The Roman Dogma of Animal Breeding: “Bark”aeological Findings Reveal the Effects of Selective Pressures on Roman Dogs

Introduction

Roman dogs were beloved by their masters, to a degree similar to which dogs and owners bond today.¹ Dogs were kept by their masters for four primary purposes: to work as hunting dogs, herding dogs, or guard dogs, and to be kept as lap dogs. Each role had various requirements that the dog must meet. Hunting and herding dogs must be fast, guard dogs must be intimidating, and lap dogs must be small. From these selective pressures, we can see the emergence of different categories of dogs in the ancient world. I say “categories” because they are not necessarily breeds in this case, as the Romans defined their dog breeds based on where a dog originated geographically, and not by traits shared amongst a group of similar dogs.² It is commonly accepted that the Romans were the first peoples in Europe to develop the modern forms of selection we use in breeding today.³

¹ I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Liane Houghtalin, and my secondary readers, Dr. Joseph Romero and Dr. Angela Pitts at the University of Mary Washington, for helping me through the process of research. All translations are my own.
³ M. Zedda et al., “Ancient Pompeian Dogs–Morphological and Morphometric Evidence for Different Canine Populations.” Anatomia,
The majority of existing scholarship explores the roles of dogs in Rome and the views that the Romans had about dogs. Much less analysis exists about the biology or physical and temperamental differences of ancient dogs. The few modern sources that describe the biology of Roman dogs rarely overlap with the modern sources that describe Roman views on dogs. This paper examines primary literature and archaeological sources from the Italian peninsula during the first century CE in order to compare the specific traits that were desirable in dogs to the specific traits that were observable in dogs, depending on what their individual functions were in Roman society. This work will demonstrate that the selection for certain dog traits in ancient Rome, those traits appropriate for certain tasks, affected the actual observed traits in Roman dogs.

**Hunting and Herding Dogs**

The vast majority of classical literature written about dogs discusses hunting dogs. While hunting dogs and herding dogs are similar in that their main task is to chase things, they do differ slightly. Hunting dogs, known as *canes venatici*, are intended to be used to chase game and follow scent trails. Herding dogs, known as *canes pastoralis*, are not intended to chase after sheep and keep them within a flock, as today’s herding dogs do. Instead, Romans kept herding dogs in order to chase away wolves and other dangerous animals, thus

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protecting the sheep. In any case, it was very important for these dogs to be fast.

The Ideal Hunting and Herding Dog

Columella (first century CE), in his *De Re Rustica*, provides information solely on herding dogs, saying that hunting dogs will draw a farmer away from his work and make him lazy. Columella advises the reader that the herding dog should be solid white, in order to distinguish the dog from wolves while it is out in the field, and that it should be particularly lean and fast so that it is able to chase other dogs away. He also says that herding dogs should have short tails, long fur, and droopy ears. These seemingly insignificant traits were likely sought out in order to help the dog in some way. Long fur may have aided in keeping the dog warm as it worked outside in the winter. These traits also may have been thought to indicate good health in a dog, as Columella does explain that docking a dog’s tail prevents rabies. Pliny the Elder (first century CE) makes the same claim in the *Naturalis Historia*. Columella describes the ideal temperament of the herding dog as well. He says that herding dogs must be loyal, vigilant, cautious, and not prone to wandering. He believes these traits are slightly innate, but dogs require training to encourage these behaviors.

Varro (first century BCE) required qualities for herding dogs, illustrated in his *Rerum Rusticarum*, appear to be more

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5 Brewer et al., *Dogs in Antiquity*, 97.  
6 Columella, *De Re Rustica* 7.12.11-12.  
7 Columella, *De Re Rustica* 7.12.43.  
8 Columella, *De Re Rustica* 7.12.14-16.  
9 Columella, *De Re Rustica* 7.12.71.  
10 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 8.75.  
11 Columella, *De Re Rustica* 7.12.28.
suited towards selecting a dog of good health. He advises the farmer to pay attention to the symmetry of the dog’s nostrils, the dog’s eye color, lip color, teeth, and texture of the paw pads. He says that the herding dog should have a large, muscular body, big paws, a deep bark, and droopy ears. The dog should also be white in color, for the same reason described previously by Columella. He also describes the same loyal temperament that Columella did in De Re Rustica.¹²

