

THE DATES OF LYSIPPOS

In the years 328-325 B.C., Alexander the Great was carving out the easternmost limits of his empire. In these same years Tarentum was entering upon a period of unaccustomed peace and prosperity. And Pliny names the hundred and thirteenth Olympiad, this same period, as the "floruit" date of Lysippos(1).

Let us review, as far as possible, the dates associated with Lysippos. Douris of Samos (2) gives the earliest by relating the charming tale of Eupompos, the great painter of Sikyon, inspiring Lysippos, then a young bronze founder, to take nature for his master. Eupompos' artistic career covered the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth; for he is listed among the contemporaries of Zeuxis and Parrhasios on the one hand (3), and as the master of Apelles on the other (4).

In 372 Troilos of Elis won the horse race at Olympia; and in either the same (5) or the succeeding Olympiad (6) he won again with his colts.

1) Pliny, xxxiv, 51.

2) Idem, xxxiv, 61. Douris has a reputation for inaccuracy.

3) Idem, xxxv, 64: "aequales eius (Zeuxis) et aemuli fuere Timanthes, Androkydes, Eupompus, Parrhasius."

4) Idem, xxxv, 75: "--hac aetate (that of Zeuxis and Timanthes) Eupompus Pamphilum Apellis praeceptorum."

5) B. Gardner in J.H.S., xxv, 1905, p. 245; Pausanias, VI, i, 4.

6) W.W.Hyde, "Olympic Victors and their Monuments", p. 300.

Lysippos made the statue of the victor (1). The epigraphical character of the inscribed bronze placque (2) makes it probable that the statue was erected immediately after the victories (3), although this is a disputed point (4).

An attempt has been made to date the Olympic victory of the pankratiast Xenarches (?), son of Philandridas (5), of Akarnania in the one hundred and second or third Olympiad (6). If this date is approximately correct, Lysippos would be engaged in making his victor statue about the same time that he was at work on that of Troilos (7).

Alexander the Great was born in 356; and Pliny (8) records that Lysippos made many portraits of him "--a pueritia eius orsus." Hence we may imagine that the Sikyonian sculptor entered the service of Philip of Makedonia during the forties of the fourth century. Presumably this association began about 446 when Philip paused for a few years in the midst of his Greek campaigns. He had then just achieved for his kingdom the leadership at the Pythian Festival, and was working toward the peaceful domination of Athens.

1) Pausanias, loc. cit.

2) "Die Inschriften von Olympia", #166.

3) P. Gardner, loc. cit.

4) A. Furtwaengler, in Arch. Zeit., 1879, pp. 145 ff.

5) The statue was not of Philandridas, as has sometimes been stated.

6) Hyde, op. cit., p. 300.

7) Pausanias, VI, ii, 1, names Lysippos as the sculptor.

8) xxxiv, 63.

About this time a certain Daochos of Pharsalos, a Thessalian noble was included in a list of prominent men whom Demosthenes accused of "deserting the Greek cause for the bribes of Makedonia" (1). There is a good deal of further information concerning Daochos (2). He was made a tetrarch of Thessaly during the governmental reorganization of Philip in 344-343; and in 339 he became one of the two representatives of Makedonia at the Amphiktionic Council, and retained this office until his death in 334. He also received the title of Hieromnemon at Delphi. At some time between the years 339-334 he dedicated a group of marble statues (3) representing himself, his son, and his ancestors in the sacred precinct at Delphi (4). Fragments of several of these statues have survived; and one of them is not only in a very good state of preservation, but can be identified definitely as Agias, the son of Aknonios, the first Thessalian to win the pankration at Olympia (5).

The scope of this paper does not permit a detailed discussion of the authorship of the Agias. It is possible, here, only to summarize the following personal conclusions: that the Agias is a

- 1) "de Corona", p. 207, ed. Goodwin.
- 2) This information is derived from the inscription on the base of his statue, and from the temple records at Delphi; cf. Dittenberger, "Sylloge", ed. 3, I, pp. 422, 427, 428, 430, 431, 434, 444, 445.
- 3) F. Poulsen, "Delphi", p. 268.
- 4) T. Homolle, in B.C.H., XXI, 1897, pp. 589.
- 5) The best discussion of the identification of the various figures in the group is by Gardiner and Smith, A.J.A., XIII, pp. 447 ff.

contemporary copy of an original in bronze by Lysippos (1); that the entire group, as represented by the Delphi statues seems to have been the work of several hands; and that only the statues of Agias and Agelaos may definitely be considered copies of Lysippic originals.

