

XVI.—*The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. The probable arrangement and signification of its principal Sculptures.* By EDMUND OLDFIELD, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

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I. Read 26th November, 1896.

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IN the paper on the Mausoleum which I read before the Society on 14th June, 1893, and which has since been published in *Archaeologia*, I stated my intention to investigate two distinct questions relating to that celebrated building :

I. What appeared from the best literary and monumental evidence to have been its architectural form ?

II. What was the most probable arrangement of its principal sculptures ?

The first of these questions I have sufficiently dealt with in the paper referred to, subject to one correction, which I ask leave now to submit. Since the appearance of my scheme in *Archaeologia*, I have been led to adopt a slight modification of the architectural arrangement there suggested for the interior of the Pteron.<sup>a</sup> In that arrangement the central area was supposed to be surrounded by eight massive piers, four of them square and four oblong, intended to support the principal weight of the pyramidal roof. In proposing such an arrangement I was always conscious that the view through the Pteron would be partially obstructed, and the light within the inner area diminished, by piers of this bulk, whilst the idea of a building “hanging in empty air” would be less fully and satisfactorily realised than I could have wished. Nevertheless, when I considered the exceptional weight of the superstructure, and the novelty of the scheme I was proposing for its support, it seemed to me more prudent to sacrifice both some architectural attractiveness and some confirmation of my theory from the more complete illustration of Martial’s words, than to run the risk, as a mere amateur, of producing a design which professional critics might pronounce unworkable or unsafe. Since the publication of my paper, however, I have received from high

<sup>a</sup> *Archaeologia*, liv. pl. xxii.

architectural authorities such assurances on the score of structural stability that I

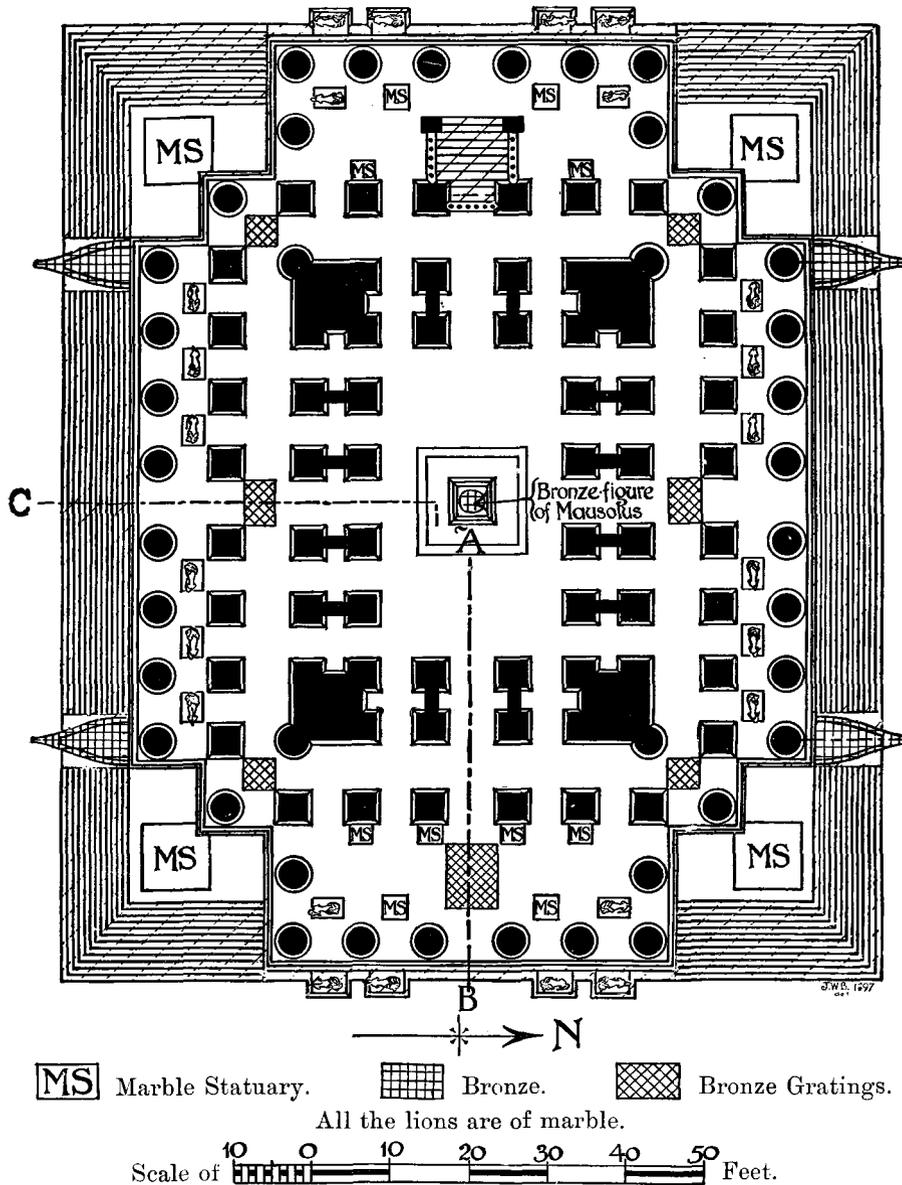


Fig. 1. The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. Plan of the Pteron.

intercolumns blocked behind by solid piers, whilst all the others would have offered vistas of columns and pilasters extending uninterruptedly to the sky beyond.<sup>a</sup> With this explanation, which properly relates only to the first or

I have now modified my design by substituting a scheme I should have preferred from the first, had I only felt satisfied as to its practicability. In this scheme there are only four square piers, one at each angle of the central area, whilst at each of its ends and sides is a double row of pilasters connected by intermediate stays, as shown in the accompanying plan (fig. 1). With such an arrangement anyone looking from outside would have seen on each face of the Pteron only two

<sup>a</sup> This modification of my original scheme I made known in the *Builder* of 7 March, 1896, p. 214.

architectural question in my investigation, I now proceed to examine the second or sculptural question as a sequel to the other.

Nearly forty years ago it fell to my lot, as an Assistant in the then undivided Department of Antiquities in the British Museum, to superintend the unpacking, repairing, and provisional arrangement of the marbles which were being collected by the expedition under the direction of the late Sir Charles (then Mr. Vice-Consul) Newton from Greek sites on the coast of Asia Minor. It was then part of my duty to devise means, with the approval of Mr. Hawkins, the respected Keeper of the Department, for accommodating the relics of the great Halicarnassian monument, and exhibiting them in some temporary manner till suitable provision could be made by the Trustees for their final arrangement in the public galleries. It thus naturally occurred to me to consider what proportion, or what approach to any calculable proportion, the specimens of decorative sculpture and enriched architecture thus acquired might probably have borne to the entirety of similar work in the monument when perfect. This led me to observe a distinction between remains belonging to groups or series, whose original extent might be approximately estimated either from the description of Pliny or from indications of structural requirements in the building itself, and remains which were independent both of the architectural composition and of each other, and therefore incapable, in the present state of our knowledge, of any estimate as to number or bulk. To the former class it was obvious to refer the preserved portions of columns. Putting aside the few drums of shafts and fragments of bases, on which it would be practically impossible to found any calculation, we find three distinct capitals in the collection, one of them belonging to an angle column. Now, Pliny tells us that the Mausoleum, by which he here means, as shown in my former paper, the Pteron only, was surrounded by thirty-six columns. The proportion, therefore, of preserved to lost members of the series of columnar capitals is as one to twelve.

Secondly, I take the Amazon frieze, which, in common with others, I accept as the frieze of the principal Order. Of this there remain seventeen slabs, extending in all to 85 feet 9 inches in length. Pliny says that the entire circuit of the building, meaning, as before, of the Pteron, was 411, or, according to one MS., 440 feet. But this measurement would naturally have been taken round an accessible part, such as the base or stylobate of the Pteron, rather than round its frieze; and the circuit of the latter would therefore have amounted to a somewhat less figure, say, approximately, 400 feet. Thus the preserved portion would be slightly above one-fifth of the whole.

The reason why a larger proportion of the frieze has survived than of the columnar capitals may be easily understood. The former, being composed of

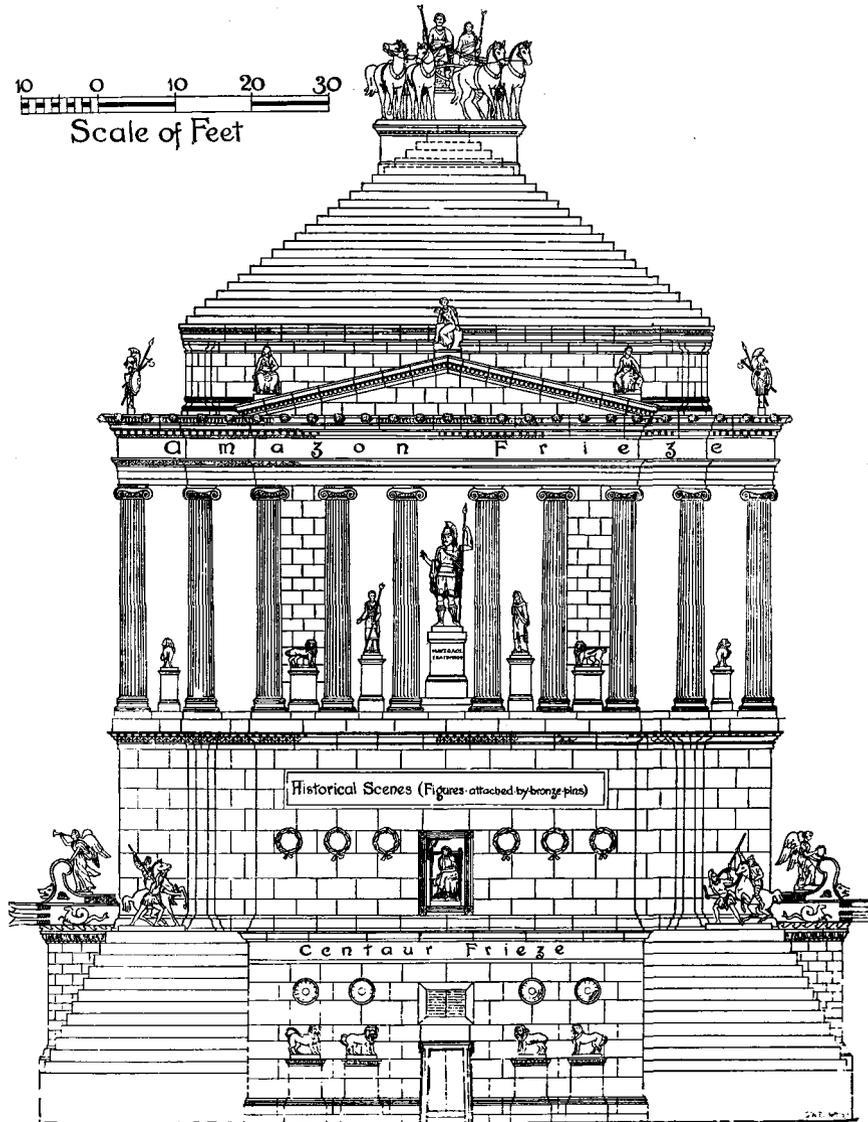


Fig. 2. The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. Restoration of the East Front.

practically flat and very thick oblong slabs, was valuable to the Rhodian Knights for courses of wall-facing. Whatever slabs, therefore, they found among the Mausoleum ruins they transported to the castle which they had undertaken to repair; and in the surface of its walls these slabs remained unbroken till Sir Stratford Canning had them removed in 1846. But the capitals, being less adapted for insertion in walls, were probably in most cases broken up for building material, or burnt into lime, as we know from De la Tourette's

account was done with the remains of the subterranean chamber described in my former paper. Next, we have some portions of a frieze representing a Centauromachia. It may perhaps at first be asked whether this could not have belonged to the same architectural course as the Amazonomachia, if the two compositions were sculptured in competition by different artists, and arranged on different sides of the

building. Such a supposition, however, is sufficiently disposed of by the discrepancies both of dimension and form in the constituent slabs. The height of the Amazon frieze is 2 feet 11½ inches in all, the sunk face or die being 2 feet 5½ inches; whilst the height of the Centaur frieze is 1 inch less, both in the

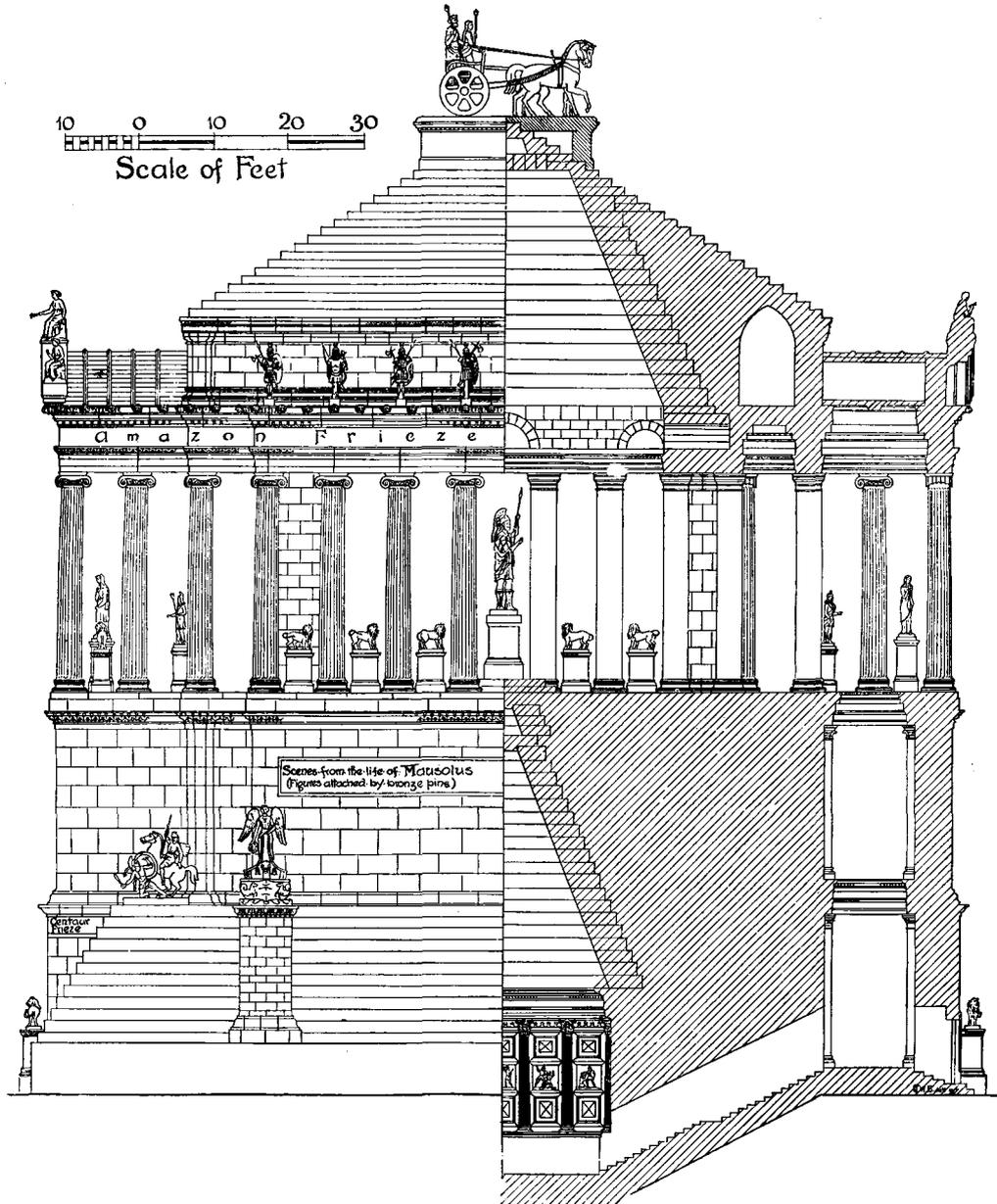


Fig. 3. The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. Elevation of half the south side and half longitudinal section of the interior on the line A . . . B of the plan (fig 1).

aggregate and in the die. At the foot of the latter frieze also is a peculiar and distinctive square moulding, not to be found in the former frieze, nor indeed

anywhere else in the Mausoleum. The inference, therefore, is that the two friezes must have been in positions unconnected with each other. This inference is confirmed by the difference in the present condition of the two series. The figures in the Centaur frieze are much more mutilated, and the surface also more eroded by water, than in the Amazon frieze; indicating that the former was originally in a position more exposed both to violence and atmospheric injury than the latter. The remains of the Centaur frieze comprise now only one slab and three fragments of other slabs, whose aggregate length, if all joined together, would be about 11 feet. In considering, however, the proportion this would probably have borne to the entire composition, it must be remembered that no portion of this frieze had the advantage, like so much of the Amazon frieze, of being transferred to the castle walls, but the whole was left to the same chances of violence and spoliation as the other sculptures found in the ruined building. Consequently, the proportion of the preserved to the lost parts would probably have been much smaller than in the Amazon frieze. Let us place it conjecturally at one-twelfth, and the entire frieze would then have extended to about 132 feet.

