

Johann Joachim

Winckelmann

**History of the
Art of Antiquity**

Introduction by Alex Potts

Translation by Harry Francis Mallgrave

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Part One

**Investigation of Art with
Regard to Its Essence**

Origin of Art and Reasons for Its Diversity among Peoples

Section one
I. General conception of
this history

The arts deriving from drawing commenced, like all inventions, with necessity; next, beauty was sought; and, lastly, superfluity ensued. These are the three principal stages of art.

The earliest sources tell us that the first figures represented what a man is, not how he appears to us—his outline, not his aspect. From this simplicity of form, artists proceeded to the investigation of proportions, which taught correctness, and this gave them the confidence to venture into a large scale, whereby art attained grandeur and, finally, under the Greeks, gradually achieved the highest beauty. Once all the parts of art were united and their embellishment was sought, superfluity took hold, whereby art lost its grandeur, and finally its complete collapse occurred.

This, in a few words, is the scheme of this treatise on the history of art. This chapter first discusses the original form of art in general terms, then the different materials of which sculpture was made, and third the influence of climate on art.

II. Beginning of art with
sculpture

Art began with the simplest form, and probably with a kind of sculpture, because even a child can give a distinct shape to a soft mass, though he cannot draw anything on a flat surface. For sculpture, the mere conception of a thing suffices, but drawing requires many other kinds of knowledge—though painting later was used to adorn sculpture.

III. Its similar origin
among different peoples

Art seems to have arisen in a similar way among all peoples who have practiced it, and there are not adequate grounds to assign one particular homeland to it. Every people has found within itself the first seeds of necessity. The invention of art varies according to a people's antiquity, however, and with regard to the earlier or later introduction of religious worship. Thus, the Chaldeans or the Egyptians probably gave material form earlier than the Greeks to the higher powers they imagined for worship. For here it is the same as with other arts and inventions, such as purple dye, that were first discovered or made known in the Eastern lands. The reports in the Holy Scriptures of wrought images are much older than anything we know about the Greeks.¹ The Hebrew language has one word specifically for images that were originally made of wood and another for those that were cast;² the former were eventually gilded or covered with gold leaf.³ But those who speak of the origin of a custom or an art and its dissemination among a people often err by limiting themselves to isolated pieces that resemble one another and drawing

general conclusions from them — just as Dionysius [of Halicarnassus] claimed that the Romans descended from the Greeks because of the band worn around the loins by both Greek and Roman wrestlers.⁴

In Egypt, art flourished even in the earliest times. And if Sesostris lived about four centuries before the Trojan War,⁵ then the tallest obelisks of this kingdom — which are now found in Rome and are works of this king — as well as the largest buildings at Thebes were already built when darkness and obscurity still hovered over art in Greece.

Among the Greeks, art began much later than in the Eastern lands but with the same simplicity, such that the Greeks appear, as they themselves report, not to have gathered the first seeds for their art from another people but rather to have been its original inventors. For they already visibly honored thirty deities before they gave them human form; they were content to represent them by a rough block or a rectangular stone, as the Arabs⁶ and the Amazons⁷ did. The Juno at Thespiai and the Diana at Ikaria were formed in much the same way.⁸ Diana Patroa⁹ and the Jupiter Meilichios at Corinth were, like the oldest Venus at Paphos,¹⁰ nothing other than a kind of column. Bacchus was honored in the form of a column,¹¹ and even Love¹² and the Graces¹³ were represented merely by stones. Thus, the word κλών (column) still signified a statue in the Greeks' best period.¹⁴ Among the Spartans, Castor and Pollux took the form of two parallel wooden blocks connected by crosspieces.¹⁵ This ancient conformation appears in the sign II by which these twins were represented in the zodiac.¹⁶

Eventually heads were placed on these stone blocks. Among many others, the Neptune at Tricoloni¹⁷ and a Jupiter at Tegea,¹⁸ both in Arcadia, were of this type; for in this region, more so than in any other part of Greece, people adhered to the oldest form of art.¹⁹ The earliest images thus show that the most primitive kinds of figure were invented and fabricated by the Greeks. The Holy Scriptures also allude to heathen idols that have no aspect of the human form other than the head.²⁰ As is well known, the Greeks called these rectangular stones with heads *hermae*,²¹ that is, pillars, and their artists continued to produce them.²²

From written indications and old monuments, we can follow the gradual development from these first designs and conceptions of a figure. Only at the middle of these stones topped with a head was shown a distinction of sex, which an unformed face left in doubt. When it is said that Eumaros of Athens first distinguished between the sexes in painting,²³ we should understand that he probably did so by the form of their youthful faces. This artist lived before Romulus, not long after Iphitos resumed the Olympian games.

General opinion concedes that Daedalus finally began to carve individual legs in the lower half of these columns. Because no one yet knew how to create a complete human figure from stone, this artist worked in wood; and the first statues were given the name *daedala* after him. About the works of this artist, the sculptors of Socrates' time were of one opinion, which he states as follows: should Daedalus, says Socrates, rise again and produce works like

IV. Its antiquity in Egypt

V. Greek art later, yet original. Stones and columns the first images

VI. Gradual appearance of a figure, beginning with the head

VII. Through indication of the sex

VIII. Through shaping of the legs by Daedalus

those that pass under his name, he would—as the sculptors say—appear ridiculous [(Plato, *Greater Hippias* 281d9–282a3)].

IX. Similarity of the first Egyptian, Etruscan, and Greek figures

The primary characteristics of these shapes among the Greeks were simple lines that were for the most part straight, and there was probably no difference among the Egyptians, Etruscans, and Greeks in the beginnings of art for each people, as the ancient writers confirm.²⁴ One can see this in the oldest Greek figure in bronze in the Nani *museo* in Venice,²⁵ which has this inscription on its base: ΤΟΝΥΚΡΑΤΕΜ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ [(Attributed to Polykrates)]. The flat manner of delineation also accounts for the similarity between the eyes of the heads on older Greek coins and those of Egyptian figures: the eyes of the former, like those of the latter, are flat and elongated.²⁶ The first paintings are to be envisioned as *monograms*, as Epicurus called the gods [(see Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.23.59)]—that is, as single-line outlines of a human shadow.

X. Greater probability of the transmission of art to the Greeks by the Phoenicians than by the Egyptians

The earliest lines and forms of art thus led to the formation of a kind of figure that one generally calls Egyptian. The Greeks, however, would have had little chance to learn anything from Egyptian art. Egypt was closed to all foreigners prior to the reign of Psammetichos [(Psamtik I)], and the Greeks already practiced art before that time. The intent of the [seven] Greek sages who traveled to Egypt was chiefly to assess that country's form of government.²⁷ Thus, those seeking to trace everything back to the Eastern lands would have better luck with the Phoenicians, with whom the Greeks traded at a very early date and from whom the Greeks are said to have received, through Kadmos, their first alphabet. Also allied with the Phoenicians in the earliest times, before Cyrus [the Great], were the Etruscans, who were a maritime power.²⁸ This can be proven, among other ways, by the common fleet the two nations launched against Phokaia.²⁹

XI. Similar practice by these three peoples of marking figures with letters

Among the artists of these peoples, it was a common practice to mark their works with an inscription. The Egyptians placed it on the base and on the pillar supporting the figures, while the earliest Greeks, like the Etruscans, placed it on the figure itself. There were two Greek verses on the thigh of a statue of an Olympian victor at Elis [(Iliá)],³⁰ and there was an inscription in the same spot on the side of a horse made by Dionysios of Argos.³¹ Even Myron [of Eleutherai] placed his name, inlaid with silver letters, on the thigh of an Apollo;³² and in the fifth chapter, I will discuss an existing bronze statue that has a Roman inscription on its thigh too.

XII. Explanation for the similarity of the earliest Egyptian and Greek figures

The very earliest forms of Greek statues were similar in both posture and action to those of the Egyptians. Strabo denotes the opposite with a word that actually means *distorted* but for him indicates figures that were no longer, as in the earliest times, entirely straight and without any indication of movement but rather were represented in various positions and actions.³³ In this regard, the statue of a wrestler with the name of Arrachion from the 54th Olympiad,³⁴ as well as another of black marble on the Campidoglio,³⁵ can be cited, because on both the arms hang straight down to the hips. On the first statue, however, this posture could have had its own special meaning, as does that of

the famous Milon of Kroton; in any case, it was made in Arcadia, where art did not flourish. The other statue seems to represent Isis, and it is one of the figures that the emperor Hadrian, in whose villa at Tivoli it was found, commissioned as an imitation of Egyptian works; it will be discussed in the next chapter.

Science taught Etruscan and Greek artists to go beyond the straight lines of the first forms, to which the Egyptians adhered. However, as science precedes beauty in art and, being founded on valid and strict rules, must begin to inform by exacting and vigorous regulation, so drawing was regular but angular, imposing but hard, and very much exaggerated; in just this way, sculpture was, in more recent times, changed for the better by Michelangelo. Works in this style have been preserved in marble reliefs and engraved gems, as will be noted in turn. This style, which the previously cited writers compared with that of the Etruscans,³⁶ seems to have been unique to the Aeginetan school. The artists of that island, which was inhabited by Dorians,³⁷ appear to have retained the oldest style the longest.

The second section of this chapter — on the materials from which sculpture was made — will trace the different stages of this art with regard to both form and drawing. Art and sculpture began with clay; then artists carved in wood, later in ivory; and finally they progressed to stone and metal.

Even ancient languages suggest that clay was the first artistic medium, for the work of the potter and the sculptor are denoted by the same word.³⁸ In the time of Pausanias, there were still clay figures of deities in various temples. Just as at Triteia in Achaia, in the Temple of Ceres and Proserpina,³⁹ the statue of Amphitryon, as he regaled Bacchus along with other deities, in a temple of Bacchus in Athens was of clay;⁴⁰ and there, too, in the portico of Kerameikos, so named for its earthenware vessels or figures, stood two clay works: Theseus in the act of throwing Skiron into the sea, and Aurora carrying away Kephalos.⁴¹ Clay images were painted red,⁴² and sometimes completely covered with red, as another old head of fired clay shows.⁴³ This is said especially of statues of Jupiter,⁴⁴ and there was one such figure in the Arcadian town of Phigalia,⁴⁵ where Pan was also painted red.⁴⁶ Indians still do the same thing.⁴⁷ It seems that the epithet of Ceres, φοινικόπεζα, “the red-footed,”⁴⁸ derives from this practice.

During as well as after the blossoming of art, clay remained in use, partly for reliefs and partly for painted vessels. The former were not just used in architectural friezes but also served as models for artists. To duplicate them, they were pressed in previously prepared molds; the numerous fragments of one and the same representation prove this. These impressions, it is clearly evident, were then reworked with a modeling tool; the author himself possesses some such pieces. Occasionally the models were threaded on a cord and hung in the workshops of artists; some have a hole in the middle for this purpose. Among these models can be found some very fine images. The presumed Pythian priestess is one such work in fired clay.⁴⁹ In the ceremonial festivals held in honor of Daedalus — in Boeotia as well as in the cities

XIII. Characteristics of the earliest style of drawing

Section two

I. Clay, the artists' first medium

II. Painted clay vessels

around Athens, and especially in Plataea — artists put such models on public display.⁵⁰

Of the other kind of clay monuments, namely, the vases that the ancients painted, there are both Etruscan and Greek examples, which will be considered in greater detail below. Earthenware vessels have remained in use in sacred and religious rituals since the earliest times,⁵¹ even after they became a luxury in domestic life. Such painted vessels, which the ancients preferred to porcelain, served a decorative rather than functional purpose, for some have been found without a bottom.

III. Figures in wood, the
second kind

Statues as well as buildings were made of wood before they were made of stone and marble.⁵² Even today ancient wooden figures carved from sycamore are discovered in Egypt; such things are found in many *musei*. Pausanias identifies the kinds of wood out of which the ancients carved images.⁵³ In his day, wooden statues were still to be found in the most famous places in Greece. Among others, there were in Megalopolis in Arcadia such images of Juno, Apollo, and the Muses,⁵⁴ as well as a Venus and a Mercury by Damophon,⁵⁵ one of the earliest artists. Also of note is a statue made from a single piece of wood in the Temple of Apollo on Delos, which Pindar mentions.⁵⁶ Especially remarkable are a Hilaira and Phoebe at Thebes and the ebony-and-ivory horses of Castor and Pollux, all made by Dipoinos and Skyllis,⁵⁷ students of Daedalus; an ebony Diana at Tegea in Arcadia dating to the earliest period of art;⁵⁸ and a similar statue of Ajax at Salamis.⁵⁹ Pausanias believed that wooden statues were called *daedali* before the time of Daedalus.⁶⁰ There were colossal wooden statues at Saïs [(Sa el-Hagar)] and at Thebes, in Egypt.⁶¹ We find that wooden statues of victors were still erected in the 61st Olympiad;⁶² even the celebrated Myron [of Eleutherai], who lived in Pheidias's time, made a wooden Hecate for Aegina.⁶³ Diagoras [of Melos], who was conspicuous among the atheists of antiquity, cooked his food with a figure of Herakles because he had no other wood.⁶⁴ Over time both the Egyptians and the Greeks began to gild their figures.⁶⁵ Gori possessed two Egyptian figures that had been gilded.⁶⁶ In Rome, a Fortuna Virilis dating to the time of Servius Tullius and probably made by an Etruscan artist was still worshipped under the first Roman emperors.⁶⁷

[IV]. Also in ivory

The Greeks already carved in ivory from the earliest times, and Homer speaks of sword hilts, sword sheaths, even beds, and many other things made of it.⁶⁸ The thrones of the first Roman kings and consuls were likewise made from ivory,⁶⁹ and every Roman who attained the rank that enjoyed this honor had his own ivory seat.⁷⁰ The whole Senate sat on such seats when listening to a funeral oration from the Rostra in the Roman Forum.⁷¹ Even the lyres of the ancients were made of ivory.⁷² In Greece, there were hundreds of statues of ivory and gold, most from the earlier period and larger than life-size. Even in a negligible town in Arcadia, there was a beautiful Asklepios,⁷³ and on the main road to Pellene, in Achaia, there was an image of Pallas in a temple to her; both images were of ivory and gold.⁷⁴ In a temple at Kyzikos [(Belkis)], in which the stone joints were decorated with gold filaments, there stood an ivory Jupiter

being crowned by a marble Apollo;⁷⁵ at Tivoli, there was a similar Herakles.⁷⁶ Herodes Atticus, the famed and wealthy orator from the time of Antoninus [Pius], commissioned for the Temple of Neptune in Corinth a chariot with four gilded horses whose hooves were of ivory.⁷⁷ With the exception of a few very small figurines, none of the many finds has ever yielded the slightest trace of ivory from statues, because ivory decomposes in the earth like the teeth of other animals, except the wolf.⁷⁸ At Tiryns in Arcadia, there was a Cybele made of gold but for the face, which was composed of hippopotamus teeth.⁷⁹

The first stone from which statues were made appears to have been a whitish tufa stone, the same stone out of which were constructed the earliest buildings in Greece, such as the Temple of Jupiter at Elis.⁸⁰ Plutarch recalls a Silenus in this stone.⁸¹ In Rome, travertine was put to this use as well, and there are three statues made of this stone in the city: a consular statue in the villa of Cardinal Alessandro Albani; another, seated and holding a tablet on its knee, in the Palazzo Altieri in Campitelli; and a life-size female figure, with a ring on its index finger, in the villa of the marchese [Girolamo] Belloni. Figures made of such inferior stone customarily stood around tombs.

