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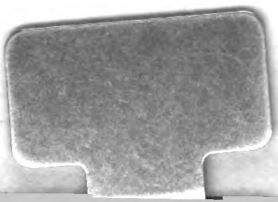
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Birch (S.) Observations on two bas reliefs of Assyrian sculpture.

Scharf (G.) *Jur.* Notes upon the sculptures of a temple discovered at Bath in 1790.

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Barlow's tombs.



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*Bas-Relief of Assyrian Sculpture from Khorsabad.*

*J. Basire lith.*



OBSERVATIONS

ON

TWO BAS RELIEFS OF ASSYRIAN SCULPTURE

REMOVED FROM KHORSABAD.

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COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

BY SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A.,

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I HAVE the honour to lay before the Society of Antiquaries to-night the drawing of two heads in bas-relief, and of heroic size, forming a portion of the recent discoveries of Mr. Botta at Khorsabad. They were sent by Mr. Rassam, Her Majesty's Consul at Mossul, to Sir Stratford Canning, and by him to Sir Robert Peel, who has sent them to the British Museum for examination and inspection

I shall first proceed to describe the heads themselves, (Plates XIII. XIV.) and then to consider the circumstances connected with them in relation to—1. The locality where found; 2. Their peculiarities of art; 3. The epoch; 4. The relative state of civilization among the Assyrians.

I. The first head is that of a warrior, bound by a kind of turban, consisting of a plain kerchief<sup>a</sup> tied by several folds close to the head, and fitting like a cap, the ends being fixed above the ear; the nose is thin and aquiline, the beard thick, and disposed in formal vertical curls; the hair behind is also curled in the same manner, much resembling the adjustment of hair on the Persian figures at Persepolis.<sup>b</sup> The other head, which faces to the left, is one of the figures attendant upon the monarchs of the sculptures, which have been called by M. Botta eunuchs; it has the features of a man, rather full, with aquiline nose, soft expression, hair gathered in undulating curls to the back of the head, where it clusters in short spiral curls, with a light fillet, coloured blue and red, passing over the head.<sup>c</sup> The chin is particularly double; and there are ear-rings, resembling<sup>d</sup> the Egyptian symbol of life. The slab has

<sup>a</sup> A people called in Egyptian texts the Ruten, who are supposed by some to be the Lud-im, and by others the Ar-vad-im, or Arvadites, (a people with red hair and blue eyes, and probably the Leuco-Syri,) wear the same cap. Cf. Hoskin's Travels in Æthiopia.

<sup>b</sup> Sir R. Ker Porter's Travels.

<sup>c</sup> These heads were first conjectured to be those of women.

<sup>d</sup> I say resembling, for they differ much on the subject of this portion of the crux ansata. See Letronne *Revue Archæologique*, vol. i. p. 483. *Annales de l'Inst. Arch.* 8vo. Par. tom. xv.



been sawn out of the monument ; and the back has also been so treated in order to reduce the weight. It has apparently been taken out of some of the passages of the mound excavated by M. Botta,<sup>a</sup> where similar figures, the lower part of which had suffered much from the injurious effects of time, had been discovered.

Two figures complete,<sup>b</sup> with heads like the above, were discovered by M. Botta at the locality marked XXVI. in the plan sent to M. Mohl : one draped in an under linen tunic, over which is thrown an upper woollen garment, with a border decorated with embroidery, and brought under the right arm. The wrists of the first figure were ornamented with a pair of bracelets like a torquis of the Persian, the ends terminating in the heads of lions. On the thick part of their arms were spiral armillæ resembling ῥοδαῖες of the Greeks. The eyes of these figures, as of the head under consideration, were coloured with sthem or stibium, the hair black, and the faces probably red.

The head of the figure, who is in the car<sup>c</sup> of the Assyrian monarch and which carries the parasol or chattra over his head, is also identical with these, although of smaller proportions.<sup>d</sup> These figures may be, indeed, princes of the blood royal, and the absence of beard may be intended for extreme youth ; but I am not indisposed to consider, with Botta, that they are eunuchs, from the absence of beard, and great fatness ; and this class held the highest offices of state in the Assyrian court.

I shall proceed now to narrate the circumstances and results of the discoveries of M. Botta, following the descriptions of M. Longperier,<sup>e</sup> who has condensed and arranged the matter of the letters of M. Botta,<sup>f</sup> in a manner at once lucid and complete, and accompanied them by some excellent suggestions.

After excavating for some time with little success on the Nebi Iunas, or site as supposed of the ancient Nineveh, M. Botta was induced to commence at the village of Khorsabad, a short distance north-east of Mossul, on the left bank of the Khausser, built on a little elongated hill, lying east and west, and having on the eastern extremity a cone, said to be modern and artificial. The whole edifice discovered

<sup>a</sup> *Revue Archæologique*, Fevrier, 1846.

<sup>b</sup> *Revue Archæol. loc. cit.* Cf. *Journal Asiatique*, 8vo. Pars Fevrier et Mars, 1845, p. 201.

<sup>c</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, Sept. et Oct. 1843, pp. 201—214, pl. XVII.

<sup>d</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 1843, pl. XVII. Longperier in the *Revue Archæol.* Juillet, 1844, p. 9.

<sup>e</sup> *Revue Archæologique*, Juillet, 1844, pp. 1—24. I regret that I have been unable to see the *Nineve e le scoperte di Botta*, par Gotto Calvi, 8vo. Milan, 1845.

<sup>f</sup> For Botta's Letters, cf. *Journal Asiatique*, 14 Juillet, 1843, pp. 61—72 ; Sept. et Oct., 201—210 ; Fevr. 1844, p. 91, and foll. ; Sept. et Oct. 1844, p. 301 and following.

appears, in all probability, to have been analogous to the pyramidal or conical tomb of Sardanapalus, which is seen upon the coins of Tarsus; and which had beneath a substructure ornamented with bas-reliefs. The tomb, temple, or palace at Khor-sabad, (for, in the absence of a positive knowledge, it may be conjectured to be either of these classes of edifices,) consisted of a building, built upon a foundation of inscribed and baked bricks, laid upon a layer of sand about ten inches thick, brought from the Tigris, upon which was placed another layer of bricks, several rows deep.<sup>a</sup> The body of the building consisted of several rather thick walls, with various passages leading into halls. The substance of the walls was formed of a mixture of clayey earth and chalk, which was riveted with large slabs of a grey marmoriform gypsum, known as the Mossul marble, very soft and friable, varying from ten to twelve feet square, and about one foot thick. These slabs were surmounted by rows of glazed bricks, principally white and yellow, and disposed so as to represent an architectural ornament, with others enamelled with cuneiform characters in white upon a green ground. Above these was a terra cotta cornice of striated oves, which is conjectured, from the quantity of carbon found on the floor, to have formed part of a wooden ceiling, destroyed by a supposed conflagration of the edifice.

The general scope of the sculptures, which exist in the exterior of the walls of the passages and halls, executed in a bas-relief, occasionally of a very bold character, seems to be the capture of a city, and other triumphal exploits of an Assyrian monarch. Commencing with the northern end of the west extremity of the hill, which was bifurcated, the discoverer found a hall, entered by a passage, and having the walls covered with bas-reliefs,—A warrior wearing a casque and coat of mail, falling, run through by the lance of his opponent, and supported by two archers; a double crenelated tower, with very disproportionately large figures, one on each tower, lifting the hands in despair, or hurling a javelin; two archers, wearing the *cidaris*<sup>b</sup> and coats of mail, one discharging an arrow at the fort, the other covering his companion with a circular buckler, ornamented with a zig-zag pattern, followed by two archers who stand and discharge arrows at the fortress. These figures were three feet high, and surmounted by an inscription.<sup>c</sup> On the north wall was a figure the same height, bearded,<sup>d</sup> with a sword, and the handle of a lance; and close to this last the lower part of the figure of a man eight feet high, richly clad in a tunic and large fringed robe,<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The layers of these bricks had been cemented by a layer of reeds and bitumen.

<sup>b</sup> These two are engraved in *Journ. Asiat. Juillet, 1843*, pp. 61—72, pl. II.

<sup>c</sup> Given in *Journ. Asiat. Jan. et Fev. 1844*, pl. XXIV.

<sup>d</sup> *Journ. Asiat. Juillet, 1843*, pl. III.

<sup>e</sup> *Journ. Asiat. Juillet, 1843*, pl. IV.

the feet in crimson leather sandals, which are raised up on the heel behind like shoes, and recalling the term of Bœotian shoes which Herodotus applies to the Babylonians. He is probably one of the royal cortège. On the wall facing this are the lower portions of six figures; <sup>a</sup> five simply clad, and the sixth apparently the bird-headed divinity, who appears in these pictures winged and wearing boots. <sup>b</sup> These are accompanied by a man with a sort of breastplate, like the Egyptian *uta* or pectoral plate, having before him three females, one carrying a purse, a second holding an infant by the hand, and the third carrying a sack on the shoulders. <sup>c</sup> All these are about three feet high, and surmounted by a mutilated cuneiform inscription of thirty-two lines, which had apparently been encrusted with bronze. The passage between the two lintels was also ornamented with an inscription of thirty-two lines, which had been encrusted with copper. <sup>d</sup> Another wall <sup>e</sup> was discovered in front of the north wall, with two colossal figures, one bearded, gradient to the east, and carrying a coffer or basket in his hand, having before him an un-bearded figure with the hair curled at the base of the head, like those conjectured to be eunuchs, <sup>f</sup> with a large garment, and narrow sleeves terminating at the shoulders. At this spot M. Botta discovered a remarkable circular table <sup>g</sup> or altar, on a triangular base, with lion's feet, the edge engraved with an inscription, <sup>h</sup> and a second and third passage, each paved with a large stone bearing a cuneiform inscription <sup>i</sup> like the first. On the wall of this passage was a bird-headed divinity, richly girdled, holding in one hand a small basket, followed by a bearded man draped in a short tunic covering a long fringed habit, open in front, and holding in one hand a tripod vessel, probably a censer or fire vessel, such as is often seen on the late Pehlevi gems. <sup>k</sup> After this figure followed a horseman, <sup>l</sup> of smaller proportions, wearing a short tunic and anaxyrides, the lids of his eyes coloured with stibium; and in returning to the west were two galloping and a walking horseman. In the third passage, almost facing, was a small figure, of three feet high and more; to the east, two horsemen with lances, galloping; all bearing traces of colour. Northwards of this passage

<sup>a</sup> Journ. Asiat. loc. cit. pl. V.

<sup>b</sup> In certain slabs this divinity appears, as Journ. Asiat. Sept. et Oct. 1843, pl. XVI. Cf. also the conical gem of chalcedony found in the excavations. Longperier, Rev. Arch. p. 8.

<sup>c</sup> Journal Asiat. Juillet et Août, 1843, pl. VI.

<sup>d</sup> Edited in Journ. Asiat. loc. cit. pl. IX.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. pl. VIII.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. pl. X.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. pl. XI.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. pl. XII.

<sup>i</sup> Journ. Asiat. Sept. et Oct. 1843, pl. XIII.—XV.

<sup>k</sup> Journ. Asiat. Sept. et Oct. 1843, pl. XVI.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. pl. XIX.



was found one of the principal reliefs.<sup>a</sup> An Assyrian monarch wearing the peculiar conical tiara of many colours, with a small stud or point, bearded, stands in a biga holding a bow in his left hand; at his side is his charioteer, driving; and behind is one of the so-called eunuchs, holding up his parasol, who does not march behind as at Persepolis, or on the hexadrachms of Persia, but is actually in the car at the side of the monarch. The horses are most richly caparisoned; and the mode of tying the tufts of their manes and their tails resembles the processions at Persepolis. Not only does the costume of these horses, with a collar round the chest, and counterpoises on the back, resemble that of the Egyptian chariots, but their harness is nearly identical; but the grooming of the tufts, mane, and tail is peculiar to the Assyrian, Persian, and Greek schools. Above this car is a very mutilated inscription;<sup>b</sup> and it is preceded by an animal supposed to be an elephant,<sup>c</sup> and followed by a horseman on a richly caparisoned horse. On the east wall of the second passage were found two horsemen advancing forwards, the second horse indicated by a double line, as in Egyptian and early Greek art; the horsemen were armed with tunics of mail, lances, quivers, and swords.

In an angle of the hall entered by the first and second passages were found two colossal figures of eunuchs, unbearded, and armed with swords. Before them were two figures of colossal proportions, facing one whose head was bound with a long sash behind, much resembling the fillets on the heads of the kings of Egypt, and earrings in shape of the emblem of life or ♀, wearing the outer woollen garment of the Assyrians, with richly embroidered border, and inner linen tunic, with bracelets of rosettes and spiral armillæ, standing before an Assyrian monarch, draped in a richly embroidered and fringed Babylonian garment, wearing earrings, bracelets, armlets, and pointed conical cap decorated with stars and rosettes, having a sword at his left side, on the pommel of which he places his left hand; his right hand holds a sceptre. These figures have been conjectured to represent the monarch and Baal;<sup>d</sup> but, as the mitred figure is nearly identical with the monarch of the car, and that of the celebrated bas-relief at the Nahr el Kelb, I am disposed to consider it is a conquered prince before the Assyrian conqueror. Similar figures appear on the cylinders found at Hillah,<sup>e</sup> with different animals at their feet; and one, the supposed Sandon or Sardanapalus, much resembling in

<sup>a</sup> Journ. Asiat. Sept. et Oct. 1843, pl. XVIII.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. pl. XVIII.

<sup>c</sup> Journ. Asiat. Jan., Fevr., 1844, pl. XVII.

<sup>d</sup> Revue Archæol. loc. cit.

<sup>e</sup> See Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, pl. XXX. p. 187; pl. IV. No. 20, generally with Sabæan types. as the Sun, Moon, Pleiads, &c.

attire, is seen on the coins of Tarsus.<sup>a</sup> At the entrance of a hall running from the north end of the second passage<sup>b</sup> was a car with three figures and two soldiers, surmounted by a band of inscriptions; and another division of sculptures, much injured, in which was a man swimming in a river, and mountains, up which were advancing soldiers, in peculiar machines with wheels, perhaps intended for battering.<sup>c</sup>

On the wall which faces the passage is the assault of a fortress, the principal scene of the whole composition.<sup>d</sup> It consists of a fortified hill with a triple wall. At the top is a fortress of seven-squared, loop-holed towers, with a connecting curtain, built out at one rounded slope of the hill, in order to render the hill more inaccessible. The other side is naturally protected by a forest, indicated on the picture by a single tree. In the centre a man, much resembling the personage in the presence of the monarch previously described, elevates both hands, while flames burst forth in three places from the tower. Other personages appear on the ramparts, but their forms are so much destroyed that it is difficult to discover whether defence or supplication is their object. On the hill, immediately below the acropolis, is a single line of cuneiform writing. Below this is a square building with windows, and a rounded door, apparently a palace or temple, and three alarmed figures. To the right of this is a rectangular object, which I suspect represents either a garden or a tank. Below this part of the hill is the first wall; the fortified face has nine loop-holed towers, crenelated above, with rounded door-ways in the curtains. Each tower, except the one on the extreme left, has a scaling ladder placed against it, upon which the besiegers are swarming, much in the same style as on the marbles of Xanthus. Below these towers is a high crenelated wall, without doors or loop-holes, on which the towers stand, and a ditch or river is below it; and this part of the town exactly coincides with the descriptions of Ctesias of Nineveh, regarding the lower wall, on which three war-chariots could drive abreast, and on which were placed the tower bastions of the city. Between the ditch and the wall are traces of figures empaled, with pikes thrust through their breasts, coinciding, as M. Longperier has justly remarked, with the fact of Cyrus having crucified 3000 prisoners at the capture of Babylon. The assault is vigorously conducted; a tall ladder, reaching from the river to the wall, is placed at each side of the flank, and up rise the besiegers;

<sup>a</sup> Numism. Chron. 1845, p. 14. Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 626. Supp. vi. 550, No. 545.

<sup>b</sup> Journal Asiatique, Lettre III., Jan. et Fevr., 1844, pl. XXII. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. Juin, 1844, pl. XXXIX.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. Jan. et Fevr., 1844, pl. XXV.

they are dressed in tunics, with spears and shields, circular, and apparently wicker, like the Persian *γερράδι*. The town represented in the sculptures agrees in many respects with the accounts of Babylon and Nineveh, from its squareness and peculiar bastions, and massive bronze gates. Besides the escalade of the troops, the fortress is attacked by a succession of cars, in much the same manner as the Pharaohs are represented commencing their assaults. A king in his chariot, attended by his charioteer, leads the van, preceded by a warrior.<sup>a</sup> Four other cars of the sons or generals of the monarch, each containing a chief or prince, discharging an arrow at a figure at a distance, with a charioteer, and two warriors, with the corpse of a fallen enemy, wearing a kind of woollen cloak, trampled by the horses, are seen. All these are surmounted by inscriptions,<sup>b</sup> which are in their turn surmounted by a band of figures. On going out of the Hall of Battles, as it has been called, by the third passage, and in turning to the right hand towards the north, was a fourth passage, leading to the Great Hall, in which was discovered a colossal figure, bearing an inscription like that of Xerxes at Persepolis, and that of the Assyrian monarch at the Nahr el Kelb.<sup>c</sup> Further on were a suite of colossal figures, two with their hands and feet manacled, preceded by three, so called, eunuchs, and brought into the presence of the, so called, Assyrian monarch or divinity.<sup>d</sup> On the north side of the same hall were seven other persons, one in a richly embroidered robe, on which was an inscription, and part of the figure of an eunuch fan-bearer, both in red sandals; at the feet of the last figure are two captives kneeling, bearded, and clad in the skins of animals, with two other prisoners standing, on whose garment is a cuneiform inscription of three cuneiform characters. The prisoners wear pointed sandals, like those of the, so called, Sesostris at Karabel. On the passage of the fourth gallery, and on turning to the right, is a high scarp mountain, covered with trees, and surmounted by a crenelated castle, below which rises a stream, running down to the foot of the hill, and passing by the walls of a city, surrounded by a terrace, supported on a wall pierced by four gates; on this wall grow trees. The rocks are represented as squared, and these have been conjectured by M. Longperier to represent the suspended gardens, said to have

<sup>a</sup> Journal Asiatique, pl. XXXIX.

<sup>b</sup> Journal Asiatique, Juin, 1844, pl. XXXII. XXXIII. XXXIV. The poles of the chariot have at their termination a figure of the bird-headed divinity, holding the  $\varphi$ , crux ansata, or symbol of life.

<sup>c</sup> The figure at the Nahr El Kelb has been hitherto generally called Persian, but it is Assyrian; the era when executed, probably, was when Tartan, general of Sargon, marched upon Ashdod. The inscription is given in Journal Asiatique, Jan. et Fevr. 1844, pl. XXVIII.

<sup>d</sup> These are given in Journal Asiatique, pl. XXVII.



been made by Semiramis at Babylon. Part of a man advancing towards the city only remained here. The greatest figures discovered were in a fifth passage,<sup>a</sup> parallel to the second, consisting of one in a cidaris and rich robe, holding a sword and lotus sceptre ; another, unbearded, and holding a fly-flap ; and a third, unbearded, and facing the principal figures. The most extraordinary part, however, of this portion of the monument were the man-headed bulls, carved in a very salient relief, found on one of the advanced massives of the passage, decorating a magnificent gate,<sup>b</sup> and having behind them the bird-headed divinity.<sup>c</sup> Although this combination is not found on any cylinder, yet the man-headed bull is common to many, where this monster is represented combating with a man, and is certainly anterior to the Persians, although adopted by them as the Gaiomords on the stair-case and at the palace of Persepolis. They replace here the lions guardians of gates of the Egyptian system. Besides these figures, in other passages were found a feast, consisting of four persons at each table, attended by slaves, and a divinity in a framework, resembling in shape an Egyptian symbol of life, and the figures of eunuchs, already described in an early part of my paper.

It would appear from the ethnographical table of nations that Nimrod went from Babylonia into Assyria, or rather that he went out of Shinar or Singara into Assyria, and founded Nineveh. Nimrod is placed as one of the descendants of Ham, and is called a son of Cush, by which it has been conjectured that he came from the Asiatic Cushites in Arabia ; but the trace of the name of Cush is extant in the name of the city Alkosh in Assyria. It is indeed hardly probable that a tribe from the south should have marched northwards to Nineveh, while the whole ethnographical distribution is from north to south and west, centered in Ararat, and radiating to the Mediterranean and Central Africa : but it is not improbable that Nimrod was at the head of a nomadic tribe, which engaged in the occupation of the chase and war, and subsequently established themselves on the Euphrates and Tigris, passing from Armenia, and inhabiting for a time the mountains of Singara. The foundation of two such important cities, at a distance so great as Nineveh and Babylon, points to a conquest of a tribe already in occupation by another probably pastoral ; while the construction of the tower of Babel indicates a certain knowledge and habits among the builders, which must be referred to a race not engaged either as hunters or shepherds, and places Nimrod distinctly at the head of a conquering aristocracy.

The Greeks attributed the foundation of Nineve or Ninoe to Ninus, and of

<sup>a</sup> Journ. Asiat. Juin, 1844, pl. XXXV.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. Juin, 1844, pl. XXXVI.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. pl. XXXVIII.

Babylon to Bel, probably from the similarity of names, and from their adopting the subsequent traditions of the Assyrians and Babylonians. But there is sufficient resemblance between the names of Ninus and Nimrod to suppose them to be intended for the same person, and they are as nearly allied as the Egyptian Men-i and Mitsra-im.

From the time of Nimrod till the eighth century B. C. little or no light is afforded in the Bible of the relative political condition of Nineveh and Babylon. The greatest confusion prevails with respect to the history of Assyria; but a compendium of it may aid in considering the age of the monuments in question. In B. C. 770, Phul, the father of Sardanapalus, compelled Menahem, king of Israel, to pay 1000 talents of silver, and become his ally. The influence of Assyria was courted by the factions which followed after the death of Jeroboam II.; and Tiglath-Pileser assisted, for a remuneration, Ahaz king of Judah against Pekah king of Israel and Rezin king of Syria, took Damascus, slew Rezin, and transferred the inhabitants, as well as those of Israel, to Kir. Salmanassar, Shalman, or Enemessar, his successor, rendered tributary Hoshea king of Israel, and ultimately reduced Judæa to an Assyrian province; transferred the inhabitants to Assyria, subdued Palestine, Elam, and Kir. The Assyrian empire at this period is supposed to have extended from Persia to the Mediterranean, and from the Caspian to the Red Sea. Sargon, the successor of Salmanassar, took Ashdod and threatened Thebes; but his success does not appear to have been permanent, for the Jews seem to have embraced the Egyptian alliance. Sancherib or Sennacherib, his successor, marched for the conquest of Egypt, and demanded that Jerusalem should be surrendered<sup>a</sup> to Rabshakeh; but while on the march, the Egyptian monarch Tirhaka advanced against him, and the loss of his army by pestilence compelled him to raise the siege of Jerusalem and return to Nineveh. The Medes then revolted, and under Dejoces formed an independent kingdom. Merodach Baladan attempted to do the same at Babylon, but his successor Belibus was taken prisoner by Sennacherib, who appointed his son, the Esar-haddon of the lists, viceroy. After a reign of eighteen years, Sennacherib was murdered by his sons, Adramelech and Sarezar, in the temple of Nisroch, and was succeeded by his son Esar-haddon, who was succeeded by Saosdouchinos and Kinneladanos. From this period the Chaldeans rose into power. Twenty-one years are given for Nabopolassar, and forty-three for Nebuchadnezzar. Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by Evil-Merodach, who reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by Neriglissar for four years, and by Nabonedus, who reigned seventeen; who was conquered by Cyrus, and his kingdom absorbed into the Persian empire. The last

<sup>a</sup> Isaiah xxxvi. 1. 2 Kings xvii. 14—16.

monarchs were all Chaldeans of the Babylonian dynasty, for Nabopalassar, viceroy of Babylon, with Cyaxares king of the Medes, took and destroyed Nineveh.

From the very earliest period of the Egyptian monarchy this nation seems to have been in relations more or less amicable with the people of Mesopotamia, and the biblical account points out their common origin. Egypt, in fact, was colonized from the northward by a nation possessing traces of Caucasian descent, and, when she had arisen to eminence, and began to contend for the empire of central Asia with the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchy, influenced in a remarkable degree the arts of the people with whom she came in contact.

One of the earliest Egyptian accounts of the *Neharana* occurs in the fragments of a tablet in the Louvre, brought from Egypt by Champollion, and executed for Aahmes, a military functionary under the rule of the sovereigns Aahmes I., Amenophis I., Thothmes I., and Thothmes II.<sup>a</sup> He seems to have been employed in the razzias of the last monarch in *Neharana*, when he captured twenty-one human hands, a horse, and a chariot. In the reign of Thothmes III. we find that monarch exacting tribute from *Neharana*, Babylon, and Is; and under Amenophis III., Thothmes IV., and Sethos I. the limits of the empire of Egypt reached to Mesopotamia, apparently to the banks of the Phrat. Under the succeeding reigns the Egyptian power probably extended still farther, but little is known monumentally of the state of internal Asiatic politics till about the time of Necho. From this period the Assyrian empire may be said to be well known. The traces of Egyptian influence are perhaps most unequivocally shewn in the monuments of the Persians, and in the type of the divinities of the Arian religion; but as the Persians, far from originating, seem to have adopted, the arts of the nations which they conquered, and as their more immediate possessions had been derived from the Medes, the Chaldees, and the Assyrians, it is more than probable that such departments of art as do not resemble either the Egyptian or Ionian Greek styles are referable to the Medo-Chaldæan people. The art of seal engraving, shewn in the numerous cylinders which were employed for sealing the exterior edges of square baked brick documents,<sup>b</sup> in order to hinder counterfeiting, was manifestly among the Assyrians anterior to the Persians, although it is evident that such cylinders must have been in use at the epoch of the Persian conquest of Babylon and Assyria, because the cylinder of Darius found in Upper Egypt, on which that monarch had placed his name in Persian, Median, and Babylonian cuneiform characters, was a decided imitation of the Babylonian

<sup>a</sup> Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des Ägyptischen Alterthums*. Fol. Leipzig, 1842; taf. XIV. A.

<sup>b</sup> A brick, with an inscription in the Ninevite hand, thus sealed, is in possession of R. Steuart, Esq.

cylinders. But the costume and art of the cylinders manifests a great relation with the monuments at Khorsabad. The alabaster vases at Paris and in the treasury of St. Mark, with the quadrilingual inscriptions in hieroglyphical, Persian, Median, and Assyrian characters, containing the names and titles of Artaxerxes, Longimanus, and Xerxes, shew how readily the Persians availed themselves of the art and literature of their vassals; and the Darics, evident imitations of the Croesids, in circulation in the westernmost portion of their empire, were borrowed from the conquered Ionia.

II. It is impossible, with the bricks of Babylon and Nineveh before us, not to admit that in their cuneiform writing the Persians only adopted a mode of writing already prevalent in the Assyro-Chaldæan empire. There is no trace of their using any alphabet connected with the Phœnician system, and it might reasonably be doubted whether the Greek claims to the invention of the purely phonetic alphabet are not well founded, because, the higher any of the primæval languages are investigated the more traces they exhibit of an ideographical and syllabical construction. The memorials of the arts of the Assyro-Chaldæans previous to the discovery of the Khorsabad remains were comparatively few, and not calculated to impress the mind with a high opinion of the capabilities of the people; but the heads from Khorsabad, the drawings of which I exhibit to-night, are not merely remarkable, but occupy an appreciable position in the art-history of mankind. They are both in bas-relief, well and roundly executed, with the countenances graceful and full; the proportions rather inclining to enbonpoint, and strongly recalling the style of art prevalent in Egypt during the period of the XXIInd dynasty, when the Egyptians had marched to Phrat, and were defeated at Karkemish. In general breadth and scope, they also bear great relation with the monument of Xerxes at Persepolis. The hair of the stouter head, or so-called eunuch, has its curls formed by short spirals; and the plaited disposition of the hair of the warrior is also extremely like the charioteer on part of this monument. The lines of the Persepolis staircase sculpture are more rigid, but in the friezes of a tomb from Lycia, now in the British Museum, the softness and rather effeminacy of treatment is visible. This monument was executed soon after the Persian conquest of Lycia, and consequently marks the development of Perso-Greek art.

The eyes and brows of the head of the eunuch are most peculiar in their treatment; the eyebrow is literally cut out and coloured black; the lids of the eyes are shell-like, and dyed with stibium, and the pupil is for a full eye, and coloured black. A singular effect is produced by the pupil not being so large as the eye, but this was, no doubt, very different when the monument was *in situ*, as the height must



have rendered it less striking. The chin is peculiarly double and full, although the rest of the face indicates youth ; but it would appear from the Egyptian monuments that some of the tribes of central Asia—the Cheta, for example, a people in the vicinity of Mesopotamia—had this physical developement. There is a smile upon the features ; and the whole bears much relation to the Egyptian sculptures in part of the treatment, while on the other hand it unequivocally is of the same school as early Persian art, and the rigid works of the Archaic Greek school executed prior to the Persian invasion of Greece. At the same time it exhibits in itself the adult effort of a school which must have had an origin either in the Assyrian or the Egyptian people.

Now the brow and lids of the eunuch recal, in a most striking manner, an inlaid wooden statue, in which the brows and eyelids would have been inlaid in some other material, probably in some metal. A small Babylonian statue, found by Mr. Steuart at Hillah, and now in the British Museum, is of the same school, and probably had its eyes inlaid. In Egyptian statues of wood of any consequence, and in many of the finest mummy-shaped Egyptian coffins, the eyes are inlaid ; in such case the brows and lids are usually composed of bronze, the white part of the eye of ivory of the tusk of the hippopotamus, and the pupil itself of obsidian. In some cases blue porcelain, and even stone, was substituted for the brows and lids. Such accessories probably accompanied the Archaic statues of Greece : for the blending of materials is of the highest antiquity among the Greeks. Although the general treatment of the eyes bears much relation to the Egyptian, it is not complete ; neither the brows nor lids of the eyes are unnecessarily produced towards the ears, and the ears themselves are placed in their right relative position, and are sculptured with a truth, fulness, and delicacy which would be creditable in modern art. No colour remains in the bearded head of the warrior ; but the whole of the monument at Khorsabad appears to have been elaborately decorated with different tints, in the same manner as the intaglio reliefs of the Egyptians. Considered with relation to Eastern ancient art, in the fulness and softness of the limbs, in the roundness of the attitudes of the limbs, and in the elaborate pictorial accessories, they must class with the happiest efforts of the Eastern school ; and, as they are evidently posterior to the earlier period of Egyptian art, I do not see why they may not have been executed by artists who were acquainted with its peculiarities. The gigantic proportions of the principal figures, the attack of the town, the name on the city, the larger size of the figures on the walls, the bird-headed deities, the human-headed bulls, recall Egyptian art ; and who can doubt the intimate relations of Assyrian art with Egypt ? On a tablet in the British Museum an Assyrian divinity or monarch is represented marking with a chisel the

notched palm-tree, in the same manner as the god Thoth on several Egyptian monuments. On a cylinder in possession of Mr. Farren, found at Hillah, bull and animal-headed divinities, exactly resembling the gods of Egypt, are engraved.

III. Now as to the epoch of these monuments: it is of course impossible in the absence of any certain knowledge of the import of a single word of these inscriptions to decide upon the subject intended.

The fall of Nineveh itself to the victorious confederates, Arbaces the Mede and Belesis king of Chaldæa, have been conjectured with much plausibility,—the son of Pul perishing in the midst of the flames.<sup>a</sup>

The siege of the Phœnician Ashdod, by Esar-haddon, whose name has been imagined to be that on the hill of the city, has been also conjectured to be the subject of the monument;<sup>b</sup> and the reign of Sennacherib, from some peculiar custom observed in the treatment of the prisoners, has been conjecturally assigned to it.<sup>c</sup> Although from its art-peculiarities any period not more than eight centuries B.C., the object of this treasure sepulchre still awaits its Œdipus. Had it been a monument of the Medes or the Persians, it would have contained bilingual inscriptions in these languages; but, as it is accompanied with a local Assyrian inscription, a sixth variety of the cuneiform character, it must, I think, be placed anterior to either the Median or Persian conquest. The city itself is apparently one of Mesopotamia; it much coincides with the description of Nineveh or Babylon. But up to the eighth century B.C. we are totally ignorant of the political and relative condition of these two provinces, and the vicissitude of a stormed and burnt town is a common occurrence to most wars. At the same time the general character of the art is rather that of decadence.

