques* p. 144, pl. 43, 160. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* p. 177. CVA. Oxford, fasc. 2, IIIC, pl. 7, 1—2, our fig. 29. *Journ. Hell. Studies* LV, 1935, p. 125, fig. 2. *Arch. Anz.* 1936, p. 387, No. 37. To these we should apparently add: Blinkenberg, *Lindos I*, pl. 86, No. 1938). Contemporaneous with the heads of our group are, apparently, the painted female heads in profile under the bottom of a Corinthian aryballos in the British Museum, which Forsdyke, on the basis of Payne's chronology, dates to the beginning of the 6th century (*The British Museum Quarterly* VIII, 1933—34, p. 109, pl. 35 g. Cf. the somewhat earlier(?) Iole on the Eurytios krater: Payne, *Necrocorinthia* p. 100, fig. 34A, pl. 27). It may seem bold to try to press a dating so exact out of a

material like the present. Indeed, this is not the main issue. The important point is to recognize this group of female heads of modest size—or more correctly the lost masterpiece that stands behind them—as a worthy representative of the monumental style of the early 6th century in Ionia—Rhodos or Samos—in marked contrast to the dry and meagre style of the waning 7th century (cf. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques* pl. 29, 110. Kunze, *Athen. Mitt.* 57, 1932, p. 128. Knoblauch, *Cat. Nos.* 115—17. Gardner, *Naucratis II*, pl. 6).

APPENDIX 4.

Attic Terracotta Heads.

That Attica also was in touch with the "Daedalic" tradition is clearly revealed by a number of 7th—6th century terracotta heads: 1) Heads of thymia-
teria and mourning women from Kerameikos, "Opfer-
rinne 1" (Kübler, *Arch. Anz.* 1933, p. 268 ff., 1934, p. 205 ff. *Journ. Hell. Studies* LIII, 1933, pl. 17. Knoblauch, *Cat. Nos.* 325—27). Towards the middle of the 7th century. 2) Painted pinax with plastic head, from the Agora (Burr, *Hesperia II*, 1933, p. 604 ff. Knoblauch, *Cat. No.* 321). The find context permits of a dating to after 650, and to me this seems to be borne out by the style. 3) Acropolis (Jenkins, *Dedolica* p. 50, pl. 6, 8. Knoblauch, *Cat. No.* 333A). Third quarter of 7th century. 4) From north slope of Acropolis (Charles H. Morgan II, *Hesperia IV*, 1935, p. 198, fig. 6 a. Knoblauch, *Cat. No.* 323 a). Towards the end of the 7th century. 5) Head of mourning woman from Kerameikos (*Arch. Anz.* 1934, p. 219, fig. 16. Inferior, and perhaps a little later: *Arch. Anz.* 1932, p. 198, fig. 5. Knoblauch, *Cat. Nos.* 332 and 334). Circa 600 (cf. Jenkins, *B.S.A.* XXXII, 1931—32, p. 27, pl. 12, 2—5). 6) Athens, Agora (Shear, *Hesperia VI*, 1937, p. 378, fig. 44), circa 600. Seems to be particularly orientated towards Corinthian plastic (cf. Fr. Poulsen-Rhomaïos, *Erster vorl. Bericht von Kalydon*, *Kgl. danske Vid. Selsk. hist.-filol. Medd.* XIV, 3, pl. 30. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* pl. 47, 11 ff.). The same applies to the old-fashioned head on the edge of a hydria of the second quarter of the 6th century, in the Louvre (CVA. Louvre, fasc. 6, III He, pl. 61, 3; 62). 7) Berlin, unknown provenance. Knoblauch p. 47, *Cat. No.* 336, fig. 17. Dated 580—70. 8) Acropolis. Casson, *Cat. II* p. 345, No. 598. Our fig. 30 after photograph given to me by the late Mr. H. Payne. Dated 570—60. Contemporaneous with Apollon from Tenea. In "Dedolica", Jenkins points out that Attica stands outside the true "Daedalic" tradition. That nevertheless the connection with Peloponnesian art was close is shown by these terracottas. The special Attic features, such as the greater tendency towards depth-effect and the particular spiritual qualities are, however, very outstanding especially in the early Kerameikos heads and the head in Berlin (No. 1 and No. 7). The above enumerated



Fig. 30. Athens, Acropolis. Terracotta. H. 0.099.

series of early archaic Attic terra-cotta heads provides a better background for understanding the rich development of Attic terracotta art in late archaic and post-archaic times (cf. Knoblauch, *Cat. Nos.* 344—402. Very convincing is the placing of *Cat. No.* 390 to Athens, as against *Acta Arch.* VIII, 1937, p. 60; cf. *Hesperia* IV, 1935, p. 208, fig. 12a. Less convincing is *No.* 395, p. 74, which remains Boeotian).

APPENDIX 5.

Cheramyces' Hera from Samos and Sculptures Attributed to Naxos.

The chief product of Ionian sculpture is the incomparable Hera statue from Samos, dedicated by Cheramyces, now in the Louvre, a work dating from the second quarter of the 6th century (Buschor, *Altsam. Standbilder* p. 25 ff., fig. 86 ff. Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* p. 119, No. 17. Picard, *Manuel, Sculpture I*, p. 545). This statue is headless, and the later finds of sculpture at Samos also fail us in that respect (Buschor p. 36; in the successful new restoration of the "östliche Schleierträgerin", *Arch. Anz.* 1937, p. 205 the head again is missing). And the somewhat inferior figure in the same dress, from Asia Minor(?), now in Berlin, is headless (Wiegand, *Berl. Ber.* XLVIII, 1927, p. 63). However, we know from terracottas and bronzes how the head of this dress-type has looked in its genuine Ionian—i. e. Samian—form at various times within the first half of the 6th century. The earliest are the head-vases of the beginning of the century which we have discussed above (page 103). Next after them comes a very fine, unpublished bronze statuette in Berlin (*Inv.* 31635). Probably later than this is the well-known statuette from Olympia, in Athens National Museum, though it is scarcely so late as Buschor would have it (Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* p. 103, pl. 36c. Buschor, *Altsam. Standbilder* p. 33, fig. 118 ff. Matz, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 1938, p. 59). To the second quarter of the century must also be placed the origin of a type of unguent-jar, handed down to us in three (not exactly contemporaneous) specimens, of terracotta, in the form of standing women (1) from Italian Lokroi, in Amsterdam: Buschor, *Altsam. Standbilder* fig. 121. CVA. Musée Scheurleer, fasc. 1, II D et III C, pl. 1, 3. *Bull. Vereeniging Ant. Beschav.* II, 2, p. 9, fig. 2. *Antiquaries Journal* XVI, 1936, p. 140, pl. 24, 2. 2) from Rhodos, in Berlin. Buschor fig. 122. *Athen. Mitt.* 46, 1921, p. 45, pl. 4, 1. 3) from Samos, Buschor fig. 123). The fine figure in Amsterdam should be our nearest guide to an understanding of the lost head of Cheramyces' Hera and by its style should take us direct to the aforementioned large kuros head from Rhodos in Istanbul (fig. 13). It will also be the lesson to learn from a consideration of the above series of heads, that the angular, dreamy head on the Acropolis fragment has no place here and cannot be compatible with the pure Ionian ideal of form (Cf. Matz, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 1938, p. 59). In the splendid torso from the Acropolis, too, the difference from Cheramyces' Hera has long been felt (Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* p. 12, pl. 20. Buschor, *Altsam. Standbilder* fig. 78 ff.). This figure is probably Naxian too, as also a torso of ca. 600 from Delos (Homolle, *De Dianae simulacris* pl. 3. Buschor, *Athen. Mitt.* 54, 1929, p. 158. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* p. 16). The Acropolis fragment is not the only marble figure of this type of drapery that has retained its head. The upper part of a statue in the museum in Berlin is stated as having come from Chalcedon (*Kurze Beschreibung*, 1922, No. 1651. Our fig. 31 after photographs kindly given to me by Dr. C. Weickert). It is a crude and provincial work, but not devoid of historical interest, especially because the type of its head can scarcely be explained with Ionian art as the most essential presupposition. As far as I can see, it displays a distinct influence of Attic

sculpture of the second quarter of the 6th century (cf. the Acropolis heads 617 and 654: Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* pl. 9 ff. and also the kore at Lyons, Payne pl. 24). Very remarkable is the likeness to a bronze head from Tarent (Sieveking, *Festschrift Loeb* p. 91 ff. This relationship between two provincial works, each from its own end of the Greek world, must be the result of dependence on mutual prototypes, cf. *Acta Arch.* VIII, 1937, p. 48). The sculpture from



Fig. 31. Berlin, Altes Museum. Marble. H. 0.305.

Chalcedon is important evidence, both of the distribution of the type (cf. a fragment from South Russia, *Arch. Anz.* 1928, p. 82) and of its possibilities of variation.

Rumpf (*Griech. u. röm. Kunst*, Gercke-Norden⁴ II, 3, p. 16) placed to Naxos a bronze statuette of a kuros in Boston, recently published as Locrian by Jantzen (*Bronzwerkstätten in Grossgriechenland u. Sizilien* p. 3, No. 1, pl. 1, 1). With greater probability, however, P. J. Riis considers the bronze to be Campanian (see below p. 153). "Arrachion" (*Am. Journ. Arch.* XVIII, 1914, p. 157. Rumpf p. 16. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* p. 10) is probably local Arcadian. A handsome kuros from Ptoion, in Athens National Museum (Papaspiridi, *Guide*, 1927, p. 26, No. 10. Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce* fig. 106) has often (lastly by Rumpf, *Griech. u. röm. Kunst* p. 16) been placed in relation to Naxian art. That this is not possible was recognized by Langlotz, who considered the figure as an eclectic Boeotian work with Cycladic elements (*Bildhauerschulen* p. 116. Cf. Lullies, *Arch. Jahrb.* 51, 1936, p. 147 f.). A comparison of the head with Attic heads of the second quarter of the century shows, however, that the artist did not need to go farther than to Athens for his prototypes (Payne, *Arch. Marble Sculpt.* pl. 7 ff.), to which he then added that air of sleepiness which no Boeotian needed to fetch from the outside.

APPENDIX 6.

Boeotian Kuroi.

On the Boeotian kuroi, see my brief remark (*Acta Arch.* VIII, 1937, p. 140 f.) and Lullies' excellent paper which appeared at the same time (*Arch. Jahrb.* 51, 1936, p. 137 ff.). The two most important representatives of early archaic style have been referred to (above p. 82). Their association with Attic art has been shown by Lullies and myself. That the same holds good of the works in the fine style has been seen in an example when dealing with the Ptoian kuros,



Fig. 32. Berlin, Altes Museum. Marble. H. 0.095.

Athens National Museum No. 10 (above p. 109). And in the elaborate kuros from Ptoion in Thebes the dependence on the Attic style represented by the kuros from Volomandra is obvious (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* XXXI, 1907, p. 193 ff., pl. 20. Ch. Karouzos, *Cat. Mus. Thebes*, 1934, p. 12, No. 3. Lullies p. 148). In this connection mention may be made of a small head in Berlin, stated to have come from Tanagra (*Beschreibung* 1891, No. 537. Our fig. 32 after photographs kindly given to me by Dr. C. Weickert), the precursor of a handsome head from Ptoion in Thebes (Karouzos p. 13, No. 15. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* XXXI, 1907, p. 200, pl. 21. Lullies p. 142). Similarity with Attic works (cf. *Acropolis* 617, Payne pl. 9 f.) is also a feature of a Boeotian kuros in the British Museum, dating from just after the middle of the 6th century (Pryce, *Cat. I*, 1, B 474, pl. 42. Lullies p. 143 ff. In this connection attention may be drawn to a curious kuros—somewhat earlier, stylistically—on the market, though without knowledge of the original one cannot form any opinion as to its authenticity: *Sculpture considered apart from Time and Place*, Intr. by Leon Underwood, Sydney Burney, London, Nov. 1932, pl. 1). Lullies' placing of the much later "Apollo Strangford" in the British Museum to Boeotia appears plausible, but not definitively convincing; at any rate, his comparison with a terracotta doll in the severe style, will scarcely hold good (Lullies p. 146. Cf. *Acta Arch.* VIII, 1937, p. 60. On the

Charite relief Chiaramonti and the Krioforos Barracco see l. c. p. 134, 142). Lullies, who correctly characterizes the individuality of Boeotian sculpture and often refers to the connection with Attic art, also reckons with a connection with more eastern art, especially Cycladic. As already stated, it seems to me that the dependence on Attic art even early in the 6th century is so marked that Attica must be regarded as the principal source of the external inspiration of Boeotian sculpture. Furthermore, that the likeness between Boeotian and Cycladic works at various phases of the archaic style must be the result of mutual dependence on Attic models. To this, however, we shall return when dealing with the Thasian head.

APPENDIX 7.

An Attic Bronze at Cambridge.

The fine bronze statuette of a standing female at Cambridge (Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* p. 87, pl. 35 a—b), despite earlier localization to Peloponnesus (Neugebauer, *Arch. Anz.* 1928, p. 635 ff. Jenkins, *Ann. Brit. School XXXII*, 1931—32, p. 35) seems to be an Attic work. Both Lamb and Neugebauer compare it with the standing goddess in Berlin, which is an earlier work. Very striking, too, is the similarity of the head with the doubtless contemporaneous sphinx from Spata and the somewhat later kore in Lyons (*Österr. Jahreshfte XII*, 1909, pp. 263, 268). As was pointed out by Neugebauer, there is without doubt a stylistic contact here with Peloponnesian art (and cf. the head of the Spartan support-figure from Samos: Buschor, *Altsam. Standbilder* pp. 32, 48, fig. 115 ff. Kunze, *Athen. Mitt.* 59, 1934, p. 99, 2. Polites, *Arch. Ephemeris* 1936, p. 173). We must assume that towards the middle of the century Attic sculpture renewed its old connection with Peloponnesus. That would fit well into the picture of the partial return of mature archaism to earlier ideals. To the examples mentioned by Neugebauer, of the rather rare dress of the Cambridge bronze, Peplos with Apoptygma covering the arms (l. c. p. 640, 1) I may add a terracotta in the Louvre, from Boeotia (Charbonneaux, *Les terres cuites Grecques* pl. 9. *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art II*, 1937, p. 170), a vase with plastic figures in Corinthian style in Berlin (V. Müller, *Polos* pl. 4. Jenkins, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* LV, 1935, p. 126, 12), and a headless terracotta from Tarent in Trieste (Winter, *Typenkatalog I*, 104, 9. Our fig. 33 after photograph, with kind permission of the authorities of the museum), the latter, by its unmistakable dependence on Attic art (cf. torso from Eleusis: *Arch. Anz.* 1928, p. 639. Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce* fig. 86 f., our fig. 34), providing new evidence of the expansive power of Attic art even in the first half of the 6th century. The terracotta in Trieste is not the first sign of a very early art association between Tarent and Athens. We have stated above that a bronze head from Tarent, despite its provinciality, leads us to suspect Attic models (Sieveking, *Festschrift Loeb* p. 91 ff., above p. 109). Dependence on Attic art also seems evident when we regard the head of a terracotta acroter in the form of a running female, from Tarent (Bartoccini, *Not. Scavi* 1936, p. 196, pl. 12. *Am. Journ. Arch.* XL, 1936, p. 386, fig. 10 right. *Arch. Anz.* 1936, p. 531). Compare especially the head on the Lyons kore, and as regards the frontal hair also Acropolis 617 and the aforementioned head in the Louvre (figs. 15—16), for the long hair-locks Acropolis 669. The rendering of the hair over the forehead is not limited to Attic art; but compare Corinthian works such as the Tenea Apollon, and a sphinx head from Calydon, which display an entirely different plastic tradition: Payne, *Necrocorinthia* pll. 48—49. Distinct relationship with this group of Attic works is also revealed by some small bronze



Fig. 33.
Trieste, Museum.
Terracotta. H. 0.17.



Fig. 34.
Athens, National Museum.
Marble. H. 0.38.

sphinxes which have belonged to the rim of large vessels. Nearest to the Cambridge bronze is a couchant sphinx from Eleusis (*Arch. Deltion* XIV, 1931—32, Parart. p. 8). To the Lyons kore correspond sejant sphinxes in the Louvre and at Weimar (Jantzen, *Bronzeworkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien* p. 70, pl. 33). Some similar sphinxes were found in the Idaean cave on Crete (*Museo Italiano* II, 1888, p. 746. *Annuario della Scuola Arch. di Atene* X—XII, 1936, p. 540). Finally, a couchant sphinx from Selinunt, though it is inferior to any of the others and may be a local imitation (*Mon. Ant.* XXXII, 1927, p. 351. Jantzen, l. c. p. 54, No. 2. Cf. also p. 3, Nos. 3 and 6).

GREEK VASES IN THE NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTHEK

BY

ADA BRUHN

In 1920 the Ny Carlsberg Foundation started the Vase Collection at the Glyptothek by presenting the museum with a number of Greek vases which Dr. Frederik Poulsen, the director, published in a paper: *Vases Grecs récemment acquis par la Glyptothèque de Ny-Carlsberg* in *Det kgl. danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter, hist.-filol. Meddelelser* V, 2, 1922. Later, in 1924, the collection was enriched with still more vases, particularly Attic red-figured specimens, which were also published by Dr. Frederik Poulsen in: *Aus einer alten Etruskerstadt*, l. c. XII, 3, 1927. A number of white lekythoi were published by Dr. Vagn Poulsen in *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* I, 1931, p. 162 ff. The vases published on the following pages are some acquired since the publication of 1927 and others which for various reasons were omitted from the earlier papers. I beg to thank Dr. Frederik Poulsen for prompting me to treat the vases in these columns.

EARLY ATTIC VASES.

Attic Geometric Oinochoe. (I. N. 2784). Fig. 1.

H. 0.26 m. Reddish clay, dark-brown varnish.

A jug with a wide neck and fluted body. The high, ribbon-shaped handle is joined to the vase by a small transversal bar. The decoration is purely geometric. On the neck are metope-fields with four-leaves and wading birds, on the body are parallel zig-zag lines between the arches of the elevated areas. On the handle is a painted serpent.

The surface is damaged by the firing; otherwise the vase is well preserved.

Acquired in Athens in 1929.

The form, which has been discussed i. a. by Sam Wide¹, is characteristic of the severe geometric style² which is dominated by just

¹ Sam Wide, *Geometrische Vasen aus Griechenland*, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* XIV, 1899, p. 204 ff.

² B. Schweitzer, *Geometrische Stile in Griechenland*, *Athen. Mitt.* 43, 1918, p. 139 (cf. pl. II, 1).

such purely geometric motifs, mostly in a system divided into metopes. This vase is almost contemporaneous with a jug of similar form from the Dipylon tomb which among other objects contained the famous ivories¹. In his review of Roland Hampe's book "Frühe griechische Sagenbilder", Kunze puts the date of this grave to not later than the



Fig. 1. Geometric oinochoe, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

second quarter of the VIII century² thus contradicting Hampe, who incorrectly dates it to the close of the VIII century³, basing his judgment on the style of the geometric vases found there. The severe style signifies the culminating point of development before the reaction in the style set in, possibly connected with the commencement of the Greek colonization⁴.

Proto-Attic Amphora. (I. N. 2761).
Fig. 2.

H. 0.534 m. Reddish clay, varnish dark brown, white paint for some ornaments. Tall, slender amphora with vertical handles, high neck with slightly concave sides, egg-shaped body and small conical foot. On the rim, shoulder, and handles are plastic serpents. On the neck front and back is a

metope framed by purely geometric ornaments such as sloping lines, hatched triangles and horizontal and vertical parallel lines. In each field is a winged horse, one wing raised above the back, the other lowered between the fore legs. The wings are drawn in contour and filled with stippling. The mane is drawn with small lines. Round shoulder and body are several horizontal, ornamental friezes with geometric ornaments, including a broad black border on which a zig-zag ornament is painted with white paint. The principal motif is a row of dogs meeting at one side round an ornament the nature of which cannot be determined owing to surface weathering. The eyes and

¹ Perrot, *Figurines d'ivoires*, B. C. H. XIX, 1895, p. 275 fig. 1. Collignon — Couve, *Musée d'Athènes* No. 228 pl. 13.

² Kunze, *Gött. gel. Anzeiger* 1937, p. 289ff.

³ Roland Hampe, *Frühe gr. Sagenbilder*, p. 37.

⁴ Kunze, *Anfänge der gr. Plastik*, Athen. Mitt. 1930, p. 150.

the vertical stripe on the necks are reserved. Tongue and teeth can be seen in the open jaws. Fillings in the form of hatched triangles, zig-zag bands, rhombs and swastikas. Below the animal frieze are horizontal rows of vertical wavy lines, zig-zag bands and parallel stripes. The plastic serpents are ornamented with longitudinal stripes and rows of dots.

Put together from many fragments, some sherds and small parts of the plastic serpents are missing. The surface weathered, the ornaments in most cases very indistinct. One handle restored in plaster. Stated to have been found at Phaleron. Acquired in 1928.

Decoration and style determine the place of this vase in Attic pottery, a Phaleron vase¹ at the transitional stage from the geometric to the orientalising style, still bound by the traditions of the geometric style but bearing the impression of the

dissolution and disturbance brought over Greece by the new elements from the Orient, with Crete as the intermediate stage. Our vase is the one spoken of by Mr. Cook as "whereabouts unknown"². Mr. Cook has rightly seen how closely related the vase is to the amphora in Würzburg³ and the amphora in New York⁴. The shape



Fig. 2. Proto-attic amphora. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

¹ Phaleron vases first described by Boehlau in *Jahrb. d. deutsch. Inst.* II 1887, pp. 33—66 T. III—V. While these pages are being printed a new study of the Phaleron vases has appeared: J. M. Cook, *Protoattic Pottery*, B. S. A. XXXV, 1934/35, p. 165 ff.

² Cook o. c. p. 179 f.

³ Langlotz, *Griech. Vasen in Würzburg* pl. 7, no. 79.

⁴ *Metrop. Mus. Bull.* Feb. 1911, p. 33, fig. 7, Cook o. c. pl. 47.

is that of the late Dipylon style's tall amphora¹, but with greater slimness in the proportions. The decorative elements are mostly geometric. Whereas the animal friezes of the true Dipylon style consist of stylized, uniform rows of animals, grazing stags, wading birds, etc. in a subordinate position, in the early orientalising style the lifelike animal frieze plays a leading role. On fig. 2 it has become the chief motif and has occupied the most important position on the vase. We recall something of the same kind on the proto-Corinthian vases. The dominating role of these animal friezes soon comes to an end, however. As on the proto-Corinthian vases, on the later Phaleron vases too (cf. the Hymettosamphora in Berlin²) it becomes merely an ornamental element and is placed subordinately below the main frieze, a position which it retains in archaic Attic vase painting. The vertical division of the main frieze, and the distinct differentiation of the front and back of the frieze, both of them characteristic features of the geometric style, have now disappeared. The dogs are not very common in early Attic ceramics; the nearest parallels are to be found on the contemporary proto-Corinthian vases.

The winged horse on the neck is purely decorative. This is one of the first oriental motifs to come to Greece³. On the amphorae in Würzburg and New York we find the earliest examples of the decorative winged horse. An almost contemporaneous Phaleron fragment⁴ also has a winged horse, though its wings are arranged differently to those on fig. 2. The horse itself is still purely geometric, in the mane too, which on orientalizing vases is wavy⁵.

The recent excavations at Agora⁶ and Kerameikos⁷ in Athens have unearthed a quantity of Phaleron pottery and thereby widened our knowledge of this group of vases. The earlier excavations at the Necropolis at Phaleron⁸ had already shown the period to which these vases must belong, for some of the Phaleron vases were found in tombs which also contained proto-Corinthian pottery of the earliest orientalising phase of this group, especially aryballois of the type which Professor Friis Johansen has called "aryballes pansus" and "aryballes ovoïdes"⁹. The ornaments on the fully developed, broad aryballois and the animal friezes on the early ovoid aryballois correspond so well to those of the

¹ Direct forerunners are i. a. an amphora in the Glyptothek V 2, I. N. 2680. Poulsen, *Vases Grecs*, Kgl. d. Vidensk. Selsk. Skrifter, hist.-filol. Medd. V 2, p. 3, figs. 2—3, and an amphora in Nat. Mus. Copenhagen C.V.A. Copenhagen fasc. 2, III H pl. 73, 3.

² Berlin F. 56, Boehlau o. c. pl. 5.

³ H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* p. 91 n. 10.

⁴ Boehlau o. c. p. 46, fig. 4.

⁵ Cf. Phaleron crater at Munich, Pfuhl.

Malerei u. Zeichn. der Griech. III, fig. 84, Cook o. c. pl. 41.

⁶ D. Burr, *A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Votive Deposit*, *Hesperia* II 1933 p. 542 ff., V 1936 p. 33, VI 1937 p. 371.

⁷ *Archäol. Anzeiger* 1932 sp. 183, 1933 sp. 262, 1934, sp. 196, 1936, sp. 181.

⁸ Pelekides, *Deltion*, II 1916, p. 13 ff., *Arch. Anz.* 1916 sp. 139 ff.

⁹ Friis Johansen, *Vases Sicyoniens*, p. 15 ff., and p. 71 ff.

early Phaleron vases that there can scarcely remain any doubt of the chronological similarity of these two vase groups. Absolute data for the period are difficult to give¹. The vase in the Glyptothek can scarcely have been made much before 700 B. C.



Fig. 3. Cypriote amphora. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

CYPRIOTE VASES.

Cypriote Amphora. (I. N. 2766). Fig. 3.

H. 0.735. Large, ovoid amphora with cylindrical neck, profiled rim and horizontal handles. Greyish-brown, micaceous clay, yellowish-white slip. Dull black and red paint used for ornaments. Clay and slip of rather coarse quality.

¹ Cook o. c. p. 202 f.

The decoration, which occurs only on neck and shoulder except for some parallel horizontal lines around the widest part of the body, is pure geometric and consists of metope fields with chequered rhombs and triangles with leaf-like figures on the neck, and groups of oblique and vertical lines on the shoulder.



Fig. 4. Cypriote krater-like vase. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

On the rim are black transversal lines, and inside the rim is a decoration of stripes. The handles and foot black.

On the neck back and front are fractures, but otherwise the vase is in good condition. Acquired in London 1928.

Two-handled, Krater-like Vase on columned foot. (I. N. 2665). Fig. 4.

H. 0.22. Technical features as above. The purely geometric decoration is carried out in black and red paint. The rim, handle and upper side of the foot black, as is also the wavy ornament of the

neck. On the body is one broad red stripe, the other stripes are black. Inside the rim are alternate black and red stripes.

Good condition. Acquired in Paris in 1920.

Barrel-shaped Jug. (I. N. 2768). Figs. 5—6.

H. 0.35, b. 0.35. Reddish clay, yellowish slip, black and red paint for ornaments.

In front of the neck a large bird with raised wing and long, fringe-like claws. Between the bird's neck and wing is a decorative flower. On each side of the bird a broad vertical band of close-set rings, and at each end of the vase are concentric circles. On the shoulder is a cruciform leaf ornament framed in parallel lines. On neck and handle are black stripes, on the lower part of the neck a wavy line, and below the handle are concentric circles. Inside are black stripes. The surface is damaged in several places. Acquired in London 1928.

These three vases may be placed to the group which Gjerstad¹ called "bichrome IV", of the time in the Cypriote geometric period when red paint came into use side by side with the black dull colour that is

¹ Ejnar Gjerstad, *Classification des céramiques antiques* No. 16, p. 41 ff.

characteristic of Cypriote pottery in contrast to the bright Greek varnish.

The large ovoid form of amphora is often met with in the fully developed geometric and early archaic period and in many cases was



Fig. 5. Cypriote barrel-shaped jug. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Fig. 6. Profile of fig. 5.

used as a sarcophagus for bodies of infants. As almost always on Cypriote amphorae, neck and shoulder are the chief fields of decoration, whereas the body has only a row of stripes to mark the line between neck and body. The neck ornamentation, rhombs with chequered figures, is familiar from many vases. Very closely related is an amphora in the British Museum¹ and an amphora from Stylli in the southeast part of Cyprus². Gjerstad dates it to the beginning of the period which he calls "Cypro-Archaic A", which corresponds to Myres's fully developed geometric period³, in which foreign elements begin to appear beside the pure geometric elements.

The peculiar hybrid of a krater and an amphora, with biconical body and tall foot, must be placed to the large group of special forms within Cypriote pottery. Without the high foot the krater type itself occurs rather frequently in early archaic times⁴ and, with the strong marking of the two halves of the body, must have its prototype in metal work. There are only few parallels to the vessel with the tall

¹ C. V. A. Brit. Mus. fasc. 2, II C c pl. 4, 18.

² Gjerstad, Lindros, Sjöquist, Westholm: Swedish Cyprus Exped. II, pl. XXXV grave no. 17, 5.

³ Myres, Cesnola Coll. Metropol. Mus. New York p. 76, e.

⁴ Gjerstad o. c. pl. XXXI and pl. CLXVI, grave 6, 3.

foot. Nearest it comes a contemporary vase at the Louvre¹ and a rather earlier bucchero vase with painted decoration in the Cesnola collection, New York². The ornamentation is very simple and the only datable element is the wavy line on the neck, which occurs especially on vases of the subsequent type.

The Cypriote range of special forms also includes the barrel-shaped jug. It is most frequent in the late geometric and early archaic period, though it does occur later. A very similar jug is in the National Museum in Copenhagen³, another in the British Museum⁴. In his catalogue of the Cesnola collection Myres refers to this form and expresses the opinion that its prototype was a wooden vessel of a type used to this day in certain parts of Asia Minor⁵. The small plastic knob at each end of the vase, reminiscent of the plugs of the wooden vessel, forms an excellent centre for the circle ornaments. In addition to the two broad bands of concentric rings on each side of the neck, the shoulder ornaments, the four leaves drawn in outline are also geometric. It is only later that the leaves become filled with black colour. A new decorative element is represented by the large bird, the first animal in the orientalising pottery of Cyprus. At the close of the geometric period the bird becomes part of the ornament repertoire and, especially for archaic pottery in the VII century, becomes so to say the only element of decoration on certain forms of vase, especially kylikes⁶ and oinochoai⁷. Together with the bird come plant ornaments, especially lotus flowers, rosettes and palmettes, all of them elements showing that towards the close of the VIII century Cyprus is coming in closer contact with the rest of the world than before.

BLACK-FIGURED VASES.

Black-figured Attic Kyathos. V. 18 (I. N. 2704). Fig. 7.

H. 0.12 m. Much damaged, several fragments missing, knob of handle broken. Red and white paint as well as incised lines employed for details. The inner side, the handle and the lower part of the outside covered with varnish. The ornamentation includes two recumbent symposiasts in large himatia which are decorated with white spots and red fold stripes. The himation of the figure on the right is also furnished with small incised stars. Red paint is applied to the brow and — on

¹ Louvre A 129, C. V. A. fasc. 5, II C c pl. 11, 5.

² Myres o. c. p. 59 No. 483.

³ Poul Fossing, *Vases chypriotes nouvellement acquis*. Acta Arch. I, p. 279, fig. 4.

⁴ Brit. Mus. C. V. A. fasc. 2, II C c pl. 9, 22.

⁵ Myres, o. c. p. 78.

⁶ Cf. vase in Nat. Mus. Copenh. Fossing, o. c. p. 280, fig. 5.

⁷ Vase in Glyptothek; Poulsen, *Vases Grecs* figs. 4—5.

one figure — on the back hair. Round the neck both wear broad bands in white and in their hands have incised wreaths. In the background are vines with clusters of grapes. On each side an out-turned lion, with mane curls and belly stripe in white. Behind the lions are apotropaic eyes.

Poor workmanship. From Orvieto. Acquired in 1924.



Fig. 7. Black-figured kyathos. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Fig. 8. Black-figured kyathos. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

Black-figured Attic Kyathos. V. 19 (I. N. 2705). Fig. 8.

H. 0.13 m. Very fragmentary, several pieces missing, the handle partly destroyed. Technical details as above. On a folding stool Dionysos sits wrapped in his embroidered himation with vine-leaves round his hair and his kantharos in his hand. There is red paint on the fold-stripes and spots of the himation, and also on beard and back-hair. Here again are vines with grapes in the background. The figure is enframed with eyes and out-turned, sitting sphinxes.

Poor workmanship. From Orvieto. Acquired in 1924.

Both vases are of the form common to black-figured kyathoi but lack the plastic handle decoration, the raised vertical median stripe with the palmette fan and nail heads that are reminiscent of the metal prototypes. The system of decoration is the usual one, ornamental animals and eyes.

Recumbent symposiasts are a favourite theme on vases of the close of the VI century, both red and black figured, occurring i. a. on a black-figured kyathos in Nat. Mus. Copenhagen¹.

¹ C. V. A. Copenhagen fasc. 3, III H pl. 119, No. 10b.

More frequent is the other motif, the seated Dionysos, familiar from many kyathoi, of which several are in Munich¹. The same motif appears on a kyathos from Olbia², which stylistically is so near to fig. 8 that it would seem to have been painted by the same hand. As is customary in late black-figured vase painting, the scene is foreshortened, the dancing maenads and satyrs which sometimes replace the ornamental animals being omitted. On the whole, however, this motif is not confined to this form of vase, for we know of it on many others, especially eye-lylikes and contemporary red-figured kylikes.

Black-figured Attic Olpe. V. 20 (I. N. 2748). Fig. 9.

H. 0.21. Fragmentary. Some pieces missing.

Technical details as on the foregoing vases. The white paint on the female figure is partly destroyed by excessive firing.

The vase is entirely covered with varnish except on the picture field and the vertical edge of the foot. Of ornamentation there is merely a chain of palmettes above the picture field, in which is a peplos-clad maenad between two dancing satyrs.

Rather bad work. Acquired in Paris in 1920.

The olpe, which is popular in late black-figured pottery and in several variations³, is represented here by a very finely-moulded specimen, with clear and curved contours, slightly out-turned rim and small lobes at the joint of the handle. The very hastily drawn ornamentation occurs particularly on plain lekythoi and kylikes of the close of the VI century. The picture recalls the maenad-satyr friezes on some Nikosthenes amphorae.

Black-figured Skyphos. (I. N. 2759). Fig. 10. Beazley, Some Inscriptions on Vases. Amer. Journ. of Arch. 39, 1935, p. 479, No. 6.

H. 0.055 m. Grimy-red clay, yellowish slip, and varnish of a bluish-black. The inner side, the handles and the upper side of the foot covered with varnish. The decoration is the same on both sides and consists of two large handle-palmettes, between which is a bearded head crowned with a palmette fan. Above the head an inscription: ΠΙΣΤΙΑΣ. Below each handle another palmette fan, and below the ornamental frieze varnish-and-purple stripes, a reserved simple maeander border, and rays around the lowest part of the vase. In good condition. Acquired from Athens in 1927.

¹ Museum für antike Kleinkunst 1940, 1944 etc.

² Arch. Anzeiger 1913, sp. 207, fig. 55.

³ Pfuhl, Malerei u. Zeichn. der Griech. III, § 313 p. 303.

The clay and the varnish indicate Boeotia as the place of manufacture, but the shape is Attic. We know of several small black-figured



Fig. 9. Black-figured olpe. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

skyphoi of this type. To those mentioned by Beazley¹ we may add i. a. two in Mus. Naz., Naples². Ure described the form in his book: *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, p. 70, type N. In shape and decoration the Attic vases are so similar that, as Ure says³, they were

¹ Beazley, A. J. A. 1935, p. 479, No. 6.

