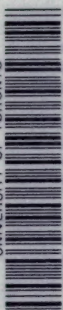


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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THE RENDERING
OF NATURE
IN EARLY GREEK ART



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THE RENDERING
OF NATURE
IN EARLY GREEK ART

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN
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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

PROFESSOR LOEWY'S "Die Naturwiedergabe in der älteren griechischen Kunst" was published at the end of 1900, but appears not to be much known by English students of Greek art. That an essay of great value should have been thus neglected is due probably to two causes: first, the work is a closely reasoned argument, which can neither be condensed nor given in excerpts; second, Professor Loewy's method is unfortunately strange to us.

A strict scientific discussion is a tonic much needed by our archæology. Many of our histories, hand-books, and lectures substitute for precision of fact and explanation a deal of superfluous moral comment and æsthetic make-believe, so that one whom the beauty of the works attracts to study their history is deterred by the method of study in vogue. Less pretentious, infinitely more useful, and far more difficult to write would be a history that should give merely a plain statement of the formal changes in art, develop-

ment of technique, differences of subject, and the like: a history whose chapters should be like the present essay.

In it Professor Loewy traces only the course of artistic conception of form from the primitive period to a period of greater freedom. He gives the artists of even the earliest period the credit of energy and desire; he explains their illiterate attempts by psychological causes, and does not admit as all-sufficient the current and inadequate explanations of those who would attribute them to technical or material constraint, or the restriction of civil or hierarchic decree, to convention, and so on. It is this psychological criterion which is applied with remarkable power of analysis and synthesis to explain the artistic phenomena, and the reader will find that it illuminates the study of not only Greek art but the art of every nation and period.

The translation may occasionally be found elliptical because Professor Loewy, writing for German archæologists, is content to allude to points of controversy familiar to them but not to us. But I trust that only a few lines will thus disconcert the reader.

Professor Loewy has argued his case so consistently and so honestly that his conclusions must stand till his principles can be overthrown. Any trifling objection can be answered, I think, by the book itself.

I am greatly indebted to Professor Loewy, Professor Studniczka, Mr. E. P. Warren, and Mr. John Marshall for their unsparing help in what I have found a difficult task.

Professor Loewy has slightly amplified the text in two places (pp. 30, 84), and has added a few notes and references (brought down to the summer of 1906). There are twenty illustrations which did not appear in the German edition. Mrs. Strong has kindly helped to secure these.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

LEWES, *May* 1907.

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ABBREVIATIONS IN THE NOTES

- Ak. Berlin.* — Sitzungsberichte der kön. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
- Ak. München.* — Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und der histor.-Classe d. k. bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Ancient Marbles.* — Description of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
- Annali.* — Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza archeologica.
- Anzeiger.* — See Deutsches Jahrbuch.
- Ath. Mitt.* — Mitteilungen des kais. deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Athen (or Athenische Abteilung).
- B. B.* — Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur.
- Bull. Corr. Hell.* — Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique.
- Bulle.* — Der schöne Mensch im Altertum. H. Bulle.
- B. ph. W.* — Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.
- Bull. d. Commiss. Arch.* — Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma.
- Collignon.* — Histoire de la Sculpture grecque.
- Conze.* — (When not otherwise stated) Die attischen Grabreliefs. A. Conze.
- De Ridder.* — A. de Ridder, Catalogue des Bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes.
- Deutsches Jahrbuch.* — Jahrbuch des kais. deutschen archäologischen Instituts, with which : Archäologischer Anzeiger.
- Ephemeris.* — Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική.

xii ABBREVIATIONS IN THE NOTES

Études Grecques.—Revue des Études grecques.

J. H. S..—Journal of Hellenic Studies.

Michaelis.—Der Parthenon. A. Michaelis.

Österr. Jahreshefte.—Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien.

P. and C..—G. Perrot and Ch. Chipiez. Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité.

Praktika.—Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας.

R. Lincei.—Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Serie iv, Rendiconti.

Répertoire.—S. Reinach, Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine.

Rev. Arch..—Revue Archéologique, III^e série.

Röm. Mitt..—Mitteilungen des kais. deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung.

Zentral-Brasilien.—Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. (K. von den Steinen.)

THE RENDERING
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INTRODUCTION

ALL style in imitative art, *i.e.* art that represents real forms, involves an alteration of the appearances presented by reality, or, at least, a selection from them. In so far, then, as the history of art is concerned with artistic form itself, its duty is to determine in each case the relation between the representation and the thing represented. In a systematic criticism of Greek art from this point of view, such as I have repeatedly attempted in my lectures, and may some day publish in detail, it has seemed imperative to penetrate beyond the actual phenomena of art to the causes which gave them rise. This task, as regards the main principles, is what the present book endeavours to fulfil for archaic and, indirectly, for later Greek art also. The exposition lays no claim to a novel point of departure ; and, further, I should not feel justified in publishing it, even by the fact that the explanation has never yet, to my knowledge, been

coherently applied to the entire complex of the phenomena of archaic art. I wished, however, to insist upon a fundamental principle, the consistent recognition of which I have often felt to be wanting in the prevailing manner of reviewing the beginnings of art, and the relations of art to nature throughout its history.

In some respects the essay is a sequel to a lecture published some years ago, *Lysipp und seine Stellung in der griechischen Plastik* (1). That lecture agreed in one cardinal point with a work published later, namely, Julius Lange's "*Billedkunstens Fremstilling af Menneskeskikkelser*" (2), and so in the present essay I have sometimes cited Lange for observations previously made by myself (3). For the rest, conformably to the immediate purpose of my essay, I have quoted as little as might be,

(1) Hamburg, 1891. Cp. *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie*, xix, 1884, pp. 257 *sq.*

(2) *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Copenhague*, 1892. A second and third part, *ibid.*, 1898 and 1903.

(3) I had written the present essay in July 1899 before I learnt the full import of Lange's treatises in the German translation: *Darstellung des Menschen in der älteren griechischen Kunst* (Strassburg, 1899), from which I quote.

especially of polemical matter, and out of regard for readers unacquainted with archæology, have given a fair number of illustrations and ample references to books where more may be found (4).

(4) In some cases indeed it would be desirable to refer to casts or the originals, especially of reliefs. For the common characteristics of ancient drawing special references seemed superfluous

CHAPTER I

DRAWING

EVEN to the layman there is noticeable in archaic Greek art a series of peculiarities which can be formulated as follows :—

1. The conformation and movement of the figures and their parts are limited to a few typical shapes.

2. The single forms are stylised, *i.e.* they are schematised so as to present linear formations that are regular, or tend to regularity.

3. The representation of form proceeds from the outline, whether this outline is maintained independent and linear, or, being of the same colour as the inner surface, combines with it to make a silhouette (1).

(1) The earliest preserved paintings on stone, and the more carefully executed ones on terracotta (tablets, sarcophagi, and even vases), give instances of independent contour along with

4. When colours occur they are uniform, and are without regard for the modifications of tone caused by light and shade.

5. As a general rule the figures are shown to the spectator with each of their parts in its broadest aspect, as we shall express it for the present.

6. Apart from a few definite exceptions, the figures of a composition are spread out over the surface of the picture without allowing the main parts to cross or overlap, so that objects which in nature would be behind one another are drawn out and placed alongside of each other in the picture.

7. The representation of the environment in which the action takes place is omitted, wholly or for the most part.

To these peculiarities Greek drawing remained true in all essentials, notwithstanding gradual

an interior of different colour. It has been said more than once that from the dark-coloured silhouettes of ceramic painting one must not infer the dark silhouette for painting proper (Furtwängler, *B. ph. W.*, 1894, col. 112; Pottier, *Études grecques*, xi, 1898, pp. 378 *sqq.*); and ceramic painting itself affords many indications (*e.g.*, Studniczka, *Deutsches Jahrb.*, ii, 1887, p. 150) that the form began with contour, thus justifying the above definition.

differences, from the earliest period in which we can trace a certain and consistent development of art upon Greek soil till about the middle of the sixth century B.C. And it is not the isolated occurrence of one or other of these traits that characterises the archaic style, but the steady and close combination of them all. In all these characteristics there is one common principle, namely, an independence of the real appearance of objects, an independence that not seldom amounts to open opposition.

The characteristics mentioned are not limited to Greek archaic art. Julius Lange (2) has shown that Nos. 3, 4, and 5 appear in every primitive art of the present as well as of the past. And there is no need to remind the reader that the others also (3), only with certain reserves affecting No. 7 (4), occur at least in the drawing

(2) Lange, pp. xxi *sqq.*

(3) The strict tectonic character of Greek art, in the narrow sense (for the Mycenæan period, see page 29 *sq.*), allows figures to be placed alongside of one another (No. 6), for the most part only horizontally. In the Dipylon style, however, figures placed one above the other are not uncommon, such as are frequent in Egyptian work.

(4) The element of landscape is given more extensive consideration in Egyptian, and especially in Assyrian art (see Lange, p. 94, and, below, p. 16, note 13).

of the ancient cultivated races of Egypt and Western Asia.

How does art come by this method of representation ?

The universal, or, at any rate, wide diffusion of it (there being no positive reason to admit the idea of mutual borrowing) rules out of court any theory in which deliberate intent or purpose plays a part. Thus it rules out, in the first instance, the usual explanation of the above peculiarities as being conventions. Secondly, it rules out any solution attributing them to a dislike, for one reason or another, of optical illusion (5) : this dislike, as some suppose, having led the artist wittingly to refrain from reproducing the diminutions and foreshortenings as he actually saw them, and to select from amongst the real appearances those that were most definite and easily reproducible, in some cases, completing the work by adding to it parts of the object which from his point of view he could not see (6). But such endeavours towards completeness and intelligibility are hard to re-

(5) Perrot et Chipiez, i, p. 742 ; Lange, p. xxii.

(6) Perrot et Chipiez, i, p. 744.

concile with the indifference to environment mentioned above. Deliberate purpose seems to play no rôle in the theories which either derive the typical and stylised forms in archaic art from a simplification of forms through an oft-repeated representation (7), or would have them caused by favourable or unfavourable technical conditions (8). But the theory of simplification, wherever it finds stylisation, must logically assume a realistic kind of representation to have previously existed; and it makes no account of the most rigid schematism not uncommonly found in combination with very careful execution. Further, both these theories (of simplification and technical conditions) concern only single phenomena, and do not deal with the

(7) Cf. Conze, *Über den Ursprung der bildenden Kunst*, Ak. Berlin, 1897, pp. 105 *sq.*; cf. Collier, *Primer of Art*, pp. 10 *sq.* Here belongs also the influence of picture-writing as claimed by Perrot, pp. 763 *sq.* We can only refer to the importance which this point of view has recently acquired in theories concerning the origin of ornament (I am indebted to Prof. G. A. Colini for information concerning the literature).

(8) Cf. Riegl, *Stilfragen*, p. 30 (who here too, however, assumes a conscious action); Conze, pp. 98 *sqq.*; Balfour, *Decorative Art*, p. 88; Haddon, *Evolution in Art*, pp. 75 *sqq.*

whole complex of facts that go to form the character of archaic art.

For the groups of phenomena Nos. 1 and 2, another explanation has sometimes found a hearing (9). This is based upon the more and more fully recognised rôle which memory plays in the creation and acceptance of art (10). As the result of the visual impressions which we have received from numerous examples of the same object, there remains fixed in our minds a memory-picture, which is no other than the Platonic Idea of the object (11), namely, a typical picture, clear of everything individual or accidental. The graphic expression of this would be a scheme of lines and planes approaching as nearly as possible simple geometric forms: this is stylisation. The expression can certainly become more pronounced and fixed by stereotyped repetition, as above mentioned,

(9) First spoken of, to my knowledge, by E. Brücke, *Die Darstellung der Bewegung durch die bildenden Künste*, Deutsche Rundschau, xxvi, 1881, pp. 43 *sq.*

(10) Compare Fechner, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, i, pp. 86 *sqq.*; Exner, *Physiologie des Fliegens*, pp. 13 *sqq.*

(11) Cf. also Treu, *Deutsches Jahrbuch*, v, 1890, *Anzeiger*, p. 62.

and by technical conditions, even as, on the other hand, stylisation in art may coincide with a stylisation ready-made in the originals themselves—for instance, in the hair, beard, and drapery, in the artificial plaitings of the hair of animals, and in the training of plants. Similarly tectonic and decorative requirements may also help to the result. Yet these are all secondary factors. In combination with the variety of impressions acting upon the memory (such as the different aspects of race, dress, and manner of living), and, further, with the endlessly varied intensity and quality of the conception of form according to the individual or racial temperament, these factors assuredly determine the appearance of a definite style, but no one of them is indispensable to the production of stylisation itself.

The memory-picture, as we termed it, is, however, only one, though certainly an important, element in a psychical process the discussion of which may, I think, help to explain much else in art (12).

(12) I suppose that this subject has been treated in psychological literature, but my limited researches have not brought to my notice any study of the matter.

Not all the images of objects, even of those frequently seen, are equally retained by the memory, which prefers, rather, to make a selection. We have seen numberless times a leaf, a wheel, an ear, an eye, an outstretched hand, and so on, from their every point of view, but nevertheless so often as we thoughtlessly picture to ourselves a leaf, a wheel, etc., there appears in our mind only one image of each, and in the case of the objects named, the images will be those in which they show us their broadest aspect. Breadth is, indeed, not the determining circumstance; for instance, we think of the moon as a crescent and not as a disc, except when we are thinking purposely of a full moon. The aspect which is selected by the memory is that which shows the form with the property that differentiates it from other forms, makes it thereby most easily distinguishable, and presents it in the greatest possible clearness and completeness of its constituent parts: this aspect will certainly be found in almost every case to be coincident with the form's greatest expansion. It results that the mental image of a quadruped, a fish, a rosebud,

takes spontaneously a side view, and that of a fly, a lizard, a full-blown rose, takes a view as seen from above. Any other view, if the memory can recall one at all, would require a special and conscious effort to bring it to the mind. If several aspects equally satisfy the above demands—as the side and front, or top, views of certain animals' heads (oxen, dogs, for example)—there may be several forms of spontaneous memory-pictures ; this does not alter the fact of selection.

Now if we try to call clearly to our minds any image whatever, we see it isolated and surrounded by a void. To an imagination that is quite embryonic and, for one reason or another, wanting in intensity, the image may appear in one single dimension, *i.e.* a mere impression of the direction in which a body is more extended or most characteristic. The greater the need for distinctness the more completely the image requires to be circumscribed, and to be detached the more cleanly from the abstract ground. Yet this detached plane offers in itself no hold to the imagination ; it is only through the line of demarcation, separating it from the void and

defining the form, that a form can be seized by consciousness, and it is this line of demarcation, the contour, that consciousness first seeks.

The unpractised memory, however, is a very limited one. It embraces, in fact, only the simplest forms. Most objects, being more or less complex, leave behind them only an indistinct image of their general appearance. To make this image clearer the imagination proceeds as follows: it brings the component parts one by one into consciousness, and with these familiar elements builds up the image which it cannot picture to itself as a whole. In this the imagination differs from physical reality. The latter unites and interweaves the parts in accordance with the principles of the organic formation peculiar to the object, without concern as to how they should present themselves to the eye from a given standpoint. The principle upon which mental images are built up is that the elements, viz., the spontaneous single memory-pictures as explained above, are set up one beside the other in the order in which they happen to follow one another into consciousness. Thus in the mental process the organic whole of the

natural object is resolved into a succession of images of its parts, each part independent of the other, and seen in its fullest aspect, in which process the closeness of combination, the acceptance, or rejection of the parts is determined entirely by the force of association in the imagination: parts which are essential organically may be omitted because they are of indifferent importance to consciousness, whilst the imagination requires to see in its picture everything that is inseparable from the clear consciousness of the object, though the whole thus put together may be irreconcilable with any one aspect of reality.

That which has been said about single objects has equal bearing upon mental images of incidents and actions. We may likewise apply the principle to the relation between mental image and environment. In nature the object and its background combine together in one picture: imagination that is not trained in artistic observation brings these into consciousness as separate elements. As a rule, of course (and the more childlike the recipient imagination is, the more

certain will this be) (13), the attention and, accordingly, the memory are absorbed by the animated and active features of a scene, and the local background as such leaves no impression. But where a local element plays an active part in the scene it takes its place like every other element in the evolving of the mental image, *i.e.* single, separated from its local bearing, and placed in that position which is prescribed by the building up of the mental and not of the material picture.

Finally, in accordance with the same principle, the imagination, provided it have the elements at its disposal, can also construct such pictures as have never been actually seen, or, if seen, would not be powerful to produce in the memory a distinct image. To this class belong most of the moments of movement. That in cases of movement the mind's eye can grasp only the

(13) Individual and ethnical temperament is indeed also a factor. The Egyptians, and still more the Assyrians, were remarkable, as compared with the Greeks, for their interest in landscape: cf. Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 2nd ed., I, pp. 365 *sqq.*, 375 *sqq.*; Köhler, *Ath. Mitt.*, viii, 1883, pp. 4 *sq.* This in connection with note 4 on page 7.

moments of relative rest (14), is but another instance of the above-mentioned selection. But often even these acquisitions of the memory do not suffice for an exact picture; they mostly consist of mere impressions of direction, such as bowing, bending, undulating, etc. The imagination endeavours to reproduce these impressions by seeking to bring the elements, ever in that shape in which they appear to the mind, into such order as the moment of motion seized seemed to present. How far removed from reality are the results of this process we of the present day have been made aware by instantaneous photography.

The process described rules our conception of images, and the more primitive the conception the more unlimited is its rule. Instances of this we can see every day in the drawings of persons artistically untrained, not merely in those of children and savages. Their drawings do not copy a given aspect of reality (15). These simple draughtsmen, when

(14) Brücke, *Deutsche Rundschau*, xxvi, 1881, pp. 43, 47.

(15) Cf. Hildebrand, *Problem der Form*, p. 91; Conze, *Ursprung der bildenden Kunst* (*Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Berlin*, 1897), p. 104.

placed in front of the object itself, would be for the most part quite incapable of rendering it directly (16). For along with the pictures that reality presents to the eye, there exists another world of images, living or coming into life in our minds alone, which, though indeed suggested by reality, are nevertheless essentially metamorphosed. Every primitive artist, when endeavouring to imitate nature (17), seeks with the spontaneity of a psychical function to reproduce merely these mental images. And so it was with the Greek artist.

Perfect reflections, indeed, of these psychic

(16) Cf. Conze, *ibid.*, p. 104. The apparently adverse account of Von den Steinen, *Zentr.-Brasilien*, p. 251, is really a confirmation.

(17) Ornamental forms that are not figures are not considered in our present argument. They would come into consideration only in so far as they can be traced to representations of real things according to the theories mentioned on page 9, note 7, which need not be discussed here. So far as I see, the designs in question are exactly in accordance with the principles enumerated at the outset, which, inversely, control also animal and human forms which spring from mere ornaments (for examples, Reinach, *La sculpture en Europe avant les influences gréco-romaines*, *L'Anthropologie*, v-vii, 1894-96). I may say the same of the picture-writings that I have been able to examine.

processes we may not hope to find even in the earliest archaic drawings that have come down to us. Even in children's drawings we hardly find them quite unmixed, and this irrespective of the fact that the child has not complete mastery of his pencil. For the mere translation of the mental image into graphic form contains a revolutionary germ.

We have spoken of the free manner in which the mental image omits parts that are organically indispensable (18); for example, in children's drawings the pictorial conception of a man often consists of only a head and legs (19). And when aware that there is something lacking, the primitive draughtsman will not always find the desired complement, even after deliberately calling up his supply of mental images. In like manner a lack of clearness in the composition and placing of the parts may produce perplexity,—one has

(18) The above applies to the representation of a whole object by single prominent characteristics, as a serpent by the pattern on its body (Ehrenreich, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, pp. 24 *sq.*; Von den Steinen, *Zentr.-Brasilien*, pp. 258 *sq.*).

(19) See C. Ricci, *Arte dei Bambini*, Fig. 2; cf. *ibid.*, Figs. 3 *sqq.*; Sully, *Studies of Childhood*, Fig. 19. For the head, see also Benndorf, *Österreich. Jahreshfte*, i, 1898, p. 8.

only to think of children's drawings, in which the arms grow out of the hips (20), and of pictures by Brazilian savages, where the European's moustache is planted on his forehead (21). In the mental image there can co-exist elements where in reality the one would be excluded by the other, *e.g.*, two eyes in the profile view of a face (22); when drawn these elements dispute with one another the material space. In the effort to tell a story graphically there will be things to be represented for which the memory-pictures are entirely wanting. Such experiences would urge the draughtsman endowed with artistic energy to direct or indirect recourse to nature.