IV. Now as to the state of civilization: the arts must have attained no slight eminence among the Assyrians when these works were executed; sculpture in bas-relief, the imitation of the human form, and combined design were perfectly understood; the application of colour to sculpture, an art even now but feebly comprehended, was thoroughly appreciated; the literature of the people fixed.

In fortification, the principles of defence by short curtains and tall looped crenelated towers was as well known as among the Greeks, the wet ditch and the

<sup>a</sup> See M. Longperier, *Revue Archæol.* loc. cit.

<sup>b</sup> Löwenstern Isidore, *Essai de déchiffrement de l'Écriture Assyrienne, pour servir à l'explication de Monument de Khorsabad*, 8vo. Paris, 1845. *Dublin University Magazine*, Jan. 1847. Some passages in the *Life of King Darius*, written by himself.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Bonomi informs me that some of the prisoners, in a drawing not yet published by M. Botta, have rings in their mouths, to which is attached a cord: this he compares with 2 Kings, xix. 28, "And my bridle in thy lips."



sally port adopted. The defence it is true does not appear vigorous, but the attack is remarkably so : the besiegers approach the wall within bow shot ; the war chariot adorned with gold and silver, the bow, quiver, lance, and sword, and coat of mail are worn ; in passing the marshes the soldiers are trundled on in foot-cars. The greater portion of the force appears to be cavalry, an arm always too much esteemed by the Orientals. The richness of their attire shews the developement of the Assyrian looms. At the earliest period of Biblical history a goodly Babylonish garment and a coat of divers colours is mentioned. According to Herodotus,<sup>a</sup> the Assyrians wore a linen tunic to the feet, over which was thrown another tunic of linen, while upon this was placed a white woollen coat with a short fringe ; besides which, each of the Babylonians carried a signet ring and a stick.<sup>b</sup> Ezechiel, who had been carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, and was consequently well acquainted with the customs of the Assyrians, describes them as horsemen gorgeously clothed in blue,<sup>c</sup> girdled with belts round their loins, and wearing dyed tiaras on their heads. Belshazzar clothed Daniel in scarlet, and placed a chain of gold round his neck. Nicolaus Damascenus, who wrote indeed when the history and customs of Assyria were a matter of by-gone times, describes the attire of the effeminate monarch Nanarus or Nanabrus,<sup>e</sup> as a delicate garment round the body, with earrings in the ears, and shorn head.<sup>f</sup> The faces of the Assyrians and the Chaldees seem to have been painted with vermillion,<sup>g</sup> but no trace of this colour remains on the features.

The inner edges of the eye-brows are coloured black to represent the *σθημ* or stibium, which was applied to the inner ciliar. In the account of Nicolaus, Nanabrus is said to have abandoned the customs of his ancestors, residing in the palace, leaving the very use of arms, colouring his face, and painting his eyelids *τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς ὑπόγραφόμενος*,<sup>h</sup> and rivalling his concubines in the adjustment of his locks. A Biblical mention of stibium occurs in the book of Job,<sup>i</sup> a work it is to be remembered supposed by some to have been composed among the Chaldees. Job named one of his daughters Keren-hap-puch, or the stibium horn, referring to the horn-like case in which it was kept. Jezebel coloured her eyes with antimony to see Jehu.<sup>k</sup> Paint for the face, and antimony, are mentioned by the prophets Jeremiah<sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Lib. i. 195.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Strab. lib. xvi. p. 1058. Ed. Fale.

<sup>c</sup> Ch. xxii. 6-12. Ezechiel was made captive B.C. 595.

<sup>d</sup> Ch. vi. 29.

<sup>e</sup> The name *Νάναβρος*, I suspect, is *Νινός* " *Ἄβρος*, the effeminate *Νινός*, as ' *Ἀραῖος* the Mede is for ' *Ἀρβακίης*.

<sup>f</sup> Nicolaus Damascenus, 1805, p. 229, 230, *κατεζυρήμενος*.

<sup>g</sup> Ezechiel, loc. cit. and Ctesias in Diodor. ii, 23 ; Nicol. Damasc. loc. cit.

<sup>h</sup> Nicol. loc. cit. also *καθύπεστι βισμένοσ τῶ ὀφθαλ*, which cf. with Heliodor. 121.

<sup>i</sup> Job, xlii. 14.

<sup>k</sup> 2 Kings, ix. 10.

<sup>l</sup> Jer. iv. 30.

and Ezechiel as part of the toilet, especially of meretricious females.<sup>a</sup> Among the Egyptians the use of antimony dates from the fourth dynasty, the eyes both of the male and female sex being tinged with this collyrium. The word *stem* occurs on a tomb of the fourth Egyptian dynasty.<sup>b</sup> The same substance was found in the coffin of a warrior, by Passalacqua.<sup>c</sup> It still continues in general use among the modern populations of Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Babylon. Josephus<sup>d</sup> reproaches the zealot faction at Jerusalem with adopting the custom. Among the Greeks, at all events among the European Greeks, it does not appear to have prevailed even among the female sex; but, in proportion as the dissoluteness of Asiatics crept into Rome, Juvenal describes it among the other abandoned customs of a man of effeminate and dissolute morals. Pliny<sup>e</sup> speaks of it in such a manner as shows it to have been exotic among the Romans; and towards the close of the Empire the Christians<sup>f</sup> of the Eastern and African churches declaim in unmeasured terms against its abomination.

<sup>a</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>b</sup> Archæologia, vol. XXIX. pl. XIV. p. 112. Lepsius, Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des Ägyptischen Alterthums. Fol. Leipzig, 1842, taf. VIII. A.

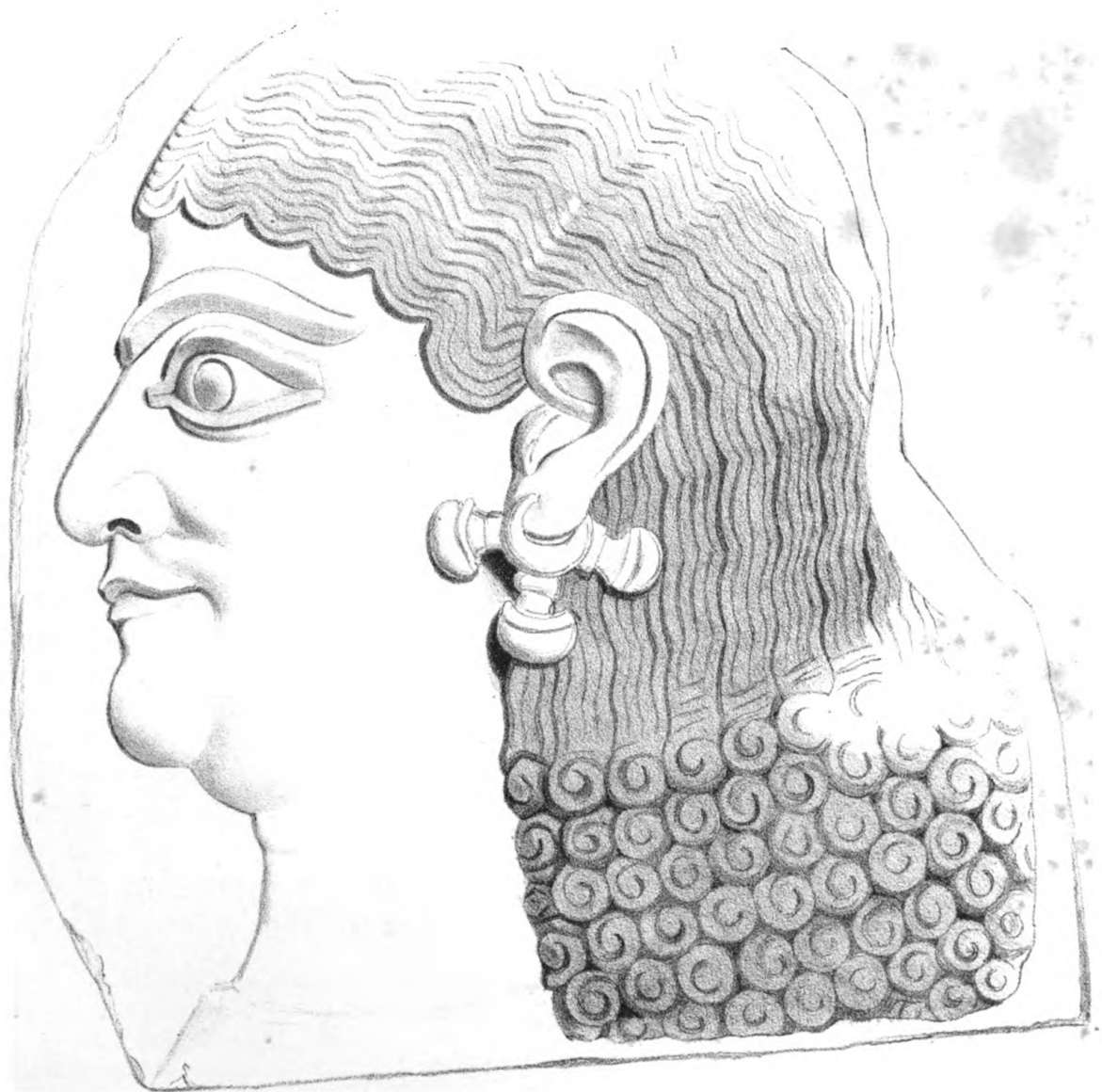
<sup>c</sup> Catalogue Raisonnée, p. 115.

<sup>d</sup> Bell. Jud. v. c. 9.

<sup>e</sup> Tanta est decoris affectatio, ut tingatur oculi quoque.

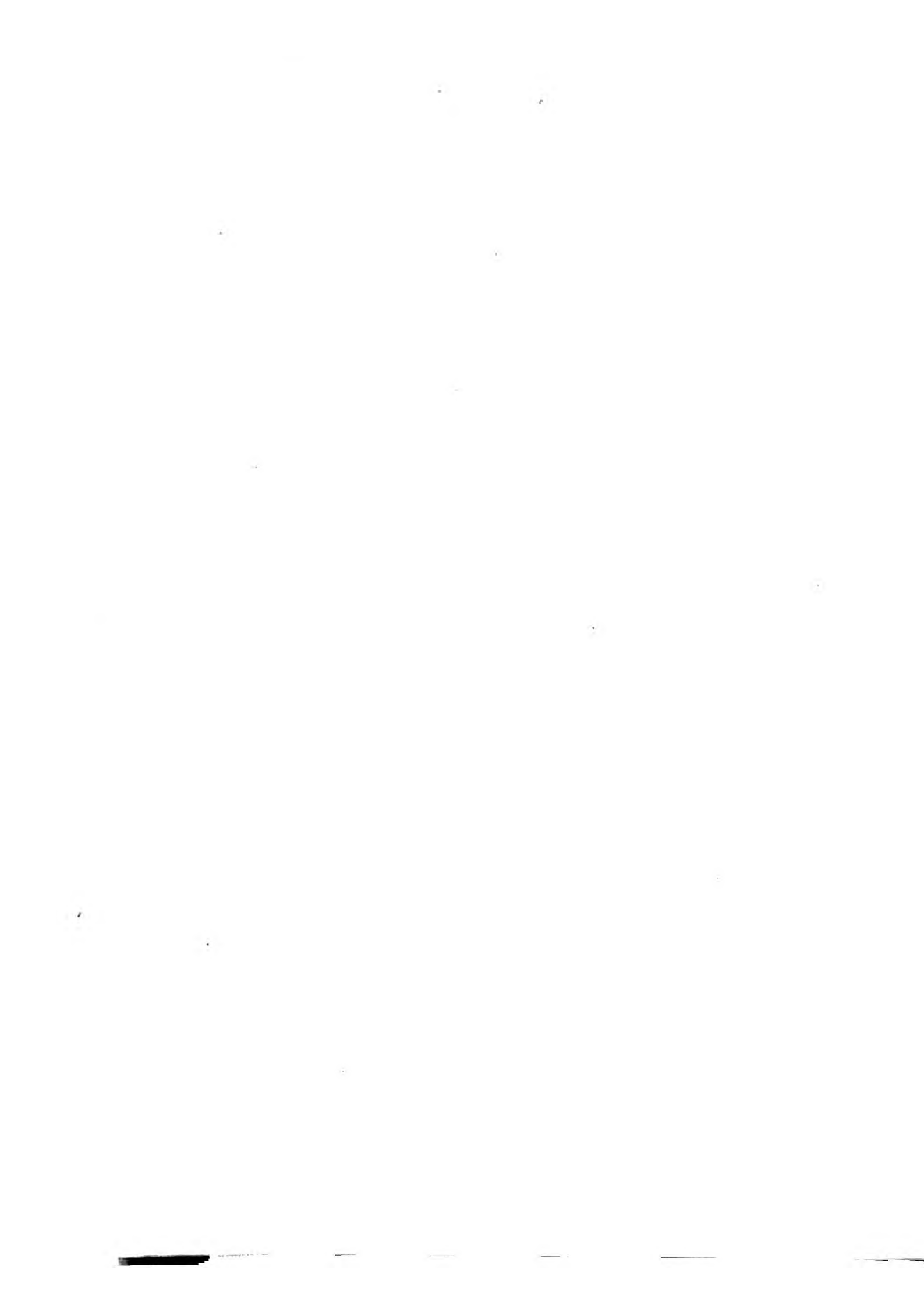
<sup>f</sup> Cf. Tertullian and St. Cyprian, De Discipl. et Cultu Virgin.





*Bas-Relief from Khorsabad.*

*J. Bastre lith.*



*Ch. Newton Esq<sup>r</sup>*  
*with grateful recollections from*  
*George Scharf*

NOTES

UPON THE

SCULPTURES OF A TEMPLE

DISCOVERED AT BATH

IN 1790.

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COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

BY GEORGE SCHARF, JUN., ESQ., F. S. A.

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FROM THE  
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NOTES UPON THE  
SCULPTURES OF A TEMPLE  
DISCOVERED AT BATH.

DURING the fall of last year I visited the ancient city of Bath, and was astonished at the quality and extent of the sculptures and inscriptions now preserved in the Literary Institution. They are collected in a vestibule attached to that building, which has a portico of very pure Greek Doric architecture, and the sculptures are effectively arranged, with the advantage of a central light from above. All the sculptures in this vestibule have a particular local interest, as they were discovered within the precincts of the city, most of them about the year 1790, upon what appears to have been the site of an ancient temple, or, more probably, a group of buildings.

On entering the apartment I at once recognised two or three of the sculptures as having been engraved in Carter's "Ancient Architecture of England," Plates 8, 9, and 10. These engravings are coarse and rough, but are, in fact, the only ones which do justice to the boldness and vigour of the originals.

I fortunately met my friend the Rev. Mr. Scarth, of Bathwick, who has recently contributed some valuable information to this Society, and, by his aid, obtained reference to other works that have been already published upon these antiquities.

On my return to town I procured access to them.

The following may be selected for mention :—

Sir Henry Charles Englefield's communication in the *Archæologia*, vol. X. entitled "Account of Antiquities discovered at Bath, 1790."

John Carter's work, 1796, already referred to.

The Rev. Richard Warner's "Illustrations of the Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath," 1797.

Samuel Lysons's "Remains of two Temples, and other Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath," 1802.

The latter, a magnificent folio work, is incomparably superior to the others, not only for scale, but for fidelity, and the words "drawn with the most scrupulous

accuracy" of his advertisement, are fully merited, excepting in two or three minor particulars.

Having procured an accurate tracing of Lysons's plates, I returned with it to Bath, and collated it with the original, marking carefully the details he had overlooked or misunderstood. In saying this I should be sorry, indeed, to be considered disposed to lessen or underrate the value of those illustrations by Mr. Robert Smirke, Jun., of that time, or of the experienced Mr. William Daniel: I am perfectly aware of the different circumstances under which they beheld the sculptures. They were not, then, deposited in the elegant vestibule that now protects them. The light upon them must have been less advantageous, and they were most probably drawn under circumstances of great difficulty. It may be also remembered that in former times the Directors of the *Archæologia* and the art-studying public were not, as we know they now are, so very particular.

Of all the plates in Lysons, those representing the subjects most interesting to me, namely, sculptures of the human figure, were least satisfactory, because, although laboriously minute in details, they were deficient in energy and spirit.

I therefore offer to your notice, this evening, an enlarged drawing, by the assistance of my Father, representing the principal compartment of the ancient temple, together with sketches of some other portions of sculpture, all of which, although greatly beyond the size of any published plates, still fall far short of the original dimensions.

It is not my intention to offer you any original interpretation of the subjects here represented; I hope, rather, by the display of these diagrams, to elicit from others some further illustrations of these really curious subjects—for they have, unfortunately, not yet acquired the notoriety in other countries which they seem to deserve, and I hope that some of our illustrious members may contribute, from their own stores of recent learning, a permanent interpretation, and close for ever the conflicting statements and opinions contained in the few works above quoted.

The larger drawing which I exhibit represents the central part of the tympanum of a pediment belonging to some richly-decorated building.

The altitude of the tympanum measured 8 feet 4 inches; and, by observing a stone containing the angle, the length of the tympanum was found to be 24 feet 2 inches.

Sir Henry Englefield observes,<sup>a</sup> "The most singular part of this building is the extreme elevation of the pediment; and this is so well ascertained as to leave no doubt about it. No ancient building as yet discovered has a pediment of so

<sup>a</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. X. page 327.

acute a pitch as this ; though in smaller works, and on medals, such are not uncommon."

He next describes Plate 32, of the same subject as my diagram, and says<sup>a</sup> that it " exhibits the central ornament of the tympanum of the temple, every part of which was measured on the spot, and all the ornaments faithfully drawn there, except the head in the centre, into the eyes of which, I fear, I have put a degree of expression which the original wants. The disposition of the beard, which is the most curious part of the head, I can, however, answer for. It has been carved on four stones, whose joints are faintly marked in the drawing."

He concludes his description by saying, " The execution of the whole is very indifferent ; but the head is as bad as possible, flat, hard, and without taste or expression."

To this sweeping condemnation I cannot by any means subscribe ; and few persons looking at the drawing now exhibited, or the plate engraved in Lysons, would declare that they never saw worse art. Those who have studied the age of decadence to which this unquestionably belongs will admit, that greater faults and barbarisms are to be found on coins, and among the sculptures of Rome itself, than in the subject before us.

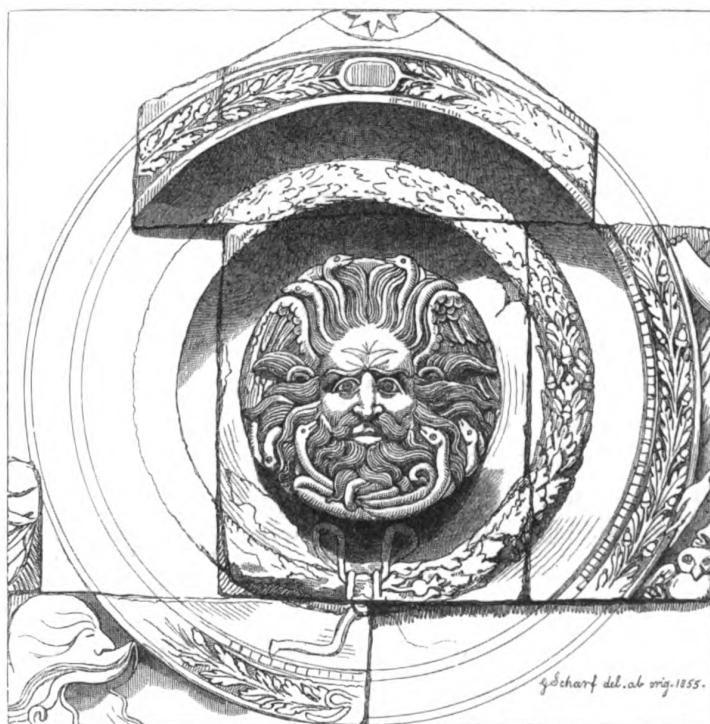
The execution is coarse, and the material, taken from the quarries in the neighbourhood, does not admit of any great delicacy of execution. The eyes are crude, and extravagant in drawing ; but there is an effective treatment of the work, as intended for a distance, and a peculiar roundness about the flesh, which (to use an artist's technicality) is especially pulpy upon the cheeks. The arrangement of the hair is very artistic, and the mode in which the snakes are made to combine with it is worthy of observation.

In making these remarks, you will permit me to remind you that I am not speaking of this specimen with regard to sculpture generally, but with reference to the class of art to which this sculpture particularly belongs : I mean of late-Roman art and provincial workmanship, and of which, I believe, we have no better specimens in this country. The celebrated *Lanx* now in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland, and of which I was permitted to make a careful study in 1852, belongs also to this class.

To return to the sculpture itself. It must have originally consisted of twelve separate stones, only six of which remain. The subject is a large circular shield, called *Clipeus*, supported by two flying figures of Victory : the feet of the right-hand Victory still remain attached to a globe.

<sup>a</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. X. page 331.

In the centre of the shield is a bold head surrounded by locks of hair, so arranged as to leave the face exactly in the centre; the beard is united with the hair of the head, forming one continued circle, and permitting only the tips of the ears to be distinguished on each side. Two large feather-wings spring conspicuously, *not* from the temples or forehead, as is usual, but from behind the ears, where they are connected with a lock of hair in somewhat clumsy fashion. Serpents are seen protruding from among the locks: they are arranged symmetrically, so that the position of the snakes' heads is nearly the same on both sides. This is not so in the disposition of the beard and lower serpents, where only a general symmetry has been observed. The union of snakes with the hair, and the appearance of the wings, have suggested to many writers the notion that this must be the head of Medusa.



All, I believe, concur in recognising the existence of moustaches (which Mr. Warner calls *whiskers*) and beard, appendages that are certainly in opposition to every known authenticated representation of the Gorgon Medusa.



Lysons says, in a note to his descriptions, page 3, "One of the most striking peculiarities of this head, namely, the whiskers, may be seen in a work apparently of better times. See Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*, vol. ii. tab. 54." On turning to Montfaucon, according to the reference, I found a representation of a moustached Medusa upon an ancient acerra—a bronze incense-box—which afterwards came into the hands of the Comte de Caylus, and is now in the possession of my friend Mr. Disney, in his well-known collection at the Hyde, near Ingatestone. Having often seen the original, I recognised the subject at once. As a specimen of real antiquity, this bronze acerra is open to much question; but it remains for us to examine its weight as an authority for a whiskered Medusa. At one of the ends is undoubtedly a Gorgon's head, and in Montfaucon's plate it is represented with *four* wings, two of them reversed, and enormous moustaches, more nearly resembling those of a Chinese mandarin than any example in classic art I remember to have seen; but on comparing this plate of Montfaucon with a careful engraving published in the *Museum Disneianum*, plate 78, not only the moustaches vanish, but the couple of wings reversed, made to spring from the jaw-bone, disappear also.

The execution of the present head is very remarkable. Whilst the architectural ornaments of the columns are bold and pierced—a style so peculiar to the decadence period—it exhibits no appearance of drill-holes except in the centre of the eyeballs, where the hole is so deep that the point of my pencil was lost in it. The nostrils are well pronounced, and the lips very clearly defined; altogether, there is a remarkably individual character about the physiognomy. The eyes are peculiar in shape, but the form of the lids carefully observed, and the marking of the eyeball by two deep-cut circles, and the hole in the centre, were evidently calculated for distant effect. The eyes themselves—that is, the spaces enclosed between the eyelids—are remarkably flat. I, perhaps, insist on these points more strongly than I would otherwise do, because it is observable that when inferior art is represented in publication it is generally made *worse* than it really is; and, when the style of art is tolerably good, it becomes flattered by the artist into perfection. Of all principles the most pernicious is to make bad worse. The flattering style is also dangerous, as the original when really seen comes to be despised, and too often set aside and neglected,—the case of the flattering portrait and Anne of Cleves. Governor Pownal admires the countenance, and above all the expression, which he says is "of aspect stern, yet open as the day, *φαιδρος τας οψεις*. Just as Mercury is described in his character of Sol."\* Now, although I do not subscribe

\* Warner, page 75.

to the Governor's Greek or mythology, it is pleasant to see some opposition to Sir Henry Englefield's sweeping condemnation. The Governor's object is to prove that this head is "the serpentine or cherubic diadem which the Egyptians, Rhodians, and some other nations in the East, placed upon the head of the divine symbol of their god."

In Carter's description of his spirited plates,<sup>a</sup> he says :—

"In the centre of the shield is a strong resemblance of the head of Medusa, as it seems to be from the entwining serpents, the flowing hair, the wings above the ears, &c. There is likewise the appearance of whiskers and a beard, hence some doubt arises in respect to the above conjecture; but perhaps the sculptor added whiskers by way of giving a more terrific look to the head; the hair upon the upper lip and chin may be no more than the flowing extremities of the hair from the head; be that as it may, the original meaning of such marks cannot be ascertained."

Mr. Carter's own drawing contradicts the opinion of the hair upon the lip proceeding from any other direction.

In mentioning this head as occupying the centre of a shield he is more correct than Englefield<sup>b</sup> or Lysons,<sup>c</sup> who both call it a patera. A note, however, added by Mr. Britton to a recent edition of Carter (1838), says, "This was unquestionably intended to represent the ægis of Minerva."

We are not, as yet, quite certain that the central head does represent Medusa; and, although the Gorgon's head is often seen in the centre of Minerva's shield, it still more frequently appears upon the ægis, but the ægis is quite distinct from the shield, and of very different character from that of the sculpture before us.

The ægis was originally a goat-skin, and when Jupiter was contending with the Titans he was directed to wear it, with the head of the Gorgon.<sup>d</sup> Homer designates Jupiter by the title of Ægis-bearing, *Αἰγιοχόος*; and from this circumstance the goat-skin became the mantle or paludamentum of the Roman emperors, and the Medusa's head at last degenerated into a fibula or button, with which the cloak was fastened on the right shoulder. The Roman emperors, in the character of Jupiter, wore the ægis, as seen upon the splendid cameo of the Emperor Rudolf, now at Vienna.<sup>e</sup> But we are more accustomed to see the ægis in connection with

<sup>a</sup> Pl. ix page 9.

<sup>b</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. X. page 332.

<sup>c</sup> Lysons, page 2.

<sup>d</sup> Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s. v. Ægis, col. b.

<sup>e</sup> Eckhel, *Choix des Pierres gravées*, pl. 1. A striking example of the combination of the scaled ægis with Roman Imperial armour may be seen in a bronze statue of a youth found at Pompeii in 1824. The head of Medusa, surrounded by snakes upon the scales, is extremely beautiful.—*Mus. Bor.* vol. 5. tav. 36.

Minerva: she wore it in various shapes and ways, frequently as a skin, covered with small scales and fringed with serpents, and sometimes as a band, very often as a cape round the neck, fastened in front with the Gorgon's head. This we may observe, that, when the goddess is fully armed, the Medusa's head never appears upon the ægis and buckler also. There are abundant examples of the Gorgon's head occupying the centre of her shield, but it was not so in the celebrated statue by Phidias in the Parthenon, and is probably not to be found in the earlier specimens of art in that position. We do find it so placed on the coins of Antiochus, Philip, Antigonus of Pergamus, and upon numerous Roman bas-reliefs. One form of the Gorgon's head appears upon copies of Roman sculpture and pseudo-antiques, which deserves a caution: it is the distorted countenance of a beautiful female, bristling with snakes, and her mouth wide open, as if screaming to the utmost extent. This is not antique, and certainly not in accordance with the taste of the early Greek artists. They represented the Gorgon hideous, with terrific teeth and something of a fiendish grin upon the countenance; the tongue also was made to protrude; as may be seen not only upon painted vases, but upon numerous coins, both Greek and of the Roman families. During the more refined period of art the hideousness was set aside, and a type "severe in youthful beauty" was adopted. A curious instance of a Medusa head, with the tongue protruding, occurs on the large round shield of a statue of Minerva, found in this country, and now in the possession of the Duke of Bedford.

Examples of the pseudo-treatment of Medusa may be seen in Causeus' *Museum Romanum*, sectio 1, *Gemm. Ant. tab. 57*, page 39; in Santi Bartoli's engraving from the frieze in the forum of Nerva, pl. 41, *Admiranda*, where the shield is a restoration of the engraver. The screaming head is also seen in Spence's *Polymetis*, plate 41, No. 2.

The illustrious Raphael has introduced the same type in his grand picture, the *Cycle of Philosophy*, commonly called the *School of Athens*.

Michael Angelo da Caravaggio has bestowed the utmost effect that art could display in a similar treatment of the same subject.<sup>a</sup> The picture now in the Gallery of the Uffizj at Florence is painted upon a convex surface, and it is a true observation that "as you turn the eyes appear to follow you."

The same gallery contains another modern example of Medusa, by Lionardo da Vinci.<sup>b</sup> The great painter has here adopted a truly poetical treatment: the head, severed from the body, lies neglected on a desert waste; the back part turned toward the spectator, so that all may gaze with impunity (mark the contrast to Caravaggio); the mouth is evidently open, but from this point of view

<sup>a</sup> Gal. di Fir. vol. ii. tav. 55.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. vol. iii. tav. 128.

not disagreeable. The last breath, like a dense cloud of steam, is seen issuing forth, and venomous reptiles and creatures of darkness are approaching, not for prey but eager curiosity, and only held back by fear, whilst the faintest symptom of life remains. The eyes, although averted and foreshortened, are terrific to behold; but the main part of the picture—because nearest in front—is the serpents, who still seem writhing, and exhibit every variety of exhaustion and suffering. Some are already dead, others stretched along lifeless in all but their head, others spending their last passion in violent contortions, and two seem to meditate a revengeful attack upon the now sightless eyeballs of the pale and beautiful countenance. But all are dying. For poetry and accurate imitation of nature this picture well merits the praise and admiration so frequently awarded to it.<sup>a</sup>

To return to our subject: the ægis and shield of Minerva were very distinct, and there can be little doubt that this is a shield of the large round clipeus form, supported by figures of Victory—of which a hand is seen at the right side, in the same manner as appears on the reverse of a large gold coin of Constantine, and on a medallion of Antoninus. Between the head and the rim of the shield are two circles or wreaths of leaves and berries, or rather oakleaves and acorns. These have no direct reference to Minerva, and are certainly not olive-branches, as some writers have described them to be.

I cannot believe this head to be Medusa; nor the Sun, as a friend of Sir Henry Englefield suggested; the latter opinion I think is set aside by the fact that the sun was represented in the same building, according to the well-known classic type, in a conspicuous position, corresponding with a figure of Luna, that we may examine hereafter. We shall probably find that this head is the symbol of the Hot Spring, and that the double wreath refers to oak-groves, which may have surrounded the locality, thus in some degree perpetuating the old Celtic places of veneration. This mode of treatment has abundant precedent on coins, those of Sicily especially. Giants—those who shook the earth and were connected with subterraneous fire<sup>b</sup>—were represented winged, and displayed in their forms combination with serpents, so that there is less ground for so strong an adherence to the opinion that this must be a Gorgon.

Male bearded heads often appear upon coins and gems with birds' wings at the temples; and long flowing locks generally indicate the abundant streams of a river-god or fountain-head. A male figure, with wings on his forehead and at his back, occurs in the so-called Mars and Sylvia painting at Pompeii. (Raoul Rochette, *Monumens Inédits*, pl. 9.) A venerable bearded figure has wings simi-

<sup>a</sup> The same city contains another celebrity of this subject, namely, the bronze statue of Perseus with the head of Medusa by Benvenuto Cellini.

<sup>b</sup> *Iliad* II. lines 780–5.



larly disposed upon a bas-relief in the Palazzo Albani. (See Zoega, Bassi-relievi, vol. ii., tav. 93.) A dignified bearded head, crowned with asphodel, has wings at the temples,<sup>a</sup> and resembles a type well known upon Roman coins<sup>b</sup> of the Titia family. In all these cases the wings are bird-like; but in the celebrated painting of Mars and Sylvia, from the baths of Titus,<sup>c</sup> a similar figure has butterfly-wings, such as Psyche is always represented with; but he has no wings to his back; a combination, however, of birds' wings at the forehead, and butterfly wings at the back of a bearded old man, may be found on the celebrated sarcophagus of the Capitoline Museum at Rome. (Mori, Museo Capitolino, vol. ii. tavola 6, page 28.)