We have already noted that Daochos was a favored personage at Delphi between the years 339-334. It is reasonable to suppose that he dedicated the statues there in this period. A more exact date has been suggested by Poulsen (2), who proposes 337, the year after the battle of Chaeronea, when the ascendancy of Makedonia was assured. From discrepancies in the number of Pythian victories listed in the Pharsalos and Delphi inscriptions (3), it would appear that the bronze statue (4) of Agias at Pharsalos was erected at some previous time, probably between 344 and 340 while Daochos was tetrarch there, and before he removed to Delphi.

The Battle of the Granikos was fought in 334. After this initial victory over the forces of the Great King, Alexander ordered Lysippos to make a bronze portrait group of himself and twenty-five of his knights who had fallen in the fray (5). This group, which was originally set up

1) Since the two groups were probably not made at the same time, there is no reason to suppose that Lysippos ^{while making} ~~made~~ the group for Pharsalos, and at the same time superintended the work on the Delphi statues.

2) loc. cit.

3) E. Preuner, "Ein Delphisches Weihgeschenk", pp. 30 ff; Poulsen, op. cit.

4) I use the word "bronze" advisedly, for there is no evidence that Lysippos himself ever worked in any medium other than bronze.

5) Pliny, xxxiv, 64.

at Dion (1), was later removed to Rome by Metellus to adorn the Portico of Octavia (2). This commission was probably given directly after the battle, for it was not long before Alexander had even greater victories to commemorate.

Then comes Pliny's "floruit" date of 328-325. Poulsen (3) and others believe that this date ought to be associated with Alexander, and perhaps even more definitely with Lysippos' most famous statue of him, the "Alexander with the spear" (4). Since Alexander was near the easternmost limits of his conquest at that time, it is certainly doubtful if this can be true; although Percy Gardner maintains that realistic portraiture was unknown at that time, and the artist had no real need of his model (5). There are more definite reasons for supposing that the colossal Zeus of Tarentum was executed at this time.

During the middle of the fourth century Tarentum was engaged in one series of disasters after another. In 335 they entreated Alexander of Epiros, uncle of Alexander of Makedon, to come to their assistance against the Messapians and the Brettian League. He did so readily; the enemies were vanquished; and then the Tarentines discovered that they

1) Arrian, "Anabasis", I. xvi, 4.

2) Velleius Paterculus, I. xi. 3 and 4.

3) op. cit., p. 291.

4) cf. Plutarch, "de Iside et Osiride", 24. This anecdote definitely connects Lysippos and Apelles.

5) "New Chapters in Greek Art", pp. 148 ff.

had only freed themselves from one invader to fall victim to another whose ambitions reflected those of his mighty nephew. So Alexander of Epiros was murdered in 330; and, for a while, Tarentum enjoyed an era of prosperity for the first time in many years. The outbreak of the Samnite War in 327, into which the Lucanians were drawn as allies of the Romans, insured its continuance. It is to this period, then, that we may with reasonable plausibility assign the great statues of Herakles and Zeus by Lysippos. It is a simple matter to infer a certain amount of symbolism in the Herakles, the weary hero resting after his labors; and for this reason it seems that this statue was dedicated in honour of the victories of Alexander of Epiros over the barbarians. (1)

The presence of the uncle of Alexander the Great at Tarentum seems a further reason for associating the court sculptor of Makedon with southern Italy at this period. Perhaps Lysippos came at the bidding of Alexander of Epiros as soon as he had completed the Knights at Dion. In this case the Herakles would be completed about 330; after which Lysippos fashioned the colossal Zeus (2), the largest statue in the ancient world at that time, and only exceeded in that

1) Plutarch ("Fabius Maximus", 22) tells of its removal to Rome; and Strabo (vi, 1) mentions it there. Suidas (sv. "Ἡρακλῆς") says that it was taken by Constantine to Constantinople where it was seen and described by Nicetas Choniates ("de Alexio Isaacii Aug.", I, iii, and "de Signis Constantinopolis", V).

2) Lucilius, Nonius sv. "cubitus", says that it was forty cubits high; Pliny, xxxiv, 40, corroborates this measurement.

era of giantism, the Hellenistic Age, by the colossus of Rhodes, the work of his pupil Chares of Lindos (1).

