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PRAXITELES AND THE HERMES

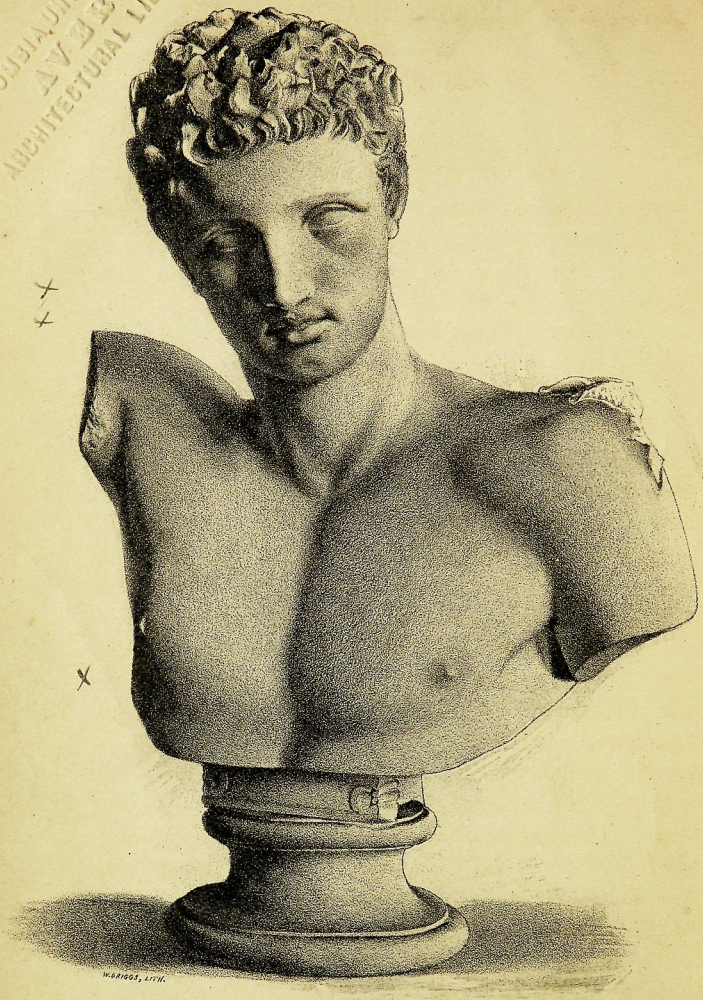
WITH THE

DIONYSOS-CHILD FROM THE HERAION IN OLYMPIA.

BY

CHARLES WALDSTEIN, PH.D.

[*Reprinted from the Trans. Roy. Soc. of Literature, Vol.* xii. *Part* 2, 1880.]



"BUST OF HERMES

FROM HERO~~U~~M AT OLYMPIA"

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PRAXITELES AND THE HERMES WITH THE DIONYSOS-CHILD FROM THE HERAION IN OLYMPIA.

BY CHARLES WALDSTEIN, PH.D.

(Read December 17th, 1879.)

PAUSANIAS, in the 16th Chapter of the 5th Book of his Travels in Greece, describes most minutely the Temple of Hera, the Heraion in Olympia. It was a most ancient temple of peculiar construction: Pausanias mentions that one of the pillars was of oak. Once in every Olympiad the sixteen priestesses of Hera offered to the goddess a cloak woven by themselves; a similar custom obtained in Athens, where the garment was dedicated to Athene Parthenos in the Parthenon. On the occasion of this festival there was a foot-race between the maiden priestesses of Hera, and the victors were crowned with olive and received a share of the cow offered to the goddess. The statue[1] of a maiden in the act of running, clad in a short skirt or chiton, barely reaching the knees, in archaic folds, most probably represents one of these priestesses.

Pausanias mentions, in the 17th Chapter, a number of statues which he remarked in this temple; among others, those of Zeus and Hera. He characterizes these two statues as of poor work, and

[1] Visconti, Museo Pio Clementino, iii. Tav. 27.

a

does not mention the artist. After noticing several other statues and giving the names of their sculptors, he mentions another chryselephantine (gold and ivory) group, the names of whose sculptors, however, he declares he does not know. They were, he says, of archaic origin. The Heraion contained many very ancient monuments, such as the chest of Kypselos. He then goes on to state that in later times other statues were dedicated to the temple, such as "a Hermes of stone (marble), carrying the infant Dionysos, a work moreover of Praxiteles."

In the spring of 1877, the German excavators at Olympia came upon a dipteral temple, in which they found columns of unequal construction and style. From this and various other topographical reasons, they concluded, apparently with justice, that they had found the Heraion mentioned by Pausanias.

If by a stretch of sympathy you put yourselves into the place of excavators in the distant Greece and in the lonely valleys of Olympia, burning with scientific ardour, and conscious of the fact that not only the country that sent them, and whose government defrayed the enormous expenses of these excavations, but also the whole of civilized Europe was eagerly watching their proceedings in expectation of great results; and if, furthermore, you bear in mind that the results up to that moment, though considerable, were far below what had been hoped for—then you can adequately figure to yourselves the excitement and joy which thrilled through these men, when in this temple the pick and spade of the diggers cleared away the soil and *débris* of centuries until pure white marble gleamed forth, and gradually the beau-

tiful form of a youthful male figure firmly embedded in the fragments of the wall which had sunk over it, was brought to light.

The legs below the knee, the right fore-arm, the plinth and parts of the trunk of the tree on which the figure rested, were missing. Subsequently, however, fragments of a little child, which evidently was seated on the left arm of this figure, together with some drapery which hung down from the left arm, and other fragments, were found.[2] Behind the statue, which had fallen on its face, a square block was found, between the two pillars which evidently served as a pedestal for the statue. The face, moreover, and the whole surface is in an unprecedented state of preservation, not a particle of the finely-cut nose injured. Perhaps in falling forward, the right arm, now broken, served to weaken the fall, and so to preserve the face. There could now be no doubt that this was the marble Hermes with the Dionysos-child by Praxiteles, which Pausanias mentions.