All these examples given are personifications of the god Morpheus. The winds also were represented winged, particularly on the Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrhestes at Athens. (See Stuart's Athens, vol. i. pl. 14.) Boreas sometimes with doubled wings. (Hirt. Bilderbuch, taf. 18, No. 2.) He is described on the chest of Cypselus as having serpent-feet. *Βορέας ἐστὶν ἥρπακώς Ωρεῖθιαν, οὐραὶ δὲ ὀφείων ἀντὶ ποδῶν εἰσὼν αὐτῷ.* Pausanias, lib. v. cap. 19. The giant Typhœus was represented also with wings. (See Hirt. Bilderbuch, taf. 18, No. 4.) And it would be almost endless to particularise the representations of giants where the human form terminates in a double serpent; I shall only name a sarcophagus in the Vatican, displaying a bas-relief of the Titans struggling against the gods, which, although it is made to appear excellent art in the Museo Pio-Clementino, by Signor Visconti, is, in reality, a miserable specimen of workmanship, considering that it belonged to the great metropolis, and is not at all superior to the work we have been examining from Bath.<sup>d</sup>

Perseus was often represented in ancient art with wings attached to a helmet, or springing from the head. He generally wears the Talaria or wings at his heels, and not unfrequently has wings on the head as well as feet. (See bas-relief in the Capitol at Rome, Museum Capitolinum, vol. vi. tav. 52; Mori, Museo Capitolino; and Crystal Palace Catalogue, Greek Court, No. 35; Mus. Bor. vol. xii. tav. 52.) The type was even preserved in Anglo-Saxon times, as seen in

<sup>a</sup> Millin, Gall. Myth. No. 352, pl. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Guigniaut, Nouvelle Galerie, pl. 142, No. 334.

<sup>c</sup> Ponce, Thermes de Titus, pl. No. 29.

<sup>d</sup> Mus. Pio Clem., vol. iv. tav. 10; Pistolesi, vol. v. tav. 26; Crystal Palace Catalogue, Greek Court, No. 126. Similar figures occur in pl. 4, vol. ii., of Atlas to the Annali dell' Instituto di Roma; Pistolesi, vol. iv. tav. 94; Oesterley's Denkmäler, part ii. pl. 21, figs. 231, 232, and pl. 22, fig. 242; Raspe's Catalogue of Tassie's Gems, pl. 26, No. 1753; pl. 19, No. 986; pl. 20, Nos. 1001, 995, 991, and 992. Museo Borbonico, vol. i. tav. 53. Millin, Gall. Myth. Nos. 52, 114, 128, and 122. Guigniaut, Nouvelle Galerie, pl. 92, Nos. 338, 356; pl. 93, No. 338a.



a MS. marked Tiberius, B. v. in the British Museum. The illumination occurs on page 34. A Mercury among the Pompeian paintings has wings growing from the head as well as feet. (*Pittura d'Ercolano*, vol. vii. tav. 19, page 89.)<sup>a</sup>

The flowing Streams, personified with ample locks, have often dolphins or river-fish mingled with them, sometimes heads of horses, and very frequently vine-leaves and panthers. See, for example, the lamp in *Museum Romanum of Causeus*, vol. ii. No. 18, which has a bold head, with horns, dolphins, and horses' heads, falsely attributed to Pan. The rise of the river Hipparis is beautifully represented on coins of Camarina as a youthful head, with horns, accompanied with fish, rising as it were encompassed with a pool of water. Many valuable remarks connected with these subjects will be found in Mr. Watkiss Lloyd's *Essay on Greek Chorographical Coins*, published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 14th June, 1848, where he shows the various ways in which the geographical situation of the personified object was indicated.

I must confess myself strongly impressed with the belief that this central head, instead of being a Gorgon, is a personification of the celebrated Hot Spring itself, that the abundant curls pertain to the flowing streams, and that the wings relate to the fleeting nature of the Bath waters, which, from their intense heat, evaporate rapidly. The fleeting and evanescent nature of dreams is in the same manner symbolized by wings upon the head of Morpheus, and wings are also seen attached to chariot-wheels, although, in themselves, the latter indicate rapid motion.<sup>b</sup>

Sleep and Death are also represented with wings,<sup>c</sup> when transporting Sarpedon from the battle-field to his native home; and Aurora carrying off Memnon is similarly provided; the last three instances relating distinctly to transit through the air. A fleeting shower was impersonated with wings, as Jupiter Pluvius upon the column of Marcus Aurelius at Rome.<sup>d</sup>

Thetis, in a cylix of the *Museum Gregorianum*, when embraced by Peleus, is represented with a winged band on her forehead.<sup>e</sup> This seems to indicate the power she possessed to elude by changing suddenly from one shape to another.

The Winds were frequently represented as bearded heads with birds' wings, and

<sup>a</sup> Wings spring from the head also of Etruscan marine deities. See Guigniaut, *Nouvelle Galerie*, pl. 155, fig. 589 a, 591 c, and 592 a; and Dennis' *Etruria*, title-page, vol. i.

<sup>b</sup> See sculpture upon the lid of the Paiafa Tomb in the Lycian Saloon of the British Museum, No. 142.

<sup>c</sup> See *Archæologia*, vol. XXIX. Pl. 16, essay by Mr. Birch upon a Canino vase in the British Museum; and Overbeck, *Abbildungen zur Gallerie Heroischer Bildwerke*, taf. 22, No. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Engraved in Bartoli, *Columna Antonini*, tav. 15, and Hirt. *Bilderbuch*, taf. 18, No. 5.

<sup>e</sup> *Mon. dell' Instituto*, Atlas 1832, tav. 37. Overbeck, taf. 8, No. 4.

the type has been continued as late as Anglo-Saxon times, and may be seen on pp. 16 and 69 of the famous Harleian MS. No. 603, now in the British Museum.

Pursuing the chorographical view, the locality of the hot spring at Bath is in a deep valley or rather basin of hills, and totally different in situation from all other Roman towns; but this may be accounted for by considering that the origin of the town was for salutary purposes, and not for defence.

Therefore, on the above principle, the great shield forming the centre of this pediment may prove to be a basin, such as collected the waters as they rose, and in this respect the actual shape of the sculpture would be favourable, for the space between the circles and all round the head is deeply concave, whilst all bucklers that I remember in ancient art partake of the opposite form, convex.

Having thrown out these hints and done all I can to oppose the interpretation of this head as a Medusa—in which I am happy to acknowledge the confirmation and encouragement of my friend Mr. Burgon—it remains for us to glance at other portions of this sculpture.

At the left hand lower corner is a helmet of a very peculiar and unclassic shape, done with so little intelligence of construction as to cast a suspicion over the antique genuineness of the whole composition, but for the well-authenticated circumstances under which they were discovered.<sup>a</sup> On the right-hand side above is part of an arm with a bracelet, and lower down a tolerably well executed hand holding a wreath, evidently belonging to a flying Victory, which we shall consider presently, for a smaller object below claims prior attention. It is the hand of a child holding an owl by the wing. Here we must acknowledge an emblem of Minerva, and of Night also. The helmet *alone* may be regarded as allusive to Mars, and in early instances reminding us of the invisible helmet of Pluto. The helmet, as symbolizing Mars, would have been an appropriate allusion in a Roman colony, and the owl of Minerva especially appropriate in connection with a building devoted to the healing deities. It may not be inappropriate to quote here a passage from a very late Greek author, Proclus, who, on account of the date at which he flourished (he died A.D. 485), may be the more to our purpose:—

Ἡ ΑΘΗΝΑ ΝΙΚΗ προσαγορευαται και ΥΓΙΕΙΑ, τον μεν νουν κρατει ποιουσα της αναγκης, και το ειδος της υλης, ολον δαει και τελειον, και αγηρων, και ανοσον διαφυλαττουσα το παν, οικειον συν της του θεου ταυτης, και το αναγειν, και μεριζειν, και δια της νοερας χορειας συναπτειν τοις θειοτεροις, και ενιδρυνειν και φρουρειν εν αυτοις.

<sup>a</sup> The adoption of classic types, and ignorance of the original forms, can only be paralleled by examples of Anglo-Saxon art in MSS.

This Taylor translates <sup>a</sup> as follows :—

Minerva is called *Victory* and *Health*; the former because she causes intellect to rule over necessity, and form over matter; and the latter, because she preserves the universe perpetually whole, perfect, exempt from age, and free from disease. It is the property therefore of this goddess to elevate and distribute, and through an intellectual dance, as it were, to connect, establish, and defend, inferior natures in such as are more divine.

A fragment of the flying *Victory* is seen on the left: the folds of the drapery are well arranged, better a great deal than on the *Victories* of the arch of Constantine at Rome. The forms of the feathers are particularly well observed, and have not been done justice to in Lysons's engraving. This portion is not shewn in the woodcut on page 6.

A parallel arrangement to this sculpture is to be seen at the entrance to the Library of Durham Cathedral, engraved in Carter, plate xi. fig. j: it was found at Lanchester; each *Victory* stands on a globe, and has a shield, of the *Pelta* form, on her arm. The circles upon the globe belonging to the right-hand *Victory* of our sculptures (omitted in the accompanying woodcut) are to be seen also on paintings at Pompeii, engraved in the Museo Borbonico, vol. vii. tav. 55. They occur besides on the gold coins of Augustus, and are carefully observed on the globe of the celebrated *Farnese Atlas*, now in the Museum of Naples.<sup>b</sup> See also engraved gems published in the Chev. E. Gerhard's *Archemorus Vase*, Berlin, 1836. A globe encircled by a band containing the signs of the zodiac appears in a Pompeian painting. *Pittura d'Ercolano*, vol. vii. p. 11.

The other sculptures, which seem to have occupied two circles set in smaller pediments, arranged probably on each side of the larger, represented, in one, the Sun, in the other *Luna* or *Selene*.<sup>c</sup> The bust of the latter only, in a medallion, is preserved; she is seen full-face, with the crescent, not on her forehead, but behind her head, gracefully filling up the circular space.<sup>d</sup> The right shoulder is bare; on the left side is her whip (see *Mus. Bor.*, vol. xiv. tav. 3), and her hair is tied in a knot over her forehead, in accordance with other classic representations

<sup>a</sup> Taylor's Notes to Pausanias, vol. iii. page 242.

<sup>b</sup> The *Atlas* is engraved in Spence's *Polymetis*, plate 33; *Mus. Bor.* vol. v. tav. 52; and Hirt. *Bilderbuch*, plate 16, fig. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Carter, pl. 9, figs. A and C; Lysons, pl. 6, No. 1.

<sup>d</sup> This position of the crescent appears to be of Phrygian origin. It is seen on coins combined with the male *Deus Lunus* in Phrygian costume; but a beautiful profile bust of *Artemis Selene* is thus combined with the crescent on a round altar in the Louvre. (See Bouillon, tom. iii. pl. 69; and Wincklemann, *Mon. Ined.* No. 21.) The crescent also appears behind her head as she descends with a torch to *Endymion* in a Pompeian painting. *Mus. Bor.* vol. xiv. tav. 19.)

of the virgin goddess. Of the medallion of the Sun only some portions of the rays are left, but their arrangement, and the space they occupy, render it improbable that they exceeded seven in number; <sup>a</sup> and the remaining edge of the medallion-frame corresponds in size with that of the Moon or Selene. A standing figure of Apollo, with seven rays, holding a whip in the right hand, and a globe, *encircled*, in the left, was found among the paintings at Pompeii. <sup>b</sup> This fragment of the Sun is engraved in Lysons, pl. 9, fig. 6, and he describes it on page 8 as "a fragment too much mutilated to lead to any probable conjecture concerning them." Carter, on the other hand, at once recognises "the rays of the sun." (Plate 9, fig. A.)

A star is also represented on the adjoining fragment in Lysons, No. 9. This Carter unfortunately gives under fig. B, with the explanation "a representation of the sun."

I must now take leave of my subject, but not without expressing a hope that others who have more leisure and learning may pursue the subject; even the architectural arrangement of the Temple itself, with the elaborate ornamentation of the columns and entablature, would afford a most interesting subject for an essay. Many sculptural fragments pertaining to the same building also claim attention; they refer to the various seasons of the year, <sup>c</sup> and thus serve to extend the cosmical nature of the decorations. From the residence of the celebrated architect Adams and others upon the spot, few excavations have been so carefully noted at the time, and the antiquary may rejoice at having so much satisfactory data to work upon.

G. S.

February 8, 1855.

<sup>a</sup> Compare a head of Helios or the Sun, in the Rondanini Palace, and a bust in the Capitol at Rome. Bouillon, vol. i. pl. 75; Crystal Palace Catalogue, Greek Court, No. 394. The head of the Sun appears on various coins of Rhodes, and a full-length statue of the same deity is preserved in the Louvre, formerly in the Palazzo Borghese. Seven rays also spring from the head of the painted figure. (Mus. Bor. vol. vii. tav. 55.)

<sup>b</sup> Mus. Bor. vol. vii. tav. 55.

<sup>c</sup> Carter, pl. 10.



ON

A V A S E

REPRESENTING

AN ADVENTURE OF PERSEUS.

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COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

BY

SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A.

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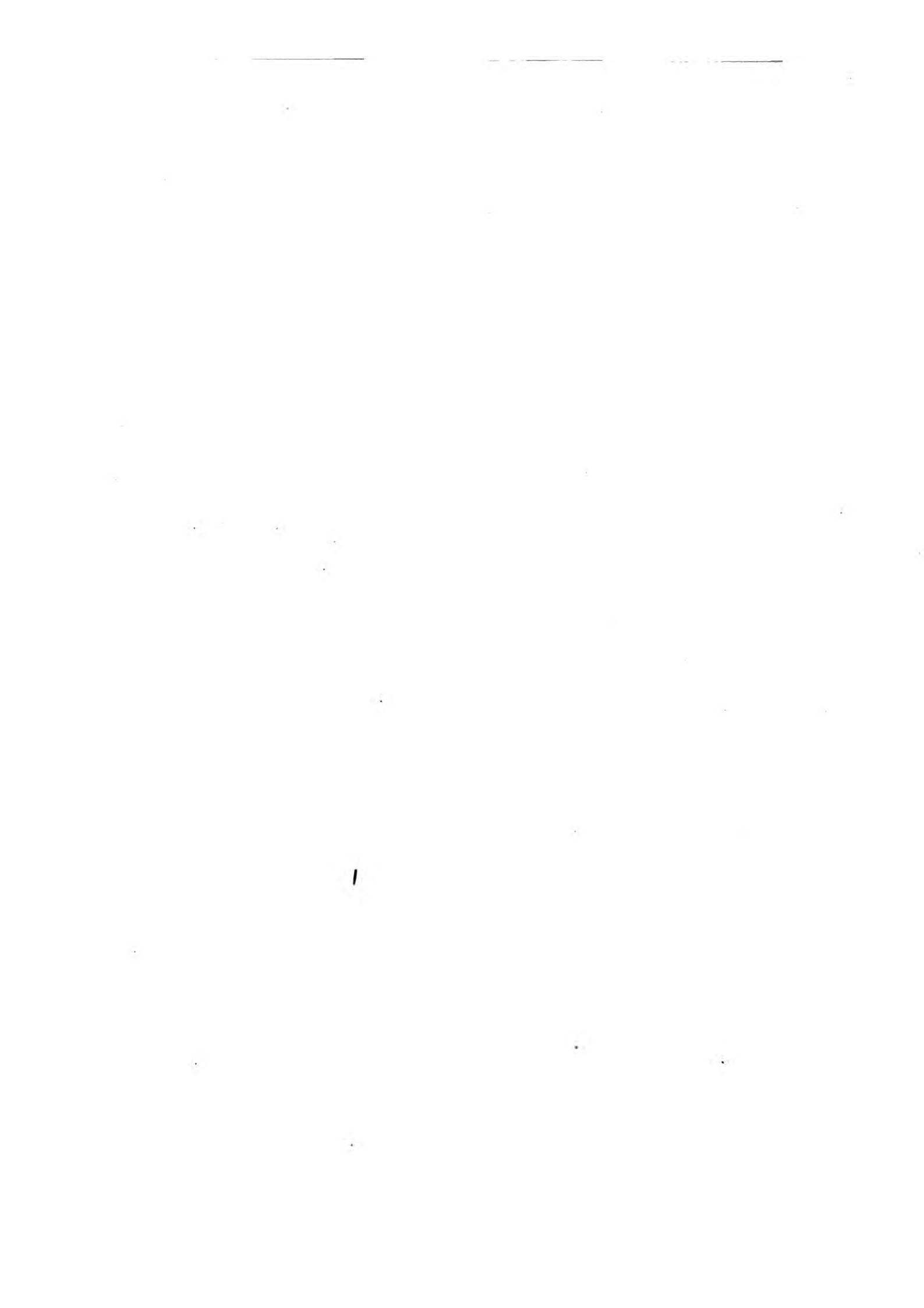
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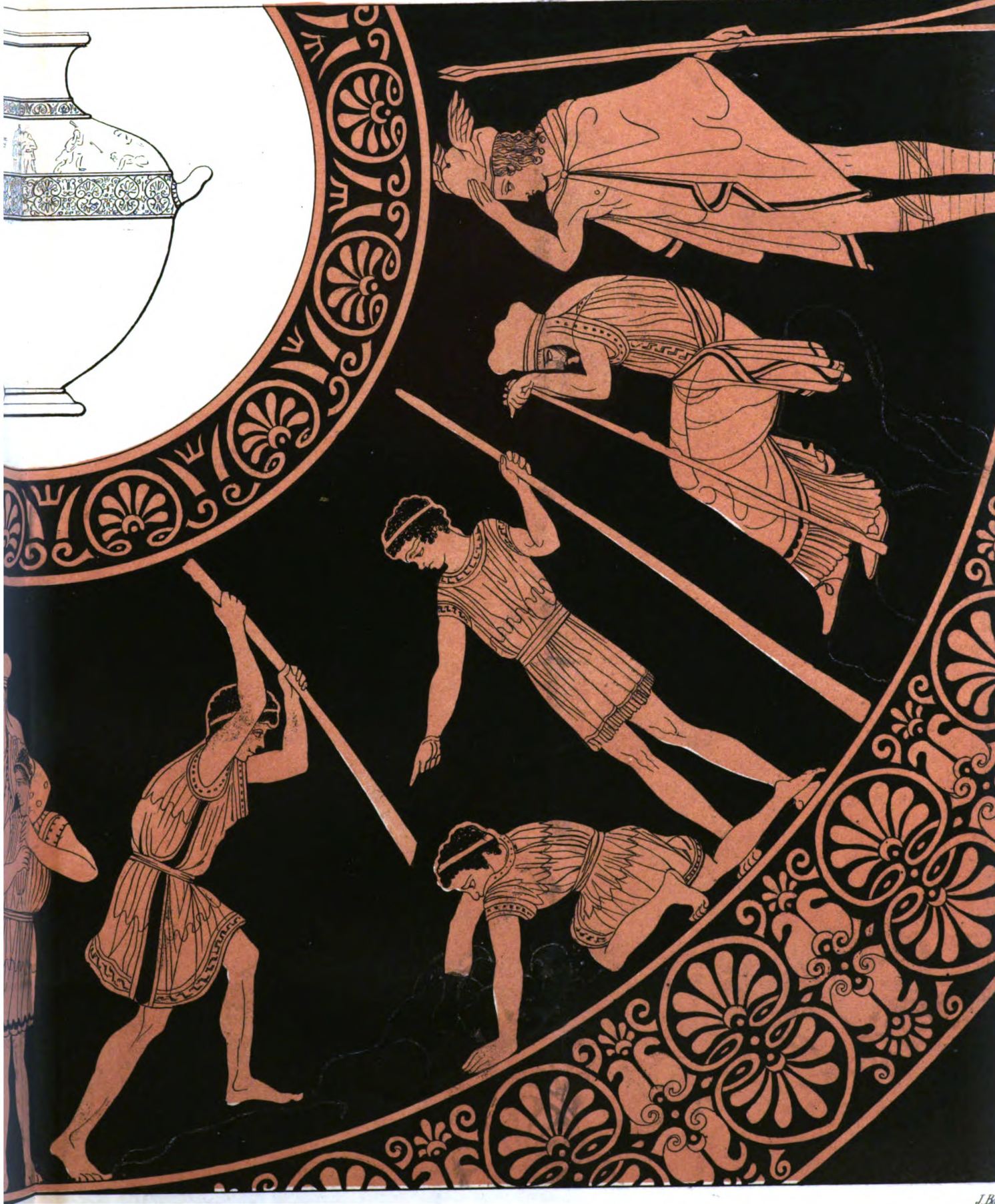




VASE REPRESENTATION

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PERSEUS AND HIS COMPANIONS. AN ADVENTURE OF PERSEUS.

By the artist of the *Antiquaries of London*, 1855.



Hercules; and the celebrated chest of Cypselus, and the throne of Bathycles at Amyclæ, numbered this story among their subjects. It is seen amidst the metopes of the oldest of the Selinuntine temples, and it only disappears with the fall of art itself, on the coins of Argos, struck in the reign of Valerian.

It is not necessary to recite once more the story in its details, for with these all are sufficiently familiar; but merely to point out the chief points seen in ancient art, such as the confinement of Danaë in her brazen,<sup>a</sup> iron,<sup>b</sup> or marble<sup>c</sup> chamber, and the descent of the golden shower of the metamorphosed Zeus through the roof<sup>d</sup> or window,<sup>e</sup> a subject not found at an early period, but only on the Pompeian mural paintings and certain Roman gems,<sup>f</sup> in which, however, the artists have departed from the traditions which have reached us, as Danaë is surprised by the fall of the shower in her garden,<sup>g</sup> Zeus sending down the auriferous shower from his hands, or Cupid from an amphora.<sup>h</sup> Yet this part of the myth appears to have been part of the tragedies of Sophocles,<sup>i</sup> if it did not form that of the Danaë of the trilogy of Æschylus.<sup>k</sup> Acrisius measuring the chest,<sup>l</sup> and the arrival of Danaë

<sup>a</sup> Horat. Carm. iii. 16, makes her guarded by dogs. Eudocia (Villoison, Anecd. Græc.), 4to. Venet. 1781, p. 334, places her in a brazen chamber under the hall. Zenob. Cent. i. 41. Homer Il. xiv. 317, 318, Schol. This may be compared to the brazen vessel in which Mars was imprisoned, Iliad v. 387, and the Schol. Pseudo-Didym. ad eund. According to the Cypria it meant a prison.

<sup>b</sup> Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838.

<sup>c</sup> Hygin. fab. lxiii. muro lapideo. Eudocia, Violar. 4to. Venez. 1781, p. 334.

<sup>d</sup> *διὰ τινος ὀπης*. Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838. Terent. Eunuch. iii. 36, 37. Sophoc. ii. 200. Eratosth. Cat. 16, Schol. ad Ajac. init. The subject occurs on a Vase, Arch. Zeit. 1845, s. 285, engraved by M. Gerhard, Danaë, 4to. Berl. 1854.

<sup>e</sup> Lucian, Mar. dial. ix. 12, *εἰς χαλκοῦν τινα θάλαμον*; and Zeus, *χρυσὸν γενόμενον ῥύηναι διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐπ' αὐτήν*.

<sup>f</sup> Gori, M. pl. i. lvi. 4.

<sup>g</sup> Mus. Borb. ii. xxxvi. Coinciding with the *turris septa* (Claudian in Eutrop. i. 82); *aerata* (Propert. ii. xvi. 12); and *ahenea* (Horat. l. c.) The other picture in Mus. Borb. xi. li. is also Danaë (R. Rochette, l. c. p. 191).

<sup>h</sup> Mus. Borb. xi. xxi.

<sup>i</sup> Sophocles, 8vo. Lond. 1824, a Brunck, ii. p. 193, fragments of the Akrisios or Larissæans. Cf. Schol. ad Sophoc. Ajac. init. et Antigone, 944.

ἔτλα καὶ Δανάας οὐράνιον φῶς  
ἀλλάξει δέμας ἐν χαλκοδέτοις  
αἰλαῖς κρυπτομένα δ' ἐν  
τυμβήρει θαλάμῳ κατεζεύχθη.

<sup>k</sup> Welcker supposes that the Danaë, Phorceydes, and Polydectes formed a trilogy. Apollod. ii. 4, 1. Æschylus in Didot's Classics, 4to. Paris, 1846, p. 244.

<sup>l</sup> Either the *λάρναξ*, or *κιβωτὸς*, or *κιβώτιον*, of wood, according to all versions except Schol. ad Antig.

and her son at Seriphos,<sup>a</sup> which had been immortalized by the threne or dirge of Simonides,<sup>b</sup> occur on two vases with red figures,<sup>c</sup> of about the same epoch and style, on which Danaë is represented either nailed in the chest by the servants<sup>d</sup> of Acrisius, or else opening it to issue forth after landing at Seriphos,<sup>d</sup> which is alone found on a mural painting<sup>e</sup> of Pompeii, where Danaë having issued from the chest suckles Perseus in presence of Dictys and Polydectes; probably a copy of the picture of Artemon,<sup>f</sup> the subject of the Danaë, or the Dictys of Euripides.<sup>g</sup> The analogy of this adventure to that of Semele, Auge, Hemithea, Deucalion, and Rhoio, has not escaped observation;<sup>h</sup> but such portions of the story as the hero brought up in the temple of Athene, or the fatal entertainment at which Polydectes extorts from him the promise of the Gorgon's head, have probably not exerted the artists' skill, as they could not easily be distinguished from similar subjects. Nor can the meeting of Perseus and Hermes at Seriphos be found, and the real cycle of his adventures commences with the departure to find the Gorgons.

It is according to the arguments of the plays of the earliest dramatists that the Argive hero proceeds, by the advice of Athene, and under the guidance of Hermes, to seek the Graiæ,<sup>i</sup> or as they are sometimes called the old women of Phorcys, whose marine nature is shown by their descent from that primæval god and Ceto, and who are placed at the lake Tritonis, near the garden of the Hesperides. Such at least was the subject of the tragedy of the Phorceydes<sup>k</sup>

948. In Lucian, *Marin. dial.* ix. 14, Doris and Thetis send the box into the nets of the fisherman. The Italian tradition (*Serv. Virg. Æn.* vii. 372) makes them arrive in Italy (cf. *ibid.* viii. 345), connecting them with Ardea and Argiletum. See the vase, *Annali*, 1847, pl. M. supposed by Panofka, *ib.* p. 226, to be Theas.

<sup>a</sup> *Mus. Borb.* ii. xxx. 4. M. Panofka, in *Arch. Zeit.* 1846, s. 206, p. 1.—the *ball* Perseus holds in his hands is supposed to be the *diskos*, but it rather indicates his being three or four years of age. Pherecyd. *Fragm.* Sturz, p. 72; R. Rochette, p. 191, however, has overlooked that Perseus was detected by the noise he made at *play*. Eudocia, l. c.

<sup>b</sup> *Simonidis cei. Fragm.* a Schneidewin, p. 67. Welcker, *Æschyl. Tril.* p. 380.

<sup>c</sup> *Mus. Borb.* l. R. Rochette, *Choix de Peint.* p. 181. M. Campana, in *Bull.* 1845, p. 214-18.

<sup>d</sup> Eudocia, l. c.

<sup>e</sup> Raoul Rochette, *Choix de Peintures*, pl. 15, p. 179.

<sup>f</sup> *Plin. Nat. Hist.* xxxv. xi. 40.

<sup>g</sup> Welcker, *die Griech. Trag.* t. ii. p. 668, 674. Cf. *Id. die Æschyl. Trilog.* 378, for the version of Apollodorus being taken from Pherecydes. *Anthol. Palat.* a Jacobs, xiii. p. 632. Euripid. *Fragm.* ix pp. 139, 140.

<sup>h</sup> Rochette, *Choix*, p. 178, has remarked them all except Rhoio, who, seduced by Apollo, was thrown by her father Staphylus, in a box, into the sea. Eudocia in Villoison, l. c. pp. 371, 372.

<sup>i</sup> Eudocia *Violarium*, l. c. 334. *Paræmiographi Veteres* a Gaisford, p. 240. In Tzetzes ad *Lyc.* 838, they lead him to the nymphs.

<sup>k</sup> *Æschylus*, 8vo. Paris, 1846, p. 244. Faehse, *Sylloge*, 8vo. Lips. 1813, p. 53, 792 (790). Hygin. *Poet. Astr.* ii. xii. They guarded the golden apples of the Hesperides, *Heraclit. de Incred.* 13.



of Æschylus. These goddesses, either two or three in number, are described with dogs' heads, and eyes placed in their breasts, according to one tradition, but as "swan-like" or "swan-shaped" in the Prometheus Bound of the Tragedian. One vase of the earliest style<sup>a</sup> seems to represent them as birds with human heads (like the Sirens or the Harpies), and the arrival of Perseus at their habitations; and it is possible that certain earlier vases, in which a female is seen holding two swans,<sup>b</sup> or on which a swan appears in connection with a god like a giant of anguiform appearance,<sup>c</sup> may intend to convey the idea of these weird sisters. From the Graiæ the literary myths make him go to the Nymphs, the artistic ones to the Naiads or nymphs of the lake Tritonis, from whom he receives the helmet of Hades, the kibisis or wallet, and the talaria or winged sandals.<sup>c</sup> Such at least is the form in which this action appears on a vase<sup>d</sup> in the British Museum found at Cære, and of the earliest style. This subject was represented in the metopes or frieze of the Chalcoikos or brazen shrine of Athene Poliouchos at Sparta, the work of Gitiadas, who flourished B. C. 514.<sup>e</sup> Other versions made him receive the helmet and talaria from Hermes.<sup>f</sup> On the early monuments the helmet of Hades is like the petasus of Hermes, and the sandals are winged, but in many other works of art, such as mirrors and gems, the talaria are represented as wings, which he attaches to his feet.<sup>g</sup> According to some versions he receives his equipment from Hermes himself; which however is not as yet found represented, and the Naiads or nymphs of the pools appear the most suitable providers of the sandals, although their connection with Hades and Hermes is difficult to interpret. He had yet to receive the harpé or harpoon, an incident only found on works of the later period of art. According to the argument of the Phorcydes<sup>h</sup> this weapon, made of adamant, he obtained from Hephaistos, but on the monuments hitherto known it appears as the gift of Athene.<sup>i</sup> This probably refers to the tradition in which he

<sup>a</sup> Panofka, Perseus und die Gräa. 4to. Berl. 1847. Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. xxxvi.

<sup>b</sup> Micali, Ant. Mon. 17; No. 5, 78; No. 1, 46; No. 17. Müller, Denkm. 282 b. Cf. these figures with the Medusa holding two lions, and the swans in the scene of the death of the Medusa. Micali, Ant. Mon. tav. 22. Müller, l. c. 280.

<sup>c</sup> Apollod. ii. 4, 2. Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838.

<sup>d</sup> Cat. Vas. Brit. Mus., No. 584, p. 138. Arch. Zeit. 1847, 24\*.

<sup>e</sup> Pausanias, III. c. xvii. s. 3. Winckelman, Opp. vi. i. 2, 23, sq.

<sup>f</sup> Eratosthenes, Catast. c. 22. Hygin. Poet. Astron. ii. 12.

<sup>g</sup> Scarabæus with his name ΦΕΔΣΕ (P'herse). Lanzi, Saggio II. iv. n. 5. Millin, Gal. Myth. xcv. 38, ii. p. 5.

<sup>h</sup> Hygin. Poet. Astr. ii. xii. Eratosth. Catast. c. 22.

<sup>i</sup> Gargiulo, Raccolta dei Monumenti piu interessanti del R. Museo Borbonico di Napoli. tav. 122. Inghirami, Vas. Fitt. cclxvi. De Witte, Cat. Dur. 242, Brit. Mus. 1303. O. Jahn, Ann. 1851. Tav. agg. O.

is exhorted to the enterprise by Athene and not by the orders of Polydectes. In some authors, such as Apollodorus, he receives the harpé from Hermes, and the mirror from Athene,<sup>a</sup> alluding to this goddess drawing the form of the monster in the Deicterion at Samos, and shewing it to the youthful hero.<sup>b</sup> On one mirror Athene traces the head of a Gorgon on the ground.<sup>c</sup> His departure to destroy the Gorgon is seen on these monuments, on which he flies thus equipped.<sup>d</sup> Great difference prevails both in literature and art as to the place where the Gorgons are located, whether close to the gardens of the Hesperides near the Lake Tritonis,<sup>e</sup> or else on the banks of Ocean near the Iberian Tartessus,<sup>f</sup> dwelling in gloomy caverns.<sup>g</sup> The sleep of the Gorgons is found on a bronze in the Museum at Naples, where they occur in company with their marine cognates the Tritons.<sup>h</sup>

The actual destruction of the mortal Medusa has been the subject of so many works of art that it will require some time to enumerate them in detail. The first of these, the shield of Hercules, so elaborately described by Hesiod,<sup>i</sup> and the Cypria, rather designed to convey an idea of the capabilities of the Toreutic art than to describe an existing monument, had on it the figure of Perseus chased in gold, in very high relief. The hero, wearing the winged sandals, had the sword, in an iron scabbard (not the renowned harpé), made of brass, and suspended from his belt. He flew through the air carrying the head of the Medusa in the kibisis or wallet, which was made of silver, and he held the kibisis by golden thongs or strings. On his head was the helmet of Hades. The Gorgons pursued him, girdled with serpents, and, although not described, it is possible to restore them as having golden wings, brazen hands, and ivory teeth.<sup>k</sup>

The selection of this emblem appears to have been suggested on account of the

<sup>a</sup> Schol. ad Lyc. 17. Cf. Lucian, Marin. Dialog. ix. 14, ἀθλον τινα τοῦτον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπιτελῶν as an act of gratitude to Polydectes.

