POET OR LAWGIVER?

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POET OR LAW-GIVER?

I

FEW Greek statues are so famous as the draped marble figure, somewhat larger than life, known under the name of 'Sophocles,' which has been for many years the chief attraction of the Lateran Museum (Figs. 1, 2). Indeed it was on account of this statue, and on the occasion of its discovery, that Pope Gregory XVI ordered a part of the Lateran Palace to be converted into a Museum, wishing to provide the gem with a worthy shrine of its own.

FIG. 1.—SO-CALLED SOPHOCLES. ROME, LATERAN.

Nor is such fame undeserved.

The calm and dignified attitude, the high-spirited head, the clever and harmonious arrangement of the drapery, the careful, broad and supple workmanship —everything combines to make our statue not only a masterpiece of Greek art, but the classical type of an Athenian gentleman shown in the bloom of full manhood, as he may have been met with sauntering about the theatre or agora in the fifth century B.C.

Though all do not agree that we have here, as has been often said, the finest life-size portrait which has come down to us from Hellenic sculpture, at any rate, since the first day of its appearance, artists and archaeologists have been unanimous in its praise. Their admiration was sometimes even expressed in dithyrambic style, hardly admitting a cautious criticism concerning the lack of individuality in the features and expression, a somewhat theatrical touch in the bearing, a rather overdone elaboration in the head-dress and the folds of the mantle, a superficial rendering of the moral and intellectual character.

We shall see presently how far these strictures are justified. The purpose of this paper is not to put forward yet another aesthetic description and dis-

cussion of the statue. It is merely to test the accuracy of its identification. My inquiry bears only on this: Is this famous marble rightly called *Sophocles?* On what grounds is it usually given as a faithful copy of the portrait, the only portrait of the great poet which is historically certified—I mean the bronze statue set up between 340 and 330 B.C., on the motion of the orator Lycurgus, in the theatre of Athens, by the side of those of his great rivals, Aeschylus and Euripides? [1]

II

A certain amount of mystery still prevails around the date and circumstances of the discovery of the statue, nor is there any agreement as to who was the first to point out its merits, and, if I may say, to christen the child.

All that we know is that it comes from the ruins of Terracina, otherwise called Anxur, the old city of the Volsci, so picturesquely seated at the outlet of the Pomptine marshes, on a high white cliff overlooking the passes of the Via Appia. Every scholar remembers the line of Horace: *Impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.*[2] Beneath the cliff, in the suburbs and neighbourhood of the old town, stood many villas of the Roman aristocracy; one belonged to the Emperor Domitian, in another one Galba was born.[3] Our statue is said to have been dug up in the so-called 'sand district' (*arene*) south of the canal, about a hundred yards south-west from the amphitheatre of the Memmii.[4] Did there stand formerly in this place some public building (such as a library or Court of Justice) or rather a private villa? We do not know, and it would be well worth while to make a fresh inquiry on the spot and dig the place more thoroughly.

The statue had been lying for some years—*non sono molti anni*—forsaken, face downwards, in the courtyard of a house of Terracina, when, in the spring of 1839, during an inspection tour of Pope Gregory XVI, the Counts Antonelli, on whose ground it had been unearthed, gave it as a present to the Pontiff. So we are reminded by the inscription engraved on the pedestal: FAMILIA ANTONELLIA TERRACINENSIS DONAVIT ANNO MDCCCXXXIX.

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[1] I completely share the doubts expressed by Wieseler (*Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1848, p. 1220 *sq.*) concerning the usual interpretation of a corrupted passage in the anonymous *Vita Sophoclis* (Westermann's Βιογράφοι, p. 128 = Overbeck, 1413), from which archaeologists have inferred the existence of an older statue erected to Sophocles, soon after his death, by his son Iophon—of whom, by the way, the learned gossip knew little else than his sad quarrels with his father. Here is the text of the MSS. as corrected by Meineke: ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀλωνος (Ἀλκωνος Meineke; but *cf.* E. Schmidt, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxviii. 73) ἱερωσύνην, ὃς ἥρως ἦν μετ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρὰ Χείρωνι <τραφεὶς? *add.* Mein. > . . . (*desunt quaedam*) ἱδρυνθεὶς ὑπ' Ἰοφῶντος τοῦ υἱοῦ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. This seems to point to a statue, not of Sophocles, but of the hero Alcon, a statue vowed by Sophocles but set up, after his death, by his son (Comp. Lycurgus I. 147, 43: ἥρωες κατὰ πόλιν—ἱδρύμενοι). I have my doubts about the insertion of τραφείς. The sense may be that the statue of Alcon, with that of Asclepios, were both set up near the statue of Chiron: so we would have here a group of three statues. In this case αὐτοῦ ought to be inserted before or after τελευτήν.

[2] *Sat.*, i. 5, 26.

[3] Martial, v. 1; Suet. *Galba* 14. Cp. La Blanchère, *Terracine* (1884).

[4] La Blanchère, p. 136 and Pl. II. He gives, however, for the discovery the wrong date 1846, and quotes no authority for the particulars above mentioned.

Now who had pointed out to the generous owners the uncommon beauty of this piece of work, lost, until then, in the mass of the ordinary *figurae palliatae?* Who was the first to suggest its being a portrait of Sophocles?

Here our authorities disagree.

At the Winckelmann birthday festival celebrated by the Archaeological Institute of Rome on December 9th, 1839, when Marchese Melchiorri revealed to the learned world the sensational discovery, the marquis claimed for himself the double praise of first appreciating and first naming the statue. Credit for this was also bestowed on him ten years later by Emil Braun, the German archaeologist: *Primo trai dotti ad osservare ed apprezzare.* On the contrary, Father Garrucci, in his short notice of 1861, attributes the merit of having recognised Sophocles in the Lateran statue to an antiquary, or rather a dealer in antiques, called Luigi Vescovali. Finally, according to an oral tradition gathered in 1867 by Benndorf and Schöne, the sculptor Pietro Tenerani is said to have been the first to call attention to the beautiful workmanship of the statue.

We are not expressly told that Tenerani was also the first to *identify* the statue, but at any rate he accepted, without controversy, the proposed identification, and largely contributed to propagate it. In fact he was the artist entrusted with the task of restoring the 'Sophocles,' a task which he carried out with as much skill as taste. The restoration includes the nose, part of the brows, right cheek, moustache and hair, the right hand, the whole feet and a piece of the lower flap of the drapery. Tenerani also supplied the *scrinium* or volume-case placed at the foot of the statue: this last addition may have been suggested by the statue of Aeschines at Naples, the resemblance of which to our marble had been immediately noticed. However, by adding the volume-case to the Lateran statue upon his own authority, Tenerani stamped it implicitly as the portrait of a 'man of intellect,' and, strange to say, certain critics have been thoughtless enough to seek, in this entirely modern detail, an argument in favour of the traditional denomination.[4a]

III

Be this as it may, these points of history offer but an anecdotic interest. The main issue is to ascertain on what arguments is based the identification, which, since the day when it was first publicly suggested (December 9th, 1839), has never, as far as I know, been seriously contradicted.[5]

If we go through the long series of articles and memoirs published about our statue, from the first and thorough study of Welcker (1846) to the most recent histories of Greek portraiture, not omitting the standard works of the Germans

[4a] Whether the scrinium was rightly restored is a difficult question. According to Birt (*die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, p. 292) this does not appear before the Hellenistic age. If, as shown later, the effigy is that of Solon, an ἄξων would have been the proper accessory.