Marble was initially used for the head, hands, and feet of wooden figures, as was the case with a Juno⁸² and a Venus by Damophon,⁸³ one of the earliest artists of renown. This practice was still current in Pheidias's time, for his Pallas in Plataea was made in this way.⁸⁴ Such statues, of which only the extremities were of stone, were called *acroliths*.⁸⁵ This is the meaning of the word that stumped [Claude] Saumaise⁸⁶ and others.⁸⁷ Pliny [the Elder] remarks that it was in the 50th Olympiad that artists first began working in marble,⁸⁸ which should probably be interpreted as referring to whole figures. Occasionally, marble statues were dressed in real fabrics, as was a Ceres at Bura in Achaia.⁸⁹ A very ancient Asklepios at Sikyon likewise had a gown.⁹⁰ Later this gave rise to painting clothing on marble figures, as can be seen from a Diana discovered in Herculaneum in 1760. This work is four *palmi* and two and one-half *Zoll* high, with a head that is not idealized but instead portrays a specific person. The hair is blond, and the vest is white, as is the gown, which has three stripes running around its lower part: the lowest stripe is thin and gold-colored; the next, in a lacquer color, is wider, with white flowers and scrolls painted on it; the third stripe is of the same color. The statue that Virgil has Corydon promise to Diana was supposed to have been of marble but with red buskins.⁹¹ The earliest Greek sculptors were already working in black stone, either marble or basalt. A Diana at Ambrosos in the region of Phocis was made of such stone by an Aeginetan artist.⁹² The Greeks as well as the Egyptians worked in real basalt, about which more will be said below.

If Pausanias is to be believed, bronze statues must have been made in Italy far earlier than in Greece, for he names Rhoikos and Theodoros of Samos as the first artists to practice in this branch of sculpture.⁹³ The latter carved the famous gem of Polykrates, ruler of the island of Samos during the reign of Croesus, that is, sometime around the 60th Olympiad. Yet Roman historians report that prior to this Romulus had commissioned a statue of himself, being

V. Then in stone, and at first in that native to each land

VI. In marble, and initially for the extremities of figures. Painted statues

VII. In bronze

crowned by Victory, for a chariot with four horses—all of bronze;⁹⁴ the chariot with the horses were spoils taken from the town of Camerinum. This was supposed to have happened after his triumph over the people of Fidenae, in the seventh year of his reign, that is, in the 8th Olympiad. The inscription on this work, as Plutarch notes, was in Greek letters,⁹⁵ but—as Dionysius [of Halicarnassus] remarks on another occasion—Roman writing was similar to the earliest Greek,⁹⁶ and thus this work could have been by an Etruscan artist. In addition, mention is made of a bronze statue of Horatius Cocles⁹⁷ and of a bronze equestrian statue erected to the celebrated Cloelia at the start of the Roman Republic;⁹⁸ and when Spurius Cassius [Viscellinus] was punished for his acts against freedom, a bronze statue of Ceres was funded from his confiscated property.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, we know from other accounts that before Croesus's time, the Greeks in Lydia had created enormous works in every kind of metal. The large silver vase that Croesus presented to the temple at Delphi held six hundred *amphorae* and was made by the previously cited Theodoros.¹⁰⁰ The Spartans commissioned, as a gift for Croesus, a metal vase that held three hundred *amphorae* and was decorated with all kinds of animals.¹⁰¹ Made considerably earlier were the three colossal statues at Samos,¹⁰² each six *Ellen* high and kneeling on one knee, who supported a great vase that, like the figures, was made of bronze: this work was made with one-tenth of the profits from the Samians' voyage to Tartessus [(Cádiz)], on the other side of the Pillars of Herakles. The first bronze four-horse chariot recorded by the Greeks was commissioned by the Athenians after the death of Peisistratos, that is, after the 76th Olympiad, and set up before the Temple of Pallas.¹⁰³ Bronze statues often had bases made of metal as well.¹⁰⁴ In antiquity, gold statues were dedicated to several deities, but more commonly they were dedicated to Roman emperors, as written sources and a few inscriptions show.¹⁰⁵

VIII. The art of engraving
gems

The art of engraving gems must be very ancient, and it was known even among very isolated peoples. It is said that the Greeks initially used a block of wood perforated with worm holes to impress a seal,¹⁰⁶ and in Stosch's *museo* there is a gem that is engraved to look like a perforated wooden block and that appears to have been used as a seal;¹⁰⁷ we do not know how long this practice continued, however. In this branch of art, the Egyptians attained a high level of perfection, as can be seen in the Isis in Stosch's *museo* that will be discussed in the next chapter. The Ethiopians also had seals worked out of gems, which they engraved using another hard stone.¹⁰⁸ Again, this branch of art will be treated in detail in the following chapters. How prevalent work in precious gems was among the ancients can be grasped, without mentioning other such accounts, just from the two thousand drinking vessels that Pompey [the Great] found in the treasury of Mithradates [VI Eupator].¹⁰⁹

Section three. Causes for
the differences in art
among peoples
I. Influence of climate on
appearance

Having traced the origin of art and the materials used in its making, we now turn, in the third section of this chapter, to the influence of climate on art, specifically to the differences in their art among the peoples who cultivated it. By "the influence of climate," we mean the way in which countries' differing localities, their particular weather patterns and foods, affected their

inhabitants' appearance no less than their way of thinking. The climate, says Polybius, impresses a people's mores, physical form, and complexion.¹¹⁰

With regard to the first, namely, the human appearance, our eyes convince us that just as the soul is expressed in the face, so too in many cases is the character of the nation. And just as nature has separated great kingdoms and countries from one another by mountains and rivers, it has variously distinguished the inhabitants of these lands by their particular traits. In especially remote lands, this difference can be seen in a person's stature as well as in the other parts of the body. Animals do not vary according to the nature of the land more than humans do, and some have observed that the animals have the same character as the inhabitants of their lands. The appearance of the face is as diverse as languages, and even as their dialects; and the latter are an attribute of the organs of speech themselves, such that in cold countries the nerves of the tongue are necessarily stiffer and less rapid than they are in warmer lands. And if the Greenlanders and various peoples in [North] America lack certain letters,¹¹¹ it must be attributed to this very reason. Thus it happens that all northern languages are more monosyllabic and are more burdened with consonants whose inflection and pronunciation other nations find difficult, at times even impossible. One noted writer has even attributed the differences in the dialects of Italian to the different tissues and forms of the organs of speech.¹¹² For the reasons cited, he argues, the Lombards, who are born in the colder parts of Italy, have a harsh and abrupt pronunciation, whereas the Tuscans and Romans speak in a more measured tone, and the Neapolitans, who enjoy a still warmer climate, better articulate their vowels and speak with a rounder tone. Those who are familiar with many nations differentiate peoples no less correctly and unerringly by their facial features than by their language. As the human form has always been the most distinguished theme of art and artists, in every country artists have given their figures the facial features peculiar to their nation. That the art of antiquity took its forms from the appearance of its people is shown by a similar relation of art to appearance in recent times. Germans, Dutchmen, and Frenchmen, if they have not left their countries and natural habitats, are—like the Chinese and the Tatars—identifiable from their paintings: after spending many years in Italy, [Peter Paul] Rubens still drew his figures as if he had never left his native land.

The appearance of today's Egyptians should still be discernible in the figures of their earlier art, but the similarity between nature and its image is no longer what it was. For if most Egyptians once were as stout and fat as the residents of Cairo are now said to be,¹¹³ we could not draw any such conclusions from their ancient figures regarding the nature of their bodies in ancient times, for it appears to have been the opposite of what it is today. It should be noted, however, that the Egyptians were already described by the ancients as well as having stout and fat bodies.¹¹⁴ The climate is indeed always the same, but the country and its inhabitants can take a different form. For if we consider that the present-day inhabitants of Egypt are of a foreign stock, one that

A. Generally

B. And in the organs of speech

C. Appearance of the Egyptians

also introduced its own language, and that their religion, form of government, and way of life are the complete opposite of what they were before, we will also understand the difference in physical build. The incredibly dense population made the ancient Egyptians frugal and industrious; their primary focus was on agriculture.¹¹⁵ Their diet consisted of more fruits than meat, and thus their bodies could not put on much flesh. Today's inhabitants of Egypt, by contrast, are sunk in sloth and strive only to live, not to work, which strongly influences their physical form.

D. Of the Greeks and
Italians

The same observation can be made with regard to today's Greeks. Even without taking into account the fact that their blood has for several centuries been mingled with the seeds of the many peoples who have settled among them, it is easy to see that their present government, upbringing, education, and way of thinking can also influence their appearance. Despite these many disadvantages, the present-day Greek race is still noted for its beauty; and the closer that nature draws to the Greek climate, the more beautiful, lofty, and powerful in appearance are her human creations. Thus, in the most beautiful parts of Italy we rarely find people with incomplete, ill-defined, or insignificant facial features, as is often the case on the other side of the Alps. Rather, some appear sublime, some clever, and their facial form is generally large, full, and harmonious in its parts. This superior appearance is so evident that the head of the most negligible man among the common people could be used for the most sublime historical painting; and among the women of this class, it would not be difficult to find a model for Juno in the most negligible place. In Naples, which more than any other part of Italy enjoys a mild climate, and more constant and more moderate weather because it lies very close to the latitude of mainland Greece, one can frequently find forms and appearances that could serve as models for a beautiful ideal and which in terms of facial form, and particularly the strongly defined and harmonious parts of the same, appear to be created for sculpture, as it were.

E. Appearance of beauty in
a warm climate

Even someone who has never visited this nation can infer, correctly and without help, its polished appearance on the basis of the increasing refinement of forms the warmer the climate is. The Neapolitans are more refined and artful than the Romans, the Sicilians more so than the Neapolitans. The Greeks surpass even the Sicilians, however. The purer and more rarified the air, says Cicero, the more refined the head.¹¹⁶

Thus, the high beauty that resides not merely in soft skin, in a radiant complexion, in wanton or languishing eyes, but also in appearance and form is more readily found in countries that enjoy a temperate climate. Moreover, if only the Italians are able to paint and fashion beauty, as an English writer of rank says, then part of the explanation for this facility lies in the beautiful forms found in this land; for the facility can be more easily attained through daily visual experience. Nevertheless, perfect beauty was rare even among the Greeks, and in Cicero, [Gaius Aurelius] Cotta says that among the many young people in Athens only a few in his day were truly beautiful.¹¹⁷ How much a favorable climate contributes to the appearance of beauty is also

indicated by the particular beauty of Maltese women, for this island has no winter.

The most beautiful race of Greeks, especially with regard to complexion, must have been that which lived in the Ionian climate of Asia Minor—the climate that engendered and inspired Homer. Hippocrates¹¹⁸ and Lucian¹¹⁹ testify to this, and one attentive traveler in the sixteenth century could not praise sufficiently the beauty of the women there: their soft and milky skin, their fresh and healthy glow.¹²⁰ The climate is much milder in this land and on the islands of the Archipelago, because of their location; and the weather—poised between warm and cold—is more constant and uniform than even in Greece, especially in those areas of Greece lying along the coast, which are much exposed to the sultry winds of Africa, just like the whole southern coast of Italy and the other countries lying opposite the hot expanses of Africa. This wind called λῖψ [(Lips, the southwest wind)] by the Greeks and *Africus* by the Romans and nowadays *Scirocco* obscures and darkens the air with burning heavy vapors, making it unhealthy and enfeebling the very nature of people, animals, and plants. Where it prevails it inhibits digestion and renders the mind as well as the body listless and unable to work. Thus, it is readily understandable how much this wind affects the beauty of the skin and the complexion. It gives those living closest to the seacoast a dull and yellowish complexion, which is more prevalent among Neapolitans, especially those who live in the capital with its narrow streets and tall buildings, than it is among those who live inland. The same complexion is found among the inhabitants of other places along the Mediterranean coast, such as, in the Papal States, at Terracina, Nettuno, Ostia, and the like. Yet marshes, which in Italy create foul and deadly vapors, must not have had any harmful emissions in Greece. The very well built and famous city of Ambrakia [(Árta)], for example, was surrounded by marshes and had only a single entrance.¹²¹

The most readily seen proof of the Greeks' superior form, and that of all present-day Levantines, is that among them there are no flattened noses, which is the greatest disfigurement to the face. Scaliger has noted this about the Jews;¹²² indeed, the Jews of Portugal must generally have hawk noses, for there such a nose is known as a Jewish nose. [Andreas] Vesalius observes that the heads of Greeks and Turks have a more beautiful oval shape than the heads of the Germans and the Dutch.¹²³ It should also be mentioned here that smallpox is less dangerous in warm countries than in cold ones, where it is an epidemic disease and as fierce as the plague. Thus, in Italy scarcely ten people in a thousand are marked with faint traces of this disease, while among the ancient Greeks this calamity was unknown.

Just as visible and understandable as the influence of the climate on appearance is, secondly, its influence on ways of thinking, to which external circumstances also contribute, especially a people's education, constitution, and government. The way of thinking of Eastern and southern peoples, as well as that of the Greeks, is evident in their works of art. Among the former peoples, figurative expressions are as warm and fiery as the climate in which

F. Exceptional beauties of the Greeks

G. Specific proof of that

II. Influence of climate on way of thinking

A. Of Eastern and southern peoples

they live, and the flight of their thoughts often takes them well beyond the bounds of possibility. In such brains are formed the fantastic figures of the Egyptians and Persians, which combine creatures of very different natures and species; their artists strive more for the extraordinary than for beauty.

B. Of the Greeks

By contrast the Greeks—who lived in a moderate climate and under a moderate government and inhabited a land that Pallas, it is said,¹²⁴ allotted to them for habitation above all other lands because of its moderate seasons—had concepts and images as painterly as their language. Their poets, from Homer on, not only speak through images but also produce and paint images that often consist of a single word distinguished by its sound and sketched, as it were, in living color. Their imagination was not exaggerated, as with the Eastern and southern peoples, and their senses, which acted through quick and sensitive nerves on a fine-woven brain, discovered instantly the various characteristics of a subject and concerned themselves chiefly with reflecting on that subject's beauty.