Judging from this point of view, we must conclude that the art of the ancient peoples, as far as we can trace it back, is already well advanced from its most primitive stages. Not only have manifold practice and experience lent firmness of line, proportion, and

(20) Ricci, Figs. 8 *sq.*; cf. Sully, Fig. 15 *b*, 21, and our Fig. 1.

(21) Von den Steinen, pp. 251 *sq.*

(22) Ricci, Fig. 18; cf. 13, 26; Sully, Figs. 6, 14.

Or, rather, they do not exist in the mind at one and the same time, but the instantaneous succession of the images makes them appear to consciousness as if they were simultaneous.

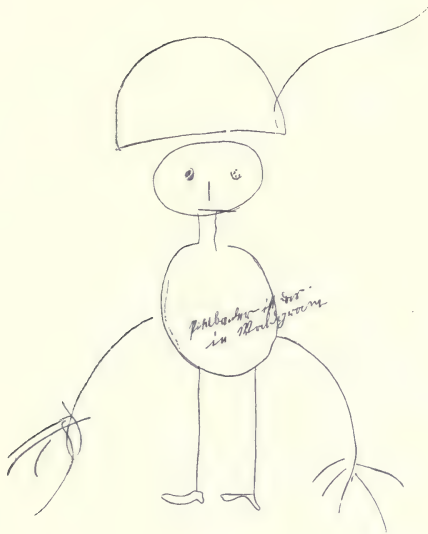


FIG. 1.

A school-boy's drawing on the wall of a house in
Alt-Aussec (Styria).



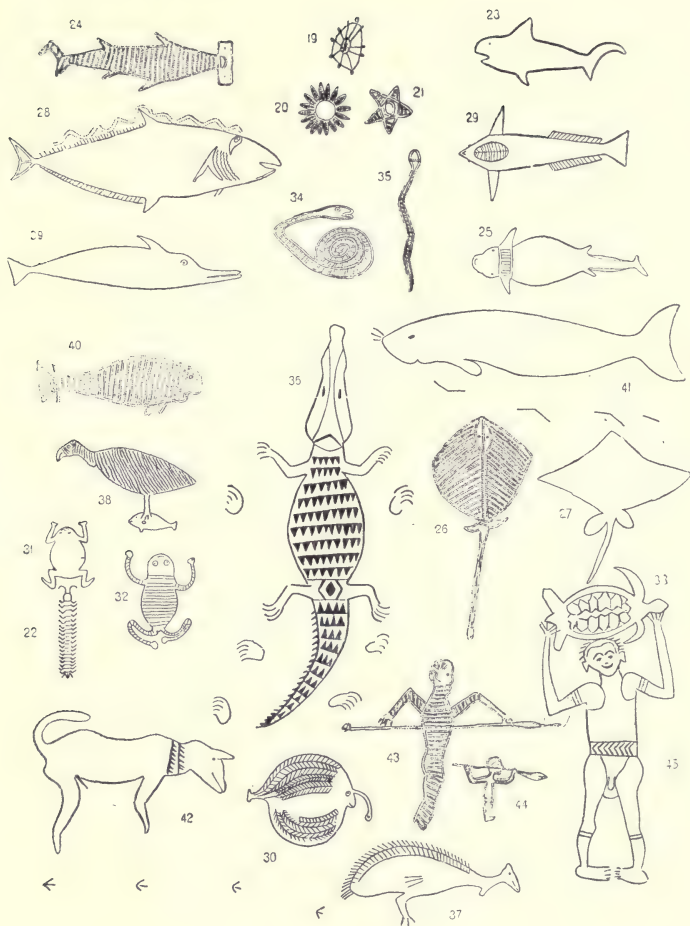


FIG. 2.

Drawings by natives of British New Guinea.
 No. 24 (after Haddon): Hammer-headed Shark (*Zygaena*).
 No. 25 (Haddon): Zebra or Tiger-Shark (*Stegostoma tigrinum?*)
 No. 29 (Haddon): Sucker-fish (*Echeneis naucrates*).

adaptation to the space given, but even in the earliest drawings preserved we can discover infinite and deliberate observation of nature transforming the purely mental images. The more outrageous optical inconsistencies are avoided, and the full visibility of single parts is not seldom sacrificed out of consideration for the whole (23). The device of spreading out the figures one alongside of the other, in accordance with the mental process, yields sometimes to a perspective arrangement suggesting depth. In this way horses harnessed together, marching soldiers, and the like, are indicated by the repetition of a greater or lesser part of the figures, or even, as in the case of chair-legs, wheels, wings, horns, and entire bodies of animals, the one behind is covered by the corresponding one in front (24). And yet in each of the districts of art mentioned (ancient Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, etc.), we need not go far to find, along

(23) *E.g.*, the foot. An instance of the primary expression is given in Fig. 2, No. 45.

(24) These phenomena have now been systematically treated by Delbrück, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Linienper-*

with such proofs of regard for nature, numberless others which still manifest the most primitive form of conception. What extreme perversion of reality, *i.e.* extreme fidelity to the simple mental picture, is shown in the Dipylon style (to limit ourselves to Greek art) (Figs. 3-5)! For instance, the artist, in combining the separately conceived elements, has often not succeeded even in making his figures touch the ground, nor covered the legs of the charioteer by the body of the chariot (25); and in the drawing of the chariot (26) he has failed to show the component parts as a connected whole (Fig. 3). Who will be surprised by the dead

spektive in d. griechischen Kunst. But I do not agree with Delbrück when he thinks (p. 18) that the further horse in the Dipylon-vase bigas is placed in front view. The drawing proceeded from the contour of the further horse; the prominent breast is characteristic of the horse's profile in this style (cf., for example, *Annali*, 1872, pl. 1).

(25) *Monumenti*, ix, 1872, pl. 40, 3; *Historische und philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, p. 355; P. Girard, *Peinture antique*, Fig. 67.

(26) Pernice (*Ath. Mitt.*, xvii, 1892, p. 293) has already observed the instructive parallel between our Fig. 3, the earlier, and Fig. 4, the more advanced solution of the identical problem—however crystallised both may be. Whoever follows Helbig (*Das homerische Epos*, 2nd ed., pp. 139 *sq.*) in sup-

FIGS. 3-5.



3.



4.

Bigas on "Dipylon"-vases, Athens.



5.

Ship and rowers on "Dipylon"-vase. Paris.

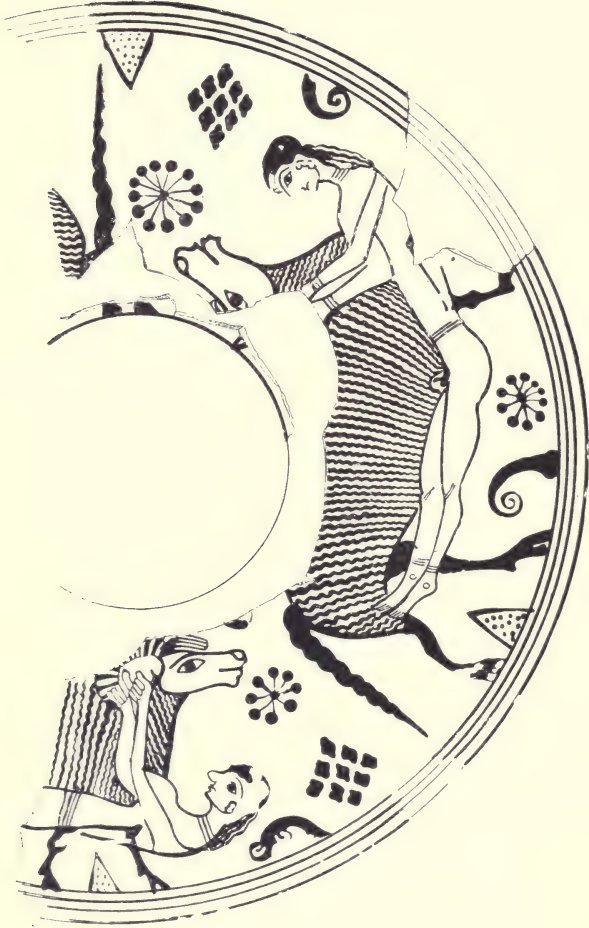


FIG. 6.

The adventures of Ulysses. Vase-drawing. Athens.

men on these vases (27), lying rigidly on their sides for the sake of preserving full visibility in the sense of the mental image, when a considerably later period of painting (Fig. 6), in spite of what the situation required, draws the companions of Ulysses hanging down, not directly under the rams, but all on one side?

And when we proceed to the most advanced manifestations of archaic drawing: the figures are still mostly put together from spontaneous memory-pictures; bodies appear twisted, faces squint-eyed, plants look as if they had been pressed in an album. So the figures are still deployed in line, and their grouping, even if we include the rare cases of deliberate representations of crowds, scarcely goes further than the above-mentioned method of shifting them like side-scenes, one before Page 21. the other, of crossing arms and legs of men, and the necks of animals, and of intersecting a larger figure by a smaller one, *e.g.*, a man by the horizontal body of an animal, or *vice versa*. In

posing only one horse to be intended in Fig. 4, must logically find only one wheel for the chariot (cf. Brunn, *Kunstgeschichte*, i, p. 32). For parallel instances see Von den Steinen, pl. 19, p. 253; our Fig. 2.

(27) Collignon, i, 39; Monumenti, ix, 1872, pl. 39, 1.

spite of occasional confusions, fidelity to the contour, that line of demarcation by which form is circumscribed and evoked from the void, emerges triumphant. The silhouette still tends to isolation, sharply detached from a neutral field of contrasting colour, with no environment and no shadows cast. And the drapery, fairly correct for more restful poses only, is otherwise an attempt to fix a vague reminiscence of the general direction of movement. Even at this stage art is not much more than a mechanically true transcript of the psychological processes which we have described. The artist does not draw in this manner out of capricious disregard for nature, but because in all these things he has not yet succeeded in seizing the forms of nature.

Page 13
sq.

Page 13
sq.

Page 16
sq.

Why does art, till the middle of the sixth century, scarcely ever venture upon a foreshortening, the expression of an emotion in the face (28), or a more active play of the fingers, than that of a merely extended palm or doubled fist? Why does it find such difficulties with the inner drawing of the ear, and

(28) Cf. Girard, *Revue des Études grecques*, vii, 1894, pp. 337 *sqq.*; *Monuments grecs*, 1895-97, pp. 7 *sqq.*

whence the helplessness in the rare front views of the cheek outline, nose, knee, and in the anatomy of the softer parts of the body? The answer is that there exist no sufficient memory-pictures of these forms in the primitive imagination :—either by reason of their character they lie outside that selection of the memory, or by being seen in reality for too short a moment, their details would not be firmly retained (this applies, I think, to expressions of faces), or again because they are incompletely defined by an interior shadow, itself faint, and therefore escape the comprehension by contour which the mind requires. This last consideration explains, amongst other things, why in every art from the beginning, the female body, being less marked and divided by musculature, is less well represented than the male, the child than the grown up person ; a further condition was given by the existing habits of life (29), whether favourable

Page 12
sq.

Page 13
sq.

(29) Lange (pp. 57 *sqq.*) traces the tendency of archaic Greek art, which, according to him, is exclusively directed towards the youthful and masculine, to the then dominant ideal of athletic youth ; but this exclusiveness, as he himself recognises, is not confirmed by what we know of the general feeling of that period. Nor do the works of art sustain his

or adverse to the memory-pictures of the nude. Of the forms mentioned, for which memory pictures are insufficient, some have always been considered difficult things to draw, and are so considered to-day, even when they can be quietly studied from nature. This difficulty may help us to estimate how valuable are the accumulations of memory as unconscious preparation for the representation of what we see. And so we can understand why quite ingenuous art is incapable of giving an immediate rendering of nature.

Page 17
57.

It is worth while to note the manner in which art, when strong enough to observe, turns to account its observations of nature. For this it appears to me specially significant that in the more developed archaic period, as has often been noticed, there is a relatively greater conformity to nature in the representations of objects less commonly seen, as of animals rather than of men (30),

thesis. Justice is done to the feminine and to venerable age, though the character in both is limited generally to the head. Further, in treating the nude, art was at least as fair to the grown man as to the youth.

(30) It is generally maintained as an absolute law, and one particularly applicable to the most primitive art, that animal representations are superior to those of human figures; but the law is confirmed neither by the oldest examples of Greek

particularly those animals with which men are not daily associated, of men of foreign races rather than those of their own kind, and so on. In all these cases the artists had not at once at their disposal a more or less satisfactory memory-picture, and so being compelled to observe nature they imitated her more closely. But it must not therefore be supposed that these productions represent pictures made on the spot; judged by their entire structure, the typical generalisation of line, the exhibition of the fullest aspect and so on, they too betray themselves as being memory-pictures assimilated to the common store although consciously acquired.

And this applies in principle to every case of observation of nature in the period of art with which we are occupied.

art (for Mycenæan see elsewhere, p. 29 *sq.*), nor by the drawings of children and savages (cf. Ricci, *Arte dei Bambini*, Figs. 18 *sqq.*; Sully, *Studies of Childhood*, Figs. 43 *sqq.*, 52; Von den Steinen, *Zentral-Brasilien*, pl. 16 *sqq.*; and our Fig. 2). Rather the perfection in the rendering of animal forms is everywhere in direct proportion to the simplicity of their construction, *i.e.* to the ease with which they are committed to memory. In cave-art also (cf. p. 31) the rare examples of human figures in drawing, and more especially the more frequent figures in the round, do not justify the opinion.

There remains to be discussed one more of the characteristics of archaic drawing enumerated at the outset,—the uniform colouring. In this also the mental images are copied, and not the actual originals. Every one will be convinced after examination that an imagination not specially schooled to observe colour dispenses spontaneously with all the effects of light and shade, even in freshly received impressions of colour, and establishes one neutral tone, though the tone established may have the least share in the colouring of the original or may be quite lacking there. Whether, or to what degree, the memory-picture contains colour as something essential cannot be discussed in detail here; certain it is that the greater number of generic memory-pictures are undetermined in colour. To determine their colour requires a special purpose, and since the original conception has no material for it, it follows that technical, decorative, or otherwise arbitrary conditions play here as great a part as a deliberate recourse to the revival of reality in the memory. Thus we understand why archaic colouring is often independent

of nature and bizarre (31), and also why the outline continues in its integrity even when the interior is coloured, since this colouring, as a Page 5. secondary addition, was subordinate to the outline.

But is not the whole of this proposition overthrown by precisely the very earliest works of drawing that we meet in Greece? Is not its very opposite proved by Mycenæan art, with its wealth of motives showing unprejudiced observation of nature and grasp of momentary situations; with its pronounced tendency to describe the environment, and the accessory and casual details in which the action is cast? Does not Mycenæan art prove that Greek art set out with a direct and unconstrained imitation of nature itself, and only afterwards shrank to abstractions and typical conventionalities?

I think not. The description just given of Mycenæan art does not apply to all Mycenæan art, which, after all, however incompletely it may

(31) Cf. the examples of polychrome sculpture cited by Lechat in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, xiv, 1890, pp. 552 *sqq.*, 570. These instances are the more instructive in that they do not belong to ceramic pottery with its limited palette, practically the only kind of painting we have to refer to.

Fig. 7.

still be known to us, conforms incontestably in the main to the principles which we have laid down. It applies only, and in a very limited degree, to a small group of works, as in particular to the Vaphio cups, the dagger-blades, and the vase fragment with the siege of a city (32); and who shall answer for the primitiveness of these? Why should we not regard them rather as the most advanced products of a long continued artistic activity the intermediate steps in which may still fail us here and there (33)? If the "Mycenæan" and later Hellenic art belonged to people of the same race, which I do not think is yet proved, then they are different boughs of the same tree grown at different times and in different directions, and are not to be brought together into one line of artistic development (34).

(32) The Cups, Collignon, i, Figs. 24, 25; Perrot et Chipiez, vi, Figs. 369 *sq.*, pl. 15; *Ephemeris*, 1889, pl. 9; *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, xv, 1891, pl. 11 *sqq.* Dagger, Collignon, i, Fig. 9; Perrot et Chipiez, pl. 17, 1; *Ath. Mitt.*, vii, 1882, pl. 8. Vase, Perrot et Chipiez, Fig. 365; *Ephemeris*, 1891, pl. 2, 2.

(33) I have not yet seen any attempt at a history of art within the Mycenæan period, ceramics excepted.

(34) So too in the history of Greek art in the narrower

With the same reserve must we regard the well-known drawings by cave-dwellers of the quaternary epoch (35). Historically disconnected as they present themselves to us, they give us no absolute evidence of being most primitive works of art. Examine the much vaunted naturalism of these drawings and those of certain uncivilised peoples of to-day (36) with which they are often readily compared (37).

sense there will have to be a separate consideration of the Eastern Greek. Reisch has remarked (*Verhandlungen der xlii. Versammlung deutscher Philologen*, 1893, p. 112, note 2), and so Furtwängler (*Gemmen*, iii, p. 14), and Böhlau (*Ath. Mitt.*, xxv, 1900, pp. 83 *sq.*), that the Mycenaean temperament apparently broke out afresh in the quicker feeling for nature of the Greeks of Asia Minor. I call to mind creations such as the Busiris vase, *Monumenti*, viii, 1865, pl. 16 *sq.*; K. Masner, *Vasen und Terracotten in k. k. österreich. Museum*, No. 217; Furtwängler und Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 51 (where Furtwängler, p. 259, makes the same observation).

(35) A rich though somewhat antiquated bibliography: S. Reinach, *Antiquités nationales*, i, pp. 149 *sqq.*, 168 *sqq.*; cf. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, pp. 38 *sqq.*

(36) For the literature (equally behindhand), R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, Neue Folge, pp. 56 *sqq.*

(37) Cf. Reinach, *Antiquités nationales*, p. 170, with note 3; lately especially Grosse, *Anfänge d. Kunst*, pp. 156 *sqq.*, 190 *sq.*

If naturalism consisted in the masterly comprehension of the details of form and its vital functions, then the Parthenon sculptures would be one of the summits of naturalistic art.

Figs. 8-9
(cf. Fig. 2).

But if we look in these drawings for individuality of motive (38), for more than rudimentary notions of perspective, for foreshortening, crossing, and overlapping of various parts, and a conception of space and environment (39), then, so far as I have been able to survey the rather wide field, they are governed throughout by the principles which we enumerated at the begin-

(38) Fraas (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x, 1878, pp. 241 *sqq.*) justly observes that in the reindeer drawings there is a common treatment and manner, that is to say, a fixed style. Similarly A. Bertrand, in *Archéologie celtique et gauloise*, ii, pp. 85 *sq.* The same observation would be often applicable to the art of uncivilised peoples (see the well known Bushman-picture reproduced by Andree, pl. 3; Grosse, pl. 3; and compare it with Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, p. 426).

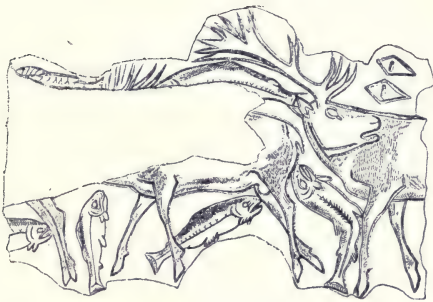
(39) I know nothing further about the foreshortenings in Bushman-drawings mentioned by M. Hutchinson (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii, 1883, pp. 464 *sq.*). The reductions in perspective spoken of by Büttner, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x, 1878, p. (16), are perhaps differences of size of the same sort as in the picture reproduced by Weitzcker (*Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, Serie III, 1890, pp. 334 *sqq.*). There is, however, no reason to deny development to Bushman-art.

FIGS. 8-9.



8.

Reindeers. Painting on the North wall of the grotto of Font-de-Gaume.



9.

Reindeer and salmon.
Incised drawing on a horn. Lorthet.

ning (40), and all the often surprising observations of nature in the details are subordinated to a strictly mental conception, and grafted into the already existing spontaneous memory-pictures.

On the other hand, where we are able to follow up an entire development of art, there we find that its morphological progress is from the psychical image to the physical, *i.e.* to the image on the retina, the objectively received patch of nature with all its incidental and accessory detail. We should not be led away from this principle by temporary retrogressions and collateral tendencies. The goal of this development can indeed in reality never be reached, for, having reached it, art would itself be brought to a finish.

(40) From the existing reproductions (Cartailhac-Breuil, *L'Anthropologie*, xv, 1904, pp. 625 *sqq.*, pp. 634 *sqq.*; Alcalde del Rio, *Las pinturas y grabados de las cavernas prehistóricas de la provincia de Santander*, pl. ii), I cannot regard the variation in the tone of colour of the animal-pictures, discovered in the Altamira grotto, as shaded modelling.