In my restoration of the building I have assigned to this frieze a position which, though only conjectural, is in conformity with the conditions here described, both as to its extent and its preservation. The part which I would call the sub-podium, that is, the wall supporting the podium under each portico, which forms an intercepting block in the middle of the graduated basement at the east and west ends, is shown in my design <sup>a</sup> (fig. 2) to be surmounted by a frieze. This I have made the place of the Centauro-machia. The length of each sub-podium is 51 feet; its projection beyond the top of the gradines of the adjoining basement about 8 feet.<sup>b</sup> Supposing these friezes to be returned along the sides of the sub-podium till they are met by the highest gradines, each frieze would extend to  $51 + 2 (8) = 67$  linear feet, a little more at the top, and a little less at the bottom; and the entirety of the two friezes would be about 134 feet. This figure would amply accord with the proportion above suggested between the preserved and the lost portions of the whole.

Equally also would the present condition of the frieze accord with such a position. At only about 20 feet from the ground it would have been more exposed to injury from below than the frieze of the Order, which was 60 or 70 feet higher up. At the same time, the shallow moulding which I have placed

<sup>a</sup> See fig. 2; cf. *Archaeologia*, liv. pl. xxv.

<sup>b</sup> The projecting portion is shown in fig. 3, and in vol. liv. pl. xxiii. (Half elevation of south side.)

immediately over this lower frieze, and no bolder one seems to me proper in such a situation, would give but imperfect protection from injury of any kind from above, as compared with the more massive cornice which overhangs the principal or Amazon frieze. When, therefore, the upper part of the Mausoleum was overthrown by an earthquake, the projecting reliefs of the lower frieze would naturally have been struck by some of the falling stones. Even before this catastrophe the rain-water trickling down from the podium immediately above would find its way to the frieze, and this would account for the erosion of surface now observable in the slabs of the Centauromachia series.

Such, I believe, were the original positions of the only two friezes from the outer faces of the Mausoleum of which we have any remains. Why, however, it may be asked, should the Amazonomachia and Centauromachia have been selected as subjects for representation in these positions? The answer would not be difficult, even if we looked solely to artistic reasons. We know from Vitruvius and Pliny that the sculptural decoration of the building was undertaken by four artists *certatim*, or in competition with each other. Subjects would therefore naturally be chosen which would test to advantage the technical abilities of the competitors. Energetic action, and, so far as the reserve in the representation of the female form which had not yet quite left Greek art would allow, nude or semi-nude figures, would prove their skill in design and modelling. Moreover, the principal frieze being 80 or 90 feet above the ground, it was necessary, if the spectator was to judge properly either of the motives of the artists or the execution of their work, that the subject should be one with which he was well acquainted, and should be treated very distinctly, as by a somewhat open arrangement of the figures, with strongly defined attitudes and dramatic grouping, relieved by clear backgrounds. These conditions were easily fulfilled with such a theme as the Amazonomachia. At the same time, the fury of the legendary battle would give ample opportunity for exhibiting the muscular anatomy of the male and the more gracefully rounded outlines of the female form in immediate contrast with each other. The Centauromachia had similar recommendations. The subject was equally familiar to the Greek spectator, and the contrast of forms equally forcible, though shown not in the sexes, but in the species of the combatants.

But beyond and above these æsthetic motives was included, what Greek intelligence here, as elsewhere, knew well how to combine with them, a religious or historical motive. On this point Sir Charles Newton, notwithstanding his careful and judicious criticism on the mere artistic character of the friezes, seems not to have shewn his usual discernment. He confesses himself unable to see

why the Amazonomachia should have been thought appropriate for representation on the Mausoleum,<sup>a</sup> or why, on this, as well as some other monuments, the Centauromachia should have been associated with it.<sup>b</sup> Yet, surely, the reasons are to be found in authors referred to in his own pages. Strabo informs us that Halicarnassus was believed to have been founded by emigrants from Trœzen,<sup>c</sup> led by Anthas or Anthes, son of Poseidon, and king of Trœzen. Pausanias confirms this myth by varying its form, attributing the foundation of the town to the descendants of Aetion, the son of Anthas.<sup>d</sup> Vitruvius, though he refers the settlement to Melas and Areuanias, heroes of a later date, yet brings the emigrants from Trœzen as well as from Argos.<sup>e</sup> So generally accepted was this traditional origin of the colony, that the Halicarnassians applied to themselves the eponym of Antheadæ. Now every Hellenic colony preserved a traditional respect for the legends of its ancestral home. Among the myths, therefore, which the Halicarnassians would naturally regard with greatest interest were those of Theseus, a native of Trœzen, and a grandson of its king, Pittheus. In the Amazon frieze there is a slab,<sup>f</sup> on which a warrior is seen fighting with a club and wearing a lion's skin. This warrior Sir Charles Newton thought to be Heracles, and thence inferred that the scene intended was that of a battle on the River Thermodon, where Heracles slew the Amazon Queen Hippolyte. I, however, believe that this warrior is Theseus, represented as in the Phigaleian frieze, with a lion's skin and club, like Heracles; so that the scene is really meant to be taken from the invasion of Attica by the Amazons under Hippolyte, who came to avenge thus the abduction by Theseus of her sister Antiope. In the single perfect slab from the Centaur frieze the figure of Theseus does not occur; but, doubtless, he was represented on some other slab, fighting among the Lapithæ at the nuptial feast of his friend Pirithôus. It is on account of the connection of Theseus with these two legendary incidents that the subjects of the Amazonomachia and Centauromachia are so constantly combined by artists of the Athenian School, who venerated Theseus as their hero king no less than the Trœzenians did as their fellow-countryman.

<sup>a</sup> Newton, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ* (London, 1862), ii. 251.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 252.

<sup>c</sup> *Geographica*, lib. xiv. p. 56; lib. viii. p. 374.

<sup>d</sup> Pausanias, ii. 30, § 8.

<sup>e</sup> Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, lib. ii. 8. Herodotus also, vii. 99, though not noticing any of these myths, describes the Halicarnassians distinctly as Trœzenians.

<sup>f</sup> No. 3 in the official *Guide to the Mausoleum Room*.

The Amazonomachia, however, had a further interest to the people of Caria independently of Trœzen. For the *labrys*, or two-headed battle-axe of Hippolyte, which was taken from her and given to Omphale, queen of Lydia, by Heracles, and was afterwards treasured as a sacred relic by the Lydian monarchs, was carried off from Candaules by the Carians under Arselis, and dedicated at Labranda in the temple of Zeus<sup>a</sup>; whence that deity is represented on the coins of Caria with the *labrys* in his hand.<sup>b</sup>

We may next consider the remains of a series belonging to a different class of representations, not mythological but realistic, the so-called "Chariot frieze." Among these remains there is no perfect slab; nor are there any sufficient means of estimating with any exactness what would have been the aggregate extent of all the slabs, if united continuously. Notwithstanding the violence from which they have at some time suffered, and which has reduced them to little more than a collection of fragmentary groups, it is to be noted that they do not, like the Centaur, and to some extent also the Amazon frieze, betray any marks of injury from weather. They differ also from those friezes in certain peculiarities of their original condition. They are composed of a finer marble; they are only about half as thick as the slabs of the Amazon frieze; "their back," as the official *Guide to the Mausoleum Room* informs us, "is always hammer-dressed, not wrought in alternate courses, like the frieze of the Order; and the joint between the slabs wants the final polish; which fact," continues the *Guide*, "is an additional proof that the frieze was never intended to be exposed to the weather." This concluding inference seems further confirmed by some remains of blue pigment which are, or at least lately were, traceable both on the ground of one of the reliefs, and on the under side of the ogee moulding which runs along the bottom of the frieze, and was decorated with small painted leaves. A certain distinction from the other friezes may also be observed in the artistic style of their sculptures. In the Chariot frieze the relief, whilst not uniformly flattened into something resembling a distinct plane in front of the plane of the background, a system nearly approached in the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon, is at the same time not regularly projected into detached or semi-detached forms, as in the Amazonomachia of this building. But an intermediate system is adopted of real *mezzo-relievo*, some of the figures being fully and naturally rounded, whilst others

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch, *Questiones Græcæ*, xlv.

<sup>b</sup> Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. x. 22. Cf. Mionnet, *Description des Médailles Antiques Grecques et Romaines*, iii. 349 (*Halicarnasse*).

are conventionally depressed; and this variation of projection, with its consequent variation in the strength of the lights and shadows, is delicately wrought out into an effect of picturesque gradation, which would hardly have been seen or appreciated except through near inspection, and would certainly have been quite thrown away in such a position as that of the Parthenon frieze, immediately under the ceiling of the peristyle, and lighted only by reflection from below. On these united grounds I should be disposed to assign this series to some place in the interior of the building, and not far removed from the eye. Not indeed a place in the central apartment, or *cella*, for De la Tourette, in describing the sculptural decorations of that room, mentions only *histoires taillées, et toutes batailles à demy relief*. In my arrangement of the basement, however, there is a supposed entrance-hall, about 42 feet long by 14 feet wide,<sup>a</sup> lighted from above by grated openings in the floor of the eastern portico; which openings could easily be enlarged, if necessary, beyond what is represented in my plan of the Pteron.<sup>b</sup> The walls of this hall I would venture to suggest, if my scheme for restoration of the building be accepted, as a site for the sculptures in question; though of course I only offer this as a conjectural allocation, for there is no evidence I know of to determine either the construction or the decoration of any interior part of the basement beyond that which was explored by the Rhodian Knights in 1522.

The subject of the Chariot frieze was doubtless chosen in commemoration of the honours, or part of the honours, paid by Artemisia to her departed husband, which very likely also included, like the games at the obsequies of Patroclus, other agonistic exhibitions besides these races. It is to be observed that the chariots all appear driving from left to right, which is also the direction uniformly represented in vase-paintings of the same subject. The reason of this I take to be that in the hippodrome they were only seen in this way. For the starting-place there being on the right side of the hippodrome's base, and the chariots turning to the left when they reached the *meta*, they had, both in their outgoing and their returning course, the *spina* always on their left, and the spectators on their right; so that they were only visible from the latter side, moving, that is, from left to right, as here represented.<sup>c</sup> The drivers appear at first sight to be

<sup>a</sup> See fig. 3; cf. *Archaeologia*, liv. pl. xxi. (plan), and pl. xxiii. (section).

<sup>b</sup> *Archaeologia*, liv. pl. xxii.; cf. *supra*, fig. 1.

<sup>c</sup> See Visconti's explanation of the hippodrome at Olympia, founded on the description of Pausanias in lib. vi. c. 20, *Museo Pio Clem.* v. 58-267.

women, but are in reality meant for young men in talaric *chitons* or tunics.<sup>a</sup> A similar attire may be seen in the youthful charioteers in the Parthenon frieze, and likewise in the drivers represented in the paintings of chariot-races just now referred to.<sup>b</sup>

The only other sculptured reliefs in the collection are the few remains of figures on four sunk panels, each, as conjecturally restored in the Museum, about 28 inches square. Though all much broken, intentionally or accidentally, their surfaces show no deterioration from exposure to the air; and it was therefore reasonably inferred by Sir Charles Newton that they belonged originally to some interior locality. On all of them are fragments of male or female figures, engaged apparently in contests of different kinds. One scene seems to represent a fallen Amazon, with a figure of uncertain class beside her; another shows the lower part of a group composed like that of Theseus struggling either with the Minotaur or with Sciron, as seen on many painted vases. They are all well fitted, both in size and subject, for decorating the subterranean chamber discovered by the knights, as related by De la Tourette. In that chamber the *entredeux des colonnes*, or wall spaces between the engaged semi-columns which adorned its four sides, are said to have been faced with sculptured groups enclosed within mouldings of polychrome marbles, and all representing, as the knight tells us in the words lately quoted, scenes of battle, which he and his comrades deliberately broke in pieces for the sake of their material. To this position, therefore, I have assigned the few undestroyed fragments which their vandalism has left us, arranging them as shown in the two sectional views of my restoration.<sup>c</sup> Of course, like all the other

<sup>a</sup> Sir Charles Newton himself described them at first, unadvisedly, as women. *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant* (London, 1865), ii. 132-3.

<sup>b</sup> In Gerhard's *Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder*, theil II. taf. cvii., a young man is shown as charioteer, who, besides wearing a similar tunic, has a long plait of hair, like a woman's, hanging down his back.