Here was a statue which could undoubtedly be identified with its master, as we can the pedimental figures of the Parthenon with Pheidias, the Discobolos with Myron, the group of Laokoon with Agesandros, Polydoros, and Athenodoros, the Gauls with the Pergamese school; nay, even with greater certainty, for the Parthenon marbles are not from the *hand* of Pheidias, the Discobolus statues and the Gauls are ancient copies, while there has been some debate about the age and school to which the Laokoon group belongs.

[2] Since this paper was read a foot of the Hermes with clear traces of gilding and in excellent preservation, as well as the head and upper part of the Dionysos, have been found.

It is hardly conceivable, how, despite of all this evidence there should have been archæologists who could still doubt. Prof. O. Benndorf, in Lützow's Zeitschrift (Vol. XIII, p. 780), points out, that it is not at all certain whether by Praxiteles is meant *the* Praxiteles; and he even finally endeavours to make it probable that the sculptor of the Hermes was a Praxiteles who lived about 300 B.C., a grandson of the famous Praxiteles, and a contemporary of Theocritus and of Theophrastus. It was a common custom for grandsons to bear the names of their grandfathers, and it was a frequent occurrence in Greece that children should inherit the specific talents of their fathers, and adopt their callings in life. Out of a combination of these two facts, Benndorf constructs the following Praxiteles pedigree. Pausanias mentions a Praxiteles as the sculptor of a group of Demeter Kore and Iacchos in Athens, with an inscription in Attic letters which were in use before the time of Euclid (403 B.C.); this sculptor he supposes to be the grandfather of the famous Praxiteles. (Whenever we mean the famous Praxiteles we shall, as is always done in such cases, use the name without any distinctive attribute.) We know that Kephisodotos the elder, the sculptor of the famous Eirene[3] with the Plutos child (formerly called Leucothea), now in the Glyptothek at Munich, was the father of Praxiteles, and that Kephisodotos lived about the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Praxiteles flourished about the middle of the fourth century. In the second half of the fourth century

[3] Brunn, Ueber die sogenannte Leukothea, etc., Sitzungsber. der k. bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1867.

Kephisodotos the younger and his brother Timarchos followed in the footsteps of their father. About 300 B.C., we hear of a Praxiteles to whom Theophrastus (who died about 287 B.C.), gave an order to execute a bust at Athens; and this is no doubt the same one mentioned in the Scholia to Theocritus as belonging to the time of Demetrius. To illustrate the frequent recurrence of the name, Benndorf mentions two artists named Praxiteles in Roman times. The one executed a statue of Gaius Aelius Gallus, the prefect of Egypt from 26 to 24 B.C.; another made the portrait of the proconsul Cn. Acerronius Proclus (Consul 37 A.D.) These facts, Benndorf maintains, go so far as to show a possibility that the sculptor of the Hermes was not *the* Praxiteles. (Dr. Klein supports Benndorf's theory and developes it still further.) Lysippian elements, which Benndorf believes he has discovered in the Hermes, and which we shall consider hereafter, drive him to insist upon the probability that the Hermes is the work of the supposed grandson of Praxiteles, who was not exempt from the influence of the renowned sculptor Lysippos, who flourished a generation before him. I shall merely remark here, a point which has already been noticed by Dr. Treu (Der Hermes mit dem Dionysos Knaben, etc., Berlin, 1878), that Lysippos might have been, and I say most probably was, influenced by the work of Praxiteles in the constitution of his canon of human proportions.

The simplest answer to all these objections is, that if Pausanias had meant one of the less famous sculptors of the name, he would have added some attribute or mark of distinction; while, whenever he uses the

name without any distinctive attribute he means the great Praxiteles. Analogous cases in ancient and modern times are present to us all. We must furthermore bear in mind the context of the passage in Pausanias. Pausanias tells us before, that several of the statues are of poor workmanship, and that the sculptors of several of the others are not known; in strong antithesis, as it were, he then mentions a statue, both excellent in work and identified with regard to its author, and tells us that this is a work of Praxiteles, seeming to imply thereby, that being a work of the Praxiteles it must be excellent. The more instances of the recurrence of the same name Benndorf enumerates, the more he fails to disprove the present case being applicable to the great sculptor; and the more does he manifest the need for Pausanias to have specified whom he meant if he did not mean *the* Praxiteles. Prof. Benndorf himself furnishes the best illustration in his enumeration of the Praxiteles pedigree. He there specifies each individual, and only uses the name alone when he means the famous Praxiteles.[4]

[4] The word *τέχνη* used to indicate the sculptor in the passage of Pausanias (*τέχνη δὲ ἐστι Πραξιτελους*), instead of the more common *ἔργον*, or the verbal form *ἐποίει, ἐποίησε, ἐπόησε*, etc., has also been used to throw some doubt upon the assertion whether this strictly meant that this was a work from the hand of Praxiteles. G. Hirschfeld (Tituli statuarum sculptorumque Graecorum, etc., Berlin, 1871), supposes that *τέχνη* was a later Greek form, influenced by the Roman term opus (Illae autem inscriptiones ex Romanorum usu potius quam ex Graecorum conformatae sunt. Cf. opus Phidiae, opus Praxitelis, etc). Opus does frequently occur in this context as, *e.g.*, on the statues of the Monte Cavallo in Rome. But the word *τέχνη* is used in this context before the times of Roman influence. Nor could the word *τέχνη* stand for either the manual and technical part of the work, or the constructive and originative side, alone. It combines both sides. So, for instance, in