CHAPTER II

RELIEF

THE theory developed in the preceding chapter applies at once to relief, *i.e.* low relief, as it is always understood here. The close connection between antique relief and drawing (1) is now generally acknowledged, so that we are accustomed to contrast drawing and low relief as one form of art with sculpture in the round,—that is to say, statuary, and high relief (2)—as another.

The substantial similarity to drawing of the most common class of reliefs, the low relief in stone, has been genetically explained by its direct derivation from drawing. In point of fact, every antique stone relief starts from

(1) Conze, *Das Relief bei den Griechen*, Ak. Berlin, 1882, pp. 574 *sqq.*; Lange, p. xxiii; cf. Erman, *Ägypten*, ii, pp. 53^o *sq.*

(2) For the latter, cf. Koepf, *Deutsches Jahrbuch*, ii, 1887, pp. 118 *sqq.*; Lange, p. 93.

a drawing thrown upon the even surface of the slab or block (3), and for a long time colouring is as common in reliefs as in drawing. But this explains the origin of only one kind of relief. Along with the relief in stone, and perhaps before it, there were other kinds of half-raised work, such as repoussé metal or moulded clay; and, in view of their purpose (the mechanical production of elevated forms), we may add the incised representations of gems, dies for coins, and so forth.

Thus we see art arriving at relief in very different ways. At its simplest, in very old specimens, it presents itself in one uniform plane as a silhouette sharply circumscribed and detached from the background. If we may see in this the earliest form of relief, not forgetting cases also where in the finished work one finds the inverse relation between figure and field (*bas-relief en creux*), it would follow that the first impulse of the artist in making a relief was the special accentuation of one of the determining elements of the primitive

(3) R. Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, p. 22; Conze, pp. 565, 574.

conception, the contrast, namely, between the
Page 13. silhouette and the neutral background (4).

However, there is always some danger in reconstructing origins. Therefore we shall hold in mind only those phases of Greek archaic relief that can be reviewed with certainty, kindred phenomena in the art of other peoples being here, as everywhere in this essay, tacitly included. To the properties of drawing already set forth, relief adds the elevation of the picture. One would think that art, when once in the possession of such means, must have employed it directly for giving expression to a plastic notion of form corresponding to nature. Let us see how far the supposition is confirmed by the facts.

(4) The actual result is that the contours are strengthened, but this strengthening, even when deliberately continued, corresponds only to what was said on p. 13. In the relief cited by Conze, *ibid.*, pp. 568 *sq.*, pl. 9; Attische Grabreliefs, i, No. 240, pl. 60, I would attribute the broader handling of the chisel in certain passages merely to natural difficulties in following the ups and downs of the contour. Where in stone (bone, wood) a contrasting colouring of ground and figure served the purpose in question, the sinking of the one portion was at the outset only a subsidiary means, although now in the examples preserved it seems to us almost always to be the principal means, the colour having disappeared.



FIG. 10.

Horse and rider on grave relief from Lamprotrae. Athens.

From Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler griech. und röm. Sculptur, pl. 65.





FIG. II.

Starting again with relief in stone let us take as an instance the very early work from Lamprae (Fig. 10). The two horses must be imagined as one behind the other, but in the relief they are merely distinguished by doubling the line of contour. The artist did not feel any need to express the relative positions which they occupy in nature by a difference of planes. But here perhaps was an incipient art of relief as yet quite ignorant of its powers. In technique the diskophoros from the Themistoclean Wall (Fig. 11) certainly shows a great development. Yet in the discus the feeling for unity of plane is so far wanting that the part of it to the left of the head is considerably deeper than that on the right. The head is modelled; that is to say, it seems to take account of the planes of nature: yet if we regard the modelling as an abbreviation of sculpture in the round, the ear comes too far from the profile, whereas it is not too far if the head be regarded as a drawing (5). The Aristion of the well-known stele (6) treads on

(5) The divergent statement of L. Curtius, *Ath. Mitt.*, xxx, 1905, p. 385, is based upon a different notion of the word "plastic".

(6) Collignon, i, Fig. 201; P. and C., viii, Fig. 72; Brunn-

his own foot, so little are the planes of the two legs diversified, and part of the breast is in higher relief than the arm hanging down over it. A similar lack of plastic conception in the Pharsalian stele representing two girls (7) has been claimed by Brunn as a peculiarity of Northern Greek art. It is, however, characteristic of early Greek relief generally, and the errors pointed out by Brunn cease to be such if one thinks of the forms of this relief as merely drawn in outline. Certain it is that over against such examples are found numerous others in which the indifference to nature in the arrangement of planes is less marked, but we shall find only a few that are entirely free from inconsistencies of the kind. If we look for the common factor in all these peculiarities, it will be found in a certain resistance to the development of depth, every form demanding for itself the utmost share of the

Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, 41; Conze, *Grabreliefs*, i, 2, pl. 2, 1.

(7) Collignon, i, Fig. 134; P. and C., viii, Fig. 76; B. B., 58. Cf. Brunn, *Ak. München*, 1876, p. 329; *Kleine Schriften*, ii, pp. 192 *sq.* Of course I do not mean to say that the art of North Greece and its treatment of relief had no special characteristics.





FIG. 12.

Horsemen on the N. Frieze of the Parthenon. British Museum.





FIG. 13.

Hero-worship. Relief from Chrysapha. Berlin.

From Brunn Bruckmann, Denkmäler griech. und röm. Sculptur. pl. 227.

foremost plane, and this plane again, *i.e.* (according to common opinion) the original surface of the block from which the relief made its start, tending to preserve the greatest extension. Even in parts of the Parthenon frieze (8) a quite exceptional heaping up of figures does not bring about a variety of planes corresponding to reality (Fig. 12). There is, indeed, a slight difference of planes where parts supposed to be behind one another in reality come in contact in the relief. Yet the planes further again press to the front, and the entire depth of the relief in such places is not greater than where the figures are in juxtaposition, as in the West frieze.

There are, it is true, some reliefs in which a methodical gradation of planes undoubtedly proves the artist to have been aware of the facts of nature, *viz.*, the two big hero reliefs from Chrysapha (Fig. 13) and Sparta, also a later relief of the same kind and provenience, one in Ince Blundell Hall, and the Albani

(8) Especially so on the N. and S. friezes; for example, Michaelis, pl. 10, Figs. 8 *sq.*, 15, 24 *sq.*, 28, 30 *sq.*, 35 *sq.*; pl. 12, slab xviii; B. B., III *sq.*, 114. W. frieze, Michaelis, pl. 9.

“Leukothea” (9). But not only are these works quite singular, however early the first two may be (10), but the severe arrangement of planes in so many distinct layers (which, moreover, in the last-named reliefs is appreciably moderated by reason of that aversion to depth referred to above) shows, in its very exaggeration of reality, that its source is mental abstraction, not direct imitation of nature.

To give the impression of the round, there must further be movement of the surfaces in themselves. Here again similar things are noticeable. Besides the silhouettes with even surface and sharply-cut contour, we find indeed quite early a rounded chamfering of the edges, which, beginning apparently with the outer contours of the silhouette, as on the Spartan pillar (Fig. 14) (11), is in further development

(9) The second greater hero relief, *Ath. Mitt.*, ii, 1877, pl. 22. The later, *P. and C.*, viii, Fig. 74; *B. B.*, 227*b*; *Ath. Mitt.*, ii, 1877, pl. 24. Ince, *Arch. Zeitung*, xxxii, 1874, pl. 5. *Leukothea*, *Collignon*, i, Fig. 141; *P. and C.*, viii, Fig. 75; *B. B.*, 228.

(10) Cf. *Milchhöfer*, *Ath. Mitt.*, ii, 1877, pp. 451 *sq.*

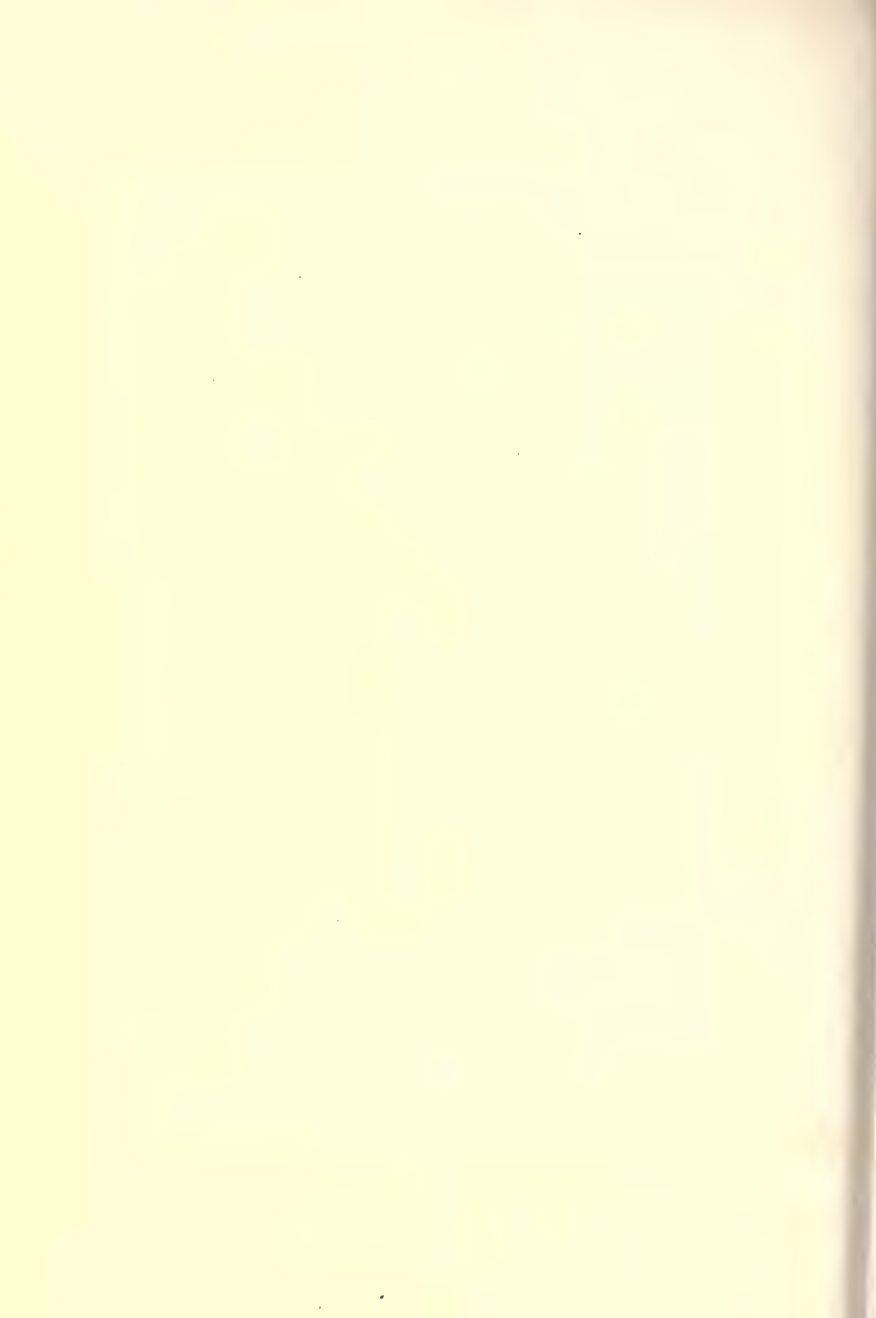
(11) Other examples: *Collignon*, i, Fig. 87; *P. and C.*, viii, Fig. 152; *B. B.*, 231*a* (the Samothracian relief); *P. and C.*, viii, Fig. 156; *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, xxiv, 1900, pl. 16 (Thasos);



FIG. 14.

Base of a stele. Sparta.

From Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler griech. und röm. Sculptur, pl. 226.



employed also upon the contours inside the silhouette. The modelling of a great portion of archaic reliefs can be traced in the main to this mode of procedure, which varies only according to the number and kind of contours thus treated; as examples take the Harpy monument, the Thasian relief of the Nymphs, and the Giustiniani stele now in Berlin (12). At the same time there is only a modest attempt towards emancipation from a leading contour by a movement of planes varying in height and depth (13). Throughout the archaic period art does not advance very far in this direction (14). On the

Annual of the British School at Athens, v, 1898-99, pl. 9 (Naukratis).

(12) Harpy monument: Collignon, i, Figs. 129-32; P. and C., viii, Figs. 145-48; B. B., 146 *sq.* Nymphs relief: Collignon, i, Figs. 138-40; P. and C., viii, Figs. 153-55; B. B., 61; cp. Österr. Jahreshfte, vi, 1903, pp. 159 *sqq.* Giustiniani stele, now in Berlin: B. B., 417*c*; Antike Denkmäler, i, 33, 2.

(13) The beginning of this tendency can be observed in the reliefs just mentioned; others better carried out are Lycian (for example, Collignon, i, Fig. 133; B. B., 102), Attic (Collignon, i, Fig. 195; P. and C., viii, Fig. 334; Nuove Memorie, pl. 13, 1), etc. Quite at the end of the archaic time the Ludovisi Aphrodite reliefs: Bulle, 43 *sq.*; Antike Denkmäler, ii, 6 *sq.*; Petersen, Röm. Mitt., vii, 1892, pl. 2, pp. 54 *sq.*

(14) It seems unnecessary to show that the Delphic reliefs

contrary, whilst the first method in the earliest examples sets in with a tolerably high relief (15), there follows a later period of standstill and even of retrogression. Then relief delights more and more in that peculiar style characterised by its flattened planes with contours often sharply cut. The fine sense of line shown in the contours, and the light and delicate touch in the play of surfaces—*e.g.*, among the many instances, the steles of Aristion and Alxenor (Fig. 44), the youth from Pella (Fig. 16), and many parts of the Parthenon frieze (16)—suggest that the artist purposely avoided approaching nature by a really plastic treatment of planes. Nay, this set purpose cannot be doubted. For, to pass over the above-mentioned Lakonian hero reliefs (Fig. 13), in works like the stele of Philis (Fig. 15), the artist has put in a good deal of

do not contradict this (Fouilles de Delphes, iv, Sculpture, pls. 3 *sq.*, 7 *sqq.*; P. and C., viii, Figs. 160 *sq.*, 163-77; 227-30; cf. Furtwängler, Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift, 1894, col. 1277).

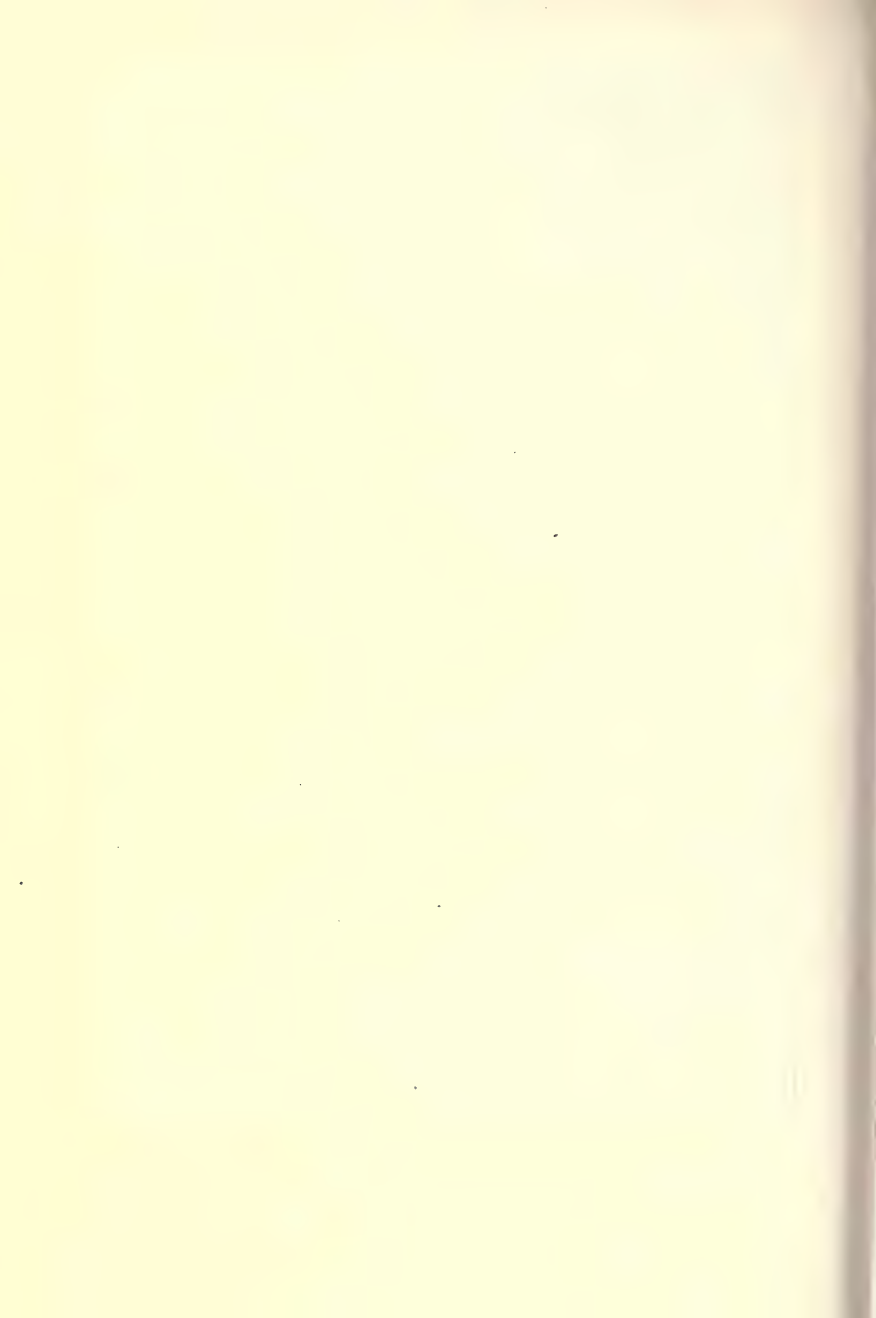
(15) Cf. Fig. 14; the Samothracian relief: Collignon, i, Fig. 87; P. and C., viii, Fig. 152; B. B., 231a, and others.

(16) Aristion, p. 37, note 6; Parthenon, p. 39, note 8.



FIG. 15.

Grave-relief of a woman (Philis), from Thasos. Paris.



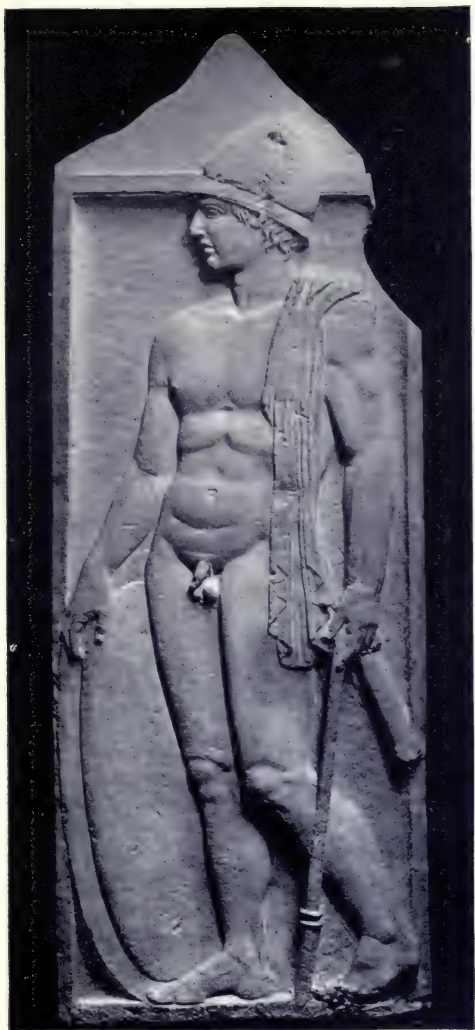


FIG. 16.

Warrior, Grave-stele from Pella. Constantinople.



modelling on the foreshortened sides of the face, breast, and left hand, whilst on the chief surfaces, viz., those facing the spectator, he has gone so far in the suppression of movement as to give in places a polished smoothness, and delicately to pick out the detail by incised design.

Thus relief is ever resisting the invasion of modelling conformable to nature. At first sight this resistance seems naturally explained by the facts mentioned above: as relief started from a Page 34
sq. drawing sketched upon the surface of the stone, it means to depart from this drawing as little as may be (17), and its further development remains possessed by the principles of drawing. But as there are other sorts of low relief, we ought not to generalise straightway from what we have observed in stone reliefs only. These other sorts I have not been able to examine very thoroughly (18), but even an imperfect sur-

(17) Conze, *Das Relief bei den Griechen*, Akad. Berlin, 1882, p. 573.