<sup>c</sup> See above, fig. 3; cf. *Archaeologia*, liv. pl. xxiii. xxiv. (sectional views). Mr. Murray has suggested, in a lecture before the Glasgow Archaeological Society in 1894, and since brought to my notice, that these panels may perhaps have been fitted into some of the coffers in the ceiling of the peristyle. Such an arrangement, however, seems to me hardly likely to have satisfied the sculptors of the Mausoleum. Small groups of figures, in a series comprehending various unconnected subjects, require a near and clear view to be even intelligibly made out; and their workmanship, if, like these, highly finished, needs ample facility for inspection. To place them in ceiling recesses which have no direct light, which are perpendicularly over the spectator's head, and at least 30 feet above it, would be virtually sacrificing works evidently intended for the fullest examination. I prefer, therefore, the different destination here assigned for them.

decorations referred to by De la Tourette, they could only have been inspected by the light of lamps; but this was the case everywhere with all sculptures and paintings found in the inner chambers of ancient sepulchres.

Turning now from the friezes and other reliefs to the detached statuary, the principal known group is that of the quadriga. There is here no question of position, Pliny having informed us that the quadriga stood on the summit of the monument. The word itself involves, *ex vi termini*, four horses and a chariot; but who, or how many persons, occupied the chariot, neither the word itself nor any ancient writer shows. Fortunately this, the most important sculptural decoration of the whole building, happens to have survived in the fullest preservation. The earthquake which overthrew the Mausoleum seems to have split the quadriga longitudinally, or nearly so. A small portion of it dropped off on the south side, but the principal part was precipitated to the north, and its elevation giving it a greater swing, it was carried, apparently in almost one body, beyond the wall of the *peribolus*. Its enormous weight, falling from so great a height, would naturally have driven it some way into the unpaved ground, whence, in the then abandoned and depopulated state of Budrum, no one would or could have extricated it. Soon, I imagine, it would get covered with earth, or overgrown with vegetation, like the whole basement of the Mausoleum itself, which was lost to sight and knowledge before 1522. In this happy concealment, protected alike from the air and from man, it slept undisturbed till unearthed by Sir Charles Newton, and he was thus enabled not merely to recover some important portions of a chariot-wheel, and remains of horses exceeding in all a quarter part of the whole four, with attached bronze harness which would doubtless have been plundered if exposed earlier, but, by a singular good fortune, found also nearly the whole of two semi-colossal statues of singularly fine workmanship, and, notwithstanding numerous fractures, in excellent surface preservation. Mixed up with them were found many marble steps, evidently belonging to the pyramid over the apex of which the quadriga was placed, and, amongst or very near them, various parts of smaller figures unconnected with the quadriga, but evidently hurled by the same centrifugal force from some lower positions on the north side of the Pteron. All the semi-colossal remains heaped together on this spot, whether of chariot, horses, woman, or man, Sir Charles Newton at once concluded to have belonged to the quadriga. The male figure, the head of which presents one of the noblest specimens of ideally treated portraiture that has come down to us from ancient times, he assumed to be that of Mausolus; and the attribution has, I believe, been unanimously accepted both by English and foreign critics.

The female figure, however, which has unfortunately lost nearly all the face, retaining only the hair and head-covering, has been the subject of some controversy.

It is important for our purpose to determine at once the personage represented by this latter figure, as its position in the chariot, whether to the right or left of its companion, may be materially affected by the decision. Sir Charles Newton considered it to be a goddess, driving the car of Mausolus, and therefore standing on his right hand.<sup>a</sup> This interpretation, however, does not seem to me compatible with the religious ideas of the Greeks in the middle of the fourth century. The placing of any mere mortal in the same chariot with a deity, who acts merely as a charioteer, while he appears as *παραβάρης*, and this without suggesting any exceptional circumstance, historical or mythical, to explain the position, would be equivalent to formally deifying him. This, done without any recognised religious authority, would have shocked public sentiment as an act of presumption, if not impiety. Deification was not, at the era of Mausolus, awarded to the dead at the pleasure either of an arbitrary ruler or an obsequious artist. It is true that, about half a century earlier, during the widespread ascendancy acquired by Lysander after the battle of Ægos-Potami, some time-serving states sought to propitiate his favour by raising altars in his honour, and decreeing sacrifices and pæans to be offered to him as to a god.<sup>b</sup> But this impious adulation, which was without precedent in Greece, and made Lysander the object of general odium, ended at least with his life. It cannot, therefore, be considered an authority for the practice of posthumous deification in the fourth century. Even a generation later than that of Mausolus, Alexander, though at the height of his power, did not venture to pay honours implying divinity to the memory of Hephæstion till he had first obtained from Egypt, in an oracle of Zeus Ammon, an authoritative direction so to do.<sup>c</sup> Sir Charles Newton justifies his introduction and employment of a goddess by two illustrations, one drawn from history, the other from legendary art. The first is from the story of Pisistratus, who is related to have driven into Athens in a car with, apparently, Athene at his side, though in reality only a woman in disguise. The second is the representation on painted vases of Heracles conducted in a quadriga by Athene. To these he might have added a third example drawn from literature, the chariot of Diomedes in the *Iliad*

<sup>a</sup> *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ*, ii. 249.

<sup>b</sup> Related by Plutarch, *Vita Lysandri*, c. xviii., on the authority of the historiographer Duris, who said that Lysander was the first Greek who ever received such a tribute.

<sup>c</sup> *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. xvii. c. 115.

having been driven by Pallas in the conflict with Ares.<sup>a</sup> None of these illustrations, however, seem to me conclusive, or even strictly applicable. The contrivance of Pisistratus, though it served its purpose at the time with an ignorant and superstitious populace, was afterwards denounced by Herodotus as a *πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον*, a piece of charlatanry so gross as to throw serious doubt in the historian's mind on the alleged intellectual superiority of the Athenian race.<sup>b</sup> Certainly, therefore, it cannot now be accepted as a fair exemplification of Greek ideas in an enlightened age on the relation between the gods and men. The representation of Heracles driven by Athene I freely accept as an instance of apotheosis. But Heracles was the son of Zeus; he had accomplished in his lifetime a series of superhuman feats, and his deification after death was formally authorised by the Delphic oracle,<sup>c</sup> and everywhere admitted by the Greeks as part of their religious belief. Diomedes had personally no such claim. But the intervention of Pallas Athene as his charioteer was a special incident in the great national epic, which comprehended in its machinery both gods and men. That incident represented one deity as availing herself of an human agency for the purpose of venting her wrath upon another of her own rank. This did not involve the deification of the mortal selected as her temporary coadjutor; nor would any Greek of the historic age have inferred from such an incident a right to extend the privilege of being driven by a goddess to himself or any contemporary with a view to his personal glorification.

There is, indeed, one of the higher gods who might without irreverence or presumption have been grouped with a mortal lately dead upon a sepulchral monument. This is Hermes in his character of Psychopompus. Professor Ramsay discovered a tomb in the so-called Midas-Necropolis in Phrygia, upon which Hermes was sculptured in this character; and in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*<sup>d</sup> he refers to a statement of Babrius, which further illustrates this form of obituary

<sup>a</sup> Ἡ δ' ἐς δίφρον ἔβαινε παραὶ Διομήδεα δίου

\* \* \* \*

Λάξετο δὲ μάστιγα καὶ ἦνια Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

Homer, *Iliad*, lib. v., v. 840.

<sup>b</sup> *Clio* (I.), 60.

<sup>c</sup> The courageous speech in which Callisthenes opposed the deification of the living Alexander, as recorded by Arrian, contains the following reference to Heracles: 'Οὐδὲ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ζῶντι ἐπὶ θεῖαι τιμαὶ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντι πρόσθεν ἢ πρὸς τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπιθεσπισθῆναι ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν Ἡρακλέα. *Anabasis*, lib. iv. ii. 7. The whole speech explains very clearly the ideas of the Greeks on the religious question.

<sup>d</sup> Vol. iii. No. 1.

art.<sup>a</sup> It is in this sense, I have no doubt, that the figure of Hermes is introduced on some of the vase-paintings of the apotheosis of Heracles referred to by Sir Charles Newton. But these representations, which are founded on the special *cultus* of a particular deity, are no authority for the introduction of any other deity upon monuments of the dead for the mere purpose of posthumous flattery.

Among ideal personages of lower rank than the Olympic cycle the only one I can think of as appropriate for the office of charioteer would be Nike, the personification of Victory. Pausanias relates that Cratisthenes was represented in a sculptural group by Pythagoras, of Rhegium, as accompanied in a car by Victory;<sup>b</sup> and quadrigas are driven by Victories on the coins of Hiero II., of Syracuse, and on those of Philistis, though these figures are not accompanied by any *παραβάτης*. But the statue in question is clearly not a Victory, being veiled as a matron, and having no marks of wings on her shoulders; for I need hardly say, that a figure of Victory without wings is unknown in the mature age of Art.<sup>c</sup>

On these grounds I conclude that the female figure in the quadriga does not represent an ideal, but an actual human person. How much, however, is that conclusion strengthened when the spectator compares that figure, as now seen in the Museum, with its male companion! The height of the former is given in the official *Guide* as 8 feet 8 inches, whilst that of Mausolus is 9 feet 10 inches. Now, in every representation I have seen in ancient art, a tutelary deity, even though female, is made at least equal in stature to the mortal whom she protects. But the female figure here does not even attain to the normal proportion of her sex as compared with the other. That proportion may be roughly stated as equivalent, on an average, to 5 feet 9 inches in the man, against 5 feet 4 inches in the

<sup>a</sup> *Fab.* 30.

<sup>b</sup> Pausanias, vi. 13, § 4, s. 7; 18, § 1.

<sup>c</sup> According to a scholist on Aristophanes (*Aves*, 574), wings were first given to Victories by Archermus of Chios, whom C. O. Müller places about the middle of the sixth century B.C. See *Ancient Art and its Remains* (English edition), 394. That they were at least so applied, if not invented, by that sculptor, is shown by the recent discovery in Delos of an archaic winged statue of the goddess, having an inscription on its pedestal, which is read as containing the name of Archermus. See Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, i. 5; ii. 187; and *Handbook of Greek Archæology*, 247-8. The wingless type, however, was not at once abandoned, for Calamis, who is believed to have lived 100 years later than Archermus, made a Victory without wings for the Mantineans to dedicate at Elis, which Pausanias (V. 26, § 5) says was an imitation of an early statue at Athens. Nevertheless, wings had become by the middle of the fifth century the characteristic attribute of Victory, as may be seen from the celebrated statue by Pæonius discovered at Olympia, on which the mark of the lost wings still remains on the shoulders. In the series of reliefs also from the Temple of the so-called *Nike Apteros* at Athens, every figure of Victory is represented as winged.

woman. Thus 9 feet 10 inches in a male statue would, to be in due proportion, require 9 feet 1 inch in a female. The figure in question, however, is 5 inches below that height. Is it conceivable that, if a tutelary divinity had been intended, the sculptor would have made her of proportions markedly below those of an average woman? As the two statues now stand side by side in the Museum few persons, I think, could imagine that the little goddess on the right was guiding and guarding the mighty mortal on the left without some sense of the ridiculous.

Assuming then that the female statue is simply the *Eikon* of a woman, there can be no question whom it represents. All difficulty in the proportion between the two figures disappears, if we suppose that the portraiture corresponds strictly with the reality, that either Mausolus was considerably above, or Artemisia considerably below, the average height of his or her sex. The former alternative is suggested by the language of Lucian, and is doubtless the right one.<sup>a</sup> This realistic explanation accords also with the treatment of the female figure itself, which is modelled with a certain fullness and even incipient deterioration of form suited to the time of life the Queen would have reached when her husband died, instead of with the lightness and shapely roundness which would have marked the unimpaired symmetry of an ideal and ever-youthful personage.

The relative position of the two statues, as they stood in the quadriga, is a question of greater difficulty. Sir Charles Newton, with his interpretation of the female figure, placed her, of course, in the post of charioteer, and the present authorities of the Museum, whatever their opinion may be as to the personage intended, have not thought it right to remove the statue from the position he had assigned to it. The question depends partly on what I may call abstract or theoretical considerations, partly on others connected with actual indications in the marbles themselves.

Under the first head I would note, *imprimis*, that the motive of the person who designed the quadriga should be interpreted somewhat differently from that which inspired the Carian queen in erecting the Mausoleum. The object of Artemisia was simply to do honour to her husband's memory, and if she had herself sketched out the chariot group, she might possibly have conceived the idea of driving him in imagination with her own hands to the heavens. But Artemisia never knew anything of the chariot group. She died whilst the original architectural scheme was in progress, and in accordance with that scheme the pyramidal roof, terminating in a *metæ cacumen*, was duly completed after she had been laid in the

<sup>a</sup> Καλὸς ἦν καὶ μέγας. v. *Dialogi Mortuorum*, xxiv. (*Diogenis et Mausoli*.)

grave. Later on, we know not exactly how soon, came the alteration made by Pythis.<sup>a</sup> Whenever that took place, Idrieus, or possibly even his widow Ada, had succeeded to the Carian throne, and Mausolus and Artemisia were both alike enshrined in history. It is not improbable, therefore, that at that later date a leading motive for modifying the already finished monument would have been a wish to extend to the illustrious woman, to whose munificence the whole structure was due, a share in the honours which she had designed for her consort alone. Thus, under a succeeding member of the family, the quadriga would be added as an historical memorial of the two departed rulers, jointly and equally.<sup>b</sup> To those who raised that memorial they had been known as husband and wife; and as such they had to be represented in sculpture. Their mutual relationship would be naturally expressed by the position of the two figures. Now it will hardly be disputed that, despite certain peculiar androgynous eccentricities in recent times, it has hitherto been customary in all ages and countries for the male, not the female, partner to take openly the lead in all public appearances, to preside, not to be presided over, in every outward presentment of conjugal life. Greek sentiment, at all events, did not favour an inversion of this natural relation of the sexes. Wherever, in Greek works of art, a married pair, at least of human, not divine or mythical persons, is represented driving in a chariot, the husband holds the reins, and, if there is one, the whip. There is, for example, a class of painted vases, commonly known as "Marriage Vases," on which a bridegroom and bride are seen together in a quadriga. In these paintings, which are to be understood as representations of common life among the Greeks, the bridegroom habitually appears as charioteer, the bride standing by his left side.<sup>c</sup> If ever an exception occurs to this arrangement, it will be found, I think, to arise from some special mythical or historical allusion, perhaps unknown to us, which takes the subject

<sup>a</sup> The explanation of this alteration, and the arguments by which it is proved, are fully set out in my former paper, in *Archæologia*, liv. 294-298.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. J. J. Stevenson, in a paper read before this Society on 7th May, 1896, and afterwards published in the *Builder* (29th August, 1896), in endeavouring to disprove my contention that the work of Pythis was really a modification of the original apex of the pyramid, resorts to the somewhat singular argument that after the death of Artemisia there would be no one to pay for so expensive a work as I suggest; as if Idrieus and Ada, inheriting the throne and the wealth of Halicarnassus, would have been unable to defray the cost of such a memorial of their brother and sister!

<sup>c</sup> For examples of this subject v. Gerhard's *Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder (Hochzeitwagen)* iv. pls. cccx.-cccxv.

out of the category of common life, and transfers it to some other which has no relation to the present question.

