

I [or J]. Famous artists and works of this period

In the renewal of the arts in Greece noted here, the artists who made themselves known were Antheus [or Antaeos], Kallistratos, Athenaios, Polykles (the master of the beautiful hermaphrodite), Metrodoros (the painter and philosopher), and some others. The beautiful hermaphrodite in the Villa Borghese could be regarded as Polykles'; another is in the grand duke's gallery in Florence, and a third lies in the Villa Borghese's vaults. Apollonios of Athens, son of Nestor, is presumably also of this period, for according to the form of the letters of his name on the so-called Torso in the Belvedere, he must have lived some time after Alexander the Great.²⁰⁶

K. Description of the mutilated Herakles in the Belvedere in particular

Abused and mutilated to the extreme, deprived as it is of head, arms, and legs, this statue still appears, to those capable of looking into the mysteries of art, in a blaze of its former beauty. In this Herakles, the artist has figured a high ideal of a body raised above nature and a nature of virile maturity elevated to a state of divine contentment. Herakles appears here as if he has purified himself by fire of the slag of humanity and attained immortality and a place among the gods,²⁰⁷ for he is rendered with no need for human nourishment and with no further use for his strength. No veins are visible, and the belly is made only for savoring, not for surfeit, and to be full without being filled. He sat, as the position of the remaining portion allows us to say, supporting his upwardly turned head, which would have been occupied with a joyful review of the great deeds he had accomplished—as even the back, curved in lofty contemplation, as it were, seems to indicate.²⁰⁸ The powerfully raised chest evokes that against which the giant Geryon was crushed, and in the length and strength of the thighs we find the tireless hero who pursued and overtook the brazen-hoofed stag and who journeyed through countless lands to the limits of the world. The artist will admire in the contours of this body the ever-changing flow of one form into another and the gliding features that rise and fall like waves and are engulfed by one another. He will find that no one can be sure of accuracy when copying them, as the undulation whose direction he thinks to trace will diverge imperceptibly and cause the eye and the hand to err by taking another path. The bones seem clothed in a fleshy skin, the muscles are plump but without excess, and such a balanced fleshiness is found in no other figure. Indeed, one could say that this Herakles comes nearer to a higher period of art than even the Apollo.²⁰⁹ In the splendid drawing collection of Cardinal Alessandro Albani, studies by the greatest artists of this Torso are to be found, but all of these are but weak reflections of the original. The [ancient] writers make no reference to Apollonios, the artist of this work. Dubos is also in error when he alleges that Pliny [the Elder] extols the statue of the Farnese Herakles:²¹⁰ he mentions neither that statue nor Glykon, its maker.

The Torso of Herakles appears to be one of the last perfect works that art produced in Greece before its loss of freedom—for after Greece became a Roman province, no mention of a famous artist from this nation is to be found until the time of the Roman triumvirate. Be that as it may, the Greeks lost their freedom some forty years after they were declared a free people by

[Titus] Quinctius Flaminus, and this was brought about by the unrest that the leaders of the Achaian League stirred up and still more by the jealousy of the Romans toward this league. After their victory over Perseus, king of Macedonia, the Romans became the rulers of his kingdom and thus were constantly in fear of the Greek confederation, just as the Greeks were in fear of the power of their dangerous neighbors. Yet because the Romans during the time of [Quintus Caecilius] Metellus [Macedonicus] sought in vain to enter into a good understanding with the Greeks, as the Roman historians report, in the end Lucius Mummius invaded, defeated the Greeks at Corinth, and took and destroyed that city, as it was the capital of the Achaian League. This happened in the 156th Olympiad,²¹¹ in the same year that Carthage was defeated. Due to the plundering of Corinth, the first works of art from Greece itself reached Rome, and with them Mummius made his triumph both magnificent and memorable. Pliny [the Elder] believes that the famous Bacchus of Aristides was the principal painting to be brought from Greece to Rome at that time.²¹² The oldest wooden statues remained in the destroyed city, including a gilded Bacchus whose face was painted red,²¹³ a wooden Bellerophon with marble extremities,²¹⁴ and a wooden Herakles that was believed to be a work of Daedalus.²¹⁵ Of the rest, whatever the Romans considered to be of some value was carted away, down to the bronze vessels [(*echeia*)] that had been placed among the theater's seats to enhance the sound.²¹⁶

Fabretti seems to be inclined to believe that two statues in the Palazzo Carpegna in Rome — those from which a Marcus Aurelius and a Septimius Severus were made by placing unrelated heads on them — were among the statues that Mummius brought from Greece.²¹⁷ He is persuaded of this because written on both bases is «M. MVMMIVS COS.» — notwithstanding that Mummius was called Lucius. But those who understand art find them to be works of a much lesser period. Their bases have presumably been lost, as the statues have been restored with new feet and new bases, made all of a piece and without an inscription.