² I. N. 86009 and 86386. The latter published by Gabrici in *Mon. Ant.* XXII, 1913 T. LXIII No. 2, p. 508.

³ Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona* p. 71.

undoubtedly made at the same pottery. The handle-palmette with an ornamental figure between, is the most common decoration of these vases. Probably the bearded head is a Dionysos mask¹, a very suitable motif for a drinking cup. The apotropaic Dionysos mask is frequent on Attic black-figured vases², especially small lekythoi and oinochoai of the close of the VI century³. On fig. 10 the horizontal line above the mouth indicates the moustache of the mask, and the black, downward point the small chin-tuft that occurs on Attic masks⁴. Without doubt the palmette fan above the head represents the ivy branches which often crown the Dionysos masks of both black and red-figured vases⁵. The stripe decoration below the figure frieze has its nearest parallels on a skyphos from Rhitsona⁶ and on one of the vases at Naples⁷. The maeander border below the stripes is an ornament that often appears on Attic black-figured vases⁸. The inscription ΠΙΣΤΙΑΣ is doubtless a potter's signature. Pistias is known to be a man's name, at any rate in Athens⁹. On Attic pottery there are several examples of the potter's name appearing alone, without the addition of the verb, e. g. a black-figured skyphos in Princeton¹⁰, a black-figured little-master cup in the British Museum¹¹, a red-figured kylix in Naples¹², bearing the name of Paidikos alone, whilst another vase by the same painter, an alabastron in the Louvre¹³, has the signature Paidikos *εποιεσεν*. Several of the vases painted by Duris have the potter's name Python in addition to Duris' signature¹⁴, and some inferior red-figured lekythoi have the name of Duris without the verb¹⁵.

Ure's excavations at Rhitsona have brought to light several small skyphoi which, by reason of the circumstances attending them when found, may be dated to about 500. In one of the graves, No. 120¹⁶, was a small vase which is so much like the Pistias vase that it must be contemporaneous. From its contents of Boeotian kylikes the grave may be dated to Ure's group B, "later period", ca. 500. The other objects in the grave, especially the Attic vases, which are of very poor quality, confirm this dating.

¹ Beazley o. c. p. 479.

² Wrede, *Der Maskengott*. *Athen Mitt.* 53, 1928, p. 91 f.

³ Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, pl. 23, 3, pl. 25, 6, 31 1 a—b.

⁴ Haspels o. c.

⁵ Frickenhaus, *Lenaenvasen*, 72. *Winkelmanns Pr.* 1912, figs. 1 and 19A.

⁶ Ure o. c. pl. XXII, 120, 51.

⁷ Gabrici o. c. pl. LXIII, No. 2.

⁸ Bauer, *Stoddard Collection* p. 79, No. 120, *Brit. Mus. B 669*, *Smith, Cat. II*, pl. VII, 2.

⁹ *Xen. Mem.* III, 10, 9. And see Kirchner, *Prosopographie II* p. 201.

¹⁰ H. R. W. Smith: *Greek Vases, Art and Archeology XX*, 3. Sept. 1925, Princeton number. (*Art throughout the ages*) p. 120.

¹¹ *Brit. Mus.* 1919. 1. — 20, 2. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Black-F.* p. 54.

¹² H. 2609. Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-F.* II, p. 275, No. 10.

¹³ Hoppin o. c. II, p. 272, No. 1.

¹⁴ Hoppin o. c. I, p. 267 f.

¹⁵ Hoppin o. c. I, p. 270—273.

¹⁶ Ure o. c. p. 92 f.

RED-FIGURED VASES.

Red-figured Attic Column Krater. (I. N. 2754). Figs. 11 and 12. Ancienne Coll. Woodyat, Vente Rome 1912, No. 47, pl. III.

H. 0.40 m. Except for surface injuries here and there, especially on the back, the vase is in good condition. The varnish is good and lustrous,



Fig. 10. Black-figured skyphos. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

with a greenish sheen. To a great extent relief lines are employed for contours, thinned varnish and red paint for details. Around the rim are ivy leaves, on the front of the neck lotus buds, and on the shoulders a staff ornament above the picture fields, which on the sides are enframed by ivy leaves. Below the fields a red band, above the foot rays.

On the front is Dionysos in chiton and himation, both with varnish borders. Round the head he has an ivy wreath and in his hands a kantharos and vine. On the latter and on the ivy wreath the leaves are in red paint. The maenad, who is also wearing chiton and himation, holds ivy branches in her hands, the plant of the Dionysos cult. Behind her kekryphalos the sprays of one of the vines comes into view. The hair and beard of the satyr, like the details of his body, are in thinned varnish. Over his shoulder he carries a pointed amphora and in his hand an oinochoe. On the back are three himation-clad komasts, two of them with skyphoi. The ephebe whiskers on one figure are in thinned varnish.

Under the bottom of the vase graffitti: ΓΝ.

Acquired in Rome in 1925. Formerly Coll. Woodyat.

This vase belongs to the period about 460, the time in which the

column krater has its widest distribution until it gives way to the bell krater, the favourite krater form of the subsequent period. The subjects, especially those of the back, are very frequent in this time. Himation-



Fig. 11. Red-figured column-krater. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

clad ephebes of the same type are familiar from several contemporaneous column kraters, including some in Bologna¹. The style is characteristic and the work carefully done.

Chronologically the vase may be placed with the works of such krater artists as the Bolognese-Boreas painter and the Florentine centaur-battle painter².

¹ See *Mus. Civ. Bologna, C. V. A. fasc. I, III J c*, pl. 25 ff.

² Beazley, *Att. Vasenm.* p. 305 f. and p. 308 f.

Red-figured Attic Skyphos. V. 35 (I. N. 2718). Fig. 13¹.

H. 0.17 m. Much damaged. Large parts missing. The portions preserved are most of the front, the lower part of the back, and a small



Fig. 12. Reverse of fig. 11.

fragment of one handle-side. Slender relief lines, thinned varnish used for details.

The shape is that of the skyphos type known from the Penthesilea painter, with slightly curved sides and horizontal handle (for the shape cf. Buschor in *Furtw.-Reich. III* p. 124 f.). The inside covered with varnish. The designs on front and back are separated by large handle-

¹ I am greatly indebted to Prof. Beazley at Oxford who kindly affirmed my determinations of the masters of this and the following red-figured vases.

palmettes and lotus buds of a type known i. a. from the Pistoxenos skyphos in Schwerin¹. Below the picture is a maeander border. It appears from the fragments remaining that the motif was the same on back and front: to the right a standing youth leaning on a rugged staff and with the left, bent leg placed behind the right, so that the characteristic form of the heel is distinct. Opposite him a woman running towards the left. Her chiton is ornamented with small stars and vertical varnish stripes, and below her himation has a broad black border. Round her hair a band. Between the figures a purse.

On the front below the maeander border is an incised Etruscan inscription containing a man's name in the possessive form and the word *sech* (daughter) also in the possessive $\varsigma\iota\downarrow\epsilon\varsigma\cdot\varsigma\Lambda\Theta/\epsilon\Lambda X$. Presumably it is an owner's inscription. Etruscan inscriptions are not unknown on Attic vases².

Acquired in 1924. From Orvieto.

The artistic quality of this vase is poor. The style indicates the painter whom Beazley, from the design on a kylix in Heidelberg³, has called the Splanknoptes painter⁴, an inferior imitator of the Penthesilea painter. The motif of the standing youth is a favourite one, not alone of the Splanknoptes painter but also of his model, the Penthesilea painter.

That the vase must belong to about the middle of the V century is confirmed by a comparison with a kylix in the British Museum; Diepolder justly placed it to the later period of the Penthesilea painter, when his style became dry and uninteresting⁵.

Red-figured Attic Kylix. V. 34 (I. N. 2716). Fig. 14.

Diameter 0.19 m. Put together from many fragments, of which a few are missing.

This small, low kylix is covered entirely with varnish on the outside. In the picture inside, which is framed in a maeander broken at places by a chequered pattern, is a naked youth turning to the right, the head in full profile, the body in three-quarter profile. The lower part of the body covered by a large himation which he is folding. Its soft character is indicated by thin relief-lines.

Acquired in 1924. From Orvieto.

This vase may be attributed to the Kodros painter, around whose

¹ Jahrb. d. Inst. 27 1912, T. 5—8.

⁴ Beazley, Campana Fragments p. 24,

² Cf. the Oltos vase in Corneto, Hoppin: pl. 16 No. 29 and 20, 82.

A Handbook of Attic Red-F. II p. 251.

⁵ E 72, Diepolder, Der Penthesileamaler

³ Kraiker, Rotfig. att. Vasen in Heidelberg pl. 25, No. 143.

pl. 29, 2 and 30, 1—2.

kylix in Mus. Civ. in Bologna¹ Beazley placed other kylikes which certainly were executed by the same artist². Nearest fig. 14 is a kylix in Mus. Naz. at Naples³ with a similar subject in the centre picture



Fig. 13. Red-figured skyphos. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

(fig. 15). The steep profile, the form of the mouth and the treatment of eye and ear are the same, as also the drawing of the legs and the rendering of the drapery. The cursory but characteristic execution of the feet recurs on the outer sides of the Naples bowl (fig. 16). The attitude motif, with the back-drawn shoulders and the lower body forward, is a favourite one of the vase painters of the Periclean Era, who had it from the standing youths of the Parthenon frieze. No Attic vase painter comes so close to that frieze as the Kodros painter; this is already shown by the Bologna vase, which is one of his earliest works,

¹ Bologna P. U. 273, Jahrbuch 13, 1898, pp. 70—72, T. 4.

² Beazley, *Att. Vasenm.*, p. 425 f.

³ Naples 2607. Beazley o. c. 426, No. 18.

I am obliged to Prof. Amedeo Maiuri, director of the Mus. Naz., Naples, for permission to reproduce this vase.

still with reminiscences of the foregoing period. One of his later works comes nearest, however, the Themis bowl in Berlin (cf. Aigeus with ephebe on the east side of the frieze)¹. Like the vase in Naples the Glyptothek vase is later than this and must be dated to the time about 430.



Fig. 14. Red-figured kylix, interior. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

Red-Figured Attic Neck-Amphora. (I. N. 2783). Figs. 17—19. Cat. Mus. Disneianum pl. CXVII—CXVIII p. 265 (London 1849). Beazley, *Att. Vasenm.* p. 446, No. 2.

H. 0.22 m. In good condition. No over-painting.

Slender relief lines, thinned varnish and white paint employed for details, but to no great extent. In form it is a small neck-amphora

¹ Berlin F. 2538. Beazley o. c. p. 425, No. 2. Hauser in Furtw.-Reich. III, p. 110, fig. 53. Fr. Poulsen, *Bas-relief votif de style*

attique après Phidias, *Acta Arch.* III 1932, p. 245, fig. 15. Bielefeld: *Archäol. Vermutungen* fig. 3.

with low neck, broad body and band-shaped handles. On the front of the neck a lion, the mane painted in thin varnish; on the back a running hare. Below each handle an ornament consisting of two opposed palmette fans and large volutes. On the lower body a kymation border. On the



Fig. 15. Red-figured kylix, interior. Naples, Museo Nazionale, 2607.

front is a representation of two cloaked youths with white diadems in their hair. The figure on the right has a rough staff. On the back a young man with a long object, a purse, in his hand.

The vase was originally purchased in Florence and for a time was in the Coll. Disney, in whose catalogue it is published. Later it came to the Weber coll. and from there at a date unknown to me came on to the market. In 1920 Helge Jacobsen, president of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, acquired it in Paris and presented it to the Glyptothek.

The form is not that of the usual neck-amphora, but a cross between the Nolan type and the tall, slender neck-amphora so popular especially

in early classical pottery. The low proportions, the almost horizontal shoulders and the broad, massive body belong to a relatively late period in the V. century, when a new sense of form displaced the tall slender vases that characterize the period about the middle of the century. The Meidias period and that succeeding it were fond of small, broad forms, but the change took place prior to the Meidias period. Only very few amphorae are known of the form fig. 17: one in Würzburg¹ by the same painter, and one in the British Museum², which, according to what Prof. Beazley kindly told me, was not by the same artist, though in form and system of decoration it closely approaches the Glyptothek vase. These two vases are the only specimens of Attic amphorae known to the writer with animals as a neck-ornament. The nearest parallels to these animals appear on the numerous small red-figured askoi of the second half of the V. century³ and on some few choe jugs. The handle palmettes are of the usual construction of the Phidias period. The kylikes of the Kodros painter⁴ and some of the vases of the Eretria painter⁵ have similar handle ornaments. The kymation border becomes the favourite ornament of the Meidias period. Earlier vases have it; it occurs already in the Leagros period, but it only becomes general in the second half of the V. century. The subject presents nothing of special interest. The still, cloaked figures with the slightly lowered heads are common on the many "handicraft" vases of the Parthenon period and the following time.

The painter of the vase, called the Disney painter by Beazley after the Disney collection⁶, is a small craftsman who has a penchant for small forms such as small neck-amphorae, oinochoai and pelikai. His best works are the Glyptothek vase and the small amphora in Würzburg. He is an unimaginative painter, with few figure types at his command, and these he repeats on almost all his vases. A pelike in the British Museum, E. 422 (fig. 20)⁷ has a design almost identical with that of the Glyptothek vase. Of that vase we also know three replicas, one in the Preyss collection in Munich, one at Naples and one at Vienna⁸.

The Disney painter is of the Periclean period. His figure types with the high, steep profiles, the vague contours, the absence of details and the cloth characteristics of the drapery are typical of the period about 430.

¹ E. Langlotz, *Griech. Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 173, No. 505.

² *Brit. Mus.* E 348. *C. V. A.* fasc. 5, III I c pl. 68, 3a—b.

³ See askos in *Oxford C. V. A.* fasc. 1, III c pl. XLV Nos. 4 and 5.

⁴ *Mus. Civ. Bologna*, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 13, 1898, T. 4; *Brit. Mus.* E 82. Dugas, Aison

p. 29 fig. 6. Berlin 2537, Jacobsthal, *Ornamente gr. Vasen*, pl. 85b.

⁵ See the following vase.

⁶ Beazley o. c. p. 446, No. 2.

⁷ Beazley o. c. p. 446, No. 3. I thank Mr. F. N. Pryce, keeper of the Greek and Roman Dept., *Brit. Mus.* for permission to reproduce the vase.

⁸ Beazley o. c. p. 446, Nos. 4, 5, 6.

Red-Figured Attic Skyphos. V. 39 (I. N. 2703). Fig. 21.

H. 0.08 m. Very fragmentary. The portions preserved are: most of the middle of one side, the bottom with the lower part of the opposite side (fig. 21), a fragment with one handle, and a small fragment



Fig. 16. Exterior of fig. 15.

of the rim, on which are parts of two figures. The loose fragments are not figured.

Low, broad skyphos with concave rim and profiled foot. Good varnish with greenish lustre, thin relief lines, which are also much employed for contours, thinned varnish and white paint for details. The inside varnished. Outside there is a reserved line above and below the picture frieze and on the foot. Below each handle was originally a palmette ornament with S-volutes of the same type as that of the foregoing vase (see fig. 19). The motif was the same on both sides of the vase: dancing maenads and satyrs in groups of two. Only the figures of one group are preserved in their entirety (fig. 21). Of the other group on the same side is the lower part of the maenad and her left arm and hand with a thyrsos staff, from which emanates an ivy branch. Behind her on the left are the lower body and tail of a running satyr with a wine-skin on his back. Of the figures on the other side all that is preserved is the fragment with the head and torso of a maenad and the fragment with the back of the head of a satyr and a maenad's arm and hand with the thyrsos staff. Remnants of inscriptions in white paint: ΚΛ. ΟΣ Κ. ΛΕ . . . καλος, καλε. The chitons of the maenads have close folds. Round the hair they wear a triple band which is reserved in the clay, whilst a small white band (not seen on fig. 21) with a small trefoil ornament interlaces between the other bands. The satyrs are wearing white leaf garlands on their heads. Their hair and beards have a ground

of thin varnish, on which the black locks are drawn. From Orvieto. Acquired in 1924.

This little skyphos, which Beazley calls "cup-cotyle C"¹ occurs most frequently in the pottery of the Periclean period² though we know it



Fig. 17. Red-figured neck-amphora. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Fig. 18. Reverse of fig. 17.

from the time of the severe style³ and in the red⁴ and black-figured⁵ pottery of the archaic period.

This vase must be attributed to the Eretria painter, though a rather poor effort in comparison with most of his works⁶, especially the epinetron⁷ found on Eretria, that artist's principal work, and actually later than our vase. The style of hair-dressing with the interlaced bands, the profile with the characteristic nose, the powerful arms and the short, broad hands are typical of this painter. The maenad on fig. 21 is best comparable with the women, especially Galene and Doso, on the almost

¹ Beazley, *Att. Vasenm.* p. 4.

² Vase in New York, Gisela Richter, *Red-Figured Athenian vases*, pls. 156 and 178. In Oxford is a fragment of a similar vase which, according to Beazley, may be by the same painter as fig. 22. *C. V. A. Oxf. fasc. I, III J.* pl. 14, 25, 39, 5, 43, 13.

³ Skyphos in Hamburg 1893. 101. Splan-

knopfes painter. *Arch. Anz.* 1928 sp. 319.

⁴ Skyphos of Epiktet, Oxford, *C. V. A.* pl. 41, 9—10.

⁵ Akropolis, Graef-Langlotz, *Akropolis-scherben II* No. 1338, pl. 78.

⁶ Beazley, *Att. Vasenm.* p. 429 f.

⁷ *Ephemeris* 1897, pl. 9—10. Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichn.* III, fig. 561.

contemporary little pyxis in the British Museum¹. The similarity with the hair with the small white band and the trefoil ornament is great. A fragment in the Campana collection in Florence, attributed by Beazley to the Eretria painter², despite its small size very closely approaches



Fig. 19. Handle-ornament of fig. 17.

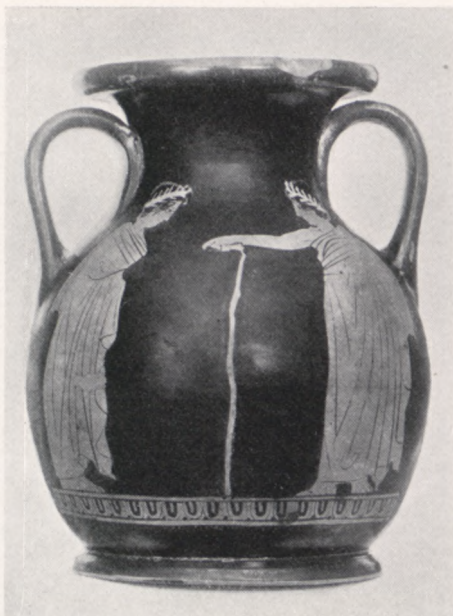


Fig. 20. Red-figured pelike. London, Brit. Mus. E 422.

the treatment of the maenad's garment. Small branches and twigs are favourites with the artist; the small twig growing out of the lower end of the thyrsos staff is familiar from several of his vases, i. a. the fine little lekythos in Berlin F. 2741³. The satyr has his nearest parallels on the vase in Goluchow⁴. The characteristic form of the forehead, with the prominent ridge above the nose is exaggerated on fig. 21 but occurs on almost all this painter's satyrs. Of the inscriptions the triple-lined ζ should be observed; it is employed on almost all the vases of this painter.

The motif: maenads and satyrs occurs on several of his products; Dionysic scenes on the whole are popular in the vase painting of the Periclean period. The fine, miniature-like scenes: marriages, domestic scenes and cult scenes, which are so characteristic of the period, have

¹ E 774 Furtw. Reichh. I, pl. 57, 3.

² C. V. A. Firenze III J c pl. 16. Beazley, Campanafragm. pl. 16, 40.

³ Neugebauer, Führer p. 102, pl. 64, No. 2471.

⁴ Beazley, Vases in Poland pl. 29, 2-30, p. 61.

their greatest portrayer in the Eretria painter, whose style attains to even greater refinement in the subsequent period in the Meidias style.

Red-Figured Attic Owl-Skyphos. V. 40 (I. N. 2719). Fig. 22.

H. 0.07 m. Very fragmentary. Both handles and the corresponding



Fig. 21. Red-figured skyphos. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

parts of the body walls missing. On each side is an owl between olive sprays.

From Orvieto. Acquired in 1924.

The fragments show that originally the vase had a horizontal and a vertical handle. Some of the large number of owl-skyphoi known to us were of this form, whereas others have almost straight sides and horizontal handles. The owl and the olive sprays, the special symbol of Athens, indicate that the vases were for some particular purpose, possibly of ritual¹ or national² kind. They may also have been used as a form of souvenir of Athens, since we find them not merely in the city but in Italy and in East-Greek territory as well. Most students

¹ Smith, *Cat. of Vases*, Brit. Mus. III p. 14. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *Greek Vases in Toronto I*, p. 183, No. 373.

² Dinsmoor, *The Date of the Older Parthenon*, A. J. A. 38, 1934, p. 420.

date them to the second half of the V. century¹. As regards workmanship they are comparable with the many small vases of different forms which are typical of just this half of the century. Dinsmoor² and Langlotz³, on the other hand, place them at the beginning of the V. century, the former on account of certain particulars connected with their finding,



Fig. 22. Red-figured owl-skyphos. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

Langlotz because of their shape. It is recorded that a few skyphoi were found in the Perserschutt, while two were found in Corinth in graves which also contained Attic black-figured vases of the beginning of the V. century⁴. The nearest parallels to the form with the horizontal and the vertical handle is in the red-figured pottery of the first half of the V. century. A form closely approaching fig. 22 is a small skyphos in Brussels⁵, which must be dated to about 480. The vase in the Glyptothek, however, may be later; the shape alone is no safe criterion for dating.

Manufacturing, which seems to have begun quite early, undoubtedly extended over the entire V. century. In the IV. century the vases were imitated in Apulian pottery.

¹ See literature in Dinsmoor o. c. p. 420.

² Dinsmoor o. c. p. 420.

³ Langlotz, *Die griech. Vasen in Würzburg* p. 119.

⁴ Dinsmoor o. c. p. 420.

⁵ C. V. A. Bruxelles fasc. 2, III J c pl. 20, 2a—b.

Apulian Rhyton (Deer Head). (I. N. 2663). Figs. 23—24.

L. 0.27 m. Grimy-red clay, dull thick varnish, red, yellow and white paint used for details. Good condition, no over-painting.

The head of the vessel is in the form of a hind, with high pointed



Fig. 23. Apulian rhyton. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

ears and small horns. The long slender form continues in a wide arc into a tall cup with out-turned rim. Red paint in ears and nostrils, yellow on the horns and the iris of the eyes, and white on the eyeball itself. Yellow and white also employed for details in the decoration of the cup: a female head turned to the left. The embroidered cap is yellow with white embroidery. The flowing bands, string of beads and parts of the ornamental rosettes and flowers are also white. On each side of the handle are palmettes, and below the rim a staff ornament.

Acquired in Paris in 1920.

The vase is a sham-rhyton, of the type that is found in large numbers in Apulian graves, buried with the dead as a substitute for the more costly metal rhyta¹, which for practical purposes were furnished with an outlet². The animal heads of these vases are of various kinds, horses, deer, boars, griffins. As a rule the decoration is monotonous and cursorily executed. Two motifs are most frequent: the woman's head, as on fig. 24, and a flying Eros³, the most typical elements of late Apulian style. The

¹ Silver rhyton from Tarent, see Wuillemier, *Tresor de Tarente*, pl. IX, 1—2.

² For this form of vase see Ernst

Buschor, *Das Krokodil des Sotades*, Münch. Jahrb. 1919/20, p. 26 ff.

³ Cf. horse head in *Mus. Prov. Lecce C. V. A.* fasc. 2, IV D r pl. 60, 1 and 3.

long, horn-like form of the vase and the careless decoration indicate the decaying period of the Apulian style in the III. century. It was in that time that the rhyton form first became general in Apulian pottery.



Fig. 24. Apulian rhyton, front view of fig. 23.



Fig. 25. South-Italian rhyton. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

South Italian Rhyton formed as a Boar's Head. (I. N. 2664). Fig. 25.

L. 0. 19 m. This cup is put together from many fragments, of which none are missing. Clay of a grimy-red, white slip for cup and handle, greyishbrown thin varnish for the animal's head. Red in ears and mouth and white on tusks. The white has now almost disappeared. Of painted ornaments there is a kymation border above the head. On the cup is a representation in relief of a lion attacking a bull. Animal head and cup merge together in a slight curve.

Acquired in Paris in 1920.

This vase is South Italian. Rhyta of this form are to be found in most museums, i. a. Nat. Mus. Copenh. (I. N. 3411). A very close parallel as regards the plastic shaping is the Apulian boar's head in Museo Civico, Bologna¹, from the declining period of Apulian pottery.

¹ C. V. A. Bologna fasc. III, IV D r pl. 33, 12.

SOME CAMPANIAN TYPES OF HEADS

BY

P. J. RIIS

Notwithstanding the rich finds in Campania, the local art of the archaic and early classical periods has been insufficiently studied¹. The important antefixes with plastic heads from Capua, admirably published by Koch in his "Dachterrakotten aus Campanien", were dealt with exclusively from an architectural point of view; with a few exceptions they have not yet been treated stylistically. The Campanian tombs have yielded another fine group of terracottas, consisting of small reliefs of different kinds², the existence of which has generally escaped the attention of scholars. On account of the abundance of material in the latter group I shall have to confine myself to three series only: female heads, bearded heads with human features with or without horns, and heads of sileni. The antefixes and the masks just mentioned enable us to study the development of the head types, and thus with some certainty to ascribe bronzes to the same centre of

¹ I am greatly indebted to Dr. Frederik Poulsen who invited me to contribute to the present volume, and kindly allowed me to have the antefix H 37 and the four masks, 2216a—b, 2217a—b, photographed. My thanks for permission to publish photographs and for information are due to the following: Mr. Breitenstein, of the Danish National Museum; Dr. Caskey, of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; M. Charbonneaux, of the Louvre; Dr. Diepolder, of the Museum für ant. Kleinkunst, Munich; Dr. Ernst, of the Oesterr. Museum für Kunst u. Industrie, Vienna; Mr. Fossing, of the Danish National Museum; Mr. Hinks of the British Museum; Prof. Neugebauer of the Berlin Museums; Mr. Pryce of the British Museum; Prof. Weickert of the Berlin Museums. For useful information I am indebted to the officers of the Ashmolean

Museum, of the Athens National Museum, of the Cabinet des Médailles, of the Capitoline Museums, of the Naples National Museum, of the Vatican, and of the Villa Giulia. — The abbreviations employed in the paper are mainly those suggested in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1931 p. lxxvii.

² NSc 1883 p. 374 f. RM 1887 p. 256. Furtwängler, *Samml. Sabouloff II*, ad pl. 142,2. Winter, *Typen d. fig. Terr.* I p. cxvi. AM 1928 p. 91. Jacobsthal, *Melische Reliefs* p. 107. There are two explanations as to the way they have been used; the one that they were attached to wooden sarcophagi (RM 1887 p. 256) seems the more probable, cf. Masner, *Vas. u. Terr. d. Oest. Mus. für Kunst u. Industrie*, ad Nos. 893—894: »in einem Grabe zu Capua gefunden, rings um die Leiche gelegt«.

art as the terracottas. In my opinion it is the only way to get a wide impression of Campanian plastic art during the 150 years in question.

The earliest head to be considered is a Dedalic antefix (fig. 1), which recalls the heads of the Eleutherna statue and of Cleobis. Evidently, it cannot be as early as the former in spite of the flatness, the protruding ears, and the scheme of the hair. The face is more finely modelled, wherefore it is nearer that of Cleobis¹. A feature worthy of note is the forehead hair, which does not consist of spiral curls, but is softly waved. In Corinth this arrangement is employed on a pyxis of the Middle Corinthian period; but in some respects the Campanian terracotta resembles somewhat earlier heads, so that it may be dated to the decades about 600 B. C.² A number of shell antefixes, the great majority of which were found in Capua, mark the next stage of development (fig. 2)³; they belong to the first third of the 6th century B. C. Notwithstanding the pearl locks they recall Middle Corinthian terracottas, some of which are fashioned in the same way so as to evoke an expression of hilarity; not dissimilar are the later specimens of Jenkins's Argive class C and Ionian plastic vases⁴. A third type of antefix (fig. 3)⁵ is assignable to the second quarter of the century. The protruding chin and cheeks, the grooves from nose to mouth and below the lips, the hair, which is distinctly parted in the middle, the more plastically rendered surroundings of the large almond-shaped eyes, the oval outline of the head — all these features contrast with those of the earlier antefixes and produce an effect similar to that which is attained on a small bronze statuette from Samos⁶. On the other hand the Greek mainland does not provide us with any good parallels; a comparison with Corinthian or Attic heads will only serve to establish a certain superficial likeness, which is due to an approximate contemporaneity, not to mainland influences upon Campanian plastic art⁷.

¹ Koch, pl. 19,1. *ÖJh* 1911 p. 27 ff. fig. 28. — Jenkins, *Dedolica* pl. 8. Cf. an Argive terracotta BSA 1931/2 pl. 13,2.

² Payne, *Necrocorinthia* pl. 47, 12—13 (observe also the depth of the face in profile view), 8 and 10 (especially the ear of 8). In Argos terracottas of Jenkins's class B (BSA 1931/2 pl. 12,2—4) have the hair parted in the middle but not waved.

³ Koch, pl. 8,1. Van Buren, *Fig. Terracotta Revetments in Etr. and Lat.* pl. 13,2—3.

⁴ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 48,1—4, 12. BSA 1931/2 pl. 13,3, 5—6. V. H. Poulsen, above p. 103 appendix 3, e. g. above p. 80 fig. 11. The latter, however, have rounder and fuller faces. Cf. also

Ionian bronzes still with remains of the Dedalic tradition: Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder* I fig. 5, II fig. 74.

⁵ Koch, pl. 12,2.

⁶ Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder* I fig. 29, cf. the fragment III fig. 195 (in a way the same spirit is extant in a later marble head II fig. 128).

⁷ Zervos, *L'art en Grèce* figs. 111—115 (cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* p. 242 f., and AM 1935/6 p. 278 ff. fig. 6 pl. 96), Payne, *Necrocorinthia* pls. 49,1 and 48,6. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* p. 6 fig. 1, C and F, pl. 11,1. It is only the non-Attic elements in the Sunion head Br. Br. 721 that produce its resemblance to the Capuan antefix.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

Figs. 1—4. Antefixes and revetment from Capua.
(From Koch, *Dachterraccotten aus Campanien*).

Here we must intercalate a bearded head (fig. 4), in spite of its being no antefix. Eyes, nose and mouth remind me of the same details on the Hermes from the Acropolis (622), whereas the moustache is of the kind with the ends pulled out horizontally (cf. "Bluebeard");



Fig. 5. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek H 37. Prov. unknown. H. 30 cm.

bearded heads which display some similarity to ours are encountered in Attica and Ionia¹. As the Capuan revetment cannot well be as late as the Sabouroff head, I think that it was made in the years between 560 and 530 B. C.

Three female antefix types, which display a remarkable likeness to Attic works, come next (fig. 5)²; as the treatment of the cheeks, the more or less slanting, narrow eyes and the general character indicate, they certainly cannot be earlier than about 550. The specimen with the chiton folds painted below of course does not antedate the outset of the *rf.* style and may be as late as ca. 510.

Let us now examine the terracotta masks, which form a homogenous group (see fig. 6, which does not pretend to give exact reproduc-

¹ Koch, pl. 31,2. — Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* pls. 8,2 and 9,4. AA 1937 p. 53 fig. 1. Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder III* fig. 178.

² Koch, pl. 9,1, 12,5 and 8,2; *ÖJh* 1911 p. 27 ff. fig. 29. — Payne, *Archaic Marble*

Sculpture, pls. 43,1—2, 67,2, 69,2 and 70; cf. pls. 5, 9,3 and 11,1 (the similarity of pl. 17,4 to Koch, pl. 9,1 is curious). Subtler rendering of the cheeks as on the Campanian heads: pls. 24,1, 32, 39,1 and 101,2.

tions, but only rough sketches of the types — on a different scale —, made in order to facilitate the reading of the paper). The clay is always of a hard-baked pale kind, varying from yellowish to reddish, sometimes with a more greyish tinge; it contains tiny particles of mica. Also in cases where slip and paint are preserved (e. g. fine pieces in Capua, Munich and London) we recognize the same technique. A glance at the provenances recorded below will suffice to assure us of the Campanian origin of the heads; an investigation of the related gorgoneia, palmettes, and relief figures of several kinds would probably give the same result. Unfortunately, Minervini's and Patroni's catalogues of the terracottas in the Museo Campano at Capua have not been at my disposal. As to the specimens in Naples, not all those enumerated by Alda Levi were on exhibition when I visited the museum; the identification of the pieces in the list below is supported on information kindly furnished by Prof. Maiuri. The types of the rest I have not ventured to determine. The masks in the Thorvaldsen Museum have not been accessible on account of building repairs. — I have omitted some specimens, which I know from insufficient descriptions only. In the following I describe the type briefly where I cannot refer to illustrations; where no provenance is given, nothing is known.

TERRACOTTA MASKS

A. FEMALE HEADS

1. Richmond, Coll. Cook. Burlington Exh. 1904 pl. 86, F 90, 92 and 99. JHS 1908 p. 43 No. 73. — Oxford 1880.40. From Capua.
2. Madrid 870. Laumonier, *Cat. des terre-cuites* pl. 102,7. — Formerly in Darmstadt. *Kat. Samml. Heyl II* (30.10. 1930) No. 58a pl. 17. — Berlin 820/21. Panofka, *Terracotten* pl. 47,5. From Nola. — Gotha. — Museo Capitolino, Sala delle colombe (Dr. V. H. Poulsen kindly drew my attention to the masks in this museum).
3. London B 517. From Capua. — Capua, Museo Campano. — Long oval face with semi-circular outline of forehead. The hair is arranged in scallops and is crowned with a stephane.
4. Louvre MNB 610 G—I (fig. 8). — London B 514—516. From Capua. — London B 571—572.
5. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 2217a—b. Fr. Poulsen, *Tillæg til Katalog No. 147a. Cat. Coll. Saulini* (24—26.4. 1899) No. 268 pl. 4 (fig. 9).
6. London B 573. — Berlin 822. From Nola. — Probably same type: Naples 20876. Alda Levi, No. 596. From Capua. — Long pear-shaped face, broad above and with pointed chin. Hair parted in the middle and crowned with a stephane.
7. Capua, Museo Campano. — Oval, nearly circular face with firm chin and short upper lip. Offset, scalloped forehead hair.
8. Berlin 4746. Formerly in Coll. Barone, Naples. — Oval face with the hair softly waved, parted in the middle and crowned with a stephane.

B. BEARDED HEADS (except sileni)

1. Danish National Museum 4956. From Capua (fig. 10). — Madrid 866. Laumonier, *Cat. des terre-cuites* pl. 102,6. — Formerly in Coll. C. H. Smith. Burlington Exh. 1904 pl. 86, F 79. *Cat. Sotheby* 18.6.1930 No. 163a. — London B 519. Walters, *Cat. of Terra-*



Fig. 6. Key to the list of terracotta masks.

From the Collections. II.