[5] See, however, Sal. Reinach on Clarac, *Répertoire*, I. p. lix, Pl. 510, No. 3: 'n'est pas Sophocle.'' I remember also doubts expressed by Prof. Heuzey in his lessons on Greek costume at the École des Beaux-Arts.

Benndorf and Schöne (1867), and the Swiss Bernoulli (1901), we cannot but be struck by the astounding poverty and weakness of the foundations on which rests an identification so far-reaching in its consequences.

Let us first set aside such sentimental or purely rhetorical motives as the 'triumphal bearing' of the statue, the 'harmonious balance' of features and gesture, the 'serene beauty' of the face, the friendly expression, the joy and pride of life—all particulars which, in the prejudiced eyes of certain critics, clearly express the 'complete man,' the 'universally beloved man' that Sophocles is said to have been: whereas others have vainly searched this same face and this same attitude for any traces of the spiritual life and for the reflected glow of the great tragedian's supreme poetry.

What shall I say of the arguments drawn from the costume? So eager have some critics been to detect a distinctive Sophoclean feature in the careful and exquisite arrangement of the dress, that one of them, a German,[6] insisted in his enthusiasm on the wonderful elegance of the *sandals*, which, as we have seen, are, as well as the feet themselves, entirely the work of the Italian Tenerani!

Finally, no greater stress is to be laid on the fillet, termed for the purpose *taenia*, which binds up the hair. Some have imagined to see therein the symbol of the many dramatic triumphs earned by Sophocles, or the sign of his literary kingship, of his pre-eminence over his two great rivals. True it is that on the authentic images of Sophocles which I shall discuss later on, as well as on the busts of Homer, the headband is never wanting. But it has been rightly pointed out long ago that, on the Lateran statue, the so-called *taenia* is nothing but a narrow ribbon, holding together the abundant locks, as was the fashion among Athenian noblemen until the general adoption of short cut hair. Moreover, for the spectator who looks at our statue in front and from below—and thus it was certainly meant to be viewed—the tiny stripe is utterly invisible!

What remains then in favour of the proposed identification? a single palpable argument, indefinitely repeated since the day when Melchiorri first stated it: that is, the resemblance which is *supposed* to exist between the head of our statue and a very small bust in the *Sala delle Muse* of the Vatican (No. 492), the *provenance* of which is the garden *dei Mendicanti*[7] (Fig. 3). This Roman bust—for it is not properly a *herm*—ends in a sort of shelf, broken on the left side, on which one can still read the letters . . . ΟΚΛΗΣ, that is to say, considering the available space, most likely ΣΟΦ]ΟΚΛΗΣ.

Such is, as confessed by Welcker,[8] the only material basis on which rests the traditional identification (*guidati dal solo busto Vaticano*). What is this basis worth? Exactly as much as the pretended likeness. Now this likeness appears to me, and will appear to every unprepossessed judge, quite faint and insignificant. It is nothing more than the family air which, of necessity, exists between all unrealistic representations of well-born Athenians, forty or fifty years of age, carved towards the end of the fifth century B.C. In the series of

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[6] Amelung, *Moderner Cicerone*, p. 341.

[7] Found 1778; first published by Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino*, vi. Pl. 27.

[8] *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1846, p. 129 foll.

the Attic funeral *stelae* of those times, it is easy to find a dozen male heads, belonging to the same type,[9] and presenting, like the Lateran head and the Vatican head, regular features without any marked individuality, plentiful hair, and a full beard divided into thick locks.

To postulate a special connexion, whether of descent or kinship, between two specimens of such a widely multiplied type, a close comparison ought to reveal some really characteristic parallels. Now, what we find is exactly the contrary. Though small and of slovenly workmanship, the Vatican bust, when carefully examined, shows features far more individualised than the Lateran head. The loftier skull gives a more elongated outline; the folds of the forehead, more strongly stamped, are those of an older man; the middle

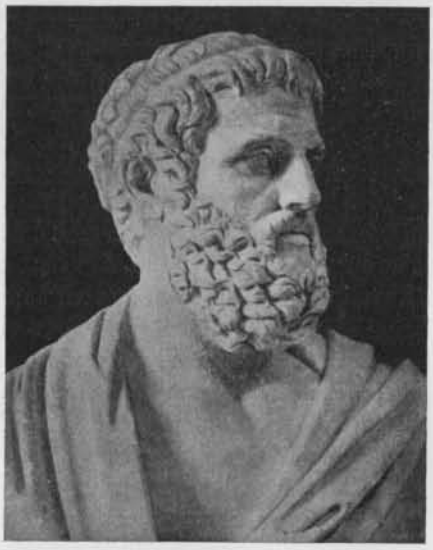

FIG. 2.—HEAD OF THE LATERAN 'SOPHOCLES.'

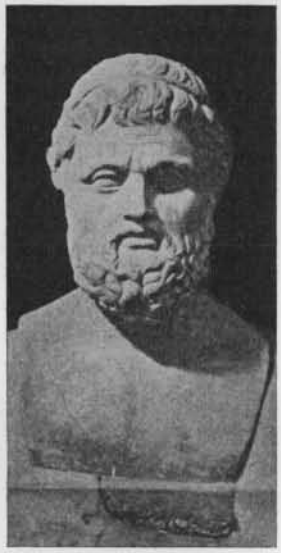

FIG. 3.—SOPHOCLES? BUST IN THE VATICAN, SALA DELLE MUSE.

locks of the beard are broader, the eyes more deeply sunk in their sockets, the arch of the brows somewhat higher and more pointed, and all this combines to give the Vatican head a distinctly thoughtful, almost sulky expression, sharply contrasting with the haughty serenity which pervades the Lateran head.