Upon these so-called abstract or theoretical grounds I should not have hesitated to assign to the figure of Mausolus the dexter, and to that of Artemisia the sinister, place in the group. But it is necessary to take into account any indications in the marbles themselves which may throw light on the question of position, whether those indications are of an artistic or purely mechanical character.

First, then, as to indications of an artistic character, or connected with probable artistic motives. Here it must be pointed out, *in limine*, that the full front view of the two statues, as we now see them on entering the Mausoleum Room, is not that which would have presented itself to the ancient spectator, when the quadriga was *in situ*. If the four horses were again complete and arranged as formerly, a person standing in front on the floor of the room would have but an interrupted view of the two figures behind them. But if that person can be supposed to have been standing on the ground before the principal front of the Mausoleum itself, that is to say, 126 feet below the platform of the quadriga, and near enough to the building for examining its sculptural features, he would necessarily have seen nothing of the two figures at all. The only directions from which, within any moderate distance, they would have been visible without obstruction (except from behind, where they would not have been worth looking at), would be the two sides. Even from the sides one figure only at a time would have been fully seen, the other being more or less hidden behind it. Now a judicious sculptor, especially if he be also an architect, as Pythis is very commonly supposed to have been, would carefully calculate the available points of view, and adapt his composition to them. What he would here chiefly consider would be the pose of body and limb and the cast of drapery, which would best display one side of each figure, the right side of one and the left of the other, to a spectator standing 126 feet below. Observe, that as the quadriga is assumed to have faced the east, the driver would have stood on the south side, and the *παραβάρης* or companion on the north. Take then, first, the statue of Mausolus, and inquire on which side of the chariot would the best profile view of it be obtained from the ground below. Mausolus rests his weight on his right foot, and thereby brings his head nearly perpendicularly over it, making the line from the right shoulder to the right foot overhang slightly to the right or south side.<sup>a</sup> If, therefore, the statue stood on that side of the chariot, a person looking up from the south would have

<sup>a</sup> See the accompanying plate, taken from photographs from the original marbles.



STATUES OF MAUSOLUS AND ARTEMISIA.

the best profile view of the whole figure, and especially of the head, which was possible from below. But if it stood on the left or north side, a person looking up from that side would see the figure slanting away from him, and the head at least partially hidden by the somewhat upraised left shoulder. With the statue of Artemisia these conditions were really reversed, though, as that statue now stands in the Museum, their effect is less clearly seen than the effect of the converse in the statue of Mausolus. She rests on her left foot, and naturally therefore her body, if rightly poised, as it doubtless formerly was, would lean gently over towards the left or north side.<sup>a</sup> This, therefore, is the side from which the best view of her whole figure would have been obtained from below.

But this is not all, in the artistic point of view. There is another distinction between the two figures. Mausolus, by resting on the right leg, keeps that leg comparatively back, whilst the left leg, having the knee bent, is at that part more advanced. Consequently, from the right side, and from that side only, would the whole of one leg, and part of the other, be seen in the profile view. Artemisia, on the other hand, has the left leg rather kept back, and the right knee slightly brought forward. The left side, therefore, is the only one from which both the legs would be, one wholly, and the other partially, visible in profile. Now, in all good composition, where a statue is practically to be seen only in one direction, the artist takes care that both the legs (and, indeed, both the arms also, though with them we have not here to deal) should be visible from that direction. This is desirable, not merely to satisfy the spectator's mind with a sense of completeness, but to obtain variety and contrast as well in the inclination of the limbs as in the folds of the drapery resulting therefrom. The only way, then, in which this end could have been obtained with each of the figures was to place Mausolus so as to be seen from the right or south, and Artemisia from the left or north, that is, to make him the charioteer, and his wife the *παραβάρης*.

Next, as to any indications of a more mechanical character which the marbles themselves may supply for determining the question of position. Certain of these

<sup>a</sup> In repairing and setting up in the Museum this marble, which is made up of broken parts with some necessary restorations, the head has been hardly brought sufficiently over the foot on which the weight of the body rests, so that a certain indecision of balance appears now in the whole figure. A better idea of the pose intended by the sculptor may be gathered from the plate in Sir Charles Newton's *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, ii. 116, pl. 10. That plate was photographed from a drawing by Mrs. Newton, who, with a true artistic instinct, represented the figure as it no doubt originally stood. Unfortunately, it has not been found practicable to obtain a photographic copy either of Mrs. Newton's drawing, or of the plate published in her husband's work, to illustrate the argument above stated.

indications, it has been thought, point to a reversal of the conclusion resulting from the preceding arguments. Not that the attitude of the figures, so far as so traceable, can be alleged to imply that the female, rather than the male, was holding the reins. On the contrary, the remains of the arms, though in both cases too much mutilated for a quite decisive conclusion, yet do on the whole accord best with the supposition that the husband, not the wife, was, as usual, the driver. For the arms of the female figure are both broken off only a little below the elbow, and enough of each forearm remains to show approximately its original direction. It thence appears, as I think, pretty clearly, that the right forearm and hand of that figure must have been too much turned outwards and drooped, and the left forearm and hand held too high, for good form in driving, especially with the reins of four horses to hold. The figure of Mausolus, on the other hand, has lost the whole of the right, and all but the whole of the left arm from near the head of the humerus; so that there is nothing to disprove both arms having originally been disposed in a position quite suitable for driving. The true position for the arm of a charioteer is well shown by several examples in the procession of quadrigas in the Parthenon frieze. In all of these the forearms of the driver are placed horizontally in front of his body. The reins, indeed, are there held in both hands, the horses being in motion, and the charioteers having no other function to fulfil than driving. In the Mausoleum quadriga the horses are at rest, making, as it were, the last pause before beginning their march to the fields of Elysium. One hand therefore, might suffice to hold the reins, whilst the other was more dramatically employed in some manner expressing the character and dignity of the driver. Regarding the whole group as I do, as a memorial, not merely of a conjugal pair, but of two successively reigning sovereigns, I would suggest, conjecturally, that each of them might have held in one hand a sceptre, which, in accordance with the system of decoration adopted in other parts, would probably have been of gilt bronze. Mausolus, on this supposition, would have had the sceptre in his right hand and the reins in his left. Artemisia, holding her sceptre in her left hand, would have extended her right slightly towards her husband's body, though whether actually touching or only approaching it, it is impossible, from the mutilated state of her right arm, to say.

There is, however, a certain mechanical fact which, in spite of the preceding arguments, has been asserted, originally, I believe, by Sir Charles Newton, to determine the position of the male figure to the sinister side. This is the occurrence of a sharp notch or excision of the drapery on the left side of that figure a little below the knee, which, it is alleged, could only be accounted for by

supposing the rail of the chariot to have there impinged upon that drapery. In answer to this, indeed, it has been pointed out that, if the mantle which hangs from the shoulder of the figure had originally fallen on the rail, it would not have been cut off abruptly in a nearly horizontal line, but would have been gathered in a fold on the top of the substance which obstructed its descent. In reply to this objection, however, it has been suggested by Mr. Murray, in support of Sir Charles Newton's view, that probably the drapery, as we now see it, does not represent the sculptor's original design, but that, when the figure had been deposited in its intended place, it was discovered that there was not sufficient room for it in the car, and that then, as the easiest escape from the difficulty, a piece of the hanging mantle was summarily cut away, far enough to allow of the insertion of the rail; in evidence of which the rough surface of the scarred drapery now exposed is pointed to, which seems to have been rudely hacked with a pick or other heavy instrument, like a piece of hammer-dressed building stone, instead of being smoothly fitted for a joint, as it would have been if prepared beforehand in the workshop.

But there are, I think, serious objections to this ingenious interpretation of the mysterious notch. First of all, it obliges us to attribute to eminent Greek artists an almost incredible degree of carelessness or incompetency in not properly adapting the chariot and its occupants to each other, both in dimensions and arrangement, before raising them to their place. Secondly, it does not explain, any more than before, the hanging drapery ending in a horizontal line without any gathered fold, when its fall was arrested by the rail. Thirdly, it places the rail, which would have been a bronze *antyx*, at least a foot too low; for in Greek chariots this rail (see fig. 4), which was supported by upright stanchions above the solid side of the car, is never represented as below, or even on the level of, the occupant's knee, but generally as high as, or even above, the middle of his femur.<sup>a</sup> Or if, to meet this, it were suggested that the notch might mark the insertion not of the rail, but of the top of the solid side of the car, which in respect of height would be right enough, then the drapery above ought to show another notch for the insertion of the rail; whereas that drapery, which still retains its original surface, shows no excision whatever. Lastly, if, as the hypothesis suggests, the figure had been unexpectedly found closely jammed against the side of the car, it

<sup>a</sup> Examples of this may be seen on the slabs marked 40, 41, and 44, 45, in the Elgin Room; as well as on painted vases (from one of which the illustration in the text is taken) too numerous for citation.

would not have been possible, whilst both marbles remained in place, to work any cutting implement between them; nor, if it had been possible, would it have been advantageous but the contrary, for the more the side of the car was brought in by the operation, the further would the upper part of the figure have projected beyond it, and the less room would it have found below for getting in its left foot.

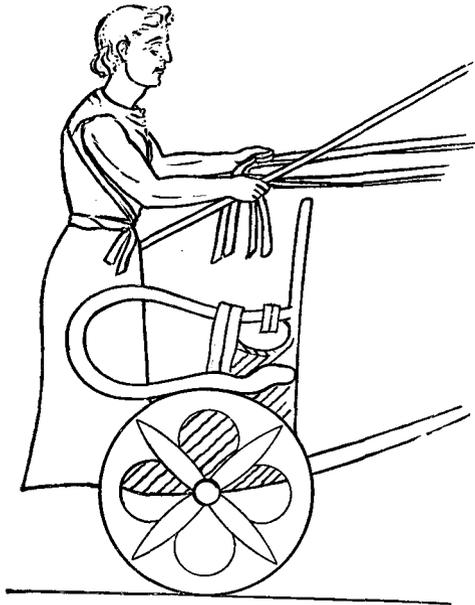


Fig. 4. Figure of a Greek charioteer.

For these reasons it seems to me that the suggested explanation of the present state of the marble by placing Mausolus on the left of his wife, however ingenious and at first sight plausible, is by no means free even from mechanical objection. Another solution may, I think, be found without discrediting the care or skill of the artist who designed this compound group, and without involving the removal of the male figure from its natural position on the right. Suppose, for instance, that in raising that figure to its proper place the lower part of the cascade of drapery depending from the left shoulder was somehow broken off, an accident which I venture to think not altogether improbable among a people less advanced in engineering than in the sculptural and other formative

arts. On the occurrence of such a fracture a new piece of drapery would have been prepared, and joined on by such means and in such manner as was practicable without lowering the statue from its airy height. The drapery above the fracture would then be cut to a nearly straight edge, and the side of the figure would be hammered away so far as was necessary for securing the new piece. When afterwards the whole group was overthrown, and this statue shattered into fragments, the added piece would of course be broken away and lost; whilst the side to which it had been attached would retain no distinguishable marks of any fixing which had been used for securing it. This hypothesis would remove the only reason alleged for transferring the male figure to the left side, and would leave both statues in their natural positions, standing quite free and untouched by either side of the chariot. I am conscious, however, that these latter details cannot be satisfactorily judged of except in presence of the actual sculptures; and I can only hope that some of my readers may be sufficiently interested in

these masterpieces of ancient art to examine them as they now stand in the Museum, and judge for themselves of the relative weight of the arguments on each side.

Meantime, I may point out that, in my architectural restoration of the Mausoleum, published before I could explain my views on the original composition of this group, I thought it best to represent the two figures as they are actually to be seen, as arranged by Sir Charles Newton;<sup>a</sup> but in the illustrations of the present paper I have placed them in what I believe to have been their true ancient position.<sup>b</sup> Saving only this one particular, the present disposition of the remains of the quadriga seems to me correct, and sufficiently effective to strike, if anything can, a spark of admiration for Greek genius even from the unimaginative mind of the ordinary British visitor.

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II. Read December 3rd and 10th, 1896.

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Since the observations on the relative position of the two principal human figures which I read at our last meeting were first committed to writing, I have become acquainted with a somewhat startling theory, unknown before not only to me but evidently also to Sir Charles Newton, which, if accepted, would not merely render inapplicable great part of the arguments here advanced, but would at the same time be fatal to the scheme of arrangement for the quadriga group adopted by the authorities of the Museum. In a paper contributed to the *Journal for Hellenic Studies*<sup>c</sup> Professor Percy Gardner has contended, with much ingenuity and variety of reasoning, that the car of the quadriga was from the first left empty by Pythis, purposely as a symbol of the death of Mausolus; and that, consequently, the two semi-colossal statues, the remains of which were discovered mixed up with those of the quadriga, must formerly, in common with the various smaller sculptures found in their immediate neighbourhood, have had their place in some lower part, which he does not undertake to specify, of the Mausoleum building.<sup>d</sup> This theory he supports chiefly by the following arguments:

<sup>a</sup> *Archaeologia*, liv. pl. xxiii.-iv.-v.

<sup>b</sup> See figs. 2 and 3.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. xiii. (1892-3).

<sup>d</sup> This theory seems to have been first suggested by Stark (*Philolog.* xxi. 464); and Mr. Gardner states that it was accepted by Wolters, and, with some reserve, by Overbeck.

I. That Pliny does not mention any occupant of the chariot.

II. That important iconic statues, highly finished, would not have been placed by the Greeks in a position where they could not be properly seen.

III. That the weight of the two statues in question would have required the bottom of the car to be joined solidly to the flooring on which it stood, and thus have disfigured the group.

IV. That many Greek sepulchral reliefs show a horse without a rider, and that in our own military funerals a similar spectacle is seen.

V. That neither in costume, attitude, nor expression of wind-action on its drapery, does either of the figures show any resemblance to a Greek chariot driver, or any relation to the horses they are supposed to be driving.

VI. That the head of Mausolus does not show any such degradation of surface from weather as a marble exposed for centuries on the summit of a building would be likely to incur.

VII. That the two human figures are on a smaller scale than the horses, or than the chariot-wheel, if this was constructed in the usual proportion to the other parts of the quadriga.

VIII. That their artistic execution is so much superior to that of the horses, that they can hardly have been the work of the same sculptor.

Formidable as this array of arguments undoubtedly appears, I will nevertheless venture to state the reasons why they do not seem to me conclusive for their purpose. This must, however, be done somewhat briefly, not from any want of respect for the high authority by whom this theory is put forward, but simply from reluctance on my part to trespass too far on the indulgence which the Society has already extended to me so liberally. I will take the several arguments in their order.

I. "That Pliny does not mention any occupant of the chariot." This, as it seems to me, tells, so far as it tells at all, rather against than for Professor Gardner's theory. For, if it be thought surprising that Pliny should not mention the occupants of the chariot, if there were any, it would surely be much more surprising that he should not mention so strange a phenomenon as a chariot exalted to the skies without any occupant, if there were really none. The natural inference from his silence on this point is, that the quadriga was seen under the usual conditions, that is, having one or more persons in the car; and the only explanation needed for such silence is to be found in the extreme conciseness of his whole description.