Among the Greeks in Asia Minor—whose language became richer in vowels, softer and more musical, after they migrated there from Greece, because they enjoyed there a still more favorable climate than the other Greeks—this same climate awakened and inspired the first poets. Greek philosophy was reared on this soil, and the first historians were from this land. Even Apelles, the painter of the Graces, was engendered in this voluptuous climate. But these Greeks, because they were unable to defend their freedom against the might of the nearby Persians, were unable to constitute themselves as powerful free states, as the Athenians did, and for this reason the arts and sciences did not have their most distinguished seat in Ionic Asia. In Athens, however, where after the expulsion of the tyrants, a democratic form of government was adopted in which the whole people participated, the spirit of every citizen soared and the city rose above all the Greeks. As good taste was now widespread, and as wealthy citizens sought by means of splendid public buildings and works of art to inspire the respect and love of their fellow citizens and to pave the way to honor, everything flowed into this city, with its power and greatness, like rivers into the sea. Here the arts settled alongside the sciences; here they took their principal seat, and from here they spread to other lands. That the growth of the arts in Athens can be attributed to the reasons cited is attested by similar circumstances in Florence, where in modern times the arts and sciences started to shine, after a long period of darkness.

C. Differences in the education, constitution, and government of peoples

In judging the natural talent of peoples, and especially that of the Greeks, we must therefore take into account not merely the influence of climate but also education and government. For external circumstances affect us no less than the air that surrounds us, and custom has so much power over us that it even shapes the body and senses instilled in us by nature in a particular way. This is shown by the fact that the ear accustomed to French music is unaffected by the most tender Italian song.

D. Of the Greeks

Herein lie the distinctions among the Grecian peoples in Greece that Polybius noticed with regard to courage and conduct in war.^{125]} The Thessalians

were good warriors when they could attack in small bands, but in formal battle array they soon gave away. With the Aetolians, it was the opposite. The Cretans were incomparable in ambushes or in attacks relying on cunning or in smashing the enemy in other ways, yet they were of no use where courage alone was decisive. The contrary was true of the Achaians and the Macedonians. The Arcadians were bound by their oldest laws to learn music and to practice it continually until thirty years of age, in order to soften and render more pleasing temperaments and mores that, on account of the rough climate of their mountainous land, would otherwise have been intractable and wild; they were therefore the most honest and best mannered people in all Greece. The Cynaethans, who alone among these peoples departed from this rule and would not learn or practice music, fell back into their natural savagery and were loathed by all Greeks.

In lands where, along with the influence of climate, some remnant of a former freedom continues to have an effect, the present way of thinking is very similar to that of earlier times. This is seen today in Rome, where the common people enjoy unrestrained freedom under the church's rule. Even now, from these people could be assembled a band of militant and truly intrepid warriors who, like their forefathers, would defy death, and the women of these people, whose morals are less spoiled, today exhibit the same spirit and courage as the women of ancient Rome—as we could show by citing their exceptional traits, if our plan allowed.

The superior talent of the Greeks for art is still evident today in the great, almost universal talents of men in the warmest states of Italy. Imagination rules this gift, just as reason controls the imagination among the pensive British. Someone has said, with some justification, that the poets on that side of the mountains speak through images but produce few pictures; one must also admit that the astonishing, sometimes fearful images in which [John] Milton's greatness resides cannot be the subject of a noble brush and are altogether unsuited to painting. Milton's descriptions are, with the single exception of love in *Paradise*, like beautifully painted Gorgons, all alike and equally frightful. Images of many other poets are great to the ear but negligible to the mind. In Homer, however, everything is painted, or conceived and imagined for painting. The warmer the region of Italy, the greater the talents that it fosters, and the more fiery the imagination: the Sicilian poets are full of rare, new, and unexpected images. Yet this fiery imagination is not angry and ebullient; rather, like the temperament of the people and the weather of this land, it is more uniform than in colder countries—for nature gives rise to an auspicious phlegm here [in Italy] more often than there.

When I speak of the natural capacity of this nation for art, I do not thereby deny that this capacity might be found among a few or many other peoples, for experience teaches otherwise. [Hans] Holbein [the Younger] and Albrecht Dürer, the fathers of art in Germany, displayed an astonishing talent for art, and if they could have studied the works of the ancients, as did Raphael, Correggio, and Titian, they could have become as great as these painters, or

E. Of the Romans

F. Capacity of the English for art

G. Particular qualification of this thought

perhaps even surpassed them. For even Correggio did not, as it is sometimes alleged, attain his greatness without a knowledge of antiquity. His master Andrea Mantegna was acquainted with it, and his drawings of ancient statues are to be found in the large collection of Cardinal Alessandro Albani. For this reason, [Felice] Feliciano dedicated an anthology of ancient inscriptions to Mantegna.¹²⁶ Mantegna was completely unknown to the elder Burman by the latter's own report.¹²⁷ Whether the lack of painters among the English (who have not a single painter of note) and the French (who except for one or two are in almost the same situation, notwithstanding much expenditure) proceeds from the cited circumstances, I leave to the judgment of others.

With these general insights into art and the reasons why it differs among the countries that practice it, I believe I have prepared the reader for the discussion of art among particular peoples.

[no. 7]

Notes

1. Cf. Ger[ardus] Voss[ius], *Poet[icarum] Instit[utionum]*, bk. 1, p. 31.
2. מַסֶּכָּה [*massekhhoh*, “molten image”]; פֶּסֶל [*pesel*, “carved image”].
3. Isaiah 30:22.
4. *Antiquit. rom.*, bk. 7, p. 458. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 7.72.4.]
5. See note to Tacit., *An.*, bk. 2, chap. 60, p. 251 (edit. Gronov[ius]); Val[oi]s's note to Ammian., bk. 17, chap. 4; and Warburt[on], *Essa[i] sur les hiéroglyphes des Egyptiens*, p. 608. [Tacitus, *Annales* 2.60; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 17.4.2.]
6. Maxim. Tyr., *Diss.* 8, sec. 8, p. 87; Clem. Alex., *Cohort. ad Gent.*, chap. 4, p. 40. [Maximus of Tyre, *Discourses* 2.8c–d; Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks* 4.40.]
7. Apollon., *Argon.*, bk. 2, v. 1176. [Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 2.1176.]
8. Pausan., bk. 7, p. 579, l. 32; cf. bk. 8, p. 665, l. 28; p. 666, l. 27; p. 671, l. 21. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 7.22.4; cf. 8.31.7, 8.32.1, 8.35.6—although all these passages document not the statues at Thespiiai and Ikaria specifically but rather the assertions made in the previous sentence about the Greeks' blocklike representations of deities.]
9. Idem, bk. 2, p. 132, l. 39. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.9.6.]
10. Max. Tyr. and Clem. Alex., ll.cc. [Maximus of Tyre, *Discourses* 2.8c–d; Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks* 3.40. Note that Winckelmann's “ll.cc.” = *locis citatis* (in the places cited).]
11. Cf. Schwarz, *Miscel[lanea] Polit[ioris] Humanit[atis]*, p. 67.
12. Pausan., bk. 9, p. 761, l. 31. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 9.27.1.]
13. Idem, bk. 9, p. 786, l. 16. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 9.38.1.]
14. Inscription in Codin[us], *Selecta de] Orig[inibus] Constant[inopolitanis]*, p. 19.
15. Plutarch, *De amore fraterno*, init., p. 849 (edit. Steph[anus]). [Plutarch, *Moral Essays, On Brotherly Love* 478a.]
16. Cf. [Le] Pa[u]lm[i]er, *Exercit[at]iones in [Optimos Fere] Auct[ores] Graec[os]*, p. 223.

17. Pausan., bk. 8, p. 671, l. 22. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.35.6.]
18. Ibid., p. 698, l. 2. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.48.6.]
19. Ibid., loc. cit. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.48.6.]
20. Psalms 135:16.
21. Scylac., *Peripl.*, p. 52, l. 19; Suid[as, *Lexicon*], s.v. "Ἑρμᾶ [(herm)]. The name *Hermes*, or *Mercury*—first given, it is alleged, to such stones—has no connection to them, even according to the derivation given in Plato, *Cratylus*, p. 408 B. [Scylax of Caryanda, *Periplus Scylacis* 112; Plato, *Cratylus* 408b.]
22. Ἀνδριᾶς Πανδίωνος [(the statue of Pandion)] in Aristoph[anes], *Pac.*, v. 1183, was one such herm, and one of twelve others in Athens on which the lists of soldiers were posted, and thus cannot mean "column," as translators have rendered it. [Aristophanes, *Peace* 1183.]
23. Plin., bk. 35, chap. 34, p. 690. [Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 35.34.56.]
24. Diodor. Sic., bk. 1, p. 87, l. 35; Strab., *Geogr.*, bk. 17, p. 806 [(ed. 1620)]. [Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 1.97.6; Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.28.]
25. Paciaudi, *Monum[enta] Pelopon[nesia]*, vol. 2, p. 51.
26. It is probable that Diodorus, *Hist.*, bk. 4, wished to indicate such eyes when he, in referring to the statues of Daedalus, says that this artist made them ὀμμάσι μεμυκῶτα, which the translator has rendered *luminibus clausis*, "with closed eyes." This is unlikely, for if he wished to make eyes, he would have made them open. This translation is at odds as well with the true and constant meaning of the word μεμυκῶς, which means *nictare*, "to blink with the eyes," and in Italian *sbiciare*, and which must be rendered as *conniventibus oculis*. Μεμυκῶτα χεῖλεα in Non[us], *Dionys.*, bk. 4, p. 75, v. 8, means "half-opened lips." [Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 4.76.3; Nonnus of Panopolis, *Dionysiaca* 4.150.]
27. Strab., bk. 10, p. 482 C; Plutarch, *Solon*, p. 146, l. 28. [Strabo, *Geography* 10.4.19; Plutarch, *Lives, Solon* 26.1.]
28. Pausan., bk. 10, p. 836, l. 2. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.16.7.]
29. Herodot., bk. 1, p. 43, l. 3. [Herodotus, *History* 1.166.]
30. Pausan., bk. 5, p. 450, l. 12. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 5.27.12.]
31. Idem, bk. 5, p. 448. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 5.27.2.]
32. Cic., *Verr.*, [bk.] 4, chap. 43. [Cicero, *In Verrem* 4.43.93.]
33. *Geogr.*, bk. 15, p. 948: — ἐν παραλίᾳ τῆς νήσου Σάμου — ἐν μὲν ἀρχαίοις (τῶν ναῶν) ἀρχαῖά ἐστι ξόανα, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὕστερον Σκολιὰ ἔργα. [On the shore of the island of Samos "while in the ancient (temples) there are ancient wooden statues, in the later [temples there are] crooked works"; Strabo, *Geography* 14.1.20, where the phrase on which Winckelmann is focused is given as Σκόπια ἔργα, "works of Skopas," in the Loeb edition, with his reading cited as appearing in "other MSS."]
34. Pausan., bk. 8, p. 682. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.40.1.]
35. Caylus, *Rec[ueil] d'ant[iquités]*, vol. 2, pl. 39.
36. Diod. Sic. and Strabo, ll.cc. [Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 1.97.6; Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.28.]
37. Herodot., bk. 8, p. 301, l. 39. [Herodotus, *History* 8.46.1.]
38. See G[o]usset, *Comment[arii] L[inguae] Ebr[aicae]*, s.v. יצֵר [yotseir].
39. Pausan., bk. 7, p. 580, l. 30. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 7.22.9.]

40. Idem, bk. 1, p. 7, l. 15. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.2.5.]
41. Ibid, p. 8, l. 10. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.3.1; note that Pausanias is describing the Stoa Basileios in the Kerameikos, or Potters' Quarter, of Athens.]
42. Plin., bk. 35, chap. 45. [Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 35.45.157.]
43. The author has this head, which was found in ancient Tuscolo.
44. Plin., bk. 23, chap. 3. [Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 35.45.157.]
45. Pausan., bk. 8, p. 681, last line. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.39.6.]
46. Virg., *Eclog.* 19, v. 27. [Virgil, *Eclogae* 10.27.]
47. Della Valle, *Viag[gi]*, vol. 1, p. 28.
48. Pind., *Olymp.* 6, v. 126. [Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 6.94.]
49. See Montfaucon, *Antiquité expliquée*, vol. 2, [pt. 1,] pl. 2, no. 1.
50. Dicaearch[us of Messana], *Geographica*, p. 168, l. [2]5 [(since reattributed; see Herakleides Kritikos, *Description of Greece*, frag. 1, sec. 3)]; cf. Meurs, *De Festis Graecorum*.
51. Cf. Brodae[u], *Miscellaneorum*, bk. 5, chap. 19.
52. Pausan., bk. 2, p. 152, l. 32. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.19.3.]
53. Bk. 8, p. 633, l. 32. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.17.2.]
54. Ibid., [bk.] 8, p. 665. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.31.5.]
55. Idem, bk. 8, p. 665, l. 15. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.31.5.]
56. *Pyth.* 5, v. 53. [Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 5.39–40.]
57. Pausan., bk. 2, p. 161, l. 34. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.22.5.]
58. Idem, bk. 8, p. 708, at the end. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.53.11.]
59. Idem, bk. 1, p. 85, l. 24. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.35.3.]
60. Idem, bk. 9, p. 616. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 9.2.2.]
61. Herodot., bk. 2, p. 95, l. 35. [Herodotus, *History* 2.130.]
62. Pausan., bk. 6, p. 497, l. 15. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 6.18.7.]
63. Pausan., bk. 2, p. 180, l. 30. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.30.2.]
64. Schol. on Aristoph., *Nub.*, v. 828. [Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds* 828.]
65. Herodot., bk. 2, p. 71, l. 28. [Herodotus, *History* 2.182.]
66. See [Gori], *Museum Etruscum*, vol. [2], p. 51.
67. Dionys. Halic., *Ant. r.*, bk. 4, p. 234, l. 31. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 4.27.7.]
68. Cf. Pausan., bk. 1, p. 30; Casaub[on, note in *Historiae Augustae Scriptores* VI] on [Aelius] Spartian[us], p. 20 E. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.12.4.]
69. Dionys. Halic., *Ant. r.*, bk. 3, p. 187, l. 25; bk. 4, p. 257, l. 29. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 3.61.1, 4.74.1.]
70. Liv., bk. 5, chap. 41. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 5.41.2.]
71. Polyb., bk. 6, p. 495, last line. [Polybius, *Histories* 6.53.9.]
72. Dionys. Halic., loc. cit., bk. 7, p. 458, l. 39. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 7.72.5.]
73. Strab., *Geogr.*, bk. 8, p. 337 D. [Strabo, *Geography* 8.3.4.]
74. Pausan., bk. 7, p. 594, l. 29. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 7.27.2.]
75. Plin., bk. 36, chap. 22. [Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 36.22.98.]
76. Propert., bk. 4, elegy 7, v. 82. [Propertius, *Elegiae* 4.7.82.]
77. Pausan., bk. 2, p. 113, l. 1. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.1.7.]