Several of these differences have already been noted with his usual fairness and not without disquiet by Bernoulli. However, he ended in conforming—though not without hesitation—to the common opinion, relying, as he says, 'upon the general character of the two heads and upon certain concordances in the arrangement of the hair and beard.' I, for my part, can only see, in such a conclusion, or rather capitulation, the mighty effect of routine, and an

[9] See, for instance, the well-known stele of Prokles and Prokleides in Athens, with two heads of this style.

undue respect for German infallibility. My own conclusion, on the contrary, is that there is no reason whatever to suppose that both heads are derived from one and the same original, and several reasons to incline to the contrary. So that, even if the poor bust of the Vatican was the only certified portrait of Sophocles, we would be quite unwarranted in inscribing the same name under the Lateran statue. But, as we shall see, this is not the case. To these negative arguments I shall now add other reasons, of a positive character, that will help to make the traditional designation not only improbable, but impossible.

IV

If the Vatican bust is the pretended front-rank man of a series of anonymous heads grouped by Bernoulli under the heading 'Sophocles, Lateran type,' there exist, next to it, two other ancient marbles, equally certified as portraits of Sophocles by inscriptions of undoubted genuineness.

One is the medallion or marble shield (*imago clipeata*), found in a tomb near the Porta Aurelia, which, from the old collection of Fulvio Orsini, passed into the Farnese cabinet (Fig. 4). It is mentioned in an inventory of the Villa Farnesina dated 1775, and, E. Q. Visconti declares he still saw it there.[10] Since then it has unfortunately disappeared, but it is known by two engravings, the latter of which, due to Galle, seems fairly trustworthy[11]; here the shield bears in full the name ΣΟΦΟΚΛΗΣ.

FIG. 4.—SOPHOCLES. LOST MARBLE MEDALLION OF THE FARNESE CABINET.
(After the Engraving by Galle.)

The other document is a small herm (Fig. 5), formerly placed in the gardens of the Vatican and since 1896 transferred to the Belvedere (Amelung, No. 69 B). Here the inscription ΣΟΦΟΚΛΗΣ is still entirely legible; the head is much worn and damaged, but what remains is enough to show a close resemblance with the engraved medallion.

Thus, these two monuments have become in their turn the front-rank men of a series of anonymous replicas, christened by Bernoulli 'Sophocles of the Farnese type.'[11a] Among them are specially to be noted: (1) two double herms, one in Dresden, the other in Bonn, in which the head of Euripides is associated with another head, most probably that of Sophocles[12]; and (2) the fine herm, almost perfectly preserved, coming from the vicinity of Albano,

[10] *Iconogr. grecque*, i. 107.

[11] 1st publication: Ursinus, *Imagines* (1570), p. 25; 2nd publication: Ursinus, *Illustrium Imagines* (1598), Pl. 136. See Hülsen, *Die Hermeninschriften*, etc., in *Ath. Mitth.* xvi. (1901), p. 123 foll; No. 40.

[11a] To the list (21 numbers) given by Bernoulli (I. 129 foll.) Arndt adds now two new instances in private collections at Jaffa and Munich.

[12] I say *probably*, because, strange to say, Euripides is also sometimes associated with Solon (his countryman from Salamis, and, like him, a Sage); for instance, in a herm of Velletri, now at Naples (Bernoulli, i. p. 38).

which we can admire in the British Museum (Fig. 6; No. 1831 of Smith's *Catalogue*).

The common characteristics of all these heads are, first of all, the very conspicuous ' Homeric ' fillet, binding the hair; then, the long moustache with

a *b*

FIG. 5.—SOPHOCLES. HERM IN THE BELVEDERE OF THE VATICAN.

its two branches falling down to the chin, the forehead furrowed with deep folds, the countenance of at least a sexagenary, the downcast glance, the meditative aspect; last and chiefly, the peculiar design of the eyebrows: first rising sharply, then dropping abruptly towards the temples, a stroke already hinted at in the Vatican bust, but here more forcibly marked and conferring upon the expression, to use the words of Friederichs and Wolters, a ' touch of grandeur.' All these details contrast strongly with the countenance of the Lateran head, whose low and softly rounded eyebrows contribute so much to the expression of benevolence and mildness, mixed with self-consciousness.

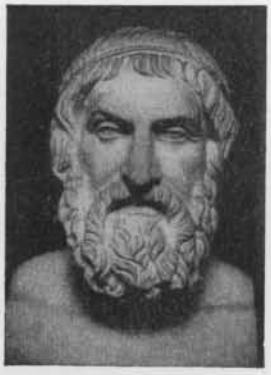

FIG. 6. — SOPHOCLES. ALBANO BUST, BRITISH MUSEUM.

Of course, such and other characteristic differences did not escape the keen observation of Bernoulli. ' Height of the forehead, eyes, nose, mouth,' says he, ' *everything* differs between the two types.' How then was such an impassable gulf to be bridged over? In his fixed determination to reconcile all facts, Bernoulli is compelled to have recourse to a desperate hypothesis: namely, the existence of *two* original portraits of Sophocles, quite independent of each other, which are supposed to have become respectively the fountain-heads of the Farnese and the

Lateran type. The former portrait, representing an *aged* Sophocles, may have originated at the beginning of the fourth century, when the remembrance of the poet's outward appearance was still vivid. The later portrait, more strongly idealised, showing a *youthful* Sophocles, is supposed to have sprung up about fifty years later, as an original creation inspired not by any iconographic tradition, but by the literary image of the poet as it impressed itself upon the minds of a younger generation. Other archaeologists, going still further in their preciseness,[13] give us as the ancestor of the Farnese type the statue of Sophocles erected by his son Iophon, and as the ancestor of the Lateran type, either the Lycurgus statue or a supposed work of Silanion.[14]

It is useless to dwell on the arbitrary and improbable character of all these suppositions. That is romance, not history. The statue of Iophon, as we have seen, is a myth; that of Silanion, a dream; as to the statue of Lycurgus, the only one duly testified, we have no reason to believe that the artist tried to idealise in it more than usual, and specially to dip Sophocles in a bath of youth, when we see how faithfully the contemporary statue of Euripides reproduces the worn-out countenance of the philosopher-poet, when we know that nothing was deeper engraved in the memory of the later Athenians than the splendid old age reached by Sophocles in which he had still reaped so many triumphs. All in all, it would have seemed as unfitting to represent in the theatre of Dionysos a *youthful* Sophocles as, in our own days, to set up in the Théâtre Français at Paris a Victor Hugo aged thirty or thereabouts.

The only thing to be gathered from Bernoulli's intricate discussion is this candid confession, which I quote in his own words: 'The Lateran Sophocles gives the idea, not only of a younger man but *of quite another person altogether* than the Farnese Sophocles.' And again: 'It is almost against my will that I have come to this conclusion. Elsewhere, I have disputed, as a thing beyond analogy or probability, the hypothesis of several distinct types for one and the same person. If also in the present case such a theory were to be disposed of as inadmissible, *the mistake ought to be looked for, not in the Farnese, but in the Lateran type.*'

Here at last we are touching the truth. Bernoulli, as one sees, was on the way to it; he only lacked courage and independence from his German masters to grasp it. *We* need surely not show the same scruples. Having proved, on the one hand, that the Farnese type (Orsini medallion, Belvedere herm) *certainly* represents Sophocles, on the other hand, that this type is practically irreducible to that of the Lateran statue, we shall simply draw the inference that this last represents *another person than Sophocles*. Or, to put it in other words, having tested all the foundation stones of the traditional denomination and found them all unsound, we may conclude that it is nothing more than one of the most remarkable instances of literary *psittacism* in the story of classical scholarship.[15]

[13] Delbruck, *Antike Porträts* (1912).