II. "That important and highly finished statues should not, and therefore in

Greek buildings would not, be placed where they could not be properly seen." There is undoubtedly weight in this objection, viewed merely as an abstract proposition. But how far, as a matter of fact, the Greeks held the objection insuperable in the case of lofty sepulchral monuments, we are unable to decide upon evidence, as we know of no other Greek monument similar to the Mausoleum in height. The Romans, at any rate, did not hold the objection insuperable, for they placed the statues of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius on columns of nearly as great elevation as this, and crowned the Mausoleum of Augustus with his effigy, and that of Hadrian with a numerous array of statues.

III. "That the weight of the two semi-colossal figures would have required the bottom of the car to be joined solidly to the flooring below, and so have disfigured the whole group." Certainly, they would have required a substantial, and perhaps somewhat unsightly, prop or props beneath the car, to support their weight. But as the sculptor did not shrink from the far worse unsightliness of a series of props under the bellies of the four horses, he is hardly likely to have felt any squeamishness in similarly treating the chariot. All these greater or less disfigurements were an inevitable result of the unhappy choice of marble, instead of bronze, for the material of this colossal group.

IV. "That many Greek sepulchral bas-reliefs show a horse without a rider, and that in our own military funerals a similar spectacle is exhibited." The answer to this is, that in such reliefs the unriden horse is not meant to indicate his deprivation of his master by death, for the master is very frequently found in the same scene taking leave of his family, and ready shortly to remount. The horse is simply waiting to convey the deceased to

The undiscovered country, from whose bourne  
No traveller returns ;

as is shown by the several tablets in which only the head of the steed is introduced, without any view of the empty seat, which, upon Mr. Gardner's hypothesis, would be required as a key to the symbol.<sup>a</sup>

In modern military funerals the charger without his late master furnishes a vivid contrast between life and death, and a pathetic image to surrounding friends. Nevertheless, when we propose to commemorate a departed warrior by

<sup>a</sup> It is unnecessary, for the present discussion, to take notice of the very different interpretation given by many archæologists to the horse on these tablets, treating it merely as an indication of knightly rank.

a marble or bronze monument, we do not think it sufficient to put up a statue of his riderless horse.

V. "That neither in costume, attitude, nor expression of wind-action on the drapery, does either of the figures show any resemblance to a Greek charioteer, or any relation to the horses supposed to be driven." No, certainly; for, being intended as portraits of two great rulers, neither of them would wear an attire which was designed with a view to the hippodrome. Nor would either of them stand in the eager, forward-bending attitude, or show the wind-driven tunic, of the drivers in scenes of chariot-races; for both they and their horses were intended to be seen at rest, in the calm air of the empyrean.

VI. "That the head of Mausolus shows too little deterioration from weather to have been exposed for centuries on the top of a building." I reply, that whatever deterioration would have befallen that head would equally have befallen the head of the quadriga horse, which is of the same marble, and was without dispute exposed on that spot. Yet the one head is as little impaired by the weather as the other.

VII. "That the two human figures are on a smaller scale than the horses, or than the chariot-wheel, if the latter bear the usual proportion to the other parts of the quadriga." The proportion actually maintained in these sculptures involves necessarily a somewhat minute investigation.<sup>a</sup> But as it is undoubtedly an important element of the question, I will state summarily the results of all the measurements I know to have been taken.

First, as to the ratio between the two figures and the wheel. The height of Mausolus is 9 feet 10 inches. The diameter of the wheel, as restored, and I think rightly restored, by Mr. Pullan, is 7 feet 7 inches. This makes the wheel almost exactly seven-ninths of the height of the principal figure. Now Professor Gardner states, and the statement is quite in accordance with my own observations, that in most Greek representations of quadrigas the wheels do not exceed half the height of the charioteer. Nevertheless, it may here be pointed

<sup>a</sup> On this proportion, as a matter of fact, there seems a curious contrariety of opinion between the two learned critics, one of whose views we are now discussing, and both of whom, from their official connection, present or past, with the Museum, might be considered authoritative experts. Mr. Murray thinks that the two semi-colossal statues, when raised to their place, proved so much too large, or at least too broad, for the chariot, that the drapery of Mausolus had to be hacked away at the side, before it could be got into the car; whilst Professor Gardner thinks both statues were so much too small both for the chariot and the horses, that they could not originally have belonged to the quadriga group at all. *In medio tutissimus ibis*, I venture to say.

out that we are dealing with the chariot of an Asiatic ruler, and one who, as his marriage with his sister shows, was not altogether akin to Hellenic civilisation. In the grand mosaic of Pompeii, which is believed to represent an event of only twenty years later date than the death of Mausolus, the wheel of the royal chariot is at least equal in diameter to the full stature of Darius himself, which implies that in Persian chariots, at any rate, the wheel was of much larger proportion than was usual in Greece.<sup>a</sup> I will not, however, lay too much stress on this example, for the Pompeian mosaic was no doubt the production of a school that had little affinity with that pure Greek art which may be expected to have regulated the work of Pythis. But contemporary Greek coins may fairly be referred to for authority; and there are abundance of these to show that the general rule, as stated by Professor Gardner, is not without many exceptions. Examples are given, both by Mionnet and in Mr. Gardner's own beautiful work on the Greek coinage, showing wheels of at least two-thirds, if not three-quarters, of the height of the charioteer, and therefore not in a much lower ratio than those of our chariot.<sup>b</sup> And the proportion of the wheel to the horses, which the sculptor probably regarded as much as or more than its proportion to the human figures, is in these coins fully as high as that of the Mausoleum wheel.

Secondly, as to the ratio between the two figures and the horses. Mr. Murray, in a lecture given at the Royal Academy in 1893, stated that he had measured the head of Mausolus and also that of the horse whose forehead is preserved, and found that they were respectively 15 inches and 41 inches in height. He had likewise measured the head of the Theseus and the heads of the horses in the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, and found them respectively 12 inches and 31½ inches. Supposing these dimensions to be perfectly trustworthy, though they must have been somewhat difficult to take to a minute fraction, it results, by means of a rule-of-three sum, that the head of Mausolus is just five-eighths of an inch less than it would have been if the same proportion had been observed between man and horse as in the Parthenon sculptures. Few, however, would, I think, consider this trifling variation as a serious obstacle to the connection between the two human figures and the horses of the quadriga. But further, Professor Gardner says that he measured the height of the Mausoleum horse to what he calls the "saddle," and found it 8 feet 6 inches. The height of

<sup>a</sup> Gargiulo, *Recueil des Monuments du Musée Royal Bourbon*, iii. pl. 51.

<sup>b</sup> Mionnet, *Medailles Grecques*, pl. lxvii. 1, 3, 5 (Syracuse); Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. vi. 25-28 (Syracuse); ditto, 29 (Catana).

Artemisia, however, as stated in the official *Guide*, is 8 feet 8 inches; 2 inches above the measure of the horse. Now a horse of 16 hands to the shoulder is exactly the height of an average well-grown woman, namely, 5 feet 4 inches; so that, if Artemisia was of that normal stature, this horse must have been intended for a little under 16 hands, a fraction indeed over  $15\frac{1}{2}$ . Surely this does not show any serious disproportion between the figures thus compared. It is true that horses are commonly represented in Greek works of art as much below 16, or even 15 hands. But this arises, not simply from the predominance of a smaller breed of animals in ancient times, but also, and perhaps chiefly, from a conventional license familiar to Professor Gardner and all classical archæologists, whereby the size of the horse, when represented in company with a man or woman, was regulated not so much by the average proportions of nature as by the well understood requirements of art, a principle which involved an adjustment of the scales of the figures partly to the available space, whether in architecture, coinage, or vase-painting, and partly also to a certain regard for the relative importance of man and beast. In the frieze of a building both these considerations generally pointed to the representation of the horse under the smallest type which could be admitted without destroying the sense of reality. But at the summit of a lofty monument horses in the proportion of 15 or 16 hands, such as we have good reason to believe existed both in Greece<sup>a</sup> and Asia Minor, might legitimately have been chosen by the sculptor if he thought them more conducive to grandeur of effect.

8. "That as works of Art, the two human figures are so much better designed and executed than the horses of the quadriga that they could hardly have proceeded from the hand of the same sculptor." This superiority I do not in itself care to dispute. But when Pliny speaks of *quadriga marmorea quam fecit Pythis*, I do not think it necessary to understand that Pythis, who, according to one hypothesis, was one of the original architects of the Mausoleum,<sup>b</sup> modelled or carved this great work with his own hands. My interpretation of the word would

<sup>a</sup> Such a horse is represented on a coin of Philip II. of Macedon, where the rider's foot barely reaches down to the line of his belly. See Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. vii. 39; cf. also a coin of Tarentum, ditto, pl. xi. 4. As an illustration of the breed of Asia Minor I may refer to the Lycian Tomb, now in the British Museum, which has on its roof a bas-relief of Bellerophon in a quadriga pursuing the Chimæra, where the horses, judging from their proportion to the human figures, must have been fully 15 or 16 hands high.

<sup>b</sup> As to the identification of Pythis with Phyteus, see my former paper in *Archæologia*, liv. 298-300.

rather be, that Pythis, as the then ἀρχιτέκτων, or master artificer employed in the building, invented this group of statuary as an *epithema* to the crowning pyramid; that he probably sketched out its form, and planned the method of adjusting it to the existing apex, which he thereby truncated in appearance, though not in fact; and that he of course superintended the carrying out of his scheme in its chief details. But he would naturally entrust the actual execution of the sculptural work to such artists as he thought best for each part, and would thus probably assign the two iconic figures to a different hand from the one employed for the horses. For the former he might have engaged one, perhaps *the* one thought the most successful, of the three younger artists who decorated the sides of the building in competition; I do not include Scopas, for he, if still living, would probably have been too old for such an undertaking in the reign of Idrieus or of Ada.<sup>a</sup> For the horses we cannot conjecture whom he would employ. Thus any inequality of workmanship, if admitted, would create no real difficulty for us.

There is, however, one peculiarity in the two human figures which ought not to be passed over, as it may possibly be thought to tell against their allocation to the quadriga. The feet of both figures are as beautifully modelled and highly finished as any part of their bodies, although, when placed within the chariot, neither of them could possibly be seen from below. This, however, is only a repetition of the same thoroughness of workmanship which we find in the Theseus of the Parthenon, the back of which, though quite invisible when once placed in its pedimental recess, is as elaborately modelled and worked out as the front. Whatever explanation we may adopt in the case of the Theseus, it can hardly be doubted that, in the case of the Mausoleum, the monumental portraits of the two greatest rulers of Halicarnassus, intended to be fixed at an inaccessible height under the circumstances already explained, would have been publicly exhibited below, as objects of general interest, before being raised to their final resting place. Even if they were not so exhibited, no true artist, certainly none of the four who continued their enterprise after Artemisia's death purely as a *gloriæ ipsorum artisque monumentum*, would have scamped any part of his work merely because it could not in the future have been seen and criticised.

<sup>a</sup> The earliest work of which the date can be fixed on which Scopas was employed was the Temple of Athene at Tegea, rebuilt after the fire in B.C. 394, where he was both architect and sculptor. But this, being a commission of great importance, is hardly likely to have been given him, if he was then very young. The latest work which can with certainty be referred to him is that of the Mausoleum, begun between 353 and 351. Idrieus reigned from 351 to 344, Ada thenceforward to 340. For the date of Scopas, see Sillig, *Dictionary of Artists*, s.v.

Having thus noticed all Professor Gardner's arguments separately, I may be permitted to add one general objection which, in my opinion, goes to the root of his whole theory. It is a theory founded, as I think, on a wrong understanding of the artistic motive of the sculptor, by interpreting his work in a realistic instead of an ideal sense. The quadriga, properly viewed, did not represent an earthly but a celestial vehicle. It was not meant for the carriage in which Mausolus and Artemisia used to drive about Halicarnassus, which was unhappily left vacant by their death. It did not, therefore, appeal to the spectators for compassion, like the riderless horse of the modern general following his master's remains to the grave. The Carians saw in it a higher meaning than this. They saw an image, not of their own bereavement, but of the exaltation of their two late rulers to the happiness and peace of Elysium. To such a design the figures of the departed were as indispensable as that of Heracles was in the quadriga which represented on painted vases his translation to the Olympic realms. With this understanding of the subject it need hardly be added that the two semi-colossal statues found mixed up with the remains of the horses and chariot, and alone of all the discovered sculptures suited in any way to the position, must necessarily, in my opinion, have belonged to the quadriga.

Before taking leave of the question, however, unusual as it is for either of two academic disputants to propose a compromise, I will take on myself to throw out the possibility of a *tertium quid*, which, whilst it would maintain what I think an absolutely essential condition, namely, the connection of the two figures with the quadriga, would at the same time meet what seem to me the only objections of Professor Gardner which may still be thought open to consideration; those, I mean, comprised under his last two heads. I will suggest an alternative, which is merely a conjecture, which is founded on no authority, and which pretends to no merit beyond that of reconciling alleged discrepancies. That alternative is this: that the two principal statues might indeed have been originally designed and executed, as Mr. Gardner supposes, for some important and easily inspected part of the building, probably the Pteron; but that when, at a later time, Pythis resolved to put up his quadriga, to the true significance of which the effigies of Mausolus and Artemisia were indispensable, he took these statues, probably the best available representations of the two dynasts, and transferred them to his celestial car. In so doing, he might easily have acquiesced in, if indeed he did not actually desire, two consequences incidentally involved in the scale of the

translated figures : (1) that the horses would appear to be  $15\frac{1}{2}$  hands high ; and (2) that the chariot-wheel would be rather of Persian than of Hellenic proportion.

Passing now to the other pieces of detached statuary in the Mausoleum collection, the most important is the equestrian group of heroic size, in which the trunks both of rider and horse, with portions of their limbs, are alone preserved. It is not within my present province to offer any purely æsthetic criticism on this singularly fine work ; nor indeed, after Sir Charles Newton's admirable description of it, would anything remain for me to add. What alone we have now to consider is the probable position of the group in the original building. Unfortunately, there are no data for determining this question, not even so much as we had with the several friezes. The group was found within the quadrangular area of the basement rather towards its west side. But the whole of that area had been so disturbed and its contents broken up, even to the very foundations of the building, that no inference could safely be drawn from the particular site of any object discovered there. The boldness of design which distinguishes this piece suggests that it must have been intended for a conspicuous position ; and the careful workmanship of the horse's belly implies that it was meant to be seen from below. Mr. Fergusson, induced probably by the *anaxyrides* of the rider, supposed it to represent an Amazon ; but the thighs and legs are pretty certainly those of a male figure, though whether of an historical or mythical person there is no evidence to show. I concur in Sir Charles Newton's suggestion that the horseman was probably striking with a lance at an antagonist on foot, though I doubt if the latter was actually "prostrate," as the inclination of the rider's body is hardly sufficient to show that he was bending over an object on the ground. The pedestrian combatant would doubtless have served, if not quite to conceal, yet at least to distract the eye from, the unsightly prop which supported the horse's belly, and which, if the equestrian figure had stood alone (as represented in Mr. Pullan's architectural elevation) would have formed a conspicuous eyesore in its whole composition. All my predecessors in the restoration of the Mausoleum, even Professor Cockerell and Mr. Falkener, who wrote before the discovery of this group, as well as those who have written since, agree in placing a statue of a horseman, either alone or fighting with a foot soldier, at each angle of the building. As there never was any historical authority for such an arrangement, nothing but an instinctive sense of its artistic propriety could have produced this unanimity in adopting it. In the absence of any opposing evidence, therefore, I have

thought it best to follow suit in my own design, treating this group as one of four, of which the other three have perished. I have placed one of them on each of the open platforms at the top of the lower pyramid, intended to emphasise its angles, and show the interdependence of the sculpture and architecture of the building. The figures are supposed by me to represent Asiatic horsemen in combat with Greek hoplites.