Not only, however, from the records of this statue, but from the fact of its very position in the cella of the Temple we might have presumed it to have been the work of a most renowned sculptor, and of Praxiteles above all. We know that the *ἀγάλματα* within the temple were generally of precious material. In the present case the preceding statues are characterized as being chryselephantine, and the succeeding statue of an Aphrodite by Kleon of Sikyon, is mentioned as being of bronze. The Hermes alone is emphatically stated to be of stone, the commonest material; there must therefore have been great excellence of work inherent in it, and great fame attached to the name of its artist. We know, moreover, that marble was the material characteristically used by Praxiteles.[5] It is no doubt owing to this fact that this work of art has been at all preserved to us; for gold and ivory tempted the lusts of the hordes that subsequently overran this district, and bronze suited the common uses of these barbarians. Except a bronze foot on a stone pedestal, no other fragments of a full-sized bronze statue seems

Aristotle (Eth. Nicom. vi. 7), the emphasis in the use of the word is rather upon the technical (in our sense of the word); while Dio Chrysostomos, Or. xii., p. 209, praises the *χάρις τῆς τέχνης* in the Zeus of Pheidias. The use of this word would also be amply accounted for by the natural desire for change in style, to avoid the monotonous repetition of the same word. But I am inclined to believe that the word *τέχνη* was used by Pausanias as a strong word in this context to accentuate the indisputable authorship of Praxiteles with regard to this work as contrasted with the uncertainty as to the sculptors of the works previously mentioned by him.

[5] Praxiteles quoque marmore felicior, ideo et clarior fuit, fecit tamen et ex aere pulcherrima opera. Plin. N.H. xxxiv. 69. Cf. the passages in Overbeck's Schriftquellen, p. 248.

to have been found as yet at Olympia.[6] This fact, again, goes to strengthen my supposition that the other statues in the Heraion were all of precious metal.

As has been already remarked by Hirschfeld (Deutsche Rundschau, 1877), Milchhoefer (Im Neuen Reich, 1877), Treu (*loc. cit.*), Benndorf and others, Kephisodotos, the father of Praxiteles, the sculptor of the Eirene with the Plutos-child (a subject kindred in its nature to the Hermes with the Dionysos-child), was also the sculptor of a group with the same subject as ours.[7] It is very probable that there was a silent family tradition among sculptor families with regard to certain subjects, and that Praxiteles would be strongly influenced by a work of his father's.

But we can hardly term the work before us a group ; there is no approximation to an equal balance of interest between its constituent parts. Our whole interest and attention is attracted by the Hermes, and the infant Dionysos appears only to exist in our mind as a means to account for the expression of individual character and emotion in the Hermes. And how exquisite and plastically perfect is the expression of this emotion. The Hermes, youthful, and yet with paternal tenderness and strength toned down to gentleness ; while a breath of sweet melancholy, pleasing in its sad rhythm, rests over the whole composition. The head combines in its features all the characteristics of a youthful Hermes, and of the typically Attic youth. The type of the athlete, the

[6] Since this paper was read a bronze head has been discovered.

[7] Cephisodoti duo fuere ; prioris est Mercurius Liberum patrem in infantia nutriens. Plin. N.H. xxxiv. 87.

ephebe, the director and protector of games, and the swift-footed messenger of the gods, is indicated in the firmly cut, tightly connected features, the crisp hair energetically rising from the knit and vigorous brow, in the athletic development of the temples. A second characteristic of Hermes and of the Athenian youth is the acuteness, almost slyness, of intellect (Κλυτόβουλος, δόλιος, etc.); he is the god of skilful speech (λόγιος, facundus[8]); the god of useful inventions[9]; the god of commerce and of thieves (ἐμπολαῖος, πολυγκάπηλος, κερδέμπορος)[10]; the god of luck, of gaming and gamesters (κλῆρος).[11] But what is most apparent in this head are the softer and more gentle qualities which were also possessed by the strong and wary Athenian youth. Hermes is a devoted and ardent lover; a tender and kind father, who, for instance, bestowed the gift of an ever retentive memory on his son Aethalides, the herald of the Argonauts. He was the benign bestower of earthly prosperity and the reliever of the distressed (ἐριούνιος, δώτωρ ἐάων, ἀκακήτης).[12] And the dreaming, soft and melancholy traits which are shed with a glow over the whole figure, are personified in Hermes as the bestower of sweet sleep, whose staff could "close the eyes of mortals,"[13] and as the leader of all dreams, ἡγήτωρ ὀνείρων[14]; the leader of the dead, of departed souls, into Hades

[8] Orph. h. 27, 4; Hor. Od. I. 10. 4.
[9] Plut. Symp. 9, 3; Diod. i. 16, v. 75: Hyg. fab. 27.
[10] Aristoph. Plut., 1155, 1156; Orph. h. 27. 6.
[11] Aristoph. Pax, 365, etc.
[12] Il. xxiv. 360, Odyss. viii. 335, Il. xvi. 185.
[13] Il. xxiv. 343, 445.
[14] Hom. h. 14, and Il. ii. 26; Virg. Aen. iv. 556.

(νεκροπομπός, ψυχοπομπός). In general we may say that Hermes is the most human of the Greek gods.

But, like a great sculptor who has thoroughly conceived the true province of his art and its means of expression, it is not only the head which Praxiteles has formed to express his feelings, his thoughts, his creative mood, however beautiful we know his heads to have been ;[15] we feel his power in the manner in which the head rests upon the neck, and the neck upon the shoulders, and the limbs join on to the body ; in short, in the plastic rhythm of the whole figure as well as in the peculiar modelling of every sinew and muscle, and in each smallest part of the surface.

The main features which Praxiteles has expressed in this statue are those of strength and tenderness. It is not a pure and simple type, such as the earlier times would have given us, strength in a Hêraklês, and softness in a Dionysos, but a composite type of Herculean strength and of Bacchic softness, both harmoniously blended in the beautiful forms of an athletic youth ; strength and active energy, penetrated by passive pleasure, capable of delight in passion. Strength is plastically indicated in the powerful limbs, the full chest, the modelling of the well articulated muscles and sinews ; while the apparent relaxation and the soft rest of these powerful limbs and of the well-rounded chest, express the gentle element in this complex mood.