[14] Winter.

[15] If any one still insists on the distant analogy of the Vatican bust, we shall answer that such a trivial work, which must have been ordered from some cheap figure carver, by a Roman amateur, eager to get a set of literary busts with more or less arbitrary inscriptions, cannot seriously be taken into account in an *iconographic*

V

So far we have pulled down the old fabric: the question is now to rebuild. If the Lateran statue is not Sophocles, whom, then, does it represent?

In approaching this new problem, I shall not begin with considerations of likeness, which are often fallacious, especially when we have to deal with effigies designed a long time *post mortem*. Let us remember the words of the elder Pliny: *pariunt desideria non traditos voltus*.[16] The right method, when we have the rare luck to deal with a full-size statue, is to endeavour to determine first of all from the general attitude to what group, to what social or intellectual class the person represented belonged. Everybody knows what high importance and subtle significance the Greek artist laid on the general aspect, the garb, the gait and the gesture of a figure, as means to express the class, profession, *ethos* and *pathos* of a man.

That we have before us a public monument, a statue set up for a remarkable citizen, cannot be doubted. But to what social category of public men did this great citizen belong? He cannot be a general—for then he would wear military cloak and helmet—nor a philosopher, who would dress and pose with far less ostentation. Neither can he be a poet, be it Sophocles or any other, and it is incredible that so many have made the mistake.

Let us review the rather numerous figures of Greek poets represented in ancient art, which have been collected by Otto Jahn, Sieveking and others. Most of them are shown seated.[17] If the poet is standing he is usually playing the lyre, like Sappho and Alcaeus on vases, unless the artist wanted to show him staggering in drunkenness, like Anacreon.

As a rule, he is characterised by some accessory, indicative of his calling: thus the *barbitos* of the Lesbian poets, or the mask which the Euripides of Naples holds in his hands. The head has a thoughtful expression, the look turned towards the inner world, as in the portraits of Euripides and Aeschylus, or raised towards the world above, as in the face of the blind seer Homer, that admirable creation of the Rhodian school.

Do we find the slightest analogy between all these figures and the personage of the Lateran statue, with his solemn pose, his slight corpulence, his arched chest, his arms wrapped up in the folds of the *himation*, and, above all, with that proud head, slightly thrown back, and that glance neither downcast nor upraised, still less dreaming, as my countryman, Collignon, fancied, but looking straight before him with an air of authority, almost of command? No, this man is facing an audience, which we must fancy standing in the distance or seated on several tiers of benches: hence the direction of the glance rises somewhat above the horizontal, in order to reach the spectators perched on the

problem. Moreover, under its slovenly workmanship, in which all distinctive features are blurred, we have nevertheless noticed above several details, especially the design of the eyebrows, showing characters more akin to the Farnese series than to the Lateran statue.

[16] *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 9.

[17] Reliefs of Euripides in Constantinople, of Menander in the Lateran; statues of Poseidippos (Vatican), Moschion (Naples), Sappho (Constantinople, mentioned by Christodorus), etc.

upper seats. Such an attitude does not suit a meditative person, a solitary thinker, a poet absorbed by his mental vision, nor is it the bearing of a prophet (*uomo chi profetizza*), as Welcker once thought. It is, simply and distinctly, the attitude of an orator, conjured up in his characteristic gesture, addressing or about to address the crowd gathered in the Pnyx or in the theatre, which is listening to him, breathless, attentive and already conquered.

VI

Here then we have the first word of the riddle, for such an evident truth needs only utterance in order to convince. We have certainly before us an orator, and, let us add immediately, an orator of the good old time, as is proved by the costume, or rather by the fashion of wearing it.

True it is that the posture and the style of dress—both arms wrapped up in the mantle, the left arm bent back behind the hip, the right hand laid on the chest and supported by the broad folds from which emerge only the finger tips—this *ensemble* is not by itself characteristic of a calling: such was, to quote Welcker again, the normal deportment of a well-bred Athenian in the fifth century B.C.,[18] who, once properly wrapped in his mantle, would have made a case of conscience of disturbing a single fold.[19]

FIG. 7.—EPHEBE, FROM ERETRIA.
ATHENS, NATIONAL MUSEUM.

But such a manner of wearing the dress, customary in the fifth century B.C., was thoroughly antiquated in the next century. It continued in use only in the case of boys, for whom it remained a mark of decency and good bearing,[20] as may be illustrated, for instance, by the fine ephebic statue from Eretria (Fig. 7). Not so with the grown-up. People were surprised when they saw a man like Phocion clinging to the old custom and for ever keeping his arm wrapped in his *himation*.[21]

In particular, as far as parliamentary manners are concerned, that attitude, which had been the fashion or even the rule, of orators in the fifth century, was in the fourth discarded as an affectation of archaism. Says Aeschines in his speech against Timarchus (343 B.C.)[22]: 'The older orators, Pericles,

[18] By imitation this attitude was perpetuated in works of art until Roman times (see, for instance, the statue of Epidaurus, Collignon, *Rev. arch.* 1915, i. p. 40). On the 'motif' in general compare Bulle in his commentary of the statue of Eretria (Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 519), who goes, however, quite astray in the dating of the Lateran statue.

[19] Robert, *Archäol. Hermeneutik*, p. 131.

[20] Dio Chrysostom. xxxvi. 7, and other passages quoted by Sittl, *Gebärden*, p. 7.

[21] Plut. *Phoc.* 4. Here and elsewhere, as is shown by Quintilian (below), χείρ means *arm*, not *hand*.

[22] *Orat. At.* ii. 34, § 25 Did.

Themistocles, Aristides the Just, were so careful of propriety,[23] that to speak with the arm outside the mantle, *as we all do nowadays*,[24] seemed to them an ill-mannered thing, and one which they all refrained from doing.' So it is only the orators of the old age that Quintilian alludes to when he writes [25]: '*quorum brachium, sicut Graecorum, veste continebatur.*' In the fourth century not all orators were quite as unceremonious as Timarchus, who actually threw his mantle away and spoke in a plain tunic. Most of them were content with the attitude which we notice in the statues of Demosthenes, derived from the original of Polyeuctus: they rolled the upper part of the *himation* around their waist and threw up the end of the flap over their left shoulder, so as to leave their breast bare, that is to say, merely clothed with the tunic; the right arm, quite free, was used to punctuate the speech with appropriate gestures (Fig. 8).