- cottas p. 158 fig. 31. From Capua. — London B 532—533. From Ruvo. — Berlin. Panofka, Terracotten pl. 47,2. From Nola. — Berlin 5995. From Capua. — Capua, Museo Campano. — Villa Giulia 17926—17927. — Formerly in the Paris market. Cat. Coll. E. Piot (27—30.5. 1890) No. 408, fig. on p. 9. From Capua. — Athens, National Museum 14686 (2 specimens) and 5915. — Munich 6627—6628. — Oxford 1919.49 and 1920.54. »Probably from a S. Ital. site«. — Louvre MNB 610 B—C, Campana 5358—5359, 5361—5362.
2. Two varieties: a larger with the upper contour following ears, horns and hair, and a smaller with straight edges between ears and horns. — Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 2216 a—b. Fr. Poulsen, Tillæg til Katalog No. 147a. Cat. Coll. Saulini (24—26.4.1899) No. 268 pl. 4 (fig. 11). — Formerly in Darmstadt. Kat. Samml. Heyl II (30.10.1930) No. 57a pl. 17. — Naples 21127 (12 specimens). Alda Levi, No. 595 fig. 109. From Capua. — Formerly in the Paris market. Cat. Coll. E. Piot (27—30.5.1890) No. 402, fig. on p. 113. Cat. Coll. Hoffmann (15—17.5.1899) No. 120. From Capua. — London B 545—555. Walters, Cat. of Terracottas p. 161 f. fig. 36. — Munich 733. From S. Italy. — Cabinet des Médailles, Oppermann 125. — Capua, Museo Campano. — Berlin 4742/43. Formerly in Coll. Barone, Naples. — Louvre, Campana 5355—5356. — Oxford 1879. 389—390. From Chiusi. 1878. 64. From Capua.
 3. Vienna, Oest. Mus. 457 (6842). Masner, Vas. u. Terr. No. 897 (fig. 14a). — Louvre, Campana 5353—5354, 5357 (fig. 14b). — Madrid 868. Laumonier, Cat. des terre-cuites pl. 102,2. — Formerly in Darmstadt. Kat. Samml. Heyl II (30.10.1930) No. 57b pl. 17. — London B 559. Walters, Cat. of Terracottas p. 162 fig. 37. From Capua (?). — London B 558. From Cervetri. — Formerly in the Paris market. Cat. Coll. E. Piot (27—30.5.1890) No. 401 (?), fig. on p. v. From Capua. — Museo Capitolino, Sala delle colombe (4 specimens). — Capua, Museo Campano. — Villa Giulia 17928. — Munich 5185. From Etruria. — Oxford 1922.13. "Probably from Magna Graecia". — Berlin 6110.
 4. Capua, Museo Campano. Similar to 3, but with \int -shaped moustache. The forehead hair is somewhat worn, still it resembles that of 3.
 5. Oxford 1919.48. "Probably from a S. Ital. site". Not very neat work. Ears and horns are similar to those of 8 below, the beard resembles that of 7, but the moustache is stiffer. Eyes and nose do not look archaic.
 6. Madrid 867. Laumonier, Cat. des terre-cuites pl. 102,3. — Munich 6623. From Capua.
 7. Berlin. Panofka, Terracotten pl. 47,3. From Nola.
 8. Louvre, Campana 5363 (fig. 16).
 9. Danish National Museum 611 (fig. 17). — Richmond, Coll. Cook. Burlington Exh. 1904 pl. 86, F 89. JHS 1908 p. 43 No. 73. — London B 518. Walters, Cat. of Terracottas p. 158 fig. 30. From Capua. — London B 556—557. From Sicily. — Cabinet des Médailles 5841. — Louvre MNB 610 A. — Berlin 5993. From Capua. — Athens National Museum 5914.

C. HEADS OF SILENI

1. London B 539—543. Walters, Cat. of Terracottas p. 161 fig. 35. From Sicily. — Berlin 796/99—800—805. Panofka, Terracotten pl. 47,1. From Nola? — Oxford 1879.261 and 1920.64. From Capua. — Munich 6626. — Louvre, Campana 5360.
2. Vienna, Oest. Mus. 537—538 (10733 a and r). Masner, Vas. u. Terr. Nos. 895—896 (there is an error in the numbering; the numbers should be 893—894). From Capua (fig. 12). — London B 537—538. Walters, Cat. of Terracottas p. 160 fig. 34. — Capua, Museo Campano (2 specimens).
3. Louvre MNB 610 E—F (fig. 13). — Richmond, Coll. Cook. Burlington Exh. 1904 pl. 86, F 95—96. JHS 1908 p. 43 No. 73. — London B 522—531. Walters, Cat. of Terracottas p. 160 fig. 33. From Capua. — London B 535—536. — Oxford 1880.39. From Capua.
4. Danish National Museum 609 (fig. 15). — London B 520—521. Walters, Cat. of Terracottas p. 159 fig. 32. From Capua. — London B 534. — Capua, Museo Campano (2 specimens).

5. Formerly in Darmstadt. Kat. Samml. Heyl II (30.10.1930) No. 59 pl. 17. — Capua, Museo Campano. — Oxford 1880.38. Bought in Capua. 1886.924. From S. Italy.
 6. Oxford 1889.128. Found near Naples. — Berlin 5994. From Capua. — As 5, but with parallel vertical edges. — Related, not identical is a mask in Capua, Museo Campano.



Fig. 7. British Museum W. T. 54. From Capua. H. 21 cm. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Type A 1 corresponds to the antefixes p. 143 note 2 fig. 5, so that there can be no doubt as to their contemporaneity. Closely connected with them is a series of plastic vases (fig. 7)¹. As A 2 displays more rounded and softer features than those previously mentioned, it probably belongs to the space of time, of which the beginning is marked by the Acropolis

¹ e. g.: London W. T. 54 (from Capua) (fig. 7) and 73.8—20.270 (from Capua?), Oxford V 336, one formerly in Coll. S. Pozzi (25—27.6.1919) II No. 483 (from Capua), a specimen, which turned up on the Paris

market, Coll. d'ant. grecq. et rom. (11—14.5. 1903) No. 187 pl. 1,7, and one in the Munich market, Kunstbesitz eines bekannten nord-deutschen Sammlers IV (22.2.1910) No. 764 pl. 17.

kore 679, the end by 684 and 696, that is the last third of the 6th century.¹ A 3 fills the gap between A 1—2 and 5; the latter (fig. 9) should hardly be pushed farther back than ca. 510, but on the other hand it is not later than 490 B. C.² A 4 (fig. 8) is roughly of the same date, as will be realized from a comparison with sculptures from the Acropolis (e. g. 631 (Athena), 672 and 643; the latest relatives to be considered are 684 and 696). The head vases of the time about 480 seem essentially different³.

Before we approach the early classical period we must throw a glance at a few male heads: the masks B 1—2 and C 1 are still archaic in appearance. B 1 (fig. 10) is evidently later than the bearded terracotta head mentioned above, but not so developed as plastic vases of the decade 480—470; its general character is analogous to that of the famous bronze head from the Acropolis⁴. B 2 (fig. 11) has a slightly younger look; it reminds me of a fragmentary vase in Athens and of the bronze runner in Tübingen. Compared with marble sculpture, it appears to be more advanced than Acropolis 1323, perhaps contemporary with the originally helmeted head 621, and not so late as the Jerichau head in the Louvre⁵. The silenus mask C 1 is of a different nature, it is true, but its execution is based upon the same formulae as is that of B 1. Their eyes, forehead and cheeks, moustache and the little tuft of hair under the lower lip are practically identical⁶. C 1's immediate forerunner is an antefix from Capua, with huge, staring and almost globular eyes⁷. However, the surroundings of these and the cheeks are softly modelled so as to preclude a date previous to that of the Rayet head and related sculptures. The masks C 2—3 (figs.

¹ Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* pls. 32, 80,2 and 82; cf. pls. 35,1 and 3, 56,2, 64,2, 67,2, 69,2, 70, 74,3 and 101,2.

² Cf. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* pls. 55,3, 74,3, 80,2 and 82, Ashmole, *Late Archaic and Early Classical Greek Sculpture in Sicily and South Italy* (hereafter referred to as Ashmole) fig. 20. — The antefix Koch, pl. 9,2 is related.

³ Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* pls. 35,1, 69,2, 70, 80,2 and 82. JHS 1929 p. 53 f. figs. 6—7. — Koch pictures a contemporary antefix, pl. 13,1, which displays the same features as A 4.

⁴ JHS 1929 p. 59 f. No. 2 fig. 12. Br. 2.

⁵ JHS 1929 p. 49 ff. No. 14 fig. 5. JdI 1886 pl. 9,1. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* pl. 103,3 and 1. AM 1928 pl. 4 (an antefix, derived from a type like B 2, Koch, pl. 18,5, illustrates this stage of development in Campania). — Heads on

S. Italian terracottas, Sicilian coins and arulae are akin: Mon. Ant. 1913 pl. 73,4. Ausonia 1908 p. 178 fig. 32. Ashmole, fig. 33. Mon. Ant. 1927 p. 222 pl. 41,3 and two others, also from Selirus, now in Palermo.

⁶ Obviously earlier than: JHS 1929 p. 68 f. No. 3 fig. 20, p. 65 f. No. 8 fig. 16.

⁷ Koch, pl. 18,1. Several sites in Magna Graecia have yielded terracottas which match the two Capuan types just discussed: *L'Italia antichissima* IV p. 197 fig. 31, p. 209 fig. 47. Van Buren, *Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia* pl. 15,63 (= W. Darsow, *Sizilische Dachterracotten* p. 13, II 3c). Sieveking, *Terracotten der Samml. Loeb II* pl. 118. Closely related: Mon. Ant. 1913 pl. 74,6—6a, Maximova, *Les vases plastiques* p. 173 f. pl. 20,83, *Münchener Jahrb.* 1919/20 p. 27 f. fig. 42, from Cumae; cf. also a profile head from Capua: Jacobsthal, *Melische Reliefs* p. 107 pl. 72c.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.

Figs. 8—11. — 8. Louvre MNB 610 G—I. Prov. unknown. H. 2.7 cm. 9. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 2217 a—b. Prov. unknown. H. 4.4 cm. 10. Danish National Museum 4956. From Capua. H. 4.8 cm. 11. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 2216 a—b. Prov. unknown. H. 4.9 cm.

12—13) are rather difficult to date. Although they have not much in common with C 1, one would suggest the same date for them all; a detail such as the short and curved little mouth is also found on B 2, whose nose resembles that of C 3¹.

So much for the archaic heads. The following belong to the early classical period, although they display a lot of archaisms. A 6 seems akin to a Campanian antefix, which may be compared with a Tarentine marble head in Boston, as far as the treatment of the face is concerned; the forehead hair, however, is more or less the same as on a head from Selinus². These parallels date it to the decades 480—460. A 7 recalls Attic plastic vases of about 480, whereas a related antefix fragment looks rather more developed³. The last of the female terracotta masks is A 8. Its loosely dressed hair reminds me of head vases of the Basle group, but it is likely to be earlier, as it resembles works of the "severe" style⁴.

The first to be mentioned from among the male specimens of the more advanced kind is B 3 (fig. 14 a—b), the expression of which recalls that of a marble mask in Berlin of the years about 470; but — at least typologically — it precedes Aristogeiton, the elder of the Tyrant Slayers. The sculptor of another Attic head rendered the upper part of the face and the forehead hair in the same way as did the Capuan artist⁵. The phase of style which is marked by works of art such as Penelope, Apollo of the Olympia pediment, or even Poseidon from Cape Artemisium, has *apparently* not been reached yet; nevertheless B 4, to which B 3 is closely related, must be compared not only with the sculptures quoted in the note, but also with the head of Zeus in the Selinus metope⁶. Consequently, I suggest the date of ca. 480—460 for both types of masks; this also holds good of B 5⁷, whereas B 6—7 seem slightly more developed, probably of the decades 470—450 to which also we assign the sileni C 4—6⁸ (fig. 15).

¹ The antefixes Koch, pl. 18,2—4, are very similar, but have a younger look.

² Koch, pl. 7,4. Ashmole figs. 17 and 75.

³ JHS 1929 p. 53 f. figs. 6—7. Koch, pl. 9,6 (cf. V. H. Poulsen, *Der strenge Stil* p. 58 f. figs. 37—38).

⁴ JHS 1929 p. 71 f. figs. 23—24. Ashmole, figs. 76—78. V. H. Poulsen, *Der strenge Stil* p. 94 ff. fig. 61.

⁵ AM 1928 p. 70 f. Beil. 23,2, pl. 2; Beil. 23,3. *Ibidem*, p. 78, Beil. 22,3 (made shortly after 480 according to Wrede. However, the kore 685 cannot be a late work, it is ascribed by Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* p. 35 to the last decade of the 6th century. The head is probably later than the kore, yet before

480 B. C.). — Cf. also the male figure on the relief Ashmole, fig. 28.

⁶ Curtius, *Die antike Kunst* p. 211 fig. 347.

⁷ Beard and proportions of face resemble those of the Jerichau head, AM 1928 p. 80 note 3 pl. 4. — Not very much alike, but still somewhat related: Koch, pl. 10,2, cf. Van Buren, *Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia*, pl. 15,62.

⁸ B 6—7: cf. Curtius, *Die antike Kunst* p. 211 fig. 347, JHS 1929 p. 56 Nos. 3—4 pl. 6,2 and 4, Ashmole, fig. 49. The same soft waves of the beard are displayed on the Jerichau head. — C 4—6: cf. JHS 1929 p. 56 Nos. 3—4, pl. 6,2 and 4, p. 68 f. No. 3 fig. 20,



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.



Fig. 14 a.



Fig. 14 b.



Fig. 15.



Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.

Figs. 12—17. — 12. Vienna, Oesterreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie 537—538. From Capua. H. 5.0 cm. 13. Louvre MNB 610 E—F. Prov. unknown. H. 3.5 cm. 14 a. Vienna, Oesterreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie 457. Prov. unknown. H. 5.6 cm. 14 b. Louvre, Camp. 5353, 5354 and 5357. Prov. unknown. H. 5.9 cm. 15. Danish National Museum 609. Prov. unknown. H. 5.3 cm. 16. Louvre, Camp. 5363. Prov. unknown. H. 5.7 cm. 17. Danish National Museum 611. Prov. unknown. H. 5.2 cm.

Two masks of the middle of the century remain. One of them, B 8 (fig. 16), which has a counterpart among the antefixes, is reminiscent of the Selinus Zeus, with whom it has the rendering of the moustache and the tuft under the mouth in common, and of the Artemisium Poseidon; the latter has the forehead hair treated in a similar way. However, it is not these, but heads of ca. 450 which show us the same oblong beards as the mask¹. The other, B 9 (fig. 17), has the general character of mid-century heads²; it was influenced by the type of which the herms mentioned in the note are rather inexact reproductions. Unfortunately we have no true copies of the masterpiece that called forth all these different versions, which occur not only in Greece, S. Italy and Sicily, but also in Etruria (in not a few Etruscan provincial museums I have noticed antefixes with this or a closely related scheme of beard). That the type suddenly appears in various Greek and Italian schools is probably a reflexion of early Pheidian art.

As has been pointed out above, the scope of this paper is not only to establish a chronological range of Campanian terracotta heads, but also to search for bronzes displaying signs of a pronounced stylistic kinship to them. A certain group of Campanian bronzes has been known for years; it consists of funeral urns in the shape of *dinoi* with small statuettes of human beings, demons and animals on rim and lid (see below p. 155 ff.); but, as the oldest of them do not take us farther back than the masks, we must look for other bronzes if we wish to find the relatives of the earliest antefixes. Jantzen, in his important recent book "Bronzwerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien", has put together a series of Campanian bronzes, in all essentials correctly I think³; some of them I shall place in the *dinos* group, where they probably belong. None of the figures enumerated by Jantzen supply us with the

p. 69 f. fig. 22, Buschor-Hamann, Die Skulpturen des Zeustempels zu Olympia pl. 92b (pls. 69 and 44b afford good parallels to the wrinkles of the forehead and to the details at the root of the nose). Compare also the Naxian coin, Ashmole, fig. 50, the bronze statuette from Himerá, Jantzen, Bronzwerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien pl. 24,99, and especially the vase from Cumae, Mon. Ant. 1913 pl. 74,3, Maximova, Les vases plastiques p. 173 f. pl. 21,84, which is strikingly similar.

¹ Koch, pl. 18,3 (the specimen pl. 18,4 is an intermediate link between this and masks of type C 2). Cf. JdI 1931 pl. 1; curls of the beard superposed in three layers, p. 13 fig. 8.

² JdI 1931 pl. 1. Attic herms: *ibidem* p. 18 figs. 9, 13 and 15, especially the latter;

Curtius, Zeus und Hermes pl. 13,7. A marble head, whose whereabouts is unknown, is probably a contamination of several works of the period, V. H. Poulsen, Der strenge Stil p. 140 f. fig. 74. The Diomedes from Cumae has forehead hair with short locks arranged in a sort of fringe: Maiuri, Il Diomede di Cuma pls. 5 and 8,2.

³ P. 6 f. note 1 (hereafter referred to as Jantzen). The kouros in Frankfurt is evidently Etruscan; I am not so sure that the workshop is "nächstverwandt" to the schools of Magna Graecia. The discobolos H 227 in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek was found in Orvieto; we had better leave it out of this connection. I hope to be able to deal with Etruscan plastic art on a wide basis in the not too remote future.

means to take the desired step back; yet he deals with an early bronze in Boston (fig. 18) which, as far as I can see, will fit nicely into our system. Although its provenance hints at the possibility of a Campanian origin, he ascribes it to Locri. The similarities with the figures quoted in his book are not very striking, at least they do not suffice to make the Boston kouros Locrian¹. I cannot imagine a Greek artist who would produce so strange a statuette; even Arcadian works when at their crudest do not equal it. On the contrary, it reminds me of the early Capuan antefixes, although they do not appear to be exact stylistic counterparts (see above p. 141 f. fig. 2). There is greater resemblance between these and a kore in Munich, found in Rome. Jantzen is inclined to regard this figure as Locrian too; in favour of his view he might even have referred to a terracotta head from the neighbouring Medma². Still, the Campanian antefixes (see also p. 154 note 1) afford so obvious a likeness, that we may test the features one by one and find no real discrepancy.

The Danish National Museum possesses a remarkable bronze vase (Dept. of Class. Ant. 3284) (fig. 19), which was found in a grave in the territory of Capua³. It is a funnel with a removable strainer inside. The former consists of two sheets of bronze; the outer one, being a repoussé cover made to conceal the funnel proper, is shaped like a bearded head with a heavy



Fig. 18. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 98.653. From Campania.
H. 21.3 cm.

¹ Jantzen p. 3 No. 1 pl. 1,1 (the following references are to be added: *Antike Plastik* p. 221, Rumpf, *Griech. u. röm. Kunst* p. 16); *ibidem*, p. 3 Nos. 4—5, pls. 1,3 and 2,4—5, p. 7 f.

² Jantzen p. 12,62 No. 2 pl. 27,111—113. Van Buren, *Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia* pl. 16,65.

³ *AdI* 1880 p. 232 ff. pl. V,1. *Cat. Coll. Alessandro Castellani* (12—16.5.1884) No. 308. Helbig, *Das homerische Epos*² p. 252. H. Sauer, *Die archaischen etrus-*

kischen Terracottasarkophage aus Caere p. 27. *AA* 1937 p. 285—308 figs. 1—3 and 14 (the present paper was written when the latter article appeared; therefore I have inserted but a few references). — The grave did not contain any bf. or rf. pottery, but exclusively Corinthian. — Miss Sauer has shown that the missing handle is in Berlin now (*AdI* 1880 pl. V,3, *AA* 1937 p. 298 ff. fig. 13); to her list of similar funnels I shall add a specimen in New York, *Bull. Metr. Mus.* 1937 p. 62 f.

moulding above. Eyelashes, eyebrows and moustache are indicated by means of short engraved strokes. Parts of the right cheek, the right side and the point of the nose have been restored in plaster. H. of vase with strainer in place 13.2 cm. Diam. 11.7 cm.

This precious object was first published as Chalcidian by Helbig. Before we discuss the admissibility of his view, we shall have to determine the date of the head. It is somewhat earlier, but possibly not very much, than the above-mentioned terracotta revetment with a bearded face from Capua (see p. 142 fig. 4, p. 143), whereas a female antefix exhibits signs of approximately the same stage of development as the bronze vase (see p. 141 f. fig. 3; cf. the details of forehead hair, eyes, mouth etc.). The nearest Greek relatives are the Moschophoros, the Acropolis Hermes 622, and the Rampin horseman¹. Especially in front view they resemble the Capuan vessel; all its characteristics: the lack of a plastically rendered moustache, the shape of the eyes, the surroundings of the mouth, and the proportions of nose and mouth, all these features are easily recognized and cause us to assume that the vase was made between ca. 565 and 540 B. C. As may be perceived from the comparison above, the head is certainly influenced by Attic art; but it lacks the broad bridge of the nose, and in profile view the difference is evident. Contrasting with the deep Attic faces², which have a square jaw and a protruding chin, it is distinguished by a straight jaw-bone and a receding contour from nose to chin, so that the lower part of the face looks weak and atrophic. The affinity to Ionian and Cycladic sculpture³ causes us to admit a certain dependence upon East Greek prototypes besides the Attic. Can our vase possibly be Chalcidian? As a matter of fact, the Chalcidian bf. vases are the only works of art which can be regarded with certainty as products of Chalcis. The sculptures found there belong either to the Boeotian or to the Attic sphere, and as to the theory of a Chalcidian bronze industry evolved by von Duhn and Helbig, Milchhöfer's and Neugebauer's scepticism appears to be highly justified. The latter has discussed the problem at length⁴, so that we need not do it here. On no Chalcidian vase do we find the characteristic structure of the face described above, although, of course, there *are* similarities

¹ Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture*, pls. 3,2, 4,1, 9,4 and 11 a—c (bobbed hair as on the vase). Yet cf. the Ionian terracotta, Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder* III fig. 178. The date (last quarter of 6th century) suggested by Miss Sauer, *AA* 1937 p. 288, is certainly too late. Cf. also the peplos figure and the palmette of the handle in Berlin, *ibidem* fig. 13; the former recalls the above-mentioned Munich statuette and the antefixes figs. 2—3.

² Also Corinthian, e. g. the comast Payne, *Necrocorinthia* pls. 44,5 and 48,13—14, *CVA Louvre* fasc. 8 III Cc pls. 3—4.

³ Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder* I fig. 7, II figs. 77, 82 (= Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* pls. 18,2 and 19,1), III fig. 179.

⁴ Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland* p. 208—217. *RM* 1923/4 p. 393—415.

between the Capuan and the Chalcidian heads; but they have chronological significance only¹. One detail on the bronze vase should be paid attention to, namely the special form of the ear, which apparently is peculiar to S. Italian products². With a clear conscience, I think, we



Fig. 19. Danish National Museum 3284. From the territory of Capua. H. 13.2 cm.

may answer the question put above in the negative; still, some may infer that the vase may have been made in Cumae, the most important Greek city in Campania. That Cumaean art should be a derivative of the Chalcidian, as some scholars have asserted, seems highly improbable, since our experience rather proves the opposite³. However, among the bronzes from Cumae nothing parallels our vessel; after all, the terracottas of Capua have the air of being its nearest relatives.

The dinos group, which has been mentioned before, looks rather homogeneous. That the cauldrons enumerated in list A below cannot well have issued from more than one art centre, is obvious, whereas the attributions of the bronzes in list B, some of which were already

¹ Eyes, eyebrows, and ears (also those of the eye-bowls) have another shape, the face is deeper, the jaw is square, e. g. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen* pls. 6,13—14, 35, 37 and 44.

² Nearest Greek examples: Zervos, *L'art en Grèce* fig. 133, Déonna, *Les Apollons archaïques* p. 186 fig. 83 (wholly different: p. 91 pl. 6). S. Italian: Van Buren, *Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna*

Graecia pl. 16,65 (from Medma), Koch, pls. 8,1, 19,1 and 33,2 (from Capua).

³ *RM* 1923/4 p. 395 f. (cf. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen* p. 195: list of provenances; as to the rich find in Reggio, p. 44: ratio of Attic sherds to Chalcidian 3:1), p. 414. See also the remarks of Friis Johansen, *Vases sicyoniens* p. 170, 177 and V. H. Poulsen, *Der strenge Stil* p. 88. Finally cf. Jenkins, *Dedolica* p. 55 pl. 7,9.

made by von Duhn, perhaps may be open to doubt; I shall insert a few remarks to justify them. There has been a general objection to the theory, in spite of the provenances, of Capua as the home of the dinoi; in accordance with the interpretation of the finds employed in the case of the Copenhagen head vase, they were regarded as Greek and christened Chalcidian or Cumaean¹. Willers was the first to hit the centre of the matter; his views were supported by the late Mr. Payne². The arguments in favour of their Capuan origin are, that the territory in which the dinoi were found is very limited, and that far the greater number have come from Capua. As to style, some specimens are more "Etruscan", some more "Greek"³, yet there is no reason why they should not be derived from the same source. A remarkable fact is that the very lid from the Greek city of Cumae (B 12) looks rather non-Greek; nor is it devoid of interest that "Scythian" archers often occur on the dinoi, and that one of the Capuan antefix types is adorned with a head of such a person⁴. Accordingly we may be permitted to insist that Capua was the seat of the industry that produced the dinoi.

BRONZES OF THE DINOS GROUP

A list was given by von Duhn (AdI 1879 p. 132 ff. Additions: AdI 1880 p. 342 ff. and RM 1887 p. 235 ff.). Dinoi of the same shape and principle of decoration, but without statuettes, are known from Greece (cf. the remarks of Furtwängler, Samml. Sabouroff I, ad pls. 56—57, Olympia IV p. 135): JHS 1926 p. 256 f. fig. 3 pl. 14, Payne, Necrocorinthia p. 219 f. AA 1936 p. 189 ff. fig. 16. Bull. Metr. Mus. 1924 p. 69 f. fig. 4. Pottery dinoi of the 6th and 5th centuries (CVA Louvre fasc. 2, III Hd pl. 15,2. Graef, Akropolisvasen I p. 69 No. 606. Hoppin, Bf. Vases p. 105. CVA Brit. Mus. fasc. 6 III Ic pl. 103. Hahland, Vasen um Meidias pl. 12a. CVA Brit. Mus. fasc. 6 III Ic pl. 104,1) do not help us very much in questions of *precise* dating, as the shape of the dinoi is subject to only little variation. Besides, typologically older types may occur along with younger ones.

The sequence of the bronzes in our list is mainly chronological, but it should not be pressed. Of course, several objects enumerated one after another may be contemporary. In some cases the exact order is extremely difficult to establish. Several of von Duhn's numbers I have not ventured to list: some I was not able to identify, and others did not seem to belong to this context. A cauldron from Cumae (Mon. Ant. 1913 p. 559 f. fig. 208 pl. 78,2. RM 1923/4 p. 406 f.) is related to the dinoi. As to shape it tallies well with the Capuan cauldrons, but unlike these it is provided with a small tripod stand and situla handles. Two uncouth creeping silenae serve as attachments; to these there are no striking counterparts among the Capuan bronzes.

¹ AdI 1879 p. 130, 139 ff. More vague expressions: Neugebauer, Antike Bronze-
statuetten p. 62 (but cf. RM 1923/4 p. 408.
Apparently, he now regards the dinoi as
Capuan and the lid B 12 as Cumaean, but
influenced by the art of Capua). Pernice,
Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji IV p. 30.
Lamb, Greek and Roman Bronzes p. 137,
but cf. p. 107.

² Willers, Die römischen Bronzezeimer

von Hemmoor p. 205 ff. Payne, Necro-
corinthia p. 220. During an interview which
I had with Mr. Payne in the spring of 1936,
he confirmed that he took the group for
non-Greek, and probably Capuan.

³ Neugebauer, Antike Bronzestatuetten
p. 62. Lamb, Greek and Roman Bronzes
p. 107.

⁴ Koch, pl. 10,1.

A few words on the attributions of statuettes to this group (list B). In some cases attitude and gestures are sufficient to make a connection with the *dinoi* possible. Another relevant factor is the statement either that the object was found on a Campanian site or that it was formerly in a private Campanian collection. A characteristic of the top figures from *dinoi* is the flat circular base, though it may be found elsewhere. Of course, stylistic analysis has the last word in matters of origin. Evidently, Nos. 1—3 are inseparable; 4 and 5 join them. Their bodies recall the figures of *dinos* A 2, some of their faces the masks of class A 1. No. 6 was most probably found in Capua; No. 7 is related to it and to antefixes such as Koch, pl. 8,2. In spite of their similarity with these I have not ventured to enlist the sirens Cabinet des Médailles 728—729. No. 8 we must imagine placed on a *dinos* rim; a similar figure is also in the Cabinet des Médailles, 897. Nos. 9 and 26 are to be compared with the *dinos* kriophōroi (e. g. A 1, 4—5), whereas 10, 11 and 25 resemble A 10—14. So does the central figure of No. 12, but the running men have sharp-cut faces, which recall that of the *kore* A 7. The Frankfurt figure 13 has the same pose as A 7; on the other hand the face displays the same soft features as terracotta masks of class A 2. The gestures of Nos. 14 and 24 are similar to those of A 6 and 16, but as regards face 14 reminds me of masks A 5, whereas 24 ranges with 23 (see below). Archers on horseback form a group (15—20) which may be attached to the *dinoi* A 2 and 6 (cf. the horses on A 7, 8, 14—15, of the same build). 21—22 recall A 9, and 23 is not unlike A 12—13 and 27. The reader who cares to proceed with the comparisons so as to convince himself of the homogeneity of the group will probably be able to find several more points of similarity than those stated here. Sometimes, however, he may realize that the author has perhaps been deceived by superficial similarities in consequence of bad illustrations, inadequate notes or the like.

A. DINOI (only the most necessary references are given).

1. Berlin 6216. Führer I p. 70. AdI 1879 p. 136 No. 16. Mon. Inst. XI pl. 6,3. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* pl. 105,1. From Capua.
2. London 560. AdI 1879 p. 132 No. 3, 1880 p. 345. Mon. Inst. V pl. 25. Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten* p. 63 fig. 4. Sieveking, *Antike Metallgeräte* pl. 1. From Capua (found together with the *Euergides* cup JHS 1921 p. 119 f. pl. 2, Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler* p. 31 No. 1). — Our fig. 20a—c.
3. Munich. Sieveking, *Bronzen der Samml. Loeb* p. 77 pl. 35. From S. Italy.
4. Mariemont, Coll. Warocqué. Cat. 1903 No. 42. AdI 1879 p. 136 No. 15. Mon. Inst. XI pl. 6,2b. Coll. d'ant. prov. de Naples (18—20.3.1901) No. 207. From Capua.
5. Munich. AA 1910 p. 479 No. 1 fig. 6. *Münchener Jahrb.* 1910 p. 139 fig. 2. From S. Italy.
6. Formerly in the Paris market. Coll. du Dr. B. et de M. C. (19—21. 5.1910) No. 85 pl. 11. From Capua.
7. London 558. AdI 1879 p. 136 No. 13, 1880 p. 346. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* pl. 48a. From Capua.
8. Providence. Bull. Rhode Island School of Design 1934 p. 6 f. with 2 figs. Perhaps = AdI 1879 p. 133 f. No. 5 or 7 without lid?
9. Mariemont, Coll. Warocqué. Cat. 1903 No. 43. Bought together with No. 4 above; probably = AdI 1879 p. 134 No. 8.
- 10—13. Nuremberg? AdI 1879 p. 157 Nos. 1585 and 1777. RM 1887 p. 239 figs. 7—8, p. 270 f. figs. 27—28. A *silenus* figure is now in Oxford. From Capua.
14. Capua? RM 1887 p. 237 ff. figs. 3, 5—6. From Suessula (found together with the vases *ibidem*, p. 238 fig. 4, p. 240 figs. 9—12; fig. 9 = Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler* p. 101 No. 21, FR pl. 159,1, Beazley, *Der Pan Maler* pl. 18,1).
15. Berlin 7872. Führer I p. 70 pl. 25. AdI 1879 p. 135 No. 11. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* pl. 105,2. From Capua.
16. London 559. AdI 1879 p. 133 No. 4, 1880 p. 345. JHS 1907 p. 17 fig. 6. From Capua.

Besides there are the following *dinoi* in public museums, but I have only insufficient notes on them, or none at all:

17. London 561. AdI 1879 p. 136 No. 12, 1880 p. 345 f.

- 18—22. Capua, Museo Campano. Four dinoi without figures, and one with a hen on the lid (cf. AdI 1879 p. 137 Nos. 18—19). Probably from Capua.
 23. Nuremberg? AdI 1879 p. 133 No. 5. RM 1887 p. 245 note 1. From Capua.
 24. Dresden. Hettner, Bildwerke, No. 282. AdI 1879 p. 136 No. 14.
 25. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. 127. AdI 1883 p. 187 f. note 4. RM 1887 p. 244. Lamb, Greek and Roman Bronzes p. 137.

B. PARTS OF AND SINGLE FIGURES FROM DINOI

1. Paris, Petit Palais. Froehner, Coll. A. Dutuit II No. 169 pl. 149 (Reinach, Rép. III 153,5 is *not* identical with II 544,5; see below). Bought in Naples.
2. Berlin. (= Führer I p. 30 No. 7318?) Schottmüller, Bronzestatuetten und Geräte p. 26 fig. 9 (= Reinach, Rép. II 544,5; see above). Jantzen, p. 6 f. note 1 No. 2. From Capua.
3. Formerly in Coll. Wyndham Cook. Burlington Exh. 1904 p. xxvii and 46, pl. 50, B 38. Cat. Coll. W. F. Cook p. 112 No. 35 pl. 29.
4. Hamburg 644. Mercklin, Führer p. 136 pl. 38. AA 1928 p. 431 f. fig. 146.
5. Berlin 7094. Führer I p. 30 pl. 24. Neugebauer, Antike Bronzestatuetten p. 62 pl. 33. Jantzen p. 6 f. note 1 No. 6.
6. Formerly in Naples, Coll. Bourguignon. Coll. d'ant. prov. de Naples (18—20.3.1901) No. 206 pl. 6. Perhaps = AA 1916 p. 57 fig. 3 and the siren from the dinos AdI 1879 p. 137 No. 17.
7. Louvre 264. De Ridder, Bronzes antiques du Louvre I pl. 24. Formerly in the Campana collection.
8. Formerly in Naples, Coll. Bourguignon. AdI 1879 p. 139 No. 27. Coll. d'ant. prov. de Naples (18—20.3.1901) No. 211 pl. 6. From Capua.
9. Oxford B 89. AdI 1879 p. 137 No. 22. Mon. Inst. XI pl. 6,4. From Capua.
10. Formerly in Naples, Coll. Bourguignon. Coll. d'ant. prov. de Naples (18—20.3.1901) No. 208 pl. 6. Jantzen p. 6 f. note 1 No. 3.
11. Louvre 111. De Ridder, Bronzes antiques du Louvre I pl. 13. "From Greece".
12. London 257 (lid alone). AdI 1879 p. 132 No. 1, 1880 p. 343 ff. Mon. Ant. 1913 p. 561 pl. 77. RM 1923/4 p. 408. From Cumae. — The Onomastos dinos with the Chalcidian inscription does not belong to this group of bronzes, cf. RM 1923/4 p. 407.
13. Formerly in Frankfurt. Antike Kleinkunst d. Samml. Passavant-Gontard (5.12.1929) No. 41 pl. 8.
14. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. 425. Eichler, Führer p. 45. AdI 1883 p. 187 f. note 4. Schneider, Album pl. 25,2.
15. Capua? RM 1887 p. 243 ff. fig. 18. From Suessula.
16. Cabinet des Médailles. Babelon-Blanchet, Cat. des bronzes ant. No. 892.
- 17—18. London 5027 and an archer on horseback without number. See below ad Nos. 19—20.
- 19—20. London W. T. 796 and 800. From Capua. Nos. 17—20 probably = AdI 1880 p. 347 No. 1.
21. Munich. Münchener archäol. Studien p. 317 fig. 34.
22. London 499. AdI 1880 p. 347 No. 4. From Torre Annunziata.
23. Berlin 7647. Führer I p. 30. AA 1904 p. 36 ad No. 8. Jantzen p. 6 f. note 1 No. 8. "From the Peloponnese".
24. Berlin 8569. Führer I p. 30. AA 1904 p. 36 No. 8. Jantzen p. 6 f. note 1 No. 9. From S. Italy. Cf. AdI 1879 p. 137 No. 21.
25. Danish National Museum 3833.
26. Berlin Fr. 1823. Führer I p. 29. AdI 1879 p. 138 No. 22a. 21 Berl. Winck. Progr. p. 1 ff. with plate. Jantzen p. 6 f. note 1 No. 5. Probably from Magna Græcia.
27. London 223. AdI 1880 p. 347 No. 5. Jantzen p. 6 f. note 1 No. 4. From Torre Annunziata.