<sup>b</sup> Apollod. Biblioth. l. c. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 838. Cf. the vase, Ann. 1851; T. N. 1850, A.

<sup>c</sup> Dempster, Etr. Reg. ii. 4. Guigniaut, clxi. 610.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Koehler, Gesammelt. Schrift. Th. i. s. 151. Winckelman, Mon. Ant. In. s. 151, tav. 84, c. 3, p. 112. D'Hancarville, iv. p. 23, Pl. XIII. f. 1. Lanzi, Saggio ii. pp. 3, 45, 46, tav. viii. f. 6. Stosch, Abdr. 41, 406. Tolkien, Verzeichniss, s. 38, No. 47.

<sup>e</sup> Eudocia Violarium, l. c.

<sup>f</sup> Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838.

<sup>g</sup> Æschylus, 8vo. Paris, 1846, p. 244. Eustath. p. 1872-3. Athen. xi. 402. Bekker, Anecd. p. 457, 21.

<sup>h</sup> Neapels Ant. Bildw. B. i. s. 235.

<sup>i</sup> Scut. Herc. 216. It appears that the word *κίβισις* was derived from the Cypria. Hesychius, voce. Herod. vi. 23. Meursius, Cypr. p. 17.

<sup>k</sup> Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838.

relationship between Hercules and Perseus, in the same sense as Phrixus on the ram was engraved on the tunic of Jason,<sup>a</sup> Io on the calathus of Europa,<sup>b</sup> and Argus, Io, and Inachus on the shield of Turnus.<sup>c</sup> The emblem on the shield of Achilles, described in the *Electra* of Euripides, was Perseus in company with Hermes flying over the sea to the Gorgons.<sup>d</sup> On the quiver of Philoctetes the hero was seen killing the Medusa in the west, on the shores of Ocean.<sup>e</sup> On the celebrated chest of Cypselus Perseus was represented flying through the air to escape the pursuit of the awakened Gorgons, Stheno and Euryale;<sup>f</sup> and the incident of the death of the Gorgon occurred on the throne of Apollo at Amyclæ, made by Bathycles.<sup>g</sup> On the ancient works of art the Gorgons are always represented terrible, clad in short tunics, sometimes with the skins of animals, wearing winged boots, and with wings attached to their form. One monument alone of these represents the Medusa as a centaur holding a lion;<sup>h</sup> all the others make her human. One of the oldest appearances of the mythos is that on the metope on the old temple, in the middle of the ancient Selinus, treated in the Doric style of art, and proto-Æginetic in its details. Perseus here wears a pilos without wings, but his boots or sandals are provided with the recurved wings in front. With his left hand he holds a lock of the Gorgon's hair, while with his right he plunges the harpé into her throat. She has fallen on her left knee, and holds a horse of small size with her arms. Athene, draped as a female without emblems, aids him. All the figures face the spectator, the intention of the artist being to represent them approaching the

<sup>a</sup> Apollod. i. 763.<sup>b</sup> Moschus, *Idyll.* ii. 44.<sup>c</sup> Virgil, vii. 789, 792.<sup>d</sup> V. 459. Ἰλιόθεν δ' ἔκλυον τινὸς ἐν λιμέσιν

Ναυπλίοισι βεβῶτος

τᾶς σᾶς ὦ Θέτιδος παῖ

κλεινᾶς ἀσπίδος ἐν κύκλῳ

τοιάδε σήματα, δείματα

Φρύγια τετύχθαι

περιδρόμῳ μὲν ἵτνος ἔδρα

Περσέα λαιμοτόμον ὑπὲρ

ἄλῶς ποτανοῖσι πεδίλοισι φῦαν

Γοργόνος ἔσχειν Διὸς ἀγγέλῳ

σὺν Ἑρμῇ

τῷ Μαΐας ἀγροτῆρι κούρῳ.

<sup>e</sup> Q. Smyrnæus, *Posthomerica*, x. l. 125.<sup>f</sup> Pausanias, v. xviii. 1.<sup>g</sup> Paus. iii. 13, p. 40.<sup>h</sup> Müller, *Denkm.* 324.

Gorgon from behind.<sup>a</sup> The small horse represents Pegasus, or else the steed of Perseus himself. Probably next to this, in point of age, is to be placed an œnochoe of solid black ware, on which the hero, wearing the helmet of Hades, followed by Pallas Athene veiled, advances with reverted head to destroy the Gorgon, aided by Ares armed, and a winged Hermes. Pegasus alone issues from the neck of the winged and decapitated Medusa,<sup>b</sup> or Chrysaor and Pegasus at the same moment.<sup>c</sup> Another jug, the work of the potter Amasis, which is also of the oldest treatment, that called "affected Tyrrhenian," has the same incident. The Medusa stands terrible, bristling with snakes, in the centre of the composition. Perseus, wearing the petasus, chlamys, and talaria, stands on one side decapitating her, aided by Hermes on the other side.<sup>d</sup> According to Pindar, and some of the older Vases, the Medusa pursues Perseus himself to Bœotia.<sup>e</sup>

The bas-relief of Melos represents Perseus, who has leapt on the back of Pegasus, without any helmet or other signs, except the harpé. The Gorgon is draped; Chrysaor leaps out of her neck; her decapitated head remains in the hero's hand. Perseus averts his head.<sup>f</sup> This is a local treatment. In another version of the mythos the Medusa flies through the air at the approach of Perseus, who pursues her with his winged boots and helmet.<sup>g</sup> He is winged also, and flies to her from above;<sup>h</sup> while on a cup, in the possession of the Marquess of Northampton, he approaches her while asleep on a rock. But the usual type of ancient art was the flight of Perseus through the air after having decapitated the Gorgon,<sup>i</sup> which only subsequently became superseded by the death of Medusa, from whose neck issue torrents of blood,<sup>k</sup> in the style in which Benvenuto Cellini has represented them, gushing from the decapitated head in the statue at Florence; or the winged Pegasus;<sup>l</sup> or Pegasus and Chrysaor,<sup>m</sup> the twins, of whom she was pregnant; a

<sup>a</sup> Müller, Denkmäler, taf. iv. 25. Thiersch, Ueber die epochen, Zw. Aufl. s. 404, No. 21. Serra di Falco, Sicilia, ii. xxvi.

<sup>b</sup> Micali, Ant. Mon. tav. 22. Müller, l. c. 280. Gerhard, Trinksch. ii. iii. pp. 3, 4.

<sup>c</sup> Gerhard, Vasenbilder, lxxxix. 3, 4.

<sup>d</sup> Now in the British Museum. Cat. of Vases, No. 641\*, p. 172. Cf. the vase, Annali, 1851, p. 167, τ. ρ.

<sup>e</sup> Scholiast ad Pind. Pyth. xii. 32.

<sup>f</sup> Millingen, Anc. Un. Mon. sect. ii. pt. 2. Müller, Denkm. taf. xiv. No. 15.

<sup>g</sup> Amph. r. f. at Munich. Micali, Mon. Ined. xlv. 3, p. 274. Amph. r. f. ibid. li. 8, p. 320. Ib. 10, 211.

<sup>h</sup> Gerhard, Metallspiegel, taf. cxxi.

<sup>i</sup> Vase Brit. Mus. No. 528. Cat. of Vases, p. 105. Dur. 243. Gerhard, Vasenbilder, lxxxviii.

<sup>k</sup> Mus. Blacas, pl. xi.

<sup>l</sup> Gerhard, Aus. Vasenbilder, lxxix. 1. Heraclitus, de Medusa, i. mentions only the winged horse.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. lxxix. 2. Pegason et fratrem matris de sanguine natos. Ovid. Met. v. 782—785. Chrysaor was also an epithet of Apollo. Arsenius, Viol. p. 260. Cf. Anth. Græc. iii. p. 161.

type certainly known to Lycophron,<sup>a</sup> as he calls the Medusa the "weasel," because that animal was supposed to give birth to its young through the mouth. In these scenes Hermes and Athene aid Perseus in the same manner as they subsequently proffer their assistance to Hercules: and the hero has the head of the Medusa in the kibisis slung at his side.<sup>b</sup> On the oldest works of art the terror inspired by the Medusa was conveyed by hair bristling with snakes, and a mouth with tusks; in a more refined age the same idea was impressed by a lovely horror-stricken face and locks in elegant disorder. There was a work of Myro on the Necropolis of Athens, representing this subject.<sup>c</sup>

In one of the mural paintings of Herculaneum,<sup>d</sup> certainly not a copy of the more ancient efforts of the Greek pencil, the scene takes place in the country, outside the walls of a city, probably intended for Cyrene. Pallas Athene advances forward as promachos about to pierce her beautiful rival.<sup>e</sup> On her left hand she holds her polished argolic buckler, into which the hero looks to see the reflection of the Gorgon's face, while he decapitates her with the harpé. In the distance repose a goatherd and two goats. This mode of destroying her is also seen on certain terracottas from Cuma<sup>f</sup> and Puzzuoli,<sup>g</sup> and on the coins of the Galatian Sebaste,<sup>h</sup> struck in the reign of Caracalla, and is mentioned by Apollodorus,<sup>i</sup> but it does not seem clear from what source he has compiled it. The mirror in which she shewed him the reflection of the head is supposed by Müller<sup>k</sup> to be seen in some of these monuments, but he has apparently confused it, although Tzetzes mentions this abnormal mode of treatment;<sup>l</sup> if it is not a repetition of the Naxian<sup>m</sup> legend of Perseus having been previously prepared for the undertaking by Athene shewing

<sup>a</sup> Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 838.

<sup>b</sup> Stackelberg, Die Graebe, taf. 39. The treatment of this vase much resembles the shield of Hesiod; on it are also the Chimæra and Hydra, or two-headed serpent, Ladon of the Hesperides.

<sup>c</sup> Paus. i. 21, 8.

<sup>d</sup> Mus. Borb. xii. xlvi.

<sup>e</sup> Serv. ad Virg. Æneid, i. p. 289. Pindar, Pyth. xii. 28, calls her *εὔπαρος*.

<sup>f</sup> Bull. Arch. Nap. Nuov. Ser. 4to. Napol. 1853, p. 188. Perseus on this bas-relief has only a fillet round his head, and the winged sandals on his feet. The head of the Gorgon is of a large size, and surmounted by a floral ornament, as if copied from a pediment.

<sup>g</sup> Ancient Terra-cottas, Brit. Mus. pl. xiii. Guattani, Mon. Arch. Ined. 1788, No. 1. Guigniaut, clxxiv. 609 b.

<sup>h</sup> Mionnet, Supp. vii. pl. xiii. 2, p. 616, No. 275. Sestini, Class. General. edit. 2, p. 126. Guigniaut, clxx. 609 a. Inghirami, Mon. Etr. S. T. L. 4, 7.

<sup>i</sup> Bibl. ii. 4, 2. Probably from Euhemerus. Cf. Hyginus, Poet. Astron. ii. xii.

<sup>k</sup> Arch. s. 414, 3. Cf. the gem, Millin, Voy. au Midi, Atl. lxxiii. Guigniaut, clxx. 609. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 838.

<sup>l</sup> Schol. ad Lycoph. l. 838.

<sup>m</sup> Etym. Magn. voce *Δεικτήριον*.



him the image of the Gorgon in the Deicterion at Samos. The more authentic treatment of the shield was the favourite representation in the time of Lucian,<sup>a</sup> and at this time the enraged sisters were not so wide awake as to pursue. On one vase Athene herself, as Euhemerus describes, attacks the Gorgon.<sup>b</sup>

There is a portion of the mythos subsequent to the death which has been treated chiefly by artists, that of Athene shewing Perseus the image of the Gorgonion in the water. Some have connected this with the Naxian legend, but it with far greater probability alludes to the goddess regarding it in the Lake Tritonis, surrounded with plants emanating from the Gorgon's blood. This form appears on vases of the decadence of art, and apparently deriving their inspiration from the Satyric drama,<sup>c</sup> perhaps in connection with the plunging of the tooth of the Graiæ into the lake:<sup>d</sup> it is seen also on certain mirrors of late style.<sup>e</sup> The number of monuments in which Perseus is seen flying through the air escaping the pursuit of the Gorgons immediately after the decapitation is most numerous, but principally on objects of small size.<sup>f</sup> The next adventure is the liberation of Andromeda, a subject in the highest degree suited to the artists of the later school, and constant repetition of which shows that it had been the subject of some distinguished painter, such as Apelles or Zeuxis.<sup>g</sup> This is the more probable, because one portion of the adventure, that in which the Argive hero leads down the beautiful maiden from the rock, is only represented, the actual contest with the whale never being seen. The monster lies dead; the hero still retains the Gorgon's head, but averts it from his mistress, and gracefully leads her from the rock to which she had been chained. This myth, evidently another form of the liberation of Hesione by Heracles, connects Perseus a second time with Poseidon, for the Gorgons were the daughters of Phorcys and Ceto, Medusa the beloved of the monarch of the deep. Sometimes the scene is placed in Æthiopia, at other times near Mount Atlas and the Hesperides, whom the serpent Ladon, another of the offspring of Phorcys and

<sup>a</sup> Dial. Marin. ix. 13. ἡ Ἀθῆνα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος διαστυλβούσης ὡσπερ ἐπὶ κατόπτρου πάρεσχεν αὐτῷ ἰδεῖν τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Μεδοῦσης· εἶτα λαβόμενος τῇ λαυῇ τῆς κόμης, ἐνορῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα, τῇ δεξιᾷ τὴν ἄρπην ἔχων, ἀπέτεμε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς καὶ πρὶν ἀνεγέρεσθαι τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἀνέπτατο.

<sup>b</sup> M. De Witte, *Descr. des Vases Peints*, 8vo. Paris, 1837, p. 44, No. 87.

<sup>c</sup> Schultz, *Ant. Int.* 1837, p. 53. *Cat. Dur.* 245.

<sup>d</sup> M. O. Jahn, *Berichte der K. Sächsisch. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.* 8vo. 1847, s. 28, taf. *Eudocia Violarium*, p. 334.

<sup>e</sup> Montfaucon, *Ant.* ii. 62. Dempster, *Etr. Reg.* i. 5. Caussei, *Mus. Rom.* ii. 25. Lanzi, *Saggio* ii. 7, 4, p. 212. Millin, *Gal.* xcvi. 386. Inghirami, *Mon. Etr.* ii. 38. Gerhard, *Metallspiegel*, Taf. cxxiii. cxxiv.

<sup>f</sup> See Campana, *Ant. Vas. Dip.* 8vo. Rom. 1837, pp. 166, 167, No. 95. *Bull.* 1834, pp. 117, 120.

<sup>g</sup> There was probably a work on this subject by the sculptor Myro. Plinius, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 49. *Bérgk. Exerc. Plin.* ii. 16.



Ceto, guards. On the bas-relief of the Capitol it is treated in a pictorial manner,<sup>a</sup> as in the mural paintings of Herculaneum<sup>b</sup> and Pompeii; once only with two other figures, probably Cassiope and the nurse. On the mirrors other figures appear upon the scene,<sup>c</sup> and on the Etruscan sarcophagi it is treated in a local manner, with the introduction of Lasæ,<sup>d</sup> Cepheus,<sup>e</sup> Cassiope, rocks, and scenery, but never, as Philostratus,<sup>f</sup> in the spirit of his age, describes the action, with Cupid taking off the shackles of Andromeda, nor the monster devouring men and herds. This subject was by no means common upon vases, although the arrival of Perseus at the court of Cepheus may be intended by the artist of the Vase published by Millin,<sup>g</sup> rather than the return of the hero to Seriphos, for Perseus here, attended by Athene, holds the Gorgon's head, while Cepheus, seated on his throne and holding his sceptre, and having Phineus waiting behind him, listens to the hero's proposals, who looks to Andromeda seated on a rock, and expecting the monster's approach. On a vase of very late style, probably as late as B. C. 200, she is seen chained or rather handcuffed to the rock, having at her feet her pyxides or dressing-cases, and alabastron or unguent vase, and Perseus is about to attack the monster.<sup>h</sup> Comparing these with the words of Ovid,<sup>i</sup> and the two adventures of the Gorgon and Andromeda as described by Lucian,<sup>k</sup> it would appear that this was an ordinary subject of bas-relief at his time, while the coins of the Egyptian Alexandria, struck

<sup>a</sup> Mus. Capitol. iv. 53. Guigniaut, clxi. 613.

<sup>b</sup> Mus. Borb. tom. v. tav. xxxiii. lvi.; vi. xl. l.; x. xxxiii.

<sup>c</sup> Inghirami, Mon. Etr. s. i. tom. lv.

<sup>d</sup> Inghirami, Mon. Etr. s. i. tom. lv. lvi.

<sup>e</sup> . . . . . genitor lugubris et amens

Mater adest.—Ovid. Met. v. 691, 692.

<sup>f</sup> Imagines, i. xxvii. τὴν δ' Ἀνδρομέδαν ἀπαλλάττει τῶν δεσμῶν ὁ Ἔρως.

<sup>g</sup> Guigniaut, Nouv. Gal. clx. 612, 12a. Inghirami, i. lxx. Millin, Vases Peints, lvi. D'Hancarville, iv. No. cxxviii. Paucker, in Arch. Zeit. 1852, p. 448, taf. xlii.

<sup>h</sup> Raoul Rochette, Mon. Ined. pl. xli.

<sup>i</sup> Quam simul ad duras religatam brachia cautes

Vidit Abantiades; nisi quod levis aura capillos

Moverat, et trepido manarunt lumina fletu,

Marmoreum ratus esse opus.—Met. iv. 671—4.

<sup>k</sup> Lucian, Domus, lxi. 24. Ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν οὖν εἰσιόντι, Ἀργολικῷ μύθῳ ἀναμέμκται πάθος Αἰθιοπικόν, ὁ Περσεὺς τὸ κῆτος φονεῖει καὶ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν καθαιρεῖ, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν γαμήσει, καὶ ἄπεισιν, αὐτὴν ἄγων πάρεργον τοῦτο τῆς ἐπὶ Γοργόνας πτήσεως. Ἐν βραχεῖ δὲ πολλὰ ὁ τεχνίτης ἐμιμήσατο, αἰδῶ παρθένου, καὶ φόβου ἐπισκοπεῖ γὰρ μάχην ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς πέτρας, καὶ νεανίου τόλμαν ἐρωτικὴν, καὶ θηρίων ὕψιν ἀπρόσμαχον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔπεισι πεφρικὸς ταῖς ἀκάνθαις, καὶ δεδιτόμενον τῷ χάσματι ὁ Περσεὺς δὲ τῇ λαιᾷ μὲν προδείκνυσι τὴν Γοργόνα, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ καθικνεῖται τῷ ξίφει, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅσον τοῦ κήτους εἶδε τὴν Μέδουσαν, ἤδη λίθος ἐστὶ, τὸ δ' ὅσον ἔμψυχον μένει, τῇ ἄρπῃ κόπτεται.

Again, in lxi. 25. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ Περσεὺς πάλιν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ κήτους ἐκεῖνα τολμῶν, καὶ ἡ Μέδουσα

in the 4th year of Antoninus Pius,<sup>a</sup> of Neocæsarea, issued in the reign of Maximinus,<sup>b</sup> and those of Tranquillina, from the mint of the Thracian Deultum,<sup>c</sup> repeat the same subject, which is common on gems.<sup>d</sup>

There is connected with the story of Andromeda an incident often represented, no mention of which remains in ancient authors, but which has been repeated on mirrors and on the wall-paintings of Pompeii,<sup>e</sup> not servilely copied, but repeated with that variety of treatment which forms the great charm of ancient art. Perseus shows the liberated fair one the reflection of the head of the terrible Gorgon in the waters either of the sea or of some lake or fountain. To protect her from the sight of this object, which would have changed her into stone, he wraps it under his cloak, or holds it behind his back. In the description of Ovid<sup>f</sup> he lays it on the sea-weeds, and it transforms them into corals; while in an account given by Pausanias,<sup>g</sup> the red colour of the waters of a fountain at Joppa was owing to Perseus having there washed away the blood of the whale with which he was stained. On the mirror published by Gerhard,<sup>h</sup> Pallas Athene holds up the head of the Gorgon for Perseus and Andromeda to behold, and Apollo, whose connection with the Perseid<sup>i</sup> is difficult to understand, appears on the scene. The subject of the liberation of Andromeda was probably selected for the sarcophagi and the mirrors of Etruscan ladies, on account of its relation to death typified by that of the monster, and the liberation of youthful beauty as exhibited by the delivered Andromeda. A similar reason probably caused the introduction of the subject of the fatal fight at her marriage feast on some of the Etruscan sarcophagi of later style and period. This indeed is not known to have been the subject of any work of renown; but that it had been so is probable, from the description of the fight in Ovid,<sup>k</sup> which is either the argument of some tragedy, the translation of an older Perseid, or the extract of some description of works of art. In this, Perseus fights at the altar with Phineus and his followers; some he kills with javelins, others with the harpé, one with a crater, and as a last

*τεμνομένη τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ Ἀθηναῖα σκέπουσα τὸν Περσέα· ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν τόλμαν εἶργασται, τὸ δὲ ἔργον οὐχ' ἐώρακέ ποιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος τῆς Γοργόνας τῆν εἰκόνα, οἶδε γὰρ τὸ προστίμιον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὄψεως.* A mere allusion to Perseus changing men into stone occurs in the Vet. Act. Lucian, xiv. 25.

<sup>a</sup> Mionnet, vi. 220, No. 1477.

<sup>b</sup> Mionnet, ii. 354, No. 129.

<sup>c</sup> Dumersan, Cabinet D'Allier d'Hauteroche, iii. 10.

<sup>d</sup> Winckelman, Pierres Gravées de Stosch, p. 342, No. 150.

<sup>e</sup> Pitture d'Ercolano, tom. iv. tab. viii. iii. 12. Mus. Borb. ix. tav. iii. ix. xxix. xii. tav. xlix — lii. That this is a phantom, not the real Gorgon's head, seems to me improbable. Cf. M. O. Jahn, l. c. p. 290.

<sup>f</sup> Met. iv. 743, 745.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. iv. c. xxxv.

<sup>h</sup> Metallspiegel, taf. cxxii.

<sup>i</sup> On his road to the Gorgons Perseus passes through the land of the Hyperboreans, whom he finds sacrificing asses to Apollo. Pindar, Pyth. x. 50, 24, 46. The allusion would, however, be very far-fetched.

<sup>k</sup> Met. v. 1 and foll.

resource he produces the Gorgonion or Medusa's head. This is a reiteration, in fact, of the quarrel of the Lapithæ and Centaur on the Etruscan sarcophagi. The last act is sculptured. Perseus exhibits the Gorgon's head to the armed warriors who attack him, in one hand, while he holds a sword in the other.<sup>a</sup> In those scenes in which he kneels upon an altar, either with an armed companion,<sup>b</sup> or an armed female, probably Athene,<sup>c</sup> it is not always possible to feel assured that the subject of Tydeus, with the head of Menalippus, is not intended. The action on the vase of the Museum at Naples, already mentioned, is too quiet to be that of the death of Phineus or Agenor.<sup>d</sup> All the family of Phineus are placed finally in the starry heavens.<sup>e</sup> The serpents which sprang up from the dropping blood of the Gorgon, appear, however, on this vase.<sup>f</sup> The oracular Themis had warned Atlas that a son of Jove should rob the gardens of the Hesperides of their apples, and, on the refusal of Atlas to admit Perseus within them, Atlas is transformed by the Argive hero into the mountain that bears his name.<sup>g</sup> This has not been represented in any work of consequence of ancient art; but it is probably seen on certain gems,<sup>h</sup> where Perseus stands with the Gorgon's head before a pillar, on which is placed a globe, a subject possibly referable to a still later tradition; but yet probably representing the pole supported by Mount Atlas, as one of the pillars of Hercules. In Ovid this adventure is placed before that of Perseus and Andromeda; but it is of the latest age, as it entirely clashes with the Heracleid, in which Hercules obtains the apples from Atlas.

The return of Perseus to Seriphos, which occurs in all versions of the legend, his exhibition of the Gorgon's head to the notorious Polydectes, and his consequent transmutation, along with the natives of the isle, into stone,<sup>i</sup> was the subject of a painting in the Stoa Poikile at Athens,<sup>k</sup> probably taken from the tragedy of Polydectes by Æschylus.<sup>l</sup> On the coins of Tarsus Perseus is seen shewing the head to Dictys,<sup>m</sup> and on several gems he is seen standing in the temple of Athene at Seriphos, regarding the head of the Gorgon after having

<sup>a</sup> Inghirami, *Mon. Etr.* i. tav. liv.

<sup>b</sup> Inghirami, *M. Etr.* s. i. tav. lvii. liv. lxxxiii.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* s. vi. t. A. Gori.

<sup>d</sup> Hygin. *Fab.* lxiv.

<sup>e</sup> Palæphat. de *Incred.* 32.

<sup>f</sup> Ovid. *Met.* v. 620. He speaks of Africa according to Alexander Polyhistor. in the *Schol. Apollon. Rhod.* 1515. *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. 239, 135. *Mus. Borb.* v. ii. *Apollon. Argon.* iii. 1513.

<sup>g</sup> *Ibid.* 665.

<sup>h</sup> Tolkien, *Verzeichniss*, 8vo. Berlin, 1826, p. 151, No. 133. Winckelman, *Pierres Gravées*, p. 340, No. 133.

<sup>i</sup> Strabo, *Tachnitz*, p. 391, lib. x. c. v.

<sup>k</sup> Pausan. i. c. xxii. 6.

<sup>l</sup> The argument may be seen in *Eudocia and the Paræmiographi*, Gaisford, p. 240. Ovid. *Met.* v. 241.

<sup>m</sup> Hygin. l. c. *Mionnet*, iii. 647, No. 561, 587. *Suppl.* vii. p. 283, No. 511, 525. *Cavedoni, Spicil. Numism.* p. 311.

rescued his mother, or while converting Polydectes into stone.<sup>a</sup> This is the subject of a vase in the Museum of Naples, on which the presence of Hermes, Pan, Zeus, Hera, along with that of Athene, shows that it belongs to a drama, probably that of Polydectes.<sup>b</sup> The destruction of Præetus<sup>c</sup> in the same manner at Argos has either not been represented or is indistinguishable from the death of Polydectes; but the statues representing a *discobolus*, and generally supposed to be copies of the bronze of Myro, may, with every probability, be referred to *Perseus killing Acrisius* with the quoit, by which he was struck on the head<sup>d</sup> or foot<sup>e</sup> at the games in honour of Teutamus at Larissa,<sup>f</sup> while the hero was exercising at the pentathlon.<sup>g</sup> To Perseus, indeed, was attributed the invention of the quoit, and it is evident that he was represented in the statues in the flower of his age.<sup>h</sup> That Pliny should have called the Perseus of Myro by the name of a *discobolus* might have arisen from many of the ancient statues having, in his days, become known by the familiar names of amateurs and the artists of Rome; for when he speaks of the *Astragalizontes* of Polycleetus I. it is certain that this artist must, in accordance with the spirit of the age in which he lived, have selected either the incident of Patroclus killing his companion at this game, Ganymedes and Dardanus playing at astragali, or else the children of Medea thus amusing themselves. The dying warrior (*vulneratus deficiens*) of Onatas was also, probably, the name given by the Romans to the statue of some expiring Greek hero.

The last of the adventures of the Perseid was the war he carried on at Argos<sup>i</sup> against the followers of Dionysos. Two vases of late style, with red figures, one published by Millingen,<sup>k</sup> the other by Curtius,<sup>l</sup> which have Perseus holding up the Gorgon's head to the Satyrs, are supposed to allude to this event. As, however, the *Andromeda*<sup>m</sup> of Sophocles was a satiric drama, it might form an incident of that play. But the Dionysiac war of Perseus was well known, for the sepulchre of Choreia remained in the days of Pausanias,<sup>n</sup> close to the temple of the Nemean Jupiter at Corinth, and that of the other Bacchantes before the temple

<sup>a</sup> Where he was educated. Hygin. cclxxiii.

<sup>b</sup> Mus. Borb. v. li.

<sup>c</sup> Ovid. Met. v. 240.

<sup>d</sup> Hygin. lxiii. Pausan. ii. c. xvi.

<sup>e</sup> Apoll. Bibl. l. c.

<sup>f</sup> Hygin. lxiii.

<sup>g</sup> Paræmiogr. Vet. a Gaisford. Zenob. 41, p. 240.

<sup>h</sup> Paus. l. c. Καὶ ὁ μὲν οἷα ἡλικία τε ἀκμάζων καὶ τοῦ δίσκου χαίρων τῷ εὐρήματι, ἐπεδείκνυτο ἐς ἅπαντας.

<sup>i</sup> Pausanias, ix. 11, 20, 3.

<sup>k</sup> Vases Peints, Pl. 2.

<sup>l</sup> Curtius (Ernst), Herakles der Satyr und dreifuss Rauber, 4to. Berlin, 1852, p. 4. O. Jahn, Vorhand. d. Sachsich. Akad. Bd. 1.

<sup>m</sup> *Andromeda*, Sophocles, a Brunckh. 8vo. Lond. 1824, p. 200. Eratosthenes, Catast. 16.

<sup>n</sup> ii. c. xx. 3.

of Leto.<sup>a</sup> It is, however, only later writers that make him killed by this cohort.<sup>b</sup> The Corinthian legends alone narrated that the Gorgon's head was buried under the Argive agora of Corinth, for the Argives placed the heroum of Perseus on the road from Mycenæ to Argos, and close to it the altar of Dictys and Clymene, his saviours.<sup>c</sup> Deinias, a late Argive writer, makes him fly to the Persians, and call the Erythrean sea from the name of his son.<sup>d</sup> Pausanias of Damascus, in his book on Antioch, describes the hero as coming to the Ionitæ or Iopolitanæ, of Syria, and to Mount Silpion. The river Draco overflows; Perseus exhorts the inhabitants to pray; a globe of fire descends from heaven and averts the inundation.<sup>e</sup> The Syncellus makes him fly from Dionysos with one hundred ships to Assyria,<sup>f</sup> and Cephalion to overturn that kingdom.<sup>g</sup> To these writers may be added the authority of Plutarch,<sup>h</sup> and of one Semeronius<sup>i</sup> of Babylon, who makes him destroy the Assyrian lord [Sard]Anapullus, confounding him with the Persians. These miserable mixtures of truth and history, confused or blended by the ignorance of the writers, are scarcely worth reciting, except that they are the result of such credulity as that of Herodotus, who sought for Perseus in Egypt. Yet the old legends always asserted that Perseus had founded Mycenæ, where the point of his sword dropped, as may be seen from Chrysormos,<sup>k</sup> and that he was killed by Megapenthes.<sup>l</sup> Possibly some of the later versions of the Perseid may be illustrated by certain gems<sup>m</sup> and other monuments. In connection with the Perseid is the invention by Athene of the tune upon the flutes, which was suggested by the wail or threne of the Gorgons for their deceased sister,<sup>n</sup> the subject of one vase.<sup>o</sup> Isolated groups of Perseus, or of Gorgons, taken from groups of various compositions, are numerous on all kinds of monuments, as statues,<sup>p</sup> vases,<sup>q</sup> gems,<sup>r</sup> and reliefs, and shew Perseus winging his way through the air, holding the head of the

<sup>a</sup> ii. c. xxii. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Augustin, De Civit. Dei, xvii. 2. Lobeck, Aglaophamos, pp. 573, 574.

<sup>c</sup> Paus. ii. xviii. 1; ii. c. xv. xvi. 146.