The next in importance is the statue of a male personage, fully draped, on a similar scale to the preceding, and equally or even more mutilated. It is seated on a cushioned throne, which seems to imply superior rank. Indeed, it has been suggested that it might have been intended for Zeus himself. But besides that the upper part of the body in statues of Zeus is generally nude,<sup>a</sup> it would be manifestly incompatible with those religious ideas of the Greeks on which I have laid stress in treating of the quadriga group, to make use of the ruler of Olympus as a mere artistic accessory to the glorification of a mortal, however great. I think it probable that we have here a ruined portrait of one of the Carian dynasts of the house of Mausolus. There is no trustworthy external evidence as to the position which this figure originally occupied. We only know that it was found, like the equestrian group, within the uprooted area of the basement. There is one peculiarity, however, in its workmanship which may furnish at least a probable clue to the character of its original position. The back of the figure is quite flat, and but feebly worked, as if it was never intended for general view; and this leads to the suggestion that it may have been designed to fill a niche. In accordance with this idea I have, in my architectural restoration, supposed niches to have been inserted in the podium on its east and west fronts; and in one of these niches the seated statue might have been placed. I may observe in passing that I have given these niches square, not arched heads, for I know of no example of an arch-headed niche in Greek architecture of the autonomous period, and the adoption of such a form in Herr Petersen's restoration gives, to my eye, a quasi-Roman character to his elevation of the front.

There are remains of several other statues in the collection, some on a similar scale to the seated figure, others of only life size, and others also smaller than life. But we have no evidence as to their original positions taken individually. I will therefore consider them and their arrangement collectively in a later paragraph.

There are, however, two semi-colossal female heads, and part of a third, numbered 44, 45, 46, in the official *Guide to the Mausoleum Room*, which are of

<sup>a</sup> It must be admitted, however, that the Zeus of Labranda is an exception to this rule.

sufficient interest to claim separate notice. The first is fairly preserved; the second, having been embedded in a Turkish chimney, has its whole surface ruined by fire; the third is little more than a fragment. All, however, were apparently parts of statues; all are on the same scale; the two entire ones have the same formal and quasi-archaic treatment of the front hair, and all show, as far as can now be traced, the same artistic motive. Probably, therefore, they all belonged to one series of statues. But whom did those statues represent, and where were they originally placed? Neither of these questions do I pretend to answer with certainty. On the question of subject our first inquiry must be whether the heads represent real or ideal persons. For the former alternative it may be pointed out that their front hair is arranged exactly like that of Artemisia in the quadriga figure, that is, in three rows of formal curls, which seem at first sight imitated from the style of the sixth century B.C. But, on the other hand, the best preserved head, No. 44, on which alone any confident judgment can be founded, shows no individuality whatever in its features, which are rendered with a largeness and breadth characteristically ideal (fig. 5). A different, but hardly less weighty, objection to the supposition of portraiture arises from a somewhat singular coincidence.

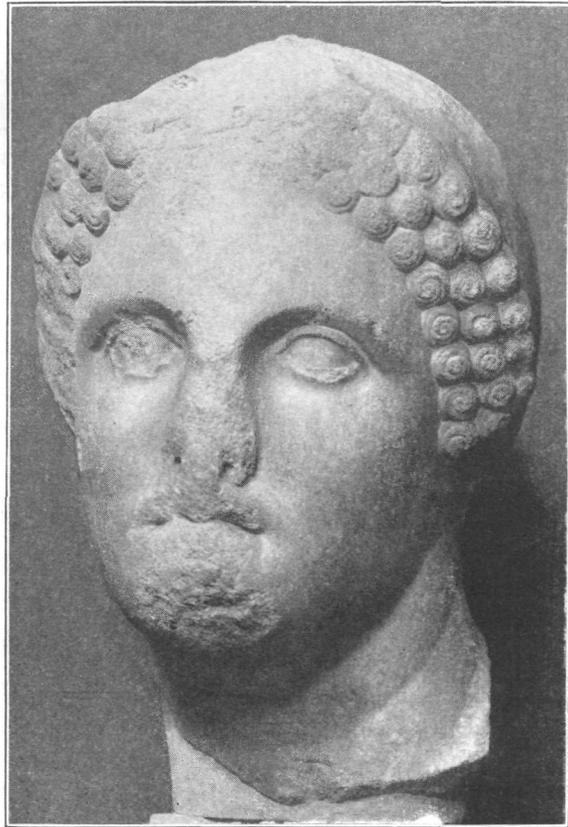


Fig. 5. Marble Head from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.

There is in the Museum a head, likewise broken from a statue, which was found by Mr. Pullan within the ruins of the Temple of Athene Polias at Priene, built in the time of Alexander, about fifteen years after the Mausoleum. This head, though rather smaller in scale, is in all other respects, in feature, in pseudo-archaic arrangement of the front hair, and in the cap which covers its top and back, almost a repetition of No. 44. Its attribution, therefore, if once determined, cannot fail to influence largely our interpretation of the three heads from the

Mausoleum. Was then the Priene head intended as a portrait or an ideal creation? To me the mere site of its discovery seems virtually irreconcilable with the former alternative. For no fourth century sculptor, recollecting the fate of Phidias, would be likely to introduce into a temple of Athene a portrait of any contemporary, male or female, without state authority;<sup>a</sup> and that authority can hardly in the present instance be supposed to have been obtained, as it was never conceded except for some great real or supposed public service, such as no woman at that period, especially no unmarried woman, as this from her head-dress apparently was, is likely to have rendered. But further, if the Priene head had represented a real person, the corresponding Mausoleum head must, from its close similarity, have in all probability represented the same person. Yet how could we then explain the reappearance in an independent Ionian city of a lady who had already figured at Halicarnassus in connection with the Carian dynasty? Such an occurrence seems to me incredible. For these combined reasons I conclude that the Priene head is not a portrait, but ideal; and the similar Mausoleum head, together with its two companions, will naturally follow the determination thus arrived at. It is not necessary to infer that the same ideal personages were intended to be represented both at Halicarnassus and Priene. There are many classes of such personages which have no distinctive character of feature known to us, Muses, Victories, Hours, Graces, and the whole cycle of divinities associated with special sites of land or water. If therefore, as is not unlikely, the same artist, or that artist and a pupil,<sup>b</sup> were employed in making ideal statues both at Halicarnassus and some fifteen years after at Priene, he might very well adopt a similar model for all his heads at both places, though no doubt he would introduce with the body of each figure some accessory distinguishing its proper individuality.

Assuming then that these three semi-colossal heads are ideal, the architectural

<sup>a</sup> Pausanias gives instances of states out of servility conferring this honour on living warriors or statesmen whom it was expedient to propitiate. Thus, after the battle of Ægos-Potami, the Ephesians placed statues of Lysander and certain of his comrades in the Temple of Artemis; and the Samians not merely erected a statue of Lysander in the *temenos* of Zeus at Olympia, but with characteristic versatility dedicated figures of Alcibiades, and afterwards of Conon and Timotheus, in their own Temple of Hera. Pausanias, vi. c. iii. 15.

<sup>b</sup> The latter of these alternatives seems to me more probable; for there is a considerable difference between the two compared heads in style of execution, however similar their subjects. The Mausoleum head is in a broader and grander, but less elaborate and refined, manner than the other.

scheme which I have proposed for the Mausoleum allows me to suggest an allocation of the statues to which they must have belonged, which will, I hope, not be thought improbable. An essential feature of that scheme is that what Pliny calls the "fronts" of the building were distinguished by porticoes crowned with pediments. Now, the apex and two ends of a Greek pediment were commonly accentuated by so-called acroterial statues. It can hardly be doubted that in a monument so highly adorned as the Mausoleum such decorations would not have been wanting; especially as one at least of the four eminent sculptors there employed is known to have executed statues for similar positions elsewhere. For in a Greek inscription found at Epidaurus Timotheus is named as the artist of the acroterial figures of a pediment for the local temple of Asclepius; and the discovery of three figures of Victories, evidently meant for *acroteria*, among the ruins of that temple, illustrates and confirms the inscription.<sup>a</sup> It is not, therefore, unreasonable to conjecture that these three ideal heads may have originally belonged to acroterial figures, and perhaps were the work of Timotheus. Their scale, being about equal to that of the two quadriga figures, fits them for an elevation not much inferior; an elevation, in this case, of from 90 to 100 feet above the spectator. If, as I suppose, there were porticoes both on the east and west fronts of the building, there must have been six statues for the *acroteria* of the two pediments; so that we must have in the Museum the heads, or portions of the heads, of just half the series.

In order, however, to justify more completely this allocation, six personages should be indicated, suitable for representation in such a position. This seems to me not impossible. Although ideal, yet, as parts of a great sepulchral monument, the figures should be in some sense historical. Now, next to the transfer of the seat of government from Mylassa to Halicarnassus, the most important achievement of internal policy we know of in the reign of Mausolus was his incorporation of the several Carian towns, originally occupied by Lelegian populations, in one united whole at his new metropolis. Of these towns there were at the time eight, but, as Strabo informs us on the authority of the historian Callisthenes, Syaggeia and Myndus were excluded from the union by Mausolus, so that the number was reduced by him to six.<sup>b</sup> The most natural and appropriate recognition of this

<sup>a</sup> This inscription was mentioned by Mr. A. S. Murray in a lecture at the Royal Academy. *Builder*, 15 April, 1893.

<sup>b</sup> Τῶν ὀκτῶ πόλεων τὰς ἕξ Μαύσωλος εἰς μίαν τὴν Ἀλικαρνασσὸν συνήγαγεν, ὡς Καλλισθένης ἱστορεῖ. Σνάγγελα δὲ καὶ Μύνδον διεφύλαξε. *Geographica*, xiii. c. l. 59. Strabo does not give the

event to a Greek mind would be the introduction of the local deities of the six incorporated towns in the great monument of the centralising power. The sculptural type of such deities would be exactly what we see in these female heads. At a later period they, or some of them, would perhaps have borne turreted crowns. But in the fourth century they would have worn simply the usual head-gear of Greek maidens, such as the *σάκκος* seen in No. 44, and apparently also in No. 46, or the uncovered hair, as I incline to consider it, of No. 45. Their features would have been treated broadly, after that poetic type of which we have such exquisite examples in the contemporary coinage of the autonomous towns of Greece and Asia Minor. The minute ornamentation, however, which enhances the beauty of many of those numismatic masterpieces, the fibres of the netted *κεκρύφαλος*, the interwoven ears of corn, the jewelry in ears or on neck, would have been quite thrown away on sculptures to be seen only at an elevation of nearly 100 feet. The artist, therefore, as I read his motive, preferred to take a conventional licence, encircling each head with three rows of stiff symmetrical curls, which would have from below a broad effect of decorative arrangement in the hair, with a certain semblance of archaistic severity, which would not be inappropriate. The same motive, the subordination of the refinements of realistic minutiae to broad architectonic conditions, may, I think, explain the similar treatment of hair adopted in the portrait statue of Artemisia; and I would venture also to suggest that, if such a treatment was found successful at Halicarnassus, it would not be unnatural that the artist, whether Timotheus or one of his followers, should afterwards repeat it at Priene, though probably neither the *acroteria* nor the tympana of the Temple of Athene were so elevated as those of the Mausoleum. Whether the six acroterial figures were represented sitting or standing, I know of no evidence to show. I have therefore felt free, in my restoration, to adopt the seated form, as better suited, in my opinion, for the suggested position.

Before leaving the three heads, however, it is right to refer to a doubt which might possibly be raised, whether the burnt head (No. 45) is equally suited with the other two for the interpretation here adopted. This head is described in the

names of the towns included by Mausolus. According to Pliny, v. 29, Alexander the Great annexed to Halicarnassus the following towns: Theangela, Sibda, Medmassa, Euranium, Pedasum, and Pelmessus. But Cramer suggests, and no doubt rightly, that Pliny has here confused Alexander with Mausolus, and that the towns he names are really the same as those referred to by Strabo. See Cramer, *Asia Minor*, ii. 180.

Museum *Guide*, on the authority of Sir Charles Newton, as “wearing a veil.” Now I have been enabled, with the assistance of Mr. Murray, to examine this head carefully all round, on the top, sides, and back. The dilapidated state of its surface makes it, no doubt, difficult to say positively what attire or ornament, if any, was originally superposed upon the natural hair. But what certainly was not superposed was anything in the nature of a projecting or hanging fabric—such as may be seen, for example, in the veil of the Cnidian statue of Demeter in a neighbouring apartment. In the head under notice the whole ear, with its immediate surroundings, is entirely uncovered. The few remains of hair which the fire has left are equally traceable, or untraceable, over all parts; and the only suggestion of any kind of drapery above the remains of hair appears in two flat polished courses running down the thick tress which falls behind. But these two flat courses seem to me rather to mark the hanging ends of a *diadema* or fillet, such as young women gathered their hair in at the back of their heads, than a spreading continuous covering, like a veil.<sup>a</sup> However, it is really not necessary to dwell upon this point. For even if the reality of a veil were admitted, the proposed interpretation of the head would not necessarily be affected. Although undoubtedly it was more usual to represent local divinities with the distinctive head-dress of Greek maidens, the practice was by no means universal. The coins of Corcyra, Ambracia, Lilybæum, and other Greek towns and islands, supply sufficient illustrations of local divinities wearing the matronly veil.<sup>b</sup> I therefore feel no scruple in assigning the head No. 45, like the other two, to the series here suggested.

Of the remaining heads there is one<sup>c</sup> representing a bearded man in the prime of life, which has been thought to resemble the portraits of Alcibiades, as identified by Visconti.<sup>d</sup> Though any such likeness must be purely accidental, there can be no question that this head is meant for a portrait, and in no way ideal.

Another more youthful and quite beardless head, unfortunately much mutilated,<sup>e</sup> has been supposed by some to have been intended for Apollo, though it has

<sup>a</sup> An arrangement of hair very similar to the present may be seen on a vase published in Müller's *Denkmäler*, vol. i. pl. xlvi. 211a.