The following perhaps belong to the group:

28. London 675. JHS 1907 p. 21 f. fig. 11. Formerly in Naples, Coll. Hamilton.
29. London 219. From Anzi in Basilicata.
30. Berlin. AdI 1879 p. 138 No. 23. From Capua.

In the following I shall confine myself to the most prominent members of the series. One of those in London (A 2) (fig. 20 a—c) is perhaps the finest of all. On the lid it has a marvellous little silenus and maenad group, in which the artist has subdued violence by gentleness so as to make the struggle seem a dance; the latent force and the tenderness which characterize the couple produce a charming impression on the spectator. The pleasing little horsemen on the rim have the same qualities. The lean, yet muscular bodies of the earliest dinos bronzes, among which London 560 maintains an eminent position, reflect as it were those on vases of the first decades of the *rf.* style. By a happy coincidence their contemporaneity is confirmed, as the excavation of the grave that contained the London dinos 560 also yielded a fine cup signed by Euergides (see ad A 2). Compared with the terracottas dealt with above, unbearded heads on the older dinoi (e. g. A 1, 6; B 1, 4—5, 9, 12—13) correspond to masks of classes A 1—2 and contemporary antefixes.

In process of time the Capuan dinos figures grow taller, slimmer, and slacker, with stereotyped gestures. The bronze worker neglects more and more the finer modelling, so that every contrast in the body is effaced, and the details become cruder. Apparently the average quality is rapidly decreasing. A 14 is a typical specimen of this relaxed style; among the vases found in the same grave was an amphora by the Pan painter, which affords an approximate date for the dinos. Several lid figures have the epigastrium rendered in a way that recalls the Greek formulation of the same detail in late archaic and early classical times¹. According to the statements of von Duhn, dinoi continued to be made after the middle of the 5th century, which is beyond the limits of this paper; but these later works seem to be rather debased in style².

Let us resume our search for Campanian bronzes. A pleasing piece of good workmanship, a running man from Capua, comes next³. He is roughly contemporary with masks of class A 1, but none of them supply any striking likeness. The main characteristics are much the same as those of the London dinos 560; still, this and its relatives fail to give us the good parallel which we want. The running man is probably Campanian, but I have no decisive proof.

The curious little fellow from Cumae in the Danish National Museum

¹ e. g. A 16 and B 24. Cf. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen III* figs. 473 and 489, Br. Br. 326—327, Buschor-Hamann, *Die Skulpturen des Zeustempels zu Olympia* pls. 40 and 96.

² RM 1887 p. 271 ff. Mainly found together with S. Italian *rf.* vases.

³ Coll. d'ant. grecq. et. rom. (11—14.5. 1903) No. 304 pl. 10. Coll. Guilhou (16—18.3. 1905) No. 295 pl. 12. Münchener archäol.

Studien p. 316 fig. 33. The reproduction in the 1903 catalogue is useless as far as the modelling of the body is concerned; in this respect the 1905 catalogue is much better. Cf. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture* pl. 105. The features of the face recall those of the Lyons kore and the Athena, *ibidem* pls. 24,1 and 35,1. A similar treatment of the hair is seen on "Antenor's" kore, *ibidem* pls. 51—53.

(Dept. of Class. Ant. 3450. H. 6.8 cm.) (fig. 21) is placed by Jantzen to his Campanian group¹, and I think he is right to do so. As to pro-



Fig. 20 a. British Museum. Detail of bronze dinos 560. From Capua. H. ca. 16.5 cm. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

portions and execution it strongly recalls the early Berlin kriophoros (A 1), whereas its sharp-cut face with the slanting eyes, the straight

¹ Jantzen p. 6 f. note 1 No. 1. The figure shows no signs of close stylistic connection with Cumaean bronzes, except perhaps the dinos lid B 12.

nose, and the slightly curved lips resemble masks of type A 1. Besides, one recognizes relics of the style that produced the kouros in Boston



Fig. 20 b. Side-view of the bronze group fig. 20 a. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

(see above p. 153 fig. 18). Two small bronzes, one in the British Museum and another in Berlin (fig. 22)¹ should be mentioned in this connection;

¹ London 522, Walters, *Cat. of Bronzes* 1879 p. 104. From Gabii; bought in Frascati. H. 8.5 cm. Berlin 7316, *BdI* 1876 p. 33, *AZ*

there is nothing in their proportions that would speak against their being Campanian, nor can one deny a certain similarity between their faces and masks of class A 1 (together with the corresponding antefixes).

A statuette in Berlin (Fr. 715 k. Prov. unknown. H. 13.3 cm.) (fig. 23) marks a step in the direction of the later taste with slender proportions, but it still has the peculiar face and the highly developed calves of earlier works (cf. masks A 1, the head kantharos and the antefixes). More developed is a bronze handle (London 582, formerly in the Hamilton collection, Naples), whose soft features put it near the masks A 2 and dinos bronzes such as B 13; the narrow waist, however, precludes too late a date.

Now some bearded heads. Distantly related to the masks of type C 1 is the silenus from Benevento¹. Its provenance and the striking similarity with the head on a clay askos from Cumae leave us the possibility of considering the statuette as Campanian; but in its entirety and in details it differs from the Capuan bronzes. Its more Greek appearance is due to the subtle rendering of the naked body, which equals that of a bronze in Frankfort. In addition to the Cumaean terracotta above, the face is paralleled by examples from Girgenti and Medma¹. In Munich there is a statuette of a bearded man wrapped in a cloak (81, formerly in the Dodwell collection. H. 14 cm.) (fig. 24). Its head recalls mask types B 3—4, especially the latter: the curls around the forehead, the almond-shaped, slightly slanting eyes, the straight nose, the long upper lip, the moustache and the tuft of hair below the mouth are nearly identical. The body resembles that of the silenus fairly well; yet, the old man in Munich — in spite of the good execution — is a trivial piece, which lacks the spirit that makes the silenus such an interesting work of art. Not only it is not so elaborate in its details, but at least to me it seems more schematic and dry, destitute of freshness and vitality. As long as the material of Campanian bronzes (apart from the dinos group) is so scanty, the home of the figure is very difficult to determine. The statuette is certainly superior to those on dinoi of the same period (e. g. A 16 and B 24), but of course we cannot deny the co-existence of skilful and rather poor bronze workers in Campania, or even in its individual towns.

Finally there remain 6 mirror supports in Jantzen's list of Campanian bronzes; he points out that they belong closely together, and

¹ Führer Berlin I p. 30 No. 8581. AA 1904 p. 36 fig. 9. RM 1923/4 p. 409, 1936 p. 204 pl. 27,1—2. — Mon. Ant. 1913 pl. 74,6—6a, Maximova, Les vases plastiques p. 173 f. pl. 20,83, Münchener Jahrb. 1919/20 p. 27 f. fig. 42. Jantzen pl. 40,165—167. Van Buren, Archaic Fictile Revetments in

Sicily and Magna Graecia pl. 15,63 (= W. Darsow, Sizilische Dachterracotten p. 13, II 3c). L'Italia antichissima IV p. 197 fig. 31, 209 fig. 47. Bulletin van de vereeniging tot bevordering der kennis van de antieke beschaving, Dec. 1928 p. 13 fig. 8.

that, although of good quality, they display non-Greek features¹. Of these at least London 198 cannot well be a work of the same centre



Fig. 20 c. British Museum. Detail of bronze dinos 560. From Capua. H. ca. 13.5 cm. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

of art that produced the masks and the dinos figures, among which no counterpart is to be found. On the contrary, it has connections in another circle². The Paris specimen, which looks more Greek than the five others, and an antefix of the "severe" style, show some points of

¹ 1. London 198. Jantzen p. 6 f. note 1 No. 10 pl. 28,119. From Rome. — 2. New York 20.203. Bull. Metr. Mus. 1923 p. 72 fig. 1. Jantzen p. 6 f. note 1 No. 11, p. 8. Formerly in Palermo. — 3. Cabinet des Médailles 99. Jantzen p. 6 f. note 1 No. 12, p. 8 pl. 31,130—131. — 4. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. Eichler, Führer p. 47. Schneider, Album pl. 23,1. Jantzen p. 6 f. note 1 No. 13, p. 8. Acquired in Naples. — 5. Leiden V St. 1. Jantzen p. 6 f. note 1 No. 14. This

figure I know from Jantzen's note only. — 6. Naples 5563. Jantzen p. 6 f. note 1 No. 15, p. 8 pl. 31,128.

² Berliner Museen 1930 p. 135 f. fig. 7, V. H. Poulsen, Der strenge Stil p. 100. — Berliner Museen 1929 p. 29 fig. 3 (standing on a turtle as Nos. 4 and 6 in our note 1). — More distantly related: Jantzen p. 67 pl. 28,118, p. 46 No. 1, 67 pl. 18,71—73 (the supposed likeness with the mirror handle Sieveking, Bronzen der Samml. Loeb pls.

likeness, but not enough to prove their common origin¹. It is not evident to me that these 6 statuettes may be Capuan, as Jantzen asserts on his p. 8. If they really were, we should expect them to display a more pronounced kinship to works of that school than they actually do.



Fig. 21. Danish National Museum 3450. From Cumae. H. 6.8 cm.

Fortunately we know a Capuan instance of a nude youth in the attitude of the mirror supports in question: it is the clay relief London B 495 (mid-5th cent., from Capua) (fig. 25) which obviously is closely associated with the masks. The softly modelled slim figure may be compared with the Paris and Naples bronzes, but I am unable to find any resemblance as far as the faces are concerned. By these remarks I do not mean to deny that the six statuettes may have been made somewhere else in Campania, because that would be overstating the facts; but I would underline that in the present circumstances we are not justified in ascribing them to the same school as the objects enumerated in the lists above pp. 144 ff. and 157 f.

Now we have got through the material illustrating the development of Campanian plastic art during the period from about 600 to 450 B. C.

6—7, V. H. Poulsen, *Der strenge Stil* p. 100, from Croton, is not very convincing. By the way, London 551 (Jantzen p. 47 No. 9 pl. 19,78), is certainly not Crotonic, but

probably South Etruscan, cf. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 19, from Palestrina, and Villa Giulia 42178, from Tivoli).

¹ Koch, pl. 9,6.

Let us sum up the results of the investigation. At first a strong Dedalic influence was observed. Ionisms, however, do not occur till the 2nd quarter of the 6th century. In the following years Campanian sculpture reflects the rivalry of Ionia and Attica in the art market of Magna



Fig. 22. Berlin, Antiquarium 7316. From Gabii. H. 8.5 cm.



Fig. 23. Berlin, Antiquarium Fr. 715 k. Prov. unknown. H. 13.3 cm.

Graecia, but in the 2nd half of the 6th century the dependence upon Attic art increases¹.

From the very beginning of the development outlined here we find a marked relationship to other S. Italian schools, but in progress of time the ties between them and Campania seem to be multiplied, especially from the end of the archaic period. The centre of the circle to which we ascribed the masks, the antefixes and the dinos group, was apparently Capua, the capital of the province; from there impulses may have radiated to other Campanian places. The masks are perhaps

¹ In Magna Graecia the development follows the same lines, V. H. Poulsen, *Der strenge Stil* p. 88. We may quote: *Mon. Piot.* 1917 p. 131 ff. pls. 14—15. *Bull. Metr. Mus.* 1925 p. 14 f. figs. 1—3, *Br. Br.* 722. *Bull.*

Cleveland Mus. 1928 p. 191 f. *NSc* 1936 pl. 12. Now Poulsen reasonably argues in favour of an earlier date as regards the first Attic impulses (above p. 111).

the most exquisite products of the school, so fine as to be mistaken for Greek; but the bronzes, even when at their best, always sound a note that is unfamiliar to a Hellenic ear. It is probable that Capua was not the only centre of art in Campania; we have touched upon the possibility above. The existence of a bronze or terracotta industry in one or other of the Greek cities along the coast would not be surprising at all.

From ca. 600 to 424/3 B. C. Capua and the greater part of Campania were under Etruscan rule¹. *A priori*, Campania, where the Etruscans dwelled next door to the Greeks, is likely to have mediated between the Greek world and Etruria in matters of art. If that really is the fact, we should expect to find at least some Etruscan works with details which reflect characteristics of Capuan bronzes or terracottas.

In the first place, antefixes of definitely Capuan type (among which some with female heads mentioned above p. 141 f. fig. 2) have been found as far to the north as Conca. Obviously, the art of Conca differs from that of Campania and belongs to the S. Etruscan-Latin circle. The Capuan series presumably called forth the shell antefixes so common in S. Etruria and Latium². Not irrelevant, if correct, are the statements that some of the masks p. 144 ff. were found in Etruria, the Munich bronze p. 153 in Rome, and the Berlin statuette fig. 22 in Gabii.

Secondly, the London bronze kriophoros 555 was probably not fashioned without the artist's knowing of the Campanian versions of the type; perhaps the same holds good of the Etruscan bronze sirens (e. g. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek H 228).

Lastly, stylistic relationship may be traced in some cases. The bronze funnel in the Danish National Museum has convincingly been compared by Miss Sauer with the head of the male figure on the Caere sarcophagus in Villa Giulia, and the masks of class A 1, with the plastic vases and antefixes attached to them, recall Apollo and Hermes from Veii and a head in Florence (78794) from Orvieto³; on the other hand the maenad of the dinos London 560 is not unlike a Caeretan type of antefix, whereas masks A 2 have more features in common with the fine specimen in the Museo Mussolini⁴. A group of stamnos handles, probably Vulcian, display faces of silenii in relief and engraving,

¹ Velleius I 7,2—4. Livy IV 37,1. Pauly-Wissowa III p. 1556. Fell, Etruria and Rome p. 21 f., 104.

² Conca: e. g. Van Buren, Fig. Terra-Cotta Revetments in Etr. and Lat. pls. 2,1 and 13,2. — S. Etruscan-Latin antefixes: ibidem, pls. 4,4, 5, 8,2, 11,1, 12,1 and 4. — Some specimens of Capuan types are reported to have been found in Caere, but

there is doubt as to the correctness of this statement.

³ Giglioli, L'arte etrusca pl. 195. Van Buren, Fig. Terra-Cotta Revetments in Etr. and Lat. pl. 22,1 (Florence 78794 not from Bolsena!).

⁴ Van Buren, Fig. Terra-Cotta Revetments in Etr. and Lat. pls. 7,4, 8,1 and 10,2.



Fig. 24. Munich, Museum für antike Klein-kunst 81. Prov. unknown. H. 14 cm.



Fig. 25. British Museum B 495. From Capua. H. 17.5 cm. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

the type of which is also known to us from Capuan masks (C 1)¹. Last, but not least, in the head of a terracotta statue from Conca² we observe reminiscences of the style that produced the Dodwell bronze.

¹ De Ridder, *Bronzes antiques du Louvre* II Nos. 2667—2668 pl. 97, from Corinth. — Eberth, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* VII pl. 2a, 2, from Kleinaspergle, Württemberg; cf. Jacobsthal-Langsdorff, *Die Bronzeschnabelkannen* p. 48 note 1. — CAH. Vol. of Plates III p. 23 f. 'b', from Weisskirchen, Rhine-Province. — Vatican.

Photo Alinari 35553, upper row, right, from Vulci. — Carlsruhe, Schumacher, *Samml. ant. Bronzen* Nos. 620 ff. pl. 9, 22. — Somewhat later (cf. terracotta masks B 9): Richter, *Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum*, New York, Nos. 50—51, found near Rome.

² Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* pl. 199.

The art whose evolution we have tried to describe on the pages above should not be called Etruscan, as it has a pronounced character of its own. In this connection it is not devoid of interest that neither Campania nor the Po plain after their conquest were incorporated in Etruria proper, but each of them was made a dodecapolis united with the Tuscan confederation. Then let us keep to the denomination "Campanian", which is not likely to involve misinterpretations.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LYSIPPIAN SOCRATES

BY

FREDERIK POULSEN AND ELO

From Frankfort-on-the-Main the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek acquired in 1931 a statue torso, the property of Dr. Ludwig Pollak, just shortly after Georg Lippold had published it and drawn attention to its significance: to its being a copy, and indeed a good Greek copy seemingly, of a famous work by Lysippus, a statue of Socrates erected in the great festival hall of the Pompeion at Athens¹. For a couple of centuries the torso had stood in the garden of Villa Ludovisi in Rome, during the past few decades furnished with a Trajan head², which was removed after the purchase for Copenhagen. Founding his theory upon an old etching in Preisler's work of 1732: *Statuae antiquae*, Lippold maintained that originally the statue had had a head of Socrates of the familiar type, the Paris type, which is generally credited to Lysippus, and at the conclusion of his article suggested the reconstruction of the statue with that head. His suggestion was followed in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek shortly after the torso was acquired, with the aid of a Danish sculptor and employing a cast of the Socrates head in the Terme-Museum, but the result was unsatisfactory. The new attempt, which was mainly due to the Glyptothek's conservator, the sculptor Elo, is not satisfactory either, yet it brings us nearer to the goal, and at any rate makes clear why it was the first attempt failed.

Starting again with the torso itself (figs. 1—2)³, it is 1.51 m. high without the modern plinth of travertine. Its greatest breadth is 0.82 m.,

¹ Arndt-Bruckmann: *Porträts*, Pl. 1126—27.

² As the back of the neck shows, the Trajan head is antique, but so worked over at the front as to be iconographically worthless. Even the length of the back hair and

its fall show that the original head cannot possibly have been a representation of Trajan.

³ From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek I 1931, p. 35 ff., with fig. 29.

and the depth is 0.56 m. The forearms with the hands, the foremost part of the lap and knees, the left leg and foot, the middle part of the



Fig. 1. Torso of the Socrates statue. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

right leg, parts of the drapery and the stool are missing. The right shoulder is new, in marble. Several of the missing parts of the statue must have been separate pieces. The marble of which the figure is carved is rather coarse island marble with many holes and cracks, and it has often fractured in the course of the work. For example on the

thigh there is a fracture surface originating from a natural crack, and this surface a little lower down is worked with a toothed chisel to



Fig. 2. Torso of the Socrates statue. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

facilitate patching. The two holes in the right side of this surface (the viewer's right) are round, and in the lower one is still half of a marble tenon surrounded by fine lime. On the left of the surface is a third, foursided hole, from which a small fracture at the bottom runs posteriorly



Fig. 3. Preislers etching of the Socrates in the Villa Ludovisi, Rome.

into a natural hole in the marble, of the type usually called a "worm hole". Down in the lower edge of the fracture surface is a small groove to hold an iron clamp. All these traces show that the now missing fore part of the lap and knee was originally fastened on by means of marble and iron tenons and cemented with fine lime.

There are also marble tenons with lime in the fracture surfaces of



Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the Socrates statue. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

both arms, and that of the right arm is additionally grooved to give a firm join. The bowl-shaped neck-surface is also grooved, and the head was put on in the same manner as the forearms. The deep, round hole



Fig. 5. Profile view of fig. 4.

in the neck is modern, but possibly is merely the original hole made wider.

As all the marble tenons are of the same material as the torso, it is practically certain that this piecing together was done in antiquity and that none of it is the work of the modern restorer. The groove in the plinth, with remains of an iron clamp and lead packing, is old too, whereas the travertine block below was put on with cement and is entirely the result of the modern renovation.



Fig. 6. Profile view of fig. 4.

It seems, then, that in the beginning of the 18th century the statue really was in the condition shown in Preisler's etching (fig. 3), and that the head and other joined-on pieces fell off in the course of time under the influence of the atmosphere, for in actual fact the figure stood for almost two centuries in the open air. This is also indicated by the drawing itself, the impression of sameness of treatment that stamps the reproduction, and the absence of the left hand; for why should

that have been omitted if the draughtsman had reconstructed other parts? The accuracy of that artist is also evidenced by features such as the course of the neck fold, and the acanthus-like stylising of the great fold depending below the left elbow. We can see how well the

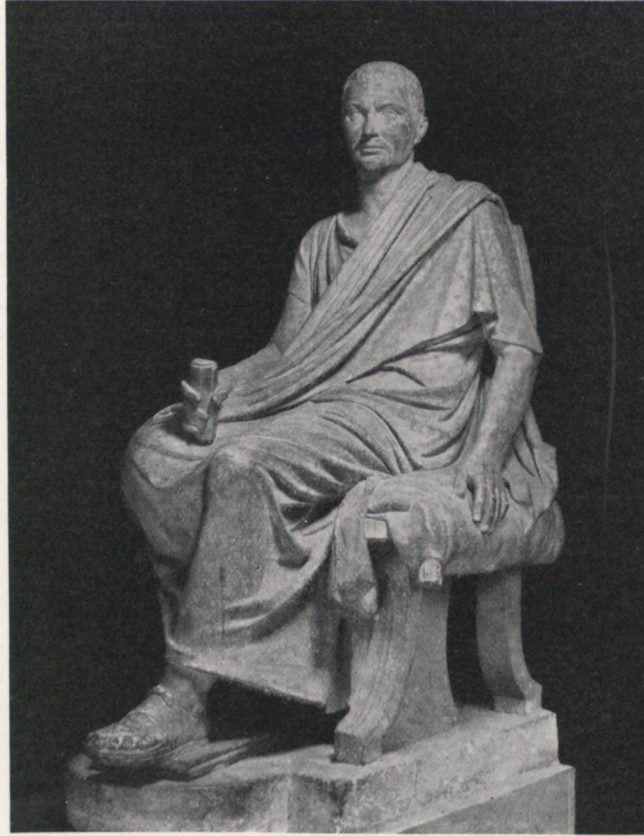


Fig. 7. So called Marcellus. Museo Capitolino.

latter harmonizes with the drapery of our torso (fig. 1), intensified only in line and shade to eighteenth century tastes like other parts of the figure.

With a plaster cast of the torso, and paying constant attention to this old etching we have endeavoured to reconstruct the statue (figs. 4—6), to recapture the line effect which the drawing allows us to suspect in body-form and drapery, to rebuild the wholeness, the calmness and firmness of volume, which neither action nor movement breaks. It is the figure's rhythm which must be discovered again, both longitudinal rhythm and the circular rhythms, and this can really be achieved as far as the body is concerned.

It can be seen, for example, how the folds of the himation from the left knee downwards and rearwards in towards the stool actually accompany and emphasize the rhythm of the opposite, the right leg, the position of the knee and the backward movement of the foot, whereas

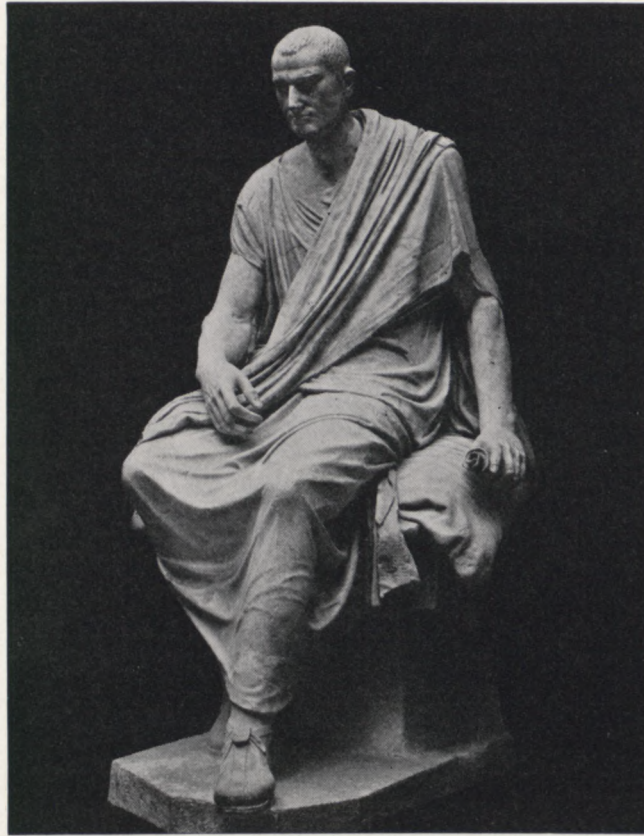


Fig. 8. Statue signed by Zenon of Aphrodisias. Museo delle Terme.

the folds under the right arm indicate a forward movement from the seat of the stool, supported by the great forward-moving plane in the right forearm, hand and thigh; all this is as a reflection of the left, forward leg, whilst the vertical, final fold from the right knee, seconded by the small, rearward turning folds, supports the rearward movement of the lower right leg.

The result is a seated statue with an uncommonly lively foot movement which, in conjunction with the stooping and somewhat sideways attitude of the shoulders, gives the whole figure an air of restlessness. One naturally makes comparisons with figures having a similar motif of movement, such as the so-called Marcellus in the Capitoline Museum

(fig. 7)¹; the head is modern, but the torso with chiton and heavy himation seems to be that of a poet's or a philosopher's statue. The legs are much closer together, the attitude of the upper part of the body much more frontal, *partly because the high back of the chair supports it*. There is more freedom in another seated statue, particularly because of the lateral turn, for here too the legs are closer together: the seated statue in the Museo delle Terme, signed by Zenon of Aphrodisias (fig. 8)². The statue doubtless represents a Roman interested in literature who has had himself sculptured in classic style. In this figure the treatment of the folds seems casual. On the other hand the pace-motif of the seated figure is exaggerated in Moschion's statuette at Naples³ and in "Aristoteles" in the Palazzo Spada⁴. Actually, the nearest approach to the position of the legs, except that right and left are reversed, is the statue of Epicure⁵, but there the motif: quiet contemplation after reading, has entailed a calm, slightly forward bend of the shoulders. On this background we understand the active character of the Socrates statue.

Lippold has already correctly compared the Socrates statue with the seated poet in the Glyptothek (fig. 9)⁶, in which, however, the contrasts of direction are stronger and the feet are crossed. This motif, with which we are already familiar on the beautiful Knidos statue of Demeter⁷, where it is combined with a stately attitude, is also a favourite one in Greek portrait statues; nearest to the seated poet is a type of philosopher, known from several repetitions including one in Museo Barracco (fig. 10)⁸, which furthermore in the treatment of drapery and body-form (the relaxed chest and upper arm of the older man) is closely related to the poet statue and the Socrates figure. But the philosopher statuette possesses nothing of the virtuosity in the reproduction of the motility of the upper body shown by the latter two figures. On the other hand, in the seated poet we descry an artist's idea of exactly the same quality as that in the Socrates statue. In the poet the heavy himation fold in the lap intensifies the movement of the right leg, whereas the deep folds at the left side of the figure (the viewer's left) emphasize the position of the left leg. One conceives the will of a great artist behind all this and later influences on inferior artists, and the original master is, as we still believe, Lysippus⁹.

¹ Stuart Jones: Museo Capitolino, p. 258, No. 98, pl. 73.

² Paribeni: Guida (1932), p. 122, No. 190.

³ Bernoulli: Griech. Ikon. II, p. 55.
G. Lippold: Griech. Porträtstatuen, p. 63, fig. 10.

⁴ Lippold o. c., p. 57, fig. 8.

⁵ Lippold o. c. p. 78, fig. 17. Poulsen, Gazette des Beaux Arts 1937, p. 1 ff., figs. 2, 6 and 7.

⁶ From the Collections I, p. 37, fig. 30.

⁷ Brunn-Bruckmann 65.

⁸ Lippold o. c., p. 87, fig. 23.

⁹ From the Collections I, p. 33 ff.



Fig. 9. The seated poet. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

Whereas the seated poet rests in a magnificent armchair, Socrates sits on a simple, backless stool as does the Knidian Demeter. Its legs are handsomely profiled and the seat covered with a cushion, but it cannot be other than an uncomfortable, boxlike stool, heavy and cumbersome, but nevertheless employed in several variations from a Socrates figure in a Paris relief to the so-called Aelius Aristides¹. It is the ancient

¹ Lippold o. c., p. 54, fig. 6. Bernoulli: Griech. Ikonogr. II, pl. XXX.

Diphros type, often seen on archaic terra-cottas, which Gisela Richter calls a "box-like throne"¹. In reality a plain-looking piece of furniture of this kind has probably had a twofold purpose: of both chest and seat.

However, if we can arrive at a satisfactory reconstruction of the



Fig. 10. Statue in the Museo Barracco, Rome.

Socrates statue as far as the torso is concerned, the same cannot unfortunately be said with regard to the head. We have completed the figure with a cast of the head in the Museo delle Terme, so that the total height of the figure becomes 1.74 m., whilst with the reconstruction of knee and feet the depth grows to 1.03 m., and we have given the head the lateral turn shown in the old etching (fig. 3); but one sees immediately that the total effect is not good. This is not because this series of Socrates heads has belonged to erect statues as Studniczka and A. Rumpf thought². In this case such a distinction is beyond the judgment of archaeologists, art historians and sculptors. It is due simply to the fact that the Terme head, like most Socrates heads of the Paris

¹ Ancient Furniture, p. 28 f.

² A. Rumpf: Nachruf auf Franz Stud-

niczka. Jahresber. für Altertumswissenschaft, Vol. 245 B, p. 107, Note 6.

type, was adapted by the copyists for hermes and busts, and therefore with its frontal form cannot follow the movement of the statue, with the result that the effect is stiff and devoid of expression.

The Glyptothek's small Socrates bust No. 415 (fig. 11)¹ is much

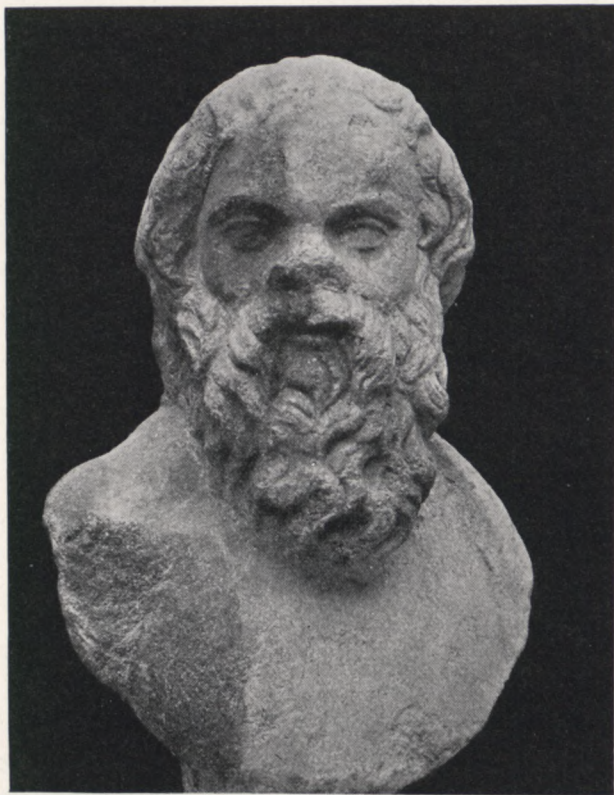


Fig. 11. Bust of Socrates. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

better as a proposition for a reconstruction of the head, as the modelling is based on the marked lateral turning and reproduces the corresponding unsymmetrical form of the features. It is impossible to decide whether other features of this head: the lower forehead, the narrow back of the head, and the satyric though good-natured expression, which depends on brows, nose and lips, are nearer to the type of the original than the large, distinguished herme heads. But in the statue of the seated poet (fig. 9)² we have the true rhythmic connection between the movement of the figure and the modelling of the face, for the right cheek is cut sharply in towards the mouth, the right ear and locks are drawn out, so that the effect of the head is in plan with the rearward left movement of the body which, as with a circular motion, glides on through the play of the arms and hands.

¹ From the Collections I, p. 39, fig. 33.

² Ibidem, p. 37, fig. 30.

Nor have the hermes of the seated poet type this differentiation of the halves of the face², and therefore we must be thankful that here we have the entire figure preserved. As far as the Socrates statue is concerned, one could of course photograph the small head of the bust (fig. 11) into the neck of the figure, but this does not give any satisfactory result either. Accordingly, one might commission an able sculptor to model the Paris type head in close touch with the conscious and effective rhythm of the statue and in an asymmetrical form to harmonize with it; but even though a sculptor may venture the experiment, we have no guarantee of the correctness of the reconstruction.

Our only hope is that some day we shall find a replica of the Paris type of head that has belonged to a statue of the same kind and size as the torso in the Glyptothek. Only then will the rhythm be recaptured from head to foot.

² Ibidem, p. 38, fig. 31.

A LECTERN IN THE NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK

A ROMANESQUE STYLE-COPY

BY

EJNAR DYGGVE

As the conclusion of a series of lectures delivered in 1936 on Early Christian architecture I discussed at some length a marble lectern in the Glyptothek's Early Christian Department, one that is associated with several very interesting stylistic and architectural problems. It is that lecture which forms the basis of the present paper, though my measurements and investigations on the subject were made mainly in 1928.

This marble object has Inventory No. 1473 and is to be found in the Glyptotek's 1907 catalogue as No. 831, "Christelig Prædikestol" (Christian Ambo); the catalogue itself, however, also uses the expression lectern as well as ambo. The date of its execution is shown as being the time of Constantine, at any rate the 4th Century, if I rightly understand the cautious formulation of the words indicating that the specimen is one of the earliest pulpits extant¹.

In addition to the photographic reproductions on *figs. 1—3*, *fig. 4a—b* is a drawing of the lectern, with all the important details which the photographs cannot show. The lectern, of which the rest for the book itself is now missing, is carved out of a block of North Italian marble of a very fine-grained type like limestone, greyish and heavy in effect. Apart from a few slight bruises of superficial character, the stone is in an excellent state of preservation. Nor has it been exposed to any weathering, so that the surface, with the marks of the sculptor's tools, is intact. This must mean that up to the very last the lectern must have been under cover, but we know nothing of where it was prior to

¹ Reproduced in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Billedtavler til Kataloget over Kunstværker. 1907, Tavle LXXII. It has not been treated in scientific literature, was

mentioned en passant in an article: "Oldkristelige Minder paa Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek", Berlingske Tidende 12th Dec. 1935, p. 10.

its coming on to the market. In Carl Jacobsen's accounts of art purchases¹, all that is noted is that it was bought in 1896 from the well-known art dealer Martinetti's posthumous collections, which had been taken over by the dealer Marietti on the Rialto in Venice². It appears from the register that it was Carl Jacobsen himself who made the purchase. Undoubtedly it originated in Northern Italy, not merely because the material and the place of purchase seem to say so, it being unlikely that this very heavy block of marble was unnecessarily moved about, but particularly on account of stylistic reasons.

The greatest height of the lectern, which is at the front, is 0.842 m. The width is 0.46 m., and the depth 0.37 m. — very modest dimensions on the whole. The front side is embellished with an extremely rich decoration, but the back, too, is entirely plastic in its execution and intended to be seen, though less detailed than the front. The different treatment of back and front is separated by a narrow, vertical groove in both sides, 0.03 m. wide and 0.016 m. deep, running the entire height of the block.