<sup>d</sup> Fragm. Hist. iii. p. 25, 4.

<sup>e</sup> From Malala, Frag. Hist. Grec. iii. ad fin.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. iii. 169.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. iv. 591.

<sup>h</sup> Vit. Cimon. Init.

<sup>i</sup> Chron. Alex. p. 38. Voss, De Hist. Græc. 8vo. Lips. 1838, a Westermann, p. 497.

<sup>k</sup> Fragm. Hist. Græc. iv. 361, 1. Plutarch. de Flum. 18, 7.

<sup>l</sup> Hygin. cexliv.

<sup>m</sup> Cf. Winckelman, Pierres de Stosch, p. 340, Nos. 134, 136, 137. Tolkien, Verzeichniss, 8vo. Berl. 1826, p. 151, Nos. 135-137.

<sup>n</sup> Τὸν ἀλγήτικον καλούμενον νόμον. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 838.

<sup>o</sup> Lenormant and De Witte, Élite. Pl. lxxiv.

<sup>p</sup> Mus. Pio Clem. ii. plate xxxiii.

<sup>q</sup> Cenochoe at Munich. Micali, Mon. Ined. xliii. 2. p. 252. Mus. Blac. plate xxvi.

<sup>r</sup> Winckelm. Pierres, l. c. p. 1760. Tolkien, l. c.



Gorgon, dropping clots of blood,<sup>a</sup> from which spring the Libyan serpents,<sup>b</sup> a late version of the story. He is occasionally pursued by Medusa's sisters,<sup>c</sup> as on the shield of Hesiod and chest of Cypselus, and some vases of archaic style, which probably copied that monument.

The numismatic representations of this portion of the story are most numerous, it having been generally selected for the coins of such cities as regarded this hero as their founder. Such reasons, at least, have made it the type of Iconium,<sup>d</sup> in Lycaonia, in which he stands holding the head of the Medusa, for there he founded the city of Perseis;<sup>e</sup> of Argos;<sup>f</sup> of Amastris, on which he is represented standing over the corpse of the decapitated Gorgon, while his protectress Athene has her head on the obverse;<sup>g</sup> of Amisus;<sup>h</sup> and Sinope;<sup>i</sup> of those of Anemurium, Cabira,<sup>k</sup> and Comasa,<sup>l</sup> struck under Maximinus,<sup>m</sup> and of Argos under the younger Valerian,<sup>n</sup> and on those of the already cited Sebaste. The types of Seriphos, with the Gorgonion, or Perseus walking, rather recal to mind his fatal arrival at the island, and the transmutation of Polydectes and his court into rocks, than the destruction of the Gorgon.<sup>o</sup> This head alone, or in connection with the Gorgonion, is also seen on the coins of Argos,<sup>p</sup> Amphipolis,<sup>q</sup> Astypalæa,<sup>r</sup> and Macedon.<sup>s</sup> It is on the obverse of the coins of Philip V.<sup>t</sup> and Perseus<sup>u</sup> that the head of Perseus appears as the

<sup>a</sup> Inghirami, *Mon. Etr.* s. vi. t. 2. 4, with his name ΦΕΔΣΕ. Cf. Millin, *Gal. Myth.* xcvi. 387. ΝΕΔΕΔ. Lanzi, *Saggio* ii. iv. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Vase, r. f. Mus. Borb. Ovid. *Met.* v. 620.

<sup>c</sup> Amph. r. f. Campanari, *Antichi Vasi dipinti*, 8vo. Roma. 1837, pp. 166, 167, No. 95.

<sup>d</sup> Eckhel, *Num. Vet. Thes. Tb.* 15, s. 2, pp. 271, 272. *Cat.* 1, p. 209, No. 1. Rasche, *Lex. N. t.* ii. P. ii. p. 254. Mionnet, vii. 147, No. 5.

<sup>e</sup> Hygin. 275.

<sup>f</sup> Mionnet, *Supp.* iv. p. 249, Nos. 86, 87. Sestini, *Descr. del. Mus. Fontana*, p. 63, No. ii, tab. ii. fig. 12. Mus. Gothan.

<sup>g</sup> Mionnet, ii. 389, No. 7; s. iv. 552, No. 9. Pellerin, *Rec. tom.* ii. pl. xi. p. 18. Mus. Pemb. Pl. 2, t. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Mionnet, s. iv. p. 435, No. 436. Hunter, *Num. Vet.* t. 4, viii. Haym. *Tes. Brit. P. II.* t. xx. No. 2, p. 174. Neumann, *Pop. Th.* 1, fig. 1, p. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Mionnet, ii. 401, No. 84. Neumann, P. II. tab. 1. Gesner, *Vor Ill.* iii. No. 19.

<sup>k</sup> Haym. *Tes. Brit.* ii. t. xx. No. 4, p. 75. Mionnet, ii. p. 348, No. 99.

<sup>l</sup> Neumann, l. c. p. 8. Mus. Theup. P. II. p. 1261.

<sup>m</sup> Mionnet, iii. p. 559. Cabinet d'Ennery, p. 426, No. 1.

<sup>n</sup> Mionnet, iii. p. 565.

<sup>o</sup> Mionnet, S. iv. 400, No. 217. Sestini, *Lett. Num. Cont.* v. p. 29, No. 1. Cadalvene, *Recueil*, Pl. IV. No. 6, Pl. iv. fig. 27.

<sup>p</sup> Mionnet, s. iv. 243. Eckhel, *Num. Vet. Tb.* xiii. s. 9, pp. 225, 226.

<sup>q</sup> Mionnet, i. 495.

<sup>r</sup> Mionnet, vi. 563. Cadalvene, *Recueil*, p. 252, No. 1, Pt. IV. fig. 22. No. 8, Pt. IV. fig. 26.

<sup>s</sup> Mionnet, i. 435.

<sup>t</sup> Mus. Pemb. p. 2, l. 54, No. 263. Mionnet, *Supp.* i. 587, No. 920. Eckhel, *Sylloge*, i. p. 47.

<sup>u</sup> Eckhel, *Cat.* i. p. 94, Nos. 5, 6.



ἐπισημείον of the Macedonian shield of the Argyraspides, with the harpé behind his head, as his helmet here is in shape of a gryphon, the crest in shape of the head of the animal, the side-pieces, or *phaloi*, like the wings. It is to this period that this mode of treating the helmet of Hades must be referred, as well as the age of those monuments and coins above cited on which it is so represented.<sup>a</sup>

The figures on the vase now particularly under consideration divide themselves into two groups; the first represents an aged person, probably a female, for the form is attired as the Amazons are on works of art of the same period, leaning on two Æthiopians, accompanied by a diphropheros or chair-bearer; another figure with a pyxis or toilet-box and a tainia or sash; a third with a mirror and alabastron; all in attendance upon her. This figure wears an anaxyrides, a tunic, and a cidaris, and advances full face with an air of great dejection, such as would suit Cassiope the mother of Andromeda, or the maiden herself at the prospect of being attached to the fatal rock. The second group represents a bearded man, in whom must be recognised Phineus seated on a rock, draped in a tunic and peplos, and wearing a cidaris, seated on a rock, holding a stick on which he leans, bending down his head in grief or attention, and regarding the action of three other Æthiopians, two of whom are engaged in driving a hole with picks into a rock or mountain, while a third passes his hand almost to the elbow into the hole. Behind Cepheus stands a figure that should be Perseus. On his head is the casque or winged helmet of Hades, which he and Hermes only wear, for at the earliest period of art he can scarcely be distinguished from the son of Maia, as he then wears the petasus; at the fuller developement of art, and especially on the vases of South Italy, both wear helmets with wings. On the latest monuments the helmet of Hades is represented as a gryphon, probably in allusion to the Cimmerian darkness of the Hyperboreans, to whom that animal was sacred, and where it was supposed to dwell; a helmet also worn by his protectress Pallas Athene.<sup>b</sup> The description of the charlatan Alexander in Lucian, who bound up his hair<sup>c</sup> like Perseus, wore a

<sup>a</sup> The coin itself being of silver, Ἀργυρον, and the obverse convex shows the device of the Ἀργυρο-ἀσπίδες of the reign of Philip. It was an elegant device. Most of the autonomous coins have the helmet in this shape.

<sup>b</sup> Eudocia Violar. *περὶ Αἴδος κυνέης*. Villosion, *Anecdot. Græce*, i. p. 30, ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ τὸ πρόσωπον ἔκρυψεν ἡ Ἀθῆνα, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁράσθαι ὑπὸ Ἄρεος τιαύτη καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἄδου κυνῆ, ἧ Περσεὺς χρῆσάμενος τὴν Γόργονα ἐδειροτόμησεν.

<sup>c</sup> The peculiar type of Perseus was holding the falx, προεισπέπεται δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, κομῶν ἤδη καὶ πλοκάμους καθειμένος, καὶ μεσόλευκον χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν ἐνδεδυκώς, καὶ ἱμάτιον ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν λευκὸν ἀναβεβλημένος, ἄρπην ἔχων κατὰ τὸν Περσέα, ἀφ' οὗ ἑαυτὸν ἐγενεαλόγει μητρόθεν. Pausanias, xxxii. 11.

This same impostor solicited the Emperor to be allowed καὶ νόμισμα καινὸν κόψαι τῇ μὲν τοῦ Γλύκωνος,

white and purple tunic, and held a harpé, shows the mode in which the hero was then represented, and he is occasionally seen holding lances instead of the sword<sup>a</sup> or harpé.<sup>b</sup> On his feet are certainly the talaria or ἀρβυλόπτερον.<sup>c</sup> There is not sufficient vegetation on the mountain to justify the supposition that the scene is intended for the Æthiopians uprooting the *Persea* which Cepheus presents to Perseus after the destruction of the marine monster and the liberation of Andromeda, and which he subsequently transplanted to Argos.<sup>d</sup> The action is therefore more probably the Æthiopians preparing the fetters to attach Andromeda to the rock.

Some, indeed, may prefer to interpret this scene as the destruction of the effeminate Sardanapalus by the Argive hero; but that tradition is of too late an origin for it to be admitted. The Æthiopian character of the attendant boys places the action amidst the "blameless Æthiopians;" and if the costume of the central figure, with the cap, short tunic, and the trowsers, resembles the Persian or Asiatic dress rather than that usually seen on the forms of Negroes, the period of the fabrication of the vase must be borne in mind. The Amazons, too, are thus apparelled; so are the Trojan archers, and the followers of the Æthiopian Memnon. The seat may be the *trapeza* or table which held the *kosmos*, or toilet apparatus, which on the Etruscan sarcophagi was placed at the foot of the rock to which Andromeda was fettered. It is hardly possible to conceive that such objects could have been carried, except in the train of a female; and in the mythos of Andromeda the monster, like the Minotaur, requires to be propitiated by a lovely virgin. It is to be observed that her face is, unlike that of Phineus, provided

κατὰ θάτερα δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου στεμματὰ τε τοῦ πάππου Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἄρπην ἐκείνην τοῦ πατρομήτορος Περσέως ἔχοντος. Ibid. 58.

<sup>a</sup> Serra di Falco, ii. 26. Müller, Denk. i. 4. 24. Valeriani, Mus. Chius. 33, 34. Micali, Storia, 22. D'Agincourt, Fragm. 14. 2. Millin, Gal. Myth. 105, 386, xx. f. Mus. Borb. v. 32, 39.

<sup>b</sup> Sometimes the harpé appears merely a kind of scimitar (O. Jahn, Arch. Beitrage. s. 256), and is the characteristic mark of Perseus on the coins. See supra, and Millingen, Récueil, 3, 13; Cab. d'Allier, 7, 22; Cadalvene, 4, 24-29, p. 116; also on the bas-relief, Mus. Borbon. v. 40; on the wall-paintings, Mus. Borb. vi. 30; Pitture di Erc. iv. 37; and on the vases, Millingen, Vases Peints, 3; Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, 366; Rochette, Mon. In. i. 48; Gerhard, Aus. Vas. 88. 1. It appears as a mere sickle, Millin, Vases, ii. 34; Blacas, ii. 1; with handle in shape of a winged serpent, Stackelberg die Graeber, 39; Gerhard, Aus. Vas. 88. 2; Panofka, Verlegene, Mythen, taf. 2; Micali, Mon. In. i. 44. 2; also on mirrors, Gerhard, Mirroris 122, 123; and scarabæi, Lanzi, Saggio ii. 4, 6; and on the terra-cotta, from Melos, Millingen, Anc. Un. Mon. ii. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Tzetzes, ad Lyc. 839.

<sup>d</sup> Schol. ad Nicandri Alexipharmaca, 100. Eutech. in Schol. ad eund. Ibid. 102-101. Theriaca, 764.

with an ample beard. Although the same costume as the supposed Andromeda wears is also seen on certain vases of the same age and style as the apparel of male personages, such as the Indian Dionysos, Midas, Memnon, yet it is also worn by females ; and it is impossible to conceive that, according to Greek ideas, Perseus should become fascinated by a negress. Hence the artists of the best schools always represented the characters of Cepheus, Cassiope, and Andromeda, under a form purely Greek ; but on the vases of the decadence of art, there is constantly a departure from this rule, and a tendency to represent the individuals of foreign myths in their appropriate costume. At the same time certain restrictions, the necessary tribute to national taste or ignorance, prevented the adoption of costume entirely Asiatic.





*Greek Vase discovered in Etruria, in the possession of the Marquess of Northampton.*

*J. Bonomi del.*

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 23<sup>rd</sup> 1848.*

*J. Baillie sc.*







*Subjects represented on the Marquess of Northampton's Vase.*

*Original*

OBSERVATIONS

UPON A

GREEK VASE DISCOVERED IN ETRURIA,

BEARING THE

NAME OF THE FABRICATOR NICOSTHENES;

IN THE

POSSESSION OF THE MARQUESS OF NORTHAMPTON.

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COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,

BY THE MARQUESS OF NORTHAMPTON, Pres. R.S., F.S.A.

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LONDON:

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1848.

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FROM THE  
ARCHAEOLOGIA,  
VOL. XXXII, pp. 255—262.

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## OBSERVATIONS

UPON A

### GREEK VASE DISCOVERED IN ETRURIA.

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AMONG the various subjects of inquiry suggested by the numerous Greek Vases recently discovered in Etruria, there is one that has been little pursued, although it appears to me to be replete with interest. It is true that the duc de Luynes, in the able description of one vase belonging to himself, has set the example, but it has been but little followed. The inquiry to which I allude is the significance of the various objects depicted on the shields of divinities and heroes, and the degree in which they may serve to identify the personages that bear them.

This question in my opinion may well be considered in connection with the vase, curious itself in many respects, to which I wish to draw the attention of the Society. I must confess that it is chiefly for the more general subject that I have been tempted to bring it forward, though I am aware that the observations that I shall have to make are more calculated to excite than to satisfy inquiry.

The vase of which I am about to treat (Pl. XV. XVI.) belongs to myself, a circumstance that has perhaps mainly contributed to draw my attention to its details.

It is of a peculiar form, with a rather long and narrow neck, and two broad, flat, and very thin handles. Of the same form I possess another vase, of no particular interest in any other respect. In the British Museum there is a third, with a representation of satyrs and nymphs. There are two more in the Vatican;<sup>a</sup> and these are all the coloured vases of this shape that I remember to have seen in the many public and private collections that I have visited. All these vases bear the name of the maker Nicosthenes. I therefore draw the conclusion that he was either the inventor of the shape, or its borrower for painted vases, and that he abandoned it, from its not finding favour in the eyes of the vase-buying public. No later Wedgewood of antiquity seems to have thought it worth his while to revive its use.

As in all these instances, and also on his vases of other and commoner forms, the paintings are black and white on a red ground, we may infer that Nicosthenes was an early manufacturer, and probably with Tleson and Hermogenes among the first who corrected the archaic rudeness of still earlier times.

<sup>a</sup> Mus. Etr. Vat. P. ii. tav. xxvij.

In the three vases in England the handles are adorned with painting, and this was probably the motive for their flatness, but the advantage must have been more than counterbalanced by their increased fragility.

In all of them quivers, or perhaps a conventional sort of flowers, are depicted on their necks. On both of those belonging to me fish are drawn on their lips, while on the lip of the one in the British Museum there are leaves producing nearly the same effect. Having remarked these resemblances, I will now give a more detailed description of the particular subject of this paper.

I have already observed that it is inscribed with the name of its fabricator Nicosthenes, ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣ ΕΠΙΟΙΕΣΕΝ: that on its neck are quivers, fish on its lip, and that its two handles are flat, thin, and broad. On each handle is a man with a spear. It has two historical or heroical subjects. One of these presents to the spectator a duel between two warriors; as does the other also, but with this difference, that in the latter case a dead body lies between them.

In one of these encounters a serpent is seen on the shield of one of the combatants, the inside only of the other shield being visible. In the other duel, one only of the warriors has a cognizance on his shield, and it is a tripod.

Below is a row of animals, two of them being cocks, and they also are fighting. Over these two belligerent birds are inscriptions, one of them a restoration, and the other original.

Now it appears to me that there is very little doubt as to the principal pictures. The great preponderance of subjects from the Trojan war, induces us naturally to turn our first thoughts to the Iliad and Odyssey, and there we find two subjects for each of those represented on the vase. For the three figures we have on other vases the combat between Ajax and Æneas over the slain Patroclus, and that of Achilles and Memnon over Antilochus. For the simple duel we have the death of Hector, and that of Memnon, for the corpse of Antilochus is not always introduced.<sup>a</sup> I do not hesitate to select in the present instance the combat over the body of Antilochus and the death of Hector. My reasons for this preference are, first, that it gives more unity to the vase, by introducing Achilles as a party in each conflict. Secondly, that on the very fine vase of signor Alibrandi at Rome, these two subjects are also to be seen united, with names over the combatants, so that we cannot be mistaken. Lastly, that the existing original inscription over one of the game-cocks is ΑΙΑΚΙΑ,<sup>b</sup> Æacides, the patronymic of Achilles. This I believe to be unique on

<sup>a</sup> As for example in the vase of Alibrandi at Rome.

<sup>b</sup> Written from right to left, thus: ΔΙΚΑΙΑ, or ΑΙΑΚΙΑ, with the kappa turned in the usual manner. The similar irregularity of one letter is seen on an inscription on Mr. Stoddart's beautiful vase of the combat of Theseus and the Amazon. It would be absurd to read the inscription *Dikaia*.



any existing vase. It may be worth while to mention, that on a vase in the Royal Collection at Munich, a cock is the emblem on the shield of Hector. On the shield of one of the combatants on my vase is a serpent, and this warrior I believe to be Achilles. The other, whose emblem is a tripod, I conclude to be Memnon.

This leads me to the question of the *Episema*, or emblems on shields. I have remarked already, that little attention has been paid to it by archæologists; owing partly perhaps to its complication and difficulty, and partly to an opinion expressed by Millingen, and probably shared by others, that these signs are frequently entirely arbitrary. That they are so sometimes I myself believe. Probably they may sometimes, like the continual representation of rings and balls, be placed on the shields of warriors from the ease with which they can be drawn. Sometimes possibly the artist was fond of drawing particular animals, or believed that they were especially calculated to exhibit his skill, or to add grace and beauty to his design. Certainly, I do not at all entertain or advocate the idea that any particular emblems were exclusively attached to any particular heroes or families; at the same time I am convinced that they are very often selected as being in some way either appropriate to the personage portrayed, or indicative of the particular divinity under whose protection circumstances had placed him. Sometimes also, as has been shewn by the duc de Luynes, they are chosen as pointing out the territory belonging to a chieftain; and for a similar identification, ancient coins may be extremely useful.

The serpent, for instance, I find continually on the bucklers of giants, on the oft-recurring subject of the *Gigantomachia*.

I find it not uncommon among the many *episema* of Minerva; and I find it also very often on shields of Achilles, and perhaps of other Grecian heroes.

I believe it to belong to the giants, on account of their being earth-sprung; but why should it be given to Minerva? M. Panofka attributes this to the fable of *Erichthonius*. I think it not impossible that its object may be to make the whole armour of the goddess more connected and consistent, and that the artist conceived that, as she bears a serpent-fringed garment, and a serpent-tressed head of Medusa on her breast, she should also bear a serpent on her shield. It is, I apprehend, but an accidental coincidence that the wisdom of the serpent should be an Oriental metaphor, but it is not absolutely impossible that it might be known to Western civilization, and, if so, it would be an additional reason why the serpent should typify the goddess of wisdom.

Be this, however, as it may, she frequently does bear this emblem; and, as she is represented by Homer as a favourer of the Greek cause, and both by him and by vase-artists as the especial protector of Achilles, I conclude that it is in reference to

her that he very often has the serpent on his shield. For instance, in Mr. Rogers's remarkable vase, on which the son of Thetis, with his name inscribed, is seen in his tent immersed in grief, his shield is suspended with a serpent for its bearing.

In the case of another equally remarkable monument of Grecian art, also the property of Mr. Rogers, where Achilles is seen in the act of putting Troilus to death, his attendant carries his shield, on which is a serpent.

On a vase in the British Museum a winged female, no doubt Iris, brings his arms to Achilles, and here again appears a serpent emblem; as is the case also on another vase in our national collection, where Thetis on a sea-horse carries his arms to her son.

On an amphora, one of the finest in the same Museum, is depicted a warrior arming for battle, with a female figure, either of Thetis or Iris, holding a buckler, on which is a head of a lion or tiger between two serpents.

Mr. Millingen, in his "*Peintures antiques et inédites des Vases Grecs*," gives a plate of a vase of which the main subject is the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. One of the minor designs exhibits a combat. Mr. Millingen doubts whether this be a real battle, a fight of gladiators, or a theatrical representation.

For myself I can see no reason for these doubts. The principal subject would naturally lead us to expect that Achilles, the fruit of the union of Peleus and Thetis, should be the protagonist of the fight, and the details seem to corroborate this opinion. They are very singular. Five warriors are present, two of them with Phrygian caps, and therefore probably Trojans. Two more are bare-headed, while only one has a Grecian helmet. From this distinction, I conclude that Achilles, the son of Peleus, and most renowned of the Grecian heroes, stands before us. The two unhelmeted men are intended, as I presume, for his followers. One of them bears a star, one of the commonest of emblems, on his shield, while his leader has the cognizance of a serpent.

In the fine private collection of Mr. Hope are two vases that appear to have been intended for a pair, and are, I think, peculiarly interesting with reference to the subject of the present paper.

On one of them is depicted a warrior going to the fight, and bearing on his shield a tripod. On the other side of the vase we see the same warrior, bearing also the tripod on his buckler, killing an enemy, who is probably Patroclus.

On one side of the companion vase is also a single hero, while on the reverse is a warrior, probably the same individual, arming himself, while on his shield is a serpent. These two vases seem to give us the latter half of the *Iliad*: the first representing Hector going forth, and killing Patroclus; and the second Achilles, roused again to don his armour, and actually on his way to wreak his vengeance

on the Trojan hero. I ought to state that a winged female, probably Iris, brings his arms to Achilles, as in the case that I have mentioned from the British Museum.

In the Catalogue of M. Durand<sup>c</sup> is described a vase, on which is the combat of Achilles and Memnon over the body of Antilochus. The buckler of Achilles has a serpent, while the son of Nestor has two on his shield; shewing apparently that serpents were for some reason the especial emblem of the Grecian cause.

M. Raoul de Rochette, in his "Monumenti inediti," gives an engraving from a vase of two serpents on the shield of Ajax, who is carrying the body of Achilles. This may possibly be intended for the shield of Achilles himself.

On the very remarkable vase of Echsechias, in the collection of the Vatican, engraved in the "Monumenti inediti," where Achilles and Ajax are throwing dice, the shield of the former has upon it a serpent, a satyr's head, and a tiger, while the buckler of Ajax displays two serpents and a Gorgonium. It is to be observed here, also, that both warriors belong to the party favoured by Minerva.

A vase, published by the duc de Luynes, exhibits four warriors with a female, believed by its learned illustrator to be intended for Chryseis. A shield bears the emblem of a serpent. May not the subject be supposed to be the capture of Briseis by Achilles? One of the other warriors has an eagle for his cognizance, and may perhaps be Idomeneus, who has the cognate emblem of the thunderbolt on the vase of Cynus, so well explained by the duke.

A vase published by M. Raoul Rochette,<sup>d</sup> exhibits to us Cassandra seized by Ajax Oileus, who has a serpent on his shield; shewing another instance where it is the emblem of a Grecian hero.

I have probably said enough on the serpent as appropriate to Achilles, and I may now be asked why the tripod should be borne by Hector and Memnon. I believe the reason to be that the tripod is the natural emblem of Apollo, one of the divine protectors of the Trojans, as Pallas was of the Greeks. M. Gerhard, in his description<sup>e</sup> of a vase at Berlin, suggests this very explanation. That this was a real motive for a device on a shield we learn from a passage quoted by the scholiast of Pindar from Bacchylides. I am indebted for this corroboration of my opinion to Mr. Birch, who has given me other important assistance in drawing up this paper.

I have already pointed out some cases in which the tripod appears as a Trojan badge, but I think it expedient to adduce some further instances.

A cylix, or tazza, belonging to myself, has two warriors fighting over a third. I believe either the usual combat of Achilles and Memnon over Antilochus, or Ajax rushing to the rescue of Patroclus from Hector. In this case Memnon or Hector

<sup>c</sup> Page 112, No. 321.

<sup>d</sup> Page 60.

<sup>e</sup> Berlins Antike Bildwerke, S 290, No. 1004.

has a tripod, and Achilles or Ajax a bull's head; an episemon borne by them elsewhere.<sup>f</sup>

On an amphora<sup>g</sup> engraved by Gerhard are two combats, apparently of Greeks and Trojans. In *each* case there is one shield with a tripod and one with a bull's-head, as if they were the recognised symbols of the two parties.

On a vase figured by the duc de Luynes, the same subject occurs, and Memnon has again a tripod.

On a large vase belonging to Mr. Blayds is the same subject, and in this case also a tripod is seen on the shield of Memnon. On the reverse, is a hero in his chariot, probably the triumphant Achilles, with two fish on his shield.

One of Mr. Hertz's vases gives us a similar example of the tripod on the shield of Memnon, who is fighting with Achilles over the body of Antilochus, with Thetis and Aurora standing near to see the conflict between their sons, as in the Alibrandi vase already mentioned.

In the British Museum is a vase<sup>h</sup> with a bull's head on one hero's shield, and a tripod on that of the other, who is wounded. This probably portrays the duel between Achilles and Hector, the former bearing the same emblem of strength and courage as in my cylix already described.

Our national collection possesses another vase, where we see on one side Hector, Andromache, Astyanax, and Priam, or, as it is interpreted in the Durand Catalogue, Paris, Helen, Troilus, and Priam. The shield of the Trojan hero, be he Hector or Paris, does not indeed bear a tripod, but instead of it a white globe, which may typify the sun, and equally indicate the favour of Apollo, though Homer does not appear to consider the two as the same.

Millin, in his "Peintures des Vases antiques," gives an engraving of a very interesting picture of the combat of Achilles and Memnon. The shield of Achilles bears a head of Medusa, doubtless allusive to the breast-plate of Minerva. On the buckler of Memnon is a star, which Millin refers to the sun, of which Aurora, the mother of Memnon, is the herald. Is it not more likely that it is the morning star, "day's harbinger?" Millin quotes Homer to prove that Agamemnon bore the gorgonion on his shield; and says that other authors shew that it was not con-

<sup>f</sup> See Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, No. 201. See also a vase in the British Museum, No. 440, described in the Durand Catalogue No. 814, on which on one side is a warrior arming, with a bull's head on his shield, and an old man, while on the opposite side two warriors facing and conversing, one with a tripod, and one again with a bull's head,—probably Hector and Ajax. See *Iliad*, book vii. On the reverse of the vase, 201 of Gerhard, is a hero with a cock on his shield, which we are informed by Pausanias was borne by Idomeneus as descended from the sun. In the same manner the scholiast on the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides states, that heroes bore emblems allusive to their families.   <sup>g</sup> *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, No. 213.   <sup>h</sup> No. 651.



finer to that of Minerva. Was not the circumstance that it was one of the cognizances of Pallas Athene the very reason why it was borne by Agamemnon, Achilles, and other Grecian chieftains?

Millingen, in his account of the Coghill vases, has published an engraving of a vase on which is a youthful hero, apparently proceeding on a military expedition. There are besides two other men, not in armour, and a female. On the shield of the warrior is an emblem, which is described as a star, but, as its rays are wavy, I apprehend that it rather represents a cuttle-fish, which on another vase appears as the badge of Pelides. This probably alludes to Thetis, as a sea-nymph. The interpretation that I should put on this design is, that it portrays Achilles leaving the court of Lycomedes to go to Troy. A bearded figure with a staff is probably Ulysses, and the female Deidamia.

In the Durand Catalogue is a vase<sup>i</sup> on which the same subject is apparently represented, and here also on the buckler of Achilles is a cuttle-fish. This is one of the vases on which Minerva has a shield with a tripod in the presence of Hercules.

On a cylix published by the Prince of Canino, inscribed with the names of the heroes, Achilles bears the emblem of a cuttle-fish, Æneas of a lion, and Antilochus of a boar.

It would be unfair to my subject, were I to deny that it is attended with some difficulties and anomalies. I will mention some, and see how far we can reasonably account for them.

In two vases<sup>k</sup> described in the Catalogue de Durand, Minerva bears on her shield a tripod. The same circumstance occurs also on one in the Gregorian Museum, on two in the possession of Mr. Hertz, and on an amphora<sup>l</sup> in the Pizzati Collection, published by M. Gerhard. In all these six cases, however, Hercules is present, and the emblem on the shield of his celestial protector may allude to his contest with Apollo for the tripod, a frequent subject on Grecian pottery. In the same catalogue an amphora is described,<sup>m</sup> in which the tripod occurs on the shield of Hercules himself.

On an amphora in the British Museum<sup>n</sup> is a beautiful representation of the parting of Hector and Andromache, and on Hector's shield we find the serpent, the emblem of his great rival. Is it possible that the artist has had an inaccurate recollection of the order of events, and has forgotten that the final separation of Hector from Andromache preceded his victory over Patroclus? Were this the case, he might have intended to have represented the Trojan to have gone forth in the armour he had taken from his victim.

<sup>i</sup> Page 91, No. 276.

<sup>k</sup> Page 92, No. 277; page 95, No. 290.

<sup>l</sup> Auserlesene Vasenbilder, No. 135.

<sup>m</sup> Page 111, No. 319.

<sup>n</sup> No. 810.



On another vase in the same museum,<sup>o</sup> Achilles drags the body of Hector, and the shield in his chariot has a tripod upon it. Here also the artist, from the desire to be very correct, seems to have fallen into a similar error. He has probably intended to represent the son of Thetis as carrying in his chariot the buckler of his heroic victim; forgetting all the while that he had in fact recovered from the son of Priam the shield that had before been his own, and which had been taken from Patroclus.

I might mention also a serpent on the shields of Memnon and Æneas, a bull's head on that of Memnon, and a tripod on that of Achilles; for which I cannot account, except by supposing them to have been owing to the caprice or convenience of the artists, and that they were adopted as being easy or picturesque.

I think that I have succeeded in shewing that the especial emblems of the son of Peleus are the serpent, gorgonium, bull's head, and marine animals, alluding to Minerva, to his own personal qualities, and to his mother Thetis: that the emblems of Memnon and Hector were the tripod of Apollo, and, in one instance, that the globe of the sun was used by the son of Aurora. To these I might add, that the dove of his mother Venus appears on the shield of Æneas; the cock, as a combative animal, on that of Hector; the lion on that of Menelaus; and on one vase a crescent and a globe on the shields of two Amazons, alluding probably to Diana and her brother Apollo. These emblems seem to be partly suggested by the heroic and personal qualities of the respective warriors; but more often to be indicative of the particular divinities under whose especial protection they placed themselves, or were placed by circumstances. If then this be the case, if appropriateness was often studied, then by a converse method of reasoning we may hope to assist in decyphering subjects that are not sufficiently distinguished by other details.