78. Someone in Rome has a wolf's tooth on which the twelve gods are carved.
79. Pausan., bk. 8, p. 694, l. 32. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.46.4; note that Tiryns is located in Argolis, not Arcadia.]
80. Idem, bk. 5, p. 397, last line. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 5.10.2.]
81. *Vit. rhet., Andocid.*, p. 1535, l. 14. [Plutarch, *Moral Essays, Lives of the Ten Orators, Andocides* 835b.]
82. Pausan., bk. 7, p. 582, l. 33. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 7.23.5.]
83. Idem, bk. 8, p. 665, l. 16. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.31.5.]
84. Pausan., bk. 8, p. 665, l. 16. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.31.5.]
85. Vitruv., bk. 2, chap. 8, p. 59, l. 19. [Vitruvius, *De architectura* 2.8.11.]
86. [Salmasius,] note in *Hist[oriae] Aug[ustae] Script[ores VI on Trebellius Pollio]*, p. 322 E.
87. Triller, *Observ[ationum] Crit[icarum]*, bk. 4, chap. 6; Paciaud[i], *Monum[enta] Pelop[onnesia]*, vol. 2, p. 44.
88. Bk. 36, chap. 4, p. 724, l. 15. [Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 36.4.1.]
89. Pausan., bk. 7, p. 590, l. 15. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 7.25.9.]
90. Idem, bk. 2, p. 137, l. 4. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.11.6.]
91. *Eclog.* 7, v. 31. [Virgil, *Eclogae* 7.31.]
92. Idem, bk. 10, p. 891, l. 1. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.36.5.]
93. Bk. 8, p. 629, l. 2; bk. 9, p. 796, l. 1; bk. 10, p. 896, l. 19. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.14.8, 9.41.1, 10.38.6.]
94. Dionys. Halic., *Ant. r.*, bk. 2, p. 112, l. 39. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 2.54.2.]
95. In *Romulo*, p. 33, l. 8. [Plutarch, *Lives, Romulus* 24.3; the Greek characters on this statue are mentioned not by Plutarch but by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 2.54.2.]
96. Bk. 4, p. 221, l. 46. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 4.26.5.]
97. Dionys. Halic., *Ant. r.*, bk. 4, p. 221, l. 46. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 5.25.2.]
98. Idem, bk. 5, p. 284, l. 43; p. 291, l. 39; Plutarch in *Public.*, p. 195, l. 6. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 5.33.1, 5.35.2; Plutarch, *Lives, Publicola* 19.4–5.]
99. Dionys. Halic., bk. 8, p. 524, l. 38. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 8.79.3.]
100. Herodot., bk. 1, p. 12, l. 27. [Herodotus, *History* 1.51; in this context, an *amphora* is a Greek liquid measure equivalent to nearly thirty-nine liters, or a little over ten U.S. gallons.]
101. Ibid., [p]. 18, l. 9. [Herodotus, *History* 1.70.]
102. Herodot., bk. 4, p. 171, l. 26; cf. p. 174, l. 35. [Herodotus, *History* 4.152; cf. 4.162–64.]
103. Idem, bk. 5, p. 199, l. 6. [Herodotus, *History* 5.77.]
104. Pausan., bk. 5, p. 445, l. 22. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 5.25.12.]
105. Cf. Ryc[ke], *De Capit[olio Romano]*, chap. 26, p. 108.
106. Hesych., s.v. Θριπόβρωτος; cf. Selden, [Commentarii] *ad Marn[ora] Arund-elliana*, “[Ad Marmora] II,” p. 177. [Hesychius, *Lexicon*, s.v. Θριπόβρωτος (“worm-eaten”; theta, entry 761).]

Art of the Etruscans and Their Neighbors

Contents of this chapter

This discussion of Etruscan art is set forth in three sections. The first, preliminary section will deal with those matters that explain and facilitate understanding of the second, essential section, which will treat the art itself—its characteristics, its distinguishing features, and its different periods. The third section will review the art of the Etruscans' neighbors.

Section one. The Etruscans

The first section comprehends three segments: the first contains a consideration of the external circumstances and reasons for the characteristics of Etruscan art; the second deals with the representation of their deities and heroes; and the third is an outline of the most important works of Etruscan art.

I. External circumstances of Etruscan art

A. The freedom of this people, which was advantageous to art

The first segment begins with the circumstances favorable to art among this people and then seeks to give a probable cause for the nature of their art. Concerning the circumstances in which art found itself among the Etruscans, because the constitution and government exerted a great influence on art in every land, it is thus certain that in the freedom that the Etruscans enjoyed under their rulers, their art as well as their artists were able to gain eminence and make great advances. Among the Etruscans, royal dignity implied not an arbitrary ruler but rather a leader and commander, of which there were twelve, in accordance with the number of provinces of this people,¹ and these twelve were communally elected by the twelve councils.² These twelve chiefs recognized one ruler in particular, who, like them, was raised to the highest office only by vote. The Etruscans so jealously guarded their freedom and were such great enemies of royal authority that they found the latter detestable and unbearable even in those peoples merely allied with them. They were thus highly offended by the Veientes when the latter changed their government and elected themselves a king instead of leaders, which until then had been rotated every year.³ This happened in the 400th year of the city of Rome. At the time of the Marsic War, the Etruscans still had not forgotten their freedom, for they formed an alliance with other Italic peoples against the Romans, until they were satisfied that they would partake in the rights of Roman citizenship.⁴ This freedom, which is the nursemaid of the arts, and the Etruscans' extensive trade by land and water, which preoccupied and nourished them, must have awakened in them the desire to emulate the artists of other peoples, especially as in every free state, the artist has more true honor to hope for and achieve.

But as art among this people did not attain the heights of Greek art and as exaggeration ruled their works in the best period, the reason for this must be sought in the aptitude of this people. One possibility is that the disposition of the Etruscans was more tinged with melancholy than was the case with the Greeks, as we can infer from their religion and their customs. Such a temperament (of which the greatest individuals, as Aristotle [(*Problems* 953a10–12)] said, had their share) is suited to profound investigations, but it gives rise to violent emotions, and the senses are not touched with that gentle agitation that renders the mind fully susceptible to beauty. This conjecture is based in the first place on their soothsaying, which was first practiced in the West by this people. Thus, Etruria is proclaimed the mother and parturient of superstition,⁵ and their divinatory writings filled those seeking advice with fear and terror—so frightful were the images and words in which they were couched.⁶ We can gain an idea of their priests from those who, in the 399th year of the city of Rome, armed with flaming torches and snakes, led the Tarquinius against the Romans.⁷ We can further infer such a temperament from the bloody fights held at funerals and in public arenas, which were first established among them and also later introduced by the Romans;⁸ such contests were a horror to the civilized Greeks.⁹ In recent times, self-flagellation was first practiced in Tuscany.¹⁰ On Etruscan funeral urns, we often see representations of bloody fights over the deceased, which never happened among the Greeks. By contrast, Roman funeral urns, because they were for the most part made by the Greeks, have pleasant pictures: most depict fables alluding to human life; lovely images of death, such as the sleeping Endymion found on so many urns; naiads who are carrying off Hylas;¹¹ dances of bacchantes; and nuptials, such as the beautiful wedding of Peleus and Thetis that is in the Villa Albani.¹² Scipio Africanus insisted that people should drink at his grave;¹³ and among the Romans, people danced¹⁴ before the corpse.¹⁵

The Etruscans, however, did not prosper long enough to overcome their nature and its influence on art: soon after the foundation of the Roman Republic, they became engaged in a series of bloody, and for them unfortunate, wars with the Romans, and the entire country was conquered by their enemies a few years after the death of Alexander the Great, and even the Etruscan language, after gradually taking on the guise of the Roman language, was lost. Etruria was transformed into a Roman province after the last king, Aelius Volterranus, was killed in battle near the sea of Lucumo in the 474th year after the founding of the city of Rome, or in the 124th Olympiad. Soon after, in the 489th year of the Roman calendar, or in the 129th Olympiad, Marcus Fulvius Flaccus conquered Volsinii [(Orvieto)], now Bolsena, „a city of artists,“ according to the meaning of its name, which some derive from Phoenician.¹⁶ The Romans carried away two thousand statues from this city alone,¹⁷ and it is likely that other cities were also emptied in this way. Art, meanwhile, continued to be practiced among the Etruscans after they became subject to Rome, just as it was among the Greeks who suffered a similar fate, as will be shown later. We have no account of Etruscan

B. The Etruscan temperament, in which the characteristics of their artworks can be sought

C. Their unfortunate wars with the Romans, and the decline of their state, which inhibited the course of their art

artists, with the single exception of Mnesarchus, the father of Pythagoras, who is reported to have been a stone engraver and to have come from Tuscia, or Etruria.

II. Manner and way of
representing their gods
and heroes

This section's second segment, which deals with the representation of Etruscan gods and heroes, comprehends, rather than the whole range of all the accounts we have, only the useful ones and observations that are insufficiently known and closer to my purposes.

A. Some they had in
common with the Greeks

Among their images of deities are some representations that are unique to this people, though most are the same as the Greeks'. This shows that the Etruscans and Greeks had a common origin—namely, they both descended from the Pelasgians, as ancient writers report, and as modern ones confirm in learned investigations¹⁸—and that there always existed a certain degree of commerce between these peoples.

B. Their peculiar
representations were
sometimes odd, as with
the earliest Greeks

The picturing of various Etruscan gods may seem odd to us, but there were strange and extraordinary forms among the Greeks as well, as witnessed by the images on the chest of Kypselos, which Pausanias [(*Description of Greece* 5.17.7–5.19.7)] describes. For just as the heated and unbridled imagination of the first poets sought—in part to evoke attention and admiration, in part to stimulate passions—strange images and images that would make a greater impression on those as yet uncivilized men than tender ones, art likewise and for the same reasons shaped such forms. The Jupiter enveloped in horse dung, which the poet Pamphos conceived before the time of Homer,¹⁹ is no stranger than the Jupiter Apomuio [(avertor of flies)] or Muscarius [(fly swatter)] depicted in the art of the Greeks in the shape of a fly, with its wings forming his beard, its body his face, and on his head, instead of hair, is the head of a fly: he is found rendered thus on engraved gems.²⁰

C. Appearance of the
higher deities
a. With wings

The Etruscans represented and formed the higher deities in a worthy way, and I shall speak of their attributes first generally and later in detail. On an ancient paste and on a carnelian, both in the Stosch *museo*, Jupiter is depicted with wings, as he appears in his glory to Semele.²¹ Diana is shown winged by the earliest Greeks²² as well as by the Etruscans, and the wings that have been given to the nymphs of Diana on a funeral urn in the Campidoglio are presumably taken from their earliest images. The Etruscan Minerva has wings not only at the shoulders²³ but also on her feet,²⁴ and a British writer errs badly when he alleges that there are no instances of a winged Minerva, not even a literary reference to one.²⁵ Venus likewise is depicted with wings.²⁶ The Etruscans attached wings at the heads of other deities, such as Love, Proserpina, and the Furies. There are even chariots with wings;²⁷ but this they had in common with the Greeks too, for on Eleusian coins, Ceres sits in one such chariot, which is drawn by two serpents.²⁸

b. With thunderbolts

The Etruscans also gave nine deities a thunderbolt, as Pliny [the Elder] informs us,²⁹ though neither he nor anyone after him tells us which they were. But when we count the number of similarly armed Greek deities, we find the

same number. Among the gods (in addition to Jupiter), a thunderbolt was bestowed on the Apollo worshipped at Heliopolis in Assyria,³⁰ as well as the Apollo on a coin from the [Akarnanian] city of Thyrrheion.³¹ On an antique paste, Mars battling against the Titans has a thunderbolt,³² as does a Bacchus on an engraved gem — both in the Stosch *museo*.³³ A Bacchus on an Etruscan patera likewise has one.³⁴ So also do a Vulcan,³⁵ two small bronze figures of Pan in the College of Saint Ignatius in Rome, and a Herakles on a coin from Naxos. Among goddesses, Cybele had a thunderbolt.³⁶ Pallas did too according to Servius,³⁷ and she is depicted as such on coins by Pyrrhus [of Epirus]³⁸ and on other coins and in a small marble figure of her in the Villa Negroni. I can also think of a Love wielding a thunderbolt on the shield of Alcibiades.³⁹

Among particular depictions of individual male deities, we should note an Apollo with a hat tossed back from his head onto his shoulders,⁴⁰ just as Zethos, the brother of Amphion, is depicted on two reliefs in Rome;⁴¹ presumably, this is an allusion to his time as a shepherd for the king Admetos, because farmers or country people wore hats.⁴² Thus would the Greeks have represented Aristaios, the son of Apollo and Cyrene, who taught beekeeping;⁴³ Hesiod calls him the “Field Apollo” [(*Apollo pastoralis*)].⁴⁴ The hats were white.⁴⁵ On a few Etruscan works, Mercury has a pointed and forward-curving beard, which is the oldest form of their beards. This is how this god appears in the engraving of an altar on the Campidoglio shown at the beginning of this chapter [(see no. 10)] and on the large triangular altar in the Villa Borghese. The earliest Greek statues of Mercury would have been depicted likewise; for such a beard, only wedge-shaped, that is, wide and pointed like a wedge, persists on their herms. On gems of undisputed Etruscan origin, Mercury is found wearing a helmet on his head, and among the other emblems associated with him is a short, sickle-shaped sword, similar to the one usually held by Saturn and with which the latter castrated his father, Uranus; of the same type was the sword with which the Lycians and Carians were armed in the armies of Xerxes.⁴⁶ This sword of Mercury refers to the decapitation of Argus, for on a gem with Etruscan writing in the Stosch *museo*, Mercury holds the sword in his right hand and in the left, the head of Argus, dripping blood.⁴⁷ In addition, on an Etruscan scarab in the same *museo*, we find Mercury with a whole tortoise instead of a hat.⁴⁸ In the description of this work, I cited a marble head of this deity with the shell of a tortoise on his head, and later I found that a figure at Thebes in Egypt is also represented with such a head covering.⁴⁹

Among goddesses, a Juno on the previously mentioned Etruscan altar in the Villa Borghese is especially noteworthy; she holds a large pair of pincers with both hands, which is how she was represented by the Greeks as well.⁵⁰ This was a Juno Martialis, and the pincers probably allude to a special kind of battle formation for assaults, which is called a *pincer* («*forceps*»). One says, “to fight in the manner of a pincer” («*forcipe et serra proeliari*»)⁵¹ when an army divides itself during battle in such a way that it encloses the enemy in its midst and holds this formation while advancing into combat even if attacked

D. Appearance of individual deities
a. Of the male sex

b. Of the female sex

from the rear. Venus was fashioned with a dove in her hand,⁵² and a clothed Venus was presented in this way on the previously mentioned altar. On the same work, there is a clothed goddess who has a flower in her hand, which could signify another Venus, for she holds a flower on a round work on the Campidoglio to be discussed below. Venus is also represented thus on one of the two beautiful triangular marble candelabras, each showing six deities, in the Palazzo Barberini: these are of Greek workmanship, however. But a statue with a dove that Spence claims to have seen in Rome not long before my time is now, at least, no longer there.⁵³ He believed it to be a Genius from Naples, and he cited two passages of a poet with regard to it. Someone also refers to a small supposedly Etruscan Venus holding an apple in the gallery at Florence; with regard to the apple, it is perhaps the same as with the violin of a small bronze Apollo in the same collection, about the antiquity of which Addison should not have been in doubt, for it is obviously a modern addition. The three Graces are clothed, as with the earliest Greeks, on the Borghese altar that we have referred to several times already; they catch hold of one another and seem to be dancing. Gori supposes that he finds them nude on a patera.⁵⁴

E. The heroes on Etruscan monuments

I reiterate my earlier remark that I do not wish to present a history of Etruscan deities: but, to date, we have found few heroes represented by their artists, and these are taken not from their own people but from the Greeks. The well-known ones are five of the seven heroes who marched against Thebes. In addition, Tydeus, one of the seven, is represented independently, as is Peleus, the father of Achilles, and Achilles himself. These figures have their names inscribed in the Etruscan language, and the gems themselves are described in the following section. This depiction of heroes taken from another people gives us reason to surmise that, with regard to heroic legends, the Etruscans and Greeks comported themselves like the Italians and Provençals. The first novels or heroic poems and love poetry were written in Provence in France during the Middle Ages, and from these other peoples, including the Italians, created their own. Similarly, it seems that the Etruscans were not especially skilled in this aspect of the poet's art, and thus Greek heroes took precedence over their own heroes as subjects for Etruscan artists. Their deities have their own Etruscan names, but the heroes retain their Greek names, which were changed in some respects by the Etruscans' pronunciation of these words.