In the top surface of the lectern opposite each of these grooves is a clamp-hole filled with lead, measuring 0.015 m. in diameter. The grooves together with these clamp-holes make it certain that there was a chancel-screen rail³ on each side of the lectern. These rails, which were of the same height as the desk and firmly fixed to it, had a thickness of about 0.08 m., which corresponds to the least interval between the decorations on back and front (see *fig. 4b*). Another hole, almost square, 0.032 m. deep, in the top at each side of the block, just in front of the chancel-rail and its regular clamps (*fig. 4a*), can scarcely have had anything to do with the securing of the rail and must have had some other purpose. There are still remnants of lead in the hole on the left.

In the centre of the top surface, which slopes backwards, the broken lead remnant of a vertical tenon is still to be seen (the iron 0.028 m. × 0.007 m.); it must have served the purpose of keeping the upper part of the lectern, a pulpitem⁴ for the book, in place. The short casting-groove shows that the casting in was done from above. It was necessary to raise the elevation of the lectern by means of a book-rest on account of

¹ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Archives. Account-book for 1896 for the purchase of works of art: Carl Jacobsen's own entry in the book, under the dates 10th June—12th June, and apparently using the dealer's description: "Pult fra Middelalderens Begyndelse" (Lectern, early Middle Ages). The price was 850 lire.

² Marietti dalle Torre D, Rieti.

³ Screen-rail of limestone, with a tongue 0.015 m. long and 0.045 m. wide. Forschungen in Salona. III, plate with screen-rails (in the press).

⁴ A loose reading desk of wood, from an ambo. H. Piercer, R. Tyler. *L'Art Byzantin*. II, Pl. 138.



Fig. 1. Lectern in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Front. — Photograph.



Fig. 2. Lectern in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Back. — Photograph.



Fig. 3. Lectern in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Right side; note the remains of an earlier inscription. — Photograph.

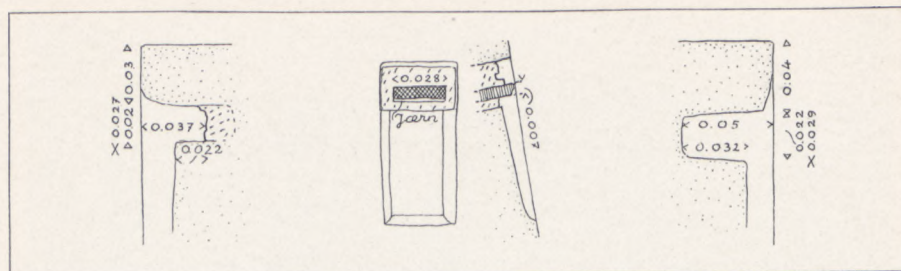


Fig. 4 a (see 4 b).

its low height; the outlines of the underside of this rest are still partly discernible in the form of a square having sides of about 0.23 m. (see *fig. 4 b, 4*).¹ The upper surface of the block is smooth.

The back of the lectern is a free composition, surprisingly vivid. Of the surface of the original block of marble all that remains is the curious, obelisk-shaped central part, from which deep, but softly rounded carvings of fishes curve inward on both sides. Despite the detailed representation of heads and fins, these fishes are just as low in relief as the rest of the decoration on the back, which is parchmentlike in character, with frayed edges, braidings, and ending in a scroll. Right down to the left is a drilled hole, 0.015 m. in diameter and 0.03 m. deep (see *fig. 4 b*). It corresponds to the round clamp-holes on the upper side of the lectern, but occurs only in one side. Possibly here was some downward connection. The distance to the lower edge is 0.08 m., almost the same distance as at the clamp-holes above. There cannot possibly have been any lateral connection, owing to the distance from the edge, 0.01 m., which technically is much too short.

The back surface, too, is very smoothly treated, almost polished, though this does not apply to the lower part of the socle, which is flat enough but has distinct marks of the toothed chisel. On examining this lower surface more closely it is seen to be divided into two strips of almost equal height, each treated differently. The under-side of the lectern has been smoothed, especially parts of it broadening out towards the edges. There is also an irregular, bowl-shaped depression towards one side. All these latter observations are very important: together with a third observation of similarly inconspicuous character, they exert great influence on our judgment of the lectern. See p. 194.

The main side of the lectern is the front (*fig. 1*). In the composition here one is at once aware of a sharp conflict between two widely remote

¹ The square is visible in the form of faint remnants of brown oil-colour, which must have been painted on the upper side in modern times. Just at the edge of the underside of the lectern itself are streaks of

grey oil-paint. Where the edge is broken off at the lower part of the back it has been filled up with hard, white and greyish-yellow, modern mortar, of which there are also traces on the lower part of the vertical sides.

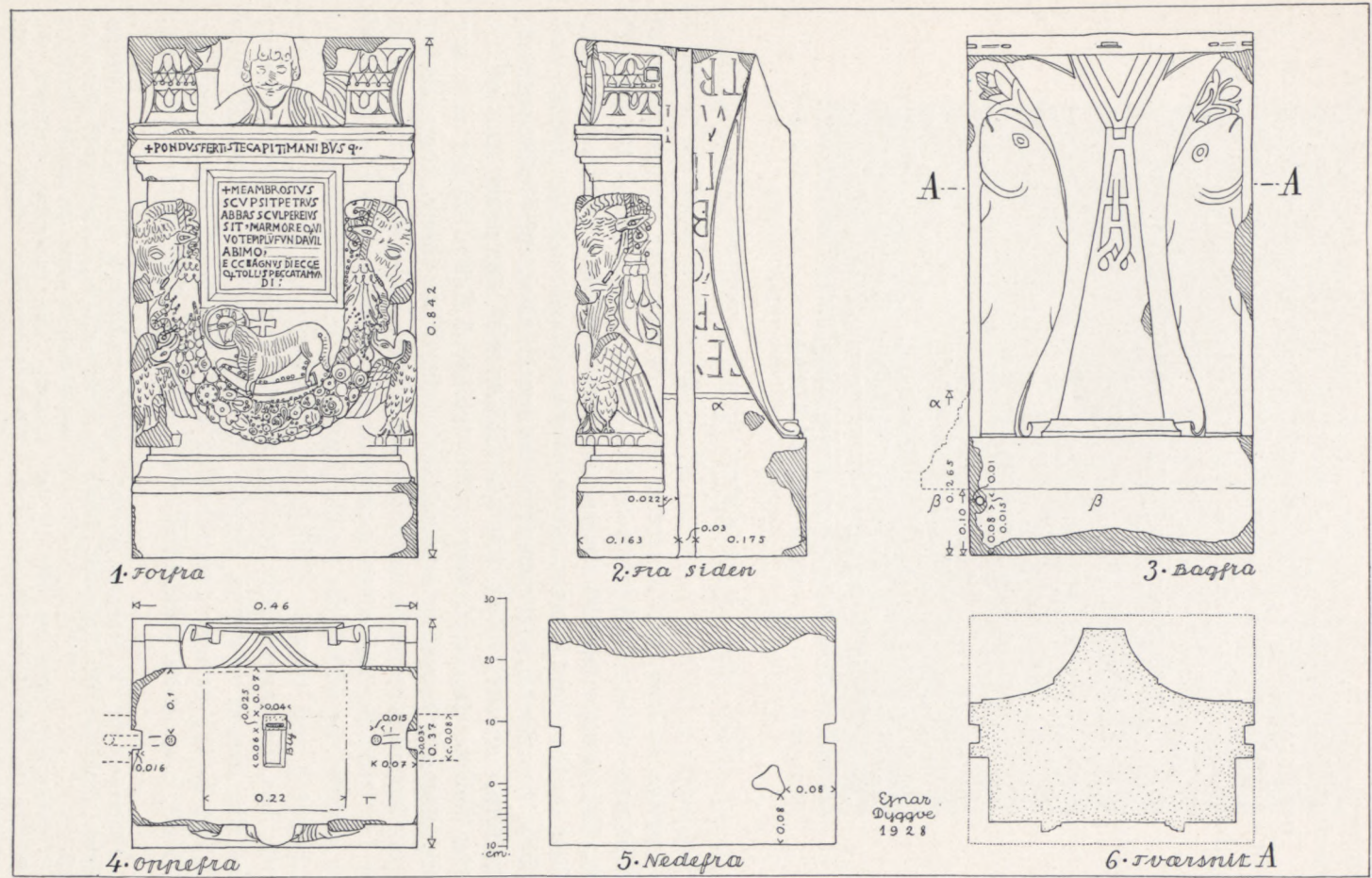


Fig. 4 b. Lectern in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Measurement 1: front. 2: side. 3: back. 4: top. 5: bottom. 6: cross-section. — E. Dyggve, 1928.

historical periods. This contrast will be more fully explained when the description is finished.

The fundamental structure on which the over-carved decoration is built up is characteristic of an ordinary antique altar, with socle, plinth, cornice and sacrificial slab. The ornamentation of the plinth follows a

+PONDVS FERTI STECAPITIMANI BVS Q'

+MEAMBROSIVS
 SCVPSITPETRVS
 ABBAS SCVLPEREIVS
 SIT MARMOREQVI
 VOTEMPLVEVNDAVIL
 ABIMO
 ECCEAGNVS DIECCE
 Q'TOLLIS PECCATAMA
 DI;

Fig. 5. Lectern in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Inscriptions. 1 : 5.
 E. D. 1928.

decorative scheme from a certain group of altar-like incinerary urns¹ which were widely used in the first and second centuries of the present era. This scheme includes the garland, the inscription tablet, the figure filling in the empty space between the garland and the tablet, and finally the corner figures occupying the space below, outside the garland. The forms on our lectern indicate kinship with incinerary urns of the latter half of the 1st Century. The details of Early Empire urns are often elegantly carved in a delicate naturalism. But though their placing on our lectern is correct according to the scheme, closer inspection reveals the fact that the execution is stylistically unsatisfactory (*fig. 1*): Thus the garland, on which the fig-like fruits and heavy flowers are clumsily distributed and roughly drilled, with no sense of plastic form². The birds, too, are superficially formed and with their long, flexible necks look like herons or swans, despite the eagle-like body. It is still more evident in the cursory treatment of the rams' heads which bear the garland, e. g. in the modelling of the eyes, or of the fleece with long,

¹ Discussed by W. Altmann. Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit. Berlin 1905.

² Fruits and leaves are akin to the garland on the Caffarelli sarcophagus (*fig. 6*), but a comparison shows that, as far as

artistic treatment is concerned, the distance is insurmountable. G. Rodenwaldt places the sarcophagus to about the middle of the 1st Century (Der Sarkophag Caffarelli. 83. Winkelmannsprog. Berlin 1925, p. 27, Abb. 16).

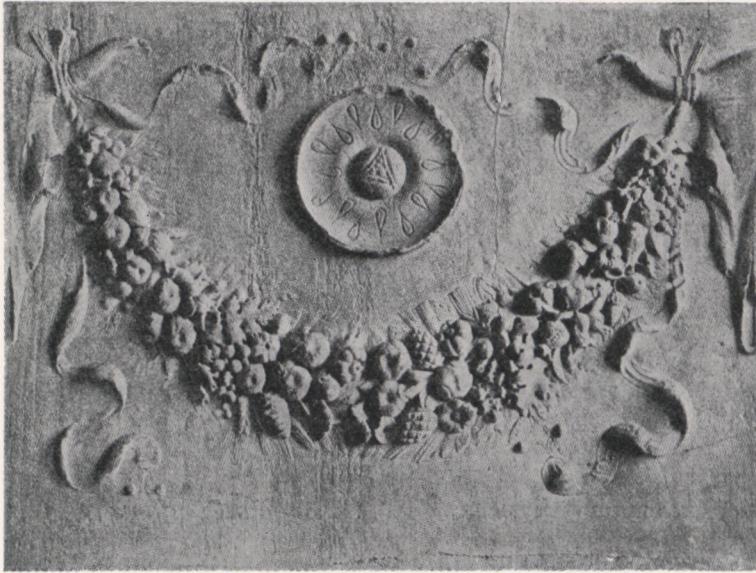


Fig. 6. Detail on a sarcophagus (Caffarelli), ca. middle of 1st Century A. D.
After G. Rodenwaldt. 83. Winckelmanns Progr. Abb. 16.

outlined grooves, which is closely related to the dry, dilettantic rendering of the fleece of the lamb in the middle. The lamb is particularly badly drawn: the legs stocky and the head poorly applied on the body. It is placed on an empty scroll, is furnished with a halo embellished with a cross, and carries a cross on its shoulder. It is an *Agnus Dei*, symbolizing Christ, and, as will be understood, is out of place as a complementary figure in this pagan incinerary-urn facade.

The inscription, too, on the obligatory tabula is of Christian character. The drawing *fig. 5* shows the exact form and state of preservation of the letters from an "Abklatsch". Orthographic misunderstandings, inaccuracy in writing (scupsit for sculpsit, fundavil for fundavit) show that the sculptor was not very conversant with Latin¹:

+ ME AMBROSIUS
SCVPSIT PETRVS
ABBAS SCVLPERE IVS
SIT. MARMORE Q VI
VO TEMPLV FVNDVIL
AB IMO.
ECCE AGNVS DI ECCE
Q TOLLIS PECCATA MVN
DI ;

¹The catalogue reproduction p. 294 is wrong.

The inscription consists of two independent parts, of which the upper one, which is a builder's inscription, comprises the first six lines (height of letters about 15 mm.). The inscription is in hexameter but in the so-called Leonine form with internal rhyme, and the interpunction divides the lines of the verse:

+ *Me Ambrosius scu(l)psit, Petrus abbas sculpere iussit.
Marmore q(ui) vivo templu(m) fundavi(t) ab imo.*

The translation of this is: Ambrosius sculptured me, the order for the work was given by Abbot Petrus, who built the church of real marble from its very foundations.

Petrus being an abbot, the Templum mentioned in the inscription was in all probability a monasterial church.

The second part of the inscription (letters about 12 mm. high):

Ecce agnus d(e)i ecce q(ui) tollis peccata mundi.

repeats the well-known lines in St. John (I, 29): "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world", and of course refers to the lamb in the relief below as an allegory of Christ.

On the fore part of the cornice, too, there is a line of inscription in hexameter along its entire length (height of letters about 15 mm.):

+ PONDUS FERT ISTE CAPITI MANIBUSQ.

or, in English, "He beareth the weight with head and hands". Thus the inscription is an explanation of the male bust above, which accordingly would seem to represent a kind of atlante or telamon. To be complete, however, the hexameters require three further syllables. Consequently, something must be added to *manibus*, e. g. *sublatus* or *porrectis* in the sense of upraised hands. In correct form the line would therefore read:

+ *Pondus fert iste capiti manibusq(ue) (porrectis).*

Above the cornice the front is decorated with two roughly carved rows of Lesbian cymatium¹ with the points facing but separated by a band of trefoil. Here the outer edges of the stone are cut off in a curve². The half-length figure with the "upraised hands" (*fig. I*) is clad in a tightly-fitting coat, not at all antique in style, with an open neck and long, narrow sleeves. The hair is arranged in stylized locks and covers most of the forehead. The face has a twisted moustache, but no hint of whiskers; in this respect the long drawn-out chin is misleading.

¹ Cf. W. Altmann, o. c. fig. 14.

mann, Architektur u. Ornamentik der Sarkophage. Berlin 1902, fig. 20.

² For similarly curved edges as well as a figure with upraised hands, see W. Alt-

The shape of the eyes bears some relation to the eyes of the rams' heads. Both design and modelling on the whole are crude and schematic, corresponding to what we have observed in the Lamb.

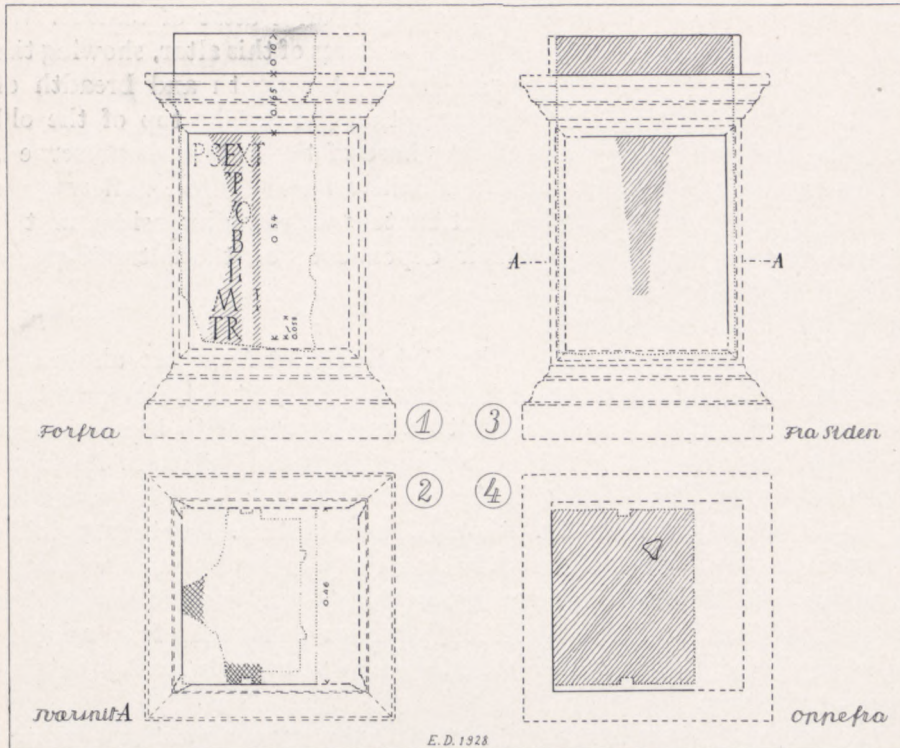


Fig. 7. Reconstruction of the early ara. 1: 20. Definite elements indicated by continuous lines and hatching. 1: front. 2: cross-section. 3: side. 4: top. — E. D. 1928.

To conclude the description of the object itself I shall refer to a hitherto overlooked remnant of an inscription on the right side of the lectern, which I succeeded in finding during my examination in 1928 (see the side-elevation on *fig. 3* and *fig. 4 b, 2* together with traces of the frame profile of the inscription. In order to read the letters the block must be turned upside down as shown in the drawing, *fig. 7*. The height of the letters is 58 mm. On the first line it is possible to read the letters SEX... There can scarcely be any doubt that we have here a name such as *Sex(-tus, -ius or -tilius)* or corresponding feminines. The shape of the letters seems to belong to the 2nd or 3rd Century A. D. But though the remains are too indistinct to provide good clues for dating the inscription, the proof of their existence cannot fail to have the greatest influence on our deliberations with regard to the lectern as such. If we include in our considerations the aforesaid

difference in the treatment at the bottom of the back of the lectern (see *fig. 2* and *fig. 4b, 3 (β)*), a difference which, in conjunction with the remnants of the frame-moulding *fig. 4b, 2 (α)* can only be interpreted as something that has been hewn away, we may say with certainty that the lectern was made from an earlier sepulchral altar of marble. We are also able to reconstruct the principal features of this altar, showing the height of the hewn-off cornice and frame, the depth and breadth of the plinth and the width of the inscription panel. The top of the old sacrificial slab, which now acts as the base of the lectern, is preserved, as already stated, with one of the familiar basin-shaped hollows (see *fig. 4b, 5* and *fig. 7*). The disproportionately narrow dimensions of the lectern are also explained by their dependence on the extreme plane limits of the altar plinth.

The heterogeneity of styles should be evident from the above description, and gives rise to multifarious and mutually inconsistent problems. Decorative form designs that are canonical to the period of the First Empire conflict with Christian allegorical schemes. As mentioned, however, the lectern in its relic form has been regarded as original and dating from the time of Constantine. Another opinion advanced in various quarters is that an early incinerary urn was converted to the Christian purpose by working over and recarving the earlier forms, so that for example the Lamb is a conversion from another figure in the same place, and that the man was produced by cutting away at the top.

My personal view is that the object is a late copy of an antique original with Christian devices inserted. It will serve to clear up the questions of style and dating if we go through the outstanding decorative elements one by one, especially the *incinerary urn decoration*, the *Lamb*, and the *figure with the upraised hands*.

The close correspondence of details in the decoration of the front (inscription-tablet, garland and figures to fill in space) with those of the typical incinerary urn that takes its shape from the sacrificial altar, is best shown by comparing it with the incinerary urns reproduced in *fig. 8* of which three are in the well-supplied collections of the Glyptothek and the fourth is in the Este Collection in Vienna. *Fig. 8, 1* is particularly interesting, for here we see the birds on the corners in their original, independent role as the real bearers of the garland. From there they have glided down in the composition, become an episode in the decoration. The other examples show the same: Birds pecking at fruits and flowers or playing with the bands of the garland, a poetic conception of the motif which is typical of the 1st Century (see also the complementary figures in the middle, *fig. 8, 1. 2.*). A comparison between *fig. 8, 2* (wading bird)



Fig. 8. Cinerary urns. 1. *Claudia*. Glypt. Sml. no. 806; 2. *C. N. Julius*. Glypt. Sml. no. 802; 3. *C. Memmius*. Glypt. Sml. no. 801; 4. *C. Terentius*. Wien, Este Coll. no. 605.

and *fig. 8, 4* (eagle) shows that the corner birds on our lectern are a combination of these two. On the urn in the Este Collection the garland droops deep down, in which respect it approaches the Glyptothek lectern, where the downward draw of the garland is conspicuous. On the latter the composition seems more compressed than on urn facades in general: it is almost too obvious that room had to be found for the Lamb, and the whole is heavy and relaxed. Even if we are bound to admit that all the canonical elements of the scheme are in place, there is a complete absence of that *ductus*, the stylistic spirit which one senses particularly on the Caffarelli sarcophagus (*fig. 6*), or in a vivid piece of work like the Glyptothek's Memmius urn (*fig. 8, 3*), but which one also recognizes in specimen that are more of the handicraft type in the period. This lack of true sense of style must be borne in mind.

We have understood that the Christian symbol, the Lamb with the Cross or the allegory of Christ, occupy a legitimate place in the pagan scheme as a decorative complementary figure between garland and inscription tablet, but that the motif of course has no place in this particular range of ideas. Nevertheless, the question of whether this may be a re-sculptured, earlier figure must be answered in the negative. In the first place it must have been an excessively heavy figure in order to provide the material for this bulky sculpture¹. Furthermore, the halo of the lamb overlaps the frame of the inscription tablet, from which we may deduct that a connection must have been conceived in the first place. Finally, the homogeneity of the lamb with the rest of the decoration is very clear from the already indicated uniformity with the treatment of the fleece of the lamb and the rams' heads. An objection that the latter might be due to later retouching of the surface of the rams' heads, could be overruled convincingly by referring to the fact that it was the same stone-drill that was used everywhere. It is of especial importance that this holds good of garland and Lamb alike. Note how deep the drill has gone, and what a dominating rôle it plays in the design itself² (see *fig. 1*). Furthermore, we recall the point just indicated: the absence of any feeling of style in early Empire times. To this we must add the vital observation that for the lectern the sculptor used material of a heathen altar of quite a different form, and which has been turned upside down (*fig. 7*). We must perforce conclude that the whole work was executed by the same hand and consequently in Christian times.

We see then, that there can be no question of part of it having been executed in pagan times. We must reject the suggestion that the lectern was made in the time of Constantine, i. e. in the earliest Christian times, as stated in the Glyptothek catalogue of 1907, for the simple reason that a style-copy of this kind in the first half of the 4th Century is unthinkable. Besides, the decorative modelling of the essentially Christian motif, the lamb, belongs to a much later period. At the beginning of the 4th Century the treatment of animal figures such as the lamb is still closely associated with the styles of the Early Empire (*fig. 9*)³, which were influenced by Hellenistic idyll sculpture

¹ As regards the quantity of material there is this to say, too: that any hollow for the ash container would be traceable in the upper part of the lectern.

² This characteristic application of the drill in interrupted, perforated lines, one that differs from antique technique and is typical Romanesque, is to be seen on the Glyptothek's medieval portrait Cat. No.

833, Plate LXXII; purchased in Florence, same North Italian marble.

³ Cf. relief scenes with sheep. Inv. No. 4685. Kais. Friedrich-Museum (end of III Cent.). W. Bode, *Die ital. Plastik*, Abb. 2. Compare the treatment with the earlier Grimani relief, with sheep in a similar arrangement, in Vienna. G. Rodenwaldt, *Die Kunst der Antike*, p. 541. (end of 1st Century).



Fig. 9. Sarcophagus relief, Rome. K. Fr. Museum no. 4685. — From museum photo.



Fig. 10. Marble frieze with lamb, from the early Hag. Sophia. — From photo by F. Gerke, 1935.

with its fine eye for well-proportioned modelling and vivid rendering. The detail treatment of the fleece is still illusionistic, but there is already a tendency towards the conventionalized arrangement of the curls so distinct towards the middle of the 4th Century¹. Another century, and the completely stiff rendering of the curls in the form of regular scales has become typical (*fig. 10*). Together with this conspicuous change in the exterior, artistic treatment, the sheep or lamb loses its natural ease and grace of movement and also its natural requirements: it no longer grazes and no longer quenches its thirst (see *fig. 9*). The lamb grows stiff, goes into a dreary existence as a solemn, allegorical personality, passes into allegoresis². Only now can the lamb receive such attributes as the halo and cross. — From this brief account we see that Constantine's era can never come into consideration as regards our Lamb, and that later Early Christian times are also precluded because of the characteristic, long-fluted treatment of the fleece.

There is still another marked peculiarity about this lamb, one of great importance to our considerations of the date. Although the lamb is an *Agnus Dei*, symbolizing Christ, its head is turned in profile. This is a deviation from the Early Christian scheme of an *Agnus Dei*, pointing away from this era and towards the Middle Ages. I shall briefly explain this. Though the Lamb symbolizes a conception based on the Apocalypse, the traditional type of *Agnus Dei* in art does not seem to have directly originated as an isolated representation of an apocalyptic figure. It is mainly the result of representations of a lamb with its head turned

¹ H. Dütschke. *Ravennatische Studien*. Leipzig 1909, p. 253 ff. and especially: F. Gerke. *Der Ursprung der Lämmerallegorien in der altchristl. Plastik*. *Zeitschr. für neu-*

testamentl. Wissenschaft. XXXIII 1934. H. 2—3, p. 160—196.

² Dütschke, o. c. p. 252; 254. Gerke o. c. p. 186.



Fig. 11. Frontal lamb flanked by profile lambs = Christ on Paradise Mountain flanked by the two apostles (Valentinian III's sarcophagus, Ravenna). — After O. Wulff. *Altchristl. u. byz. Kunst. I, Abb. 179.*

towards the spectator (frontal lamb)¹ surrounded by symmetrical groups of lambs with heads pointing forward (profile lambs). In other words, the frontal lamb as a symbol of Christ among the twelve apostles, with six profile lambs on each side² — or, cutting short the line of apostles, as two symmetrically placed lambs (the leading apostles Peter and Paul) in adoration of the Lamb in the middle (*fig. 11*)³. Accordingly, if a lamb is to represent Christ, i. e. a true artistic centre in the symmetrical axis, it requires merely that a profile lamb turns its head to the side. In the sarcophagus relief of Ravenna depicted in *fig. 11*, we find Lamb and Halo and the Mountain of Paradise with the Four Rivers, the entire apocalyptic scheme; these additions may, however, be omitted: it is by the frontal turn of the head that the Lamb is recognizable; the attitude of omnipotence expressed in its canonical form⁴. In confirmation of the literal substance of this symbolism it is interesting to refer to another Ravennese sarcophagus relief (*fig. 12*), which has

¹ In more freely grouped renderings of the Good Shepherd and His Flock, with an earlier look about them (Cirenes Arcosolium, Rome. Kaufmann. *Manuale*, fig. 134, p. 319; Galla Placidias Mausoleum, Ravenna. O. Wulff. *Altchr. u. byz. Kunst I*, Taf. XX, 2) the surrounding lambs are scattered, their heads turning backwards, whereby the figure of the Good Shepherd is emphasized as the axis; i. e. quite the opposite of the later, more common renderings.

² As commonly seen in apse-mosaics, e. g. S. Cosma e Damiano. VI Cent. (Wilpert. *Die röm. Mosaiken u. Malerien. III*, Taf. 102); Sa. Prassede. IX Cent. (H. Leopold. *Wandmozaiken*. Zutphen 1930, fig. 17); S. Marco. IX Cent. (o. c. fig. 19). Sa. Maria in Pallara. X Cent. Mural painting. (Wilpert.

o. c. IV, Taf. 224); S. Clemente. XI Cent. (Leopold. o. c. fig. 27); Sa. Maria in Trastevere. XII Cent. (Wilpert. o. c. II, fig. 532). All in Rome.

³ Cf. e. g. Door lintel (beg. of V Cent.) from Basilica urbana, Forsch. in Salona. I. Wien 1917, p. 53. Fig. 84. Pluteus, R. Egger. *Frühchristl. Kirchenbauten in Noricum*. Wien 1916, fig. 29, p. 28.

⁴ Solitary lamb as Christ in Early Christian renderings: e. g. Medallion on the back of Crux Vaticana; Lamb with halo and crozier. (VI Cent.). de Waal. *Röm. Quartalschr.* 1893, Taf. XVII; relief slab in museum in Istanbul (No. 1728); Lamb on uninscribed band, with cruciform halo, crozier and penant (VI Cent., Museum's dating).



Fig. 12. Christ on Paradise Mountain with the two apostles (S. Rinaldo-sarcophagus, Ravenna). — After O. Wulff I, Taf. XIII, 2.

the effect of a translation of the relief in our *fig. 11*. They are identical as to Christ on Mount Paradise with the antithetic leading apostles in adoration, here again all enframed by palms.

Our *Agnus Dei* does not turn its head frontally, but is a profile lamb and therefore, according to the general rule, does not form part of the Early Christian period, but must be referred to a later date when the Early Christian traditions had passed into dissolution.

After having determined our attitude to the incinerary urn motif and to the allegorical Lamb, we turn to the third element of importance in the composition, the top figure with arms raised as if carrying something. Here we must pursue the co-ordinate development of two very closely related antique motifs; one is the Atlas motif, the second I suggest should be called the "Shield-Bearer" or "Frame-Bearer" motif¹.

In its earliest form the Atlas is actually a supporting element in architecture. (Greek antique examples from Syracuse², Ortygia and Akragas³; from Pompeii: The Little Theatre⁴ and a whole series of atlantes from a tepidarium⁵; several examples from the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek sculptures)⁶. The Atlantes, too, however, are released from their fixed architectural position; *fig. 13* is an instructive early Empire

¹ There are many transitional forms, however, in which the type is indeterminate. Upstretched arms in a position similar to that on our lectern may of course have a function quite different to that of carrying. E. g. the Birth of Mithra. Museum at Carnuntum (W. Kubitschek. *Bilderatl. der carnuntischen Altertümer*. Wien 1900. Fig. 21).

² C. E. Rizzo. *Il Teatro greco di Siracusa*. Milano, Roma 1923, Tav. VI. figs. 42, 43.

³ Koldewey-Puchstein. *Die griech. Tempel in Unteritalien u. Sicilien*, p. 72, fig. 54,

p. 74, fig. 143. Cf. E. Reisch. *Kalanus*. Österr. Jahresh. IX. 1906, p. 230 f. — Atlante, see Curtius, *Arch. Ztg.* 1881, p. 16 ff.

⁴ H. Bulle. *Untersuchungen in griech. Theatern*, Taf. 46, e.

⁵ Mazois. *Les ruines de Pompei*. III, Pl. L.

⁶ Ny Carlsberg Glypt. *Billedtav.* T. XXXVII. No. 488; T. XXXVIII No. 497, 498; T. XXXXII No. 546, etc.

Cf. *Stele* (C. Volumnius) No. 841, Altes Museum. Berlin, with Atlantes very similar to our *fig. 13*



Fig. 13. Atlante at the museum in Aquileia.
From photo by G. Brusin.



Fig. 14. Built-in fragment of support for a lectern. Nin. — Photo. E. D. 1930.

specimen from North Italy. The object of this Atlas, that of upholding a table-shaped cushion, is not much different from supporting a book-rest on a lectern, very similar to the figure on a fragment which I photographed at Nin — presumably 11th Century (*fig. 14*). It is unnecessary here to go further into this detail of the history of art, as these few instances are sufficient to show that the Atlante motif may be related to a figure like the one at the top of our lectern, proclaiming that it carries a weight "capite manibusque". Still, the frame-bearing motif is also brought in here and, in my opinion, takes precedence just when as in this case it is to be applied to a lectern or ambo, as I shall explain below.

One particular form of the early Frame-Bearer motif is the Goddess of Victory, carrying in her upraised arms a heroizing shield (*clipeus*) or frame (*tabula*) with a half-length figure or ancestral effigies (*fig. 15 a*, 2th Cent.). Commemorative inscriptions, too, are sometimes so placed (cf. *fig. 21*), and both elements, busts and inscriptions, are often so employed in antique decorative art — i. e. for purposes of decoration and expression of ideas — in contrast to the more architecturally static part of the Atlante¹. In Pompeii, where, as is universally known

¹ This character of apotheosis which so undoubtedly is the deliberate purpose of Nike-borne shields (e. g. *Fig. 15 a*) is convincingly confirmed by the antique ren-



Fig. 15a. Shield-bearer (Nike on the Globe). Mural painting in a sepulchral chamber in Palmyra. — After O. Wulff I, Abb. 13.



Fig. 15b. Shield-bearer (Genius). Woven figure on Coptic tunic. — After H. Peircer, R. Tyler. *L'art byz.* I, Pl. 171.

there is good opportunity for tracing the development of the various decorative motifs in mural paintings, we find the motif repeated so many times — with circular or square¹ frames — that finally the carrier has become a decorative rudiment below the frame².

Side by side with this formally destructive development the motif of the carrier in its original form remains full of life (*fig. 15b*, 6th Century). Naturally, the Goddess of Victory was not alone in carrying these frames; often she was supplanted by genii, erots or other figures, and thus the road was open for a gemination of the figure. First the very widespread antithetic arrangement (*fig. 16*, Ny Carlsberg Glypt.)³; then the motif is also quadrupled. Take a pagan example from Ostia

derings of the galaxy, which represent it as a clipeus-shaped ring borne by genii. G. Thiele. *Antike Himmelsbilder*. Berlin 1898, figs 64, 65. Cf. Relief in Villa Albani. Müller, Wieseler. *Denkmäler*, 823. In the antique idea the galaxy was the home of the spirits of heroized dead. Thiele o. c., p. 148 with references.

¹ Square, see Lessing-Mau. *Wand- u. Deckenschmuck eines röm. Hauses*. Taf. VIII.

From the Collections. II.

² A typical example of this superficial, purely decorative development is to be seen in Pompeii on an unfinished mural painting which can be dated to the year of the disaster 79. F. Wirth. *Röm. Wandmalerei*. Berlin 1934, fig. 6, p. 29. Cf. Tomb X. S. Sebastian catacomb. *Not. scavi* 1923, Tav. X—XIV (Mancini).

³ Other examples in the Glyptothek than *fig. 16*: Ny Carlsberg Glypt. *Billedtav-*



Fig. 16. Two symmetrical shield-bearers. — From sarcophagus no. 789 in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

(*fig. 17*): diagonally at each corner a figure with upstretched arms supporting a frame with a town-plan — again something that is more of abstract significance than weight. In other cases it is an inscription, a scroll or a glorifying half-length figure. This latter we see in S. Reno in Rome, in a vault mosaic with a large round-shield image of Christ¹ (9th Century), or in S. Vitale in Ravenna, in the vault over the presbytery (6th Century), where Christ is replaced by a frontal lamb in a shield-frame and supported by the four cherubs standing on globes, thereby frankly betraying their traditionally pagan descent (*fig. 18*, cf. *fig. 15a*).