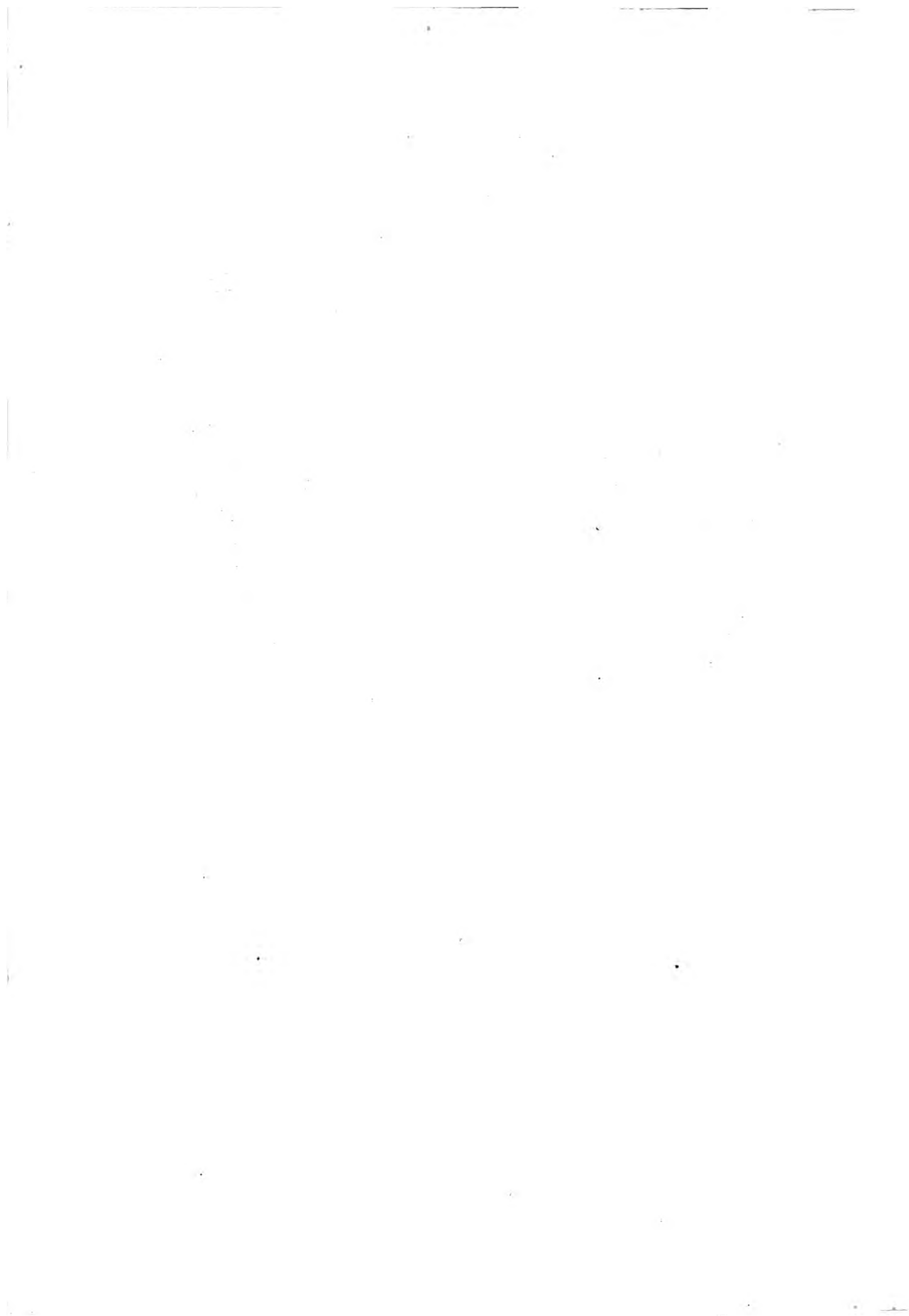
If I have succeeded in shewing this in some instances, and if I shall induce others more able than myself to follow up the inquiry, I shall not think my own labour in drawing up this paper, nor the patience of my readers, entirely thrown away.<sup>p</sup>

<sup>o</sup> No. 533.

<sup>p</sup> Since the passage in p. 259 was read before the Society of Antiquaries, I have had the opportunity, by the kindness of Mr. Hope, of seeing again the two vases, and I am sorry to find that there is an error in the description of one of them, which I had described from an inaccurate note. On the reverse of the arming of Achilles is not a warrior in armour, but a young man with a staff; and I conclude therefore that this either represents Achilles walking before his tent, and *unarmed* in consequence of the stripping of Patroclus, or more probably a messenger with the news of his friend's death. Either of these explanations would accord with the Iliac connexion of the two vases.





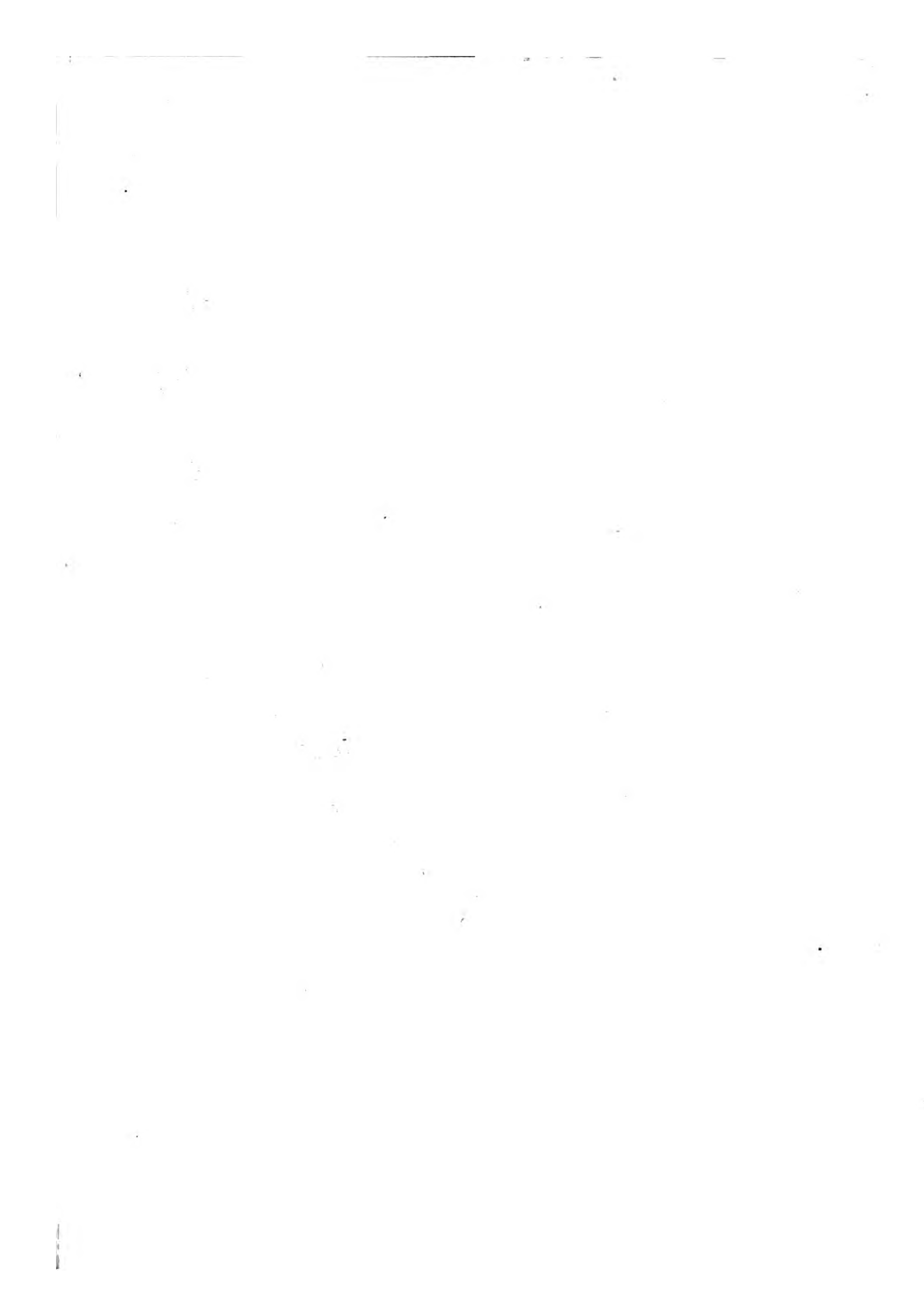




*Fictile Vase from the Canino Collection found at Vulci*

*J. Basire del.*



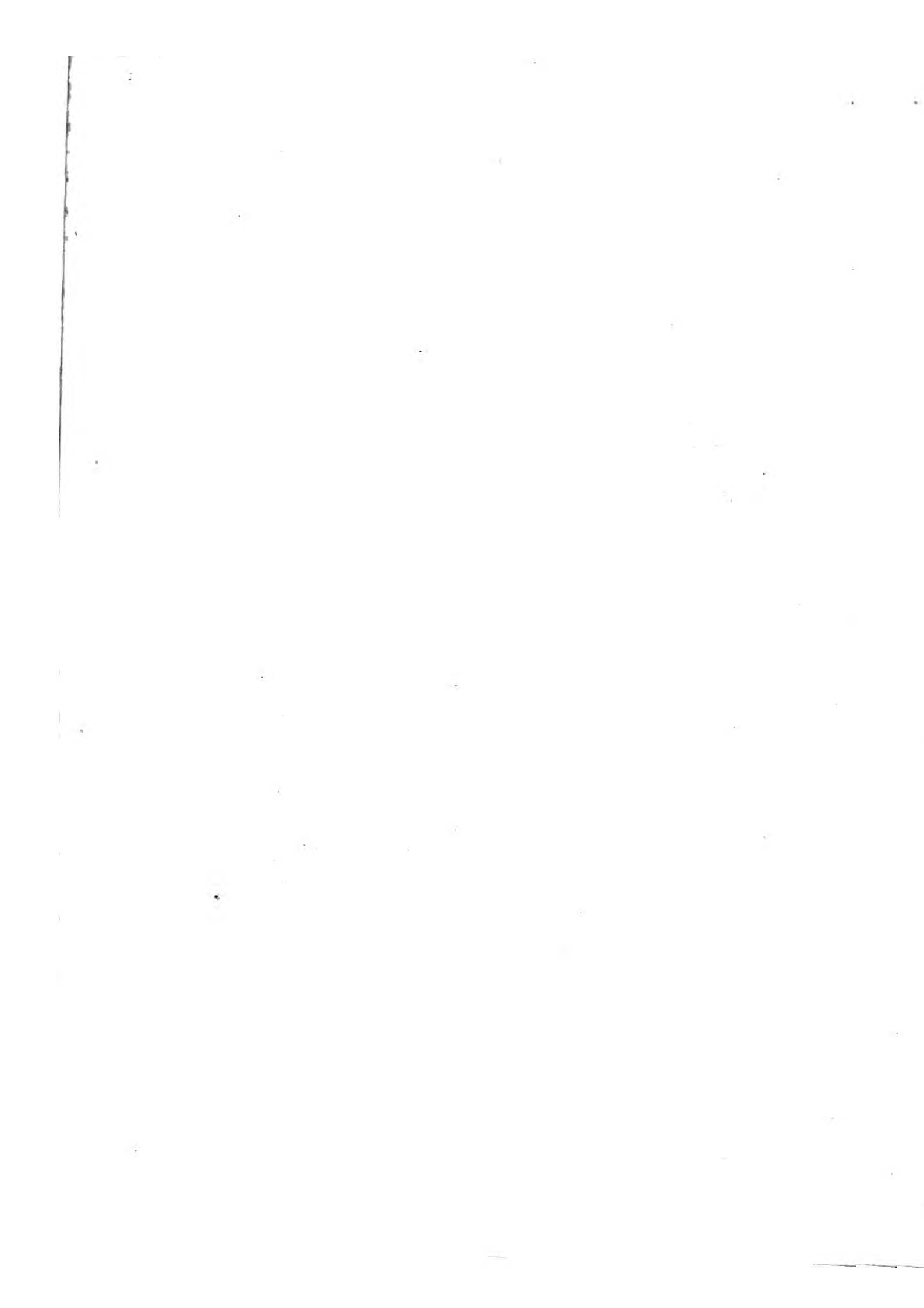




*Portion of the Myth upon the under*



*the Fictile Vase from Vulci.*









*Myth on a Kylix f*





DESCRIPTION

OF A

FICTILE VASE FROM VULCI,

SUPPOSED TO COMMEMORATE

THE FATE OF THE FAMILY OF AGAMEMNON.

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COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

BY SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A.,

ASSISTANT KEEPER OF THE ANTIQUITIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

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## DESCRIPTION

OF A

## FICTILE VASE FROM VULCI.

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THE Cylix which I propose an explanation of in the present Memoir was found at Vulci, (see Plate VIII.) and formed part of the hundred select vases of the Princess of Canino. I also, as particularly illustrative of the same myths, accompany it with tracings of two other Vases from the same source. They all are portions of the great original discoveries of Hellenic fictile art at Vulci.

The Vase is of the most flourishing period of the art, with red figures upon a black ground, and exhibits all the usual delicacy of drawing of this style.

The interior of this cup (Plate VIII.) represents Peleus, draped in a peplos and long tunic, wearing the Thessalian petasus, and leading Thetis after her capture to Chiron. He holds a spear in his right hand, and takes with his left the wrist of the goddess. He turns round, and regards her with admiration. Thetis is draped as females usually are on vases of this class, except that her peplos is thrown over her head to indicate her bridal character, while her looks are modestly directed to the earth. On a vase where the names<sup>a</sup> accompany the figures, Chiron is also present; and on another with the same subject, Aphrodite, and Apollo, and Artemis appear on the scene.

The subject of the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis probably formed part of the *Μικρὰ Ἰλιάς*<sup>b</sup> attributed to Thestorides of Phocis, Cinæthon of Lacedæmon, or Diodorus of Erythræ. It differed from the Homeric traditions. The interposition of Chiron, who acted as paranymp<sup>h</sup> on the occasion, is mentioned by Pindar,<sup>c</sup> and is the subject of several monuments.<sup>d</sup>

I shall now proceed to consider the subject on the sides of the cup. (Plates IX. and XI. fig. 3.) Two men draped in long chlamydes, and wearing endromides, or hunting

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, t. iv. pl. XVI. and pl. CCCXIV. Milling, Vases de Coghill, pl. XLIII. LIV.

<sup>b</sup> See Schol. ad Troades, from MS. Vaticanus, Rom. A. Vaticanus 909. Euripid. Troad., Glasg. 1829.

<sup>c</sup> Nem. iii. 56.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Mon. Inst. Arch. 37. Welcker, Annal. v. p. 90. Müller, Handbuch, s. 413, I. p. 647.

I must now revert to another explanation, of which this part of the vase is susceptible,—the contention of Ajax and Ulysses for the armour of Achilles,—the *ἄπλων κρίσις* of Æschylus.<sup>a</sup> Yet this subject is remarkably rare, and is only known from the silver cup of Stroganov, where Ajax and Ulysses plead their cause before Pallas Athené, who is seated in the centre armed with her shield and lance, while the fatal armour lies before her.<sup>b</sup> But there is no clue to any violence on the occasion of the judgment, either in the dramatists or the writers of the Post-Homerica.<sup>c</sup> If referrible to this portion of the Iliad, the alarmed female must be Thetis terrified at the violence created by the strife, and the older male figure replacing the female, probably Agamemnon. In some of the later ones, indeed, the subject of the contention of the two was the possession of the Palladium,<sup>d</sup> where the late epitomist has in all probability blundered the story of the two Ajaces, or else that of Diomed, into the mythos. But the solution of this subject is not satisfactory, and the recognition of Paris by Cassandra, or the strife of the Atridæ, may perhaps be represented. The subject is evidently related to this portion of the Iliad.

The subject of the reverse I conceive to be of the highest interest for the illustration of the Attic dramatists. It is the judgment of Orestes before the Areiopagus, one of the subjects which appears on the productions of the potters' furnaces contemporary with the *Ὀρεστεία* or grand trilogy of Æschylus, (the Agamemnon, the Eumenides, and the Choephoroi), a clear and distinct proof that arts and literature marched hand-in-hand in the early times of Greece. Orestes before the Areiopagus is new to archaic vase art; but the whole of the subject of the fictile and sculptured Oresteia is so important, and so varied, that, although it has engaged the attention of Millin,<sup>e</sup> M. Raoul Rochette,<sup>f</sup> and M. Welcker,<sup>g</sup> it deserves, from the continual recurrence of new monuments, a fresh classification. (1.) The subject of the young Orestes seized by Telephus<sup>h</sup> occurs on a *crater* in the Museo Borbonico at Naples.<sup>i</sup> The

<sup>a</sup> Schol. ad Sophocl. Ajacem, 190. Cf. Æschyl. Fragm. Dindorf, 8vo. Par. 1842, p. 213. Ovid, Met. xiii. the argument of the *Μίκρα Ἰλιάς*. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1051. See also the extracts of Pacuvius and Attius, l. c.

<sup>b</sup> This monument, first published by Koehler, *Magazin Encyclopedique*, 1803, v. p. 372, by Millin. *Gal. Myth.* 629, is conjectured by Inghirami, *Gal. Om.* cx. to be the dedication of the armour of Dolon.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Quint. Smyrn. *Paralipom.* v. 125—332, supposed to be a reproduction of the *Æthiopis* of Arctinus; Johannes, Tzetzes, *Posthom.* 480—484, 495; and the *Argument to the Ajax* of Sophocles.

<sup>d</sup> *Dictys Cretensis*, lib. v. sub fine.

<sup>e</sup> *Oresteid.*

<sup>f</sup> *Mon. Ined. Oresteide*, p. 115, and foll.

<sup>g</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* iv. 606. u. ff.

<sup>h</sup> Schol. ad *Acharn.* Aristoph. v. 332.

<sup>i</sup> Welcker, in *Bullet. Arch. Napol.* Feb. 1843, No. 5, p. 33, No. V. in s. vi. 1572.

Mysian monarch is here shown wearing the Mysian *cidaris*, arrived at Argos for the cure of his wound, and recognised by the Argives; he holds the young Orestes in his arms, and threatens to stab him if touched. Before him stands Agamemnon. The same subject occurs on an Etruscan sarcophagus, published by M. Raoul Rochette and M. Otto Jahn.<sup>a</sup> Clytemnestra is here present, having urged on Telephus to the deed,<sup>b</sup> while Achilles and Menelaus attack the Mysians, although restrained by compassion for the child. Clytemnestra restrains Agamemnon. This part of the Oresteid also is on the sarcophagus from Toscanella, in the Gregorian Museum of the Vatican. These subjects are all to be sought in the plots of the Telephus of Æschylus.<sup>c</sup>

The opening scene of the Choephoroi of Æschylus, and the Electra of Sophocles, are the common subject of the Athenian lecythi, with figures traced in black, red, and occasionally in various colours. The type of this vase was peculiarly sepulchral,<sup>d</sup> and hence the subject of the libations and offerings offered at the tomb of Agamemnon was well suited for it. On one published by M. Raoul Rochette,<sup>e</sup> Orestes, wearing the petasus and chlamys, holding a spear in his right hand, stands before the upright stelé, or pillar-tomb of Agamemnon, which is surmounted by an antefixial ornament; Electra is seated at the steps, and behind her is Chrysothemis, with the square basket, as canephoros. Another vase of the Basilicata style<sup>f</sup> represents the tomb of Agamemnon, as described, but with his name *Αγαμέ[μων]* inscribed on it. The pillar is placed on steps or three bases; Electra is tying a garland round it on one side, and on the other is Chrysothemis, with a basket of fruit and garlands, which she is bearing from her mother Clytemnestra, as she describes herself in the Electra of Sophocles. Ἐκ τε μητρὸς ἐντάφια χερσὶν Φέρουσαν ὅα τοῖς κατὰ νομίζεται. At the side of the tomb are an *anochoe*, two branches, and garland. The magnificent Athenian polychromatic lecythus, with Electra and the female attendants, in the British Museum, is also to be referred to this part of the mythos.<sup>g</sup> On a third vase,<sup>h</sup> referring to the same subject, Orestes naked, wearing a petasus, and holding a spear, stands before the tomb of Agamemnon, which is in the shape

<sup>a</sup> Cf. also Jahn, Telephos, and Troilos, Kiel, 1841. Raoul Rochette, M. I. pl. xlvi.

<sup>b</sup> Welcker, loc. cit.

<sup>c</sup> Welcker, loc. cit. p. 34. Cf. also Dempster, Etruria Regalis, t. I. tab. L. p. 343, and LI. LII.

<sup>d</sup> See Aristophanes, Eccles. 1041.

<sup>e</sup> Monumens Inedits, pl. XVI. p. 156. Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, tom. ii. tav. CLVII.

<sup>f</sup> Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, tom. ii. pl. CXL. Gargiulo, Raccolta dei Monumenti piu interessanti del R. Museo Borbonico.

<sup>g</sup> Raoul Rochette, Peint. Ant. pl. VIII. IX. p. 415, and foll.

<sup>h</sup> Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, tom. ii. tav. CXXXVI.

of a square Doric pilaster, surmounted by a helmet: on the stelé is the name ΑΓΑΜΕ[ΜΝ]ΩΝ, and at the base are triglyphs. Electra [ΕΛΕΚΤΡΑ] is seated with her hands upon her knees in an attitude of dejection, and Chrysothemis holds a pyxis, while she lifts up her veil with one hand and looks behind her. She is followed by Pylades, wearing a chlamys, and holding a spear. On a vase, in the Basilicata<sup>a</sup> style, published by Millingen, Electra is represented seated alone at the tomb of Agamemnon, in this case shaped like a naos, holding a vase. Pylades and Orestes are present. With this must be placed the vase of Carelli, edited by R. Rochette; <sup>b</sup> where Electra is seated on a pedestal of three steps, surmounted by a stelé, with an Ionic capital, and tied with a fillet. Electra holds the hydria (as on the previous vase), in which were borne the λουτρά, or the κτερίσματα, <sup>c</sup> and χέρνιβες, and on the steps are several vases of the shape of the cantharus, lecythus, oxybaphon, hydria, or calpis, cylix, and a pomegranate.

On a vase of the Hamilton collection, <sup>d</sup> represented in Italinsky, the tomb of Agamemnon is a square upright pillar placed upon two bases, surmounted by a crater; on the lower step is an amphora, a cup, and a sash; on the upper step Orestes is seated, conversing with Pylades, who stands facing him; both are draped, and hold sticks. Electra stands behind them upon the upper step, and ties a sash round the tomb. She is draped in a tunic, which exposes her right arm and side, and her peplos is thrown over her head: in the area is a patera. and a fillet apparently from a bucranium which has been lost. The composition of this vase owes much to a Neapolitan restoration; but the action seems to be that which precedes the prayer delivered by Orestes and Electra seated upon their father's tomb. <sup>e</sup>

Another vase represented Orestes, <sup>f</sup> draped in a chlamys, and holding in his left hand a stick, and in his right a cup, standing at the square pillar-shaped tomb of Agamemnon, round which are tied a black and a white sash. On the base of the tomb are a cantharus and two cylices; at the other side stands Pylades wearing a chlamys, and holding a spear and crown. A fuller form of this picture occurs on a vase of the Basilicata style, in the Museum at Naples; <sup>g</sup> Electra is seated on the base of three steps, on which rises the Ionic column which represents the tomb of Agamemnon; and she is surrounded by three *ænochoæ* and a cantharus, by which the

<sup>a</sup> Peintures antiques et inédits de Vases Grecques, tirées de diverses Collections, avec des explications, pl. IV. p. 25; repeated, Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, ii. CXXXIX.

<sup>b</sup> Mon. Ined. pl. XXXI. A.

<sup>c</sup> Schol. ad Sophocl. Electram, 436, ἀπὸ τοῦ χέειν αὐτὰ κάτω τῆς ἔρας ἡγουν τῆς γῆς.

<sup>d</sup> Italinsky, fo. Naples, 1791, tom. i. pl. LXXXVI.

<sup>e</sup> Æsch. Choeph. 499, cf. l. 334.

<sup>f</sup> Milling. Peint. Ant. p. 34, note 2.

<sup>g</sup> Inghirami, loc. cit. ii. tav. CLI.

libations have been made at it. Orestes, draped with a chlamys, and wearing a petasus, pours wine from a cup; behind is Pylades seated, and a naked youth in an attitude expressing astonishment. Hermes, *χθόνιος*, crowns the tomb, towards which advances an old figure holding a sceptre, and wearing an exomis. Another, in a peculiar cap, is seated on a *προσκεφάλαιον*, or pillow, behind; and a female, Chrysothemis, stands holding an alabastron. In the figure advancing towards the tomb we must recognise Agamemnon; a youth and reclining figure are at the ends of the composition. Hermes, who is invoked both in the Choephoroi and in the Electra, is present on another vase,<sup>a</sup> where Electra is seated at the foot of the tomb, shod. The stelé is here replaced by an Ionic column on two steps, on one of which is a hydria, and on the other a lecythus and fillet. Before her stands Orestes, wearing a chlamys, and a pileus on his head, holding in his right hand a cantharus, and in his left a spear. Behind Electra stands the Hermes, *χθόνιος*, holding up his hand, and Chrysothemis holding an alabastron. The same subject appears on another vase<sup>b</sup> formerly in the collection of the Empress Josephine. Orestes, wearing a pileus off his head, holds a spear in his right and a crown in his left hand, at the tomb figured as an Ionic column, on a base of two steps, on which is an amphora. Before him stands Electra as a canephoros, holding a basket in her left and a sash in her right hand; in the area is a crown. The subject of the four occurs on another vase, published by Inghirami;<sup>c</sup> and on one given by D'Hancarville,<sup>d</sup> where the Ionic column is replaced by a Doric one, with a garland. On one side Electra places fruit from a basket on the tomb; and on the other Orestes, holding a spear in his right hand, and his left enveloped in his chlamys, stands conversing with her: and again in Italinsky,<sup>e</sup> Electra, draped in chlamys and peplos, and shoes, *ἀρβύλη λακωνική*, holds a garland or fillet in her right hand, and in her left a hydria in which are two sprigs of laurel, and round it a fillet: at her feet is a plant, perhaps the asphodel, which grew on the tombs. Electra is unaccompanied by her maids; either that the artist has abridged the scene or else that he has chosen the moment when she fervently prays to the eidolon of Agamemnon. Before her stands Orestes in conversation with her, wearing the pileus, chlamys, and endromides, and holding in his hand an inverted spear. In the area is an argolic buckler and fillet. Another,<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Milling. Peint. Ant.; Inghirami, Vas. Fitt. ii. tav. CLIII.

<sup>b</sup> Millin. Peint. de Vases Antiques, vulgairement appellées Etrusques, tom. ii. pl. LI. Raoul Rochette, tom. ii. pl. LI. Rochette, Mon. Ined. P. I. p. 159, note 47. Inghirami, ii. tav. CLVI. p. 75.

<sup>c</sup> Tom. i. XXI.

<sup>d</sup> Antiquités, Etrusques, Grecques, et Romaines, tom. iv. pl. LXXXI. Inghirami, loc. cit tom. ii. pl. CXLII.

<sup>e</sup> Pitture di Vasi Antichi, tom. i. tav. XV. Tischbein, fo. Naples, 1791, pl. XXXVI.

<sup>f</sup> Museo Chiusino, tav. CXCVIII. Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, tom. ii. tav. CLVIII.



connected with this portion of the Oresteia, represents Electra seated, holding a lecythus; behind stands Pylades, enveloped in a cloak; and before her Orestes, also enveloped in his cloak, to avoid recognition. In the interior is Orestes half naked, seated upon a chair, his right hand stretched out, and left holding a stick.<sup>a</sup> A lecythus, also published by Inghirami, represents one figure at a sepulchral stelé.

Now thus far we have only considered the vases representing the opening of the Oresteia of the three dramatists — the arrival of the two friends disguised as travellers from the court of Trœzene. In the Electra of Sophocles, which the fictile artists appear to have chiefly followed, the friends in the first instance decorate the tomb of Agamemnon with locks of hair<sup>b</sup> and libations, and they then proceed towards the palace. The particular incident of the Electra is the death of Orestes, feigned by the pair of friends, and the bringing of the brazen hydria, called the *τύπωμα χαλκόπλευρον*,<sup>c</sup> in which his body is represented as *φλογίστην ἤδη καὶ κατηνθρακωμένον*, *i. e.* already submitted to fire and reduced to ashes. Now on one of the vases of Lamberg<sup>d</sup> this very incident is represented: Orestes and Pylades advance barefooted towards Electra, Orestes first holding the bronze hydria, draped in a chlamys, and holding two spears. Electra, it will be remembered, gives her brother her father's sword, an action represented on a vase of the Basilicata style, and on a vase formerly in Sir W. Hamilton's<sup>e</sup> possession, Pylades stands armed with a thorax fitting closely to his shape, and holding an argolic buckler and spear. Orestes brandishes a sword, with which he is always represented killing Ægisthus, and his chlamys slipping off his arm. Electra draped in a tunic excites her brother to the deed; and behind them is either the tomb of Agamemnon or the throne of the palace at Argos. This armed type is perfectly in accordance with the Choephoroi<sup>f</sup> of Æschylus, calling the two heroes the *διπλοῦς Ἄρης*, which suggests their armed appearance on the sarcophagi and vases. From this point the slender plot of the dramatists passes to the matricide of Clytemnestra and the death of Ægistheus, a crime to which he was impelled by the commands of Apollo, and by Fate. And we, accordingly, find on the Mirror published by Dr. Braun, where the hero (Urusthe) is represented armed, and stabbing Clytemnestra,

<sup>a</sup> Inghirami, V. F. tom. iii. tav. CCXLVI. Gal. Omer. iii. tav. IX. p. 57.

<sup>b</sup> Schol. ad Soph. Elect. 50, et seq.

<sup>c</sup> Electr. l. 54. Cf. Schol. ad eund. τὸ ἄγγος τὴν ὑδρίαν; and Æschyl. Choeph. l. 684.

<sup>d</sup> Laborde, Vases de Lamberg, i. pl. VIII. Raoul Rochette, Mon. Ined. pl. XXXIV. p. 159.

<sup>e</sup> Tischbein, fo. Naples, 1791, pl. LXXXVII.

<sup>f</sup> 934.

(Cluthumstha,) the Semna Thea, or rather Diké,<sup>a</sup> present under the name of Nathum, or Fatum; on another he is stabbing his mother, but no Fury is present.<sup>b</sup> On the stamnos, in the Berlin Museum, with red figures, Orestes, ΟΡΕΙΣΤΕΣ, as an armed youth, stabs ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ, Ægistheus,<sup>c</sup> who is bearded, on the seat or throne of Pelops,<sup>d</sup> while ΚΑΥΤΑΙΜΝΕΣΤΡΑ hastens with a pelekys,<sup>e</sup> the same weapon with which she had destroyed Agamemnon, to the assistance of her paramour. Another vase of the Museo Borbonico represents Orestes pursuing his mother; but he is impelled to the deed by Pylades, not Electra.<sup>f</sup> It is Orestes who destroys his mother, while Pylades despatches Ægistheus, on the terra-cotta published by Visconti;<sup>g</sup> but on a relief formerly in the Palazzo Circi della Pedacchia at Rome, Electra encourages her brother to destroy Ægistheus, as in the Electra and Choephoroi, while Clytemnestra hurls a footstool at her son.<sup>h</sup>

The most celebrated monument of this subject is the sculptured Etruscan sarcophagus, which gives an epitome of the Oresteid.<sup>i</sup> The right side is injured, and the wanting portion probably contained Orestes killing Ægistheus; the next is Orestes stabbing Clytemnestra. Six<sup>k</sup> days after the matricide of Clytemnestra, her mad and fury-haunted son is represented performing the last offices of the perideipnon<sup>l</sup> to his mother, and awaiting the judgment of the people of Argos. Now to connect this with the Oresteid of Æschylus. Orestes first proceeds to Delphi. Hither he is pursued by the relentless Eumenides; and, wildly brandishing his sword, startles the Pythia. This part of the Oresteid is perhaps the most common on works of art, because of the chthonic character of the scene. It is found generally with an abridgment of some of the details. The

<sup>a</sup> Inghirami, Gal. Om. t. cxxx. Æsch. Choeph. 947.

<sup>b</sup> Oreste stretto al parricidio dal fato specchio Etrusco di Giuseppe Bassegio, illustrato da E. Braun, fo. Roma, 1841. Gerhard, *Miroirs Etrusques*, pl. CCXXVII.

<sup>c</sup> Gerhard, *Vases Etrusques et Campanéens de Musée Royal de Berlin*, fo. Berlin, 1843, pl. XXIV. p. 35.

<sup>d</sup> Πελόπος ἐπὶ προπατόρος ἔδραν. Euripid. Orest. l. 1365.