FIG. 8.—DEMOSTHENES. VATICAN.

This is the arrangement which Aristotle has in mind in the work so happily restored to the world by Sir Frederick Kenyon, when he writes that Cleon was the first to address the people with his mantle "used as a belt (or sash),' [26] whereas the former orators had observed decorum,[27] which 'decorum' consisted precisely in keeping the arm in the mantle and under no pretence disturbing the folds, even in the most pathetic passages of a speech; such was still the practice of Pericles, as is expressly noticed by Plutarch, quite in agreement with Aeschines.[28] But after the Peloponnesian war the new fashion universally prevailed.

Such being the case, it seems hopeless to seek for the model of our statue among the orators of the fourth century. There is, however, one notable exception to be considered. Among these orators there was one, and only one, who sometimes spoke in public, attired according to the ancient fashion; this was Aeschines. I say (sometimes) because he himself at first seems to have usually conformed to the more recent mode, as above quoted: 'as we all do.' But we see, by other evidence, that Aeschines occasionally made a point of reviving on the tribune the classical attitude of which he had sung the praise.

In the speech on the False Embassy (341 B.C.) Demosthenes, alluding to the same passage of the speech against Timarchus, exclaims: 'Such is the tale that Aeschines told the judges, and he even mimicked the attitude thus described by him;' [29] and further: 'the question is not, Aeschines, to speak with the arm in your mantle, but to carry out your embassy in that modest

[23] οὕτω σώφρονες.

[24] ὃ νυνὶ πάντες ἐν ἔθει πράττομεν, τὸ τὴν χεῖρα ἔξω ἔχοντες λέγειν.

[25] *Instit. Orat.* xi. 3, 130.

[26] περιζωσάμενος (*Const. Ath.* 28). Cp. Plut. *Nicias*, 8: περισπάσας τὸ ἱμάτιον.

[27] τῶν ἄλλων ἐν κόσμῳ λεγόντων.

[28] Pericles, 5; *Praec. ger. reip.* 4.

[29] *De falsa legat.* 251: τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν εἶπε τοῖς δικασταῖς καὶ ἐμιμήσατο.

way.'[30] Lastly, in the *De Corona*,[31] he calls his opponent 'that fine statue,' and commentators have rightly interpreted these words as an ironical allusion to the old-fashioned bearing, the sober gesture, the almost motionless attitude which Aeschines sometimes affected on the tribune, and which most likely he had still more cultivated and exaggerated since his famous outburst against Timarchus.

So we understand why the sculptor who immortalised the features of Aeschines in the statue of which a copy was found at Herculaneum[32] (Fig. 9) has represented him in the classical attitude with which his name was associated. The statue of Naples is draped exactly like that of the Lateran, though with somewhat more simplicity. Aeschines is standing still, whereas the orator of the Lateran is speaking or about to speak.

The family air of the two statues is too striking to have escaped the notice of commentators. Most of them, from the first, have dwelt on it, and the only astonishing fact is that, having recognised an orator in the motionless figure of Naples, they failed to recognise one, far more plainly, in the statue of the Lateran, which seems to move towards us and almost to open its lips!

FIG. 9.—AESCHINES. STATUE FROM HERCULANEUM, NAPLES MUSEUM.

But, I hasten to say, the resemblance is confined to the attitude. If we compare the heads of our two statues, there is not the slightest possibility that the Lateran statue should represent Aeschines. Look at the full, fleshy face of the latter, as it is distinctly shown as well in the statue at Naples as in the inscribed Vatican herm which served to identify the full-size effigy. We have before us a modern politician (to use a word of Collignon) trying to look as calm and friendly and smiling as possible, but without a touch of pride or real grandeur. Look at the Lateran statue and measure the difference. As has been wittily said,[33] next to the so-called Sophocles, Aeschines looks like a *bourgeois* by the side of a king.

Now, as Aeschines was the *only* orator in the fourth century to keep up the ancient garb, we must dismiss the fourth century altogether and go farther back to find the original of our statue, that is, before the innovation of Cleon.

VII

Can it possibly be an orator of the fifth century B.C.? We need only go through the list of the leaders of the Athenian people, given by Aristotle,[34] to know the contrary.

[30] *De falsa legat.* 255.

[31] *De coron.* 129.

[32] Formerly called Aristides, identified in 1834 by L. Visconti, thanks to the Vatican (inscribed) herm, *Sala delle Muse*, 502.

[33] La Blanchère, *op. cit.*, p. 137. But he ought not to have added that the *attitude* is similar to one of a man 'putting his hands in his pockets.'

[34] *Const. Ath.* 28.

All great orators of that period, with the sole exception of Ephialtes, who cannot be taken into account, were, at the same time, illustrious warriors, and this last quality overweighed so much, in general opinion, the merit of eloquence that, if they had been gratified with public statues, these great statesmen would certainly have been represented clad with the cloak and helmet of the *strategus*. But, as a matter of fact, we know by the distinct evidence of Demosthenes that no such statue was ever erected to an Athenian Commander, before that of Conon.[35]

Thus, we must take a new step backwards and extend our inquiry to the sixth century B.C.

Here we meet with two possible names: Cleisthenes and Solon. But, though modern criticism has recognised in Cleisthenes the real founder of Athenian democracy, for the Athenians themselves his fame was quite thrown into the shade by that of Solon: no statue of Cleisthenes is ever mentioned.

Solon, in the eyes of the fourth-century Athenians, assumed gradually the shape of a national hero, of a kind of second Theseus. All existing laws, even those which were certainly much younger than his time, were given under his name. The constitution he had framed, so moderate and verging on plutocracy, was held for the groundwork of the now restored democracy. Although no documents of his oratory, but only of his poetry, had survived, legend made him the prototype of a great popular orator. For all these reasons, it was natural that his statue should be erected in some outburst of national gratitude, and such was actually the case.

We know of two public statues of Solon, both in bronze, which were set up in the course of the fourth century B.C.: one in the agora of Athens, in front of the *Stoa Poecile* (Overbeck, 1398–1401), the other in the agora of Salamis (Overbeck, 1395–1397), either because this island was supposed to be his birthplace, or because his fiery exhortations had driven the Athenians to reconquer that valuable possession.

Of the statue in Athens we know nothing, not even its exact date.[36]

Concerning the statue in Salamis, which seems to have been the older and more famous of the two, we have definite information.

Aeschines, after having recalled, in a passage already quoted, the custom of ancient orators of speaking with their arm wrapped up in the mantle, proceeds thus:

'And of that fact I can give you a striking proof. You have all of you, I suppose, crossed over to Salamis and looked at the statue of Solon. So you could all bear witness that in the agora of Salamis, Solon is figured with his arm inside his mantle;[37] this, Athenians, is a record and a likeness of the attitude which Solon observed when he used to address the people of Athens.'