<sup>b</sup> A list of such coins is to be found in Rasche, *Lexicon universæ Rei Nummarie*, tom. v. P. ii. p. 786. An interesting bas-relief, representing Corcyra as a veiled woman, joining alliance with the *demos* of Athens, is published by Duruy, *Histoire des Grecs*, iii. 22.

<sup>c</sup> No. 47 in the official *Guide*.

<sup>d</sup> *Iconographie Grecque*, i. pl. 16.

<sup>e</sup> No. 50.

no κρῶβυλος, or other characteristic mark of that god; nor is it, perhaps, to be assumed as certain that its subject is male, not female.<sup>a</sup> It would not, in any case, accord with the views already expressed in the instances of Athene and of Zeus to assent to the attribution of this head to an Olympic deity of either sex. Indeed, I should not myself refer it to any ideal personage, of whatever rank. The features, particularly the mouth, have, to my eyes, an individuality sufficiently marked to indicate portraiture; and though the hair is thrown back in a manner which might, perhaps, be characterised as ideal, its treatment is, in fact, not very unlike that of the hair in the undisputed portrait of Mausolus, which is executed throughout in a style equally savouring of idealism. I should rather believe this head to represent some youthful and historical person connected with the Carian dynasty.

Amongst the other heads is one much smaller than the last mentioned, with a head-dress identified in the official *Guide* as the *κυρβασία* of a Persian satrap<sup>b</sup>; and another smaller still, wearing the ordinary Phrygian cap.<sup>c</sup>

The general conclusion resulting from my examination of all the heads broken from statues, except the three semi-colossal female ones just now referred to, is that the whole of them are remains of actual portraiture, not of ideal composition. Their varying scale shows that they must have belonged to different series, arranged, no doubt, in different parts of the building. The largest, the youthful head from a figure of doubtful sex (No. 50,) seems fitted for a statue of so-called "heroic" size, that is, about 7 or 8 feet high; and as several fragments of bodies and limbs on that scale are found in the collection, I think it not unlikely that they may all have belonged to an important series of portrait statues placed in some conspicuous part of the Pteron. What might have been the number, or about the number, of the statues so placed, is a point requiring much consideration. It would be easy to picture a host of imaginary figures filling all the vacant spaces in such a monument as the Mausoleum. But the quantity of remains discovered by the explorers which are of the heroic scale, and can be proved to belong to distinct figures, is by no means sufficient to justify so free a multiplication. Restraint is sometimes in the end more profitable than profusion; and I have thought it more likely to lead to a true result if we begin by

<sup>a</sup> A very competent judge, whom I have not received permission to name, but who examined the head with me, thought that it really represented some female personage. The absence of any kind of head-dress or ornament, however, seems to me against that view.

<sup>b</sup> No. 49.

<sup>c</sup> No. 51.

considering, from the analogy of any other known monument of at all similar character, what class of persons, and how many of them, would be likely to be represented in such a series as this. Now there is one building of which we have trustworthy historical record, and of whose actual structure, indeed, some remains still exist, which may, I think, be fairly referred to for such guidance as the question admits. This is the Philippeum, or monument to Philip of Macedon, in the Altis at Olympia. Though far inferior in scale to the Mausoleum, this edifice was not very dissimilar to it in motive,<sup>a</sup> nor altogether dissimilar in form, as it had, apparently, a kind of Pteron open to inspection from without, instead of an enclosed *cella*. It was erected in B.C. 338, only a few years after the Halicarnassian monument, and doubtless reflected the same artistic influence; for, what is the most marked link of connection between the two buildings, the Philippeum was adorned with sculptures solely from the hand of Leochares, one of the four artists who immortalised themselves in the competition at Halicarnassus. From the account of Pausanias it appears that the principal *eikon* was the chryselephantine statue of Philip, and this was surrounded by the figures of the four persons most nearly related to him, his father Amyntas, his mother Eurydice, his first and only lawful wife Olympias, and their only son Alexander.<sup>b</sup> Following this analogy, therefore, I suggest a family group of similar character for the Mausoleum. In a former paper I have shortly described the colossal *eikon* of Mausolus himself, which I have assumed as the central and dominant feature of the whole monument.<sup>c</sup> This figure I now suggest to have been attended, on the exterior of the building, by effigies of his father and mother, his sister-wife, and, as he had no son, his two brothers, and his younger sister. Two of these persons, as the reigning sovereigns during the construction of the Mausoleum, might fairly have been treated as more important in connection with it than the other four, namely, Artemisia, who began the work, and Idrieus, her immediate successor, under whom it was continued and probably completed. Accordingly, I would place the effigies of these two in more distinguished positions, filling niches in the

<sup>a</sup> The chief difference, or apparent difference, is that the Philippeum was not a sepulchral monument, but a species of trophy erected in Philip's lifetime, immediately after the victory at Chæronea. In the opinion of some archæologists, however, including apparently Sir C. Newton (*A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ*, ii. 35), the Mausoleum also was begun in the lifetime of the person in whose honour it was erected, though its subsequent magnificence might have been due to the piety of his widow.

<sup>b</sup> Pausanias, v. 20, § 5.

<sup>c</sup> *Archæologia*, liv. 353.

east and west fronts of the podium. The other four statues I would assign to the two porticoes of the Pteron. By referring to my revised plan and elevation given in the earlier part of this paper, it will be seen that there are two intercolumnar spaces in each portico, within or behind which such figures could stand without intercepting the view of any other sculptures. Immediately behind these spaces, therefore, I would place, on the east front, Hecatomnus and his wife, whose name is unknown to us, but whom I may suppose to have been the mother of all his five children; and on the west, Ada, the sister-wife and successor of Idrieus, and their youngest brother Pixodarus, who at the date of this monument may have been a loyal subject, though he afterwards usurped the throne at Halicarnassus, and drove Ada to take refuge in Alinda.

I will now suggest, though only conjecturally and subject to future correction, the possible appropriation of a few of the sculptural remains to some of the six persons just named. The large seated and headless figure,<sup>a</sup> which seems from the workmanship of the back to be specially fitted for a niche, I think might have been intended for Idrieus, and so have occupied the western niche of the podium. Its drapery has some remains of paint, and it may very likely have been distinguished originally by rich polychrome decoration. In the niche of the east front, over the door of entrance, I conjecture the statue of Artemisia herself to have been placed. There is no fragment in the collection which I could pretend to identify with this interesting subject; but I presume the figure would have been seated, like that of Idrieus, and coloured with at least equal richness. The bearded head,<sup>b</sup> if it had been somewhat larger, might possibly have belonged to the effigy of Hecatomnus, but as it seems to me hardly up to the "heroic" scale, I prefer to consign it to another class, to be noticed subsequently. The head which has been thought to resemble Apollo<sup>c</sup> might not improbably have been broken from the statue of the youthful Pixodarus, or, if we prefer to adopt the female attribution already referred to, from that of his sister Ada. Again, the draped torso, which Sir Charles Newton thought to have formed part of a female figure seven or eight feet high,<sup>d</sup> might originally have belonged to the effigy either of Ada in the western portico, or of her mother in the eastern.

These four figures of large scale, standing on pedestals just within the porticoes, would have been well seen from below, at about fifty feet above the spectator's eye. On the other hand, figures of only life-size, such as that to

<sup>a</sup> No. 40.

<sup>b</sup> No. 47.

<sup>c</sup> No. 50.

<sup>d</sup> No. 42. See *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae*, ii. 128.

which the head of a supposed satrap belonged,<sup>a</sup> would have looked insignificant from fifty feet below. I have therefore assigned statues of this smaller scale, of which there are several remains in the collection, to positions at the back of the two porticoes, against the pilasters enclosing the ambulatory, where they would be invisible from below, but where anyone, after ascending by one of the inner staircases, could inspect them closely. If it be allowable to build so large a conjecture upon so small a foundation as a single head, I would suggest that No. 49 might possibly have belonged to a series representing either the ancestors of the Carian family, who had ruled at Mylassa under the authority of the Persian sovereigns, or such contemporary satraps as had been in friendship or alliance with Mausolus, such as Ariobarzanes, Datames, or others in the adjoining provinces, with whom he had once joined in rebellion against the Great King. The head in a Phrygian cap,<sup>b</sup> however, is too small to have belonged to any statue in an insulated position. I follow, therefore, the suggestion in the *Museum Guide*, that it may be a remnant from "some large composition in relief." In a later paragraph I will explain my idea of the composition to which it may possibly have belonged.

It would be useless to attempt to assign places for all the remaining fragments of statuary in the collection. The plan of the Pteron in my restoration would offer many positions suitable for life-size or even smaller sculptures; and the entrance-hall in the basement might have accommodated many more. There is, however, one series of figures which, though mainly decorative, is too important to be passed over. These are the remains of lions, which, judging from the heads and limbs preserved, could hardly have been less, and were very likely more, than twenty in number. They are supposed to have been intended as guardians of the monument and its contents. In considering what might have been their original position, a certain peculiarity pervading the whole series is not to be overlooked. They have no variety of attitude whatever, so far at least as can be judged from their remaining parts. One and all, they stand steadily planted on all four paws, with their heads, if preserved, never looking straightforward, but always turned more or less to the right or left. Clearly, therefore, their artistic motive was not to show the vivacity and freedom of animal life, but the constraint of architectural symmetry. They must all have been arranged in balanced groups or pairs, half of them looking to the right and half to the left, and all presenting their sides to the spectator, in heraldic language, *statant gardant*. The position which seems

<sup>a</sup> No. 49.

<sup>b</sup> No. 51.

to me best adapted to these conditions is the peristyle of the Pteron ; not indeed actually between the columns, whose interspaces are not in my design sufficiently wide for the proper display of these figures, but immediately behind the inter-columnar openings, where they would stand quite free. I have accordingly represented six lions in each of the two lateral colonnades, as well as eight on the ground below, four at each end of the building. Two of these latter stand on each side of the entrance to the basement, like the golden lions beside the door on the funeral car of the great Alexander, keeping guard against intruders.<sup>a</sup>

We have now considered the principal remains of the Mausoleum, architectural and sculptural, which are to be seen in our Museum. Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that this sumptuous edifice had originally some other decorations of a similar character, but of which neither remnant nor record has survived to us. Of the four great sculptors to whose skill the celebrity of the whole monument was, as we are told, principally due, we cannot be said to have any artistic productions which can enable us to judge satisfactorily either of their respective powers or their distinctive manners. Their work, it is to be remembered, was executed in competition (*certatim*),<sup>b</sup> and so evenly balanced was the result, that even to Pliny's day it was disputed to which artist the preference should be awarded.<sup>c</sup> Surely, the works on which critics could carry on such a discussion for four centuries must have been in a position, and also on a scale, admitting of easy examination. Yet the most important of the sculptures known to us, with which the competitors relieved (*cœlavere*) the exterior surfaces of the building, is the Amazon frieze, a work consisting of figures little more than 2 feet high, and fixed at an elevation of nearly 100 feet above the ground according to Mr. Pullan's restoration, and more than 80 feet according to mine. It may perhaps be said that the brilliancy of the Carian climate made everything clearer than we are accustomed to under our northern skies. But the brilliancy of the climate would not alter the laws of perspective. It would not make figures seen at a very acute angle, and much compressed in height by foreshortening, appear similar in their proportions to figures seen at an angle of even 45 degrees ; nor would it prevent the projection of the lower parts of the relief cutting off in some places the view of the upper. All that could be judged of at such an elevation by the most keen-eyed observer would be the general decorative effect of the several series of

<sup>a</sup> Diodorus describes these as *Λέοντες χρυσοῖ δεδορκότες πρὸς εἰσπορευομένους.* xviii. 27.

<sup>b</sup> Vitruvius, lib. vii. præf. 8.

<sup>c</sup> "Hodieque certant manus." Pliny, lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

sculptures, not, certainly, the greater or less merits of their artistic execution, compared in detail. Again, although the Centaur frieze would, in my scheme of restoration, have been placed at a height quite favourable for criticism, yet the extent of that frieze, judged from its present remains, must have been too small for it to have been carried round each side of the building, whilst its well-worn subject was too unimportant, even to a colony of Trœzenian origin, to have been selected as the chief field of competition between such distinguished rivals. I conclude, therefore, that the required field for that purpose must have been found elsewhere; and no position would seem to me more appropriate than the four wide and conspicuous surfaces of the podium, or space between the graduated base-ment and the Pteron. That this part of the building was in some way adorned with sculpture has been the opinion of most, if not all, preceding critics. Mr. Falkener decorated it in his restoration with two friezes, one over the other, in imitation of the Xanthian herœon; Mr. Fergusson with one frieze; whilst Sir C. Newton agreed that some such ornamentation was probably there added, though he prudently abstained from a conjectural representation of it in his published plates. But then, of course, it will be asked, why have no remains of any friezes been found, except such as by common consent have been assigned to other parts of the building than the podium? This difficulty is not, in my opinion, insuperable. The four artists employed belonged to the Attic School. They must have been familiar with that typical example of sculptural decoration in the most refined age of art, the Erechtheum at Athens. Now the *zophoros* or frieze of that building is recorded in the Greek inscription of the so-called *Marmor Architectonicum Atheniense*, now in the British Museum, as being formed of Eleusinian stone, with figures, of what exact material is not stated, fastened on to its surface.<sup>a</sup> And this epigraphic testimony is confirmed by the fact that remains of the iron cramps used for holding on the figures are still, or lately were, to be seen on the frieze of the west front.<sup>b</sup> The motives for this peculiar arrangement were probably two: 1. To show bright marble groups relieved by a dark background, not of artificial and perishable pigment, but of natural and permanent colour; 2. To enable the sculptor to work his figures in the round, perhaps

<sup>a</sup> 'Ο'Ελευσινιακὸς λίθος πρὸς τὰ ζῶα. v. line 41-2 of this inscription, the whole of which is published (more correctly than in the work of its original discoverer, Chandler) in Rose's *Inscriptiones Græcæ Vetustissimæ*, 180—206, and in the later edition of Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, &c. ii. 64-6.

<sup>b</sup> Rose (quoting Wilkins), 187, N. 5; Leake, *Topography of Athens* (2nd edition), i. 577.

in his own studio, without the difficult and hazardous undercutting constantly required in pure alto-relievo. I suggest, therefore, that Scopas and his companions at Halicarnassus adopted this Athenian system, with due advantage, no doubt, in its own day, but with, unhappily, the same fatal result which occurred ultimately at the Erechtheum. On each of the four faces of the podium was inserted, as I suppose, a horizontal course of some dark stone, to which each artist attached by metal cramps figures in Parian marble of, perhaps, 4 or 5 feet high, a dimension which would suit the head in a Phrygian cap just now referred to.<sup>a</sup> But the evil fortune of the Erechtheum befel also the monument at Halicarnassus. The whole of the attached sculptures in time fell off, and were thus either destroyed, or, if any parts of them survived, were made incapable of future identification and readjustment; for isolated fragments, without the backgrounds which had originally held them in position, could give no clue to the composition of the groups of which they had themselves once formed parts.