(18) To give only a few examples. Reliefs in terracotta: A. Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros*, pl. 26; Milchhöfer, *Anfänge*, Fig. 48; *Berichte der sächs. Gesellschaft*, 1848, p. 123. The Melian terracottas, *e.g.*, British Museum, pl. 19, B 363, 367; pl. 20, B 366, 372, 375. Bronze reliefs: Collignon, i, Figs. 45, 108; Olympia, iv, 696, 717, pls. 38, 40.

vey shows that in all essentials the phenomena seen in stone relief appear in them too; and (since relief in bronze or clay is certainly not so dependent upon drawing as in stone relief) the doubt arises whether the explanation mentioned is quite accurate. However, one could argue that these other kinds of relief also do to a certain extent start from an original sketch, and so regard their similarity to stone relief as a further confirmation of the close relationship between low relief and drawing and of their separation from sculpture in the round.

We shall see later whether this opinion can be maintained.

Coins: Gardner, Types, pl. 1, 10 *sq.*; 3, 13; Head, Guide, pls. 4, 2-5, 7; 7, 8, 12; 8, 14 *sq.*, 17, and so on. For gems it is enough to look through vol. i of Furtwängler's Gemmen.

CHAPTER III

STATUARY

FROM another point of view, that of composition, relief and sculpture in the round are in obvious opposition. Drawing and low relief, though attached to the profile view (1), as has often been observed, soon become relatively free in the movement of figures (2), whilst statuary in its principal task, the representation of the human form, is for a long time bound by the law of "Frontality" which Julius Lange laid down for the primitive sculpture of all peoples (3).

Is this opposition compatible with the ex-

(1) Cf. Perrot, i, p. 742 (also the author's *Lysipp*, pp. 16 *sq.*).

(2) Cf. Lange, p. xx.

(3) Lange, p. xi. The law may be thus formulated: an imaginary plane taken through the top of the head, nose, backbone and breast-bone, navel and crotch, so as to divide the body into two symmetrical halves, remains always unchanged, without bending or turning in any direction. Cf. the author's *Lysipp*, pp. 17 *sqq.*

planation which we are following? That explanation is in no way determined by external, and consequently not by technical conditions; if correct, it must be applicable to sculpture in the round as well.

Now, it cannot in any way be proved that drawing or low relief necessarily demands the profile view. With animal forms, such as quadrupeds, the profile is adopted in accordance with the principles evolved above. The same holds good in the human form with regard to the legs (4); and when, inversely, the front view of the trunk is more consistent with those principles, we find it often enough retained in primitive art (in the Egyptian, for instance) (5), even when all the rest of the figure is in profile. Finally, of the head. Here neither the side view nor front view was *a priori* postulated in the sense that the spontaneous memory pictures of all its single parts would concur quite harmoniously in one or the other view; a compromise would have to be made in every case; and, even in drawing, this compromise did not

Page 12
sqq.

(4) For the foot cf. p. 21, note 23.

(5) Cf. Lange's observations, p. xxiv.

always favour the profile, as is proved by the Gorgoneion of the Greeks, as well as by the works of several primitive peoples (6). But the head of all parts of the body is the most expressive of one man's relation to another: we imagine it in full face or in profile, according as we think of a person in relation to ourselves or to another. We might, then, ask why in primitive drawing and relief the profile of the human head predominates. One reason may well be that the prevailing theme of such art is the representation of several figures grouped together in some common action, and thus turned towards one another. Another reason is, certainly, that though in the drawing of the face in the front view the aspect of all the other features would be satisfactory,—they being seen in the greatest expansion—that of the nose would be unsatisfactory, for its most expanded view is in profile. But a nose in profile drawn in a full face is one of those inconsistencies with reality which the primitive mind must have noticed almost immediately. In the profile

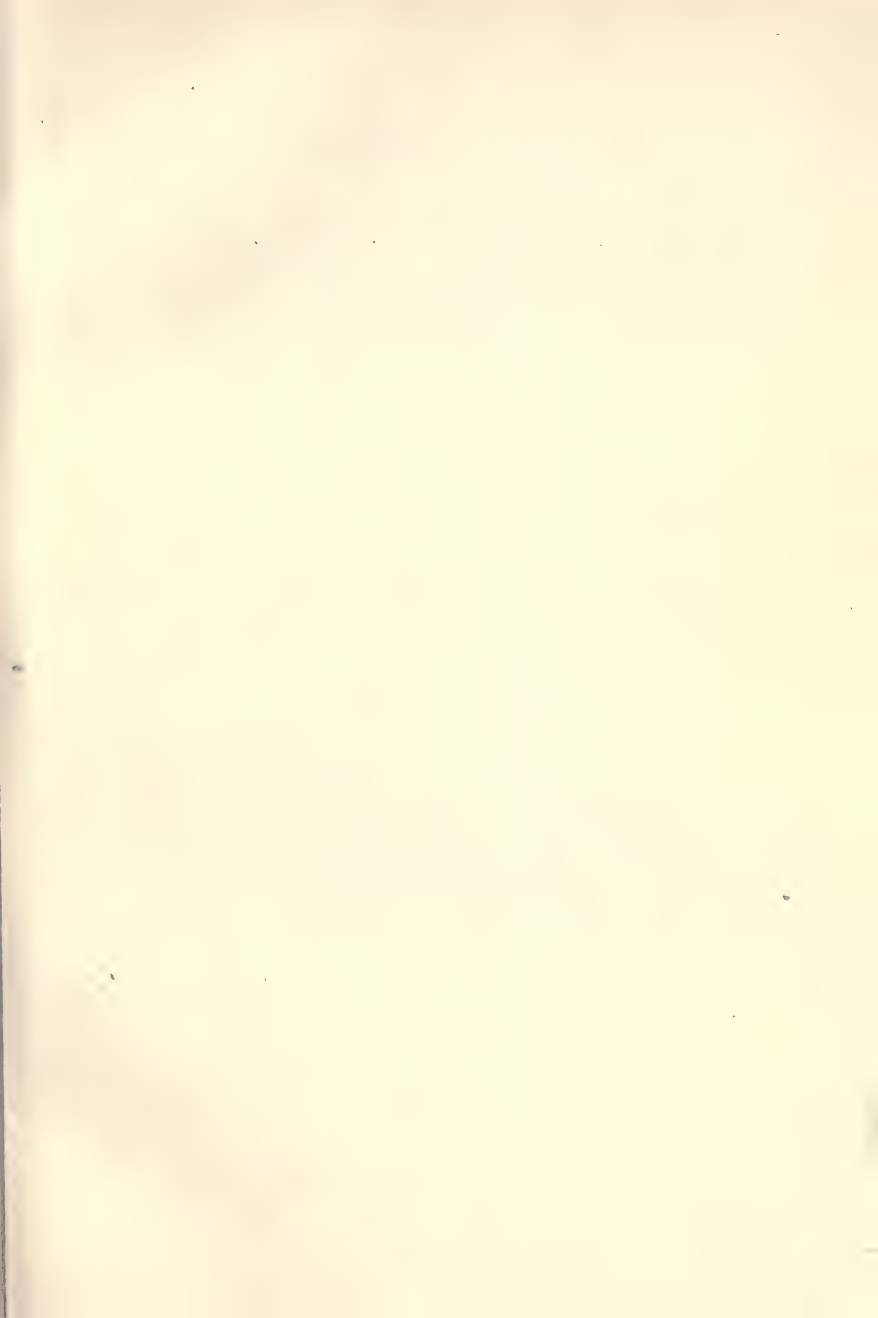
(6) Examples: Von den Steinen, *Zent.-Brasil.*, pls. 16 *seqq.*, p. 253; Grosse, *Anfänge der Kunst*, pp. 159, 161, 170.

view of the whole head this inconsistency is avoided.

In sculpture in the round, the earliest representations of men were images of gods, statues for graves, or for offerings which were usually set up in direct relation to the spectator, whence followed the full-fronted position. When, however, a relation to others is to be supposed (figures in an attacking posture, for instance), then archaic sculpture too employs the side view (7). How obstinately the habit of seeing images of gods in full view sometimes dominated the artist's idea of the deity himself is expressively illustrated by pictures and reliefs, where even though the thrones and bodies of the gods may face the worshippers in the picture, the gods' faces look towards you. In the Spartan hero-reliefs (Fig. 13) (8) one could explain this by sup-

(7) Compare the Zeus in Fig. 26, and Olympia, iv, 43 *sq.*, pls. 7 *sq.*, pp. 18 *sq.*; P. and C., viii, Fig. 349, and Fig. 239. Warrior from Dodona: Collignon, i, Fig. 166; Bulle, 27; Arch. Zeit., xl, 1882, pl. 1. Athena: Collignon, i, Fig. 177; P. and C., viii, Fig. 308; Ephemeris, 1887, pl. 7.

(8) Cf. page 40, note 9. In the later relief of the same composition the contrast is felt and avoided. I will not contend that technical reasons do not play a part here; but the phenomenon came about in spite of them. Cf. also the relief in Bull. Corr., xiii, 1889, pl. 14.



FIGS. 17-18.



17.



18.

Worship of the goddess Istar. Babylonian cylinders. (Fig. 18 Paris.)

posing that the relief itself was the actual object of worship; but similar figures on Babylonian cylinders (Figs. 17-18) invalidate the explanation.

But in sculpture in the round the law of "Frontality" (9) finds its limit just where it would come in conflict with the principles which we propose. Lange himself excludes certain cases, all of which (animals, figures lying down or attacking) (10) are covered by our theory. In an upright human figure turned to the front the combination of head and body in full view with the legs in profile would correspond to the purely mental conception, but it is so obviously unnatural and unsteady that it would not be a matter for wonder if, long before our earliest examples, the discrepancy had been avoided by the subordination of the legs to the rest: and yet instances of even this combination do occur in standing or striding figures (11).

(9) For what follows I can refer to Bulle (B. ph. W., 1900, col. 1038 *sqq.*), whose criticism of the theory of frontality partly coincides with the above principles.

(10) Lange, p. 62 *sq.* Motives of attacking: above, p. 48, note 7.

(11) Compare, besides high reliefs such as the Selinuntian Metopes (Collignon, i, Figs. 118 *sq.*; P. and C., viii, Figs. 246 *sq.*; B. B., 286), the bronzes, Monumenti Lincei, vii,

Far more tenaciously does the profile view of legs in motion stick to the imagination; running legs especially are spontaneously thought of as in profile only. And when the sense of legs in motion combines in one and the same conception with the not less firmly rooted sense of relation to the spectator, we have such dissonances as the well-known Delian Nike (Fig. 19), or the Gorgon of the Selinuntian Metope (12). These examples are perfectly good

1897, col. 351 *sqq.*, pl. 9, 1; P. and C., viii, Fig. 345; De Ridder, 760, pl. 5; Reinach, Répertoire, ii, 518 *sq.* The Athena of the Æginetan West pediment may be included (Collignon, i, Fig. 143; Bulle, 32; B. B., 23). If we may here ascribe the phenomenon to the constraint of space, this constraint (which, by the way, is in no wise proven) has not invented anything, but has at best preserved what already existed. Another solution: De Ridder, 706-10, 712 *sq.*, 725 *sqq.*, etc. (cf. also Collignon, i, Fig. 5; P. and C., vi, 332).

(12) Gorgon: Collignon, i, Fig. 118; P. and C., viii, Fig. 246; B. B., 286 *b.* Delian Nike restored: Studniczka, Die Siegesgöttin, Neue Jahrbücher, i, 1898, pl. 2, 7. Others: Collignon, i, Fig. 70; De Ridder, 800 *sqq.*; P. and C., viii, Fig. 126; Reinach, Répertoire, ii, 389 *sqq.* For us, who are used to a naturalistic manner of observation, these figures seem to fly past whilst looking at us. The problem is not quite solved even in the Nike on the hand of the Parthenos (Collignon, i, Fig. 273; B. B., 39 *sq.*; Neue Jahrb., pl. 4, 24 *sq.*), which in every respect takes an intermediate position.



FIG. 19.

Winged goddess (Nike), from Delos. Athens.



proof that sculpture in the round depends as much upon the mental picture as do drawing and low relief, although apparently drawing and low relief preceded them with the same combination (13).

In other instances the solution follows easily enough, as when in the primitive mind the figure of the rider readily assumes the side view in adapting itself to the side view required for the

It avoids the contrast of direction between the upper and lower portions of the body, without, however, abandoning the profile aspect of the legs to show the movement. Paionios was the first to harmonise movement and relation to the spectator; his Nike (Collignon, i, Fig. 239; Bulle, 104; B. B., 444 *sq.*; Neue Jahrb., pl. 5, 28-31) comes flying towards us.

(13) I cannot think that archaic art borrowed its well-known running and flying motive from the striding jump (S. Reinach, *Rev. Arch.*, third series, ix, 1887, pp. 106 *sq.*; Studniczka, Nike, pp. 381 *sq.*). How could it come into the mind of the artist to substitute for running such a completely different movement? We must maintain that the motive signifies running until it can be proved that it was originally employed for flying, in which case the interchange would be a little more intelligible, though not entirely so. (Cf. Kalkmann, *Deutsch. Jahrb.*, x, 1895, pp. 56 *sqq.*) The chance resemblance to moments of jumping (Exner, *Physiologie des Fliegens*, pp. 31 *sqq.*, Reinach) can prove nothing for the above derivation, even though photography need not have been necessary in order to catch the moment, as Reinach thinks. I consider the scheme to be a purely mental construction of the kind noticed on page 17.

horse. Conversely, if we may admit that when a group comprising a quadriga or biga was set up, the team was as a rule exhibited in full front (14), then in the memory-pictures drawn from such works there may lie, perhaps, an explanation of the surprisingly early occurrence of chariots seen from the front, not only in high relief, but in low relief and drawing (15). It should, however, be said that we occasionally see fairly advanced draughtsmanship still labouring to construct such chariots from spontaneous memory-pictures (Fig. 20) (16).

But the peculiar domain of statuary is the rendering of the round in the round.

(14) Cf. Homolle, *l'Aurige de Delphes*, Mon. Piot, iv, 1897, p. 175.

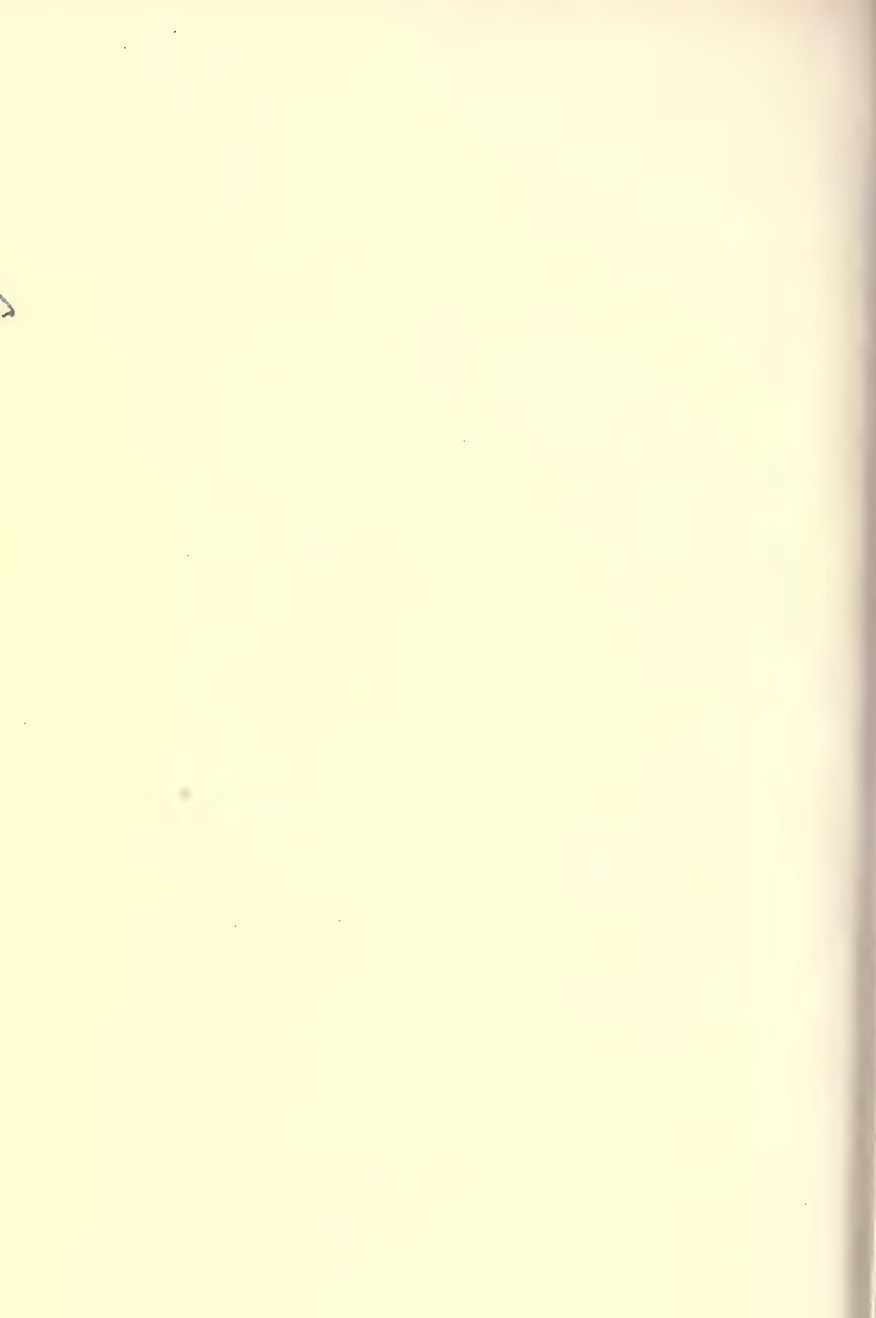
(15) High Relief: Collignon, i, Fig. 117; P. and C., viii, Fig. 245; B. B., 287a; Winter, *Deutsch. Jahrb.*, viii, 1893, pp. 136 sq., Nos. 1-6. Drawing, etc.: see Delbrück, *Beiträge*, p. 22 (the gem, *ibid.*, pp. 18 sq.; Furtwängler, *Gemmen*, pl. 4, 46, admits also another opinion); *Olympia*, iv, 706, pl. 39; J. H. S., xiii, 1892-93, pl. 8; Kekulé, *Terr. Sicil.*, pl. 54, 1, and others. Representations of horsemen in full front (*e.g.*, *Ant. Denkm.*, ii, 19) may have been influenced by this circumstance, or even by statues of riders, if Winter be right in his theory of how they were set up (Winter, p. 155 sq., but cp. also p. 139, No. 9).

(16) Cf. further J. H. S., xix, 1899, pl. 9, pp. 267 sq.; Loeschke, *Bonner Studien*, p. 254.



FIG. 20.

Selene (the moon) diving into the ocean. Vase drawing. Berlin.



The forms to be represented by statuary, in consequence of the possession of three dimensions, show more than one view to the spectator : they are plurifacial. Can the primitive conception figure to itself, at the same time, more than one view ? Can it include the plurifacial in one act ? To a certain extent we can trick out the mental images with elements not at one and the same time visible, though they will remain vague and ambiguous ; but we cannot imagine simultaneously various images, and the various views of one object are really various images. The sculptor, when conceiving a statue, pictures it in his mind in one aspect only, just as would a draughtsman or a painter. To obtain plurifaciality, he must by special acts of the imagination supply those views which were not included in the original conception. The complete conception is thus strictly a secondary one, the primary imagination excluding plurifaciality.