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[35] *C. Leptin.* 70 (Overbeck, 1393). The *private* statues of the fifth century, from which derive the herms of Themistocles, Pericles, Alcibiades, are all helmeted.

[36] It is first mentioned by the Pseudo-Demosthenes (*C. Aristog.* ii. 23, p. 807) in a speech delivered under Alexander. The words used point to a recent dedication; the statue probably did not exist at the time of Aeschines's speech against Timarchus.

[37] ἐντὸς τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων.

From this passage, we can immediately draw two weighty consequences:

(1) In the statue of Salamis, Solon was shown in the posture of an old-fashioned orator, his arms entirely wrapped up in the *himation*, that is, exactly like the statue of the Lateran.

(2) If Aeschines, wishing to support by a plastic example his description and praise of the stately bearing of the older orators, is compelled to go as far back as Solon and his statue in Salamis, the inference is, that at this date (343 B.C.) there existed in Athens *no* other public statue representing a statesman in that attitude, and that even the statue of Solon in the city, which was most likely a copy of the Salamis one, had not yet been cast.

If we know from Aeschines the pose of the Salamis statue, and from Diogenes Laertius the epigram which was inscribed on the base,[38] we owe to Demosthenes a valuable piece of information concerning the time of its erection. Let us reopen the speech on the False Embassy (341 B.C.). Demosthenes charges Aeschines, among other misdemeanours, with having deceived the Athenians by giving them (in the aforesaid speech against Timarchus), as an authentic proof of the bearing of ancient orators, the statue of Solon in Salamis. He continues thus: 'And yet the people of Salamis tell us that this statue has not been standing there for more than fifty years, whereas 240 years have elapsed between Solon and our own time. So that, not only the sculptor himself, who selected that attitude, but even his grandfather, was not a contemporary of Solon.'[39] The fifty years or so, elapsed between the speech on the False Embassy and the casting of the statue of Salamis, bring us, for the latter, to about the year 391 B.C.

VIII

Let us halt a moment to draw some inferences from these well-proven facts.

I think I have shown:

(1) That the Lateran statue represents, not a poet, but an orator;

(2) That this orator, by reason of his dress and attitude, must have lived before the Peloponnesian War;

(3) That none of the famous orators of the first two parts of the fifth century had obtained in Athens the honour of a public statue;

(4) That among the older orators, Solon is the only one of whom literary tradition mentions a public statue existing in the middle of the fourth century B.C., *i. e.* the time below which we cannot place the original of the Lateran statue;

(5) That overwhelming evidence proves the statue which rose on the agora of Salamis to have represented Solon exactly in the posture and dress of the Lateran marble.

This series of facts leads of necessity to the conclusion that we possess in

[38] Diog. La. i. 62.

[39] *De falsa leg.* 251.

the Lateran statue a faithful copy of the Salaminian statue of Solon. I say a copy, because the Lateran statue is in marble, whereas the statue of Salamis was in bronze; we are told so distinctly by the anonymous sophist [40] whose speech *Corinthiacus* has crept into the collection of Dio Chrysostomus's lectures. Otherwise, one might be not disinclined to follow the opinion of some antiquaries who, in their rapture over the Lateran statue, have gone so far as to see in it a true Greek original. Certainly it would be vain to seek in its technical execution any of those marks (so fallacious, in that period) which point to a bronze prototype. Nevertheless, I think that most connoisseurs are right in considering, even for purely archaeological reasons, our statue as a copy, though an excellent one. The back, with the exception of the head, is carved in a somewhat summary fashion, suggesting that, in its original site in Terracina, the statue stood before a wall or in a niche. Such was not the case of public statues set up in the fourth century B.C., and, in particular, of the Salamis statue, which we must fancy rising in the very middle of the market-place and visible from all sides.

On the other hand, no archaeologist will be surprised not to find in a statue of the fourth century, designed about 200 years after the life of the person represented, the archaic type of countenance or dress, which an artist of our own time would have striven to lend to Solon. Considerations of historic or local colour were quite alien to Greek classical art. So the sculptor, who, of course, had no documents whatever concerning the physical appearance of Solon, was wisely content with giving him the somewhat idealised figure of a well-born Athenian of his own time, the dress and attitude of the 'old orators' in general, and the stately, though friendly, expression which befitted the 'Father of the Fatherland,' the man whose verses teem with love of his countrymen and justified self-consciousness.

A comparison will best express my feelings.

Under a copy of Michael Angelo's *Moses*, a philanthropist of our own days had once these words engraved: 'To the greatest of law-givers.' Solon was something like an Athenian Moses. Those who are inclined to sneer at his ideal portraiture by an artist of the early fourth century are the same who, in the presence of the immortal creation of Michael Angelo, would only think of criticising the Jove-like attitude, the superhuman hand and the cataracts of a fluvial beard.

IX

Let us now, before proceeding further, approach the problem by another way.

I said above that, in posthumous statues of this kind which are not really portraits, too much stress need not be laid on iconographic details or questions of likeness. Nevertheless, it appears that once a physical type was fixed by a

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[40] Dio Chrys., xxxvii. (ii. 293, *Dind.*, Overbeck, 1397). This man, who had certainly never seen the statue, believes it (as Aeschines led his audience to believe) to be contemporary with Solon: τὸ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι χαλκοῦς ἑστάναι μέγα ποιούμενος.

masterpiece for the features of a great man of the past, it was faithfully copied from generation to generation, as we see by the busts of Homer and Socrates.

Therefore, the hypothesis developed above would be strengthened if we could adduce in its favour a monument showing the same lines as the Lateran head and inscribed by the ancients themselves with the name of Solon.

I believe this to be the case. In the Museum *degli Uffizi* in Florence (*Sala delle Inscrizioni*, 287) [41] there stands, or rather stood, a fine herm of Pentelic marble (Fig. 10), at present (Spring, 1922) exiled for some reason of reorganisation in an almost inaccessible store-room. This herm bears the inscription in late Roman script: ΣΟΛΩΝ Ο ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΗΣ, the genuineness of which is warranted by the most experienced of judges, Professor Kaibel.[42]

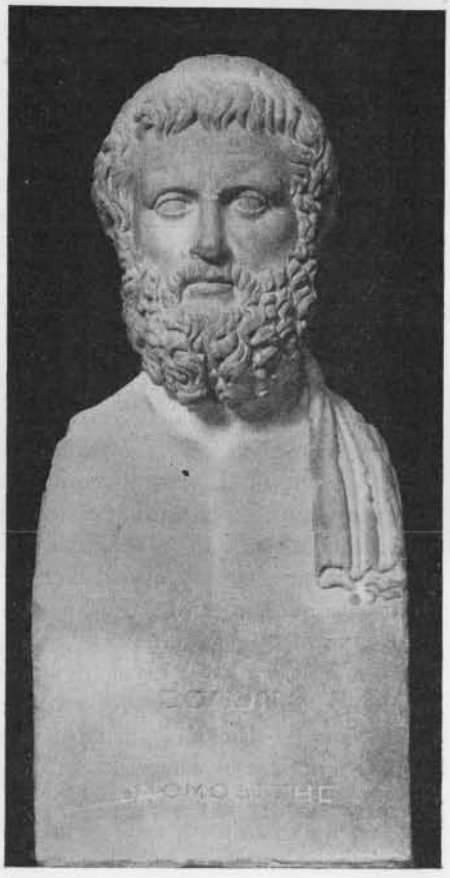

FIG. 10.—HERM OF SOLON. FLORENCE, UFFIZI.