The soft layer beneath the epidermis unites, with its tranquil flow, the sinewy muscles that lie below it, into a gliding rhythm ; propitiates the ruptures

[15] Praxitelea capita, Cic. I. de Divinat. ii. 21, 48.

of lines, and intermediates each hiatus where each muscle and joint is knit on to the other. The smooth and vibrating surface covers all in lines of gentle yet potentially vigorous cadence, midway between the rippling rhythm of the epidermis of a Farnese Hercules, and the languid and almost effeminate swell of lines in the Lykian Apollo or the Antinous as Bacchus in the Vatican.

But all this is expressed not merely in the rhythm of the individual limbs and parts themselves, but in the *general rhythm* of the body, as well as in the *outline rhythm.*

In the relative position of the limbs to the central point of interest of the figure, strength is expressed though imbedded under apparent rest—it is latent. Michael Angelo's Moses in the San Paolo in Vinculo in Rome is seated in comparative rest, and his muscles are partially relaxed. And still we are necessarily impressed, while gazing upon this seated figure, with its latent power, which may at any moment become actual. The broad band round his powerful left shoulder in perfect repose, still gives us the idea of motion and resistance. He could rend it asunder, broad as it is, were his muscles to swell. Nay, we feel that the next moment he *will* rise from his apparent repose, and all his sinews will be in the most energetic tension, that he will grasp the tablet with his strong hands and shatter it to the ground, that his whole large frame will vibrate with passion. The eve of a great powerful moral outburst is embodied in the seeming rest and relaxation of this statue. So too we can feel that this Hermes, full of tenderness and glowing with a languid re-

laxation, can at any moment swing the *discus*, fling the spear, wrestle and struggle in the Pancration, softly skim over the course, or even fly over "the briny sea and the infinite earth with his beautiful ambrosian and golden pedila" as the messenger of Zeus. He can not only tenderly nurse the infant, but he has snatched it from the flames and he can protect it. On the other hand, the languor and tenderness of the figure is expressed in the forward bending head which in this position adds to the expression of dreamy abstractedness, and in the slight curve of the neck and shoulders, in the gentle uplifting of the right arm, and in the careful semi-suspension of the left, as well as in the wavy curve of the flank and the outward swell of the hip (as intelligibly a line of soft melancholy as any minor passage of low and gliding violoncello tones in music).

So much for the *general rhythm of the body*. In the *outline rhythm*, the flow of the simple lines of the outline, there is the same mixture and thorough harmony of soft rest and latent movement. And this is so whether, as Hirschfeld and Milchhoefer maintain, he held in his right uplifted hand a bunch of grapes to incite the appetite of his little ward, or, as Treu maintains, he held the thyrsos to indicate the nature of the infant. This staff would counteract the effect produced by the heavy drapery and the child on his left, which without a similar line on the right would be unsymmetrical in composition. With regard to the outline rhythm we are again midway between the restless, outward-driving lines of a Borghese gladiator, and the restful symmetry of outline in a Somnus, with his hands folded over his head.

With regard to the technique (in the restricted sense), I have already remarked the exquisiteness of the modelling. The surface and what is below it seems to vibrate under the gaze and touch of the spectator. The delicate play of light and shade over the ribs of the right side will assist in appreciating the quality of the modelling when we compare it with similar Roman works, in which each part seems put together, not to flow together. All this points to the expression of what we may term *texture in plastic art*, and here it appears to me that Praxiteles was decidedly an innovator.

Pheidias could readily indicate his texture by means of the various materials he used in one statue, as for instance, gold and ivory; but Praxiteles was the marble sculptor *par excellence*. Pliny (xxxiv. 69, xxxvi. 20) says of him, "Praxiteles was more happy in marble than in bronze, and therefore also more celebrated," and "he surpasses himself in marble." The strong feeling the Greeks had for indication of texture in plastic art manifests itself at first in their using different materials to express various textures. A later development of art leads them to use but one material; but then they call in polychromy[16] to assist them in accentuating various textures, until they gradually come to express this difference by the quality of the modelling. Now I am far from ignoring the exquisite distinction of texture in the nude, the light and the heavy drapery, in the pedimental figures of the Parthenon; but still I

[16] We meet with polychromy in the earliest times; but then it is especially in connexion with architecture, and the works almost invariably partake of a decorative character. The temple statues rarely were of marble, while the agonistic works were generally of bronze.

maintain that this distinction of texture is of a more marked character in the Hermes than in any earlier statue known to us. Though we know that the statues of Praxiteles were painted with great care, nay, that perhaps even as Brunn interprets the passage in Pliny (xxxv. 122), Praxiteles himself painted his own statues, still we know with what preference and how frequently he represented nude figures, in which the amount of painting could necessarily have been but very restricted. And, moreover, Lucian (Amor. 13, and Imag. 4) expressed his admiration of the manner in which texture is expressed in the fleshy parts of the Aphrodite of Cnidus. All this leads me to infer that polychromy reached the highest point of its development in Praxiteles, but that after the highest point immediately followed decline. And there can be no doubt in my mind, that the strongly marked accentuation of texture in marble independent of colour was already in formation in Praxiteles. In the Hermes we notice this especially in the treatment of the hair in its relation to the skin. It is very strange that those who first noticed the statue considered this treatment of the hair, roughly blocked out as it is, to be a mark of hasty work. But surely, it arises rather from a very keen sense of texture, and much and deep thought as to the manner of expressing it. Some painters, like Denner, thought that they could best represent hair in as nearly as possible indicating each single hair; but we know that painting in large masses, yet with a peculiar handling of the brush, is more likely to succeed in evoking the sense-perception of sight,

equivalent to that perception in touch. In plastic art, this is the introduction of a pictorial element, but it is not painting. Hirschfeld has remarked traces of colour on the lips and hair of our Hermes. I have not been able to discover them.[17] However this may be, the fact remains that there is a new style of rendering hair in this statue. The same applies to the drapery suspended from the left arm. I can recall but one antique statue in which the texture is similarly indicated in the drapery, namely, the Demeter of Cnidus, in the British Museum. The drapery of the Hermes is exceedingly realistic in the indication of texture, and corresponds exactly to the treatment of the hair.