III. Outline of the principal works of Etruscan art

The third segment of this preliminary section offers an outline of the principal works of Etruscan art and their workmanship, and it is historical, that is, the works are described according to their type and figures. The particular investigation and evaluation of their artistic merit belongs to the next section, however. Yet I must bewail here our defective knowledge, due to which we cannot always venture to distinguish Etruscan works from the earliest Greek ones. On the one hand, we are made uncertain by the similarity of Etruscan and Greek works, which was discussed in the first chapter; on the other hand, there have been some works discovered in Tuscany that look like Greek works from a good period.

The works to be considered are figures and statues, reliefs, engraved gems, coins, and painted earthenware vessels; the latter will be discussed in the third and last section of this chapter.

The word *figure* here encompasses smaller bronze works as well as representations of animals. The former are not rare in *musei*, and the author himself possesses several. Among them are pieces whose shape and appearance indicate that they are from the earliest period of Etruscan art, as will be shown in the next section. Of the animals, the largest and most important is the bronze Chimera in the gallery at Florence, which joins together a full-size lion and a goat;⁵⁵ the Etruscan script on it betokens an artist of this people.

Of the statues, that is, figures under or at life-size, some are bronze and some are marble. Among the bronze works are two statues that are Etruscan and two that are reputed to be. The first two works have indisputable distinguishing features. One, about four *palmi* high, is in the Palazzo Barberini; it is presumably a Genius, for he cradles a cornucopia in his left arm, and when a male nude, with or without a beard, has this and no other attribute, he is, even in Greek works, always a Genius. The other, which is in the gallery at Florence, is a putative haruspex dressed as a Roman senator;⁵⁶ Etruscan script is engraved on the hem of the cloak. The first figure is undoubtedly from the earliest period; the latter, however, is from a later time, which I surmise from the smooth chin. Because this statue, as we see, was formed after a living figure and represents a specific person, it would have had a beard in earlier periods, for a beard was then universally worn by the Etruscans as well as by the first Romans.⁵⁷ The other two bronze statues, which could be either Greek or Etruscan works, are a Minerva and a presumed Genius, both life-size. The lower half of the Minerva is badly damaged, but the head as well as the breast are perfectly preserved, and in form it is similar to a Greek work in every way.⁵⁸ The place where this statue was found—namely, Arezzo in Tuscany—is the only basis for surmising that the work was made by an Etruscan artist. The Genius resembles a life-size young man and was found in Pesaro, on the Adriatic Sea, in 1530.⁵⁹ Yet one supposes this work to be Etruscan rather than Greek, notwithstanding the fact that this city was a colony of Greece. Gori thinks he can identify the work of an Etruscan artist in the fashioning of the hair, and he somewhat inappropriately compares the way it lies to fish scales. But the hair on some heads in hard stone or bronze in Rome and on some Herculanean busts is worked in precisely the same way. This statue, moreover, is one of the most beautiful bronze works that has come down to us from antiquity.

The best Etruscan marble statues, in my view, are the so-called vestal in the Palazzo Giustiniani;⁶⁰ a presumed priest in the Villa Albani; a statue that portrays a woman in late pregnancy in the Villa Mattei; two statues of Apollo, one on the Campidoglio,⁶¹ the other in the Palazzo Conti; and an Etruscan Diana in the Herculanean *museo* at Portici.

With regard to the vestal, it is not credible that such a figure, on which not even the feet are visible, would have been transported from Greece to Rome,

A. Small figures in bronze, and animals

B. Statues in bronze and marble

because Pausanias's reports make it clear that the oldest Greek works were left undisturbed. The folds of her robe fall in vertical lines. The second statue is ten *palmi* high and larger than life-size; the folds of the sleeveless robe run parallel and lie flattened over one another; the sleeves of the tunic are set into crimped, pressed folds, as I shall discuss at the end of the following section and in the next chapter in relation to female dress. The hair over the forehead lies in small curled locks, like snail shells, as is generally the case on the heads of herms, and in front, four long serpentine strips of hair hang down over the shoulders on each side; in the back, the hair, which is pulled completely straight and bound back at a distance from the head, hangs below the band in five long locks that lie together and to some extent take the form of a bag-wig one and one-half *palmi* long. The pose of this statue is perfectly straight, as with Egyptian figures. The third statue probably represents a patroness of pregnant women and women in labor, such as Juno was as well. She stands with her feet parallel and close together in a straight line, and she holds her belly with both her crossed hands. The folds of her dress are dead straight and are not hollowed out, as with the vestal, but indicated only by incisions. The two Apollos are somewhat larger than life-size, and each has a quiver hanging from the tree trunk against which he stands. Both are fashioned in the same style, with the only difference being that one seems earlier—at least the hair over the forehead, which on this one is in small curls, is worked more freely on the other. The Apollo in the Palazzo Conti was discovered about forty years ago, during the time of the pope of that house [(Innocent XIII)], on the promontory of Circeum, now called Monte Circeo, between Nettuno and Terracina.⁶² The Romans occupied this promontory already under their kings, for [Lucius] Tarquinius Superbus sent a colony there;⁶³ and in the first treaty between Rome and Carthage, which was concluded under the first consuls L[ucius] Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius [Pulvillus], the inhabitants of Circeii [(San Felice Circeo)] are named among those of the four Roman cities on the sea that the Romans did not want disturbed by the Carthaginians.⁶⁴ These same words were repeated in a later treaty between these two parties.⁶⁵ [Philipp] Clüver, [Christoph] Cellarius, and others have not touched on this matter. The first treaty was concluded twenty-eight years before the campaign of Xerxes against the Greeks, and the statue in question, if it were Greek, must have been made before this time, judging from what I know of Greek art. Yet the promontory of Circeum, which was inhabited by the Volsci,⁶⁶ had neither fellowship nor trade with the Greeks, particularly at this time, but it did with the Etruscans, their neighbors. Thus, given the period and place, this Apollo should be regarded as an Etruscan work. The sixth marble statue, Diana depicted running, is half life-size or five *palmi* high, clothed, and painted. The corners of her mouth are turned up, and the chin is small; we see very clearly, however, that this was not intended to be a portrait or any specific person but is instead an imperfect vision of beauty. Her hair hangs over the forehead in small locks, and on the sides it hangs in long strips down below the shoulders; in the back, it is bound back at a distance from the

head. Around the hair is a diadem, like a ring, on which eight red roses are set in relief. Her clothing is painted white. The shirt, or tunic, has wide sleeves, which are set into crimped or pinched folds, and the vest, or short cloak, has flattened, parallel folds, as does the robe. The outer edge of the robe's hem is bordered with a small gold stripe, and directly above is a broad, lacquer-colored stripe with white flowers, indicating embroidery. Above this is a third stripe, also lacquer-colored; the hem of the robe is painted in the same color. The quiver strap over the shoulder is red, like the straps of the sandals. This statue was also mentioned in the first chapter. It once stood in a small temple, or chapel, that belonged to a villa in the ancient buried city of Pompeii.

Of works executed in relief, I will content myself with selecting and describing [four]. The first is the oldest not only of the Etruscan reliefs but also of all the reliefs in Rome. It stands in the Villa Albani and likely represents Juno Lucina, or the goddess Rumilia, a protectress of suckling children; the footstool for her feet indicates that this figure should be above the status of an ordinary human. She holds a small child who stands upright on her lap; before her stands the mother, who holds the child's walking strap, and beside the mother are her two daughters, of different ages and sizes. The second relief is a round work on the Campidoglio, in the shape of an altar, with the figures of the twelve higher gods, which were also shown in relief on an altar in Athens.⁶⁷ Among them is a youthful Vulcan, without a beard, who is lifting an axe and about to open the forehead of Jupiter, from which Minerva will spring forth. In the earliest times, Vulcan was represented, as were Jupiter and Asklepios,⁶⁸ without a beard on Etruscan sacrificial bowls⁶⁹ and gems,⁷⁰ as well as on Greek coins from the city of Lipari (in the *museo* of [Giovanni] Carafa, duca di Noja, in Naples) and on Roman coins⁷¹ and lamps.⁷² The supposition that this is an Etruscan artwork is based in part on the shape and former use of the work, for it is hollow (which is not apparent now because of the marble vase placed on it) and cannot therefore be an altar. Rather, it must have served as a brim or mouth of a well (*«bocca di pozzo»*), similar to several that have been found in Rome and in Herculaneum, especially as on its inner edge, as with these others, there are hollow grooves worn by the cord of a pail. Thus, this work could hardly have been made in Greece. I must note here, however, that Cicero had well brims with reliefs made for him in Athens, if we follow the accepted reading of a letter to his friend Atticus.⁷³ Other ancient well brims, of which two are in the Villa Albani, are decorated with delicately worked flower garlands with wandering ivy and vessels pouring out water. Pausanias speaks of a Ceres who was represented by Pamphos, one of the earliest artists, as she was sitting at a well after the rape of her daughter, Proserpina;⁷⁴ apparently this was a relief on the brim of the well.⁷⁵ The third relief is a round altar on the Campidoglio, which is depicted at the start of this chapter [(see no. 10)]. Three deities are on it: Apollo with his bow and with an arrow in his right hand; a bearded Mercury with a caduceus; and Diana with a bow and quiver and with a torch in her hand. We note here in passing the shape of the bow, which is curved only at the tips and is otherwise

C. Reliefs

study [(actually at the end of the second section of this chapter; see no. 11)].⁸¹ The other gem depicts Peleus, the father of Achilles, with his name, as he washes his hair in a fountain that probably represents the river Spercheios in Thessaly [(see no. 15)].⁸² He had vowed that he would cut off the hair of his son Achilles and dedicate it to the river if Achilles returned safely from Troy. Likewise, the boys of Phigalia cut off their hair and dedicated it to the river at that place,⁸³ and Leukippos allowed his hair to grow for the river Alpheus.⁸⁴ In view of the Greek heroes on Etruscan works, one remembers here what Pindar says of Peleus in particular—that there was no land so remote and so different in language that the fame of this hero, the son-in-law of the gods, had not reached it.⁸⁵

Among the coins are some of the most ancient monuments of Etruscan art, and I have two of these before me that belong to an artist in Rome who has a *museo* of sought-after and rare Greek coins. They are made of a composite whitish metal and are very well preserved. One has an animal that appears to be a stag on the one side, and on the other side are two forward-facing figures that resemble each other and hold a staff. These must represent the first attempts of their art. The legs are two lines that end in a round dot, denoting feet. The left arm, which holds nothing, is a slightly bent line running straight down from the shoulder and extending almost to the feet. The genitals are a little shorter; on the oldest coins and gems, they are unusually long on animals as well. The face is in the shape of a goat's head. The other coin has a head on one side, a horse on the other.

E. Coins

This outline of Etruscan works is presented according to type, which is the easiest index and one not tied to any system. Yet in terms of artistic intention and time of execution, according to which these works will be considered in the next section, they can be arranged in the following order. The just-mentioned coins, the relief and statue in the Villa Albani, the bronze Genius in the Palazzo Barberini, and the pregnant woman in the Villa Mattei belong to the earliest period and to the first style. The two Apollos at the Campidoglio and the Palazzo Conti, the well with the twelve deities on the Campidoglio, the round altar with three deities along with the rectangular altar with the labors of Herakles which are also there, and the large triangular altar in the Villa Borghese, likewise the engraved gems I described, belong to the next period. The bronze statues in the gallery at Florence appear to be from the last period of Etruscan art. The contrary of this ranking and this order is difficult to imagine, though I could be wrong. But it is at least certain that the works that I placed in the first class have distinguishing features of a style earlier and simpler than the works in the second class, and that works in the third class surpass those.

As an addendum to this segment, I offer an analysis of a report on twelve porphyry urns, which are said to have been at Chiusi, in Tuscany, but which are now to be found neither at this location nor elsewhere in Tuscany or Italy. It would be especially remarkable if one could show that the Etruscans had worked in porphyry; it could have been a stone like it, as Leandro Alberti calls

F. Addendum on alleged Etruscan porphyry urns

one such stone, which is found near Volterra, porphyry.⁸⁶ Gori, who cites this report from a manuscript in the library of the Strozzi in Florence, also mentions an inscription on one of these urns.⁸⁷ Because this report seemed dubious to me, I have had a complete transcription of it made from the original. The thing itself and the age of the manuscript both give rise to suspicion. For it is not credible that the grand dukes of Tuscany, who have all been very attentive to anything pertaining to art and to antiquity, would have let such rare pieces leave the country, especially as the urns would have been discovered around the middle of the last century. The letters of which the Strozzi manuscript consists were all written between 1653 and 1660, and the letter containing the report, written by one monk to another, dates to 1657. I therefore believe the story to be a monks' tale. Gori himself has made changes to it. First, he has not given accurately the cited dimensions of the urns: the letter speaks of their being two *braccio* in height and also in length (one Florentine *braccia* equals two and one-half Roman *palmi*), but the only dimension Gori furnishes is three *palmi*. Moreover, in the original, the inscription does not appear very Etruscan; the Etruscan form and shape was given to it in the printed version.

Section Two: The Style of Etruscan Artists

Section two. The style of
Etruscan artists
I. General memorandum
on it

After the preliminary matter given in the first section of this chapter on the external circumstances and causes for Etruscan art and on the representation of their gods and heroes, and after the listing of their works of art, I now direct the reader's attention to the characteristics and distinguishing features of the art of this people and their works, that is, to the style of the Etruscan artists, which is the subject of this second section.