No similar guides for choosing a hunting dog exist in the Roman world; however, the Romans often read Greek authors, and it is understood that similar dogs existed in ancient Greece as did in ancient Rome.¹³ The Greek author Xenophon (fourth century BCE) provides much information about choosing a hunting dog in his Cynegeticus, and much of his language agrees with the traits that the Romans sought in hunting dogs. He advises the reader to choose a dog that is not too energetic, as energetic dogs will chase things without being directed, and will be unable to follow a single trail. He also advises the reader to choose a dog that is not too sluggish, as sluggish dogs will not be able to keep up with the game. He wrote that a dog’s coat color can indicate their temperament. Very energetic dogs have solid coats, and very sluggish dogs have coats of multiple colors. He recommends choosing a dog with patches to ensure that the dog has a balanced energy level. Of course, he also says that the dog’s temperament can be swayed to a degree with training.¹⁴

¹² Varro, Rerum Rusticarum 2.9.3-4.
¹⁴ Xenophon, Cynegeticus 3.5-11.
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Xenophon recommends that all hunting dogs should have short fur, a pointed snout, short ears, and a straight, long tail. He also says that a slender body shape is the best for hunting dogs, as slender dogs are faster than most, and will be able to chase rabbits and other game.\textsuperscript{15} He adds, however, that dogs intended to handle bigger game, such as boars, must be bigger and more muscular themselves. He says that these stronger dogs originate in India.\textsuperscript{16} Pliny the Elder confirms this in his \textit{Naturalis Historia}, where he says that the temperature of the air and the abundance of water allows the animals in India to grow stronger than in most other places.\textsuperscript{17}

The Actual Hunting and Herding Dog

Arguably, the most famous hunting dogs in the classical world were those of Actaeon, who was devoured by his own dogs after being turned into a stag as punishment for seeing the goddess Diana bathe.\textsuperscript{18} The krater vase of the Death of Actaeon (figure one) depicts Actaeon’s hunting dogs as slim with short fur. The dogs also have pointed snouts, small upright ears, and thin, long tails. Many ancient statues and figurines depict hunting dogs in the same way; among these are the Acropolis dog and the statue of dogs playing (figures two and three). A Roman copy of a Greek statue in the Vatican Museum features the goddess Diana accompanied by a dog with a pointed snout (figure four). As Diana is the goddess of the hunt, it is evident that this dog is specifically intended to be a hunting dog, and the physical depiction of this dog fits the profile described by previous

\textsuperscript{15} Xenophon, \textit{Cynegeticus} 3.1-4.
\textsuperscript{16} Xenophon, \textit{Cynegeticus} 3.3.
\textsuperscript{17} Pliny the Elder, \textit{Naturalis Historia} 7.5-11.
\textsuperscript{18} Ovid, \textit{Metamorphoses}. 3.138-250.
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authors and displayed in other ancient representations. As this statue is a copy of a Greek original, it can be understood that the Romans were able to recognize Greek dogs. This is unsurprising, as there was much overlap between Greek and Roman dogs in the ancient world. 19 They had similar appearances and held similar jobs.20

Archaeological records can provide an example of an actual herding dog. Animal bones have largely been tossed aside in archaeological digs in favor of cultural artifacts, but returning to them has proven to be quite beneficial. A set of dog bones dated around 79 CE, excavated in Pompeii in the 18th or 19th century, is believed to belong to a herding dog. All of the dog craniums discovered were classified in the following ways: dolichocephalic, having a very pointed snout; brachycephalic, having a flat snout; and mesocephalic, being between dolichocephalic and brachycephalic. 21 The dog bodies were classified as following: dolichomorphic, having a height greater than the width, mesomorphic, having a height nearly equal to the width, and brachymorphic, having a height shorter than the width. Based on the cranium size, the excavated herding dog was classified as a middle-sized dog. 22 The body type is mesomorphic. The characteristics of the dog’s jaws and teeth are unusual, however, as the mandible is longer than is typical for the rows of teeth. This gives the dog an odd snout