Given the multitude of statues and paintings with which all the cities and places in Greece were filled, eventually this pillage would have been forgotten. Still, the Greeks must have been discouraged from any expenditure on public works of art, as from this time forward those works would be exposed to the cravings of their conquerors; and indeed Greece was from now on regularly pillaged by the Romans. The aedile Marcus [Aemilius] Scaurus took from Sikyon, then in arrears to Rome, all the paintings from the temples and public buildings, and they served to decorate his magnificent theater, which he had built in a few days.²¹⁸ From the residence of the king of Epirus in Ambrakia, all the statues were carried off to Rome,²¹⁹ among which were the nine Muses that were set up in Rome in the Temple of Hercules Musarum.²²⁰ Even paintings with their walls still attached were removed from Greece, as [Gaius Licinius] Murena and [Gaius Visellius] Varro did with the paintings of Sparta during their tenure as [curule] aediles.²²¹ In Caligula's time, it was thought too risky to effect such a transfer of an Atalanta and Helen at Lanuvium, in Latium.²²²

L. Refutation regarding statues supposedly preserved from this period

M. Romans' pillage of the most beautiful works of art from Greece

was found in our times at Porto d'Anzio (formerly Antium) when the harbor was dredged. On it, in addition to the inscription in large dotted letters, are the words $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\alpha \delta\iota\alpha\sigma\omega\zeta\epsilon$,^(a) which as yet have not been understood by anyone, and presumably mean $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\rho\omicron\nu \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega\zeta\epsilon$, „keep it clean and shining,“ an expression used for shining horse harnesses.^(b) The writing is in Greek cursive letters, the same that we now use, and is the oldest trace of them, and it may be older even than the verse of Euripides written in such letters on the walls of a house in ancient Herculaneum.^(c)

$\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu \sigma\omicron\phi\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\varsigma \nu\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$.

[just as one wise counsel prevails over many hands.]

(a) On the drawing that was sent to Pococke in England, these words were likewise copied by someone who did not understand them; also, the vase curves in a half-circle that is ever so slightly elliptical. See Pococke's *Descr[ription] of the East*, vol. 2, [pt. 2,] p. 207, pl. 92.

(b) Hesych., svv. $\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\rho\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$. [Hesychius, *Lexicon*, s.vv. $\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\rho\alpha$ (“the bosses or disks of metal used to adorn the head-gear of horses”; phi, entry 93), $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\rho\alpha$ (“having a beautiful patch of white”; epsilon, entry 7260).]

(c) *Pitt[ure antiche] d'Ercol[ano]*, vol. 2, p. 34.

207. This is how Artemon painted him; Plin., bk. 35, chap. 40. [Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 35.40.139.]

208. It cannot be a Herakles spinning, and I cannot recall where someone found it said that Raphael saw this position in this statue.^(a)

(a) Batteux, *Cours de bell[es]-lett[re]s*, vol. 1, p. 66.

209. Certain mistakes by writers scarcely need to be noted, such as that made by Le Comte when he names Herodotus of Sikyon as the sculptor of this Torso:^(a) Pausanias mentions a Herodotus of Olynthos, but no one knows of a sculptor by this name from Sikyon. The trunk of a female figure in Rome—a work that, according to the said writer's claims, may surpass all other statues in beauty and may be held to be a work by the same artist—is unknown to me. Someone else says that this Apollonios may also be the master of the Dirke, Zethos, and Amphion [of the Farnese Bull].^(b) But the latter was from Rhodes, while the former was from Athens. Still to be found in the Palazzo Massimi in Rome at the end of the last century was a trunk of a Herakles (others say an Asklepios) by this same artist, as the inscription on it showed. In the manuscripts by Pirro Ligorio in the royal Farnese library at Capodimonte, in Naples, I found that this piece had been found in the Baths of Agrippa and that the celebrated architect [Giuliano?] Sangallo had been its owner ([Ligorio, “Delle antichità,”] vol. 10, p. 224). It must have been a valuable work, because the emperor [Gaius Messius Quintus] Trajanus Decius, who had it set up there, took credit for its transfer in a special inscription on it—as this same writer notes. I have not been able to discover where the remainder of this statue ended up. In the same vein, a Herakles in Rome had three different inscriptions on it: that of Lucius [Licinius] Lucullus, who brought it to Rome; that of his son, who installed the statue near the Rostra; and that of the aedile T[itus] Septimius [Sabinus] (Plin., bk. 34, chap. 19 [Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 34.19.93]).