Here it should be recalled, in general, that the distinguishing features that differentiate the Etruscan style from the earliest Greek style—which, except for the drawing, may be derived from incidental things such as customs and dress—may be deceptive. The Athenians, said [Publius Aelius] Aristides,⁸⁸ made the weapons of Pallas in exactly the form that the goddess herself specified: nonetheless, we cannot infer that a work is Greek from a Greek helmet on Pallas or any other figure. For so-called Greek helmets also are to be found on undisputed Etruscan works, like the one worn by a Minerva on the oft-cited triangular altar in the Villa Borghese and on a bowl with Etruscan writing in the *museo* of the College of Saint Ignatius in Rome.⁸⁹

II. Different stages and
periods therein

The style of Etruscan artists did not always remain the same, but, like that of Egyptian and Greek artists, had different stages and periods, from the simple forms of their earliest period to the blossoming of their art, which at long last was improved, it is very likely, by the imitation of Greek works and assumed a form quite different from that of earlier periods. These different stages of Etruscan art should be well noted and precisely distinguished in order to arrive at a system comprehending them. Finally, after the Etruscans had been subjugated for a considerable time to the Romans, their art declined. This can be observed in the twenty-nine bronze bowls in the *museo* of the

College of Saint Ignatius in Rome: those on which the writing is closer to Roman writing and language are more badly designed and executed than are the earlier ones. From these small pieces, however, nothing much more definite is to be adduced; and as the fall of art is in itself not a style, I abide by the previously established three periods.

As with Egyptian art, we can fix three different styles of Etruscan art as well: the earlier style, the succeeding style, and, third, the style improved by the imitation of Greek art. For all three styles, we shall speak, first, of the drawing of the nude and, second, of clothed figures. Yet as their manner of dress was not very different from the Greeks', the few remarks that are to be made specifically about it and its decoration can be gathered at the end of this second section.

The characteristics of the first, earlier style of the Etruscan artists are, first, the straight lines of their drawing, together with the stiff poses and strained gestures of their figures; and, second, the imperfect concept of facial beauty. The first characteristic subsists in the fact that the contours of the figures barely rise and fall, and this causes the figures to appear thin and spindly (even though Catullus mentions "the plump Etruscan"⁹⁰) because the muscles are scarcely indicated; the style thus lacks variety. The stiff poses are partly explained by the drawing but chiefly by the ignorance that prevailed in earliest times, for variety in pose and action cannot be expressed and formed without a sufficient knowledge of the body or without freedom of drawing. Art begins, like wisdom, with self-knowledge. The second characteristic—that is, the imperfect concept of facial beauty—was found in the earliest art of the Greeks as well as that of the Etruscans. The form of the head is a prolate oval, which seems narrow due to the pointed chin. The eyes are either flat or drawn diagonally upward, and they lie level with the eye sockets.

These characteristics are precisely the same as those we have ascribed to the earliest Egyptian figures, and thus the passages by ancient writers cited in the first chapter regarding the similarity of Egyptian and Etruscan figures become more intelligible. The figures of this style are like a simply cut robe of straight pieces to which those who made and wore it adhered for a while: those who made it were without airs, and those who wore it found it sufficient covering; the first artist drew a figure in this way, and others drew following him. A certain facial type was also adopted, from which artists deviated all the less because the first images were of deities, which had all to look alike. Art at that time was like a bad system of instruction, which produces blind followers and allows neither doubt nor scrutiny. Drawing was like Anaxagoras's sun, which both the master and the students took to be a stone, despite all sensory evidence. Nature should have instructed the artists, but custom had become nature to them and thus art was different from nature.

This first style is to be found in many small bronze figures, and some are very similar to Egyptian figures, in that the arms hang down close to the sides and the feet stand parallel. The statue in the Villa Mattei as well as the relief in the Villa Albani have all the characteristics of this style. The drawing of the

A. The earlier style and its characteristics

Genius in the Palazzo Barberini is very flat and without any particular indication of the parts. The feet are in a straight line, and the hollow eyes are flatly open and drawn somewhat upward. The gown on the statue in the Villa Mattei and on the figures of the relief could not have been more simply conceived, and the slightly incised folds are drawn as with a comb. An attentive observer of the essential in antiquities will find this first style also in some other works that do not stand in such famous and frequently visited places in Rome; see, for instance, the male figure sitting on a chair in a small relief in the courtyard of the Capponi residence.

B. Outline of the transition
from this style to the
succeeding one

Yet Etruscan artists left this style behind as they achieved greater technical knowledge. Initially, they, like the earliest Greeks, seem to have made more clothed than nude figures, but later they began to represent the nude more. Still, it seems from some small bronze figures that are naked except for the genitals, which are concealed in a pouch that is tied with bands around the hips, that it was contrary to decorum to represent a figure completely nude.

If we were to judge from the earliest Etruscan engraved gems, we would believe that the first style was not universal, at least among gem carvers, given that on the figures on gems, everything is bulbous and globular, which would be the opposite of the previously noted distinguishing features of the first style. But one does not contradict the other, for if Etruscan gems were cut, like now, with the wheel, as their appearance seems to indicate, then in turning the easiest way to work and finish a figure is to make the parts rounded, and presumably the earliest gem carvers did not know how to work with very sharply pointed tools: the globular forms were thus not an artistic tenet but the result of a technical process. Nonetheless, their carved gems initially were the opposite of their first and earliest figures in marble and bronze, and it is apparent from the former that the improvement of art commenced with strong expression and with the sensitive indication of the parts on their figures, which also appears in some marble works; and this is the distinguishing feature of the best periods of their art.

We cannot determine exactly when this later style became fully formed, but it is probable that it coincided with the improvement of Greek art. We may regard the period before and during the age of Pheidias as being like the revival of the arts and sciences in more recent times: it did not commence in a single country and spread to other lands; instead, the whole nature of humankind seemed to spring to life at that time in every land, and great inventions came forth all at once. During this period in Greece, this was true for every branch of knowledge, and it seems that at that time a universal spirit, one that inspired and animated the arts in particular, also flowed over other civilized peoples.

C. The second style of
Etruscan artists and its
characteristics

Let us proceed, therefore, from the first and most ancient Etruscan style to the succeeding and second style. Its characteristics and distinguishing features are both a palpable indication of the figure and its parts and a forced pose and action, which in some figures was violent and exaggerated. With regard to the first characteristic, the muscles bulge and rise like hills; the bones are sharply

drawn and rendered much too prominently, in a way that makes the style hard and awkward. It should be noted, however, that the two properties of this characteristic—namely, the strong indication of both muscles and bones—are not invariably found together in all works of this style. In marble works, because only divine figures have been preserved, the muscles are not always so conspicuous, although the sharp, hard cut of the calf muscles is seen on all. But, generally speaking, the Greeks called more attention to the expression and indication of muscles, while the Etruscans emphasized the bones. And if I were to evaluate a rare and beautifully engraved gem on this basis and see a few bones too sharply drawn, I would be inclined to regard it as an Etruscan work, even if in other respects it would do honor to a Greek artist. This is the case for the gem located at the beginning of the third section of the next chapter [(actually at the beginning of chapter 4; see no. 14)]; it depicts Theseus after he had slain Phaia, as is related by Plutarch.⁹¹ Twenty years ago, this carnelian could have been found at the royal Farnese *museo* at Capodimonte in Naples, but it was stolen some time ago—as has happened with other beautiful gems there, before and since. In the Stosch *museo*, there is an engraved carnelian with the same image.⁹² That gem can also serve as an example to the reader of the uncertainty involved in distinguishing between Etruscan and Greek works of the earlier style. The second stylistic characteristic cannot be subsumed under a single concept, for being forced and being violent are not one and the same. This relates not only to the pose, action, and expression but also to the movement of all parts. An action can be forced, but so also can the rudest pose. Being forced is the opposite of being natural; being violent is contrary to decency and to decorum. The first is also an attribute of the first style, but the latter characterizes this style in particular. Violence of pose derives from the first attribute, for to obtain the desired strong expression and palpable emphasis, artists place the figures in the positions and actions in which these qualities are most strikingly visible. They choose violence instead of calm and stillness, and feeling is, as it were, inflated and driven to its extreme limits.

The comment that Pindar made with regard to Vulcan—that he was born without grace⁹³—could to a certain extent be applied to the figures of this style as well as the first. In general, this second style, compared with the Greek style of a good period, can be viewed as a young man who lacks the advantages of a careful education and whose desires and ebullient spirit, which impel him toward furious action, have been left unchecked, compared with a beautiful youth in whom, by virtue of a wise education and learned instruction, the fire has been controlled and who will impart, through his well-bred manner, a greater elevation to the excellent appearance provided by nature herself. This second style can also be called—as one says today—*mannered*, which means nothing other than the use of a uniform character for all figures. Apollo, Mars, Herakles, and Vulcan, for instance, are not rendered differently in Etruscan works. Now, because a uniform character amounts to no character, one can apply to Etruscan artists Aristotle's censure of Zeuxis,

namely, that they had no character⁹⁴—which explains, at the same time, the philosopher's previously unintelligible evaluation of artists.

D. Elucidation of this

To a certain extent, the previously mentioned characteristics of this style are today still characteristic of this nation, which tends toward trifles. This is evident in their style of writing, which is often very stilted and affected, and appears dry and barren against the pure clarity of the Romans; the same is especially apparent in art. The style of their ancient artists can still be seen in works of their descendants, and the impartial and discerning eye will find it in the drawing of Michelangelo, the greatest among them. Therefore, someone has said, not without reason, that once one has seen one figure by this artist, one has seen them all.⁹⁵ This trait is also undoubtedly one of the imperfections of Daniele da Volterra, Pietro da Cortona, and others. By contrast, the best Roman artists, Raphael and his school, who drew from the same source as the others, always come closer, in the lightness of their figures, to the Greeks.

What I have said with regard to this style can be more clearly shown through their works—on a bearded Mercury on the Borghese altar, who is muscled like a powerful Herakles, but particularly on the Tydeos [(see no. 11)] and the Peleus [(see no. 15)]. Their collarbones and ribs, the cartilage of their elbows and knees, the joints of their hands and feet, are as prominently rendered as the curves of their arms and shinbones; on Tydeos, even the point of the breastbone is made visible. All the muscles are in violent motion on Peleus as well, where there is less justification for it than on Tydeos; on the latter, even the muscles under the arms are not forgotten. The forced pose is evident as well in the engraving published here of the round altar on the Campidoglio [(see no. 10)] and in several figures on the altar in the Villa Borghese. The feet of the front-facing deities are placed parallel and close together, and those of the deities in profile are in a straight line, one behind the other. The hands are generally unrefined and forced, and if a figure holds something with the two anterior fingers, the others stick out stiff and straight. The violent pose of Tydeos has more justification than that of Peleus, but in the latter it is done to achieve a strong expression of the parts. With such a great technical knowledge and skill of execution as that seen in these stones, the heads drawn by these artists should not have lacked the high concept of beauty, but the opposite is the case: the head of the Tydeos is taken from vulgar nature, and the eyes are unusually large; however, the head of the Peleus is more distorted than his body and does not have even a tolerable appearance.

E. The later style of Etruscan artists

More would have to be said about the third style in a specialized treatise on Etruscan art, and that which is unique to Greek art, and which was imitated in this style, could be applied to enhance understanding of Etruscan figures in this style. But in a general investigation of the art of all peoples, which this book comprehends, this would be superfluous. Some of the foremost Etruscan artworks that, I believe, date to the last period have been mentioned above, namely, the three bronze statues in the gallery at Florence. Among other funeral urns, the four made of alabaster that were found in Volterra in 1761 and are now in the Villa Albani also appear to be from this period. They

are only three *palmi* long and one *palmo* wide, and therefore could have served only for keeping ashes. On their lids the deceased person is represented, half life-size, with a raised body supported on one arm. Three of the deceased hold a bowl, and one a drinking horn. The feet of these figures appear as if sawed off, because there was not enough space on the lid.

About Etruscan clothing, I have only the following to note. On marble figures, the cloak is never thrown freely but always lies in parallel folds, which run either vertically or diagonally. Yet a freely thrown cloak is visible on two of the five Greek heroes [(see no. 1)]; thus we can draw no general conclusions from these works. The sleeves of the female tunic are often broken into very small, pinched folds, in the manner of the Italian surplices («*rocchetti*») worn by cardinals and the canons of some churches; those in Germany can understand what I mean by thinking of the round paper lanterns in which such folds are made so that they can be expanded or collapsed. The previously noted male statue in the Villa Albani also has the same sleeves. The hair of most male and female figures is divided so that the portion that falls from the crown of the head is bound in the back, while the other portions fall in strips over the shoulders in front—a style found in earlier times among other peoples as well. This was indicated in the previous chapter on the Egyptians and will also be noted in the following one on the Greeks.

F. Clothing of Etruscan figures

[no. 11]

Section Three: The Art of the Peoples Bordering on the Etruscans

The third section of this chapter brings together reflections on the art of the peoples bordering on the Etruscans—namely, the Samnites, the Volsci, and, in particular, the Campanians, for among the latter art flourished no less than among the Etruscans. The conclusion of this section discusses some figures from the island of Sardinia.

[no. 12]

Section three. The art of the peoples bordering on the Etruscans

Of the artworks of the Samnites and the Volsci, nothing has been preserved, as far as we can tell, except for a few coins; from the Campanians, however, there exist coins and painted earthenware vessels. I can therefore make only some general remarks regarding the constitution and way of life of the first two, from which something about their art could be inferred. I shall do this first, and then treat the artworks of the Campanians.

I. Of the Samnites

The art of these first two peoples probably followed the example of their language, which was Oscan:⁹⁶ when it is not regarded as a dialect of Etruscan, at the very least it would not have been very different. But just as we do not know the difference between the vernaculars of these peoples, so we also are deficient in the learning needed, if perchance something of their coins and engraved gems had been preserved, to recognize their distinguishing features.

The Samnites loved splendor and—though a warlike people—were very devoted to the sensual pleasures of life.⁹⁷ In war, some of their shields were inlaid with gold, others with silver.⁹⁸ And at a time when the Romans seem not to have known much about linen, select Samnite men wore linen robes, even in the field,⁹⁹ like the Spanish in Hannibal's army, who decked themselves in purple.¹⁰⁰ Livy reports that in their war with the Romans under the

consul Lucius Papirius Cursor, the entire encampment of the Samnites, which spread over a square measuring two hundred paces on each side, was covered with linen cloth.¹⁰¹ Capua, which had been built by the Etruscans¹⁰² but was, according to Livy, a Samnite city¹⁰³ (that is, it was taken from the former by the latter, as he states elsewhere¹⁰⁴), was famed for its voluptuousness and effeminacy.

II. Of the Volsci

The Volsci, like the Etruscans and other neighboring peoples, had an aristocratic government.¹⁰⁵ They therefore elected a king, or army leader, only at the onset of a war,¹⁰⁶ and the Samnites' organization was similar to Sparta's and Crete's. The large population of this nation is evidenced even now by the numerous ruins of destroyed cities on the hills in the area, and their power by the history of their many bloody wars with the Romans, who could not subdue them until after twenty-four triumphs. Their large population and their splendor awakened their brains and their industriousness, and their freedom elevated their minds—circumstances that are all very favorable to art.