It is quite evident that Lysippos created the Zeus in Tarentum itself, for the difficulties of transporting so large a figure would have been enormous. Furthermore, when Fabius Maximus sacked the city he was unable to carry it off with the Herakles, because of its enormous size (2). A final argument: Pliny (3) speaks of a column which was set up near the Zeus to break the force of the wind, a story which presupposes an intimate knowledge on the part of the sculptor of the local topography and lends credence to the presence in person of Lysippos.

It is quite logical that Pliny should have drawn his "floruit" date for Lysippos from the Zeus of Tarentum. It was the largest Greek statue in Italy, and one of the renowned colossi of ancient times. Furthermore, Pliny may well have seen it himself and it was certainly familiar to a large portion of his Roman public. On the other hand, if he drew his date from some other author, presumably Xenokrates (4), the Hellenistic descendant of Lysippos, what more likely than that worthy should choose to date his ancestral master by the one work most calculated to appeal to his contemporaries?

1) Strabo, loc. cit.

2) Pliny, loc. cit.

3) Idem.

4) cf. Miss Sellers' discussion on the sources of Pliny in Jex-Blake and Sellers, "The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art", Introduction, pp. xvi ff.

Hephaistion, boon companion of Alexander the Great, died in 324. While his bust by Lysippos (1) may have been made at an earlier time, possibly just before the beginning of the conquest of Asia, it must have achieved its greatest popularity in the year of his death, when Alexander, inconsolable at the loss of his closest friend, inaugurated his hero cult in various cities of the Empire. Plutarch (2) mentions the fact that Alexander, at the time of the death of Hephaistion, was busy devising magnificent projects with his artists. Perhaps Lysippos was among them at Babylon, and at this time made the portrait of Hephaistion.

Just after the death of Alexander one of his generals, Krateros, reached Makedonia in time to aid Antipater against the revolting Greek states. He had vowed to dedicate a memorial of a lion hunt in which he had saved the life of Alexander (3); and he probably commissioned Lysippos and Leochares at this time to make it. Krateros died in battle with Eumenes in 321, and the great group at Delphi was subsequently dedicated in the name of his infant son (4). The presence of the Athenian Leochares (5) as co-worker on the monument implies that it was finished about 320, for he had achieved considerable fame in the middle

1) Pliny, xxxiv, 64.

2) "Alexander", 72.

3) Idem, 40.

4) Homolle, in B.C.H., XXI, p. 528, gives the inscription.

5) Plutarch, loc. cit.

of the fourth century (1); and it is improbable that he was active at a much later date.

In 316, or soon after, Lysippos was apparently at Cassandreia (2). What evidence there is for associating him with the later date of 307 is entirely inconclusive (3), and would probably have never been advanced except for the attribution of the Apoxyomenos in the Vatican Museum to Lysippos.

This attribution now seems wholly untenable. The original of that statue cannot have been made earlier than the last decade of the fourth century (4), and was certainly the work of a thoroughly Hellenistic artist. But for the association with Lysippos, it must inevitably have taken its place among works of the third century. There is no evidence to show that Lysippos was at work at the end of the fourth century. Furthermore, it is inconceivable that any sculptor, trained in the first half of the fourth century, could so thoroughly infuse his style

1) In 350 he was at work on the Mausoleion; cf. Pliny, xxxvi, 30.

Pausanias, V. xx. 9 assigns him the statues in the Philippeion at Olympia.

2) Thus Athenaeus, XI. E.A.Gardner, "Six Greek Sculptors" accepts it.

3) A herm in the Vatican is inscribed: "ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΥΞΙΜΠΟΛΕΤΟΙΕ".

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Sleukos became King of Makedonia in that year; but since the herm is certainly not the original, and any copy thereof made after the assumption of the title by Seleukos would be sure to add the word "Παυλεός", this evidence is faulty.

4) P. Gardner, "New Chapters on Greek Art", pp. 122 ff.

with the soft, mincing pretensions that characterize the less fortunate sculpture of the Hellenistic Period. The attribution of this statue to Lysippos, resting as it does upon a coincidence of subject and upon a similarity of proportion, customary in all periods subsequent to the fourth century, has done more to retard the proper study of Lysippos in particular and his age in general than has any one other fact.

Thus it will be seen that Lysippos began his career in the Peloponnesos in the athletic tradition of the allied schools of Argos and Sikyon. About the middle of the fourth century he moved to northern Greece and the Makedonian court where he achieved the reputation that was to make him the foremost sculptor of the greatest ruler that Greece ever produced. From then on, until the end of his life he was travelling from place to place, working for Alexander and the successors of his Empire.

Charles H. Morgan^{II}
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