19 Brewer et al., *Dogs in Antiquity*, 84.
22 No measurements were given.
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classification, displaying traits of a dolichocephalic, brachycephalic, and mesocephalic dog all at once.²³

Analysis
The artistic depictions of hunting dogs are almost identical to the descriptions provided by Xenophon. All of these dogs have the long body, pointed snout, long tail, and short fur that is recommended for this type of working dog. I would say that the single set of herding dog remains from Pompeii, the set that possessed an abnormal snout for a dog of its profession, is an anomaly. Because that dog also had the mesomorphic body shape of hunting dogs depicted in Roman art, it seems that its owner attempted to choose a dog with the recommended body type for fast running. Thus we can claim that the Romans were particular about selecting for certain traits in these sorts of dogs, namely, a long, slim body and pointed snout. The Romans succeeded in applying a great deal of selective pressure, as evidence for herding and hunting dogs with bodies outside of their set parameters is rare.

No information about the temperament of actual Roman hunting dogs has come to surface. I imagine that their temperaments would have lined up with the parameters set by Xenophon, as a hunting dog would be fairly unsuccessful without the discipline and focus that he emphasized. The Romans most likely would have trained their dogs as well, rather than relying on the dog’s innate behaviors.

Guard Dogs

Guard dogs, known as *canes villatici*, were often kept both on farmlands and in urban areas. These dogs were typically chained at the entrance of the house during the daytime, and let free at night. Cato the Elder (second century BCE) writes in his *De Agri Cultura* that keeping a dog chained in the daytime will make it more watchful and alert when it is unchained. Guard dogs were required to be large, in order to intimidate intruders properly and also to attack them if need be. A well-known breed of dog used for guarding the house is the Molossian (figure five). As seen in the statue, this dog was much too big to be a lap dog, and not lean enough to be a successful hunting or herding dog.

The Ideal Guard Dog

Columella describes the ideal guard dog as having a large head and body, a broad chest, large paws, a short tail, droopy ears, and long fur. Columella may have thought that long fur would make the dog appear larger than it actually was. Columella even advises the reader on the ideal temperament for the dog: not too friendly and not too savage. If the dog is too friendly, then it will welcome intruders. If the dog is too savage, then it will attack members of the household. These dogs should also be relatively quiet, and only bark if given a good reason to do so. Once again, Columella assures the reader that even if their dog does not possess all of these temperamental qualities right

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24 Brewer et al., *Dogs in Antiquity*, 85.
25 Cato the Elder, *De Agri Cultura* 3.2.50.
26 Brewer et al., *Dogs in Antiquity*, 86.
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away, the dog is still able to be trained to acquire them.\textsuperscript{29} He goes on to say that the dog’s speed is not a factor because, ideally, the dog will never travel very far from the farmhouse and enclosures. The dog can smell intruders from afar, and bark at them to scare them away, or attack them if they move too close to the property.\textsuperscript{30} The dog’s first task is to avoid attack, and its second task is to attack if provoked.\textsuperscript{31}

Varro’s described indicators of health for the herding dog carry over to the guard dog, though he, like Columella, advises that the guard dog should be substantially larger and more muscular than the herding dog, both to intimidate and attack intruders successfully.

The Actual Guard Dog

Of course, the famous "Cave Canem" mosaic in the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii (figure six) features a guard dog. This dog is chained, just as was prescribed. The dog’s body is muscular and mostly black, and it has a short tail and short, bristly fur. The eruption of Mount Vesuvius has led to the preservation of many houses in Pompeii, many of which feature similar guard dog mosaics in their entryways.\textsuperscript{32} One such mosaic can be seen in figure seven. This dog has a muscular body, black fur, short tail, and upright ears. The statue of the Molossian in figure five is likely the image of a guard dog as well, with this statue having characteristics very similar to the other depictions of guard dogs, the only difference being its droopy ears. We should recall that although Columella actually