Now, is the Hermes, as Benndorf maintains, really so different in work and character from the other statues which Archaeology has until now identified with Praxiteles? Decidedly not. To begin with the technique. It is objected that this treatment of the hair does not correspond with that of statues like the Apollo Sauroktonos and the Eros, called the "Genius of the Vatican," and so on. But the difference between the hair of the Hermes and the Eros is not much greater than between that of the Eros and the Sauroktonos; and, moreover, we must bear in mind that the other statues are copies, and probably Roman copies, while the Hermes is a Greek original. It is difficult to copy hair, especially such *seemingly* hasty work. I must lay especial stress on one fact, having in my mind a school of archaeologists

[17] In the recently discovered foot the clearest traces of gilding have been found on the straps of the sandals. If colour has been so well preserved here, why should it be so doubtful elsewhere?

in Germany, who see the conventionally-archaic, imitations of the archaic, "*Archaisieren*," in many works that have, until now, been considered archaic. In copying a work of former times, the copyist almost invariably introduces modern elements, and he cannot help it. To see this we need but stroll through a gallery of old masters and compare the copies with the originals. We are more justified in opposing what we may call *modernisieren* to their *archaisieren*. For my own part I feel convinced that the hair of the original Genius of the Vatican was more similar in treatment to that of the Hermes than to that of the Sauroktonos.

But sufficient positive evidence can be brought forward to show that the type found in the Hermes is prevalent in the time of Praxiteles and is markedly different from the Lysippian type. We need but compare the head of the Hermes with heads on three coins[18] which Mr. Percy Gardner has kindly informed me all belong to the period of Philip of Macedon, *i.e.*, the age of Praxiteles. The first is the well-known gold stater of Philip of Macedon, with the idealised portrait of the monarch with laurel wreath. The second[19] is a silver coin of Phalanna in Thessaly, a drachma of Aeginetan standard, having on the obverse a young male head looking to the right (which Mr. Gardner believes may be Ares), and on the reverse, ΦΑ ΝΝ ΑΙΩΝ with a bridled horse trotting to the right. The third[20] is a copper coin of Medeon in Acarnania,

[18] I am obliged to Mr. W. S. W. Vaux for suggesting this point of comparison.

[19] Mentioned by Mionnet, ii, 148.

[20] Imhof Blumer, Numism. Zeitschr. 1878, Pl. I, No. 15.

bearing on the obverse, a young male head, and below ME. ; and, on the reverse, A within a wreath.

All three heads, though representing different personalities, are the same in style and in the artistic conception of the male type ; and all three again bear the most striking resemblance to the head of the Hermes. If we bear in mind that the one head belongs to a highly finished statue of over-life size, we shall find that the differences between the head of the Hermes and each of the coins is not greater than the difference of two coins from one another. But of the three, the second, the coin from Phalanna is most strikingly similar to the Hermes. The brow is more receding, it is true, but we notice the same elevations of the frontal bone, which we do not meet with *before* Praxiteles. The subtle execution of the eye in profile, astonishing in such small dimensions, is the same as in the Hermes, down to the delicate cavity at the angle where the frontal bone and the cheek bone meet. The indication of the soft texture of the cheek, the mouth, the chin, nay, even the peculiar block treatment of the hair, is strikingly similar in the two instances. It is impossible to mistake this head for a Lysippian head ; a comparison between the head of the Hermes and that of the Apoxyomenos of the Vatican will show the most manifest difference. It is instructive to compare two heads in the Glyptothek at Munich, in Brunn's Catalogue, No. 164 and No. 83, the former clearly of the Praxitelean type of the Hermes, the latter of the Lysippian type of the Apoxyomenos.[21]

[21] I subsequently find that Prof. Brunn has remarked the characteristics of these two heads.

But it is, we must confess, quite superfluous to attempt to *prove* the Praxitelean character of this statue. Hardly ever, in the history of archæology, has the sculptor and the denomination of a work been so conclusively shown by the circumstances of its discovery as in this case. Henceforth all the works which have previously been supposed to be Praxitelean will have to be compared with the Hermes, to prove their genuineness, and not *vice versâ*.

Moreover, the proportions of the body of the Hermes correspond exactly to what we should *à priori* have supposed them to be. The canon of Polykleitos was heavy and square, his statues were *quadrata signa*;[22] the canon of Lysippos was more slim, less fleshy: *capita minora faciendo quam antiqui, corpora graciliora siccioraque, per quæ proceritas signorum major videretur*.[23] Now the historical position of Praxiteles lies between Polykleitos and Lysippos, and so the lithe squareness and square litheness of the Hermes represents the transition from the heaviness of the Doryphoros of Polykleitos to the slimness of the Apoxyomenos of Lysippos.

But the physical type of the Hermes is not merely a point of transition. It is true we do not hear of a Praxitelean canon; a fixed model of human proportions is incongruous with the personal and artistic character of Praxiteles, as will become evident to us further on; for such a nature is opposed to all "academical" fetters and is guided by the impressions flowing from each object it deals with. And

[22] Pliny, N.H. xxxiv. 56.
[23] Pliny, N.H. xxxiv. 65.

yet we may now assert that the Praxitelean type was prevalent in the age which we may roughly determine by Philip of Macedon, as becomes evident from the fact that, *e.g.*, the type of the Hermes head pervaded even the more mechanical art of coinage in the remote north of Greece (as in the coins mentioned above). But also the type of the whole figure with its proportions prevailed in that epoch; and this is shown, not only in the frequent modified replicas, such as the so-called Antinous of the Vatican, the Hermes of Andros at Athens, the Hermes in the Glyptothek at Munich, the Hermes from the Farnese collection in the British Museum, &c., &c.; but this type also recurs in statues, independent of the Hermes, and even in vase figures that in style belong to this epoch. It will be a task for archæologists in the future to study whole groups of ancient monuments, taking the Hermes as the starting point of comparison, as the criterion of Praxitelean work. I shall merely draw attention to three instances.