This enables us to understand a class of very archaic figures (17), which we cannot suppose

(17) Examples. In terracotta : Collignon, i, Figs. 52 *sq.* (cf. Figs. 54 *sq.*) ; Deutsch. Jahrb., iii, 1888, pp. 343 *sq.*,

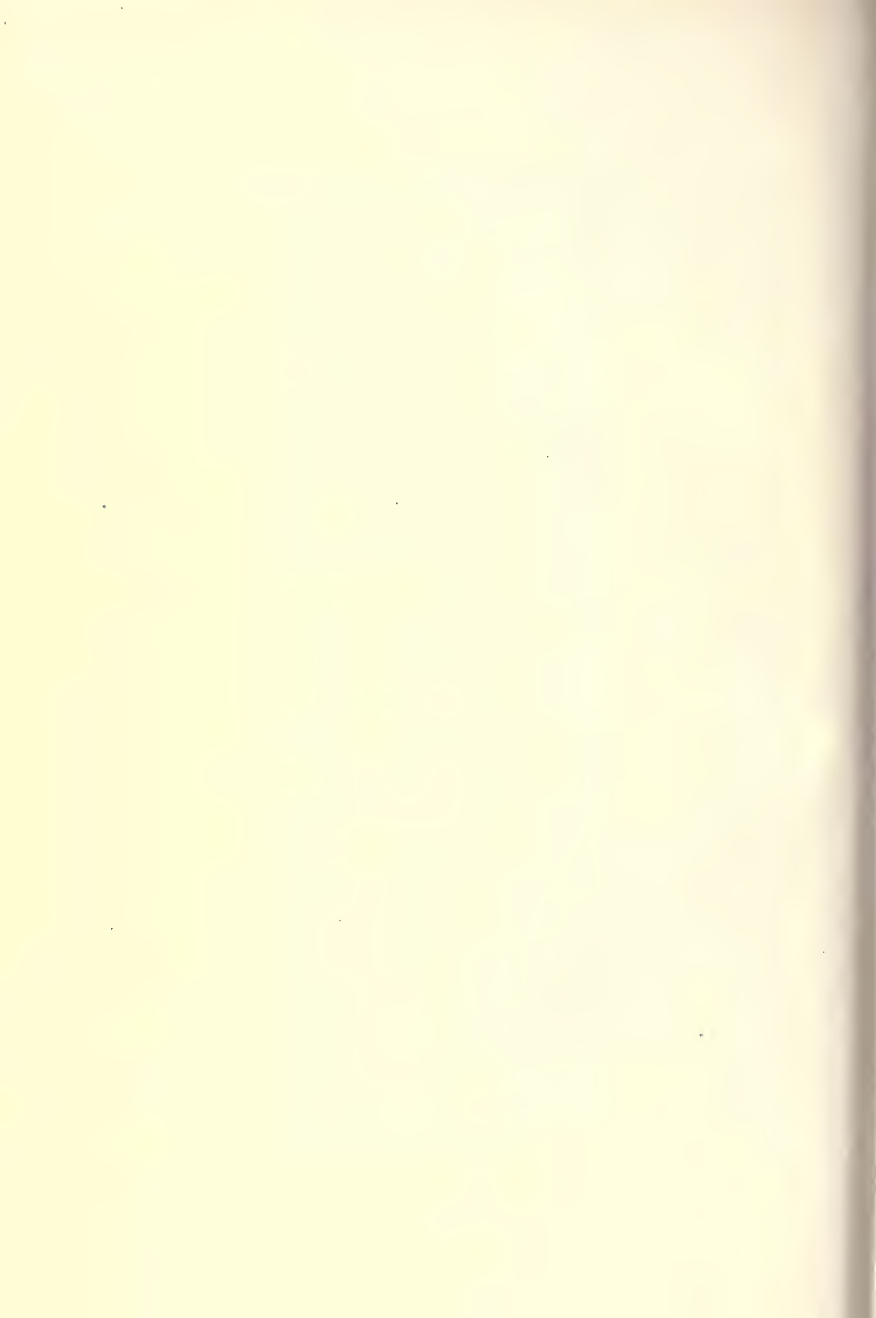
to have been fixed to a ground (*appliqués*) (18), though in spite of that they very obviously lack depth. To this class belong, not only little figures of men and animals cut out of, or otherwise modelled in, metal, stone, or clay, but also big statues, as the votive figure of Nikandre (Figs. 21-23). This undoubtedly is a class of sculpture in the round, which is content

Fig. 26 (cf. Figs. 27 *sq.*); Mon. Piot, i, 1894, p. 32; Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terracotten*, i, pp. 8, 4; 9, 1-3, etc.; *Terracottas in British Museum*, pl. xvi, B 57 *sq.* (the "Pappádes"). Bronze: De Ridder, 691-93; *Olympia*, iv, 232 *sq.*, pl. 15 (men); De Ridder, 490, 492; *Olympia*, iv, 731-33, pl. 41 (animals). This formation is especially familiar in Etruscan art; see Martha, pp. 502 *sq.* In pre-Hellenic art compare the leaden idól, Collignon, i, Fig. 3; P. and C., vi, Fig. 295, and the numerous "Island-idols" (Collignon, i, Figs. 2, 5; P. and C., vi, Figs. 325 *sqq.*; Winter, i, p. 10). Some of the above, through the want of single parts of the body, show an absolutely primitive stage of conception (p. 19), such as the earliest draughtsmanship of which we have record had long left behind.

(18) These works, as they stand, would certainly not differ in many cases, so far as technique is concerned, from those made to be affixed (cf. on the one hand the leaden figures from the Menelaion described by Tsountas, *Praktika*, 1900, p. 80, 2, and on the other hand those that Furtwängler cites, *Olympia*, iv, p. 108, Nos. 731 onwards). These last could be defined as reliefs on a separate ground; between them and relief proper come forms such as the Olympian bronze plate (Collignon, i, Fig. 108; *Olympia*, iv, 717, pl. 40).

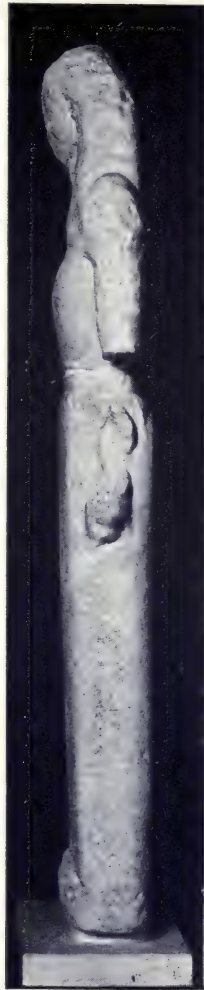


FIG. 21.
Female figure. Votive offering of Nikandre,
from Delos. Athens.





22.



23.

Back and side view of the votive figure of Nikandre (*cf.* Fig. 21).



with giving only one view. Whatever mass gives depth to it is there because other reasons—practical use, for instance—required the work to be substantial, or even only because the material and means suggested such procedure: artistically the sides and back are meaningless. Even where the artist has enriched them with detail and rounded off the transitions from the front to the sides, this is no sufficient indication that the statue was intended for more views than one. A sight of the sides, so far from producing the illusion of a real figure, would rather have diminished it. And if the sides were not meant to be seen, neither was the back (19). That the back exists at all is but the material consequence of the cutting out of the contour of the front view; like the sides, it owes the working of its surface only to the well-known "horror vacui." The rounding off of the transitions is certainly an important step towards the rendering of bodily form, since it introduces the movement of planes, of which we shall speak later. But so far it does not remove—it only

(19) In the Nikandre figure the back (Fig. 22) is partly unfinished.

suberves—the unifacial aspect in which the conception of such figures is exhausted.

Even a depth corresponding to nature does not exclude unifaciality. In the head of a goddess from the Olympian Heræum, for instance, the depth is sufficiently developed (Figs. 24-25), but that the sculptor nevertheless had in mind only the front view is shown by the inorganic frontal attachment of the ear, done according to mental abstraction. And though the space-filling details, as we might call them, in the diadem and hair are continued on the sides, the artist has, nevertheless, expended all his efforts to render the form of the face upon the front view, and the sides serve merely to furnish mass.

Unifaciality is not necessarily incompatible even with all-round modelling and correct depth. Figures like the well-known Zeus throwing the thunderbolt (Figs. 26 ; 33), and even to a high degree the Tyrannicides (20), require to be seen in only one aspect wherein all essential features will be found united ; in any other view, either some of the essential features are out of sight, or the silhouette shrinks together, and thereby loses its

(20) Collignon, i, Fig. 189 ; Bulle, 49 sq. ; B. B., 326 sq.



FIG. 24.

Head of a goddess (Hera).
From the Temple of Hera at Olympia.

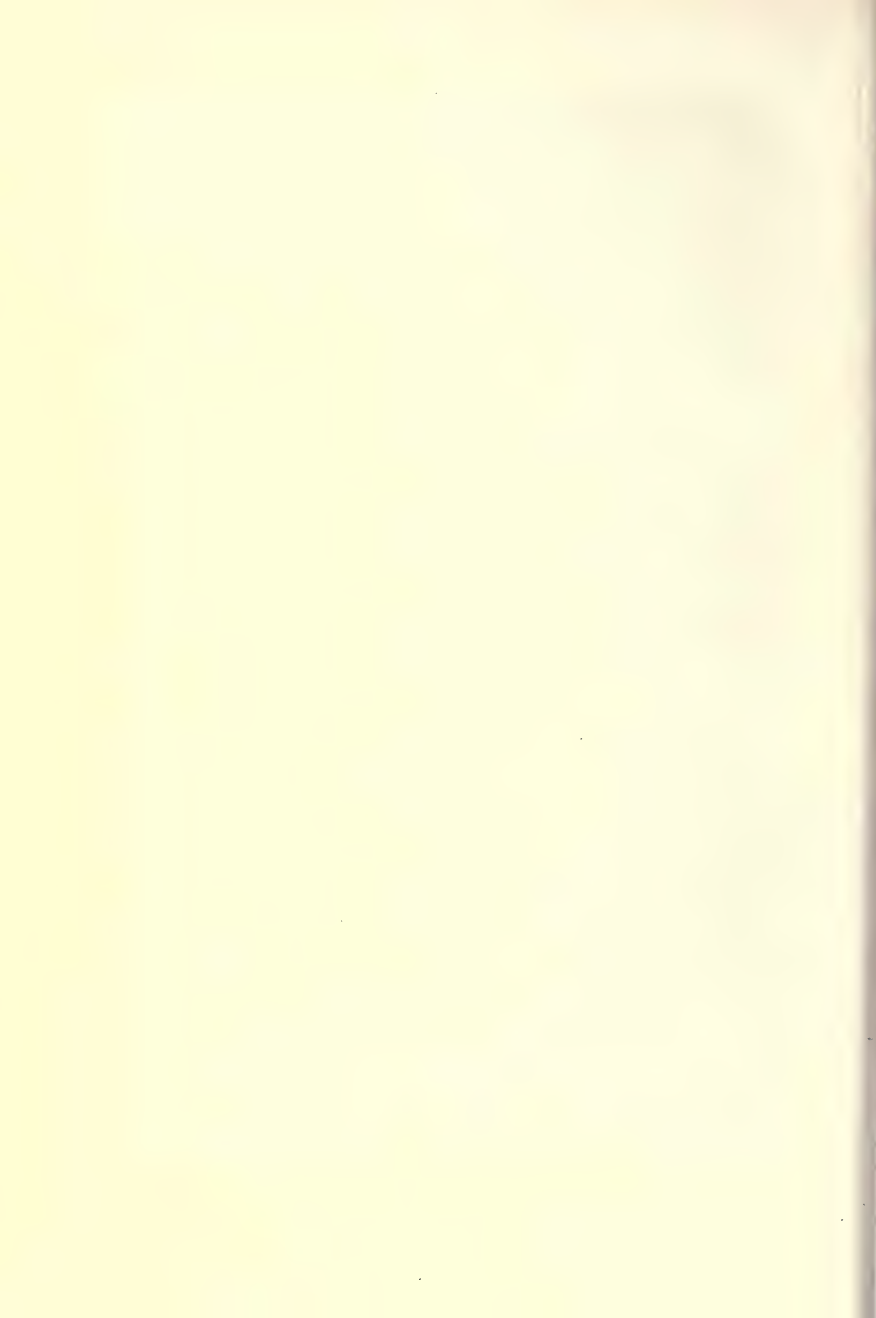




FIG. 25.

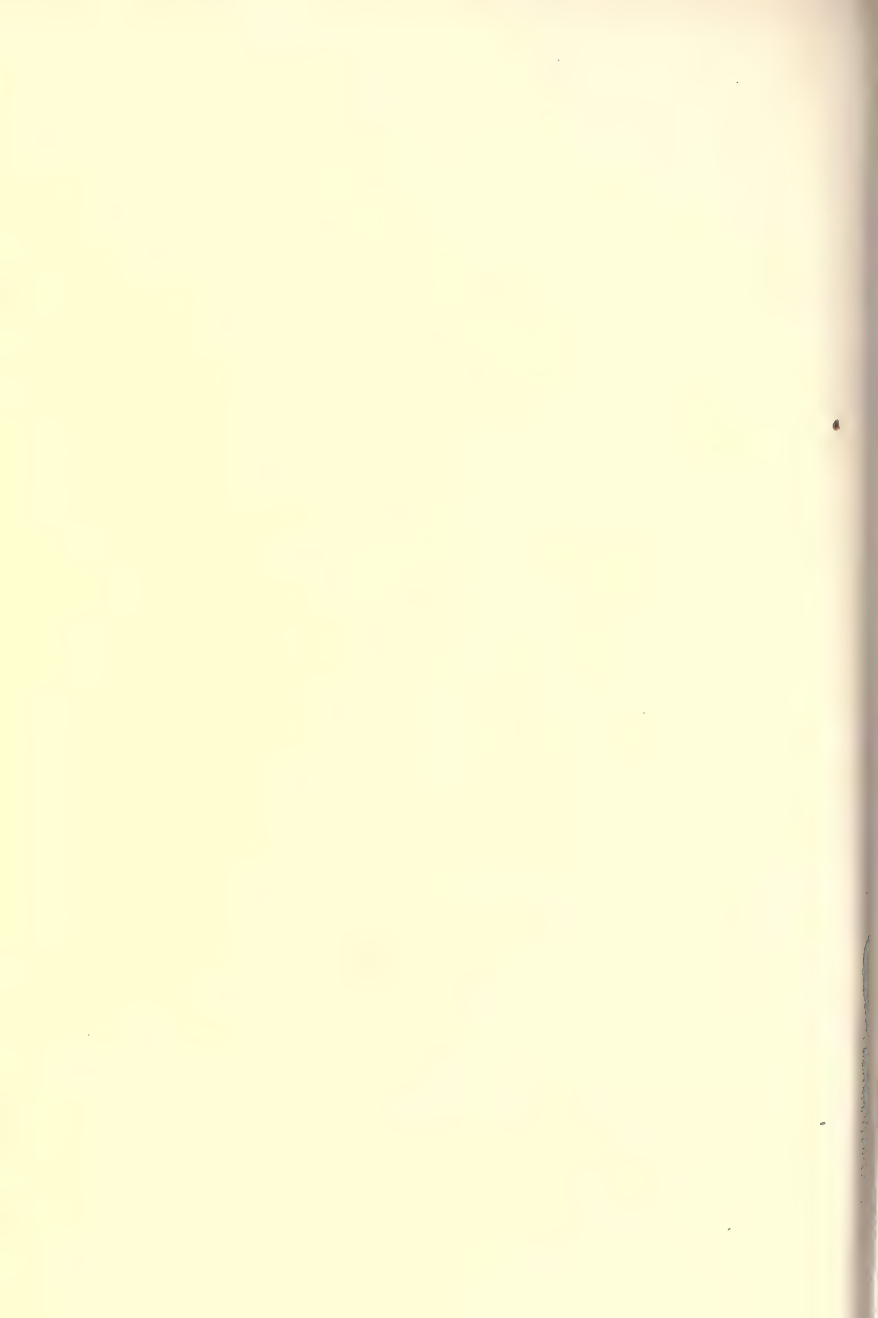
Profile view of Fig. 24.





FIG. 26.

Zeus throwing the thunderbolt. Bronze
statuette (11 cm., reduced). Olympia.
Cf. fig. 33.



clearness. The other sides, then, although they were completed, have no part in the original conception. Thus these works, morphologically, still represent, in a certain sense, the most primitive type of plastic expression.

The Apollo of Tenea is done in the round, in Page 53. the sense that it is plurifacial (21). But here, too, the number of aspects is limited as compared with nature. The figure, as has been frequently remarked, is composed of four views, front and back and the two sides, which are set up at right angles to one another, with a greater or lesser degree of rounding off where they meet, the whole thereby acquiring the appearance of excessive depth. The Apollo of Tenea is, of course, no first essay, but the sum of artistic work of generations; yet it still clearly illustrates what has been said regarding the development of the figure in

(21) Collignon, i, Fig. 96; P. and C., viii, Figs. 187 *sq.*; Bulle, 23; B. B., 1. The present argument is in no wise affected by the fact that the type, like others (cf. the torso from Eleutherna, referred to in the following note), had been already given by Egyptian art. The Greek artist approached these originals of a foreign art exactly as he approached nature, *i.e.* he worked from them by a process of memory, and assimilated them only within the limits of his power of conception.

the round from the two-dimensional image by adding other views or facets to the original one (22). Each view came independent and entire into the artist's mind, and presents itself now independent and entire in the completed work. We have already accounted for the rounding of the edges (which is in the Apollo more developed on the front side) when speaking of plastic figures intended for one view only. In order to explain the choice of just the four aspects in question it might be urged that these four, front, back, left, right, are those of which we are most aware in our own bodies—an explanation (be it noted) which so far coincides with my theory that it implies the artist to have started, not from the observation of nature, but from his own consciousness. But the aspects are also those which we note in others, and which are most early and most deeply impressed on our memories, ever

(22) If it should be necessary to show intermediary stages of development by which plurality of aspect could be acquired by art, there are, on the one hand, the head from the Heræum and the upper part of the Nike of Delos (Figs. 24 *sq.* and 19), and, on the other, the torso of Eleutherna (P. and C., viii, Figs. 208 *sq.*; *Rendiconti Lincei*, vii, 1891, p. 602 A; *Rev. Arch.*, xxi, 1893, pl. 3 *sq.*); see also p. 59, note 24.



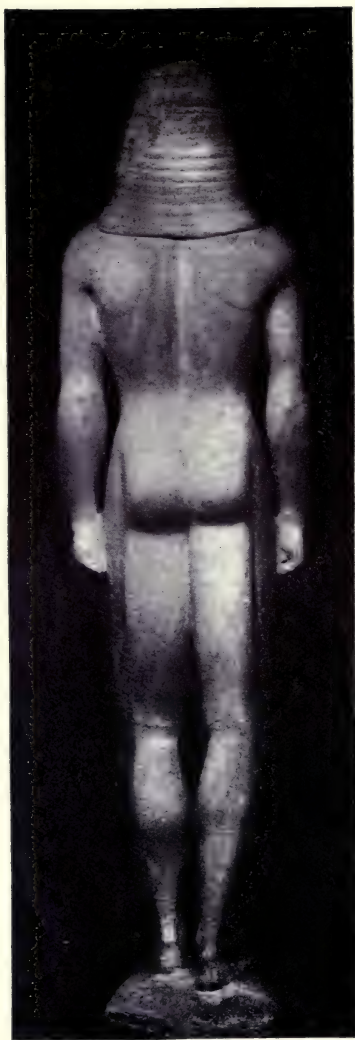


FIG. 27.

Back view of the so-called Apollo from
Tenea. Munich.

ready to neglect that which is unaccentuated and merely intermediate. It may be questioned whether the back is rightly included among the four views. But it was materially given by the existence of the other three sides: from the modelled contours of the two contiguous sides, at least where they bordered upon it, the back had already taken partial form, and the completion of the connecting surface followed naturally (23). And if I am not mistaken, even in the Apollo of Tenea it is still observable that in interest and execution the sides took precedence of the back (Fig. 27). Thus here a representation in the round has resulted from a conception which was no more than trifacial. For many forms, quadrupeds for example, two aspects only were sufficient to give it (24).

The above exposition does not harmonise

(23) I have sometimes wondered whether the pillar at the back of the Egyptian statues might not be the schematising of the mass behind originally left unworked.

(24) Examples are among those cited on p. 53, note 17. A division cannot, of course, always be made between a unifacial conception that was completed in the execution, and an original bifacial one. Moreover, there are not lacking instances where it is permitted to conjecture that there were statues of human figures set up with two aspects; thus

with the prevailing doctrine, which attributes the facts to constraint imposed by the shape of the material, to which pre-existing shape artistic thought had been subordinated, and maintains that the artistic form thus produced in one material coerced the artist's purpose even when transferring it into another material. I do not dispute all influence of technique upon form, nor the influence of one technique upon another. But can we imagine that artistic energy would thus resign itself to slumber for centuries? Is it not illogical to suppose that the artist should have worried out of the new material the forms dictated by the material first chosen despite the different conditions of the

the Mycenæan "Astarte", especially interesting since the same figure exists as a single-viewed relief-appliqué (p. 54, note 18); P. and C., vi, Figs. 293 *sq.*; Schuchhardt's Schliemann, Figs. 188 *sq.*, and, still in advanced archaism, the well-known Athena, Collignon, i, Fig. 197; P. and C., viii, Fig. 309; B. B., 81*a*; Ephemera, 1887, pl. 4. Perhaps the double view played a still more important rôle as the first step towards plastic treatment. The face of the Eleutherna torso, for example (p. 58, note 22), and apparently also the bronze, De Ridder, 697, raise the question whether the artist was not aiming to achieve the effect of the round by setting together the two profiles, and in the figure from Eleutherna flattening the forehead.

new (25)? And how far, in point of fact, is the shape of the working material a fixed one (26)? Mr. E. A. Gardner (27) has already pointed out that for wood (28) the four-sided baulk

(25) The analogy of forms from building, furniture, and vases is not pertinent; for in these cases there is no natural prototype to control the artistic form.