\textsuperscript{29} Columella, \textit{De Re Rustica} 7.12.28-29.
\textsuperscript{31} Columella, \textit{De Re Rustica} 7.12.50.
\textsuperscript{32} Toynbee, \textit{Animals in Roman Life and Art}. 110.
prescribed guard dogs to have droopy ears, it is notable that very few depictions of guard dogs have this trait.\textsuperscript{33}

The cast of the dog having died in the eruption of Mount Vesuvius (figure eight) is also believed to have been that of a guard dog, as it was collared and chained in front of the entrance to the house, as a guard dog would have been. However, this dog appears to be rather slender compared to the mosaic guard dogs. This dog’s body is similar to how hunting dogs have been described and depicted, as well as shorter than was prescribed, standing at nineteen inches.\textsuperscript{34} Of course, it is possible that a well-trained dog could have fulfilled multiple duties. The slender build of this dog may have granted it enough speed to chase game successfully, as well as the strength necessary to protect the household. It also appears to have short fur. However, it is unclear if the dog actually had short fur in life, or if its long fur was merely flattened down by the ash.

**Analysis**

The majority of recommended guard dog features are reflected in artistic depictions of guard dogs. Most of the dogs are either predominantly or entirely black, fairly large, and have short tails. The only traits that frequently differ from the recommendations are the style of ear and length of the dogs’ fur. All the surviving depictions of guard dogs have short fur, whereas in Roman literature, they are prescribed to have long fur, so as to make them appear larger to intruders. A possible explanation for this could be that the Romans simply valued other characteristics in guard dogs over the length of their fur, or, since there are no

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\textsuperscript{34} Brewer et al., *Dogs in Antiquity*, 92.
depictions of guard dogs with long fur at all, they actually disagreed with what the experts recommended for fur length. Long fur would have been more difficult to maintain, after all.

Lap dogs

Smaller dogs were primarily and popularly kept for pleasure in ancient Rome as lap dogs. A known breed of lap dog was the Melitean, originating from the island of Malta. Most accounts of these lap dogs describe them as having long fur, a pointed snout, and a squeaky bark. Meliteans were also often given to travelers as presents to keep them company on their long journeys. Pliny the Elder even claims that a Melitean will relieve one of their pain when placed on the sufferer’s stomach.

The Ideal Lap Dog

No Roman literature providing the guidelines of the ideal characteristics of a lap dog has been discovered. It is likely that since this dog did not hold a high stakes position in its owner’s household, little scrutiny was placed upon its traits. Of course, the qualities that indicate good health, such as bright eyes and strong teeth, as described by Columella and Varro, likely would have been taken into consideration when selecting a lap dog. We do have much surviving literature describing various lap dogs in Roman life, as well as many vase paintings, statues, and frescoes depicting them.
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The Actual Lap Dog

Most of the recovered depictions of lap dogs feature them with a pointed snout and pointed ears. A Greek red figure vase from the National Museum in Copenhagen depicts a boy accompanied by a small dog, likely a lap dog. This dog has the characteristic pointed snout and ears, but appears to have short fur and a curled tail. Another Greek vase features a man walking with a Melitean dog, which, again, were often kept as lap dogs in Rome. The Melitean has long fur, a pointed snout, upright ears, and a long tail. The tomb in figure nine from fourth century BCE Attica is dedicated to a young girl, Melisto. The tomb features the girl playing with a dog, likely a lap dog. This dog is small in stature, and has a pointed snout, long fur, a curled tail, and floppy ears. This tomb did not contain any dog bones, but lap dog bones have been recovered elsewhere.

The first century Pompeii remains mentioned previously can offer some more information about the appearances of real Roman lap dogs. The excavation recovered three small sized dogs, thought to have been lap dogs. One of these dogs was dolichocephalic, another was brachycephalic, and the last was unable to be classified by cranium shape. We do not need to rely on archaeological evidence for the appearances of Roman lap dogs, however, as many authors chose to write about them and thus have provided us with the key characteristics.