Because the motif is figuratively decorative and not static, it moves, it fluctuates. The four frame holders can be moved in relation to the diagonal axis, as we see it in the well-known North Italian 8th century frontal in S. Martino in Cividale²; it can also go still farther in a unilateral direction, as in the typical Ascension scenes³ which are of such frequent occurrence in illuminated manuscripts of this and the following centuries.

The development of the single figure in the manuscripts is well characterised in *fig. 19*, reproduced from an evangelistaria dating from about 1000⁴. It represents the apostle St. Luke carrying on head and hands his own elaborate enframed symbol. Naturally, other evangelists may be represented in a similar manner.

ler, T. LXVIII No. 788; T. LXXII No. 830.— Examples of standing genii. The Silver Bridal Casket of Proiecta. Brit. Mus. No. 304. O. M. Dalton. *Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*. London 1921, Pl. VII.

¹ Leopold. *Wandmozaïeken*, fig. 18. Cf. Vault mosaic in the so-called S. Pier Crisologo Chapel (S. Andrea) (V Cent.) in Ravenna. Wulff. I, Abb. 331; vault mosaic (XII Cent.) in Torcello. B. Schulz. *Die Kirchenbauten auf der Insel Torcello*. Berlin. Leipzig 1927, Abb. 47, Taf. 20.

² R. Eitelberger v. Edelberg. *Kunsthist. Schriften III*. Fig. 3, p. 341. Braun. *Christl. Altar. I*, Taf. 29 (phot.).

³ Ascension scenes of this kind: Vault mosaic in Hagia Sophia in Salonica. O. Wulff. *Altchristl. u. Byzant. Kunst. II*, Abb. 478. Vault mosaic from S. Marco in Venice (J. L. Heiberg. *Italien*. København 1904, fig. 71).

⁴ G. Leidinger. *Miniaturen aus Handschr. der kgl. Hof- u. Staatsbibl. in München*. H. 1. Das s. g. *Evangelium Kaiser Ottos III*. München (no date), Taf. 33.

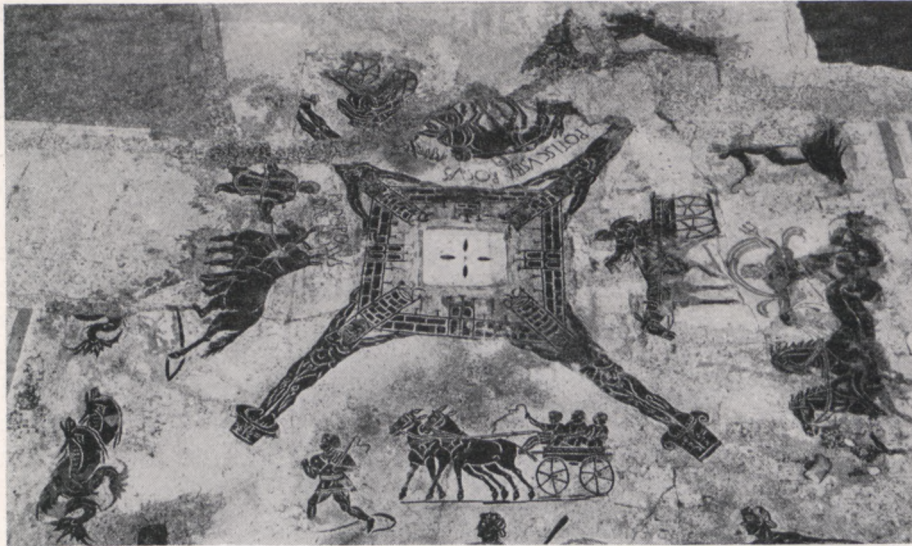


Fig. 17. Four symmetrical shield-bearers. Mosaic floor from Ostia. — Photo.

After this very summary outline of an interesting, period subject we once more link up the connection with our lectern. On many mediaeval pulpits and lecterns we find the evangelist symbols as supports for the book-rest, though in most cases it is the eagle, the symbol of St. John. Below, the real figure of St. John may be placed in analogy with St. Luke in *fig. 19*. This repetition of the symbols in one succession in the same place was already characteristic of Early Christian renderings; for example, in many apse-mosaics, in which Christ is sometimes represented figuratively and by two or three symbols one above the other. In Ravenna in the presbytery of S. Vitale there is a mural mosaic (*fig. 20*)¹ of St. John holding the Gospel, and his symbol of the eagle is above him; it is this vertical construction which later on, from the beginning of the Middle Ages, becomes typical of the plastic decoration of lecterns and pulpits². Its actual time of florescence, however, was not till the

¹ C. Ricci. Ravenna. Bergamo 1912, fig. 93.

² So far this plastic decoration is not known on Early Christian ambones. Nevertheless, the obvious thought of connecting the apostles with the pulpit is borne out by an inscription on an Early Christian fragment from Marusinac near Salona. The fragment is from an ambo of the type which quite architecturally forms the foundation of the mediaeval pulpit (cf. Rech. à Salone. I, fig. 80. Ambo from the basilica of the Five Martyrs). This important fragment, which has inscribed: I OHANN(es e) VANG[eli-

sta], shows that the beginning, or the preparation, of the later fruitful combination between ambo and apostle symbol was already present in the 5th—6th century. (Bull. di Archaeol. e. Storia Dalm. XXXV 1912, p. 38, No. 753 B, but published without its connection with an ambo having been realised. See also Forsch. in Salona III, in the press).

An important document in the history of the development of the eagle motif when it appears as a support or bearer of a book-rest on an ambo is shown in *fig. 21*. We see here a Victory, a tabula clipei, and an eagle;

12th—13th centuries, as might be expected in the time when Romanesque small figure plastic was at its zenith. Many and well-known examples are to be found everywhere in Italy, and from there they have spread to other countries. I reproduce a sketch from a photograph of a desk-bearer in the La Cava monastery (dei Tirreni) in South Italy (*fig. 25*)¹. The book-rest is supported by the St. John symbol, the eagle, which in order to allay all doubt as to its identity holds an open book with the first words of the Gospel of St. John. This book is borne by a figure "with head and upstretched hands" in the same manner as the eagle above supports the real Gospel with head and wings. It is obvious that in respect of gesture and part played as a component of the whole there is a close relationship between the La Cava figure with upstretched hands and the half-length figure of the carrier in the lectern of the Glyptothek. Here we must remember that the upper part of our lectern is no longer extant.

According to my opinion two facts emerge from our research; first that the figure on the object of our investigation constitutes part of a dominant motif in a medieval lectern or pulpit; second, that the figure with arms upstretched must principally descend from the Shield-Bearer, because it has supported a desk, i. e. a rest for a sacred thing. As briefly shown the original object of the Shield-Bearer was glorification. Whereas the true Atlante is rare in Early Christian times, the Frame-Bearer with its abstract object is common. The real combination of these two motifs does not take place till the Romanesque period, during which sculptors have a predilection for all kinds of forms of fantastic, figurative shapes, blends of motifs and variants, from the serious and deliberately representative to the grotesque, misunderstood or entirely nonsensical.

Thus both the *Agnus Dei* and the figure with the upstretched hands are medieval or at any rate early medieval. It remains for us to endeavour

it is interesting that the Goddess of Victory has left her rôle as "Frame Bearer" to the eagle. The eagle carries the heroizing shield-frame with its text just as this bird carries the Holy Gospel on later ambones. (Similarly, the eagle carries a medallion with a cross, an apotheosizing rendering connected with the cult of the dead. Coptic stele (VII Cent.) Kaufmann. *Manuale*, fig. 190, p. 437. cf. Delbrück. *Consulardiptychen u. verwandte Denkm.* Taf. 6.).

On the well-known Early Christian Salonica ambo (O. Wulff. *Altchristl. u. Byzant. Kunst.* I, figs. 124—125) eagles are carved at the corners and in the middle; Wulff (o. c. p. 135) does not explain these

eagles as the symbol of St. John, but is inclined to believe that they are to be regarded as a sign that this ambo is an imperial foundation. — Bayet (L. Duchesne et Ch. Bayet. *Mémoire sur une mission au Mont-Athos, suivi d'un mémoire sur un ambo conservé à Salonique.* Paris 1876, p. 280) imagines the possibility that here the eagle symbolizes the Resurrection or the rebirth of the neophyte through baptism.

¹ J. L. Heiberg. *Italien.* Fig. 334. Description p. 297. The same representation (from Ravello) fig. 359.

Cf. Ambo in Bitonto, Vinaccia: I monumenti medioevali di terra di Bari. 1915, Tav. XXI.



Fig. 18. Four symmetrical Shield-Bearers on the Globe. In the shield a frontal Lamb as Christ. Vault mosaic over the presbytery in S. Vitale, Ravenna. — After *Anderson*, no. 27522.

to arrive at a more precise dating. In a stylistic situation so complicated as this the clear, well-preserved inscriptions of the ambo should provide the best means of doing so, but medieval epigraphy and paleography are not so well established that they give anything definite to work upon in this case. Certain indications favour a period prior to 1000, others a much later time¹. The peculiarities of the carving of the letters seem

¹ Kindly communicated by Professor H. Hirsch, Wien. — In his letter of 1st July 1938 Professor P. Deschamps gives the following valuable statement: "Cette inscription a des caractères très réguliers non pourvus de signes spéciaux qui permettraient de déterminer une époque. Il est donc difficile de la dater.

Cependant on trouve à la fin du XI^e et

au début du XII^e siècle des inscriptions qui ont cette gravure élégante et bien ordonnée. D'autre part, le texte lui-même, avec la formule indiquant le nom de l'abbé fondateur et le sculpteur, est en ce temps d'un usage assez fréquent. Je crois donc que vous pouvez sans crainte l'attribuer à la date que vous proposez" (XI—XII Cent., according to my letter of 26th June 1938).



Fig. 19. St. Luke. — After G. Leidinger. Miniature, H. 1. Taf. 33.



Fig. 20. St. John with the Gospel, and above the Eagle. Wall mosaic in S. Vitale, Ravenna. — After C. Ricci. Ravenna, fig. 93.

to lie between the 9th and 12th Centuries¹. Stylistically, the lectern is as it were split into incommensurable parts. In spite of this absence of homogeneous conception of style, however, I think we may venture to place the execution of the lectern at some little distance past the threshold of our own millenium. There are three principal reasons for this: the skill, quite mechanically, in the carving of the ornamental details; the weakness, artistically, in the figures (the Lamb and the half-length figure)²; and last but not least, the distinctly non-classical shaping of the back, with inserted patterns directly influenced by drawings in medieval manuscripts³.

An instance in point of a correspondingly skilled execution of purely

¹ The characteristic abbreviation with a line across a letter (here Q) occurs e. g. in the epitaph over Archbishop Anspertus (881), Milan; the Helena inscription in Solin (976) (F. Šišić. *Priručnik izvora hrvatske historije*. Zagreb 1914, p. 128 f.), Museum in Split; inscription on altarmensa in S. Maria in Cosmedin (1123), Rome; inscription on ciborium in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura (1148), Rome.

² Note also the moustache of the figure

and the mediaeval dress (*bliant à manches*), a blouse-like coat with sleeves, and with an opening in the top just large enough for the head to pass through. See the article *Bliant* in *Viолlet-le Duc: Dictionnaire du mobilier français*. Cf. A. Racinet. *Le costume historique*. Paris 1876—88. III, Pl. DF, 188, 200; VI, Pl. CR, 428.

³ In the many excellently preserved mediaeval manuscripts are all the motifs we know from Romanesque plastic. In stone or



Fig. 21. Nike with eagle, as shield-bearer. — After *J. Strzygowski*. Chronographon vom J. 354, Taf. VIII.

ornamental stonemasonry is provided by the pulpit in the church at Gropina (near Loro-Ciuffenna) in Tuscany (*fig. 22*), which also displays the same clumsy solution of the problem of figures. As far as I can see, a comparison between this pulpit and the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek's lectern is extraordinarily instructive. The figure at the top of the pulpit supports the evangelist symbol and the book-rest. Though it lacks the upstretched hands (but then there are five replicas below), the flat, stereotyped heads of the two pulpits are related and serve the same end: the supporting of a book-rest. The dentated band crowning the supporting pillar for the lectern in front consists of reversed leaves which recall the middle band between the cymatium on the Glyptothek lectern. Furthermore, the style of the manuscript illuminations

wood the sculptors to the best of their ability endeavoured to follow the products of the pen on the vellum.

Doubtless the polychromy on the manuscripts was transferred too (cf. medieval

polychrome ornamental stone slab in the museum at Zara; traces of colour on medieval limestone ornaments in the Museums at Split and Knin; remnants of gilding on the pulpit at Trogir).

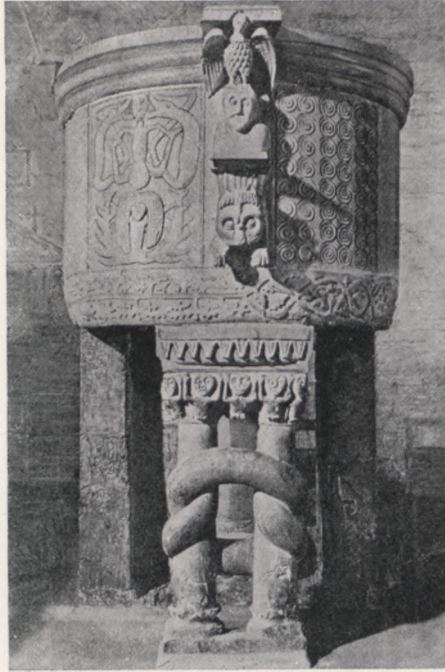


Fig. 22. Pulpit, Gropina at Loro-Ciuffenna. Tuscan provincial style. After Alinari, P. I. N. 9852.



Fig. 23. Altar-foot, Sa. Maria del Priorato, Rome. After J. Braun. Der christl. Altar. I. Taf. 9.

stands out prominently in the rest of the ornamentation: in the knot which connects the two pillars and, most conspicuously, in the garlanding on the edge along the base of the lectern and in the unplastic, flat, fish-like mermaids, so non-classically conceived, so directly Romanesque. It would be impossible to uphold any earlier dating for the Tuscan provincial style represented by Gropina than the middle of the 12th Century, as suggested by Zauner¹ and Biehl².

The manuscript designs also contain lambs in the same style that characterizes the *Agnus Dei* of our lectern (see fig. 1)³. It is characteristic of the design of lambs and other animals of the 9th and later centuries that the hindquarters are higher than the forequarters⁴. For instance there is the Lamb on an altar stipes in Sa. Maria del Priorato, Rome

¹ F. Zauner, *Die Kanzeln Toscanas*. München 1914, p. 24 ff.

² W. Biehl, *Toscanische Plastik des frühen u. hohen Mittelalters*. Leipzig 1926, p. 28 f. Taf. 34 b. Cf. the capital Taf. 33 e. - M. Salmi places the Gropina ambo to the beginning of the 13th Century (*L'architettura romanica in Toscana*. Milano, Roma (no year), p. 61).

³ Cf. XI Cent. MS. in Eton Library. R.

de Fleury. *Les Saints de la messe*, p. 538.

⁴ Pluteus in Aquileia cathedral. IX Cent. (G. Brusin, *Aquileia*. Udine 1929, fig. 221, p. 290); floor mosaic in the church Pieve Terzagni at Cremona. XI Cent. (Aus'm Werth: *Der Mosaikboden in St. Gereon zu Cöln*. Bonn 1873, T. VII. p. 19); apse mosaic in S. Clemente. XI Cent., and in Sa Maria in Trastevere in Rome. XII Cent., (H. Leopold. *Wandmozaiken*, fig. 27, fig. 29).

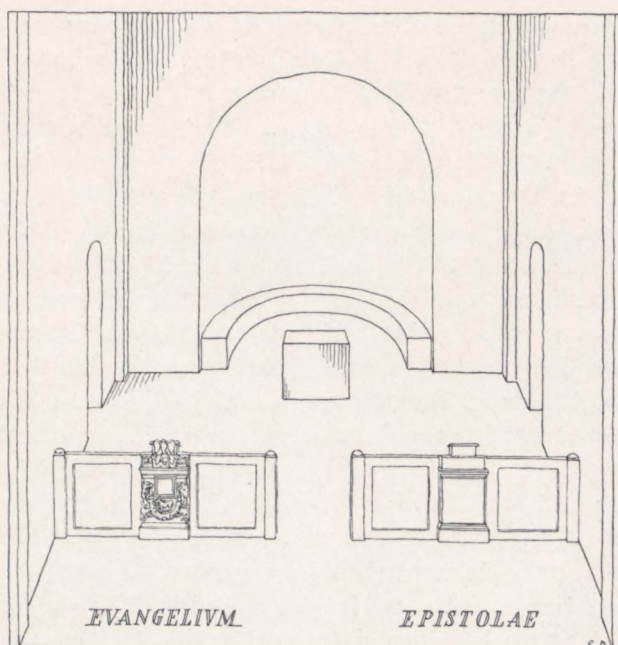


Fig. 24. Sketch of hypothetical placing of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek's lectern in a church.

(fig. 23). I consider this altar foot to be 11th Century¹. It forms a complete analogy to our lectern, for, made as it was in the Middle Ages, it consists mainly of an imitation of a pagan grave stele, though on this the style is not copied with the same skill. To this pagan motif: a gabled sepulchral aedicula, pillars and door, is added a foreign element: the Lamb with the two doves, and, above the gable, a peacock on each side of the Christian cross; in addition, there is a late medieval inscription.

To summarise the results of this investigation:

The Ny Carlsberg lectern is a lectern for reading the Gospel, carved by the sculptor Ambrosius for the church of a monastery which the abbot Petrus built of real marble². The material used for the lectern was an earlier *ara*, presumably of the 2nd or 3rd Century of the present era. As regards the main motif, the front, it is a style-copy executed in the Middle Ages from a model of the middle of the 1st Century. In any

¹ XII Cent. according to J. Braun: *Der christl. Altar*. I. München 1924, p. 119.

² The rich ornamentation of the lectern makes it the very thing for Gospel reading, for which reason it belongs to the north side of a church interior. According to the liturgical tenets the desk for reading the Epistles

was to be of modest character.

In fig. 24 I have experimentally sketched how the ambo might be placed in a church of small dimensions. As the lectern is decorative on the back and has been joined up to chancelrails, the suggested placing is possible.

case, the lectern was made after the year 1000, possibly nearer the close of the 11th or beginning of the 12th Century. In point of art history this lectern belongs to the Tuscan circle.

In medieval Tuscany it was customary to make both furnishings and church buildings of noble material, and the tendency to copy the antique down to the smallest details was characteristic. In this latter respect it was a valuable monument of art-history which Carl Jacobsen personally acquired for the collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. In this connection we recall Vasari's well known story of young Niccolo Pisano, who fell in love with some classical reliefs, copied them, thus made his entry into sculpture and became the greatest sculptor of his time, Niccolo, the most famous master of the Tuscan school, who is named the creator of a renaissance before the Renaissance. The Ny Carlsberg lectern represents a work of sculpture which together with eminent relics of that period — from Pisa, Lucca, Florence and elsewhere — has helped to pave the way for this movement. As has been demonstrated, our lectern can no longer be regarded as a relic from Early Christian times, but as an interesting unit of this vigorous, though sometimes not properly appreciated artistic activity which, through many centuries¹, existed as a proto-renaissance on classical soil before it prevailed and became the great inspiring style that embraced all Europe.

¹ Cf. the preferential position of antique art as a model worthy of imitation, deliberately expressed as early as in *Formula curae*

palatii, the instructions to the court architect of Theoderik the king of the Gothes (Cassiodorus. Var. VII, 5).



Fig. 25. Detail of pulpit in the monastery La Cava.
Sketch from photo in *J. L. Heiberg*,
Italien, fig. 334.



Fig. 1. Rodin, Homme étreignant une femme. (App. b).

DESSINS DE RODIN

PAR

HAAVARD ROSTRUP

«... ceux que j'adore, ce sont les dessins de Rodin; je les préfère même à sa sculpture. Ce ne sont pas des dessins d'étude, ce sont des idées. Ce n'est pas la transcription du détail, c'est la synthèse. C'est là qu'il est le plus libre, qu'il s'est élevé le plus haut...»

MAILLOL

À la fin de l'année 1937, la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg s'est enrichie de trois dessins de Rodin, provenant partie d'un cadeau du peintre Charles Madvig, partie d'un dépôt confié par la Fondation Ny Carlsberg (voir App. b, d, e). Par leur composition et leur technique, ils se rattachent naturellement aux deux dessins du maître qui se trouvaient déjà au Musée (voir App. a, c), et ils constituent ensemble un petit groupe cohérent qui renseigne sur une certaine et très intéressante période de la vie de Rodin.

Quatre de ces dessins (b, c, d, e), qui maintenant se trouvent de nouveau réunis ici, formaient déjà groupe autrefois, quand ils faisaient partie de la collection Tyge Møller, à Paris, et qu'ils furent envoyés

à la grande exposition d'art français du XIX^{ème} siècle, qui eut lieu à Copenhague, en 1914. Après cette exposition, un seul d'entre eux (c) fut acheté pour la Glyptothèque, tandis que les autres ne reviennent ici que maintenant. Le cinquième dessin (a), qui était en possession de personnes privées, en Allemagne, s'accorde exactement par sa technique — sépia et gouache — et par son style, avec les quatre autres. Pareillement à ceux-ci, il est aussi exécuté sur un mauvais papier quelconque, à lignes bleues, de la même sorte que celui sur lequel l'« Homme étreignant une femme » fut dessiné.

Parmi les milliers et les milliers de dessins, en différentes techniques, que Rodin a exécutés pendant tout le cours de sa longue vie — le Musée Rodin seul en possède plus de 7000 —, il ne s'en trouve qu'un petit nombre portant une date. Madame Helge Jacobsen, à Copenhague, possède ainsi un dessin à la mine de plomb qui porte une dédicace du maître et une date: 1909 (fig. 8); et chez Monsieur Livio Boni, à Rome, se trouve un autre dessin d'après le modèle qui est également dédicacé et daté de 1915; d'autres se trouvent en mains privées en divers endroits, mais il s'impose de faire remarquer que ces dates de dédicaces ne sont pas toujours identiques à la date d'exécution, et ne peuvent être considérées que comme un terminus ante quem. Aussi est-il nécessaire, dans la recherche éventuelle d'une solution au problème des dates, dans l'œuvre dessinée de Rodin, qui est innombrable, de s'appuyer sur d'autres critères. Il ne saurait naturellement être question de dater de façon précise chacune des feuilles. On a pourtant pu réussir à classer les dessins de Rodin en différents groupes embrassant des périodes de dix ou vingt ans, et les rapporter à différentes époques de sa vie.

Rodin a dessiné dès sa plus tendre jeunesse; d'abord, à la maison, chez ses parents, ensuite comme élève de Lecoq de Boisbaudran, à l'École des Arts Décoratifs où enseignait Carpeaux, puis au Muséum, sous la direction de Barye. Les plus anciens de ses dessins, dont une partie est conservée au Musée Rodin, sont de grandes études du modèle vivant soigneusement exécutées, académies au crayon ou au fusain continuant dans leur style la tradition du XVIII^{ème} siècle, qui lui était devenue familière à la Petite École. Elles témoignent d'une étude approfondie de la nature et sont traitées avec une certaine vigueur plastique, et, même si elles ne laissent d'aucune manière pressentir la future grandeur de Rodin comme dessinateur, elles sont du moins intéressantes en ce qu'elles constituent le commencement de sa production artistique et la base de ses premiers chefs-d'œuvre purement réalistes: L'Homme au nez cassé (1864) et L'Age d'airain (1875/77).

Après ces académies, qui toutes furent exécutées avant 1860, arrive, entre 1870 et 1890 environ, la première grande période d'apogée du style,



Fig. 2. Rodin, Deux amants. (App. a).

dans les dessins de Rodin, la période qu'on peut appeler avec Coquiote sa « Période dantesque », ou « Période des dessins gouachés ». La plupart de ces dessins n'ont pas été faits directement d'après le modèle et ne reposent pas sur l'étude immédiate de la nature. Ce sont des visions fantastiques, des projets de compositions où est recherchée la solution de divers problèmes de forme, de lumière et de mouvement. Une foule d'entre eux sont manifestement inspirés par la lecture: Victor Hugo et Baudelaire, et avant tout Dante, dont la Divine Comédie devait avoir une si grande importance pour Rodin. Toutefois, dernièrement, Monsieur Georges Grappe a très justement fait remarquer qu'on ne

saurait, sans plus de façons, établir un lien direct entre tous les dessins inspirés de Dante, et « La Porte de l'Enfer », dont Rodin reçut la commande en 1880. Depuis des années, alors, le monde des visions dantesques lui était devenu familier, et nombre des dessins qui ont tiré leurs motifs de Dante étaient certainement déjà exécutés entre 1860 et 1875. L'Ugolin de Carpeaux fut exposé à Paris dès 1862 — et l'année suivante, et ce groupe puissamment dramatique a produit une très vive impression sur le jeune sculpteur. Il n'est guère douteux que la pose même d'Ugolin, l'attitude du corps penché en avant et le mouvement du coude droit reposant sur le genou gauche, s'est empreinte d'une manière ineffaçable dans la mémoire de Rodin. En 1876, il exécuta lui-même un Ugolin, qui malheureusement n'existe plus, mais qui a sans nul doute été inspiré par celui de Carpeaux. Parmi les dessins faits par Rodin, en 1888, pour illustrer l'exemplaire des « Fleurs du Mal » de Monsieur Gallimard, se trouve ainsi une figure athlétique d'homme assis, construite sur le rythme croisé du mouvement d'Ugolin, et fortement apparentée au « Penseur » de Rodin, dont la maquette originale existait déjà dès 1880. On peut aussi comparer ce dessin au premier projet de Carpeaux pour Ugolin, ainsi qu'il est fixé dans une eau-forte de 1860 (repr. Delteil no. 6).

De 1879 à 1882, Rodin travailla à la Manufacture de Sèvres, que dirigeait alors Carrier-Belleuse, et les dessins qu'il y exécuta, comme projets de ses décorations de vases, peuvent se dater avec une certitude relativement grande. Des motifs qui, tant par leur conception que par leur aspect, concordent avec les illustrations de Dante et de Baudelaire, apparaissent déjà ici — par exemple Le Couple d'Amants et Les Centaures. De même les pointes-sèches, que Rodin, encouragé par Legros, commença d'exécuter à Londres, en 1881 (Delteil no. 1—11) et les dessins qu'il fit dans les années suivantes, comme avant-projets de son buste de Victor Hugo, sont conçus dans le même style.

Il est donc certain que, déjà avant son séjour en Belgique, c'est à dire avant 1870, Rodin débordait d'enthousiasme pour les visions de l'Enfer de Dante et exécutait, à la sépia et à l'encre de Chine, des dessins qui en étaient inspirés; toutefois, il est d'autre part évident aussi que c'est seulement son séjour à Rome et à Florence, en 1875, et sa connaissance des œuvres de Michel-Ange, qui donnèrent à sa pensée l'impulsion dans la direction décisive. Il doit également être considéré comme certain que la composition même de la Porte de l'Enfer — les innombrables figures qui pendent, comme par grappes, autour d'une plus importante figure centrale — remontent, consciemment ou non, à l'impression reçue devant le « Jugement dernier » de Michel-Ange. Après 1880, il commença sérieusement et systématiquement à travailler sur des motifs dantesques. Il examina tous ses anciens dessins et choisit ceux d'entre eux qui



Fig. 3. Rodin, Centaure enlevant un jeune homme. (App. c).

convenaient le mieux. L'un de ces dessins, représentant deux damnés, porte ainsi d'un côté le titre « Ombres parlant à Dante », tracé au crayon noir, et, sur l'autre côté, l'inscription suivante écrite en rouge et visiblement ajoutée plus tard: « faire une esquisse avec des bas-reliefs à trois ou deux personnage(s) la porte ». Et il exécute, avec une vigoureuse fantaisie, une longue série de nouveaux dessins, dans la même technique. Ces dessins, dont un choix a été publié sur l'initiative de Monsieur Fenaille, par la Maison Goupil, en 1897, sont assez rares aujourd'hui, et ne se rencontrent qu'exceptionnellement dans le commerce d'art; sur 142 dessins du recueil Goupil, le Musée Rodin en possède 66, et la

plus grande partie du reste se cache encore chez des particuliers. Ils sont, presque tous, exécutés sur du papier de hasard, sur le dos de factures ou sur des pages arrachées à de vulgaires cahiers d'écoliers qui, généralement, sont fortement jaunies et abîmées. Ce sont, le plus fréquemment, des dessins au crayon ou à la plume, lavés de sépia ou d'encre de Chine, et ensuite franchement modelés à la gouache avec un pinceau, en ajoutant à la fin des épaisseurs de blanc pour mettre en valeur les parties éclairées. Cette technique, très particulière et tout à fait personnelle, leur communique un caractère de densité et de force, un effet véritablement sculptural, et même lorsque le motif ne se laisse que difficilement déchiffrer, ils produisent une impression d'une intensité démoniaque.

Aux environs de 1890, Rodin était à un tel point absorbé par ses nombreux et gigantesques travaux sculpturaux, qu'il n'avait pas le temps de s'adonner au dessin comme jusqu'alors. Roger Marx a pourtant signalé une série de dessins au crayon aquarellés qui ont été exécutés d'après le modèle vers l'été de 1896, mais ce n'est qu'après le commencement du nouveau siècle qu'il revient vraiment à cet exercice qui lui était sans doute à la fois un repos et un stimulant. Un événement, qui se produisit en 1906, incita vivement Rodin à se remettre à dessiner, ce fut l'arrivée du roi du Cambodge qui venait visiter Paris, escorté d'une nombreuse et magnifique suite de très jeunes danseurs des deux sexes, tous vêtus de costumes pittoresques aux plus éclatantes couleurs. Rodin fut tellement enthousiasmé par ces artistes exotiques qu'à leur départ il les accompagna jusqu'à Marseille, afin de pouvoir les dessiner jusqu'au moment de leur embarquement pour leur voyage de retour. Il existe une très amusante photographie, prise à Marseille, où l'on voit Rodin assis dans un parc et dessinant d'après un de ces jeunes artistes qui danse pour lui, revêtu d'un costume somptueux; ses yeux, rivés sur le jeune garçon, le suivent d'un regard perçant et inspiré, et sa main dessine avec un long crayon, sans qu'il lui soit apparemment nécessaire de regarder son dessin.

Ces dessins, d'après les danseurs, et surtout les danseuses, du Cambodge, viennent à former le commencement d'une seconde grande période d'apogée dans les dessins de Rodin, la période qui — par opposition à celle des « dessins gouachés » de 1880 environ — peut se nommer « Période des dessins aquarellés ». Au contraire des dessins lourds et modelés de la première époque, aux violents contrastes entre la lumière et les ombres, les dessins de cette dernière période, qui se continue jusqu'à la fin de la vie active de Rodin, sont tout à fait légers et aériens, un fin contour au crayon et un simple ton clair d'aquarelle jaune, brun ou bleu, accentué quelquefois d'une note plus vive de rouge ou de violet. A l'encontre des anciens dessins à la plume et à la gouache, ils sont des-



Fig. 4. Rodin, Scène dantesque. (App. d).

sinés sur du papier convenable et plus grand, et sont toujours exécutés directement d'après le modèle. Rodin ne cherche plus maintenant à rendre l'impression du jeu dramatique entre les parties en lumière et celles qui sont dans l'ombre, mais il s'efforce de saisir le mouvement et le rythme d'attitudes fuyantes, qui se fixent sur le papier en gracieuses arabesques. A côté des aquarelles, et en même temps qu'elles — non leur succédant, comme Gsell l'a prétendu — Rodin exécute une foule de dessins estompés, dans la pure technique du crayon. Ils ont généralement un beau ton clair, gris-argent, mais ils peuvent aussi être si énergiquement accentués dans leurs contours, qu'ils paraissent trop travaillés, et que leur belle note primitive s'efface ou devient grossière.

Après ce qui vient d'être dit, un coup d'œil sur les dessins appartenant à la Glyptothèque suffira pour convaincre qu'ils doivent tous être attribués à la première des périodes d'apogée décrites ici, « La Période dantesque ». Il est impossible de leur assigner réciproquement un rang chronologique, mais il semble vraisemblable que tous peuvent être rattachés à une période assez étroitement limitée, probablement aux années précédant, ou suivant, immédiatement 1880.

Le dessin que nous avons désigné par *a*, « Les deux amants » (fig. 2), s'apparente aux dessins que Rodin exécutait pendant qu'il travaillait à Sèvres; il présente, dans le jeu de ses lignes, un peu de la même grâce élégante, évoquant le XVIII^{ème} siècle, qui caractérise les projets de ses décorations de vases. Le second dessin, « Homme étreignant une femme » (fig. 1), est plus puissant, plus rude, plus désordonné. Par son motif, il se rapproche beaucoup d'un dessin à la plume du Musée Rodin (fig. 7), qui est exécuté sur le même papier à lignes bleues (M. R. 3764, Mirbeau 116). Si ces dessins doivent être compris dans le cycle de Dante, il faut de préférence penser à un sujet qui a souvent occupé Rodin: Paolo et Francesca da Rimini, motif qui trouve son achèvement total dans le célèbre groupe « Le Baiser ». Il est intéressant de constater comment, dans ces deux dessins, le traitement du même thème provient de deux dispositions d'esprit extrêmement différentes: la gracieuse douceur du premier contraste aussi fortement que possible avec la fougue avide du second. Mais le style dans lequel ils sont exécutés est le même; ils procèdent d'une filiation comptant des artistes comme Daumier, Delacroix et Géricault.

Dans la gouache « Le Centaure » (fig. 3), qui éveille aussi des réminiscences de Delacroix (l'Éducation d'Achille), on voit un excellent exemple de la manière dont Rodin, prenant son point de départ chez Dante, laisse sa fantaisie travailler avec le sujet et le transformer. Dans le XII^{ème} Chant de « l'Enfer », il est raconté que les centaures, galopant sur les berges, vont et viennent, le long du fleuve de sang, tirant des flèches sur



Fig. 5. Rodin, Femme debout un enfant dans les bras. (App. e).

les réprouvés qui essaient de sortir des ondes. Rodin nous montre un centaure qui s'enfuit au galop, emportant en croupe un adolescent. D'autres dessins à motifs de centaures se trouvent au Musée Rodin (v. fig. 6).

Les deux dessins restants sont reproduits, l'un et l'autre, dans le grand et magnifique ouvrage, préfacé par Mirbeau, qui a paru en 1897. Comme « Le Centaure », ils sont exécutés à la gouache, avec des épaisseurs de blanc dans les parties lumineuses, et de l'encre de Chine dans les ombres. Une comparaison avec les vieilles reproductions en facsimilé montre que le caractère de la couleur a assez fortement changé, avec les années. Le papier a bruni, les parties noires sont devenues plus claires, et les parties éclairées se détachent maintenant plus crues et plus isolées sur l'ensemble. Mais l'effet artistique ne s'est pas affaibli — on peut même prétendre que ces feuillets ont gagné un nouveau titre à la beauté, une noble teinte dorée, comme celle de l'ivoire vieilli ou du marbre patiné par le temps.