(a) [Le Comte,] *Cabinet [des singularitez]*, vol. 1, p. 20. [Note that Pausanias

- makes no mention of a Herodotus of Olynthos; Winckelmann seems to have conflated Pausanias's remarks in *Description of Greece* 6.15.8–9 and 6.16.2.]
- (b) Demontios[ius], [*Commentarii de Sculptura, et Pictura Antiquorum*, in Montjosieu, *Gallus Romae Hospes*], p. 12. [Note that Ludovicus Demontiosius is the Latinized form of Louis de Montjosieu.]
210. [Dubos,] *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*, vol. 1, p. 360.
211. Plin., bk. 33, chap. 3. [Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 34.3.6–7.]
212. Bk. 35, chap. 8. [Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 35.8.24.]
213. Pausan., bk. 2, p. 115, l. 24. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.2.6.]
214. Pausan., bk. 2, p. 119, l. 32. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.4.1.]
215. *Ibid.*, p. 121, l. 3. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.4.5.]
216. Vitruv., bk. 5, chap. 5. [Vitruvius, *De architectura* 5.5.8.]
217. [Fabretti,] *Inscriptionum Antiquarum*, bk. 5, p. 400, no. 293; cf. Buonarroti, *Osservazioni istoriche sopra alcune medaglie antiche*, p. 264.
218. Plin., bk. 35, chap. 40; cf. bk. 36, chap. 24. [Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 35.40.127; see also 36.24.113–15.]
219. [*E Polybius Megalopolitani Historiis Excerpta legationum*, in Polybius, *Historiarum*, ed. Casaubon], p. 828. [Polybius, *Histories* 21.30.9.]
220. Plin., bk. 35, chap. 36, no. 4. [Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 35.36.66.]
221. Plin., bk. 35, chap. 49. [Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 35.49.173.]
222. Plin., bk. 35, chap. 6. Just this was done with the paintings in the church of Saint Peter's in Rome: after the paintings had been copied in mosaic, the ashlar wall on which they were painted was sawed out, removed, and moved to the church of the Carthusians [(Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri)] without any damage. The Etruscan paintings in the Temple of Ceres were likewise moved along with the wall; Plin., bk. 35, chap. 45. [Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 35.6.17–18, 35.45.154.]
223. Pausan., bk. 10, p. 886. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.34.5.]
224. [Maittaire, *Marmorum*,] no. 29, p. 26.
225. Chishul[li], *Inscriptio Sig[illorum]*, p. 56.]
226. Vitruv., praef., bk. 7. [Vitruvius, *De architectura* 7.praef.15–17.]
227. [Belley,] "Explication d'une inscription antique sur le rétablissement de l'Odeum," p. 189.
228. Livius, bk. 14, chap. 25. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 41.20.9.]
229. Ammian, bk. 22, chap. 13. [Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 22.13.1.]
230. Livius, bk. 41, chap. 25. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 41.20.6.]
231. This head formerly was owned by the famed Cesi family, and when the last member of the Cesi family died, the Rospigliosi family must have accepted it as payment of a debt of 3,000 scudi. On the right side of the head, a wound made in the form of a crosscut is visible, and this same indication is to be found on three similar marble heads: one in the Palazzo Barberini, another on the Campidoglio, and the third at the Villa Albani. Another head that, due to its likeness, bears the name *Scipio* is located in the rooms of the [Palazzo dei] Conservatori on the Campidoglio, to which it was given by Pope Clement XI, who acquired it for 800 scudi; this head does not have the aforementioned wound.
232. [Papi, "Sonetto," in *Delle lodi delle belle arti: Orazione, e componimenti*

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**History of the
Art of Antiquity**

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