Martial’s (first century CE) epigram 1.109 is a satirical poem about a friend’s lap dog, named Issa. Issa’s name is a
sort of “baby talk” for the Latin word *ipsa* and can be translated as “Missy.” In this poem, Martial exaggerates Issa’s characteristics, but from it, we can gain some insight into her basic physical and temperamental traits.

Issa is more naughty than Catullus’s sparrow, Issa is more pure than a dove’s kiss, Issa is more alluring than all the girls, Issa is more dear than the Indian stones, Issa is the dear puppy of Publius. If she complains, you will think her to speak; she feels sadness and joy. She lies supported on the neck and captures sleep, so that no sighs may be felt; and when urged by the desire of the belly not one drop fell on the covers, but with the pleasing foot she raises from the cushion she warns you to be put down and asks to be lifted up. There is so much modesty in the virtuous puppy, she does not know Venus; nor do we find a man fitting for such a soft girl. So that the last light may not snatch her entirely, Publius expresses her on a painted tablet, in which you will see an Issa so similar that she herself may not be so similar to herself. Finally place Issa with the tablet: Either you will think both to be real, or you will think both to be painted.

From this poem, we can note Issa’s small stature, as she must be picked up from the bed and placed down to relieve herself. Martial also describes her as being spoiled, as everyone who meets her dotes on her, despite the words *nequior* and *queritur* also being attributed to her. This suggests that the temperament of lap dogs was not quite as rigidly enforced to be

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42 Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art*. 122.
Issa est purior osculo columbae, / Issa est blandior omnibus puellis, /
Issa est carior Indicis lapillis, / Issa est deliciae catella Publi. /
Hanc tu, si queritur, loqui putabis; / Sentit tristitiamque gaudiumque. /
Collo nixa cubat capite somnos, / Ut suspiria nulla sentiantur; /
Et desiderio coacta ventris/ Gutta pallia non fefellit ulla, /
Sed blando pede suscitat torque/ Deponi monet et rogat levari, /
Castae tanta inest pudor catellae, / Ignorat Venerem; nec invenimus /
Dignum tam tenera virum puella. / Hanc ne lux rapiat suprema totam, /
Picta Publius exprimit tabella, / In qua tam similis videbis Issam, /
Ut sit tam similis sibi nec ipsa. / Issam denique pone cum tabella: /
Aut utramque putabis esse veram, / Aut utramque putabis esse pictam.
as vigilant, quiet, or cautious as the temperaments of the dogs discussed previously. It is likely that this “naughty” lap dog temperament remained through a lack of training, and was possibly encouraged by rewarding the dog with pets and praise often when it misbehaved, as the misbehaviors may have been seen as much more appealing when done by a lap dog than if done by a larger dog.

The notion that lap dogs were spoiled in Rome is further evidenced by archaeological findings. Upon analyzing recovered dog bones from the Mediterranean, we can conclude that smaller dogs in Rome received more intense care from their owners than larger dogs did. An excavated lap dog in Carthage had many health problems, including osteoarthritis, dislocation of the right femur, and spondylosis deformans; however, the advanced stages of bone growth, deformation, and regrowth suggest that this dog lived a very active, mobile, and long life despite its health problems. This dog had also lost most of its teeth before its death, and the teeth remaining upon excavation had a very thick buildup of tartar. The dog was likely unable to chew its food due to its lack of teeth, and the lack of chewing meant that tartar was not routinely being disrupted, thus the tartar built up to such an extreme degree. Modern veterinary data support the claim that dogs whose diets are mainly soft foods or table scraps have more advanced tartar buildup than dogs whose diets are composed of hard foods. While this dog could have had a diet of bread, milk, whey, and broth, as was advised by Roman authors of farming guides, the stable

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44 Mackinnon, “‘Sick as a dog’,,” 290.
45 Mackinnon, “‘Sick as a dog’,,” 298.
nitrogen isotope figures obtained from the dog’s bones indicate that its diet was mostly meat.\textsuperscript{47} This leads us to the conclusion that the dog’s owners mashed up its food before feeding it, and they likely did this for many years before the dog’s death. This indicates that very much effort was put into the care of this dog. Perhaps Martial’s exaggeration of pampered Issa is closer to the truth than initially thought.