The famous Poniatowski[24] vase has on the face a representation of the Triptolemos myth, while the figures on the reverse exactly correspond to the Hermes type. In former days archæologists were very fond of giving mystical interpretations to simple illustrations from ancient life. They were especially fond of bringing every illustration into immediate connexion with the mysteries. So in

[24] First published by E. Q. Visconti, "Le pitture di un antico vaso fittile trovato nella Magna Grecia, appartenente al principe Stanislas Poniatowski," etc. "Millin's Description de Vases Antiques," Vol. 1, Pl. 32, etc.

this case Visconti, Fr. Creuzer[25] and Millin bring the youth, who, as they say, is standing in the doorway of a temple, into connexion with the Eleusinian mysteries, and describe the surrounding persons accordingly. The supposed temple, however, is nothing more than the pictorial rendering of a stone stele. The painter evidently was inspired by or copied a funereal slab which represented a young ephebe as an athlete whose favourite dog is endeavouring to attract his attention. This *motive* is very frequent in Greek funereal monuments. The Greeks were not fond of representing their deceased friends as dead, but recalled them as they were when alive, with a minimum of the dark spectre of death. Married men are represented in the act of being married, warriors, as taking leave or returning from battle, or in the act of fighting; women are pictured in the midst of their household, surrounded by their children, engrossed in their favourite occupations, etc. So in this case the sepulchral vase, which evidently came from the grave of a young man, was decorated on the face with a Triptolemos representation, while on the other side the youth himself is represented as he was: subjectively in the figure on the stele, a young man who excelled in the athletic games and was fond of hunting; objectively, in the relation in which the surrounding figures are brought to him; they show his social character, his amiability both for men and women. A maiden offers a wreath, another holds a mirror to reflect his charms, a youth also offers a victor-vase,

[25] "Abbildungen zur Symbolik und Mythologie," Taf. 14, Erklär. 76, p. 47.

the other is in the act of calling him to join him in the palaestra. It is a *genre* scene from the life of the deceased. That the youth is surrounded by the ornaments of a stele becomes a certainty from the resemblance and almost identity which obtains between this figure and a marble stele published by Stackelberg,[26] who points to this coincidence. According to Stackelberg it was found on the site of the battle of Leuktra (B.C. 371), and was deposited at Eremokastro, the ancient Thespiae. In this case the youth has no band round his head, and he holds a strigilis in his hand; the remainder is identical in both. In both these cases we have the Hermes type. Moreover, the head of a youth with a Phrygian cap on the neck of the vase, while strongly reminding us of the Hermes, also resembles the head of the Eros of Centocelli, commonly known as the Genius of the Vatican. The proportions of the body are neither Polykleitan nor Lysippian, but essentially those of the Hermes, while the graceful position of the head and the bend in the hip are the striking characteristics of the Praxitelean figures. Of the correspondence with regard to the moral as distinguished from the purely physical characteristics we shall treat hereafter.

Finally, we again meet with the same type in a stele at Athens.[27] It is again a *genre* representation, a boy playing with a bird, leaning against the stem of a tree while his chlamys lightly resting over his left shoulder hangs down by the tree.

[26] Die Graeber der Hellenen, Berlin, 1837, Taf. II, No. 2.

[27] Supplement to Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, Pl. 2, fig. 3. C. O. Müller, Denkmäler der alten Kunst, I Theil, Taf. XXIX, n. 127. Stackelberg, ibid., Taf. II, No. 4.

Again Stackelberg endeavours to bring the youth, as "Verehrer und Diener der Manen-Koenigin Persephone Phereplatta, der Taubentraegerin, oder Aphrodite Epithymbia, Libitina," into some mythological association, while in truth we have merely to deal with a scene from life. Not only does the head, do the physical proportions, exactly correspond to the Hermes, but the attitude is almost identical, nay the drapery with its treatment of folds and the way in which it is suspended from the tree, as well as the tree itself, are in both cases almost the same. The figures speak for themselves. Praxitelean influence becomes still more evident in this case when we remember that the slab comes from Athens, and that we know from Pausanias (I, 2, 3) that Praxiteles was the sculptor of a sepulchral monument in Athens representing a warrior next to his horse (*ἔστι δὲ τάφος οὐ πόῤῥω τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπίθημα ἔχων στρατιώτην ἵππῳ παρεστηκότα ὄντινα μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, Πραξιτέλης δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην ἐποίησεν*); and that he also, according to Pliny (N.H. xxxvi. 20, opera eius sunt Athenis in ceramico), fashioned works in the Ceramicus, which were most likely sepulchral monuments.[28]

But what is most characteristic of the Hermes and of all these works is the sadly abstracted and reflective mood expressed in the figures, and the soft melancholy rhythm of the lines. The above-mentioned stele and the vase-figure as well the statues

[28] Brunn formerly (Künstler Geschichte I. p. 344), and Urlichs (Chrest. Plin., p. 380), brought these works into connexion with the group of Demeter, Persephone, and Iacchos, in the Temple of Demeter at Athens, mentioned by Paus. I. 2, 4; but there is no reason for this. Cf. Overbeck, Schriftquellen, 1282.

hitherto considered to be Praxitelean, as the Apollo Sauroktonos, the Genius of the Vatican, the Apollino of the Uffizi, and the Faun of the Capitol—all have in common with the Hermes, the languor in the rhythm of the outline, the same graceful position, the same wavy bend of the hip.