Now the head of this herm, very slightly restored (nose, knot of the ribbon), is not only, as it has been sometimes said, distantly similar,[43] but, in the words of the candid Bernoulli,[44] practically identical with that of the Lateran statue. If the original of the herm, as it is natural to suppose, be the Salamis statue of Solon, we have here a documentary proof that the Lateran statue derives from the same source and actually represents the great Athenian law-giver. Such is surely the conclusion which would have been drawn by Ennio Quirino Visconti, the only scholar who has hitherto published this herm [45] (in an indifferent engraving), if he had not died twenty years before the find of Terracina.

Unfortunately, though the genuineness of the inscription, so thoughtlessly put in doubt by the German Braun,[46] is no longer disputed to-day, another German, Dütschke, who closely examined this work, declares that the head, as is so often the case, does not belong to the body, and that the marble of the latter has even been given a colouring to match with the tint of the head. Having succeeded in seeing

[41] Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke*, etc., iii. 179, No. 363.
[42] *Insc. Sicil.* 1209. Cf. C. I. G. 6110.
[43] Dütschke (*entfernte Aehnlichkeit*).
[44] *Icon.* i. pp. 38 and 39.
[45] *Iconog. gr.* i. Pl. IX. *a*, p. 143.
[46] *Bullettino*, 1847, p. 21.

the herm lately, though by very unfavourable light, I can only express my agreement with Dütschke's opinion.[47] However, admitting that bust and head are not of the same material, they may very well have belonged to each other from the beginning; or else, they may have been assembled in classical times by a learned amateur, who knew, from other sources, that this was really the traditional head of Solon. I really see no other explanation of the present combination of head and herm. So there is no reason whatever for putting the case, as is sometimes done, 'the head of Sophocles on a herm of Solon.'

Curiously enough, there exists in the Villa Albani a head of the same type[48] under which has been placed a herm, undoubtedly modern, but equally inscribed with the name of Solon. Bernoulli supposes that this 'forgery' was suggested, in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, by the genuine inscription of the Florentine bust. It follows, at any rate, that in those days, before the discovery of the Lateran statue, most antiquaries agreed to put under the name of Solon, those bearded, filleted, idealised heads, which Bernoulli has grouped under the fallacious denomination 'Sophocles of the Lateran type.'[49] And we now know that these antiquaries were right.

X.

Let us return to the original of the Lateran statue.

We have seen that it dates from about 391 B.C. This agrees much better with the style of the extant work than the date of *circa* 330 suggested by the imaginary connexion with the 'Sophocles' of Lycurgus. If, indeed, in the humane countenance, in the rather elaborate, not to say fastidious, elegance of the drapery, we feel already, as it were, the approach of the refined age of Praxiteles, on the other hand, the solemn pose, the severe outline of the whole figure and even certain characteristic details of the face (as, for instance, the broad and strong swelling of the lower eyelid), connect our statue very closely with the lofty art of the fifth century. It belongs to that transitional period which includes several of the most admirable sepulchral stelae of the Ceramicus, the average date of which is fixed by the year, exactly known, of the Dexileos monument (394 B.C.).

Are we to stop our inquiry here, or may we go further and attempt to find out the author of the statue as well as its date? Here a happy discovery of Wilhelm Klein will relieve me of long argument. As far back as 1893, in a short contribution to the *Eranos Vindobonensis*,[50] that German scholar discussed a text of the elder Pliny,[51] mentioning among the works of bronze by

[47] Some critics may wonder at the flap of drapery which hangs down the left shoulder and is not continued on the right. But (1) the same arrangement appears on the herm of 'Antisthenes' (Naples, 6155), which is of one block; (2) most likely the right shoulder (left from the spectator) has been badly restored, and should be squarer, showing a bit of drapery twisted round the neck as on the Euripides herm (Naples 6135).

[48] Villa Albani, Coffee House, No. 731 (Bernoulli, p. 137, No. 4).

[49] These are, in addition to the Florence and Albani herms, two herms of the Capitol (Sala dei Filosofi, 33 and 34), one with the modern inscription ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟϹ and a bronze bust in Florence, *Museo Archaeologico*.

[50] *Eranos*, p. 142. Substantially reproduced in his *Praxiteles*, p. 48, and his *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst.*, ii. 243.

[51] xxxiv. 87; Overbeck, 1137.

Kephisodotos—the elder of the two sculptors of that name—a statue thus described: *contionantem manu elata, persona in incerto est.* By an emendation as felicitous as obvious, by merely supposing the omission of *one* repeated letter, instead of *manu elata*, Klein writes *manu uelata*, and he finds thus in this *contionans* or ἀγορεύων an official orator, his arm in the mantle, *i. e.* in the attitude of the Solon of Salamis. The coincidence, as well in the subject as in the date, is so perfect that Klein did not hesitate to identify the *contionans* of Pliny with the Solon of Salamis, whose further identity with the Lateran 'Sophocles' he, however, failed to perceive.

Klein's theory met with contradiction.[52] It has been objected that if the *contionans* were the famous statue of Salamis, it would not be easy to understand why the compiler adds: 'the person represented is uncertain.' One can answer with Klein himself by reminding the reader of the controversy waged between Aeschines and Demosthenes concerning the genuineness of the portrait of Solon, *i. e.* whether the sculptor had the opportunity of knowing and reproducing the features of his model. That discussion, which had passed into the rhetorical schools, may well have been deformed little by little, so as to become, in Pliny's notes, a controversy concerning the identity of the person represented.

It may also be answered—and for my part I should prefer to answer—that the statue of Salamis, as many other bronzes, was ultimately taken down from its pedestal, and carried away to adorn an Hellenistic residence or a palace of Rome. Then the basis, with the inscription still preserved by Diogenes Laertius, remained standing *in situ*, as was, for instance, the case with the statue of Sappho by Silanion, which Verres stole from the Prytaneum in Syracuse.[53] The statue thus became anonymous, though still inscribed with the signature of Kephisodotos, and henceforth, in the inventories of the quaestors or in the works on archaeology, it was, like so many statues of athletes which had undergone the same adventure, merely designated by the gesture of the personage: 'the orator with his arm wrapped up.'