The bones of smaller dogs were also found to have sustained more injuries overall than the bones of larger dogs. It is suggested that these injuries are due to the temperament of the smaller dog; a very boisterous temperament.\textsuperscript{48} This idea also aligns with Martial’s depiction of Issa, as even though she is comically portrayed as an overly polite dog, he also notes that since she is \textit{nequior}, she frequently gets into trouble.

\textbf{Analysis}

Little information is provided by Roman authors about how the ideal lap dog should appear and behave. Some may argue that Martial provides the description of the dainty, polite, adorable lap dog that one should seek, but I believe that Martial’s Issa is merely a reaction to his observation of how people around him were treating their lap dogs. Nevertheless, I do feel that there is merit in his interpretation of Issa’s temperament, as archaeological records have shown that smaller dogs such as Issa would have had more energy than other dogs, and their

\textsuperscript{47} It should also be noted that a diet entirely comprised of meat leads to tooth loss in dogs, because of the high phosphorus and low calcium levels in the dog’s diet. This dog was likely fed an expensive diet of meat for a very long time, lost its teeth, and then continued to be fed ground meat.

\textsuperscript{48} Mackinnon, “‘Sick as a dog’,” 302.
owners likely would have been more lax with them than they would have been with dogs that were less physically appealing.

Modern historians often compare Roman lap dogs to the Maltese breed. However, most depictions and remains of Roman lap dogs are dolichocephalic, having a very pointed snout, rather than the relatively flatter face of the mesocephalic Maltese. This pointed face and their small stature appear to be the staples of Roman lap dogs. Despite the commonalities between depictions of lap dogs, many variations are also present. Lap dogs are shown to have different tail lengths and shapes, fur lengths, and ear shapes.

Because Roman art presents us with a wide variety of lap dog traits, one can safely conclude that there was little selective pressure on the lap dogs, apart from their size, head shape, and possibly their color. These dogs were bred for entertainment, and their owners did not depend on them for food, money, or safety as they would have with working dogs, so it is not unreasonable to think that there was less rigidity in selecting for their traits. Also, because these lap dogs were kept for personal enjoyment, it is likely that traits were selected based on an individual’s preference at a litter-by-litter basis. This process of careful selection may well have yielded a higher diversity in traits overall.

**Conclusion**

We have seen that the Roman preferences for certain dog traits, as they varied based on the dog’s purpose, did play a role in the expression of those traits observed in dogs; however, this relationship between preferred and observed traits is evident in

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different degrees, depending on the type of dog under consideration.

The traits of hunting and herding dogs were found to have been strongly influenced by Roman preference. These ideal traits were very specific: a slim body, pointed snout, long tail, and even temperament. All of these traits were observed in archaeological records and artistic depictions of these dogs. It is not surprising that the observed hunting and herding dog traits followed the recommendations for dogs so closely, as anything too far outside of the set parameters would yield an unsuccessful working dog.

The guard dogs were found to have been influenced in their traits by Roman preferences as well, but not quite to the degree that the hunting and herding dogs were. The guard dogs were recommended to be very large and muscular, dark in color, and have short tails. These traits were observed in nearly all archaeological records and artistic depictions of these dogs; however, a steady contradiction was also present. None of the observed dogs had the long fur that was prescribed. It is possible that the selection process was less rigorous for guard dogs, as the Romans likely would have made trade-offs for other traits, such as choosing a stronger dog over a dog with longer fur, or simply preferring short fur for its easier maintenance.

Roman preferences were found to have little influence over the traits of lap dogs. This can be concluded from the sheer variety that is present in their depictions and remains. The only constants are their small size and pointed snout. There are no recommendations for selecting a lap dog in known Roman literature, so it is likely that this variety can be attributed to individuals choosing a dog based on their own personal preferences for how the dog should look and behave. As the lap
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dog was a personal animal and not a working animal, the Romans would have had more freedom in selecting a lap dog than in selecting a herding, hunting, or guard dog.

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