But the sadly-abstracted and reflective mood is expressed more definitely. One of the manifestations of the normal, healthy, and active frame of mind is, that our muscles, or the outward signs of attention, immediately react upon a stimulus received from without by our senses. If, for instance, we receive a tap on our left shoulder, our head and eyes and perhaps even the right arm will turn in that direction. But when we are reflective, wrapped in inward thought, as it were, this mood manifests itself in that we do not normally react in accordance with the stimulus received by our senses. We are insensible to any affection from without, because we are engrossed in the pictures of the inner mind's eye. But though this abstractedness, in so far as it means *insensibility* to the proceedings of the outer world, and in so far as it is a more than normal descent into thought, has an inherent element of sadness, and partakes in its outward manifestation of the languor of dreamland; still, it may spring from descent into *critical* thought, and then it does not essentially suggest sadness to us. But the plastic manifestation of these moods distinguishes between critical and vague dreamy abstractedness, in the relative expression of the eye. When we are critically abstracted, the eye, or rather the moveable surroundings of the eye, are compressed, while the

body and the head are fixed in one direction, insensible to outward disturbances; but in vague and dreamy abstraction, reverie, the eyes are wide open, and there is a fixed immobility of the rest of the body. Now the infant Dionysos on the left arm of the Hermes is evidently restless; he gazes up at his protector, and attempts to attract his attention by tugging at his shoulder. But the widely-open eyes of Hermes are not fixed upon the object which vigorously stimulates his senses; and the half-sad smile round his lips, which are not free from an indication of satiety, is not immediately caused by the infant, though it may be perhaps mediately, namely, by the inner thoughts which were originally suggested by the child. In the same way, on the Athenian stele, the head and the eyes of the youth are gracefully turned to his left, away from the bird restlessly flapping its wings on his right. And, finally, this contrast between the fresh and active and the sad and dreamy is apparent in the figure on the Poniatowski vase. His eyes are not turned upon his favourite dog, who is vainly attempting to attract his attention. The mouth is somewhat drooping with the over-fullness of sentiment.

This expression of countenance, together with the position and rhythm of the rest of the body, expresses with the greatest clearness the sad mood in all these works. It is a great confirmation for me to find that two modern English poets have felt this to be the salient characteristic of one of the beforementioned statues, the Genius of the Vatican. The one[29] says:

[29] J. Addington Symonds the "Genius of the Vatican," in "Many Moods."

Nathless, it grieves me that thy pensive mood
And downcast eyes and melancholy brow
Reveal such sorrow; nay I know not how
Stern sadness o'er thy beauty dares to brood.
And then I say: the sorrow is not thine,
But his who sculptured thee, weeping to think
That earthly suns to night's cold tide must sink,
And youth ere long in death's pale charnel pine.
Or wert thou some Marcellus shown by heaven
With presage of the tomb upon thine eyes,
Whom Jove, too envious of our clouded skies,
Snatched from the earth, to divine councils given,
And smoothed thy brow, and raised thy drooping head
And lapped thee in a soft Elysian bed?—"

And the other:[30]

O love, to me who love thee well,
Who fain would hear and mark,
The secret of thy sorrow tell,
And why thy brow is dark.

* * * * *

But thou hast caught a deeper care,
His smile is not for thee;
Thou canst not all so lightly wear
Thine immortality.

Or is it that thy spirit knew
Its solitary fate,
That whatsoe'er of beauty grew,
Thou might'st not find thy mate?

This element of melancholy, which slowly flowed out of the hands of Praxiteles into all his works, must have been the subjective element of Praxitelean art. To appreciate this we must endeavour to study the man who stood behind the artist, and the man

[30] Ernest Myers' Poems. The "Genius of the Vatican."

again will be most readily appreciated by us when we study the time and the social environment in which we find him a member.

Brunn[31] has rightly concluded from the subjects which Praxiteles chose for artistic representation (generally female or youthful male beauty), together with the reports we have concerning the character of these works, as well as from the fact that he frequently charmed the spectators with the outward and more material execution of the works, that one of the most manifest features of his artistic character was sensuousness.

It is in the nature of the sensuous man to be impressionable. He is subject, more than the unimpulsive, to be strongly influenced by his various surroundings. This will account for the absence of a strict and uniform style as we find it in the older times, especially in ancient Peloponnesian art (which like the men of that time and district was hard and rigorous). The sensuous nature is open to the charms of its surroundings, and its moods are essentially affected by them; and so the style, in detail for instance, the treatment of the hair (as in the statues we have before enumerated), will vary in accordance with the different subjects treated. But what is most characteristic of the sensuous temperament is the frequent reaction towards melancholy which follows upon every exalted or violent affection; there are but extremes.

But by this sensuousness we are far from meaning actual passion; and I thoroughly agree with Brunn[32]

[31] "Gesch. d. Griech. Künstler," Vol. I, p. 345, etc.

[32] Künstler-Geschichte, and in Rhein. Museum, Vol. XI, 166.

in his controversy with Friedrichs[33] when he maintains that the πάθος of Praxiteles differed from that of Scopas. In Scopas we have actual passion expressing itself in the violence of the actions he chose for plastic representation and in the feature of movement and unrest which ran through all his statues. In Praxiteles we have potential passion, suggestion of strong impulses, rather than impulses themselves. But such suggestiveness, hidden and veiled, is sad in itself, sadder in its aspect than even the violent impulse to destruction; and whenever the sensitive and amative nature is not vibrating it is apt to be sad.