In the earliest times, the Romans employed artists from both peoples. [Lucius] Tarquinius Priscus summoned from Fregellae, in the land of the Volsci, an artist named Turrianus, who made a terra-cotta statue of Jupiter; and from the similarity of a coin of the Servilian dynasty in Rome to a Samnite one, we can surmise that the former were minted by artists of this nation.¹⁰⁷ A very ancient coin from the Volscian town of Anxur, now Terracina, has a beautiful head of Pallas.¹⁰⁸

III. Of the Campanians

The Campanians were a people in whom the mild climate that they enjoyed and the fertile soil that they cultivated instilled voluptuousness. This land, as well as that of the Samnites, was in the earliest times considered a part of Etruria; however, the people did not belong to the body of the Etruscan state but instead existed independently. The Greeks came later and settled in the region and introduced their arts. This can be shown even now by the coins of Cumae,¹⁰⁹ which are more ancient than the Greek coins of Neapolis.

A. Their coins

As for Campanian works of art, the best known are their coins from Capua and Teano, which have inscriptions in the Campanian language.¹¹⁰ The head of a young Herakles on coins from both cities, and the head of a Jupiter on those from Capua, are beautifully conceived. A Victory in a quadriga on coins from this city is stamped most beautifully.

B. Their painted vessels

Among the Campanian painted vessels, I also include here all the so-called Etruscan ones, because most were excavated in Campania, and at Nola in particular. The Etruscans certainly were the masters of Italy from the Alps to the straits of Sicily in the earliest times, as Livy reports; but we cannot for this reason call these vessels Etruscan, for the best ones must be from later and better periods of art. The Etruscan vessels from Arezzo were famous,¹¹¹ however, just as those from Perugia are now. It also cannot be denied that on many vessels, especially on small bowls, the drawing is very similar to that of the Etruscans: some ideas, such as the fauns with long horses' tails, found in Etruscan bronze figures as well as on these vessels could also have been peculiar to the Campanians, however. It is certain that all large collections of such vessels come

from and were assembled in the kingdom of Naples, such as that of the marchese [Felice Maria] Mastrilli in Naples, which consists of some one hundred pieces. Another member of this house who lives in Nola has put together an excellent collection in the same place, and on one of his vessels, which depicts two figures about to hit each other, one reads ΚΑΛΛΙΚΛΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, „the beautiful Kallikles.“ The collection that is in the library of the Theatines at Santi Apostoli in Nola was owned by a well-known Neapolitan jurist, Giuseppe Valletta, who was also the owner of the large and beautiful collection of such vessels in the Vatican library. Cardinal [Filippo Antonio] Gualterio purchased the latter collection from Valletta's heir and bequeathed it to the place where it is now. Among the collections that also deserve mention is that which Anton Raphael Mengs has selected and assembled in Naples, consisting of some three hundred pieces.

There are three vessels in the Mastrilli collection and one bowl in the royal *museo* at Naples bearing Greek writing, something that will be discussed in the next chapter. From this is illuminated as well with what little foundation we use the general name of Etruscan vessels, by which they have been known until now. It has been asserted nonetheless that even in more recent times, there were to be found pieces of painted earthenware vessels with the name ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ [(Agathokles)] that should be attributed to this famous king, who was the son of a potter.

Among these vessels are to be found every kind and shape, from the smallest, which must have served as playthings for children, to vessels of three to four *palmi* high. The sundry forms of the larger ones appear in books, where they have been engraved. The uses of these vessels were varied. Sacrificial clay vessels, especially those of Vesta, have been preserved:¹¹² some served as receptacles for the ashes of the dead, like most of those found in underground tombs, in particular those found near the town of Nola, not far from Naples. This is also illustrated on a beautiful vessel in Mengs's *museo* that had been preserved, set inside another vessel, in ancient Capua: the vessel painted on it has the same form as the vessel itself and stands on a small hill that presumably represents a grave, like the graves of the oldest times.¹¹³ I take the opportunity to note here that a vessel filled with oil was placed beside the deceased and that such vessels were also painted on tombs.¹¹⁴ On each side of the painted vessel stands a young man who is naked except for a garment hanging from one shoulder and a sword tucked up under one arm, in the manner of heroic figures (which was then called ὑπωλείος [(under the arm or elbow)]).¹¹⁵ The faces are not idealized but seem to represent specific persons; they converse with one another with great sadness. We also know that in the earliest times of the Greeks, a simple vessel was the prize for victory in their games,¹¹⁶ as a vessel on coins from the city of Tralles¹¹⁷ and on many engraved gems indicates.¹¹⁸ The prizes in the Panathenaic games in Athens were painted vessels of fired clay, filled with oil, and the vessels at the top of a temple in Athens allude to them.¹¹⁹ But many vessels in antiquity probably were merely decorative, as is our porcelain today, which can be inferred in particular from

the fact that some that have no base still exist. Given the many figures who hold a scraper (*strigilis*), it seems that many of these vessels were made to be placed in baths.

On most vessels, the figures are painted in only a single color—more precisely, the color of the figure is the actual ground of the vessel, or the natural color of the fired, very fine clay itself, while the field of the painting, or the color between the figures, is a glossy black, which was also used to paint the outlines of the figures on the actual ground. Of vessels painted with more colors, there are, in addition to those in the Vatican library,¹²⁰ two in the gallery at Florence and two others in Mengs's *museo*. One of them, said to be the most erudite of all vessels, is a parody of the love of Jupiter and Alkmene, which is turned into ridicule and represented in a comic way, or it might be that painted here is the principal scene of a comedy, such as the *Amphitruo* of Plautus. Alkmene is looking out a window, as did those who sold their favors or were being coy and seeking to raise their price.¹²¹ The window is placed high up, in the manner of the ancients. Jupiter is disguised with a bearded white mask and wears on his head, like Serapis, a bushel («*modius*»), which is of a piece with the mask. He is carrying a ladder, between whose rungs he sticks his head, as if about to climb to the chamber of his beloved. On the other side is Mercury with a big belly, figured as a servant and disguised like Sosia in Plautus. In his left hand, he holds his staff upside down, as if he were concealing it in order not to be recognized. In the other hand, he carries a lamp, which he raises toward the window either to light Jupiter's way or to do what Delphis says to Simaitha in Theocritus, that is, to employ force with ax and lamp, and fire as well, if his beloved would deny him entrance.¹²² Mercury wears a large phallus, which also has its relevance here, and in ancient comedies the actors had tied in front a large sexual organ of red leather.¹²³ Both figures have white trousers and stockings that are all of a piece and extend down to the ankles, like the seated comic actor with a mask on his face in the Villa Mattei. In ancient comedies, people could not appear without trousers.¹²⁴ The bare skin of the figures [on the vessel] is flesh-colored save for the phallus, which is dark red, like the clothing of the figures and Alkmene's dress, which is decorated with little white stars. Garments embroidered with stars were already known to the Greeks of the earliest times: the hero Sosipolis was shown in one in a very ancient painting,¹²⁵ and Demetrios [I] Poliorketes wore a similar one.¹²⁶ An engraving of this vessel is illustrated at the beginning of the third section [(see nos. 12, 13)].

The drawing on most vessels is such that the figures might deservedly find a place in a drawing by Raphael, and it is remarkable that no two with identical images are to be found. Among the several hundred that I have seen, each vessel has its own particular representation. Whoever views and appreciates the masterly and delicate drawing on these vessels, and whoever understands the process for applying colors to such fired work, will find in this sort of painting the greatest proof of the general correctness as well as the facility of these artists in drawing. For their vessels are painted no differently than is our

pottery, that is, like common porcelain when, after it is baked, as one says, blue color is applied. Such painting must be done with skill and speed, for all burnt clay instantly draws the moisture from the colors and the brush, just as parched and thirsty soil absorbs the dew, such that if the contours are not drawn quickly with a single stroke, nothing but earthy matter is left in the brush. As one generally can detect no breaks or added and redrawn lines, it follows that each line of the contours of a figure must have been drawn without lifting the brush, which, in view of the quality of these figures, must seem almost miraculous. We must also consider that in this work no changes or improvements can occur; the contours must remain as they are drawn. Just as the smallest, most negligible insects are a wonder of nature, these vessels are the wonder of ancient art. And just as Raphael's first sketch of his ideas—the contour of a head or a whole figure drawn with a single unbroken sweep of a pen—reveals the master to the connoisseur no less than his finished drawings, so the great dexterity and assurance of ancient artists are seen in these vessels more than in any other works. A collection of them is a treasure trove of drawing.¹²⁷

The conclusion of this chapter seems to me the most convenient place to offer a few words about some bronze figures discovered on the island of Sardinia, which deserve some attention because of their appearance and high antiquity. A short time ago, two other similar figures were found on this island,¹²⁸ but those of which I speak are in the *museo* of the College of Saint Ignatius, a gift of Cardinal Alessandro Albani. There are four of them of different sizes, from one-half to two *palmi* high. Their form and appearance is completely barbaric, but they have at the same time the clearest signs of the highest antiquity in a country in which the arts never flourished. Their heads are elongated, with unusually large eyes and misshapen parts, and with long storklike necks, just as some of the ugliest small Etruscan figures in bronze are represented.

Two of the three smaller figures appear to be soldiers, though without helmets. Both have a short sword hanging on a strap slung over the head and across the chest itself, that is, from right to left. From the left shoulder hangs a short, narrow cloak, which consists of a narrow strip of fabric that extends to the middle of the thigh. It seems to be a rectangular cloth that can be folded; on its inner side, it is edged with a narrow raised border. This particular kind of garment is perhaps that peculiar to the ancient Sardinians alone and known as a *mastruca*.¹²⁹ The one figure holds in his hand a plate with what seems to be fruit.

The most remarkable of these figures is a soldier, almost two *palmi* high, with a short vest, like the former, with trousers and greaves covering the calves, which is the reverse of other greaves: whereas the Greeks protected their shins, these lie over the calves and are open in front. The legs of Castor and Pollux appear to be protected in the same way on a gem in the Stosch *museo*, where I have cited this figure for clarification.¹³⁰ With his left hand, this soldier holds a round shield in front of his body, but at some remove, and

IV. Remarks on some figures from the island of Sardinia

on his back are three arrows, the feathers of which stick out above the shield. In his [right] hand, he holds the bow. The chest is protected with a short cuirass, as are the shoulders with epaulets, a shoulder armor that one also sees on a vessel in the Mastrilli collection at Nola; these epaulets are shaped like those on the uniforms of our drummers. The head is covered with a flat cap, from the sides of which two long horns, like tusks, project forward and upward. Above the head, a basket hangs by two stretcher rods that rest on the horns and can be removed. He carries on his back the chassis of a wagon, with two small wheels, whose tongue is racked in a ring on his back, so that the wheels extend up over his head.

This tells us something we did not know about the practices of ancient peoples in waging war. The Sardinian soldier must have brought his own rations with him; however, he did not carry them on his shoulders, as Roman soldiers did, but rather pulled them behind him on a chassis, which supported the basket. After completing the campaign, when it was no longer needed, the soldier slipped the light chassis into the ring attached to his back and placed the basket on his head across the two horns. Presumably he went to battle as well with all the gear that we see, and the soldier was invariably depicted with all his appurtenances.

Conclusion to this chapter

To conclude this chapter, I invite the reader who might desire more light to have been shed in some places to consider that in comparing these ancient peoples of Italy with the Egyptians, we are like persons who are less learned in their mother tongue than in a foreign language. About Egyptian art we can speak with greater certainty than we can about the art of those peoples whose lands we traverse and excavate. We have a number of small Etruscan figures but not enough statues to arrive at a fully correct system of their art, and after a shipwreck, no safe vessel can be built from a few planks. The greatest part consists of engraved gems, which are like the low undergrowth of a cleared forest, in which a few trees still stand to attest to the destruction. Unfortunately, there is little hope for the discovery of works from the flourishing periods of these peoples. In their territory, the Etruscans had marble quarries near Luni (now Carrara), which was one of their twelve capital cities; but the Samnites, Volsci, and Campanians discovered no white marble where they lived, and thus their works would for the most part have been made of fired clay or bronze. The former have been broken into pieces, and the latter melted down, which explains the rarity of artworks by these peoples. In any case, because the Etruscan style was similar to the earlier Greek style, this discussion can be regarded as a preparation for the next chapter, to which the reader is now referred.

[no. 13]

Notes

1. Dionys. Halic., *Ant. r.*, bk. 6, p. 384, l. 27. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 6.75.3.]

2. Liv., bk. 1, chap. 7; cf. bk. 7, chap. 21. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.8.3, cf. 7.21.9.]

3. Idem, bk. 5, chap. 1. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 5.1.3.]
4. Appian, *Bel. civ.*, bk. 1, p. 179, ll. 26, 32. [Appian, *Roman History, The Civil Wars* 1.6.49. The Marsic War dates to ca. 90–88 B.C.]
5. Arnob., *Contr. gent.*, bk. 7, p. 232. [Arnobius of Sicca, *Adversus nationes* 7.26.1.]
6. Cic., *De divinat.*, bk. 1, chap. 12, p. 25 (ed. Davis). [Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.12.20.]
7. Liv., bk. 7, chap. 17. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 7.17.3.]
8. Dempst[er], [De] *Etrur[ia Regali]*, vol. 1, bk. 3, chap. 42, p. 340.
9. Plato, *Politico*, p. 315 B. [Plato, *The Republic* 439e–440a.]
10. Minuc[ci], note to [Lippi, Il] *Malmant[ile] racquist[ato]* (from [Carlo] Sigonio[, *Historiarum de Regno Italiae*]), p. 497.
11. Fabret[ti], *Inscript[ionum Antiquarum]*, chap. 6, p. 432. This very image is found on a work assembled from polychrome stones (called a *commesso* [(mosaic work)]) in the Palazzo Albani.^(*) A still unpublished inscription, written on the side of one half of a column that has been sawed in two, now in the Capponi house in Rome, alludes to it, from which I will cite only the verse that refers to this image:

ΗΠΙΑCΑΝ ΩC ΤΕΠΙΙΝΗΝ ΝΑΙΑΔΕC ΟΥ ΘΑΝΑΤΟC

Dulcem hanc rapuerunt Nymphae, non mors.

[Nymphs snatched away this sweet, not Death.]

(*) Ciampini, *Vet[era] Monim[enta]*, vol. 1, pl. 24.

12. Montfauc[on], *Ant[iquité] expl[iquée]*, vol. 5, [pt. 1,] pl. 51, p. 123. Montfaucon, like others, does not hold a true conception of this urn.
13. Plutarch, *Apophth.*, p. 346. [Plutarch, *Moral Essays, Sayings of Romans* 197e.]
14. Dionys. Halic., *Ant. r.*, bk. 7, p. 460, l. 14. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 7.72.12.]