(26) Thiersch (*Epochen der Kunst*, notes, p. 6, 14) has clearly shown that there is no connection between the worship of natural objects, meteoric stones, tree trunks, poles, columns, etc., and the beginnings of plastic art. The like is true, at least for Greek art, as regards fetish idols decked out with real clothes, hair, etc.; the herm, which might be considered the descendant of them (Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst*, Part I, chap. i, § 5 *sqq.*), is explained more satisfactorily by what was said on p. 19 (cf. also p. 54, note 17, end). Personal ornaments, implements, and parts of implements are enlivened by giving them human or animal shapes (see Reinach, *L'Anthropologie*, v, 1894, p. 305), and chance resemblances in natural objects are tricked up (Collier, *Primer of Art*, pp. 13 *sqq.*; Balfour, *Decorative Art*, pp. 85 *sqq.*). These processes go on at all times side by side with the direct imitative tendency. But theories which regard them as the starting points of actual sculpture ought to demonstrate the various stages by which they developed into sculpture.

(27) *J. H. S.*, xi, 1890, pp. 132 *sqq.* Cf. also Winter, *Deutsch. Jahrb.*, xiv, 1899, p. 76.

(28) Clay, as technically indolent, does not come into consideration. Furtwängler (*Olympia*, iv, pp. 38, 42) seems to suggest that the flat and sharply outlined forms found in metal may be explained by the hammering of metal

was in no wise the self-evident shape, and as much at least can be said of the board shape.* On the other hand Mr. Gardner has remarked how natural it is for stone to be cut into even surfaces. But this will not explain the want of depth in the Nikandre figure (Figs. 21-23), for instance. Even where the depth of the statue is correct, in order to account for the selection of just a parallelepiped material we must assume, as Mr. Gardner does, that the conception of the human form as four-sided already previously existed in the mind of the artist. And if so, the constraint of the working material does not hold good. For if the artist had in mind a conception that corresponded with the actual rounding of the human body with the correct relation of depth and breadth, he would have found no technical difficulty in cutting his block of stone into as many sides to suit. He knew how to do this when blocking out columns. Indeed, we possess sculptured works that remind us forcibly of columns, such as the

plates. This indeed is possible, but what is to explain the identical formation we find in clay (see Furtwängler himself, p. 43) and stone?

Samian Xoanon (29), the votive offering of Cheramyas. But it is infinitely significant that however such productions are to be explained (30), they remain isolated (31) and sterile (32).

(29) Collignon, i, Fig. 73; P. and C., viii, Fig. 79; B. B., 56.

(30) Brunn (*Kunstgesch.*, ii, pp. 82 *sqq.*), as is well known, thought that they originated from the tree-trunk; Winter (*Deutsch. Jahrb.*, xiv, 1899, pp. 76 *sq.*) conjectured they were shaped after hollow-cast statues, for which the hollow tube suggested what was technically the simplest method of forming the figures. I consider the formations in question and others analogous (see the following note) to be results of an already awakened sense of roundness in single cases (as, for instance, the woman's gown), though here also the roundness conceived is merely abstract (cf. p. 98, note 39).

(31) Holleaux (*Mon. Piot*, i, 1894, pp. 21 *sqq.*) refers to only three bell-shaped Boeotian terracotta figures (Winter, *Figürliche Terracotten*, i, p. 6, 2-4), over against numerous board-shaped "Pappádes" (p. 53, note 17). Further rare exceptions are found in other round terracotta types of high antiquity. So far as they are not anthropomorphic, they are explained by note 30. The rounding of the Apollo of Orchomenos (P. and C., viii, Fig. 260; B. B., 77a), referred to by Gardner (p. 132), I do not myself see; the rounding of the Apollo of the Ptoion (Collignon, i, Fig. 92; P. and C., viii, Fig. 263; B. B., 126; Bull. Corr. Hell., x, 1886, pl. 4), and, as I may add, of the Delian torso (Collignon, i, Fig. 63), appears to me, judging by illustrations in both cases, not to lie in the original plan, but to result from a more advanced working of the transitions, so specially in the Apollo. It is clear that this can give the appearance of a structural roundness, especially to the smaller surfaces in stone sculpture and much more in terracotta.

(32) The replica of the Cheramyas figure found on the

Look farther for a moment beyond the field of archaic art. What tectonic constraint was there in wax or clay freely modelled (*per via di porre*) for a statue that was to be cast in bronze, *e.g.* for a type like the "Woman in Peplos," which, if not invented in cast bronze, was at least essentially transformed in that material, and thus made independent of the stone and wood tradition? And yet from the oldest examples (33) of this type to the two Athenas of Pheidias (Fig. 28), and down to the Eirene of Kephisodotos (34), the treatment of the figures is, contrary to nature, four-sided: that is to say, the front and side views of the drapery form even planes, unbroken save by the bent knee, and meeting one another at right angles

Acropolis (Collignon, i, Fig. 74; P. and C., viii, Fig. 120; Ephemeris, 1888, pl. 6) has a pronounced quadrate plan: Lechat, Bull. Corr. Hell., xiv, 1890, p. 140. In the Samian example itself the rounding extends by no means to all sides and parts.

(33) Namely, those published by Furtwängler, Ak. München, 1899, pl. 1, pp. 571 *sqq.*; P. and C., viii, Fig. 225. Others: Bull. d. Commiss. Arch., xxv, 1897, pls. 12, 14, pp. 169 *sqq.*

(34) Athena Parthenos: Collignon, i, Fig. 273; B. B., 39 *sq.* Eirene: Collignon, ii, Fig. 86; Bulle, 144; B. B., 43 (the question of chronology I may discuss elsewhere).



FIG. 28.

Statue of Athena, after Pheidias.
Dresden (the head in Bologna).





FIG. 29.

Charioteer. Bronze statue. Delphi.





FIG. 30.

Bronze figure of Apollo.
From the sea near Piombino. Paris.

From Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler griech und röm. Sculptur, pl. 78.

(35), with generally only the corners chamfered. That no schematising of the copyist has caused this quadrature, is proved, in spite of a somewhat different type of dress, by an original work, the Charioteer of Delphi (Fig. 29). And so not only nude male figures of mature archaic date like the Apollo of Piombino (Fig. 30), but still later the Doryphoros of Polykleitos, are "quadrate," even in horizontal section. If the relation in the Doryphoros between depth and breadth is nearly correct, yet even there each of the four views of the trunk and thighs seems to resist that blending with the contiguous sides by which they would lose their reciprocal independence. Nay, even in the Praxitelean trunk there are traces of this resistance, and it is not until Lysippos that it is quite overcome (36).

(35) The same phenomenon is not foreign to high relief: cf. the Parthenon Metope, Michaelis, pl. 4, Nord, xxxii.

(36) Archaic examples will be superfluous (at any rate cf. De Ridder, 734, 737 *sq.*, pl. 2, and the Poseidon, Ephemeris, 1899, pl. 5). Doryphoros (mostly unfavourable): Collignon, i, pl. 12 (cf. Fig. 260); Bulle, 115; B. B., 273. For Praxiteles and Lysippos, see pp. 84 *sq.*, 87 *sq.*, and cf. Furtwängler, Masterpieces, pp. 227, 312; Sellers, Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts, xviii, 1897, pp. 136 *sq.* (It will be easily seen where I disagree with these in what I have stated above.)

Page 53.

The phenomenon discussed is closely accompanied by another. Where a statue has a view that is intended to be seen exclusively or at least principally (in plurifacial statues this answers to the primary conception), that view remains remarkably flat. Quite primitive unifacial figures often exhibit a perfectly even plane upon which, when the arms and so forth lie across the body, they are not expressed in relief but only by drawing, or, may be, by painting, and the plane continues uniform to the edges, where it may, or may not, be rounded off (37). But even where modelling exists there appears a distinct aversion to depth. If a flat board were laid against the face of the Olympian Hera it would, save for the nose (and how far that projected is not known), exactly or very nearly touch throughout; this applies also to the bodies and other parts of very archaic figures. Later, indeed, art employs a more drastic rounding out, and more variation of planes for the single parts, but the general scheme of the whole figure (of seated figures that of the chief divisions) is for a long while confined within two parallel

(37) Examples among those cited on p. 53, note 17.

planes, before and behind, through which even advanced archaic art hardly ever ventured to break with more than the fore-arm or lower leg and accompanying part of the thigh.

With this we have touched a second factor in representing the round. The facts just mentioned argue that the initial stage of statuary was quite flat. If that conclusion be true is it conformable to our principles? In other words: according to us, the more primitive the art, the more true is the rendering of the mental image; is then this mental image flat in the sense that it takes no account of differences of plane?—or, since there certainly does exist in primitive art a rendering of form which is purely linear, is the untutored imagination susceptible of two kinds of spontaneous images, the flat and the solid, one that suggests drawing, the other sculpture?

Many, perhaps, consulting their own feelings, would at least incline to the latter alternative. We can all easily summon to our minds any images we like, modelled with light and shade. And yet it would be wrong to mistake such deliberate memory-pictures formed in imagina-

tions already much influenced by works of art for images independent and spontaneous. These latter do not preserve one individual and concrete impression, but only that which is common and permanent in numerous visual impressions, dismissing everything peculiar and accidental: and what is more accidental and changeable than light? It follows directly that the primitive memory-picture, being without light and shade, is also without modelling; and this corresponds

Pages 6,
28.

with the above-mentioned uniformity of colour in early painting, which is nothing else than the memory's spontaneous rejection of light and shade. But the spontaneous memory-picture,

Page 14
57.

as we have shown, has also a repugnance to depth. An arm that is extended forward is intolerable to it, since the elementary imagination can apprehend a form, and retain it, only when seen in its fullest and most comprehensive aspect; and neither here nor elsewhere will it endure any surfaces that, by being turned away and foreshortened, partly escape apprehension. In the mind's eye every form must be expanded and smoothed out: the spontaneous mental image cannot be other than flat.



FIGS. 31, 32.

Bronze votive statuettes. Delphi.

The most easily apprehended element of form, viz., the contour, and especially the general outline of the whole figure, is that which is first seized by the awakening consciousness of plasticity (38); and it is according to the varying strength of this consciousness (39) that certain parts begin straightway, and others hesitatingly, to project from the principal plane (Figs. 23, 31 *sq.*) (40). Page 13
sq.

(38) For the contour shown in still undiminished sharpness, see besides the leaden idol, p. 54, note 17, and primitive terracottas, the fragment from the Ptoion (Collignon, i, Fig. 61; P. and C., viii, Fig. 81; Bull. Corr. Hell., x, 1886, pl. 7), and parts of the limestone figure: P. and C., viii, Fig. 85; Rev. Arch., xvii, 1891, pl. 11. For rounding that follows the contours, compare island-idols and Pappádes (cf. p. 54, note 17; examples: Collignon, i, Figs. 2, 5, 53, 55), our Figs. 21 *sq.*, the Delian torso (p. 63, note 31), and others.

(39) Our discussion has not given a very great share in the making of the primitive conception of form to the sense of touch. This has not resulted from a prejudice in favour of the visual memory-image, but quite inductively on the basis of observation of actual phenomena which certainly seem to prove the pre-eminent position held by the memory-image. Yet it will sufficiently appear, I hope, from my entire context that I do not leave out of consideration all the other facts that determine the simple conception of form—as here, for instance, the plastic consciousness derived from our own bodies.

(40) Cf. also terracottas, such as Collignon, i, Fig. 52 *sq.* (54 *sq.*); P. and C., vi, Fig. 343; viii, Fig. 95; Winter, Figürliche Terracotten, i, pp. 4, 1, 4; 5, 4; 9, 2, etc.; Heuzey, Terres cuites, pls. 13, 1-3; 17, 1-3; Deutsches

Forms, indeed, such as the face (first of all the nose), breasts, fore-arms, and the like, were early prominent; other parts followed slowly. Yet for a long while all approach to the plastic imitation of nature is confined to details. Each part in itself separately acquires relief or rounded shape, but there is still wanting the power to coordinate them all in one plastic whole; and therefore the artist continues still to piece together a figure with single parts, each part made for the full view, though itself modelled throughout; and these parts (they would in any case be the trunk, head, upper arms, and thighs) he spreads out one alongside of the other in the usual manner. The test of the parallel planes could be applied equally well to high reliefs, such as the Olympian Metopes, and to statues like the

Page 14
sq.

Jahrbuch, iii, 1888, p. 343, Figs. 26 (27 sq.). Bronzes, De Ridder, 697, 694; P. and C., viii, Fig. 90; Mon. Piot, ii, 1895, pl. 15; Olympia, iv, 238 sq., 279, pl. 15 sqq.; Bull. Corr. Hell., x, 1886, pl. 8. Many "island" idols are especially good examples. Mycenæan, P. and C., vi, Figs. 330, 341 sq., 344; Winter, Figürliche Terracotten, i, pp. 2, 1; 3, 2, etc. Cypriote, Collignon, i, Fig. 4; P. and C., iii, Fig. 396; Heuzey, pl. 9, 1; Winter, p. 18, 4. From Syria, American Journal of Archæology, 2nd Ser., iv, 1900, pl. 2 sq. Italic (conservative in type), Martha, L'Art étrusque, Fig. 217.



FIG. 33.

Zeus throwing the thunderbolt.
Bronze statuette. Olympia. Cf. Fig. 26.



FIG. 34.

Bronze statuette of a warrior from Dodona. Berlin.

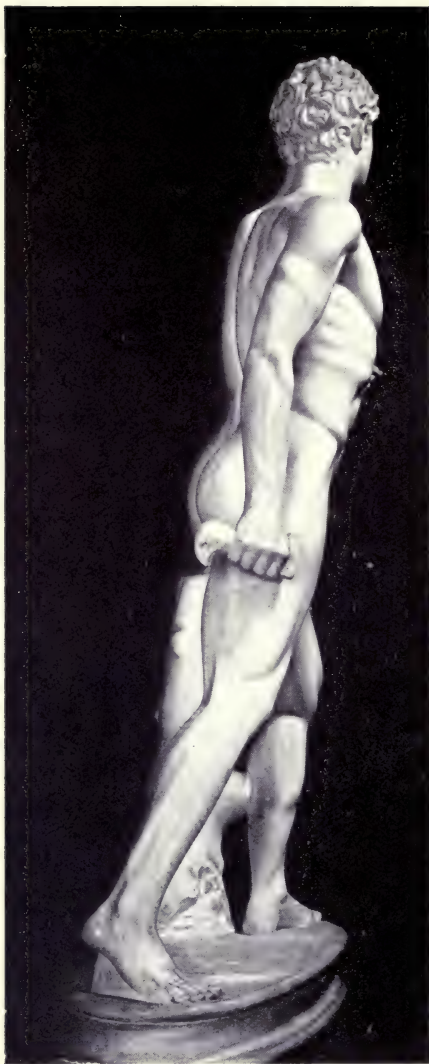


FIG. 35.

Aristogeiton (from the Tyrannicides group). Naples.



FIG. 36.

Hercules taming the Bull. Metope of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.
Paris (one piece in Olympia).

Zeus with thunderbolt (Fig. 33) (41), or (since in the Zeus convenience for casting might be alleged) the Tyrannicides (Fig. 35) (42), and even the dying Amazon at Vienna. As if the figures were thus compressed between the two planes, we find the Hercules in the Metopes of the Bull (Fig. 36) and Cerberus (43), twisted, and the Amazon (44), in defiance of all anatomical possibility, bent sidewise instead of backwards or forwards. But the movement, if anatomically wrong, is yet true to the images in our minds. Not a detail is withdrawn from sight by being slanted away, foreshortened, or

(41) See also page 48, note 7. In this motive progress can be followed in detail. The whole composition of the Zeus is so flat that the raised right arm lies in the same plane with the head, which would be the first thing hit by the thunderbolt. In the Athena of the Acropolis (Collignon, i, Fig. 177; P. and C., viii, Fig. 308; Ephemeris, 1887, pl. 7) the arm is already correctly brought forward, yet the shield is still shown in its full breadth. The warrior of Dodona (Fig. 34; cp. Collignon, i, Fig. 166; Bulle, 27; Arch. Zeit., xl, 1882, pl. 1) holds also the shield at an angle corresponding with reality. The same thing may be seen in the various Kriophoroi and Diadumenoi.

(42) See p. 56, note 20. The restorations do not count.

(43) Olympia, iii, pl. 43, No. 11.

(44) B. B., 418.

in shadow ; each part lies before the sight, full, entire, and clear, just as it lay before the mind.

Let us look back. What we have observed in sculpture in the round, we found also in relief. Statuary even after rounding off the contours, still endeavours to keep the given view of the object as free as possible from foreshortened curves, and shows an incapacity to subordinate the movement of planes to a comprehensive plastic conception of the figure : the cause of this is the same which prevented figures from being quite plastically rendered in relief, though there the manner was perhaps continued of set purpose (45). Confronted with the above
 Page 37 ^{sqq.} facts a merely genetic formula, such as the
 Page 43 ^{sq.} derivation of relief from drawing (46), appears

(45) For drawing further parallels I add only a few references. Take p. 69 with p. 40 ; the Selinuntian Metope, p. 50, note 12, with pp. 37 *sq.* ; the sculptures cited on p. 69, note 38 (the first part) with the reliefs, Fig. 13, p. 40, note 9 (against their derivation from wood-sculpture see Conze, *Das Relief bei den Griechen*, Ak. Berlin, 1882, p. 571).

(46) Even to stone relief this is not always applicable. In the Alxenor stele, for example (Fig. 44), which seems made to support the usual opinion (p. 43), the rigid uniform

too narrow, and, for the same reason, all groupings and distinctions between the representative forms of art become fundamentally irrelevant (47). Page 44.

surface of the figures lies considerably below the original surface of the block, as the foot seen in front-view and the side pillars prove.

(47) The question whether and in what order the single branches of art have sprung from one another is, as Balfour remarks (*Decorative Art*, p. 78), not to be answered by history. I cannot test the observations of Piette (*L'Anthropologie*, v, 1894, pp. 129 *sqq.*, vi, 1895, pp. 129 *sqq.*) regarding the successive appearance of sculpture in the round, "cut-out" relief, and engraved drawing in several stages of the cave-period. Granted that they are correct for these particular provinces, the proof is still wanting of the absolute novelty of every subsequent procedure (cf. also p. 31). Riegl, *Stilfragen*, pp. 1 *sqq.*, 20 *sqq.*, and Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, pp. 49 *sq.* (cf. Collier, *Primer*, p. 13; Balfour, p. 79) maintain that sculpture in the round is the oldest form of art on account of the lower degree of abstraction required for it; the same criterium according to our views could be applied with the opposite result. Indeed, it would be tempting to construct a course of development in the order of line, surface, and solid body such as would lead from the most primitive indication of form as expressed in merely one line (see p. 13 and Fig. 1; also partly Ricci, *Arte dei Bambini*, Figs. 1-3; Sully, *Childhood*, Figs. 1, 2, 7), to the picture of a figure in outline (intermediate forms, Von den Steinen, *Zentral-Brasilien*, pl. 16 *sq.*, p. 254; Sully, Fig. 12), thence to painted figures, and further to those in raised relief or in sunken (*basrelief en creux*) (p. 35; also P. and C., viii, Fig. 216; Bull. *Corr. Hell.*, xxiii, 1899, p. 599; P. and C., vi, Fig. 360; Collignon, i, Fig. 16),

In each of its branches art begins by being flat like a drawing, and spread out in relief fashion, because the unprejudiced mental image (the faithful reproduction of which constitutes all primitive art with whatever material means it may work) is unplastical, lacking in depth in every sense, and spread out to its fullest and most comprehensive visibility. Only according as art breaks away from the dominion of the mental image do its means expand their powers in different directions.

No one acquainted with history will suppose that this emancipation of art, viz., the discovery of nature, was made by sudden revelation all down the line. But, fortunate in our inheritance from all previous generations, we underrate the length and labour of the struggles that had to be undergone before, for the first time in

from these with the removal of the field (p. 53, note 17; p. 54, note 18; Collignon, i, Fig. 49; P. and C., viii, Figs. 198 *sqq.*; Terracottas in the British Museum, pl. xx, B 376) to the flat single-viewed figure, and finally (p. 58, note 22; p. 59, note 24) to the full plastic form with plurality of aspect. I have not made such an evolutionary point of view the leading one in our discussion, because I think that, even in the case of its being tenable, the principle underlying it is the one discussed in the text.

history, artistic form took its law directly from nature. Therefore, and to emphasise what has been said already, let us glance at the decisive stages of this process of transformation and separation.