Pheidias was not sad, but the time in which Pheidias lived was essentially different from that of Praxiteles. The time in which the character of Pheidias formed itself, was one of decision; its traits stood forth pronouncedly and its aims all lay in one direction; the united resistance of all Greek states against their common Persian foe. There was something decided and vigorously energetic in the spirit which this great aim of Greek states and their citizens cast over that epoch; it excluded self-consciousness and self-reflection, it gave them their keen perception of generality and of broad types—of the ideal. This naïveté, added to energy and inventive impulse, together with the essential plastic tendency of the Greek mind, is most favourable to the production of great sculptors and is most characteristic of the genius of Pheidias. Serenity is that which most characterises the works of Greek plastic art in the time of Pheidias, the noble naïveté, and silent great-

[33] Praxiteles und die Niobegruppe, Leipz. 1865.

ness; "*Die edle Einfalt und stille Grösse*," as Winckelmann calls it. And this feature must no doubt have been the most striking one in the character of Pheidias himself. With the smallest amount of exertion and the greatest simplicity, Pheidias gave forth himself in his works of grandeur; while again, with the greatest simplicity he was affected by what surrounded him, and assimilated with his inventive genius the grand spirit and healthy vigour of his time.

The age of Praxiteles was not so simple and decided in its character, its movements, and its aims. The aims before it did not enforce themselves with decision enough to make it, so to say, begin anew and unprecedented in the formation of its future. Its moving power was not simple, but emanated from two different quarters. The violent commotion of the past Peloponnesian war, on the one hand, still rolled its billows and cast the weary mind to and fro; while, on the other hand, the whirlpool of future conquests and struggles mysteriously sucked it into its circle. Within the dying vibrations of former commotion and the mystic forebodings of stirring future events this age grew up an old man with youthful impulses—a grey-haired youth. The naïveté and simplicity of action was no more; no decided trait; neither day nor night, but what lies between them—twilight. The aims of the time not being defined and one, but there being currents in two different directions, the individual dwellers on the borderland of events became undecided, inactive, more reflective, and sophisticated. For if the outer world draws in two different direc-

tions, the result is a reversion into oneself. In the past romantic period of our century, the nations were still trembling with the violent emotions produced by the French Revolution and the sweep of Napoleon ; while the Revolution of 1848 and the great reformatory steps of our immediate age mysteriously drew them on. It is typified by De Musset (himself a type of this age) in the beginning of his *Confessions d'un enfant du siècle*, an age in which Shelley, still a boy, is reported to have said of himself : " I am older than my grandfather, and if I die to-morrow I shall be ninety-nine years old." The movement being complex, it will either produce stagnation, or, not admitting of simple outward motion, it produces a surplus amount of inner, " molecular " motion, that is, nervousness, excitability.

The excitable, nervous and sensuous nature combined with a soul of poetry and constructive imagination has always the characteristics of the sanguine temperament, the bright and fresh impulse, and the sad and melancholy reaction. Such natures are premature, they pass rapidly through childhood, and frequently astound us by intuitive forebodings and thoughts and feelings which belong to old age ; and still they never lose the freshness and vigour of youth, for they are the pulsating incorporation of the attributes of youth, as the equipoised, critical and steady temperament personifies the age of ripe manhood. Such natures cannot produce the steady grandeur of a Pheidias ; but they fluctuate in their works and are continually influenced by their immediate surroundings—influenced immediately and in their whole person, not assimi-

lating their environment with their fresh, strong, and simple personality, as do those of Pheidiac type. For the nervous constitution of such sanguine temperaments does not allow of any protracted sojourn on the heights of sublimity. There is no continuity of impulse, no sameness of mood. Though they may sometimes rise above the world of reality into the supernatural and godlike, experience feelings and delights which no other heart can feel, see visions which no other eye has met, they soon sink from this lofty height, in which the air is almost too thin to permit of mortals breathing, to the world of reality; breathless and trembling, but sustained and drawing upwards with them their environment by the resonance and memory of what they heard and saw. Yet when they try to fix these impressions they frequently fail, for such moods cannot last. Coleridge's Kubla Khan and Shelley's Epipsychidion are fragmentary. The Lovely, the Humanly-Beautiful is their domain, for they are loveable and much loving natures.

Yet over all this world of restlessness, of "Storm and Pressure," is spread a thin gauze of unpronounced sadness, like the thin mist that spreads over even the freshest landscape in the brightest morning of spring. Praxiteles, Shelley, Heine, De Musset, Chopin were such temperaments. What adds to the melancholy of such natures is the consciousness that they have lost simplicity; they know that they are sophisticated, and thus the simple and innocent, whenever they meet it, evokes in them a fond and desiring sadness. When a pure maiden inspires Heine, he can write the purest and sadly-

sweetest verses; all the stains of his past joy have left him.

Thou'rt like a lovely floweret,
So void of guile and art,
I gaze upon thy beauty,
And grief steals o'er my heart.

I fain would lay devoutly
My hands upon thy brow,
And pray that God will keep thee
As good and fair as now.[34]

Childhood with its purity and innocence fills them with sad longing. And so it is that the infant on the arm of the Hermes cannot inspire the vigorous young god with its own mirth, but evokes the sweetly-sad and pensive mood which we have noted in the statue. But the power of loving is placed deep in the heart of Hermes, and he is loveable in his beauty.

Praxiteles, the sculptor of what is loveable, was ordered to fashion a Hermes, the protector of athletic sports, in a temple at Olympia, the sacred realm of all physical exercise; a strong god in the vast temple of strength. And how did he solve the task? He gave a strong god, but in a moment of tender pensiveness, and accentuated, even more than his strength, his amiable beauty. The man with his individual character shines forth through the artist.

The Hermes, then, undoubtedly a work of Praxiteles, has enabled us to recognise the character of Praxitelean art, the character and genius of Praxiteles himself, and has thrown a new ray of light upon a

[34] Leland's translation.

period of Greek history. A work of art may elucidate an age as clearly as a chapter of written history. Who can know the history of the Italian Renaissance without studying Da Vinci, Raphael, and Michael Angelo ?

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