<sup>e</sup> Electra, 97, et seq., Schol. ad eund. l. 195, and Schol. 8, γένυς γὰρ εἶδος πελέκεος. Æschyl. Choeph. 887.

<sup>f</sup> Welcker, *Bullet. Arch. Napol.* Feb. 1843, No. v. p. 34.

<sup>g</sup> Museo Pio Clementino, v. 22, tav. A. 6. Millin, *Gal. Mythol.* clxv. 618, 619. Welcker, *Zeitschrift*, s. 434, u. ff. s. Rochette, *Mon.* xxix. A. 2, p. 145.

<sup>h</sup> Gerhard, *Vases*, loc. cit.

<sup>i</sup> Micali, *Stor. d' Italia*, tav. CIX. Rochette, *Mon. In.* xxix. i. 6. Inghirami, *Mon. Etr.* vi. tav. A. 2. Cf. also Sarc. found in Vigna Argoli at Rome, 1839, p. 2, et seq.

<sup>k</sup> Euripid. Orest. 40. Tzetzes, ad Lyc. 112.

<sup>l</sup> Parœmiogr. Vet. a Gaisford. 8vo. Oxon. 1840, p. 41—301. Cf. Orest. l. c. ἀποκτείνας γὰρ τὴν μητέρα περιδειπνον ἐποίησεν.

fullest representation is that on the Naples vase, on which are Apollo Loxias, the Pythia,<sup>a</sup> and four of the torch-bearing Eumenides. The same scene with the alarmed Pythia, but only one of the Eumenides, and Apollo and Artemis as the *ἐπικούριοι*, is found on the Lamberg Vase, published by Dr. Jahn, probably from Ruvo.<sup>b</sup> On another vase of the Museo Borbonico<sup>c</sup> at Naples, two Furies pursue him, one holding a mirror and snakes, to the omphalos of Loxias; he is accompanied by Electra, and the Pythia is seated on the tripod, Apollo on the omphalos, which is thickly crowned with fillets. Another vase of the same style represents Orestes accompanied by Electra before Apollo at the prophetic tripod, and the Pythia.<sup>d</sup> On the vase in the Berlin Museum found at Ceglie, published by Rochette<sup>e</sup> and Gerhard,<sup>f</sup> the same incidents occur, with the introduction of a Fury, and a female form supposed to be the shade or eidolon of Clytemnestra, but more probably Electra. On the Vatican vase Apollo and Athene defend Orestes from the Eumenides, while a winged figure, probably a Victory, soars in the air, to indicate the repulse of the Furies.<sup>g</sup> There is another vase in the British Museum with red figures, and of the style of Apulia, in which the scene is differently represented. Orestes, draped in a chlamys, which is fastened by a fibula across his throat, kneels upon the step or altar of the temple of Delphi. His pilos has fallen off his head, and is only restrained by the straps. No Fury is here present; for the artist has either left them to the mind's eye, as in the Choephoroi Orestes sees them, while to the chorus they are utterly invisible,<sup>h</sup> or else they have fled before the power of Loxias; but I prefer the former explanation. Apollo stands behind, with his drapery wrapped round his arm: in his right hand he holds a laurel branch; in his left are two leaves, which he holds over the head of the agitated Orestes. Before Orestes is an Ionic column, and on the area is a bucranium. On the base is a false inscription. On the vase published by Millin, Orestes holds in one hand two spears, and in the other a sword, and has sunk on the altar, while Apollo and Pallas, who interpose in the Oresteid, hasten to his assistance.<sup>i</sup> A vase, published by

<sup>a</sup> Bull. Arch. Napol. 1844.

<sup>b</sup> Vasenbilder, 4to. Hamburg, p. 1849, and fol.

<sup>c</sup> Inghirami, V. F. iv. tav. CCCLXXXV. CCCLXXXVI. Cf. Raoul Roch. Mon. In. pl. XXXVI., XXXVII. 186.

<sup>d</sup> Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, tom. iv. CCCLXVII. Tischbein, ii. tav. IX. p. 10.

<sup>e</sup> Mon. In. pl. XXXV. p. 192—196.

<sup>f</sup> Ant Bild. No. 1003, p. 285.

<sup>g</sup> Visconti, in the Atti dell' Accademia Romana di Archæologia, t. ii. p. 601 and foll. Rochette, Mon. In. xxxviii.

<sup>h</sup> Choeph. i. Cf. the Iphigeneia, l. 281, 282.

<sup>i</sup> Millin. Mon. In. i. 29. Vases, ii. 68. Gal. Myth. 171—623.

M. Rochette, gives another version of the mythos; Orestes has already received purification, and enters the temple attended by his friends Pylades and Electra. It is, however, possible to refer this scene to a much later period of the mythos, to the closing scene of the return from the Colchian Expedition. A vase at Copenhagen abridges the scene, and represents Orestes protected by Apollo against one Fury armed with a snake and torch; <sup>a</sup> and a small black vase from Sicily, with the subject in relief, represents Orestes only at the altar. <sup>b</sup> On the vase published by D'Hancarville, he contends with two Eumenides. <sup>c</sup> The Orestes of Euripides, which treats of the period immediately subsequent to the matricide, introduces Apollo on the scene, enjoining to Orestes a year's purification, and banishment to Azæ in Arcadia, previous to his appearance before the Areiopagos. Ordered by Apollo, according to the Eumenides of Æschylus, to submit his cause to the tribunal of the Areiopagos, Orestes quits Argos for Athens, where he arrives on the day of the choai, the second day of the celebration of the Anthesteria<sup>d</sup> or festival of the Lenæan Dionysos, on the 18th of the month Pyanepsion, in the reign of Demophon or Pandion<sup>e</sup> II. He is received with as much civility as his peculiar unpurified condition would permit. He is still tracked by the dread Eumenides, and his cause is mythically conducted before the Areiopagos by these demons, or in a human sense by Tyndareus the father, and Erigone<sup>f</sup> the daughter, of Clytemnestra. The scope of Æschylus, which was to give the legend a more exalted character, with the great political aim of sustaining the aristocratical influence of the Areiopagos against the encroaching power of the democracy and of the orators, has invested this portion of the Oresteid<sup>g</sup> with a halo of peculiar dignity. The twelve judges continue mortal, but Apollo pleads for Orestes, and the Furies for revenge. Pallas-Athené acts as the *εἰσαγωγέως* or *ἡγέμων* of the court. According to the hypothesis of Müller, the gerontes of the chorus of the Agamemnon reappear in the Eumenides in the character of Areiopagites. Their number must be twelve, because Apollo and the Erinnyes speak an Iambic distich eleven times, counting each except the first and last. The peculiar number he refers

<sup>a</sup> Thorlacius, Vas pictum Italo-Grecum, Orestem ad Delphicum tripodem supplicem exhibens, Kopenhagen, 1826; reduced in Muller, Denkm. ii. t. 13, 148. Jahn, loc. cit. p. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Now in the British Museum. Raoul Rochette, pl. CLV. p. 197. De Witte, Cat. Dur. No. 1381, p. 343.

<sup>c</sup> Ant. Etr. Grec. &c. tom. ii. pl. XXX. T. David, tom. ii. pl. XXXI. p. 123. Inghirami, Gal. Omer. tav. III. XI.

<sup>d</sup> Schol. ad Ran. loc. cit. Tzetzes, ad Lyc. Alex. 1734.

<sup>e</sup> Schol. ad Ran. 615, and foll. Iphig. in Taur. 910, and foll.

<sup>f</sup> Tzetzes, loc. cit. Iphig. in Taur. l. 931.

<sup>g</sup> Müller, Diss. on Eumenides of Æschylus, Engl. translation, Cambr. 1835, p. 243, et seq.

to a general one of the councils in the heroic times, but he has overlooked the key to this part—their replacing the twelve gods at the trial of Ares<sup>a</sup>.

This institution had originated, according to the oldest tradition, from the murder of Halirrhotius, the son of Poseidon,<sup>b</sup> by Ares, who had killed him while attempting the virtue of Alcippe, his daughter by Agraulos, the child of Cecrops. On this occasion the twelve great Attic gods sat as judges. The other derivations of its name, from Areios pagos, Ἀρείου πάγος, the blood-stained hill,<sup>c</sup> or from Ares as the δικάστης of the hill, or from Ares having fixed (πήγνυμι) his spear there, are evidently secondary to the time when the temple of Ares had been *fixed* upon its apex, and become the settled tribunal of criminal offences.<sup>d</sup> Six generations later, Cephalus was tried before the same body for the murder of his wife Procris, the daughter of Erechtheus; and, still later, Dædalus for that of the Attic Talos:<sup>e</sup> and the grand trial of Orestes for the matricide of Clytemnestra, who was connected indirectly with the Attic race through the Theseid, completes the mythic and heroic functions of this court. But this court was probably constructed at the expense of the Ephetai, only second in importance to the Areiopagos: for it may be observed, that the Argives had anciently the privilege of sitting<sup>f</sup> as judges at this latter court, which was held at the Palladium, as the Areiopagos was under the mythic protection of Pallas-Athené herself; and Solon in his reforms increased the powers of the Areiopagos at the expense of those of the Ephetai. This latter court is stated to have been founded by Demophon, in whose reign Orestes arrived at Athens. What more natural than to have transferred the mythic trial to the Areiopagos, and represent the goddess herself as present at the one tribunal, because her ξόανον was at the other? In the Eumenides, Pallas-Athené charges each of the Areiopagites to take a ballot stone from the altar, and throw it into the urn appointed for the purpose. This would well agree with the action of the vase, the judges approaching to the altar, or λιθός ἀναιδείας καὶ ὕβρεως,<sup>g</sup> to lift the votes there deposited; but, as the καδισκὸς δικάστικός is not here,<sup>h</sup> and the ballots are

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Paus. i. c. 28, 5; 21, 7; iii. c. 14, 2; that is, supposing Ares and Poseidon were replaced by two other divinities in the court.

<sup>b</sup> Hellanicus in lib. i. (Atthis) in Bachmann's Anecdota, p. 142, 22, et seq.

<sup>c</sup> Bachm. loc. cit. Bekker, Scholia in Platonem, 8vo. London, 1824, 4. Phædr. vol. iii. p. 229.

<sup>d</sup> Hellanicus, Atthis, lib. i. in Schol. ad Euripidis Orestem, l. 1648. Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum, 8vo. Par. 1841, p. 56.

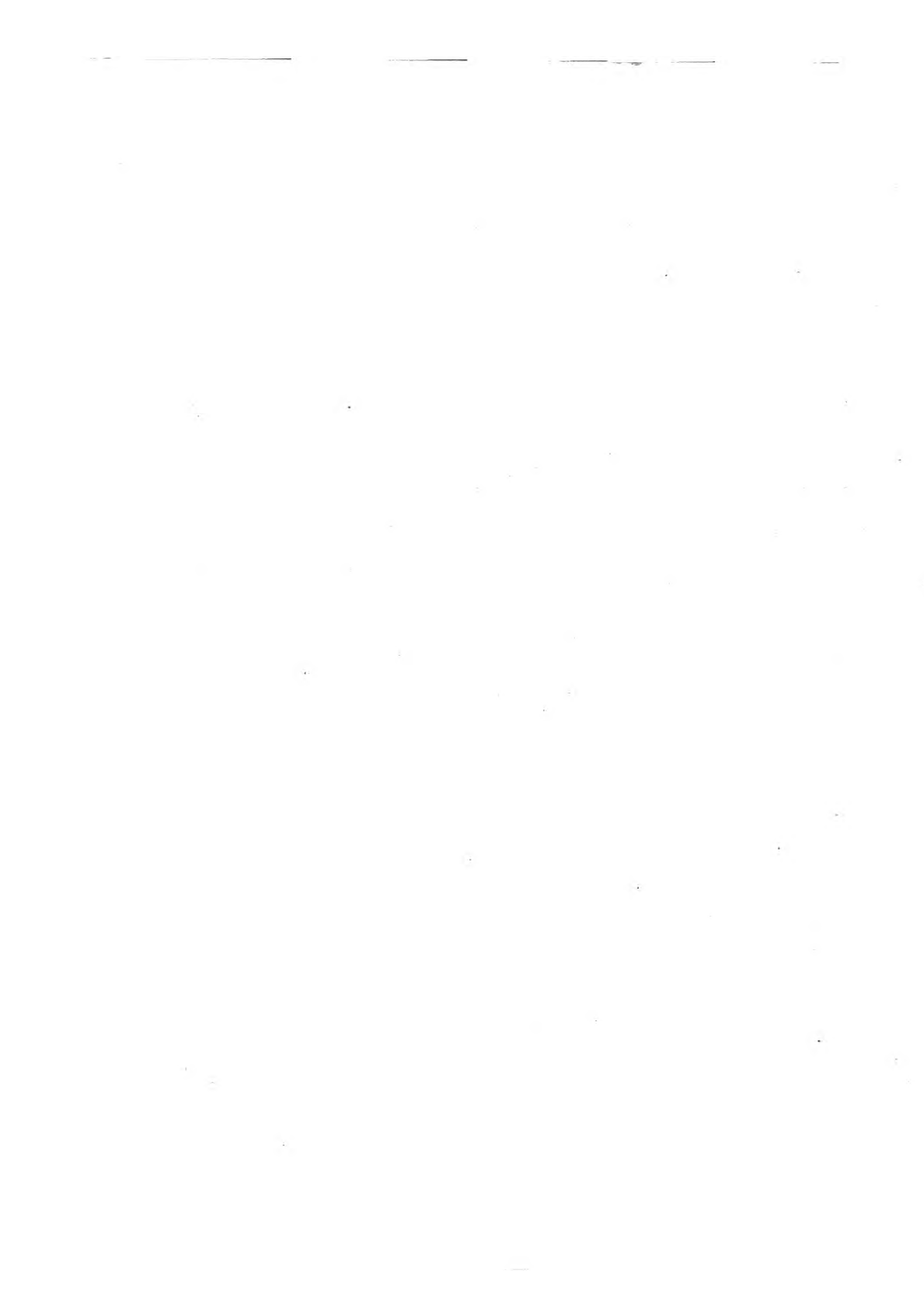
<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Hesychius, ἐπι Παλλαδίῳ. Cf. Bekker, Anecd. Lex. Rhet. p. 212 and 311. The Palladium was that which Demophon had taken from Diomedes, who had killed in his flight several persons; hence the institution of the court.

<sup>g</sup> Paus. Att. i. c. xxvii.

<sup>h</sup> Cf. Bachman, loc. cit. p. 333; καδισκὸς ἐν τῇ τραπεζῇ τῆ δικάστικῆ. Pollux, viii. c. 5. s. 17.





*Fig. 1.*



*Remaining Portion of the Myth upon*







arranged along the two sides of the altar, I prefer the explanation of the particular moment at which Pallas-Athené is, κρινασα ἴσας ψήφους, "passing judgment on the equal voting."<sup>a</sup> The absence of Loxias and of the Erinnyes is easily solved on the hypothesis that the artist has followed another legend, and represented Tyndareus as the accuser, who in that case would be the figure turning from the altar, and pointing to the one enveloped in his cloak.

The number of votes at the right side is six, half of the whole tribunal. Those on the left, owing to their differing in shape and being so close to the garment of Pallas-Athené, are not so distinct; they are apparently six. (Plate XI. fig. 3). Now there were two modes of voting; one with black and white beans,<sup>b</sup> recalling to mind the *chthonic* divinities, and sacred to the white and black Erinnyes; the other by solid and perforated stones, in relation with the punishment of stoning<sup>c</sup> inflicted for murder, as the ostracism was with that of banishment beyond the sea. The figure on the extreme right I regard as Orestes, because he is enveloped within his garment, χλανιδίων ἔσω κρυφθεῖς,<sup>d</sup> an attitude recalling extreme mental suffering. Œdipus at Colonus, on the Pompeian painting, is so draped;<sup>e</sup> and Agamemnon, when afflicted at the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, appears deeply veiled on the altar of the Florence gallery,<sup>f</sup> and also on the Pompeian painting,<sup>g</sup> the manner in which he was represented by the artist Timanthes.<sup>h</sup> Erechtheus in the same manner expresses his grief at the loss of his daughter Oreithyia, Achilles for Briseis<sup>i</sup> and Patroclus.<sup>k</sup> This attitude was particularly tragic. In the Φρύγες ἢ Ἐκτορος λύτρα, The Phrygians, or ransom of Hector, of Æschylus, Achilles<sup>l</sup> was represented in this attitude; and in his Niobe the same writer had represented the unfortunate mother sitting speechless and enveloped [ἐγκεκαλυμένη] for three days on the tomb of her children.<sup>m</sup> All the

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Æschyl. Eumenid. ; and Iphig. 1436, and foll.

<sup>b</sup> Bachmann, Anecd. Lips. 1828, p. 333.

<sup>c</sup> Euripid. Orest. l. 50.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. 42.

<sup>e</sup> Mus. Borbon. v. 23, in supposing this picture to be rightly assigned; it has, however, much analogy with Iphigeneia at Aulis.

<sup>f</sup> Raoul Rochette, Mon. Ined. xxvi. p. 129, 130. Lanzi, Descr. d. Gall. d. Firenze, p. 166-169. Carli, Descr. d. Mantov. 1785, p. 284. Uhden Abhandlung d. Koniglich. Akadem. d. Wissenschaften in Berlin, 1812, p. 74. Welcker die Æschyl. Trilogie, 412, 413.

<sup>g</sup> Zahn, Neu entdeckte, Wandgemalde in Pompeii, Pl. XXIX. Raoul Rochette, Choix des Edifices, &c., Pl. XIV. Mon. In. xxvii.

<sup>h</sup> Rochette, Mon. In. p. 129—180. Plin. xxxvi. 10—25. Cicer. Orat. 22, 74. Quintil. ii. 13. Val. Max. viii. 11, 6.

<sup>i</sup> Gerhard. Auser. Vas.

<sup>k</sup> Raoul Rochette, M. In. lxxx.

<sup>l</sup> Dindorf, Poetæ Scenici, App. p. 21.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. and Script. Vit. Æschyl. Cf. Aristoph. Batr. v. 942.



figures are draped alike, and carry knotted sticks,<sup>a</sup> the usual mark of elegance or dignity among the Greeks, and which continued, with the tribon or cloak,<sup>b</sup> to indicate people of dignity till a late period. All in the present scene wear shoes, with the exception of Orestes, who is unshod, and is, therefore, called by the false Anacreon *λευκόπους*;<sup>c</sup> for there can be no doubt, from the gloss of Hesychius on *ἀργυροπεζα*,<sup>d</sup> and *ποδάργης*, as equal to *λευκόπους*, and the epithet applied by Euripides in his Cyclops to the Bacchæ, *βάχκαις σὺν λευκόποσιν*,<sup>e</sup> that the expression alluded to the unshod insanity of the hero.<sup>f</sup> He appears subsequently to have walked barefooted, scatheless over the burning coals of the altar of the Artemis Tauropolos, in the Chersonese, a ceremony retained by the priestesses of the Artemis Perasia, in remembrance of the deed at Castabala.<sup>g</sup> At the Asylum he finally recovers from his madness.<sup>h</sup> The same artistic balance which prevailed in grander compositions is present on this cylix, for it is to be observed that there are the same number of figures on each side, and of the same relative ages, and that the centre of the composition is occupied on each side by a female. Some other monuments of this portion of the Oresteid exist, in which Pallas-Athené takes a prominent part. On the Pourtales Vase,<sup>i</sup> published by M. Panofka, she appears with Ares and Hermes leading Orestes before the Areiopagos. On the silver Corsini Vase, found at Antium, edited by Winckelman,<sup>k</sup> Pallas places her suffrage in the urn of Mercy, held up by a priestess with a torch, or an Erinnys, between Ares seated on the crest of the hill, a dikastes or Tyndareus, Orestes, and Electra. Pallas-Athené and the urn, with or without Ares as the dikastes of the hill, is found on the coins of Tegea.<sup>l</sup> (See Plate XI. figg. 1, 2). A lamp with the same subject is known.<sup>m</sup> The vote of

<sup>a</sup> False Anacreon, Od. li. Herodian. Orellius, Vit. Secundi, p. 208.

<sup>b</sup> Or the *ἐξωμῆς*, Bachmann, Anecd. ll. supra cit.

<sup>c</sup> Od. 31.

<sup>d</sup> Vocibus.

<sup>e</sup> L. 72.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. *λυκόπους*. Schol. ad Aristophanis *Lysistratam*, l. 33, whose reasonings are wrong, as the whole passage applies to the Alcæonidæ, who are connected with the Oresteidæ even in the false Anacreon, loc. cit.

<sup>g</sup> Strabo, xii. c. 2.

<sup>h</sup> *Rerum Mythicarum Latini Script. tres*, ii. 202.

<sup>i</sup> Panofka, *Cabinet Pourtales*, pl. VII. p. 40. This subject, however, has much relation with the mythos of Sisyphus.

<sup>k</sup> Mon. In. No. 151, fo. Prato. 1834. Gal. Mythol. clxxi. 624. Paciaudi *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 68. Cf. Panofka, loc. cit. for the possibility of the torch-bearing figure being an Erinnys. Böttiger, loc. cit. a vase of the Koller Collection in Berlin. Raoul Rochette, *M. I.* pl. XXXV. Another at Naples. *M. I.* lxxvi. 8. p. 419.

<sup>l</sup> Millingen, *Recueil de quelques Medailles Grecques*, 4to. Rome, 1812, who balances between the *κλήρον Ἀφιδαντεῖον*, and this subject. Aristid. in Athen. Orat. i. p. 13. He ultimately reverts to the Pallas-Alea. Cf. Mionnet, ii. p. 255, No. 68, p. 256. Supp. iv. 293, No. 115, with AA and IE in area. This flint was supposed to be deposited in the temple of Apollo at Sicyon, according to L. Ampelius, *Mirab. cviii.* Sicyone in Achaia in foro ædes Apollonis est. In ea sunt &c. cauculus quem Minerva sortita est. De Orestæ cervice. Heinsius has restored calculus. Ed. Valpy, loco, 8vo. 1822; but it is necessary to carry it on, *sortita est de Orestæ cervice.*

<sup>m</sup> D'Hancarville.

Pallas-Athené liberates the hero from death, but not from the presence of the Erinnyes; but, in gratitude to his protectress, he erects an altar to the goddess Athene Areia.<sup>a</sup> This completes the circle of the locality, the temple of Ares being on the summit, and that of the Erinnyes at the base, of the Areiopagos. The necessity of expiation compels, according to the dramatists, Orestes, accompanied by his friend Pylades, who replaces the Iolaus of the Heracleid, the Perithoos of the Theseid, and the Patroclus of the Achilleid, to proceed to the Tauric Chersonese,<sup>b</sup> to obtain the archaic statue of the Artemis-Hecate. He is urged to this by the oracle of Apollo. This goddess is not the threefold Attic type of Alcamenes, but the light-bearing Selene, who is represented holding in each hand a torch, and attended by her dogs,<sup>c</sup> allied with the Pheræan Hecate of Thessaly,<sup>d</sup> on earth the protectress of the folds, adored by herdsmen,<sup>e</sup> and the mistress of the invisible world repelling or invoking phantoms.

Now the vases of the Basilicata are richest in this portion of the Oresteid, and they seem to have followed the Iphigeneia of the dramatists. On a vase of Apulian style, of the collection of Sir William Hamilton, Orestes, having the name ΑΓΡΙΟΣ inscribed above his head, is draped in a short tunic, bearded, and bound with his hands tied behind him on the altar;<sup>f</sup> and on another vase, published by M. Raoul Rochette, the same incident is represented. The name ἀγριος is an appellation equivalent to the name Orestes, according to the scholia of Proclus upon Plato's Cratylus.<sup>g</sup> On both these vases he is attended by his friend Pylades, recognised by his sister Iphigeneia, and in the presence of Thoas. On the first-mentioned vase he is still persecuted by the Erinnyes, for a dark Fury rises from the earth at the side of the altar. On the vase published by M. Raoul Rochette<sup>h</sup> he is conducted by the royal herdsmen into the presence of the monarch. Two men draped in short tunic and anaxyrides, and wearing the cidaris, conduct the friends chained, preceded by Iphigeneia, to the altar of the Tauric Artemis, on a bas-relief in the Villa Albani.<sup>i</sup> Now, a Ruvo vase, published by the Institute at Rome,<sup>j</sup> represents Orestes with his name in the Doric form, ΟΡΕΣΤΑΣ, seated on the altar of the Tauric Artemis, behind which rises a laurel. He is barefooted, holds a stick.

<sup>a</sup> Paus. viii. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Tzetzes, Schol. ad Lyc. Alexandr. 1374. Cf. *Rev. Myth. Scriptor. Mythogr. tres*, a Bode, ii. s. 202. Cui responsum est sic eum posse sanari, si Dianæ Scythicæ simulacrum de Taurica regione ferret. She was worshipped at Hala and Brauron. Spanh. ad Callim. H. dec. 173. Euripid. Iphig. in Taur.

<sup>c</sup> Mus. Berl. Jahn, Vasenbild. Orestes, taf. I.

<sup>d</sup> Tzetzes, Schol. ad Lyc.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> D'Hancarville, ii. 68.

<sup>g</sup> Boissonade, 8vo. Leps. 1820, p. 47, 48, s. 86. Cratylus, s. 26.

<sup>h</sup> Mon. In. pl. XLI.

<sup>i</sup> Guattani, Notizie, 4to. Roma, 1786. lxxxij. t. I.

<sup>j</sup> Monumenti, 1837, pl. XLIII

and bends his eyes downwards to the earth. Behind Orestes is Pylades, ΠΥΛΑΑΔΕΣ, clad and shod; and Iphigeneia, ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑ, advancing towards him raising her veil, and attended by a Canephoros priestess, holding her basket upon her head, and carrying an cenochoe in her hand. Apollo holding his bow, and Artemis wearing a cidaris and long tunic, as the Tauric divinity, are placed above. Behind them is a hexastyle peripteral Ionic temple. The details of this scene, which allude to the final expiation of Orestes between the temples of Apollo and Artemis,<sup>a</sup> throws considerable doubt on the explanation proposed for the vase of the Lamberg Collection, where the laurel behind the altar has been supposed to represent the Troizene expiation.<sup>b</sup> The incident of the stealing the Hecate statue, evidently borrowed from the theft of the Palladium by Diomedes and Odysseus, is given on a vase in the Louvre; and their removal of it from the altar, on a mirror of the Berlin Museum.<sup>c</sup> The conveyance of the Palladium to the ship occurs on a monument of the late Roman period found at Freinz Lammersdorf, and published by Ulrichs.<sup>d</sup> The friends naked, armed with drawn swords, advance with Iphigeneia, who holds the Palladium in her hands, to the shore, at which lies a ship; behind them is the temple, the altar, and a deer, the victim of Artemis. The same incident occurs on the slab of a sarcophagus formerly in the Palazzo Accaramboni, connected with a fragment in the Villa Albani.<sup>e</sup>

Two other sarcophagi with this portion of the incident, formerly in the Grimani Palace at Rome, and now in the possession of the Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar,<sup>f</sup> have been published by Millingen; and with this portion of the Oresteid the sarcophagus found at Ostia, and now in the Berlin Museum, is directly connected.<sup>g</sup> The relation of the Orestes mythus with the Æolic migration describes him as bearing the Artemis statue to Antiochia, to Amanus, so named from the cessation of his madness, and to Comana, where he deposited his hair in the temple of Enyo, founded in imitation of the Tauric Artemis. Castabala also claimed possession of the statue of the Artemis Tauropolos, under the name of Perasia, left by

<sup>a</sup> I would also class hypothetically among the vases of the Oresteid, the cylix published *Ann. de l'Inst.* tom. ix. p. 188—206. *Mon.* 1837. Pl. XVI., where Orestes, as an armed warrior, ΑΕΣ, (which correct to ΔΕΣ, for ὀΠΕΣΤΗΣ) is attended by Electra into the presence of Apollo ΔΩΝ for Ἀπολλων.

<sup>b</sup> Laborde, *Vases de Lamberg*, xiv. Cf. also Quintil. iii. c. iii. s. 8, for a similar incident to Augustus.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* Tom. i. vignette No. 6. Gerhard, *Miroirs*, CCXXXIX.

<sup>d</sup> *Jahrbucher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunde im Rheinland.* Bonn, 8vo. 1842, tab. iii. iv. fig. 3. *Kunstblatt*, 1822, Nr. 3, s. 12.

<sup>e</sup> Winckelman, *Mon. In.* No. 149-167.

<sup>f</sup> Millin. *Oresteide*, Pl. III. IV. Rinck in *Kunstblatt*, 1828, s. 166.

<sup>g</sup> Obtained by M. Bunsen for Berlin. *Bull. de l'Inst. Archæol.* 1829, p. 216; 1830, p. 262. Gerhard, *Berlins Antike Bildwerke*, i. s. 101, ff.

Orestes.<sup>a</sup> From hence he returns to Athens, where he arranges the marriage of his sister, Electra, with his friend Pylades, the subject of a Nolan vase in the Museo Borbonico. But the circle of the Oresteid is not complete; the vengeance of Apollo is to be visited upon the line of Achilles, because Neoptolemus had offered sacrifices to his father in the temple of that god.<sup>b</sup> Hermione, betrothed to Orestes, was seized by Neoptolemus; but Orestes, aided by his sisters, succeeds in despatching him by treachery, at Delphi. This forms the subject of the Pourtales vase published by Panofka, where, according to the tradition of Conon, he is murdered along with his brother Oneiros; and of two mirror cases of bronze, one of which has been published by Gerhard, in his work on mirrors, pl. XXI. On this Neoptolemus flies, unbearded, and draped in a chlamys, to the altar of Apollo, on which he kneels with his left knee. In his left hand he grasps a palm branch, while with his right he brandishes a sword against his opponent. Orestes is armed and bearded, and pursues him sword in hand, with an Argolic buckler on his left arm. Electra, on the other side, draped, endeavours to strike him down with a pelekys. A second mirror case, in the possession of S. Campanari, has, in the same style of art, only Orestes and Neoptolemus, for Electra is here omitted; but Orestes has on his shield the head of the Gorgon. On two alabaster sarcophagi from Chiusi the same scene is beheld, with or without the appearance of Electra; but Orestes in both instances is assisted by Pylades. The accounts of the death of Orestes are as conflicting as the general mythus of the Oresteid. The Argive tradition, probably invented in historical times, makes him die bitten by a serpent, and be obscurely buried in Tegea, in Arcadia.<sup>c</sup>

Euripides restores him to the throne of Argos; but the general tradition makes him die in Arcadia,<sup>d</sup> when on the point of embarking for the Æolid migration. Other versions make him go to the Orestii, or pass the remainder of his days among the Azæ,<sup>e</sup> where Euripides,<sup>f</sup> having in his mind the tale of the expiation of Hercules at the Lydian Omphale, places him for a year between the Argos judgment and the grand trial of the Areiopagos. Now a peculiar tradition which connects the Oresteid with the legend of the Dioscouri on the one hand, and the Theseid on the other, is the death of Orestes and the descent of Pylades with him to Hades.<sup>g</sup> The vase

<sup>a</sup> Tzetzes, Schol. ad Lyc. loc. cit. Strabo, xii. c. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Tzetzes, loc. cit. Lat. Myth. Tres, i. 40—140.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. i. 67. Paus. iii. c. 6.

<sup>d</sup> Tzetzes, ad Lyc. 1874. Vell. Pat. i. c. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Tzetzes, loc. cit. Paus. viii. s. 5.

<sup>f</sup> Orestes, l. 1663. Tzetzes, ad Lyc. loc. cit. *παρὰ τοῖς Ἀζασιῶν Ἀρκασιῶν*, where it is possible to read *παρὰ Τεγέσιον Ἀρκασιῶν*.

<sup>g</sup> Nonnus, Narr. Vigint. in Creuzer, Meletemata, 8vo. Lips. 1817, pars iv. p. 82. Eudocia, Viol. p. 317.



already cited of the Pourtales collection gives the version of Orestes bitten by the serpent on the altar of Delphi. Now on the sarcophagus, where the principal incidents of the Oresteid are sculptured,<sup>a</sup> Orestes and Pylades kneel on the altar of the Tauric Artemis, and defend themselves with drawn swords against warriors armed with swords, helmets, and peltæ, or gerræ, apparently the Scythians. One of the Erinnyes is here present, and Charon rises with his mallet from the earth, probably in allusion to the descent to Hades, for the presence of the Erinnyes shows that it must have been intermediate between the murder of Clytemnestra and the expiation at Troizene, the asylum, the Chersonese, the fountain of the Hippocrene, or the confluence of the six rivers into the Metaurus, at the Brettii.<sup>b</sup> His bones, of gigantic magnitude, (*ἑπταπύχεις*) are found in their soros under a smith's furnace by the Lichas Spartan, transported to the Oresteium,<sup>c</sup> and buried in the temple of the Moirai, at Lacedæmon, as those of the unhappy Œdipus, close to the naos of the Erinnyes, and within the precincts of the Areiopagos, at Athens.