CHAPTER IV

DIFFERENTIATION

SOON after the middle of the sixth century B.C., we meet something new in the drawing (in the stricter sense) of the Greeks. They begin to take a marked interest in the trunk of the human figure. They present it in aspects never seen till now, obliquely and in back view, making it bend or twist, and fitting it out amply with anatomical details. At the same date, and often applied to the same problems of drawing, there appears a more striking innovation—foreshortening (1).

The new interest and the new method are related. It is easy to understand that we of to-day are relatively ignorant of the forms of the nude human trunk, but there were also good reasons for the same ignorance in the primitive art of the ancients. In every scene of which we are spectators our attention is called

(1) Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pp. 154 *sqq.*; cf. p. 365; Delbrück, *Beiträge*, pp. 27 *sqq.*

first and foremost to the acting or speaking parts of the body, to the limbs or head respectively, and of the mere intermediary trunk itself there remains at best a vague memory-picture. Thus it is that in the earliest productions of art the drawing of the trunk oscillates between the front view and the profile; its forms are uncertain and ill understood. There was almost no occasion at all to exhibit the back of a body when figures were systematically juxtaposed (2). The intelligent interest in the trunk, then, is a sign of an increased observation of nature which is making energetic progress towards such images as were unknown to the unschooled imagination; and such an increased observation is required for foreshortening.

(2) In the well-known archaic fighting scheme (ex. the Euphorbos plate in the British Museum, A 268; Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie*, ii, 2, col. 2781 *sq.*; Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros*, pl. 53), and its variant, the hunt (François Vase, *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, iv, pl. 54 *sq.*, Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 13), one of the exactly corresponding warriors or huntsmen shows the spectator his back (clothed or cuirassed); but in these cases the design of the back is scarcely different from the front. For this scheme translated to the nude, cp. the kylix of Glaukytes and Archikles (*Monumenti dell' Istituto*, iv, pl. 59; *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1889, pl. 2, 2).

Every one knows the importance of foreshortening in drawing as the opening up of the third dimension. Its fundamental value in the present connection can be expressed as the first breaking away from the primary method of working entirely from the mental image. All previous deliberate observation of nature, of which there is an incalculable amount, had been employed merely for improving the details of the images already existing in the mind. With the introduction of foreshortening (and so also of the back view) art goes outside the province of primitive conception for its subject and now draws its pictures direct from nature. This too, indeed, it had done occasionally heretofore; but such novel images were always conducted through the memory in the usual way, and assimilated in their entire structure to the spontaneous memory-pictures. With foreshortening the artist set to work for the first time upon a principle that conflicts with the primitive conception, and is derived from physical reality. It is a novelty, both morphologically, and as showing a new relation between art and nature.

We say this, indeed, with certain reserves.



FIG. 37.

Drawing on a kylix. Boulogne-sur-Mer.



FIG. 38.

Battle scene (from a vase by Duris.)

Much earlier than this we found single instances of perspective, though they were of a different kind from the above; and just as they remained very limited, and without influence upon the construction of the figures in general, so also the new foreshortening was confined to a small sphere of problems, and appears to be an achievement characteristic rather of individuals than of the art of the time considered as a whole. And, what is still more important: how many of the instances are delusive or imperfect, how few bear comparison with the real aspect of things, and can be traced to the immediate observation of nature? No, they too are for the most part reminiscences; and as we see the artist welding them inorganically together, and not seldom grafting them on forms of the old type (Figs. 37 *sq.*), we understand how difficult he still finds it to free himself entirely from the habitual manner.

To foreshortening there was soon to be added another change. In part Polygnotos and his school (3) worked on existing lines; the body

(3) Perhaps owing to special racial endowment (cf. p. 30, note 34). On Polygnotan painting, see Benndorf, *Heroon*

had been already emancipated from the two canonical views, front and side: this emancipation was now extended to the head; rigidity already overcome in the body is now overcome in the expression of the face; the exclusiveness of the silhouette is further invaded by more elaborate grouping, that is to say, by a combination of elements instead of the single figure. But something essentially new in Polygnotan art is the awakened sense of locality, though, indeed, the conception of it is far from being thorough. The elements that mark the environment are conceived only in their dependence upon the figures; the silhouettes of the figures are placed on different levels, in order to indicate their position as being one behind another in space; yet they are not given in different sizes, and, moreover, although figures are occasionally overlapped by the lines of the landscape, they still, in principle, stand out from a merely neutral field. Till now all efforts to render a body in the round had been

Page 13.

v. Gjölbaschi - Trysa, especially pp. 245 *sqq.*; Schöne, Deutsches Jahrbuch, viii, 1893, pp. 187 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, Deutsches Jahrbuch, ix, 1894, pp. 73 *sq.*; Robert, Marathonschlacht, pp. 82 *sqq.*; Girard, Mon. Grecs, 1895-7, pp. 17 *sqq.*, 46 *sqq.*

made only through linear suggestions of depth. It was Apollodoros, the "shadow painter," who completed the plastic effect by shading his figures, and perhaps suggested space by letting them cast shadows. Page 66
sqq.

For a certain time, it would seem, shading and linear contour, the representatives of two contrasting principles in art, existed peaceably together (4), until Parrhasios (if our literary evidence can be so interpreted) (5) drew the conclusion and banished the linear contour, the peculiar creation of the mental vision. But just here the monuments fail us altogether. Later wall-paintings and mosaics (6) prove that Greek art knew the composition of larger groups of figures, a low horizon, a continuous environment, and an "illusionistic" manner of colouring independent of any notion of outline.

(4) Cf. Girard, *Peinture antique*, Fig. 122 *sq.*; Winter, *Attische Lekythos des Berliner Museums*, pp. 3, 6, and plate. An indirect proof is the picture of Aphrodite from the house near the Farnesina, unsatisfactorily reproduced, *Monumenti*, xii, 1885, pls. 19, 21. Mau's observations on this seem to me just (*Annali*, 1884, pp. 319 *sq.*; 1885, pp. 310 *sq.*).

(5) *Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, 1898, col. 1422.

(6) Studies of these have been prepared.

The development of statuary can be followed more closely. In this, at a very early period, the edges were rounded (*i.e.* the contours were suppressed) and more than one view was presented: the figures were no longer unifacial. Nature had obtained its first success. The rounding of the edges was common to statuary and relief, but plurality of view separates the former from both relief and drawing. Sculpture in the round rested upon the laurels of this achievement for a long while. In no other branch, perhaps, is it so evident how art, with infinite pains and surprising keen-sightedness, collects its observations of nature only to place them obediently in the service of the usual mental method of conception. In this manner, *viz.*, by an ever-increasing number of reminiscences of nature, some traditional, others first hand—in this manner, I maintain, there *could* be and *was* achieved whatever anatomical perfection appears in the Æginetan pediments and in the charioteer of Delphi (7). But even if the use of the living

(7) The Æginetans: Collignon, i, Figs. 144-49, pl. 4; B. B., 23-28; Furtwängler, Ægina, pls. 95 *sq.*, pp. 176 *sqq.* Charioteer: the best in Mon. Piot, iv, 1897, pls. 15 *sq.*; Fouilles de Delphes, iv, Mon. Fig., Sculpt., pls. xlix-l.

model could be proved for these works (8), the rôle which he played was so evidently subordinated to established types as to confirm what I have said. For the use of the model would seem to have remained limited to the mere perfecting of forms and motives that had been already often employed by art (9), and just where the artist abandoned the usual forms for an innovation—as in the turning of the upper part of the charioteer's body, and the twisting of the dying warrior in the East pediment (10)—there he pieced on the novelty according to the subjective imagination, and nature remained unconsulted (11).

For how long a time plurality of aspect re-

(8) Such is the supposition for the *Æginetans*: Schrader, *Ath. Mitt.*, xxii, 1897, pp. 98 *sq.*; the opposite view: Lange, p. 70. See also Wagner's remarks upon their anatomy, *Ægin. Bildw.*, pp. 96-101.

(9) It would be exactly the same with the earlier painting, if what Perrot (i, p. 742), and especially Pottier (*Revue des Études grecques*, xi, 1898, pp. 355 *sqq.*), suppose regarding its systematic study of shadow is correct.

(10) Collignon, i, pl. 4; Bulle, 38, 2; B. B., 28; Furtwängler, *Ægina*, pl. 95, Fig. 41. Cf. also Lange, p. 70.

(11) Cf. also the observations on animal representations by Fränkel, *Deutsch. Jahrb.*, i, 1886, pp. 52 *sq.*; Winnefeld, *Altgriech. Bronzebecken aus Leontini*, pp. 14-17, and others.

mained strictly limited we saw, by anticipation, in another place. Even when we no longer find angular shapes in head and extremities, and when even the trunk (as in the most developed work of Praxiteles) (12) has lost the last relic of the merely four-sided horizontal section, at least the front plane of the trunk still makes a certain effort to maintain its independence, still shows a certain resistance to roundness (13). So, too, the flat expansion of the whole figure is retained long after the archaic period. Assuredly from the Delphic charioteer to the Munich oil-pourer (14), and so on, there are not wanting progressive attempts to dissolve the uniformity of the front plane by giving the upper part of the body a different turn from that of the legs, and the head from the body, or by bringing out the arms, etc.; sometimes even the upper part of the body bends forward, as in the squatting figure in the Eastern Pediment of Olympia

(12) Collignon, ii, pl. 5; Bulle, 156; B. B., 466.

(13) See, in addition to note 36 on p. 65, Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 330.

(14) Collignon, i, Fig. 249; Bulle, 112; B. B., 132, 134*a*. The statue seems to me important in several respects as a forerunner of Lysippean tendencies.

(15). But these attempts appear isolated. To the great majority of the works of the predecessors of Praxiteles and to his own (16) we can apply the test of the parallel planes. An exception is to be made for one class only: figures meant for the profile view. In them the artist at a fairly early period was not afraid to give the extremities a greater projection, occasionally, also, to bend and twist the trunk, and even, though timidly, to round it off: examples of these are the Æginetan figures and the Tübingen Hoplitodrome (17). Nevertheless, both phenomena—the rule, as well as the apparent exception—spring from the same inner cause. Figures seen in front view would have been less exposed if bending, turning or projecting (18). Profile figures in these actions would

(15) B. B., 450; Olympia, iii, pl. 14, No. 1.

(16) Cf. p. 84, note 13, and Collignon, ii, Figs. 131-49; Bulle, 150, 154, 155; B. B., 234, 371, 376, 377. The Ganymede of Praxiteles' contemporary Leochares (Collignon, ii, Fig. 160; B. B., 158) seems rather to elude the constraint than to break through it.

(17) The Æginetans, see p. 82, note 7. Hoplitodrome: Collignon, i, Fig. 152; B. B., 351*b*; Deutsches Jahrb., i, 1886, pl. 9.

(18) So also Bulle, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr., 1900, col. 1040.

not be less exposed, and art soon made use of its freedom. Yet even such figures tend for a long time to show to the spectator the utmost expanse of the trunk, and sometimes more than what was anatomically possible (19). If any one would ascribe this tendency in pediment figures (20), where, indeed, it is most common, to constraint of space, or other special reasons, let him look at Myron's "Diskobolos" (Fig. 39). Even this is still bound by the primary conception, though

(19) See, after Fig. 19, Collignon, i, Fig. 165; P. and C., viii, Fig. 348, Id., Fig. 307; De Ridder, 780, pl. 8; Ephemeric, 1887, p. 134; Olympia, iv, 46, pl. 7; the Artemis "Laphria", Collignon, ii, Fig. 345; Bulle, 30; B. B., 356; Röm. Mitt., iii, 1888, pl. 10; Studi e Materiali di Archeologia, i, 1899, pl. 3; the repeatedly mentioned Zeus (Fig. 26) and the Tyrannicides (p. 56, note 20); the Penelope, Collignon, i, Fig. 210; B. B., 175; Ant. Denkmäler, i, 31, and others. The Barberini "Suppliant" (B. B., 415), and even the poisoning Diskobolos (Collignon, ii, Fig. 60; B. B., 131) still show traces. There needs no further proof that dependence upon prototypes from design or relief is not a sufficient explanation of this phenomenon. The translation of a composition from relief or drawing into sculpture in the round did not compel the artist to forgo his conception of the round if he had any.

(20) So still in the Parthenon, Collignon, ii, Figs. 10, 21, pl. 3; Bulle, 94; B. B., 189 sq., 192; Michaelis, pls. 6, G, M; 8, B. Cf. Treu, Deutsches Jahrb., x, 1895, pp. 12 sq.; Schrader, Ath. Mitt., xxii, 1897, p. 98.

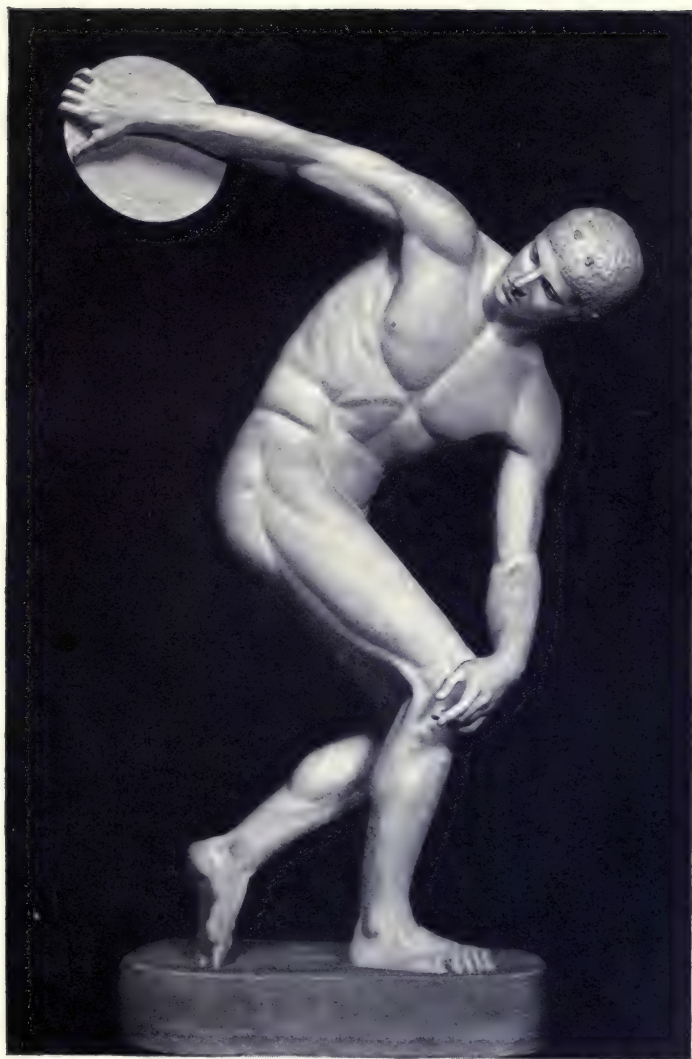


FIG. 39.

Myron's Diskobolos. Set up in plaster from two marble copies in Rome (the left arm is modern).





FIG. 40.

Youth tying his sandal. Lysippean. Paris.

From Bruun-Bruckmann, Denkmäler griech. und röm. Sculptur, pl. 67

it may certainly be considered its most daring venture. It is, in the broader sense defined above, a uniface figure (21); in spite of the partial contortion of the upper parts of the body, the general scheme is compressed between the two parallel planes, and each part of it seeks to exhibit itself to the spectator in a full and exhaustive aspect. Page 56
sq.

It was in the work of Lysippos (22) that sculpture truly fulfilled all the conditions. In the natural rounding of his forms there flow in and out of one another endlessly different views (Fig. 40); there is no reserve, no perceptible division between one view and another. In the front view, also, Lysippos freely exhibits foreshortened aspects, not only in the trunk, that bends and turns in every direction, but in the Page 65.
Page 76.

(21) Cf. Lange, pp. 75 sq. Illustration of the narrow view, *Jahrb.*, x, 1895, p. 49.

(22) Cf. Collignon, ii, Figs. 218 sq., 252, in my opinion also Fig. 124; Bulle, 163, 167, 169, 171, 150; B. B., 243, 281-83, 388. Here and elsewhere I use the artists' names as landmarks in the history of art, which from the nature of our sources is all that most of them can be. I have pointed out in my *Lysipp* (p. 12) that a portion of the progress spoken of above possibly belongs to Skopas (cf. also Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 302, 394). More than that possibility I cannot concede even yet.

whole figure, which throws its arms and legs vigorously into space. Here there can be no longer any question of consideration for a completing background, even an imaginary one. So with this the specific perfection of statuary is achieved; the direct contact with nature has been reached in all essentials.

This can be said, however, only of single figures, not groups; for it is clear that in groups, we must judge the stage of development, not by the single parts of the group, but by the composition of the whole. A group can be put together of figures perfectly rounded out, and offering foreshortened aspects, and yet as a whole it may be conceived for one point of view only, in which view all its parts maintain their respective full visibility. A statuary group that goes a step further than most primitive combinations (such as rider and horse, mother and child, animals fighting, or associated with men as attributes and so on) we see for the first time in the West pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Here indeed, and even more so in the Parthenon Pediments (23), there

(23) Olympia: Collignon, i, Figs. 234-37, pls. 9, 10;

is still a timidity in bringing together the elements. Nevertheless the degree of combination here reached was not surpassed until the Hellenistic period, and, if we leave out of account the not very frequent representations of wrestling motives (24), was never surpassed at all by the antique group. Jealously guarding their material independence, the figures allow themselves to come into contact with one another only in subordinate parts, and where there is least possible expanse of surface to be covered. We do not maintain that this in every case would be untrue to the situation, but, as cumulative evidence, the phenomenon gives us a standard by which to measure the artist's dependence upon the primitive form of conception. Thus when in most of the groups the masses are in

B. B., 451-55; Olympia, iii, pls. 18-21, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32; Parthenon: Collignon, ii, Figs. 8, 9, 11, 17, 18, 21, pl. 3; B. B., 186-92; Michaelis, pls. 6-8.

(24) For example, the Uffizi Wrestlers (Fig. 42). Pitti Antæus group: Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, i, 472; cf. ii, 234, 4; 539, 3 *sq.*; De Ridder, 747. Boy with goose: Collignon, ii, Fig. 319; Bulle, 201; B. B., 433. Over against these compare Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii, 233, 8; 538, 1, 5 *sq.*; *Deutsches Jahrb.*, xiii, 1898, pl. 11, p. 178; *Rev. Arch.*, xxxv, 1899, pl. 18.

the main put one over against the other so that Lange could reduce the arrangement, at least of archaic groups, to simple geometrical relations (25), we find the psychological cause of it in two facts: on the one hand, the imagination composes only piece by piece; on the other hand, the silhouette always endeavours to preserve for itself the greatest possible isolation. This is at once clear in groups where the figures are spread out in a straight line, and it is not difficult to detect in those where they converge at an oblique angle: even in the Ludovisi group of the Gaul and his wife (26), in spite of all foreshortenings in the figures themselves, the portions of the figures that are covered are very few, and can be easily supplied by the spectator. But also where the elements of the group are composed at right angles to one another so that the masses cross (here we are concerned for the most part with combinations such as an adult and child, man and animal), the portions covered by one another are almost always of secondary importance. In

(25) Cf. Lange, p. xii: his theory is always based upon the "median plane" (p. 45, note 3).

(26) Collignon, ii, Fig. 259; B. B., 422. For the restoration of the arm, see note 31 on p. 93.



FIG. 41.

Upper part of Praxiteles' Hermes with the infant Dionysos. Olympia.

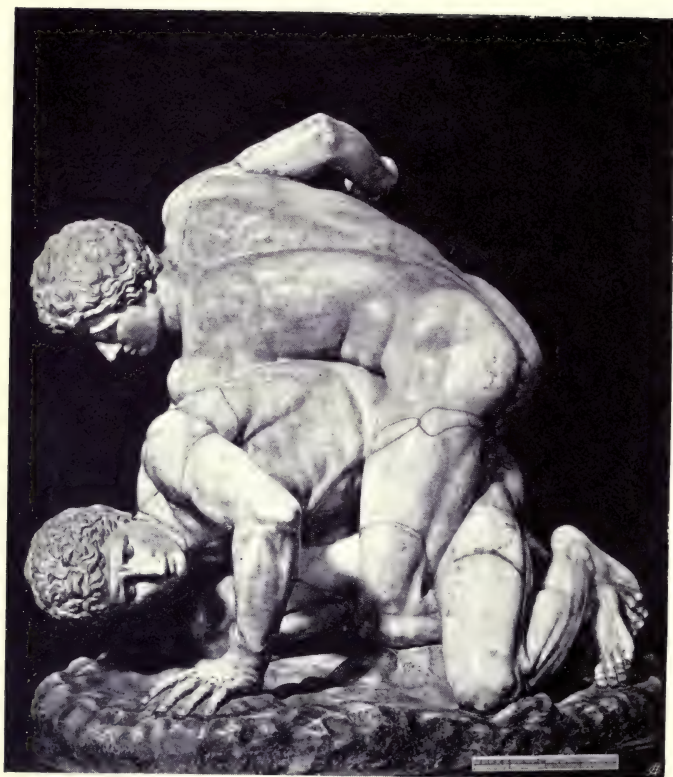


FIG. 42.