15. On a large relief in the Villa Albani, sawn from a funeral urn, is depicted a seated woman and a standing maiden in a pantry, next to hung disemboweled animals and provisions—an image similar to an engraving in the *Galleria Giustiniani* [(see vol. 2, pl. 112)]—above which are these lines from Virgil [(*Aeneid* 1.607–10)]:

In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae

Lustrabunt convexa, polus dum fidera pascet:

Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.

[As long as rivers run into the sea, as long as shadows drift across
the hollows of the mountains, as long as heaven nourishes the stars:

Your honor and name and praises will endure forever.]

Formerly there was in Rome a funeral urn on which was depicted a so-called bawdy, spintrian scene, and of the inscription on it, these words remain: ΟΥ ΜΕΛΕΙ ΜΟΙ,
„it does not concern me.“

16. *Hist[oire] univ[erselle]... traduite] de [l']anglois*, vol. 14, [bk. 4, chap. 17,] p. 218 (French trans.). [For the last king of the Etruscans, see Dempster, *De Etruria Regali*, vol. 1, bk. 2, chap. 56. We have not been able to identify “dem See Lucumo,”

- although Dempster and some ancient writers mention decisive battles between the Romans and Etruscans at Vadimonian Lake, which was north of Rome, near Orte.]
17. Plin., bk. 34, p. 646, l. 3. [Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 34.16.34.]
 18. Cf. Scalig[er], *Not[ae] ad Varr[onis Libros] De Re Rust[ica]*, p. 218.
 19. In Philostr., *Heroic.*, p. 693. [Flavius Philostratus, *Of Heroes* 693.]
 20. [Winckelmann,] *Descr[iption] des pier[res] gr[avées] du [feu baron] de Stosch*, p. 45.
 21. [Winckelmann,] *Descr[iption] des pier[res] gr[avées] du [feu baron] de Stosch*, pp. 54, 55.
 22. Pausan., bk. 5, p. 424, l. 27. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 5.19.5.]
 23. Dempst[er], [*De] Etrur[ia Regali]*, pl. 6.
 24. Cic., *De nat. deor.*, bk. 3, chap. 33. [Cicero, *De natura deorum* 3.23.59.]
 25. Horsley, *Brit[annia] Rom[ana]*, p. 353.
 26. Gori, *Mus[eum] Etr[uscum]*, [vol. 1,] pl. 83.
 27. Dempst[er], [*De] Etr[uria Regali]*, pl. 47.
 28. Haym, [*Del] tes[oro] brit[annico]*, vol. [1], p. 219.
 29. *H. n.*, bk. 2, chap. 53. [Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 2.53.138.]
 30. Macrobi., *Saturn.*, bk. 1, chap. 24, p. 254. [Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.23.12.]
 31. Gol[t]z[ius], *Graec[iae] Eiusque Insularum et Asia Minoris Nomismata*, “Graecia,” pl. [6].
 32. [Winckelmann,] *Descr[iption] des pier[res] gr[avées] du [feu baron] de Stosch*, p. 51, no. 116.
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 234, no. 1459.
 34. Dempst[er], [*De] Etr[uria Regali]*, pl. 3.
 35. Serv. on *Aen.* 1, p. 177 H. [Servius, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii*, on *Aeneid*, bk. 1, line 42, s.v. “iaculata.”]
 36. Bellori, *Imag.*; and Du Choul, [*Discorso] della relig[ione antica] de rom[ani]*, p. 92. [We have been unable to locate the reference in Bellori’s *Veterum Illustrium Philosophorum, Poetarum, Rhetorum, et Oratorum Imagines*; but see Bartoli, *Le lucerne antiche*, pt. 2, pl. 31, p. 12.]
 37. Loc. cit. [Servius, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii*, on *Aeneid*, bk. 1, line 39, s.v. “Pallasne.”]
 38. Gol[t]z[ius], *Graec[iae] Eiusque Insularum et Asia Minoris Nomismata*, “Graecia,” pl. 36, no. 5; cf. Spanh[eim], [*Dissertationes] de Praest[antia et Usu] Num[ismatum Antiquorum]*, vol. 1, p. 432.
 39. Athen., *Deipn.*, bk. 12, p. 534. [Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists* 12.534e.]
 40. Dempst[er], [*De] Etr[uria Regali]*, pl. 32; cf. Buonar[roti], [*Ad Monumenta Etrusca Operi Dempsteriano Addita] Expl[icationes]*, p. 12, sec. 6.
 41. [Winckelmann,] *Descr[iption] des pier[res] gr[avées] du [feu baron] de Stosch*, p. 97.
 42. Dionys. Halic., *Ant. rom.*, bk. 10, p. 615, l. 14. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 10.17.4.]
 43. Justin., bk. 13, chap. 7. [Marcus Junianus Justinus, *Epitoma Historiarum philippicarum* 13.7.10.]

44. Cf. Serv. on Virg., *Georg.*, bk. 1, v. 14; and Schol. Apoll. Rhod., bk. 2, v. 500. [Servius, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii*, on *Georgics* 1.14, where Servius cites the phrase “Apollinem pastorem” from a lost fragment of Hesiod’s *Catalog of Women*; Scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 170.1c; see also Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 2.506–7.]

45. Dempster, [De] *Etruria Regali*, pl. 32.

46. Herodot., bk. 7, p. 261, ll. 26, 30. [Herodotus, *History* 7.92–93.]

47. [Winckelmann,] *Descr[iption] des pier[res] gr[avées] du [feu baron] de Stosch*, p. 93.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

49. Pococke’s *Descr[iption] of the East*, vol. 1, p. 108.

50. Codinus, [Selecta] de orig[inibus] Constantinop[olitanis], p. 44; cf. [Winckelmann,] pref[ace] to *Descr[iption] des pier[res] gr[avées] du feu baron de Stosch*, p. xiv.

51. Fest[us], *De verborum significatione*, s.v. “Serra proeliari”; Val[oi]s’s note to Ammian., bk. 16, chap. 12, p. 135, [note] a. [Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 16.11.3: “forcipis specie.”]

52. Gori, *Mus[eum] Etruscum*, [vol. 1, no. 2 in] pl. 15.

53. [Spence,] *Polymet[is]*, dialogue 15, p. 244.

54. [Gori,] *Mus[eum] Flor[entinum]*, [vol. 1,] pl. [8]2.

55. Gori, *Mus[eum] Etruscum*, [vol. 1, no. 2 in] pl. 155.

56. Dempster, [De] *Etruria Regali*, pl. 40.

57. Liv., bk. 5, chap. 41. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 5.41.9.]

58. Gori, [Museum Etruscum, vol. 1,] pl. 28.

59. Olivieri, *Marm[ora] Pisaur[ensia]*, p. 4; Gori, *Mus[eum] Etruscum*, [vol. 3,] pl. 87.

60. *Gall[eria] Giustin[iana]*, vol. 1, pl. 17.

61. [Del] *Mus[eo] capit[olino]*, vol. 3, pl. 14.

62. This statue was found in a small temple on the shore of a lake called Lago di Soressa [(Lago di Sabaudia)]. This lake — which belonged to the Gaetani princes — formerly flowed into the sea through a canal that had silted up, so that for a long time the water in the lake stood at very high level. In order to turn the lake into a fishery, some of the water had to be drained. The old canal was cleared out. In it were found some eroded little boats, which had been built by the ancients using metal nails; and when the water in the lake itself had fallen, the aforementioned temple, in which the Apollo was found, emerged. We can still see the marble niche with finely worked ornaments in which the statue formerly stood.

63. Liv., bk. 1, chap. 56. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.56.3.]

64. Polyb., bk. 3, p. 177 D. [Polybius, *Histories* 3.22.11.]

65. Polyb., bk. 3, p. 180 B. [Polybius, *Histories* 3.24.16.]

66. Cf. Liv., bk. 2, chap. 39. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 2.39.2.]

67. Pausan., bk. 1, p. 23. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.40.3.]

68. Idem, bk. 8, p. 658, l. 20. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.28.1.]

69. Dempster, [De] *Etruria Regali*, vol. [1], pl. 1; Montfaucon, *Ant[iquité] expl[iquée]*, vol. [2], [pt. 1, pl.] 62, no. 1.

70. [Winckelmann,] *Descr[iption] des pier[res] gr[avées] du [feu baron] de Stosch*, p. 123.
71. Vaillant, [*Nummi Antiqui Familiarum Romanarum*,] vol. 1, pl. 25, no. 8; Pembroke, *Num[ismata Antiqua]*, pt. 2, pl. 3.
72. Passeri, *Lucern[ae Fictiles]*, [vol. 1,] pl. 52.
73. *Ad Attic.*, bk. 1, ep. 10: *putealia sigillata* [(well brim with reliefs)]. [Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 6.3 (1.4.3).]
74. Bk. 1, p. 94, l. 2. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.39.1.]
75. In the *Museo capitolino* by the marchese Lucatelli (p. 23), it is erroneously stated that this work was found in Nettuno by the sea. Cardinal Alessandro Albani has refuted this in a remark handwritten in this work. It formerly stood in a villa outside of the Porta del Popolo belonging to the Medici, and the grand duke Cosimo III presented it to the aforementioned cardinal as a gift, by whom it was added to the existing collection of antiquities at the Campidoglio.
76. Paciaudi, *Monum[enta] Pelopon[nesia]*, vol. 1, p. 114.
77. Cf. [Winckelmann,] *Descr[iption] des pier[res] gr[avées] du [feu baron] de Stosch*.
78. Perhaps one such bow was called *patulus*: “Imposita *patulus* calamo sinuaverat arcus” [(Bent his curving bow with arrow on the cord)]; Ovid, bk. 1, *Metam.*, v. 30. [Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.30.]
The other, *sinuosus*: “Lunavitque genu *sinuosum* fortiter arcum” [(And mightily bent his curved bow upon his knee)]; idem, bk. 1, *Amor.*, eleg. 1. [Ovid, *Amores* 1.1.23.]
79. Father Carlo Antonioli, professor at Pisa, has described this gem in two treatises, that is, he relates anew the whole history of this hero and others of this time, with all relevant passages from the ancient writers, except those that I shall quote from Statius. About art he has nothing to say. [See Antonioli’s *Antica gemma etrusca spiegata ed illustrata con due dissertazioni*.]
80. [Winckelmann,] *Descr[iption] des pier[res] gr[avées] du [feu baron] de Stosch*, p. 348.
81. It almost seems as if Statius had seen this gem or as if all the images of Tydeos must have been drawn in this manner, that is, with large and visible bones and with knotty muscles—for the description of the poet seems to paint and explain this gem, just as the gem can also explain the poet:

...quamquam ipse videri
Exiguus, gravia ossa tamen, nodisque lacerti
Difficiles: numquam hunc animum natura minori
Corpore, nec tantas ausa est includere vires.
[Although he himself was small to look at,
yet his bones were heavy, and his muscles sinewy
and hard: never has nature dared to enclose in so small a body
such a spirit and such a great force.]
—*Theb.*, bk. 6, v. 840 [Statius, *Thebaid* 6.843–46]
82. *Il.* Ψ .144; Pausan., bk. 1, p. 90, l. 8. [Homer, *Iliad* 23.144; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.37.3.]

83. Idem, bk. 8, p. 683, l. 32. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.41.3.]
84. Ibid., p. 638, l. 21; cf. V[ettori], *Var[iarum] Lect[ionnum]*, bk. 6, chap. 22. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.20.3.]
85. *Nem.* 6, v. 34 [et] seq. [Pindar, *Isthmian Odes* 6.25–54.]
86. [Alberti,] *Descr[ittione di tutta] Ital[ia]*, p. 50.
87. [Gori,] *Mus[eum] Etru[scum]*, vol. 1, “Praef[at]io,” p. xx.
88. *Panathen.*, p. 107, l. 4. [Aristides, *Orations* 1.43 (*Panathenaic Oration*).]
89. Dempst[er], [*De*] *Etrur[ia Regali]*, pl. 4.
- [90. Catullus, *Carmina* 39.11: “obesus Etruscus.”]
91. In *Theseo*, p. 9, l. 4. [Plutarch, *Lives, Theseus* 9.1.]
92. [Winckelmann,] *Descr[iption] des pier[res] gr[avées] du [feu baron] de Stosch*, p. 329.
93. On Plutarch, Ερωτικός, p. 1338, l. 2 (ed. H. Steph[anus]). [Plutarch, *Moral Essays, Dialogue on Love* 751d; see also Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 2.42.]
94. *Poet.*, chap. 6, p. 249. [Aristotle, *Poetics* 1450a23–29.]
95. Dolce, *Dial[ogo] della pittur[a]*, p. 48.
96. *Liv.*, bk. 10, chap. 20. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 10.20.8.]
97. Cf. Casaubon, [note in *Historiae Augustae Scriptores VI*] on [Julius] Capito-
l[inus], p. 106 F.
98. *Liv.*, bk. 9, chap. 40. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 9.40.2.]
99. Ibid., chap. 4; bk. 10, chap. 38. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 9.40.12, 10.38.3.]
100. Idem, bk. 22, chap. 46. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 22.46.6.]
101. Idem, bk. 10, chap. 38. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 10.38.6.]
102. Mela, bk. 2, chap. 4. [Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia* 2.53.]
103. *Liv.*, bk. 4, chap. 52. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 4.52.60.]
104. Ibid., bk. 10, chap. 38. [Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 10.38.6.]
105. Dionys. Halic., *Ant. rom.*, bk. 6, p. 374, l. 45. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 6.62.4.]
106. Strabo, bk. 6, p. 254 [A]. [Strabo, *Geography* 6.1.3.]
107. Olivieri, “Diss[ertazione IV:] Sopra [alcune] med[aglie] sannit[iche],” p. 136.
108. Beger, *Thes[aurus] Brand[enburgicus Selectus]*, vol. 1, p. 357.
109. Beger, *Thes[aurus] Brand[enburgicus Selectus]*, vol. 1, pp. [350–53].
110. The writing on these coins has only recently been deciphered as referring to the names of these cities. That on those from Capua, Bianchini,^(*) among other scholars, believes to be Punic, and Maffei does not know what it means.^(**) The writing on coins from Tiano is still taken to be Punic in the book on Pembroke’s coins.^(***)
- (*) [Bianchini, *La istor[ia] univ[ersale]*, p. 168.
- (**) [Maffei,] *Veron[a] illustr[ata]*, pt. 3, [chap. 7,] [col]. 2[60], no. 5.
- (***) [Pembroke, *Numismata Antiqua.*] pt. 2, pl. 88.
111. Gud[e], [*Antiquae*] *Inscr[iptiones]*, p. 209, no. 3.
112. Brodae[u], *Miscel[laneorum]*, bk. 5, chap. 19.
113. Paus., bk. 6, p. 507, l. 38; bk. 8, p. 624, l. 33 etc. [Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 6.21.9, 8.12.5–6.]
114. Schol. Aristoph., *Eccles.*, v. 988. [Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen* 996.]