La plus grande de ces deux gouaches est désignée chez Mirbeau sous le titre de « La Fortune » (fig. 4). Cette dénomination doit certainement remonter à Rodin lui-même — une division de la Porte de l'Enfer s'appelle ainsi — et on peut supposer qu'il y était fait allusion au passage du VII^{ème} Chant de « l'Enfer », qui parle de la fortune et de l'inconstance du bonheur :

Or puói veder, figliuòl, la corta buffa
de' bèn che son commessi a la fortuna,
per che l'umana gènte si rabuffa.

On y voit une figure féminine, semblant en proie à la terreur, élever son visage vers une forme qui paraît voler dans l'air derrière elle; un homme nu, qui s'agenouille, la saisit par les chevilles, et, dans le fond, on distingue un enfant qui s'appuie contre l'une de ses jambes. Il est possible que la composition — comme il arrivait facilement avec les œuvres de Rodin — n'ait reçu son nom que longtemps après son exécution. En tout cas, on aurait quelque peine à la concevoir comme illustration du passage en question de Dante.

Mais toute la scène est fortement apparentée aux groupes de figures de damnés qui se pressent, se bousculent, se battent, sur le tympan de la Porte de l'Enfer.

La dernière gouache, « Femme debout un enfant dans les bras » (fig. 5), est classée chez Mirbeau parmi les dessins dont le motif est tiré des « Limbes », le lieu où vont les enfants morts sans baptême. Rodin a exécuté une assez grande quantité de dessins sur des motifs semblables, « Femme allaitant son enfant », etc. (v. fig. 9). Ils se distinguent par leur vigueur sculpturale et leur forme d'expression dans le style typique de Michel-Ange. Il en est de même pour notre dessin qui, par sa condensation plastique et sa densité, donne l'impression même d'une statuette de bronze.

Dans une lettre à Bourdelle, datée de 1903, Rodin écrit : « Mes dessins sont le résultat de ma sculpture ». C'est particulièrement vrai pour les derniers dessins aquarellés qui, à l'exception de quelques dessins à la plume et au lavis du Guerchin (voir par ex. Leporini, *Stilentwicklung der Handzeichnung*, no. 203), ne trouvent guère d'équivalents, dans l'histoire du dessin; ils sont véritablement l'expression de la plus haute sagesse artistique, le fruit du travail et des combats infatigables d'une longue vie. Mais lorsqu'on considère les anciens dessins gouachés de la première grande période, on pourrait peut-être plutôt dire qu'ils sont le subconscient de sa sculpture: tout ce qui ici fermente, bouillonne, toutes ces visions explosives et surnaturelles, toutes ces inspirations géniales et toute cette force déchaînée, tout cela vient à s'exprimer sous une forme clarifiée, épurée, dépouillée, dans les œuvres sculpturales de Rodin. C'est justement ce qu'il y a de saisissant dans ces dessins à la plume et à la gouache, hâtivement jetés sur le papier, souvent avec une énergie presque désespérée, qu'ils nous montrent la genèse d'une inspiration surhumaine et nous permettent de contempler la volupté de la conception et la cruauté même de l'enfantement.



Fig. 6. Rodin, Centaure et enfant. D'après le Recueil Goupil.



Fig. 7. Rodin, Homme étreignant une femme. Musée Rodin, Paris (no. 3764).

APPENDICE

(Les dessins de Rodin à la Glyptothèque)

a. *Deux amants.*

Sépia, plume et gouache. H. 0,14. Larg. 0,115.

Catalogue de la Glyptothèque no. 1018, inventaire no. 1837.

Acquis en 1927. Don de M. Helge Jacobsen.

Provenance: Coll. Koepping. Coll. Helge Jacobsen qui l'acheta dans une vente à Francfort sur le Mein, en Oct. 1915: Handzeichnungen deutscher Meister des 19. Jhs. aus dem Nachlass der Freifrau Louise v. Seebach. — Moderne Graphik aus dem Nachlass von Prof. Koepping (Berlin) u. anderem Besitze. Versteigerung 25 Oct. 1915 durch F. C. Prestel, Inhaber A. Voigtländer-Tetzner. Frankfurt a. M. Buchgasse 11 a.

Dans la collection Koepping se trouvent les dessins de Rodin suivants:

909. Descente du Christ. Blei. 19:14. Pan III.

910. Liebespaar. Tuschzeichnung. Weiss gehöht und Blei. 14:12.

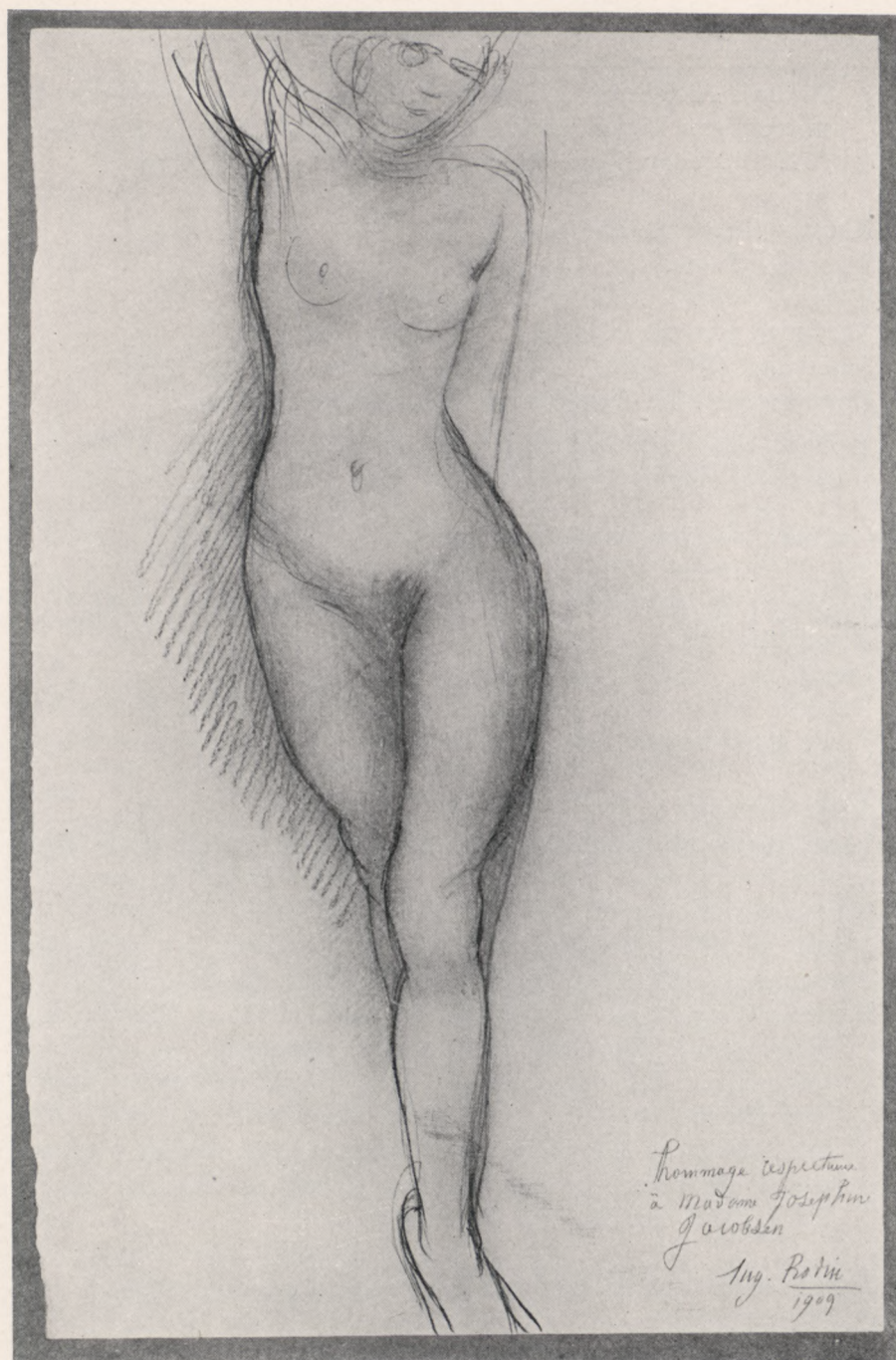


Fig. 8. Rodin, Femme debout. Dessin à la mine de plomb. 1909. H. 0,31. Larg. 0,20.
Coll. Madame Helge Jacobsen, Copenhagen.

Unterlage 39:32. Prachtvolle Skizze, die zum Besten gehört, was der Meister in dieser Art gearbeitet hat. Die Unterlage wohl auf Rodin's Anweisung gefertigt, nach der Fertigstellung nochmals mit einigen Linien überarbeitet. Gerahmt. Abg. in Pan III. 911. Rossebändiger. Feder u. Rotstift. 13,5:16. Pan III.

b. *Homme étreignant une femme.*

Sépia et plume.

Sign. « A. Rodin ». H. 0,09. Larg. 0,123.

Ne figure pas au catalogue. Inventaire no. 1949.

Acquis en 1937. Don de Monsieur Charles Madvig, Paris.

Provenance: Coll. Tyge Møller. Coll. Charles Madvig.

Exposé: Exposition d'Art français du XIX^{ème} siècle. Musée Royal de Copenhague 1914. Kat. no. 322.

c. *Centaure enlevant un jeune homme.*

Sépia, plume et gouache. H. 0,16. Larg. 0,135.

Catalogue de la Glyptothèque no. 1017, inventaire no. 1771.

Acquis en 1915.

Provenance: Coll. Tyge Møller, Paris.

Exposé: Exposition d'Art français du XIX^{ème} siècle. Musée Royal de Copenhague 1914. Cat. no. 323.

d. *Scène dantesque (« La Fortune »).*

Sépia, plume et gouache. Signé « Aug. Rodin ». Sur le verso, figures masculines vaguement esquissées au crayon. H. 0,185. Larg. 0,116. Ne figure pas au catalogue. Inventaire no. 1951.

Acquis en 1937. Confié en dépôt par la Fondation Ny Carlsberg.

Provenance: Coll. Tyge Møller. Coll. Charles Madvig, Paris.

Exposé: Exposition du sculpteur Auguste Rodin à Prague, du 10 Mai au 15 Juillet 1902. Cat. no. 89 (reproduit).

Exposition d'Art français du XIX^{ème} siècle. Musée Royal de Copenhague 1914. Cat. no. 324 ou 325. Cfr. « Les Dessins d'Auguste Rodin ». 129 planches comprenant 142 dessins reproduits en fac-similé par la maison Goupil. Préface d'Octave Mirbeau Paris 1897: no. 38 (« La Fortune »).

e. *Femme debout un enfant dans les bras. (Scène dantesque).*

Sépia et gouache.

Signé: « Aug. Rodin ». H. 0,19. Larg. 0,08.

Ne figure pas au catalogue. Inventaire no. 1952.

Acquis en 1937. Confié en dépôt par la Fondation Ny Carlsberg.

Provenance: Coll. Tyge Møller. Coll. Charles Madvig, Paris.

Exposé: Exposition d'Art français du XIX^{ème} siècle. Musée Royal de Copenhague 1914. Cat. no. 324 ou 325. Cfr. « Les Dessins d'Auguste Rodin ». 129 planches comprenant 142 dessins reproduits en fac-similé par la Maison Goupil. Préface d'Octave Mirbeau. Paris 1897: no. 90.

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Le secours le plus précieux, pour la compréhension des dessins de Rodin, et l'évolution de leur style, est donné par l'érudite conservateur du Musée Rodin, M. Georges Grappe, dans son étude: « Les Dessins de Rodin pour la « Porte de l'Enfer ». Filiation classique d'un maître moderne », publiée dans la revue « Formes » XXI, 1932, p. 318 sq. — Voir en outre du même auteur: « Rodin. Dessins. Galerie d'Estampes », Paris 1933. Je dois beaucoup de gratitude à M. Georges Grappe qui m'a donné libre accès pour mon travail à l'Hôtel Biron, et qui, avec la plus grande obligeance, m'a fourni différents renseignements.

Parmi le reste des nombreuses œuvres écrites sur Rodin, on peut mentionner:

- Les Dessins d'Auguste Rodin. 129 planches comprenant 142 dessins reproduits en fac-similé par la Maison Goupil. Préface d'Octave Mirbeau. Paris 1897.
- Roger Marx, Auguste Rodin. « Pan », III, 3 (Berlin 1897) p. 191—196. Le dessin de la Glyptothèque, « Deux amants », est reproduit ici en phototypie en deux couleurs (cfr. Appendice a.).
- Roger Marx, Auguste Rodin. « L'Image » Sept. 1897, p. 293—299. On trouve entre autres ici la reproduction en gravure sur bois de deux compositions de centaures intitulées respectivement « La Fête des Centaures » et « La Force et la Ruse ». En outre, reproduction du dessin M. R. 3764 (Mirbeau 116).
- Léon Maillard, Auguste Rodin. Paris 1899, p. 87—102.
- Arthur Symons, Les dessins de Rodin. « Rodin et son œuvre ». Édition de la Plume. Paris 1900. p. 47—48.
- Roger Marx, Les pointes-sèches de M. Rodin. « Gazette des Beaux-Arts » 1902, I, p. 204—208.
- Arsène Alexandre, Auguste Rodin. « Paris illustré » 1904, no. 13.
- Frederick Lawton, The Life and Work of Auguste Rodin. Londres 1906, p. 94—104.
- Roger Marx, Rodin céramiste. Paris 1907.
- Otto Grautoff, Auguste Rodin. Knackfuss-Künstlermonographien XCIII. Bielefeld-Leipzig 1908, p. 93—100.
- Otto Grautoff, Rodins Zeichnungen. « Kunst und Künstler » 1908, p. 218—225. Dans cet article est publiée une belle lettre de Rainer Maria Rilke sur Rodin dessinateur.
- Auguste Rodin, L'Art. Entretiens réunis par Paul Gsell. Paris 1911, p. 119 sq.
- Gustave Coquiou, Le vrai Rodin. Paris 1913, p. 155—166.

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Palmò Bucarelli, Dessins d'Auguste Rodin à Rome. « Gazette des Beaux-Arts » 1934, I, p. 370—375.
Judith Cladel, Rodin — sa vie glorieuse et inconnue. Paris 1936, p. 139 et passim.
Judith Cladel, Maillol. Paris 1937, p. 152.
Antoine Bourdelle, La Sculpture et Rodin. Paris 1937, p. 113—124.



Fig. 9. Rodin, Femme et enfant. D'après le Recueil Goupil.

EINIGE RELIEFS DES BILDHAUERS
HERMANN ERNST FREUND (1786—1840) IN
DER NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK

VON

V. THORLACIUS-USSING

Als Carl Jacobsen vor 50 Jahren — am 8. März 1888 — durch eine Schenkungsurkunde der Stadt Kopenhagen die »Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek«, eins der bedeutendsten europäischen Skulpturmuseen, übertrug, hob er mit Recht hervor, dass die Glyptotek das »Meiste und Beste« enthalte, »von dem, was die Bildhauerkunst unseres Landes nach Thorvaldsen, besonders durch die Arbeiten Bissens und Jerichaus, hervorgebracht hat⁽¹⁾. Einige Jahre später hätte er zu den beiden Namen noch einen dritten hinzufügen können, den H. E. Freunds, des ältesten und am meisten persönlich geprägten Schülers Thorvaldsens; denn es gelang Carl Jacobsen, teils selbst bedeutende Arbeiten Freunds zu erwerben, teils mit diesen die grosse Sammlung der Gipsmodelle des Künstlers zu vereinigen, die der Sohn, Victor Freund, der Kunstakademie vermacht hatte, und mit denen diese wegen Platzmangels weder aus noch ein wusste. Dadurch wurde erreicht, dass die Glyptotek in bezug auf Freund eine fast ebenso vollständige Sammlung wurde wie es das Thorvaldsen-Museum für seinen Lehrer ist.

Der frühere Inspektor der Glyptotek, Th. Oppermann, gab 1916 eine schöne Monographie über Freund heraus und ergänzte mit seiner feinen Würdigung des Künstlers die mehr persönlich geprägte Lebensschilderung des Sohnes von 1883⁽²⁾. In den letzten Jahren ist die Freund-Sammlung der Glyptotek um einzelne Stücke vermehrt worden, die besonders über Freunds frühestes Schaffen Aufschluss geben, sowie auch die 22 Jahre, die seit Oppermanns Buch verstrichen sind, natürlich bewirkt haben, dass neue Tatsachen bekannt geworden sind, die es uns gestatten, Einzelheiten schärfer zu beleuchten; hierin mögen die folgenden Zeilen ihre Berechtigung finden.

Abgesehen von einigen Medaillen hat man bisher keine erhaltenen Arbeiten von Freund vor dem Jahre 1817 feststellen können, obgleich seine erste Arbeit damals ganze fünf Jahre zurücklag und er seit 1813 auf Charlottenborg ausgestellt hatte. Schuld daran ist einerseits, dass der Künstler nicht die Mittel hatte, seine Werke giessen zu lassen, andererseits, dass diese sich auf verschiedene Weise verbargen.

In der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek befindet sich als Depositum der Kunstakademie ein kleines Relief ($63 \times 29,5$ cm), das eine sich an ein hohes, schmales Postament lehrende stehende Frauenfigur darstellt (Abb. 1). Auf das Postament hat sie eine Leier gestellt, in deren Saiten sie greift. Es wurde in Marmor für ein Grabmal ausgeführt, welches das Grab des Komponisten F. D. R. Kuhlau auf dem Kopenhagener Assistens-Friedhof (Abt. A. Nr. 97) schmückt (Abb. 8). Kuhlau starb im Jahre 1832, und das Denkmal soll angeblich 1835 ausgeführt worden sein³). Unter Freunds Reliefs aus der Mitte der dreissiger Jahre nimmt dieses Relief eine merkwürdige Sonderstellung ein; es unterscheidet sich von allen andern durch seine unruhige und komplizierte Komposition, seinen horror vacui und seine Unsicherheit in der Wirkung der verschiedenen Reliefpläne. In so gut wie allen anderen Reliefs spürt man sonst eine klassische Ruhe und ein Beherrschen der Mittel. Die Bewegung der Figuren folgt dem Plan des Reliefs; die Figuren selbst sind im Profil dargestellt, und eine Überfüllung der Bildfläche ist nicht auffallend, kurz gesagt, die besten Eigenschaften des antiken Reliefstiles haben den Stil Freunds ganz durchdrungen. Ganz anders verhält sich alles auf dem Relief für Kuhlaus Grabmal und zwar in so ausgeprägter Weise, dass es eine besondere Erklärung verlangt. Unaufgelegtheit kann nicht der wirkliche Grund sein. Es kann kaum Zweifel darüber bestehen, dass Freund hier aus irgend einem Grunde auf eine seiner allerfrühesten Jugendarbeiten zurückgegriffen und diese verwendet hat, nämlich das 1813 ausgestellte Relief Sappho⁴), und es später einem seiner nun zahlreichen Schüler für Kuhlaus Grabmal zur Ausführung überlassen hat. An und für sich ist dies überraschend, wenn man die strengen Anforderungen kennt, die Freund sonst an sich stellte; aber er ist vielleicht gerade damals der ewigen Grabreliefs müde gewesen, wie es aus seiner häufig zitierten Klage hervorgeht: »Meine einzige Arbeit ist, Gräber für die Toten zu klopfen, die Lebenden haben noch kein sonderliches Bedürfnis nach Skulptur, aber das kommt wohl mit der Zeit«⁵). Jedenfalls deuten alle Einzelheiten der Komposition zurück auf seine früheste Zeit und auf sein Vorbild, den 1809 verstorbenen Maler N. A. Abildgaard, Thorvaldsens Gönner. Schon die Proportionen der Figur mit dem kurzen Oberkörper, dem recht kleinen Kopf, den langen Beinen und dem langen Unterkörper sind typisch Abildgaardisch sowie auch der gebogene Verlauf der Rückenkontur. Fast wie auf ein Vorbild kann



Abb. 1. H. E. Freund: Sappho. Modell des auf dem Grabmal des Komponisten Kuhlau verwendeten Reliefs.

man hier auf das Gemälde im Kunstmuseum von 1809 »Sappho und die Mytilenerin« hinweisen, welches sich ja ausserdem noch im selben Themenkreise bewegt (Abb. 2). Schliesslich ist das Motiv mit dem vorde-

ren linken gehobenen Bein, das sich auf die Plinthe des Pfeilers stützt, ein frühes Motiv; es findet sich auch ab und zu in Reliefs von vor der Reise aber meines Wissens nicht in den Arbeiten, die ausgeführt wurden, nachdem Freund in Italien den klassischen Reliefstil kennen gelernt hat. Bei den sitzenden Relieffiguren dieser Zeit ist es immer das zurückgezogene Bein, das auf einen Schemel gehoben wird, um einen festeren Aufbau und eine harmonischere Linienwirkung zu geben. Und unter seinen nicht zahlreichen Freifiguren finden wir nur in einer, dem in seinen frühen Römerjahren skizzierten Evangelisten Lucas, dasselbe Motiv⁶).

Während in Freunds Figuren aus seinem reifen Alter ausgezeichneter harmonischer Zusammenhang zwischen den einzelnen Teilen der Figur herrscht, deutet die ungeschickte Art, in der der Kopf auf den Körper gesetzt ist — gleichsam lose aufgesetzt und im rechten Winkel aus dem Reliefplan herausgedreht — auf eine Jugendarbeit. Die trockene Manier, in der die Draperie modelliert ist, steht aber den Arbeiten der 30er Jahre an und für sich nicht fern, so dass vielleicht mit Rücksicht auf die Überführung in Marmor eine Anpassung stattgefunden hat.

Für die Sappho-Hypothese spricht ausserdem, dass der Kopf der Figur unbestreitbar eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit einem antiken Typus weiblicher Büsten hat, die man Sappho zu nennen pflegt. Dr. Vagn Häger Poulsen hat mich gütigst darauf aufmerksam gemacht und Belege dafür gesammelt⁷).

Dass Freund gerade zu diesem Zeitpunkt mit einer Menge recht gleichartiger Aufgaben wie Grabdenkmälern und historischen Gedenksteinen überhäuft war, erklärt seinen oben zitierten bitteren Ausbruch und motiviert, dass er gegen seine Natur zu Reprisen verführt wurde. Es ist bezeichnend, dass Freund gerade zu Anfang des Jahres 1832 — also unmittelbar vor Kuhlaus Tod —, als er mit den Entwürfen zu den Gedenksteinen in Jägerspris und zum Tordenskjold-Stein beschäftigt war, in einem der Vorschläge hierzu gerade eine Gestalt und eine Aufstellung gewählt hat (Die Muse, welche auf dem Schiffsstegen stehend die Taten des Seehelden aufzeichnet)⁸), die in den Hauptzügen eine Wiederholung der Sapphofigur, aber auf gut antike Weise im Reliefplan gehalten, ist.

Aus Th. Oppermanns Verzeichnis der Arbeiten des Künstlers geht hervor, dass Freund im Jahre 1832 im Ganzen 14 Grabmäler geliefert hat. Wir verstehen es, wenn er es sich hier mit einer kurzen Wendung etwas leicht gemacht hat und vergeben es ihm umso leichter, als wir dadurch eine Vorstellung von einer seiner Jugendarbeiten bekommen, die wir sonst für verloren angesehen haben.

Das Sappho-Relief war die erste Arbeit, die Freund auf Charlottenborg, als Nr. 82 der Ausstellung von 1813, ausstellte. In den drei folgenden Jahren stellte er ebenfalls aus, 1816 zwar nur ein Modell zum Fronton des alten Rathauses nach Thorvaldsens Zeichnung. Diese Arbeiten sind



Abb. 2. Sappho und die Mytilenerin. Ausschnitt aus N. A. Abildgaards Gemälde im Kunstmuseum zu Kopenhagen.

jedoch, soviel wir wissen, nicht mehr erhalten. Friends letzter Biograph, Th. Oppermann, zählt unter die verschwundenen Arbeiten auch ein grosses Relief »Die Klage um Hectors Leiche«, von dem er glaubte, dass es beim Brande des Schlosses Christiansborg vernichtet worden sei⁹⁾. Als Victor Friends Biographie seines Vaters im Jahre 1883 erschien, lag das Relief zwar auf dem Dachboden über Friends ehemaliger Dienstwohnung im Materialhofe, muss aber ganz kurze Zeit darauf auf den Boden des Ausstellungsgebäudes von Charlottenborg gebracht worden sein¹⁰⁾. Es ist nämlich 1888 als Nr. 49 in das »Verzeichnis der von dem verstorbenen Professor Herman Freund hinterlassenen Arbeiten« aufgenommen worden, »die sein Sohn cand. phil. Victor Freund der königlichen Kunstakademie geschenkt hat, und die zur Zeit im Ausstellungsgebäude von Charlottenborg aufbewahrt werden«¹¹⁾. Nach

Beendigung der Rathaus-Ausstellung im September 1901 wurden so gut wie alle Freundschen Modelle nach der Glyptotek gebracht. Nur das Hectors Tod darstellende Relief sowie ein kleineres, von dem unten die Rede sein wird, waren nicht dabei. Zu Anfang der 20er Jahre dieses Jahrhunderts fand Professor Utzon Frank, der den Kunstsammlungen der Akademie viel Interesse und Sorgfalt bezeigt hat, es auf dem Dachboden des Ausstellungsgebäudes in fürchterlichem Zustande vor. Es war von Kohlenstaub ganz eingeschmutzt und durch eine undichte Stelle im Dach der Feuchtigkeit ausgesetzt gewesen; der Regen war Jahr aus Jahr ein auf dasselbe herabgesickert und hatte durch sein ständiges Tropfen regelrecht einen Kanal schräg in das Relief hineingebohrt. Professor Frank rettete das Relief in eins der Bildhauerateliers herunter, von wo es 1932 in die Glyptotek kam, um mit den übrigen Modellen Freunds vereint zu werden.

Das Relief (71 × 187 cm, Abb. 3) ist rechts »H. E. Freund 1816« signiert. Signatur und Jahreszahl sind in den Gips eingeschnitten und können daher nicht mit Sicherheit als gleichzeitig angesehen werden. Oppermann führt in seinem Verzeichnis das Relief unter dem Jahre 1817 auf, und in seinem Buche über den Vater gibt Victor Freund an, dass es im Frühsommer 1817 in Gips gegossen wurde. Diese letzte Angabe verdanken wir einer Bemerkung in einem undatierten Brief Freunds an seinen Bruder in Altona: »Mein Basrelief habe ich giessen lassen, aber der Abguss ist nicht recht gelungen; es kostete 44 Reichstaler, die der jüngere Graf Moltke bezahlt hat«¹²). Die Datierung des Briefes in das Jahr 1817 ist richtig, da einige persönliche Angaben darin ihn mit Bestimmtheit auf den 25. Juli desselben Jahres oder auf einen der allernächsten Tage festlegen. Wenn auch in den Freundschen Papieren und Briefen meines Wissens nicht vom Hector-Relief die Rede ist, so muss man doch davon ausgehen, dass es dieses ist, welches als abgegossen erwähnt wird; denn das Goldmedaille-Relief »Hagar, die von Abraham verstossen wird«, das im Oktober desselben Jahres beurteilt und wozu die Skizze Anfang Juli genehmigt wurde, kann kaum bereits am 25. desselben Monats fertig und gegossen gewesen sein. Sonst könnte es verlockend sein anzunehmen, dass das Ehrenmitglied der Akademie J. G. Moltke hier auf dieselbe Weise einen vielversprechenden Aspiranten auf die Goldmedaille unterstützt habe, wie Chr. Ditlev Reventlow 25 Jahre früher Bertel Thorvaldsen geholfen hatte¹³).

Nun aber zum Relief selbst. Sein Motiv stammt aus dem XXIVsten Gesang der Ilias, Vers 718 ff. Hectors Leiche ist in die Königsburg hereingebracht worden, wo die Troer sie beklagen. Andromache hat sich über die Leiche ihres Gemahls geworfen, Priamos steht mit gebeugtem Haupte zu seinen Füßen, hinter ihm sitzt Hecabe in tiefem Schmerze über den Tod des Sohnes, während die klagende Frauengestalt zu

Häupten Hectors vermeintlich Helena ist. Zuäusserst an jeder Seite eine stehende Gruppe von je einem Troer und seiner Frau. Über das ganze Relief wechseln stehende Figuren mit knieenden oder sitzenden ab, wodurch ein gewisser wogender Rhythmus entsteht. Sonst aber fehlt es dem Relief in hohem Grade an kompositioneller Klarheit, und es wird durch einen auffallenden Wirrwarr der Linien verdorben. Die Gruppe am weitesten rechts ist am schönsten, sowohl im Aufbau als im Gefühl. Ausserordentlich schwerfällig ist die Art und Weise, in der die einzelnen Teile der endlos langer Gestalt Hectors abgeschnitten werden und auf eine unbehagliche, fast überraschende Weise zum Vorschein kommen.

Auffallend ist auch in diesem Relief der starke Einfluss, den der 1809 verstorbene Maler Abildgaard immer noch auf die Länge und Proportion der Figuren ausübt. In dieser Hinsicht ist das Hector-Relief nicht viel



Abb. 3. H. E. Freund: Die Klage über Hectors Leiche.

selbständiger als das Sappho-Relief; man vergleiche nur Sapphos Gestalt mit der der klagenden Andromache! Von besonderer Wirkung ist Priamos' mächtige Gestalt; man denkt unwillkürlich an Abildgaards Receptionsstück »Die dänischen Frauen kaufen Svend Tveskäg los«; dieses ist Freund auf der Akademie ständig vor Augen gewesen. Die dominierende Wirkung der Svend Tveskäg-Gestalt auf Abildgaards Bild ist die Voraussetzung für Friends Priamos; auch in anderen Einzelheiten liegt sicherlich Erinnerung an Abildgaards Receptionsstück und dessen Komposition vor. Im ganzen liegt etwas Malerisches über der Behandlung des Reliefs, das hier und da schön wirken kann, in Wirklichkeit aber von jugendlicher Unreife zeugt. Noch sind die fundamentalen Gesetze des klassischen Reliefs Freund nicht aufgegangen; ein Teil einer Figur ragt z. B. stark hervor und wirft tiefe Schlagschatten, während der Rest derselben sich nur um ein Unbedeutendes von der Hintergrundfläche des Reliefs abhebt, wodurch die ganze Gestalt dazu verurteilt ist, ein unwirkliches Dasein im Rahmen des Ganzen zu führen.

Wieviele Einwände man auch gegen das Hector-Relief machen kann, so ist es doch für Freund eine Kraftanstrengung, ohne äusseren Anlass sich mit einer so grossen Aufgabe zu beschäftigen, gewesen. Dies hat sicher Bedeutung für ihn gehabt; und wenn man ein Dreivierteljahr später in seiner nächsten Arbeit für die grosse Goldmedaille einen sehr wesentlichen Fortschritt spürt, verdankt man dies wohl der Tatsache, dass er jetzt künstlerisch »in Gang gekommen« war, ermuntert dadurch, die grössere Arbeit fertig gemacht und gegossen zu haben.

Die Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek besitzt eine grosse Seltenheit in Friends kleiner Skizze zum Relief »Abraham verstösst Hagar und Ismael«, für das Freund im Herbst 1817 die grosse Goldmedaille erhielt (23 × 34 cm, Abb. 4). Soviel man weiss, ist sie 1897 in die Glyptotek gekommen. Ihre Provenienz ist jedoch bis auf weiteres unbekannt, und seit der Erwerbung hat sie in einem Schrank verborgen gelegen, aus dem sie erst 1936 aufgehängt und in den Katalog aufgenommen wurde. Soviel ich weiss, ist es die einzige plastische Skizze zu einer Goldmedaillarbeit, die aus älterer Zeit bewahrt ist, und diese Tatsache berechtigt vielleicht dazu, etwas näher auf die Entstehung einer solchen Arbeit einzugehen.

In dem ursprünglichen Stiftungsbrief der Akademie von 1754 wird eine jährliche Goldmedaillekonkurrenz mit den Regeln für diese festgesetzt. Bereits Struensees Reskript vom $21/6$ 1771 hob die jährliche Konkurrenz auf, und es wurde jedenfalls von 1779 an nur jedes zweite Jahr Konkurrenz abgehalten. Ihre Bestimmungen jedoch wurden unverändert lange Zeit hindurch beibehalten.

Eine Konkurrenz ging folgendermassen vor sich. Nach gehöriger Bekanntmachung ihres Stattfindens traten die Professoren am Morgen des 1. Februar zusammen und bestimmten das Thema. Gleichzeitig hatten sich die Konkurrenten versammelt, und noch am selben und am folgenden Tage führten sie unter Aufsicht des in diesem Monat den



Abb. 4. H. E. Freund: Abraham verstösst Hagar und Ismael. Skizze zur Konkurrenz-Arbeit.

Unterricht leitenden Professors kleine Skizzen aus, die vom Professor bezeichnet und in Verwahrung genommen wurden. Nach Verlauf weniger Tage trat die Akademie zu einer ersten Beurteilung zusammen. Die Künstler, welche diese bestanden hatten, gingen nun an die Ausführung ihrer Arbeit in grossem Format. Dieses ging in »Logen« vor sich, d. h. in Verschlagen, die zu diesem Zwecke im grossen Saale der Akademie eingerichtet waren. Die Logen wurden ausgelost; kein Fremder durfte sie betreten, solange die Konkurrenz dauerte, und kein Hilfsmaterial durfte mit hineingenommen werden; am Abend wurden sie abgeschlossen und während des Tages bewacht. Am 30. März fand die endgültige Beurteilung statt, damit die Arbeiten am folgenden Tage, dem Geburtstage König Friedrichs V. und dem Stiftungstag der Akademie, vorgelegt werden könnten.

Diese strenge Kontrolle und namentlich die gefängnismässige Einrichtung der Logen hat sensiblen Künstlern oft Qualen bereitet und ihnen den Mut genommen. Man erinnere sich nur an Thorvaldsens Flucht

aus der Loge, und wie der alte Professor Preisler ihn im Eingangstor abging und in die Zelle zurückbrachte¹⁴). Harro Harring erwähnt in seinen Erinnerungen an die Akademie mit ehrfurchtsvollem Schaudern die Logen¹⁵). Tiefen Eindruck haben sie auch auf Jens Adolf Jerichau gemacht. Als er im Jahre 1851 als reifer Mann eine Selbstbiographie beginnt, spricht er über »Die Konkurrenz um das Stipendium, wo man in der Akademie in Zellen eingesperrt wurde, die völlig den Einrichtungen im Irrenhaus zu Odense gleichen« und später, als die Akademie ihm 150 Scudi in Rom aussetzte, die er benutzen sollte, um nach Hause zu reisen und für das Stipendium zu konkurrieren: »Ich aber dachte an die Zellen in der Akademie und an die Zellen im Irrenhaus und verglich sie; darauf sah ich mich in Thorvaldsens Atelier um — — und blieb in Rom«¹⁶).

Wie man sich zu einer Konkurrenz rüstete, sehen wir aus einem Briefe Freunds, als er 1813 um die kleinere Goldmedaille konkurrierte. Er hielt sich in jenem Frühjahr in besonderer Mission in Kongsberg auf und kam offenbar heim, als die Schlacht gerade bevorstand. Denn er schrieb dem Bruder aus Kongsberg, er solle zum Konkurrenztag für ihn einen Klumpen Lehm bereit halten, so gross wie ein Kinderkopf, um damit zu modellieren, einen kleinen Modellierstock, das »Echekse-Brett«^{*}), einen Topf abgekochte Milch und 4 Weissbrote¹⁷).