Wrestlers. Marble Group. Florence. (The heads do not belong.)
From Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler griech. und röm. Sculptur, pl. 431.

the Praxitelean group (Fig. 41), for instance, it is a little and insignificant part of the silhouette of Hermes that is taken up by the infant Dionysos held out to the side. We can remark the same in the Silenos nursing the child Bakchos, in the Niobe and her daughter, and even in the boy with the goose, and other wrestling groups (27). The Florentine Wrestlers (Fig. 42), to the intricate composition of which Lange's geometrical definitions fail to apply, are the only exception known to me, in groups of two or more than two figures (28).

This spreading out of the elements in a group corresponds to the aversion to foreshortening in the single statue, which was one of the obstacles in the way of a rendering of the round as it is in nature. In the most complicated kind of art, the statuary group, antiquity over-

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59.

(27) Silenos: Collignon, ii, Fig. 301; B. B., 64. Niobe: Collignon, ii, Fig. 278; B. B., 311. Wrestler groups: p. 89, note 24.

(28) For example, the Graces: Reinach, Répertoire, i, 346. The marble group (variously named) in Naples: Reinach, Répertoire, i, 427. Laokoon: Collignon, ii, Fig. 285; B. B., 236. Farnese Bull, Collignon, ii, Fig. 277; B. B., 367; Zeitschr. für bild. Kunst, N. F., xiv, 1903, pp. 171 *sqq.* Nile: Collignon, ii, Fig. 287; B. B., 196.

came this dislike in isolated cases only. Did
 Page 53 it succeed better with plurality of aspect?
^{sg.} In groups composed in one plane as if they
 were reliefs—for instance the Laokoon, Pan
 and Olympos, and others (29), pediments
 of course included—in such groups it is self-
 evident that only one view was intended.
 But the other groups also, however they be
 arranged, and however freely exhibited, invari-
 ably allow, so far as I see (30), only a slight
 deviation of standpoint to right or left if essential
 parts are not to be hidden or distorted. One
 view there is, however, in each of them which

(29) Laokoon: see precedent note (also the Graces). Olympos: Reinach, *Répertoire*, i, 407, 413. For the Borghese Amazon see the remarks of M. Mayer, *Deutsches Jahrb.*, ii, 1887, pp. 82 *sg.* Mayer explains the composition by assuming that the artist had to arrange it for a definite background, an explanation which may be correct in certain single cases. If, however, a flat scheme were always evidence of it, then nine-tenths of extant statues must have been worked for setting up against a wall. If ever a group was made like a relief, to be seen from only one aspect, the Vatican Nile (foregoing note) is such an one, and yet the representations on the plinth prove that it was to be seen from all sides.

(30) I have been able to test, in original or cast, only a part of what exists. The limits of development laid down in the text may have been reached in a few other cases and even exceeded; but in principle such instances would be of small importance.

combines the essential features in full number and in full clearness in respect of the motive. In this view, then, the original invention is comprehended; any further elaboration is made for material completeness (31), but adds nothing to

(31) For example, in the Ludovisi group of the Gaul and wife (p. 90, note 26) such a view would be that taken from the middle of the plinth (near the point of the man's left foot) about as in Brunn-Bruckmann (the face of the man is covered only by the wrong restoration of the right arm). The group of Menelaos with the dead Achilles should be looked at as it is now reproduced in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N. F., xiv, 1903, p. 178 (approximately so in Reinach, *Rép. Stat.*, ii, 508, 1). For the turning of the head of Menelaos, cp. Von der Launitz in Urlichs, *Pasquino*, p. 22; Donner, in *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1870, pp. 85 *sq.*; for the plinth, Donner, *ibid.*, p. 78; for the setting up which is too high, Amelung, *Führer*, p. 9. A like test could be applied to the boy with the goose, and so on. For the Dioscuri of Monte Cavallo, which apparently deviate from this rule (see, moreover, p. 52, note 15), compare Petersen, *Rom*, p. 92; for those of the Capitol steps, Michaelis, *Röm. Mitt.*, vi, 1891, pp. 43 *sq.*, and his reproduction of Michael Angelo's drawing in *Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst*, ii, 1891, p. 188. No one will be surprised that in plastic representations of the round-dance the natural circular form was carried out even in primitive art (for example, Olympia, iv, 263, pl. 16). Yet these groups are not, therefore, exceptions. For, looked at from whatever point, the view remains fundamentally the same, viz., all-embracing. If a figure be added in the middle (P. and C., iii, Fig. 399, p. 586, 2; Winter, i, p. 12, 8), this will determine what is the main aspect.

what was already given by the one view. In other words those groups stopped at the first stage of plastic conception. I know only one antique group which goes further, the "Wrestlers" at Florence (Fig. 42) (32). These show the spectator two views, each of which contains a certain distinct motive. It would seem that the Farnese Bull (33) was a still further advance, since to obtain a complete view of it, we have to look at it from several points. In this work antique art would not only have reached the highest perfection for a group in the round, but would have gone even further than perfection allows; for, not satisfied with composing a plural group, it attempts also to force the actual space between and around the figures into the composition, by adding scattered figures, the Antiope, the mountain god, and the dog

(32) The Wrestlers may thus be considered (cf. also what we have said above, p. 91) as the highest developed group that antiquity has left us. Of the other groups cited on p. 89, note 24 (cf. also the precedent note), the Antæus of Palazzo Pitti, and so too, *e.g.*, Clarac, Musée de Sculpture, 672, 1735; Reinach, Répertoire de la Statuaire, ii, 459, 8, etc., have certainly one aspect only. This is probably true of most of the rest, according to the illustrations.

(33) P. 91, note 28.



FIG. 43.

The punishment of Dirke by Zethos and Amphion ("the Farnese Bull").
Marble Group. Naples.

From Prof. Studniczka's article (Zeitschr. für bild. Kunst, xiv, 1903, pp. 171 sqq., Fig. 13).

(34). But if we disregard these figures just on account of their detachment from the principal group, we find that for the principal group there is only one, and that again an exhaustive point of view (Fig. 43) (35).

We can well avoid discussing how in all particulars and minor parts of musculature, hair, eyes (36), drapery, and so on, the plastic representation advanced from the draughtsman's to the sculptor's methods (37), from the arrangement of elements one alongside of another to a just

(34) Cf. Hildebrand, *Problem der Form*, p. 97 *sq.* Cf. also Studniczka, *Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst*, N. F., xiv, 1903, pp. 171 *sqq.*

(35) See the comparison made by Sogliano (*Il Supplizio di Dirce*, *Accad. Napoli*, xvii, 1895, No. 7, p. 5) between the group and the newly discovered wall-painting (*ibid.*, the plates; *Deutsches Jahrb.*, x, 1895, Anz., p. 120). I do not think the group is the original of this or any other painting, but the reverse: it is copied from a painting. From the painted original, itself perhaps an amplification of a simpler composition, the artists of the group could have taken the suggestion of landscape details as well as the accessory figures. The same view is also given by the Naples gem and the coins, *Arch. Zeit.*, xi, 1853, pls. 56, 1; 58, 1 *sq.*; *Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst*, xiv, 1903, p. 182, Fig. 12.

(36) About this see Conze, *Darstellung des menschlichen Auges*, Ak. Berlin, 1892, pp. 47 *sqq.*

(37) There are some observations about this by Winter, *Deutsches Jahrbuch*, viii, 1893, p. 137; *Österr. Jahreshefte*, iii, 1900, p. 84.

comprehension of mass. The end in view was always the same: only the rapidity and degree of approach to nature that was granted to antique art vary in proportion to the obstacles to be overcome. So it results that a single moment of time, taken in any period, will yield morphological dissimilarities, even within the same branch of art.

The third form of representation, relief, remains to be considered. We recognised that the characteristics of low relief and sculpture in the round at their beginnings are referable to the same cause. Whilst, however, we followed the course of low relief in stone beyond the bounds of the archaic period, we found not only a standstill in its development, but even a deliberate rejection, as it were, of that measure of plasticity over which contemporary statuary had already sure command. To explain this fact the general principles which we have evolved do not suffice. Perhaps explanation can be found in what follows. Any distribution and movement of planes in relief to imitate nature must lead to a high and even full relief. Now, low relief on stone, as we know it in archaic art

Page 72.

Pages
38 *sq.*,
40 *sqq.*

(and this applies to other kinds of relief where like phenomena occur), was accompanied by definite tectonic conditions, be it on a stele, architectural frieze, or the like. With surface decoration that was merely painted, or that required only a slight relief, the body and mass of the piece remained, on the whole, unchanged. High relief, on the contrary, could have been attained only by weakening the structural element, or by a disproportionate increase of the entire mass. It would seem as if art, aware of this danger, had wished to obviate it by a conscious perseverance in low relief. Where those consequences were structurally admissible—in metopes, for instance—there, indeed, we find high-relief (38) also at an early period.

(38) We can accept the suggestion of Koepp, *Deutsches Jahrbuch*, ii, 1887, pp. 121 *sqq.*, that it was derived from statues originally placed in open metopes. Similarly the high reliefs of Dermys and Kitylos (Collignon, i, Fig. 91; P. and C., viii, Fig. 270; *Ath. Mitt.*, iii, 1878, pl. 14) are plainly substitutes for grave-statues. On the other hand, low relief, and even painting, seem to have been used at the same periods as high relief for the decoration of metopes, to judge by those of Selinus and Delphi (P. and C., viii, Fig. 248; B. B., 288; *Monumenti Lincei*, i, 4, 1892, *Sculture di Selinunte*, pl. 1 *sqq.*; P. and C., viii, Figs. 228, 230; *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, xx, 1896,

So long as the primary stage prevails throughout in art, relief and drawing remain closely united, though, perhaps, the former favours for the human figure the side direction even more exclusively than the latter. The front view of the head would have occasioned a greater difference of planes (39), owing to the differences of elevation, of which even the primitive mind was here, of course, early conscious. The two arts diverge at the moment when drawing takes a new road with foreshortening. Low relief undertook the attempt, at least, to follow drawing in this, as the Alxenor stele (Fig. 44) (40) attests; but a few such experiments were enough to prove the incompatibility of the fore-

pl. 10; Fouilles de Delphes, iv, Sculpture, pl. 3), and those of Thermos (Ephemeris, 1903, pls. 2-6), and a like freedom, we may suppose, was used in the decoration of pediments.

(39) So, in fact, in the Laconian hero reliefs (p. 39), and on coins, in the heads of animals, and the Gorgoneion, which last, indeed, as flat-nosed, is compatible also with low relief. The unusual height of relief of certain very ancient coin types, as vases, shields, tortoises, does not contradict but confirms the above. The primitive conception does almost at once full justice to objects that are quite spherical (see p. 63, note 30).

(40) Here, again, racial endowment for acutely seizing the situations of nature may have contributed.



FIG. 44.

Grave relief of a peasant, from Bœotia.
By Alxenor of Naxos. Athens.

shortening motives with the low relief steadily retained (41).

And so it will no longer surprise, that to defend its flat character, relief went to the extremes noticed above. Yet, all the evenness of the Philis stele (Fig. 15), all the compression and considerably fitted motives of the warrior of Pella (Fig. 16) do not wholly conceal a desire to get by stealth that which the tyranny of low relief does not allow direct, namely, rounding and depth—in the Philis, by the careful modelling of the sides; in the youth,

(41) In fact, the Naples replica (Collignon, i, Fig. 125; P. and C., viii, Fig. 73; B. B., 416) avoids the foreshortening, at least, of the foot. It is instructive to compare this with certain characteristics which appear in several places in Italian quattrocento reliefs, where flattened planes, and often sharply cut contours, forcibly recall the manner described on p. 42. To give Florentine examples only, I would cite the Cantorie of Donatello, or the well-known Madonnas ascribed to him or to his influence (Bode, *Italienische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, pp. 33 *sqq.*, 47 *sqq.*; *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epoche*, pp. 42, 70, and elsewhere). Here the equalisation of relief and drawing is carried out in the motives to the last degree, and by this very fact the true limits of both are made evident. The relief being flat and unplastic, whilst the drawing is not sparing in foreshortening, the eye is offended by the contradiction between appearance and reality. How far Greek originals may have influenced this manner of relief cannot be examined here.

by the calculated inclination of planes from left and right to the centre.

But there arise new difficulties. Primitive relief and drawing spreading out figures the one alongside of the other, can obtain an intimate connection of a large number only in the form of juxtaposition, especially when obliged to give them a sideward direction. And when they meet, by no contrivance of heads turned back or seen in full front can more than two figures be brought into direct relation of action; the rest must have a secondary share in the scene, as spectators or followers. This prevalence of the sideward direction continues still in the Parthenon frieze (42). Here, it is true, the subject itself is a procession, and the bipartition of the group of gods on the East frieze looks like the deliberate choice of the artist, for by this arrangement the gods face towards each procession making its way up the sides to the entrance, and Zeus and Athena, the Royal Father, and the Lady of the Festival, did not need to contest the foremost place. But the desire to represent a

(42) P. 39, note 8. East frieze: Collignon, ii, Figs. 24-26; B. B., 106-10; Michaelis, pl. 14.



FIG 45.
Attic funeral relief. Paris.



FIG. 46.
Attic funeral relief. Athens.

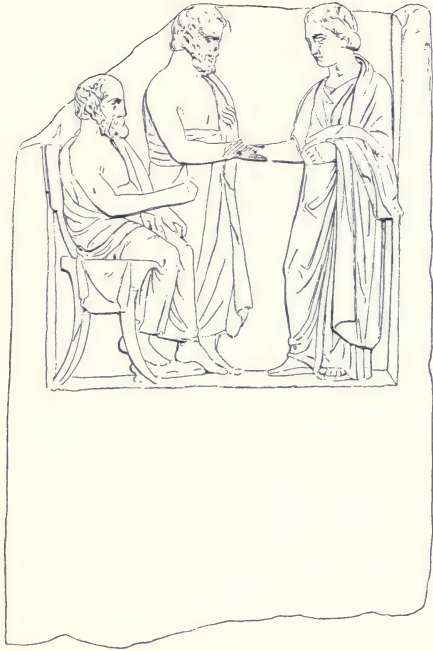


FIG. 47.
Attic funeral relief. Athens.





FIG. 48.

Attic funeral relief. Mantua.



FIG. 49.

Attic funeral relief. Athens.



FIG. 50.
Attic funeral relief. Athens.



more varied and intimate relationship could not be suppressed. The "three-figure reliefs" (43) are evidence of the endeavour, as also of the impossibility of quite satisfying it with the methods hitherto employed; the close combination of two figures upon a low relief implied the isolation of the third, however admirably this isolation in the reliefs in question might harmonise with the characters and situations represented.

The desire became more eager with every fresh attempt to impart now to relief whatever naturalness was possessed by drawing. We find Page 79
sq. three-quarter views of head and legs (as in the Parthenon frieze), of the trunk (as in the friezes of the Theseum and Temple of Nike) (44), figures in such action as demands greater depth, and suggestions of environment as occur somewhat timidly upon the Theseum and Temple of Nike, and more completely, with tendencies

(43) The Eleusinian: Collignon, ii, Fig. 68; B. B., 7. Orpheus, Peirithoos, Peliads: Petersen, Rom, Figs. 99-101; cp. Collignon, ii, Fig. 69; B. B., 341. Votive reliefs: Le Bas, Monuments figurés, 49, 1, and others.

(44) Theseion: Collignon, ii, Figs. 40-42; B. B., 406-408; Sauer, Theseion, pls. 3 sq. Nike frieze: Collignon, ii, Figs. 48-50; B. B., 117 sq.; Ross, Tempel der Nike, pls. 11 sq.; Ancient Marbles, ix, pls. 7-10.

towards perspective, upon the friezes of Trysa and Xanthos, where there reappears the old Oriental love of landscape (45). All these developments were finally to loosen the rigidity of low relief, to suggest a full and plastic elevation, a richer graduation of planes. We see this at Phigaleia; still more advanced on the Nike Balustrade (46), and in the Erechtheum frieze (47). In the last-named (where the sculpture is only attached and leaves quite integral the structural mass) there are figures seated approximately in front view and others grouped together and overlapping one another. Yet we still find low relief defending itself on all sides; and along with the heaping up, rounding out, and prominence of the figures that were imposed upon it, it endeavours to

(45) Trysa: Collignon, ii, Figs. 100 *sq.*; B. B., 486; Benndorf and Niemann, Heroon von Gjölbashi-Trysa, pls. 12 *sq.*, 16. Nereid Monument: Collignon, ii, Figs. 103-109; B. B., 218 *sq.*; Monumenti, x, 1875, pls. 13-18; Annali dell' Istituto, 1876, pls. D, E.

(46) Phigaleia: Collignon, ii, Figs. 77-80; B. B., 86-91; Ancient Marbles, iv, pls. 1-23. Balustrade: Collignon, ii, Figs. 51-54; B. B., 34 *sq.*; R. Kekulé, Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike, pls. 1-6.

(47) Collignon, ii, Figs. 45 *sq.*; B. B., 31-33; R. Schöne, Griechische Reliefs, pls. 1-4; Antike Denkmäler, ii, 31-34.

maintain its character as much as possible by expanded, even forms and motives, by sharply cut contours (48), by a deploy of the figures in single file, and above all by a unity in the highest plane of elevation. Tectonic exigencies, and the tradition of the frieze assist it in this.

In sepulchral reliefs, also, the desire arose to develop in the ever-widening space of the stele a fuller family picture. Here, where intimate connection was especially needful, the want of a form of composition that should bring into relation more than two persons was bound to be felt. To make such a closely connected group, first of three figures, at least, there was a means which, though not for this purpose, had long been employed, viz., the use of the free field, in this case the space between the two figures that are opposite one another clasping hands. But in order that the figure thus interposed should not appear indifferent or disturbing, nor, again, push out of action one of the original figures, it was not enough merely to put it in full front :

(48) The Parthenon frieze, for instance, often shows a lack of uniformity in the use of these: the intention was evidently to avoid a multiplicity of planes.

a difference in plane was necessary — it was necessary to introduce a middle distance, and thus to increase also the depth of the old relief (Figs. 45-50) (49). With this innovation (and I do not say it was only in sepulchral relief that it occurred) fell the barrier which hitherto had checked the entrance of nature into relief—the regulation of the elevations by a common ideal front plane, entailing the juxtaposition of the figures in single line, and the ignoring of depth and space according to the purely
 Page 70. mental procedure. A new real high relief had
 Page 97. arisen, not that pseudo-relief of the Metope, but one that had come by an organic growth, having command over plurality of planes, and approaching free sculpture without being quite merged in it.

With this development, however, relief, as low relief, found its end (50).

(49) Cf. for other examples (in the order of progression indicated by the hyphens): Conze, *Grabreliefs* i, No. 434, pl. 102,—No. 329, pl. 82; No. 327, pl. 81,—No. 293, pl. 69,—ii, No. 718, pl. 141; i, No. 465, pl. 109; No. 322, pl. 80; No. 304, pl. 72.

(50) Of course in every province of art forms belonging to a more primitive stage of development continue to

And yet it is just this branch of art oscillating between sculpture in the round and drawing which we select as most typical of the antique (51). We saw that no quality characteristic of relief (*i.e.* of low relief) was really peculiar to it, but that low relief for its self-preservation had to retain longer and more conspicuously than the sister arts that which is primordial in all art. Inseparably dependent upon the simple abstract conception, it becomes the truest exponent of its laws.

Certainly much that is called "relief-like" was kept in Greek art, and that not only in the province of relief itself. It would be no useless undertaking to determine how far the principles we have enumerated at the outset remained still in force at the close of

exist at more evolved periods, especially when there is compulsion from external circumstances.

(51) See Hildebrand, *Problem der Form*, especially p. 66. In what we have written above, it will be seen how far Hildebrand's precepts, founded on physiological premises, agree with historical conclusions reached from a different point.

antiquity, and thereby to sum up the development of antique art from the point of view of form. No art, indeed, has yet entirely delivered itself from those principles.

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