Admitting this, the emendation of Klein really seems convincing. Not only is the reading of the MSS., *elata manu*, of rather dubious latinity,[54] but the gesture which it indicates, that of an orator speaking with his arm uplifted, is unknown in Greek art and literature. It is only met with in the imperial Roman period, and even then seems specially reserved for the *allocutio* of the commander-in-chief; thus we see it given on several monuments to the emperors, or to certain warlike divinities such as Mars and Minerva.[55] In Greek art, on the contrary, the uplifted arm is only and always the expression of amazement.[56] Even in more recent times, when the orator's arm was

[52] Milchhöfer, Gurlitt, etc. It was adopted by Collignon (ii. 184), who, however, did not draw the necessary inference.

[53] Cicero, *Verr.* iv. 57, 126 (Overbeck, 1355).

[54] *erecta* would be the proper word. See, however, Ammianus, xxvi. 2, 5: *elata prospere dextra.*

[55] Statues of Augustus (*Primaporta*), Titus (Vatican); Gallienus on medals, etc. Comp. Sittl, *Gebärden*, p. 303. The *arringatore* at Florence is of doubtful interpretation.

[56] See the Marsyas of Myron, the Blacas vase, the Heracles vase of Assteas, etc. Vainly did Milchhöfer try to find an orator in the Arcadian relief, *Ath. Mitt.* vi. 51; Sittl, *loc. cit.*

disengaged from the cloak and remained free for gesticulation, Quintilian, following, as it seems, later Greek rhetors, ridicules the barrister who raises his arm *ad tectum*.[57]

It is therefore unthinkable that, in the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Kephisodotos should have represented an official orator in such an attitude. This is so clear that certain commentators before Klein supposed Pliny or his authority to have been guilty of misinterpretation. Poor Pliny was accused of having mistaken a personage in the act of prayer for an orator;[58] but even prayer in Greek life and art does not admit of that gesture.

On the other hand, the expression *manu uelata*, though not supported, as far as I am aware, by an identical instance, finds close parallels in Latin literature.[59] At any rate, nothing is more natural than to suppose a *manus velata* in the figure carved by Kephisodotos, nothing more natural than the clerical error of the Plinian copyists, familiar with statues of emperors raising the arm and unfamiliar with Greek orators wrapped up according to the ancient fashion.

FIG. 11.—CHRIST. (From the Berlin Sarcophagus.)

Let me add that the date which we have ascertained for the erection of the Solon statue in Salamis (391 B.C.) agrees perfectly with the known data of the artistic activity of Kephisodotos. His oldest testified work (Overbeck, 1141) is the altar in the temple of Zeus Soter in Peiraeus, which appears to have been dedicated after the battle of Cnidus (394 B.C.), the most recent one (Overbeck, 1140) is a statue in a temple of Megalopolis, a city founded in 372 or 371 B.C.[60]

We cannot determine the date of his famous group of the goddess of Peace, nursing the infant god Plutos, which has come down to us in the fine replica of Munich.[61] This beautiful statue was, until now, the only evidence that we possessed of the manner of Kephisodotos: the drapery with its fluted folds, the full and dignified proportions still keep his style close to the tradition of Phidias and the *korai* of the Erechtheion; but the motherly motive, the sweet and friendly countenance of the goddess inclining her head towards the child, already promises the Hermes of Olympia, the subject of which, as is well known, Kephisodotos had also anticipated.

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[57] *Instit. orat.* xi. 3, 117. Comp. Augustine, *In Iohannem*, 87, 2.

[58] Milchhöfer, *Festschrift für Brunn*, p. 39.

[59] Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 412 (*pede velato*). In prose (Livy, v. 21) as well as in poetry, *velatus* stands for *amictus*.

[60] The career of Kephisodotos, according to Pliny (01.102, 372–69 B.C.), culminated perhaps in this work. In fact he must have been then an old man.

[61] Commonly dated 374 (on account of the sacrifices instituted for Eirene, Isocrat. xv. 109; Nepos, *Timoth.* 2), but this date is now disputed by many (Klein, *op cit.*, Ducati, *Rev. arch.* 1906, i. p. 111), who go back as far as 403.

'By his style,' Collignon most justly writes,[62] 'he is a conservative, respectful of the past; by the nature of the subjects he treats, by the feeling which pervades them, he may already be reckoned among the interpreters of the new spirit.'

That appreciation applies almost word for word to the statue of the Lateran and confirms, if confirmation is necessary, its attribution to Kephisodotos.

Thus, thanks to the discovery of Klein, supplemented by our own identification of the Lateran and Salamis statues, we are now enabled to illustrate by a new and splendid instance the talent of the gifted artist, whose son and pupil seems to have been Praxiteles.[63] Already known as the creator of the first monumental allegorical group, Kephisodotos now also appears as the author of the first and finest commemorative portrait statue in the history of Greek sculpture. And by a curious coincidence, the man to whom Christian art is indebted for the prototype of the motherly Madonna is the same who gave us the noble prototype of the 'doctor' Christ, that law-giver of the early Middle Ages (Fig. 11).[64]

Hellenic scholars will perhaps relinquish with regret the illusion of possessing a life-sized portrait of their favourite tragic poet, but I hope they will find some comfort in recovering, or rather recognising, a new work by the great master who stands out more and more as the herald of a new dawn of art, as the real link between the divine Phidias and the divine Praxiteles.

THEODORE REINACH.

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[62] *Hist.* ii. 184.

[63] The old hypothesis, founded on the name of one of Praxiteles's sons, is more likely than Furtwängler's theory, which makes Kephisodotos the elder brother of Praxiteles. If such was the case, why should historians give Phocion as the brother-in-law of *Kephisodotos* (Plut. *Phoc.* 19) rather than of the far more famous Praxiteles?

[64] Compare, among others, the Byzantine ivory *ap.* Cahier, *Mélanges*, iv. 75, a figure in the cemetery of Praetextatus, another one on a sarcophagus of the fourth century at Clermont (these two quoted by Bréhier, *L'art chrétien*, p. 53, who aptly compares them with the Lateran statue), the Christ on a sarcophagus of the 'Sidamara type' in the Berlin Museum (Post, *History of Sculpture*, Fig. 1), etc. Bréhier shows that this same type was adopted for the figure of Buddha on early Greco-indian monuments of Gandhara and Bactriana, such as the gold coin of Kanerkes (Kanishka), *Br. Mus. Cat. of Indian Coins*, Pl. XXVI, 8.

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