Durch die Krönung Friedrichs VI. im Jahre 1815 und den in Verbindung damit abgehaltenen Salon kam in die Konkurrenz-Termine der folgenden Jahre etwas Unordnung. Die 1815-Konkurrenz wurde auf den 1. Januar 1816 verschoben und die folgende Konkurrenz für 1817 begann erst am 1. Juli statt am 1. Februar¹⁸).

Am 1. Juli morgens um 8 Uhr versammelten sich die Professoren und bestimmten als Aufgabe Vers 14 des 21. Kapitels des 1. Buches Mose: »Abraham verstösst Hagar und Ismael«. Im Laufe des Tages führte dann Freund die hier erwähnte kleine Skizze aus, welche der aufsichtführende Professor der Bildhauerkunst Nic. Dajon (1748—1823) oben rechts mit seinem Namen bezeichnete und in Verwahrung nahm, um gemeinsam mit den übrigen Professoren der Akademie am 3. Juli eine erste Beurteilung vorzunehmen. Durch diese wurden »alle Konkurrenten admittiert, ihre Skizzen auszuführen«, und Freund führte nun in den kommenden drei Monaten in der Loge sein Basrelief in grossem Format aus (111 × 153,5 cm, Abb. 5). Am 29. September wurden die vollendeten Konkurrenzarbeiten in Augenschein genommen, und die endgültige Beurteilung fand am 3. Oktober um 11 Uhr vormittags statt, nachdem die Konkurrenzarbeiten in der Ornamentschule

^{*}) Das Schachbrett (französische échecs) ist ein quadriertes Brett, auf die er die Figuren direkt ohne modellierten Hintergrund setzen wollte. Die Quadrierung war eine grosse Hilfe, wenn das Relief in der richtigen Grösse ausgeführt werden sollte.

ausgestellt worden waren. Mit Stimmenmehrheit wurde die grosse Goldmedaille Freund zuerteilt¹⁹). Begeistert schreibt er am 4. Oktober an den Bruder in Altona: »Endlich lächelte einmal mein Glücksstern«.

Das Reisestipendium war ihm nun sicher, und er hatte es auch verdient wegen seiner eifrigen Arbeit daran, aus dem Kreise der Hand-



Abb. 5. H. E. Freund: Abraham verstösst Hagar und Ismael. Konkurrenz-Arbeit. Kgl. Kunstakademie, Kopenhagen.

werker in den der Künstler herüber zu gelangen, wegen seiner zahlreichen Enttäuschungen und nicht zuletzt wegen des Fortschrittes, des Wachstumes, die er gerade in dieser Arbeit an den Tag gelegt hatte. Zwar enthält die Skizze (und zum Teil ist das auch im fertigen Relief beibehalten worden) verschiedene Anklänge an die Vergangenheit. Die Sara- und Isaak-Gruppe ganz rechts ebenso wie Abrahams gewaltige Figur in der Mitte der Komposition entsprechen ja völlig den bereits erwähnten Abildgaardschen Figuren im Sappho- und im Hector-Relief, aber in der Hagar- und Ismael-Gruppe gelangen wir stilmässig noch weiter, bis in die Louis-seize-Manier mit ihren fernen Clodionschen Anklängen, zurück. Bewusst oder unbewusst sind es vielleicht Einflüsse aus der Zeit, der der Lehrer Dajon angehörte. Dennoch aber hat Freund nun sowohl ein Relief als auch eine Gruppe daraus gemacht.

Bei der Ausführung in voller Grösse durften die Konkurrenten nichts an der Komposition verändern, in Form und Einzelheiten aber durften sie selbstverständlich ihre Arbeit weiterführen. Das hat auch Freund

in hohem Grade getan, so dass sogar der Charakter der Hauptgruppe fast ein anderer geworden ist. Das zögernde, gelähmte Gepräge, welches die Bewegungen Hagers und Ismaels in der Skizze tragen, ist im fertigen Relief verändert; sie sind sich jetzt klar über die Verstossung, zur Wanderung durch die Wüste bereit, während Abraham eifrig damit beschäftigt ist sie zu vertreiben. Damit hat Freund Bewegung in das Relief hereingebracht, der schwache Punkt der Darstellung aber, die divergierende Wirkung der beiden Gruppen, wird nur noch mehr hervorgehoben. Um die Sara- und Isaak-Gruppe imposanter zu machen, hat Freund ihre Figur mit einem sehr weitläufigen Drapierungs-Arrangement versehen. Der schadenfrohe Ausdruck in ihrem Gesicht ist in einen raphaelisch leeren à la Farnesina verwandelt.

Das, was damals Freund als das grosse Glück vor Augen stand, war die bevorstehende Reise, auf der er nun mit eigenen Augen die grosse Kunst kennen lernen sollte, so dass er sich nicht länger mit Kupferstichen und ähnlichen Abbildungen davon begnügen musste. Er beeilte sich fortzukommen. Schon am 3. Dezember 1817 verliess er Kopenhagen, besuchte zuerst seine Eltern in der Nähe von Bremen und reiste von dort aus über Berlin, Dresden, Wien, Venezia, Firenze und Siena nach Rom, wo er im April 1818 ankam. Dort hielt er sich volle 10 Jahre als Thorvaldsens Schüler und Freund und ein bekanntes und geschätztes Mitglied des dänisch-deutschen Künstlerkreises auf. Zwischen den Künstlern aus Deutschland und Skandinavien in Rom bestand in den 20er und 30er Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts das herzlichste Einvernehmen. Im Laufe der 40er Jahre, wo die besonderen nationalen Gesichtspunkte und Gefühle wuchsen, schieden sich die Wege der skandinavischen und der deutschen Künstler für immer.

Im Frühjahr 1828 verliess Freund Rom, und nach einer weitläufigen Wanderung durch Europa kehrte er im November desselben Jahres nach Kopenhagen zurück. Nun wurde er Professor an der Kunstakademie und bekam allmählich einen grossen Wirkungskreis. Sein Hauptwerk, der Ragnarokfries für das Schloss Christiansborg, das er schon lange vorher in Rom begonnen hatte, wurde erst nach seinem Tode von H. V. Bissen vollendet. Es war eine ebenso grosse und anhaltende Arbeit wie die Friese zur Walhalla bei Regensburg, die sein guter Freund Johann Martin Wagner ganz gleichzeitig ausführte aber erst 1836 vollendete²⁰). Ausser seiner Arbeit am Ragnarokfries, die recht ruckweise stattfand, hatte Freund ein immer umfangreiches Tätigkeitsfeld in der Ausführung von Grabmälern und Gedenksteinen. Diese wurden natürlich in bezug auf das Manuelle von seiner nach und nach recht grossen Werkstatt übernommen, stellten aber doch ständig neue künstlerische Anforderungen und veranlassten Experimente. Ein solches soll im folgenden behandelt werden.



Abb. 6. H. E. Freund: Eine der klugen Jungfrauen. Polychromes Grabstein-Relief.

Als die letzte der neu erworbenen Arbeiten H. E. Freunds muss ein kleines polychromes Relief aus gebranntem Ton genannt werden, welches eine der klugen Jungfrauen darstellt, wie sie Öl auf ihre Lampe

giesst (48 × 32 cm, Abb. 6). Es ist in Chamotteton mit Polychromie in Ölfarbe ausgeführt. Erst vor wenigen Jahren ist es von der Kunstakademie, die bereits früher, 1901, das originale Gipsmodell deponiert hatte, in die Glyptotek gekommen. Die Figur ist langsam vorwärts schreitend gedacht. Während ihr vorderes (rechtes) Bein sich durch das Gewand hindurch recht stark bemerkbar macht, sind das linke Bein und der linke Fuss fast völlig unter diesem verborgen, so dass die Gestalt hierdurch die Tendenz erhält vornüber zu fallen. Das gesamte Draperie-Arrangement — besonders unten — ist sehr kompliziert, die Haltung des rechten Armes etwas schlaff und gesucht, kurz, diese kleine Arbeit zeichnet sich nicht so sehr durch ihre hervorragenden künstlerischen Eigenschaften wie durch ihre Bedeutung als interessantes künstlerisches Experiment aus.

Der Schwiegervater des bekannten, Freund nahestehenden Kunsthistorikers Professor N. L. Høyen war Propst Otto Westengaard in Kundby bei Holbæk. Nach 42 Jahren glücklicher Ehe starb seine zweite Frau Anna Kristine Lange am 13. September 1834, und ein gutes halbes Jahr später folgte er selbst seiner Frau ins Grab. Er starb am 9. Juni 1835, 71-jährig. Sie wurden auf dem Friedhof zu Kundby an der Kirchhofsmauer begraben, und Høyen beauftragte sofort seinen Freund damit, ein Grabmal für sie auszuführen. Wie gewöhnlich wählte Freund eine antikisierende Stelenform aus Sandstein; das eingesetzte Relief aber war aus gebranntem Ton (Abb. 7). Der oberste Teil bestand aus einer Doppelsphinx (d.h. zwei Sphinx-Körpern mit gemeinsamem Kopf und einer Palmette darüber), wie er sie auch 1835 auf dem Grabmal des Bischofs Jens Bloch in Viborg verwendet hatte. Dieses Stück ist die direkte Kopie eines antiken gemalten Stirnziegels aus Pella in Mazedonien, welcher in Brøndsted: Reisen in Griechenland nach einer Zeichnung von Professor Hetsch abgebildet ist²¹) (Abb. 9).

Das Grabmal war als Ganzes bemalt, und G. C. Hilker, der die pompejanischen Dekorationen in Freunds Dienstwohnung ausführte, hatte auch dieses Grabmal für ihn gemalt (Abb. 7). Die Farben auf den einzelnen Ornamenten und Teilen des Grabmales sind sehr genau in einer Ausstellungsbesprechung beschrieben worden, als das Grabmal 1838 auf Charlottenborg ausgestellt war. Jetzt sind nur noch Farben auf der Palmette, den Rosetten und der Figur des Reliefs, durchgehend ockergelb, erhalten, während der Hintergrund der Figur am ehesten mennigfarben mit leichtem bläulichen Schein ist. Auch das Relief in der Glyptotek hat Farben: die Figur gelb, terrakottaartig, der Hintergrund dunkel chokoladenfarbig mit einem violetten Schimmer, und es kann kaum Zweifel darüber bestehen, dass es sich um ein beim Brennen missglücktes Exemplar handelt, das hier erhalten wurde und dann als Farbenexperiment diente. An vielen Stellen sieht man Sprünge vom

Brennen. Vielleicht sind technische Schwierigkeiten verbunden mit unserem harten Klima schuld daran, dass dieser Versuch, eine billige



Abb. 7. H. E. Freund: Grabmal für Propst Westegaard. Friedhof zu Kundby.



Abb. 8. H. E. Freund: Grabmal für den Komponisten Kuhlau. Assistens-Friedhof, Kopenhagen.

künstlerische Form von Grabmälern aus heimatlichem Material zu schaffen, praktisch missglückt zu sein scheint.

Ausser der redaktionellen Besprechung im »Dansk Kunstblad«²²⁾ hat auch Høyen in seiner »Übersicht über das Merkwürdigste auf der Kunstausstellung« in der Beilage desselben Kunstblattes 1838 das Grabmal besprochen²³⁾. Ausserdem findet sich eine ansprechende, begeisterte Schilderung der Wirkung des Grabmals nach der Aufstellung auf seinem Platz in einem Briefe von Høyen vom 2. Juli 1838: »Du kannst Dir

kaum eine Vorstellung davon machen, wie herrlich sich dieser Grabstein vor den grünen Zweigen ausnimmt! In diesen Tagen, gegen Mittag, wenn die Sonne richtig darauf fällt, dann muss man ihn sehen, um sich von der Wirkung der Farben zu überzeugen. . . . Im Grünen, unter dem grossen Himmel, da schmelzen erst Form und Farbe recht zusammen⁽²⁴⁾.

Freund machte später keine neuen Versuche mit polychromen Grabmälern, scheint aber in seinen letzten Jahren wieder mit dem Gedanken umgegangen zu sein. Vor seinem Tode führte er Skizzen zu den Pilasterkapitälen am Thorvaldsen-Museum aus, wo Bindesböll ja gerade die Polychromie auf den Schild erhob⁽²⁵⁾. Die Modelle zeigen eine blaue Grundfarbe für die Figuren, sicherlich derjenigen entsprechend, die Freund als Hintergrundfarbe für den kleinen Ragnarokfries verwendete⁽²⁶⁾.

Freunds Interesse für polychrome Studien stammte noch aus seinen Römerjahren, wo dieses Problem die Künstler lebhaft interessierte. Reichlich 10 Jahre früher hatte Johann Gottfried Schadow den Versuch gemacht, ein Adam und Eva darstellendes, nach einer Zeichnung Schinkels ausgeführtes Relief aus gebranntem Ton (Sündenfall und verlorenes Paradies) zu bemalen. Es war 1812 in Berlin ausgestellt. Die Bemalung war bunt. Auch Vergoldung war angewendet. Durch einen unglücklichen Zufall fiel es herunter und ging entzwei; der Künstler verlor dadurch die Lust zu weiteren Versuchen in dieser Richtung⁽²⁷⁾. In verschiedenen Kreisen experimentierte man mit Bemalung von Skulptur, und noch bis in die späten 50er Jahre hinein spukte das Problem sowohl hier als auch im Auslande. Für Freund war es auf fast leidenschaftlich brennende Weise ein Programmpunkt, wohl unter starkem Einfluss des Freundes P. O. Brøndsted. Als er auf seiner langen Rückreise, die er selber scherzend »die Schneckenfahrt« nannte, nach Paris kam und dort Brøndsted traf, schrieb er darüber an seinen Freund H. V. Bissen in Rom: »Wie geht's mit Deinem Basrelief — dem gemalten? Ich habe dieser Tage viel mit Brøndsted über Bemalung von Skulptur und über die Bemalung der alten Tempel gesprochen; in seinem Werk erscheint ein Kapitel über die Bemalung bei den Alten — und die Farblosigkeit bei den Modernen. Schenke den bemalten Kunstwerken Deine Aufmerksamkeit — und ebenso Architekt Friis —; verhilf ihm dazu, zu sehen, dass Farbe in der Kunst schöner ist als Farblosigkeit, und verhilf ihm überhaupt dazu, die Griechen und das schönste, das seither in der Kunst der alten und der neuen Welt existiert, zu sehen«⁽²⁸⁾.

Auf diese eindringliche Mahnung antwortete Bissen zwar erst am 1. Februar 1829, die Antwort aber zeigt, wie er ständig an dem Problem arbeitete: »Dann habe ich wieder verschiedene Versuche gemacht, Bas-

reliefs zu bemalen, und die besten Resultate, die ich bisher dabei erreicht habe, sind auf schwarzem Grund mit bemalten Figuren gewesen; mit blauem oder grauem Grund dagegen wurde es scheckig. Launitz, der eine Terracotta-Fabrik gegründet hat, hat Boehms Friese gekauft, die er brennen und bemalen will; ich bin ihm dabei behilflich und sammle so Erfahrungen, die mir später einmal nützlich werden können⁽²⁹⁾.

Das Relief, mit dem Bissen experimentiert hat, ist in mehreren Exemplaren bekannt und stellt eine heroische Kampfszene dar, vermutlich den Kampf vor Troja. Das Originalmodell in Gips befindet sich in der Glyptotek ebenso wie eines der drei bemalten Exemplare in gebranntem Ton⁽³⁰⁾. Leider ist die Bemalung auf dem letzten zerstört gewesen und vom Sohne Vilhelm Bissen erneuert worden. Eine endgültige Befriedigung scheint H. V. Bissen jedoch durch sein Experiment nicht erreicht zu haben, da er diesen Weg nicht weiter verfolgt hat. Seine nahe Beziehung zu Thorvaldsen hat ihn wohl auch daran gehindert.

Aber das Interesse für bemalte Skulptur lag auch weiterhin in der Luft. Kurz nach Freunds Abreise erwähnt Joh. Martin Wagner in einem Briefe an ihn vom 19. Januar 1828 den in Rom gemachten Fund einer Titus- und einer Julia-Figur mit deutlichen Farbspuren⁽³¹⁾. Etwa 20 Jahre später, um 1850, arbeitete der englische Bildhauer und Canova-Schüler John Gibson (1791—1866) viel an der Bemalung von Skulptur. Besonders Aufsehen und besonderen Widerstand erregte seine bemalte Venusfigur vom Anfang der 50er Jahre. In einem Brief an Bissen vom 5.7.1853 sagt Th. Thielemann: »Gibson hat eine Venus in Marmor gemacht und ihr Farbe gegeben, ein Ereignis, das viel Streit der Meinungen hervorgerufen hat⁽³²⁾.

Schliesslich handelt es sich sicherlich um dieselbe Tendenz, wenn J. A. Jerichau hier in Kopenhagen im Jahre 1852 heftiges Ärgernis damit erregte, dass er sein schlafendes Erntemädchen im Kunstverein in künstlicher blassroter Beleuchtung ausstellte! Die Künstler waren ausser sich, und aus Briefen erhält man einen deutlichen Eindruck davon; sie nehmen kein Blatt vor den Mund. So schreibt z. B. H. E. Freunds Neffe, G. C. Freund, an Bissen in Rom: »Aus dem Kunstverein habe ich Sie abgemeldet, er entwickelt sich bald zu einem Vesterbro-Theater⁽³³⁾ mit lebenden Bildern; jeden Abend werden jetzt Jerichaus Figuren gezeigt, eine liegende weibliche Unschuld, in roter Beleuchtung so dass es ziemlich natürlich aber gleichzeitig ziemlich widerwärtig aussieht⁽³⁴⁾ Und nach Paris an den Maler Lorenz Frölich schreibt sein Freund, der Maler Vilhelm Kyhn, scharf über das Ehepaar Jerichau: »Ich glaube, er ist auch zum Teil ein Charlatan. Er hat eine weibliche Figur gemacht, die daliegt und im Grünen schläft. Diese ebenso wie sein Jäger waren im Kunstverein ausgestellt, und sie war kurze Zeit

»künstlich«, d. h. mit rosigem Schimmer, beleuchtet. Es ging zu Ende — ebenso wie andere Kunstmacher sich benehmen, um Publikum heranzulocken³⁵).

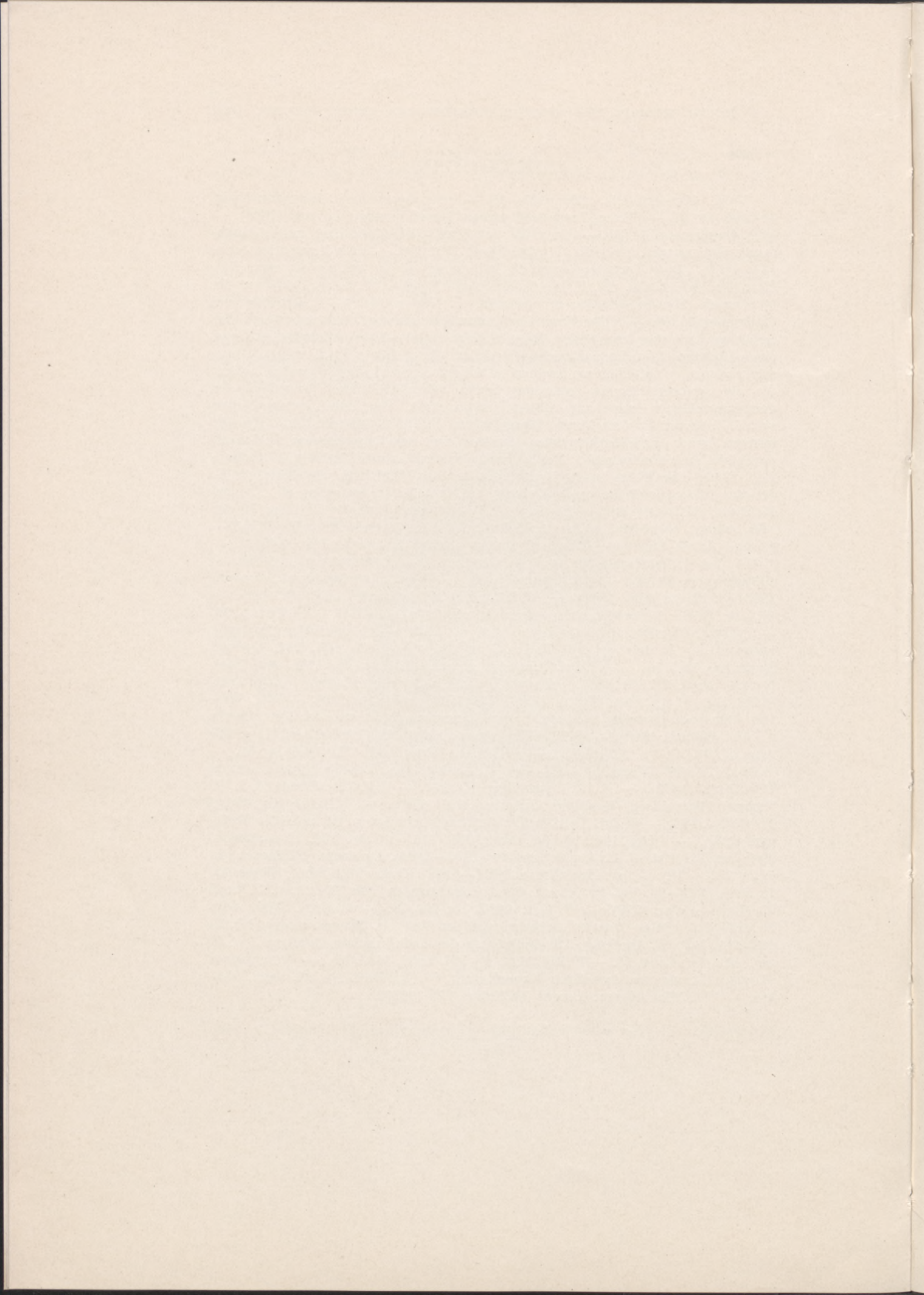
Freunds Versuche, der Skulptur eine farbige Wirkung zu geben, haben nicht gerade Früchte getragen. Er selbst starb, kurz nach seinem obenerwähnten Versuch, im Jahre 1840. Ist auch das Relief aus gebranntem Ton mit der klugen Jungfrau an und für sich kein besonders hervorragendes Kunstwerk, so hat es doch in der Sammlung der Glyptotek das Bild von der Wirksamkeit des Künstlers vervollständigt. Wenige dänische Künstler haben so ernsthaft gearbeitet, so aufrichtig gesucht, wie Freund, so dass selbst ein weniger geglücktes Experiment Anspruch auf unsere Aufmerksamkeit hat.



Abb. 9. Stirnziegel von einem Tempel in Pella in Mazedonien. (Nach P. O. Brøndsted.)

ANMERKUNGEN

¹ Vgl. »Kunstbladet«. 1888 p. 81—82. — ² Th. Oppermann: Hermann Ernst Freund (1916). — Victor Freund: Hermann Ernst Freunds Levned (1883). — ³ Th. Oppermann Nr. 91. — ⁴ Brief an den Bruder ¹⁴/₄ 1832. Erst am ¹²/₅ abgesandt. Kopenhagen. Kgl. Bibl. Ny kgl. Saml. 1701 Fol. — ⁵ Als Freund im Jahre 1815 seine Figur »Euridice« ausstellt, halten sich nicht weniger als zwei Kritiker über ihre Länge auf. P. Hjort: Kritiske Bidrag p. 17 (hersg. 1854) und ein Kritiker in »Nyeste Skilderie af Kjøbenhavn«, 1815 p. 444. — ⁶ Abgebildet bei Oppermann p. 71. — ⁷ Da Freund zu dieser Zeit seines Lebens noch nicht im Süden gewesen war, muss seine Kenntnis des Sappho-Typs wahrscheinlich von einem Abguss einer der zahlreichen Repliken dieser Büste herkommen. Einen solchen kann er natürlich am leichtesten auf der Kunstakademie gesehen haben, die eine grössere Abguss-Sammlung besass; ein detailliertes Verzeichnis der damaligen Abguss-Sammlung existiert jedoch nicht. Über den Typ als solchen vgl. J. J. Bernoulli: Griechische Ikonographie I p. 59 ff (Münch. 1901). Die für unseren Zweck charakteristischsten Repliken sind eine Doppelherme in Madrid, abgebildet in A. Furtwängler: Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik p. 97 (Leipz.-Berl. 1893), eine Büste in der Sammlung des Lord Melchett, abgebildet in E. Strong: Catalogue of the greek & roman antiques in the possession of . . . Lord Melchett. Pl. VIII (Oxford-London 1928) und zwei Porträts in Rom in der Villa Albani, abgebildet in Arndt: Griechische und römische Porträts Tf. 147—48 und Arndt-Amelung: Einzelaufnahmen antiker Sculpturen Nr. 3546/47. — ⁸ Abb. bei V. Thorlacius-Ussing: Mindestötterne paa Jægerspris p. 7 (1924). — ⁹ Oppermann Nr. 16. — ¹⁰ V. Freund p. 33. — ¹¹ Kgl. Kunstakademie. Journal 1888 Nr. 12 (3. Febr. 1888). — ¹² Kgl. Bibl. Ny kgl. Saml. Fol. Nr. 1701. — ¹³ J. M. Thiele: Thorvaldsens Ungdomshistorie (I) p. 31 (1851). — ¹⁴ *ibid.* p. 30. — ¹⁵ Harro Harring: Rhonghar Jarr. II p. 44 (1828). — ¹⁶ Kgl. Bibl. Abrahams Brevsaml. — ¹⁷ Brief an den Bruder. Kongsberg ³¹/₅ 1813. Kgl. Bibl. Ny kgl. Saml. Fol. Nr. 1701. — ¹⁸ Brief Freunds an seine Eltern. ²⁰/₁ 1816. Kgl. Bibl. Ny kgl. Saml. Fol. Nr. 1701. ¹⁹ Kunstakademiets Dagebog H. 1817 ²³/₆ (p. 216), ¹/₇ (p. 221), ³/₇ (p. 224), ²²/₉ (p. 242), ²⁹/₉ (p. 244) og ³/₁₀ (p. 245). — ²⁰ P. Winfrid Frhr. von Pölnitz: Ludwig I von Bayern und Johann Martin Wagner p. 137 f. (Münch. 1929). — ²¹ P. O. Brøndsted: Reisen in Griechenland II p. 146 Anm. 5, Tf. XLI p. 153 (1830). — ²² »Dansk Kunstblad« III 1838 Sp. 66. — ²³ *ibid.* III 1838 Tillæg Sp. 31 f. — ²⁴ J. L. Ussing: Niels Laurits Höyens Levned II p. 79 ff. (1872). — ²⁵ Th. Oppermann Nr. 122. — Vgl. Chr. Bruun & L. P. Fenger: Thorvaldsens Musæums Historie p. 105 (1892). — ²⁶ Dansk Kunstblad I 1837 Sp. 163. — ²⁷ Jul. Friedländer: Gottfried Schadow p. 84 und 131 (Stuttgart 1890). — ²⁸ Kgl. Bibl. Ny kgl. Saml. 3341 4to. ²⁹ Univ. Bibl. Kopenhagen. Add. Nr. 257 Fol. — E. S. v. d. Launitz (1797—1869). Deutscher Bildhauer. In Rom 1817—31. — Jos. Dan. Böhm (1794—1865). Oesterreichischer Bildhauer. In Rom 1822—29. Vgl. Fr. Noack: Das Deutschtum in Rom II bzw. p. 347 und 96 (Berl.—Leipz. 1927). — ³⁰ Kat. 1937. Nr. 70—71. — ³¹ Univ. Bibl. Add. Nr. 257 Fol. Beide Figuren befinden sich im Vatikan. Braccio nuovo. Nr. 26 und 111. Vgl. W. Amelung: Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums I p. 40 und 134. Tf. 4 und 18. — ³² Kgl. Bibl. Ny kgl. Saml. 3341 4to. — ³³ Populäres Vorstadt-Theater des damaligen Kopenhagens. ³⁴ Kgl. Bibl. Ny kgl. Saml. 3341 4to. — ³⁵ F. Hendriksen: Lorenz Frölich p. 221 (1920).



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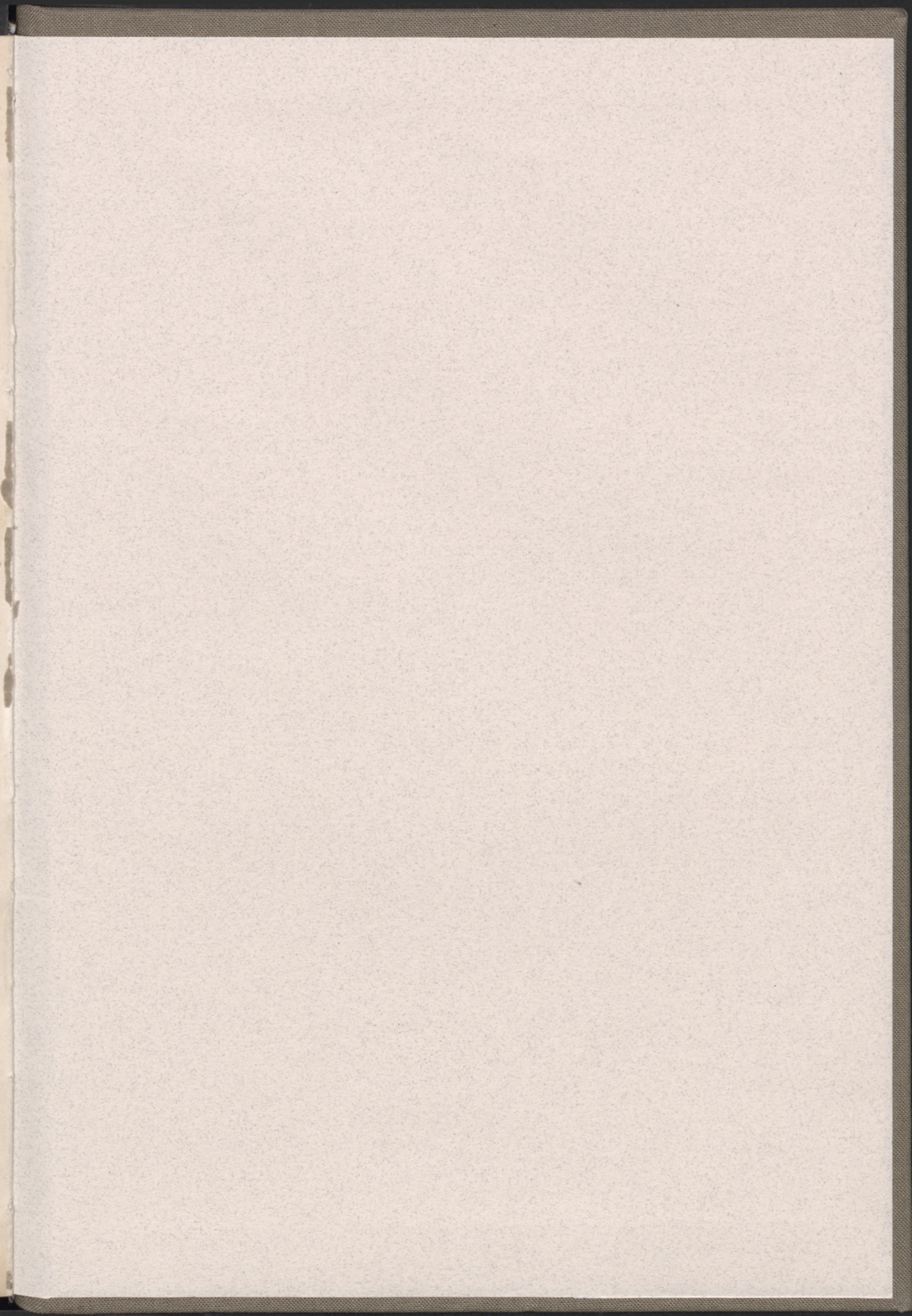
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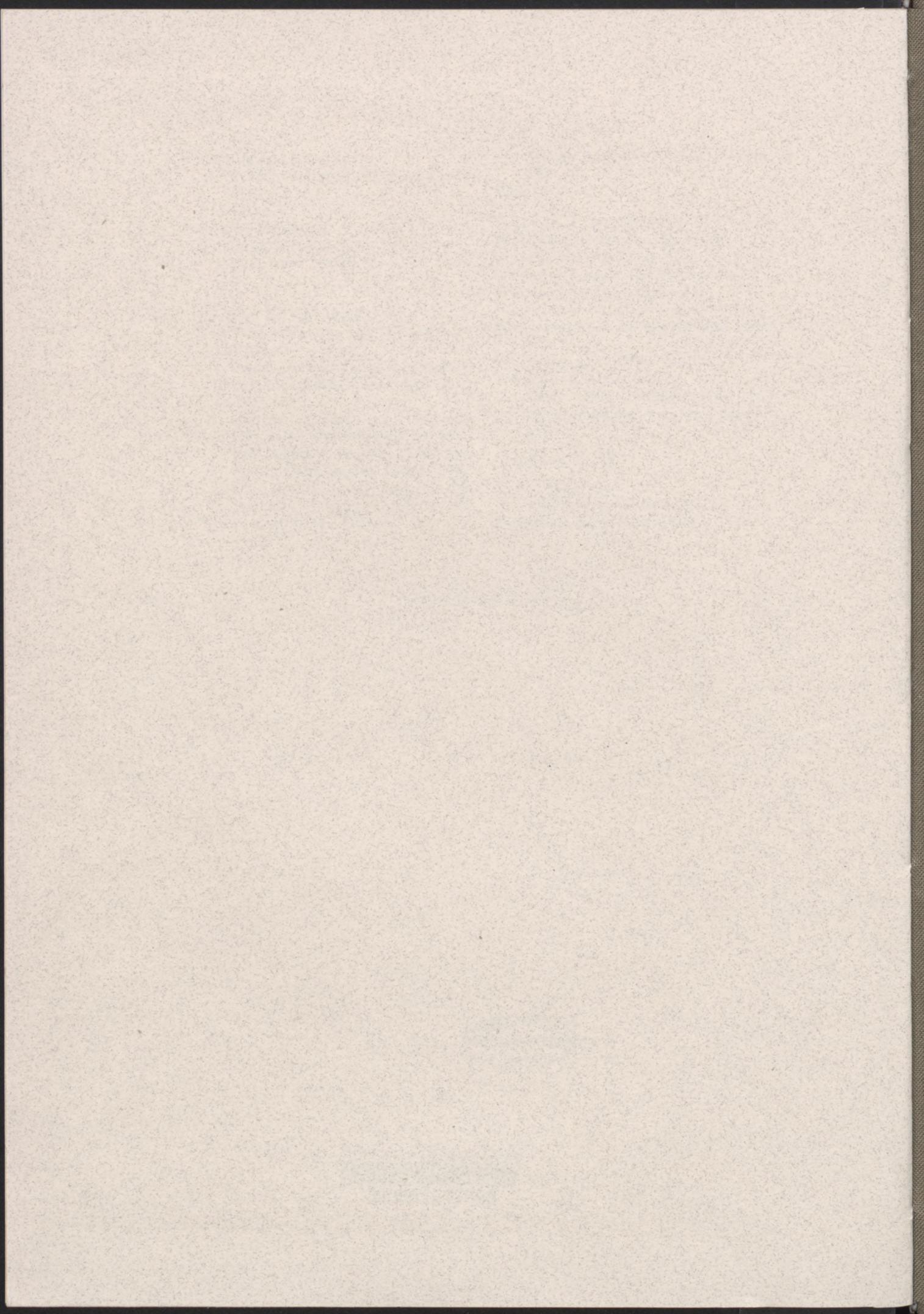


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