They do not rest here: the Laconian or Arcadian tradition transports them to Aricia, from whence, with the worship of the Tauric or Orthosian Artemis, they are transferred and deposited before the temple of Saturn, at Rome.<sup>d</sup>

Now the deductions in reference to art to be drawn with respect to the Oresteid are these: 1. From its appearance on sarcophagi, vases, cups, and mirror cases, it cannot be considered of a character peculiarly sepulchral, but rather as a legend generally employed to represent the all-pervading influence of destiny on the actions of human life, and the punishment and remorse of guilt.<sup>e</sup> 2. From its never appearing on vases with black figures, and first occurring on those with red, and so frequently on the later vases, on which are also scenes taken from the New Comedy, it is evidently posterior to the Oresteid of the dramatists. Now the earliest, the Æschylus trilogy, was performed in the second year of the eightieth Olympiad (B.C. 458); yet many of the vase subjects are evidently after subjects painted by great painters, such as Theon for example, after the details of Euripides, and consequently not older than the fourth century B.C. which must be the epoch of the red-figured vases.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. supra, Micali, Storia d'Italia, tav. CIX. Rochette, xxix. A. 6. Inghirami, Mon. Etrusc. vi. tav. A. 2.

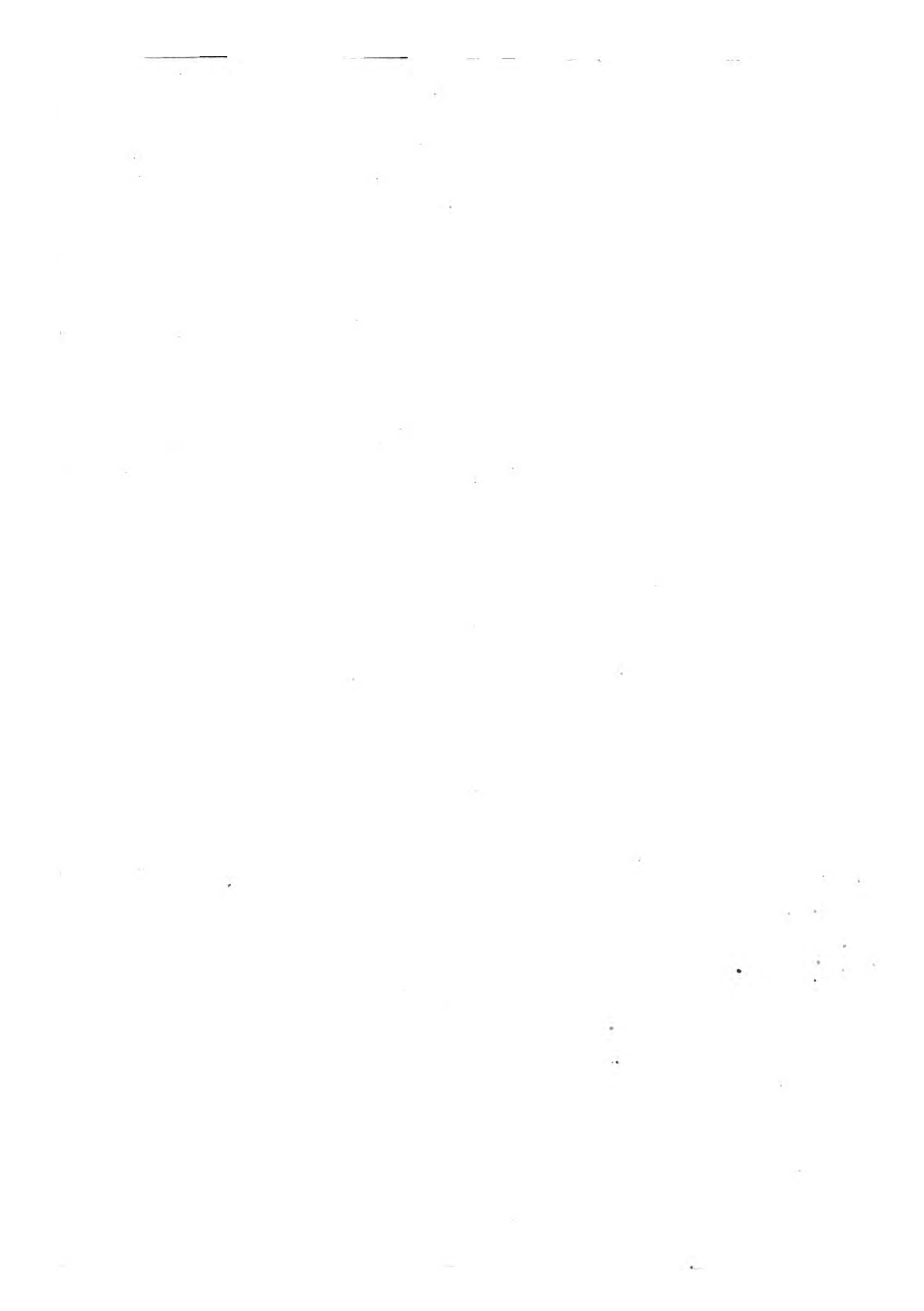
<sup>b</sup> Cf. Laborde, Vases de Lamberg, xiv.

<sup>c</sup> Herod. ix. 11. Paus. iii. 3, 6; ii. 8; viii. 5, 4.

<sup>d</sup> Rer. Myth. Script. Lat. Myth. tres, ii. 20, 202. Cf. i. 20. As the Diana fascelis a fasce, non tantum a face cum quo pingitur. The whipping at her altar referred to the former human sacrifices.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. the idea, Hor. Od. iii. 2, 30.





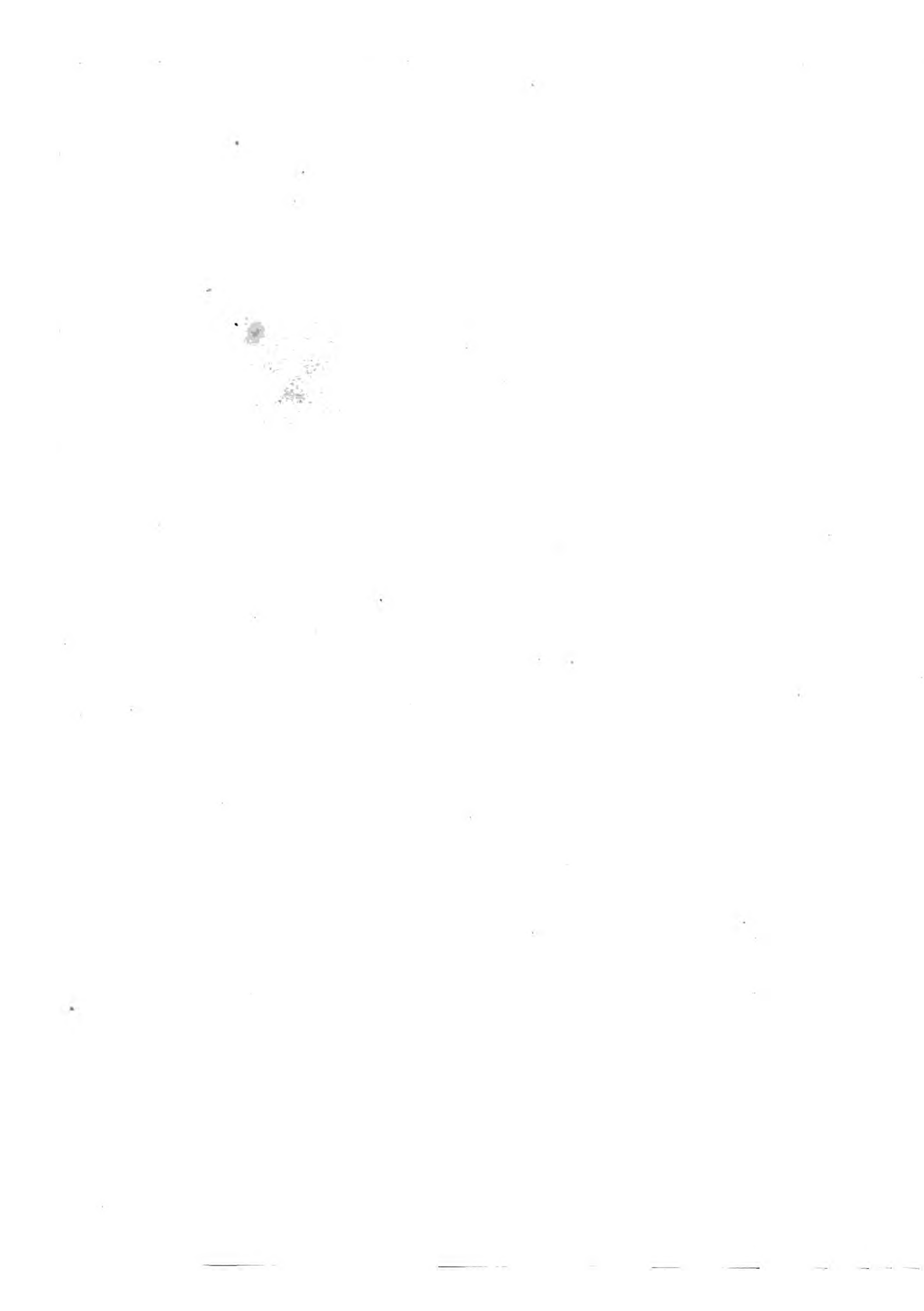


*Vulcia*



*...ia of archaic style.  
...red to in p.151.*

*J. B. ...*



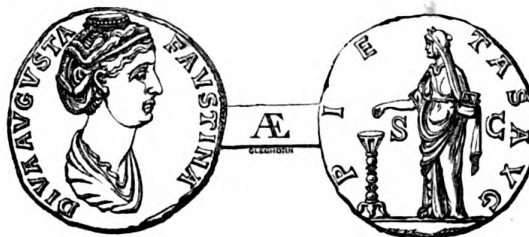


*Letter from John Yonge Akerman, Esq. to Capt. Smyth, Director, illustrative of the Use of the Enamelled Vessel discovered some years ago in one of the Bartlow Tumuli, and engraved in the XXVIth Volume of the Archæologia.*

From the ARCHÆOLOGIA, vol. XXXIII. pp. 343—345.

Lewisham, Jan. 27, 1848.

Feb. 3, 1848. MY DEAR SIR,—On a recent examination of some of the fine large brass Roman coins in the cabinet of Dr. John Lee, I discovered an example which cannot fail to be of the highest interest to the English antiquary, since it illustrates, in a most striking manner, the use of the very beautiful enamelled vessel found in one of the Bartlow tumuli, and engraved in the Archæologia.<sup>a</sup> The coin is of Faustina the elder, and is in such perfect preservation that no doubt whatever can be entertained of the signification of the reverse type, which represents a

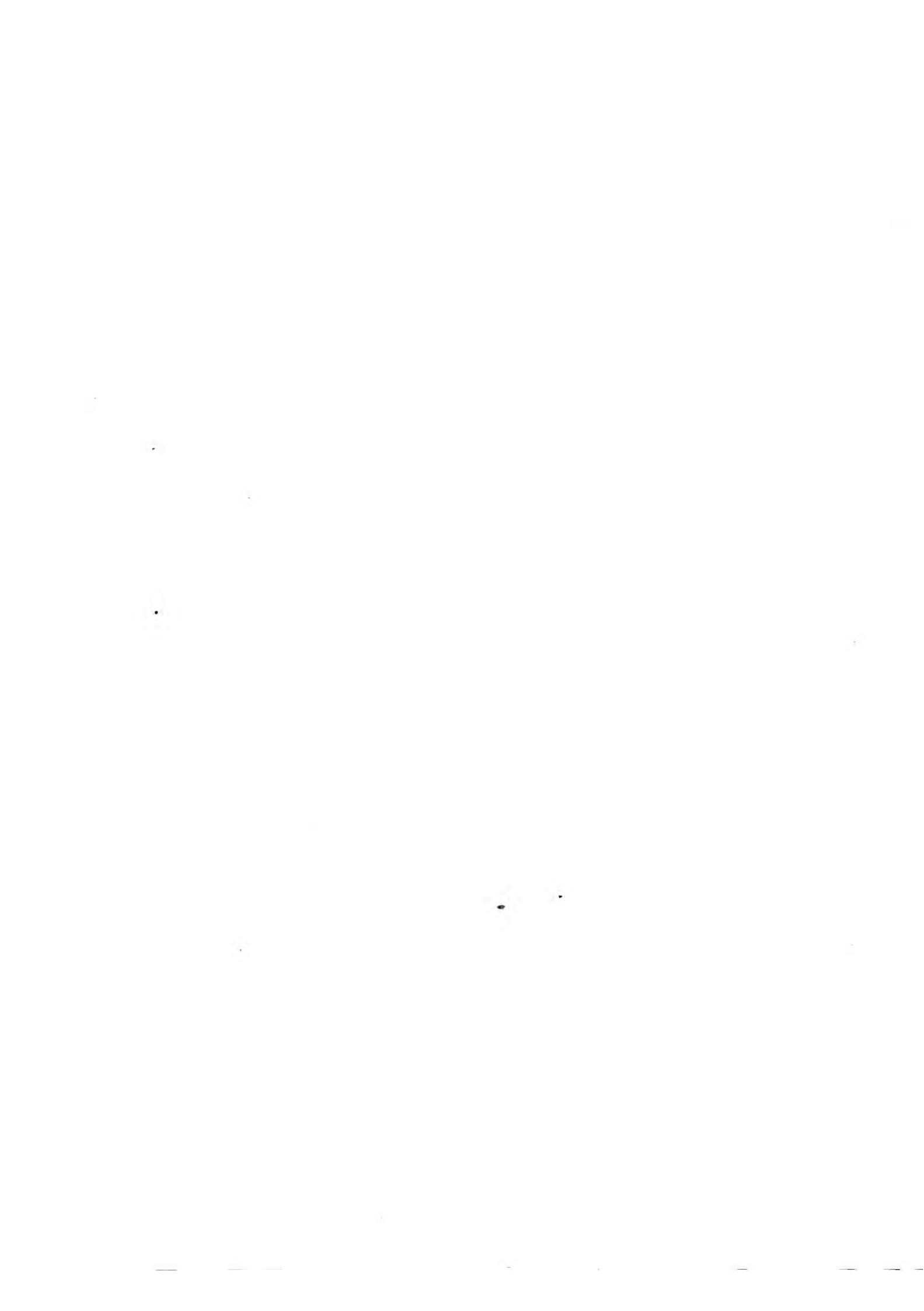


female figure in the act of offering a sacrifice of perfumes. In the left hand of the figure is a vessel of globose shape, with a rectangular handle, precisely similar to that found in the Bartlow tumulus. The resemblance will be seen by a glance at the drawings which accompany this note. The first is from the large brass coin in question, and the other two from gold coins in the collection of the British Museum; and they all incontestably prove the identity of the object held in the left hand of the figure with the beautiful relic which, to the great regret of the antiquarian world, no longer exists.

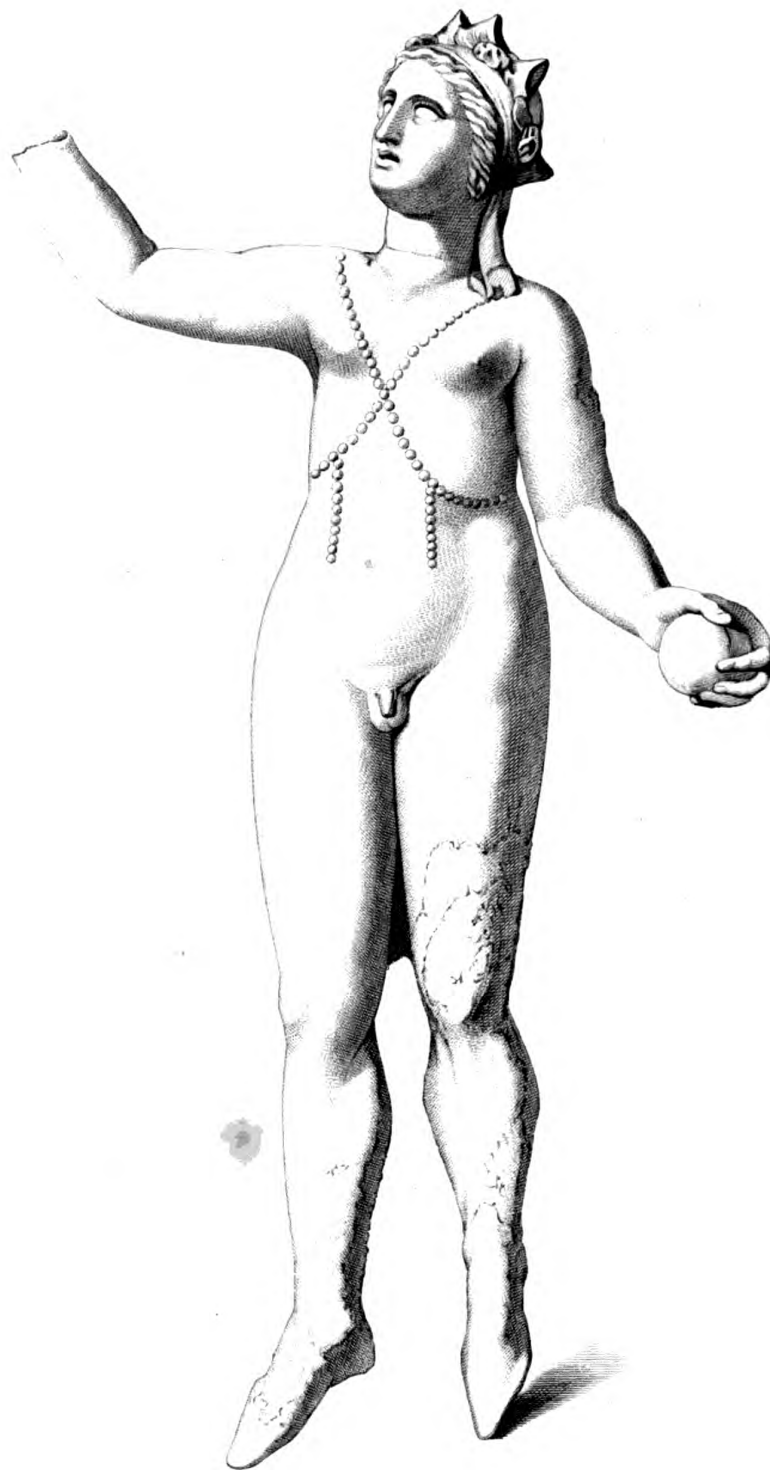


<sup>a</sup> Vol. XXVI. p. 310.









*Terracotta Figure of Eros in the possession of the Marquess of Northampton.*

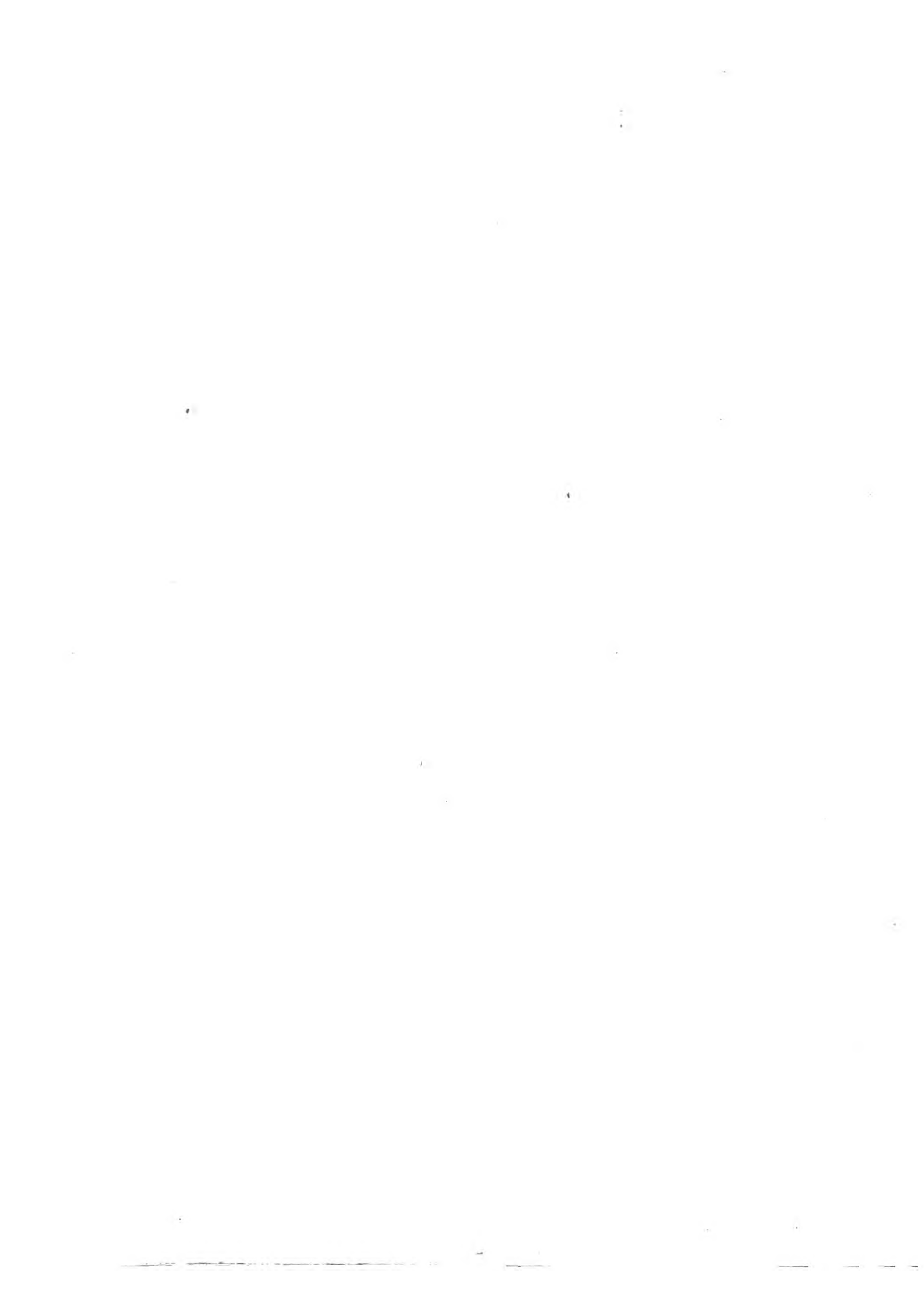
*Terra Cotta Figure of Eros or Cupid.*

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From the *ARCHAEOLOGIA*, Vol. XXXII. p. 442.

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25th Feb. 1847. The MARQUESS OF NORTHAMPTON, F.S.A., exhibited a terra cotta Figure of Eros or Cupid, holding an apple (Plate XIX.); at his back are two square holes for the insertion of wings, as is the case in some of the Berlin terra cottas. The strings of beads crossing the body are probably for the attachment of the wings. On the Statue called Icarus in the Elgin Room, British Museum, straps are used for the same purpose. The head is crowned with ivy. This attribute of Bacchus is frequently found combined with the type of Eros on the Vases of the Basilicata. This figure was found in a tomb at Nola, in the vicinity of Naples.





*On the Cock as depicted upon the ancient Gallic Coins.*

From the *ARCHAEOLOGIA*, Vol. XXXI. pp. 500—503.

1st May, 1845. A letter was read from the *REV. FERDINAND KELLER*, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich, to Sir Henry Ellis, Secretary, upon the Symbol of the Cock as depicted upon ancient Gallic Coins, of which the following is a copy—

*Du Coq sur les Monnaies Celtiques, ou Gauloises.*

On sait que les archéologues Français se sont occupé beaucoup de la question de savoir quel avait été le symbol spécial de la nation Gauloise. Une controverse très-vive eut lieu à ce sujet il y a quelques années. Les uns se décidèrent pour le Coq, les autres pour le Sanglier (*Sus Gallicus*). De la Saussaye et d'autres archéologues très-distingués se prononcèrent pour le Sanglier. De la Saussaye dit dans la *Revue Numismatique* (année 1840, p. 246):—"Quant au coq Gaulois, il ne se rencontre jamais sur les Médailles de la Gaule, et c'est un fait prodigieux qu'au xix<sup>e</sup> siècle les descendants des Celtes aient donné une consécration politique à un symbole dont la valeur ne mérite même pas d'être discutée. Si l'on doit reconnoître un symbole spécial de la nation Gauloise à l'aide des médailles frappées par elle, c'est assurément le Sanglier, qu'elles représentent à toutes les époques du Monnayage, dans toutes les contrées de la Gaule et dans toutes celles des autres pays où elle a possédé des établissements permanents."

J. Lelewel, qui s'est tant occupé du monnayage Gaulois (v. *Type Gaulois ou Celtique*, avec Atlas, Bruxelles, 1840), n'a nulle part trouvé le Coq et ne le désigne nullement comme symbole des Gaulois.

Ce sera donc enrichir l'archéologie Française d'un fait très-intéressant que de lui annoncer la découverte du Coq Gaulois dans les monnaies Gauloises trouvées en grande quantité tant à Zurich qu'aux environs. On sait que ce canton faisait partie de l'ancienne Helvétie, dont les habitans sont désignés par César comme la tribu la plus valeureuse des Gaulois. (*De Bello Gallico*, lib. i., qua de caussa Helvetii reliquos Gallos virtute præcedunt.) Depuis plus d'un siècle de semblables monnaies avaient été trouvées dans le canton de Zurich, mais on les désignait sous le nom général et peu scientifique "nummi barbari," sans pouvoir rendre compte des types qu'elles offrent.

Cette question paraît aujourd'hui résolue. La monnaie dont il s'agit est toujours en or pâle ayant l'aspect de l'or charrié par nos rivières (v. p. 47, T. 1. des *Etudes*

numismatiques de Lelewel, Posidon. ap. Strabo). Elle a la grandeur d'une pièce de 5 centimes. D'un côté on voit une tête ornée d'un diadème, qui rappelle les têtes des monnaies Grecques. De l'autre côté paraît sur un bige un cavalier tenant d'une main les rênes, de l'autre un fouet. Au dessous du cheval se trouve l'inscription suivante: ΠΠΠΟ. Une lettre qui précède le premier Π n'a pu être déchiffrée jusqu' à présent.<sup>a</sup>

Entre l'inscription et le cheval se trouve le symbole bien prononcé du Coq, tel qu'il est représenté en grand sur la feuille ci-jointe. Ce Coq a le bec, l'œil, et la crête très-grands, et sa queue est relevée. Il ressemble tout-à-fait aux coqs des clochers, qui servent de girouettes. De plus il a la plus grande ressemblance avec un image de cet oiseau qui fait partie d'une miniature d'un ancien MS. du couvent de St. Gall.

Tous les archéologues étant d'accord que les symboles de ces monnaies sont aussi es emblèmes de la tribu qui a frappé la monnaie, il résulte de ce qui précède qu'une des tribus Gauloises, les Helvetiens, avait choisi le coq pour emblème national.

Il y a peu de temps on a trouvé dans un tombeau Celtique avec une de ces monnaies et quelques autres objets (bracelets, bagues, agraffes chainettes en or, en argent, et en bronze, urnes, etc.) une gemme remarquable surtout par sa gravure qui représente un verrat.

La Société des Antiquaires de Zurich s'offre à donner à ce sujet tous les renseignements qu'on pourroit désirer.

FERDINAND KELLER, Président de de la Societé des Antiquaires de Zurich.

Zurich, 7 Mars, 1845.

Mr. Keller also communicated to the Society, through Sir Henry Ellis, the following

*Explanation of an obscure Passage in Shakspeare's Hamlet.*

“ IN almost all the accounts of the opening of ancient pagan sepulchres and sepulchral mounds, the writers make mention of the discovery in the interior of such structures of fragments of pottery, strewn in greater or less pieces in the earth. These fragments, two or three of which are often thrown up in the first spadeful at the opening of a barrow, are a welcome sight to the antiquary, confirming him in the opinion he has formed as to the character of the mound, and encouraging him to proceed further in the excavation.

<sup>a</sup> In addition to Mr. Keller's remark it may be observed that the coin in question appears to be a Gaulish imitation of one of those of Philip of Macedon: the letters ΠΠΠΟ seen upon it are in all probability a portion of the name PHILIPPOS.—H. E.

“The potsherds found in pagan tombs consist of fragments of pots and dishes, not baked in the oven, but by a fire, and therefore imperfectly hardened: in form and size corresponding exactly with the clay vessels found on the floor of such tombs, by the side of the body.

“It is worthy of remark that these potsherds are found in the tombs where there are no urns, and further that they are almost always fragments severally of different vessels, and cannot therefore be re-united.

“All the archæologists who have examined these antiquities agree in thinking them relics of the Lyke-Wake held at the funeral of the deceased person. ‘The body of the deceased,’ observes Klemm, in his *Handbook of German Antiquities*, Dresden, 1836, p. 94, ‘was brought to the place of burial in solemn procession, and there once more shown to his friends; songs in his praise were then perhaps recited, and a festive banquet commenced, a share of which was offered to the corpse. The revelry must have been of a very lively character, from the quantity of broken pottery which we find in these tombs, and which was then committed to the earth.”

“Another remarkable characteristic of pagan places of burial are the pieces of silex, *kiesel steine*, which are found in all parts of the sepulchral mound or sepulchre, but chiefly immediately over the skeleton. In size they vary from the bigness of a man’s head to that of his fist. Although the earth covering the corpse is much finer than the surrounding ground, and the occurrence of these large flints is usually rather a matter of surprise to the labourers employed in these excavations, yet it has been little noticed by antiquaries, who have never imagined that these stones were so placed designedly, and in accordance with a heathen rite.

“Without entering into the question whether the potsherds and stones observed to have been thus found are characteristic of the customs of Celtic or Germanic tribes, we may here remark that their discovery seems to throw light upon a passage in *Hamlet*, hitherto unexplained by the English Commentators on Shakspeare. At the burial of Ophelia, Hamlet, who is lingering at the grave, remarks, on seeing the funeral procession, “Who is this they follow, and with such maimed rites? This doth betoken the corse they follow, did with desperate hand for-do its own life. ’Twas of some estate.” Immediately upon this, Laertes, the brother of Ophelia, asks the priest with what rites the corpse is to be interred, and receives the answer:—

‘ Her obsequies have been as far enlarg’d  
As we have warranty; her death was doubtful;  
And, but that great command o’ersways the order,  
She should in ground unsanctified have lodg’d  
Till the last trumpet; for charitable prayers,  
Shards, flints, and pebbles should be thrown on her.

4      *Explanation of an obscure Passage in Shakspeare's Hamlet.*

Yet here she is allow'd her virgin crants,  
Her maiden strewments, and the bringing home  
Of bell and burial.'

“Concerning the usage at the burial of suicides, of which the priest here speaks, the English Commentators on Shakspeare give no kind of information. All that they remark in explanation (see Johnson and Steevens's large Edit. of Shakspeare, xxii. p. 314) is, that the word *crants* means a garland, and *shard* a fragment of pottery.

“There can, however, be no doubt that in writing these lines Shakspeare had in his mind an ancient custom still retained in his time, in perhaps a part of England, and which was sufficiently familiar to his audience to be alluded to in this passage. In accordance with such an usage those who had, like the pagans, laid violent hands on themselves, were buried, not with Christian rites, but with such ceremonies as were peculiar to the heathens, and still observed among the Celtic and Saxon inhabitants of England. With such a custom prevalent among one or the other of these races, the mode of burial most remarkably coincides which we trace in those barrows and pagan tombs of Switzerland and the hills of southern Germany, about the origin of which there has been so much dispute. If the English Archæologists succeed in determining to which of the two ancient races of their island the custom recorded in this passage of Shakspeare may be ascribed, we, too shall then be enabled to approximate more nearly to a decision as to the origin of these pagan sepulchral remains.

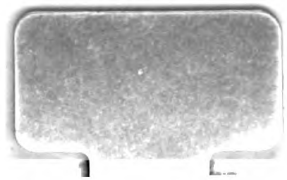
“*March 6, 1845.*”

For the translation of this latter Communication from the German, the Society is indebted to Charles Newton, Esq., of the British Museum.









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