As to the subject of these friezes nothing can be affirmed positively. But I think it most probable that, like the friezes which ran round the podium of the monument at Xanthus, they were historical or biographical. At the funeral games celebrated by Artemisia in honour of her husband, four rhetoricians, Theodectes, Isocrates, Theopompus, and Naucrates,<sup>b</sup> competed with each other in epideictic orations in praise of Mausolus. I do not infer from the mere coincidence in number that the subjects of the four panegyric orations and those of the four friezes were adjusted beforehand so as to correspond respectively with each other, as this might have inconveniently fettered the invention both of orators and sculptors. But generally, so much of harmony would have been secured in the representation of events and achievements in the life of the departed ruler as would have enabled the images presented by the artists to the eye to accord with the deeds commended by the rhetoricians to the ear. And thus the decorations suggested would have made the whole building a memorial at once national and dynastic; its two smaller friezes dealing with the ancestral and chiefly mythical traditions of the Carian people, whilst its larger and more important ones related to the contemporary deeds and fortunes of the family which then governed Halicarnassus.

There is one more form of statuary, however, largely practised by the Greeks, and therefore probably employed in the Mausoleum, but of which no examples

<sup>a</sup> No. 51.

<sup>b</sup> The authorities for these four names are given by Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, ii. 287.

are found in the Museum collection. This is figure-work in bronze. On the head of the quadriga horse are still to be seen remains of a headstall and reins in this metal; but the group the horse belonged to was buried in a heap of ruins, which Sir Charles Newton was satisfied had never been disturbed since the first overthrow of the monument. All other bronze-work, whether in statuary or minor decorations, would, if discovered in the Middle Ages or in the time of the Rhodian Knights, have inevitably been melted down for the sake of the metal. We cannot therefore reject, as incompatible with evidence, the belief that there may originally have been important works either in bronze, plain, gilded, or inlaid with more precious substances, or even perhaps in gold and ivory, in different parts of the building. In explaining my restoration of the architecture I have stated my opinion that the centre of the Pteron was occupied by a colossal *eikon* of Mausolus, supplying the artistic motive for all the surrounding work. Although the principal statue of the Philippeum at Olympia was chryselephantine, it may be doubted whether such costly materials would have been used on so large a scale as I have adopted for the central statue here. I am content, at any rate, to treat that statue as simply of bronze. The iconic figure I have inserted in my illustrative plates is designed after a Greek vase-painting; but that appropriation being necessarily without authority, it is not worth while to dwell on its details. I will merely say that I have here represented Mausolus in military costume, partly to vary the figure from that in the quadriga, and partly because I think that in the position intended the artistic effect requires the greatest attainable lightness of form. The material suggested favours this lightness. For a bronze statue may rest on its own legs alone, whilst a marble one would require to be sustained either by solidly-constructed drapery incompatible with armour, or by some accessory otherwise superfluous, to serve as a prop at the side.

But besides this central *eikon*, I think it most probable that other bronze figures, of a less important and more decorative character, would have once adorned the Mausoleum. The introduction of some such figures, in one material or another, seems to me specially justified, so far at least as they would conduce to the artistic completeness of the building, on the strength of a certain historical analogy which I will now explain. When Alexander invaded Asia, he is related to have been detained several months before Halicarnassus by the vigour of its defence. During this period the architect Deinocrates, and other artists in the train of the great Napoleon of Macedon, must have had ample opportunity for studying the most sumptuous specimen of sepulchral architecture known to the Greek world, which was conspicuous before their eyes. Not long after they were

called on to erect a funeral pyre for Hephæstion, which, in accordance with Alexander's character, was to transcend in magnificence all edifices designed for a purpose in anywise similar. It would be but natural for them, then, to refer to the much admired monument they had so lately been viewing, not exactly as a model, for their own work was designed for the use of a day, whilst the other was for centuries, but as a root of ideas, a type for development in the more exuberant and ostentatious form which the cheap and perishable material of the intended structure admitted. The result was the stupendous pyre described by Diodorus,<sup>a</sup> a theatrical and tasteless exaggeration, as I venture to think, but not the less useful to us as a clue to some of the decorative features of the more soberly conceived building which I suggest to have been its prototype.

The pyre consisted of five stories or tiers, arranged in a quasi-pyramidal form. On the lowest tier were fixed two hundred and forty prows of quinqueremes, overlaid with gold, and all having two archers on their *epotides*, or platforms above. The second and third tiers had, respectively, fantastic imagery and the chase of wild animals represented upon them. The fourth had a golden, or, doubtless rather, a gilded Centauromachia, a subject identical with that of one of the Mausoleum friezes. On the fifth tier was a row of lions and bulls arranged alternately. In the part above these were introduced trophies of arms, partly Macedonian, partly of conquered barbarians. The whole was crowned with hollow figures of sirens, intended to contain musicians inside, though how their performances were to be conducted when the pyre was in flames Diodorus leaves to the imagination of his readers to conceive.<sup>b</sup>

Out of this gorgeous array I have selected two classes of embellishments which seem to me the most likely to have had their prototypes in the Mausoleum. They are those assigned to the highest and lowest tiers of the pyre, the trophies of armour above and the prows of galleys below, which together would have indicated intelligibly the conquests of Mausolus by land and sea. I have placed sixteen trophies over the two octostyle colonnades at the sides of the building, and a prow below each outer angle of those colonnades, supported on a pedestal rising through the graduated basement, and serving as a break in the long horizontal lines of its gradines. On each prow I have represented, in place of the two archers of Hephæstion's pyre, a standing figure of Victory, such as is com-

<sup>a</sup> Lib. xvii. c. 115.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Quatremère de Quincy, *Monumens et ouvrages d'art antiques restitués*, and *Dictionnaire historique d'Architecture*, s.v. *Mausolée*; Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, 177.

monly shown in that position on Greek coins of the period, and as may also be seen in the marble statue from Samothrace now in the Louvre Museum, which expresses the same idea. The whole of these decorations I suppose to have been of bronze, and therefore long since destroyed by the spoiler.

The remaining fragments of sculpture, whether actually preserved, or only reproduced conjecturally in my design, are too unimportant to be dwelt on here. I will therefore now close my comments on the subject, which have already extended to a greater length than I, or perhaps any of my readers, had originally contemplated.

\* \* In the discussion which followed the reading, on the 3rd December, 1896, of my objections to the suggested dis severance of the two principal statues from the quadriga, the President of the Society called attention to a most important element of the question, which had hardly, he thought, been sufficiently considered, namely, the precise part or parts of the site of the Mausoleum on which the sculptures referred to had been discovered. In the paper then just read, which is printed in the foregoing pages, I had purposely limited myself to a reply to Professor Gardner's arguments, quoted and examined seriatim; and as none of those arguments alluded to the question of site, I was led to omit all but a rather cursory reference to what I agree with the President in regarding as one of the most essential heads of the inquiry. Happily, it is one on which we possess the most clear and, as I think, decisive evidence from the highest authority. For in describing, some years after, the sculptures he had sent home from Budrum in H.M.S. "Gorgon," Sir Charles Newton says, "Of these, the most remarkable is the colossal statue generally considered to be that of Mausolus himself, which has been put together from sixty-five separate fragments, *all of which were found behind the marble wall,*"<sup>a</sup> that is, the ancient wall of the *peribolus*, on the north side of the Mausoleum, and but a few feet from it. This is the identical spot where the remains of the horses, the chariot-wheel, the steps of the pyramid, and the fragments of the statue of Artemisia, lay collected together, apparently undisturbed since the overthrow of the building. Now, throughout Sir C. Newton's description of the produce of each of the several localities explored on or near the excavated site, one important distinction is to be observed. All the remains of such miscellaneous works, architectural or sculptural, as must have decorated parts of the monument

<sup>a</sup> Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, ii. 114.

below the pyramidal roof were found scattered about promiscuously within or around the quadrangular area of the basement, having probably either fallen there originally during the earthquake, or been shifted thereto in some of the subsequent depredations. But not a single fragment of the upper pyramid, or of its crowning sculptural group (except a piece of one chariot-wheel and a hough joint of one of the four horses, which must have dropped off on the south side at the beginning of the earthquake), was found anywhere but on the spot which he describes as "behind the marble wall." It is obvious that, when the earthquake occurred, the whole summit of the pyramid, with its colossal *epithema*, was carried by one impulse over the north wall; and no part of the huge mass thus precipitated could have recoiled backwards, so as to alight within the intramural area. On the other hand, it is quite possible that sculptures falling from a lower stratum of the building, such as the peristyle of the Pteron, or the flank wall of the podium, though equally carried northwards by the seismic impulse, yet being from their diminished elevation less forcibly propelled, might have descended on the top of the north wall (where, in fact, a broken lion was found lying astride), and thence have bounded on to the same spot on which the gigantic group from above immediately fell. Or again, it is not improbable that some of the miscellaneous and smaller sculptures found on or near that prolific spot might have been cast there in some unrecorded clearance of the adjoining area, whether by Schlegelholz, De la Tourette's comrades, or the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Either supposition would amply account for the circumstance on the strength of which Professor Gardner, in his reply to the President, sought to depreciate the importance of the evidence of site, namely, that a few small pieces of sculpture manifestly unconnected with the quadriga, chiefly heads of statues and parts of lions, were found with or near its remains. If, then, we mean to assert that the two semi-colossal figures are to be classed with these casual fragments, as having fallen not from the summit, but from some lower part of the building, we must be prepared to assume that, by some marvellous co-ordination of dynamic anomalies, the whole ponderous bulk of the male figure, which was found in sixty-five pieces, and the whole similar bulk of the female figure, which was found also in pieces, were diverted bodily from the area into which they would naturally have fallen, and carried together over the wall to a spot where they could mix themselves up undividedly with the remains of a group with which it is asserted that they had nothing whatever to do! It can hardly be necessary to discuss further the credibility of such a theory.

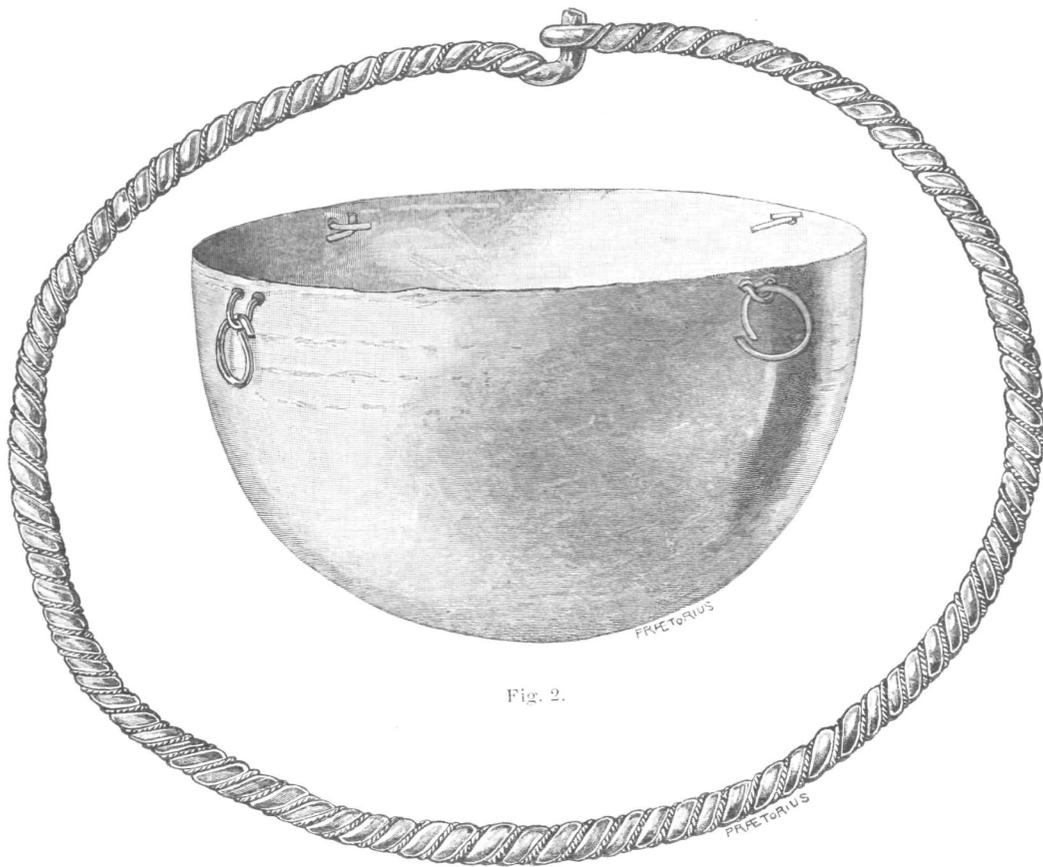


Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

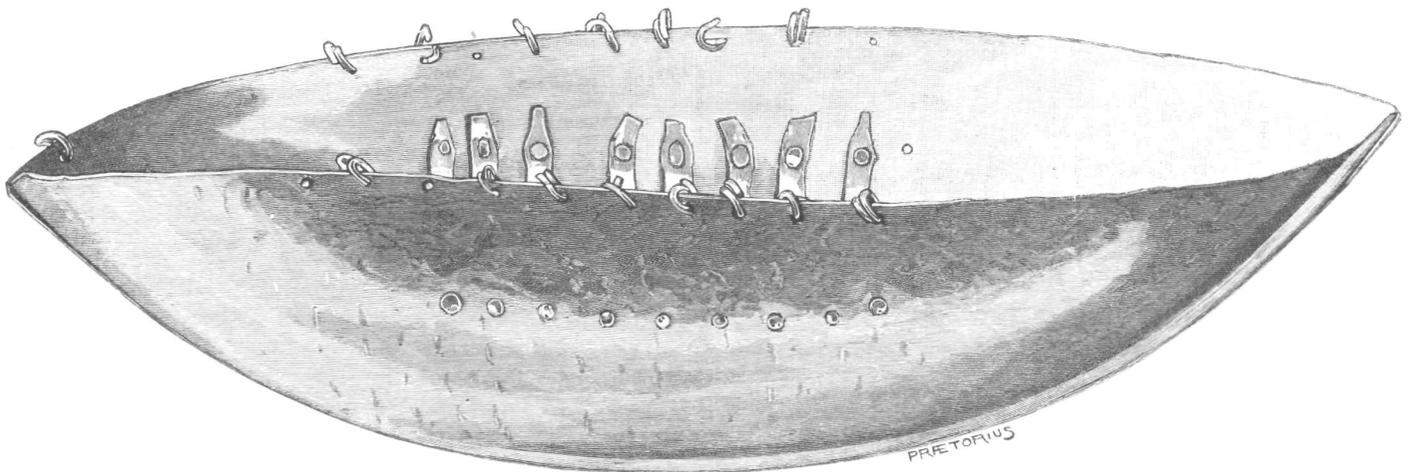


Fig 1.

GOLD BOAT, BOWL, AND NECKLET FOUND IN IRELAND.

(Full size.)