FIG. 2. RELIEF OF ARCHAGORA.

FIG. 1. RELIEF OF ARISTEIS.

SOME RECENTLY ACQUIRED RELIEFS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.¹

[PLATE III.]

IN the following paper, certain reliefs are described and illustrated, which have been added in comparatively recent years to the collection of the British Museum.

FIG. 1.—VOTIVE RELIEF OF ZEUS STRATIOS.

(1) Votive relief of Zeus Stratios. This relief,² which was acquired in the summer of 1914 from a private owner, is of exceptional interest

¹ Extracts from a Paper read at a general meeting of the Hellenic Society, Feb. 8, 1916.

² Foucart, *Mon. Piot*, xviii. p. 145; also in *Assoc. religieuses* (1873), p. 106; Roscher,

s.v. Stratios; Meurer, in *Röm. Mitt.* xxix. p. 204; *I.G.* v. 2, No. 89; Marshall, *B.M. Inscr.* No. 950.

as an addition to the Museum which contains the remains of the Mausoleum.

The relief is of white marble, and consists of a sculptured panel 35.5 cm. wide, and so far as extant, 21 cm. high. It is surmounted by a pediment, with acroterial ornaments. The whole subject measures 49 × 45 cm.

'In 1868 it was in the court yard of a house at Piali (Tegea) in the neighbourhood of the temple of Athena Alea. It had been found on the spot with some other antiquities.' So M. Foucart, who has recently discussed the relief at length in the *Monuments Piot*.

In the middle of the relief, distinguished by the inscription above his head $\text{I}\Sigma\text{EY}\Sigma$ we have the figure of the Zeus Stratios of Labranda. He

FIG. 2.—ZEUS STRATIOS ON COINS.

carries the double axe over his right shoulder, and has a spear in his left hand. Immediately above his head a small piece of marble, filling the space between the head and the edge of the panel, suggests a calathos such as is shown on the coin of Mylasa (Fig. 2e), and stephanos. The figure wears a long, sleeved tunic, and a mantle which passes over the left shoulder, round the thighs under the right elbow, and is gathered up in thick folds over the left fore-arm. The god stands stiffly to the front like a temple image. In what is extant there is nothing to suggest that either leg was bent. The general impression conveyed by the figure is that both legs were straight.

With this exception the figure, so far as we have at present noted, is closely akin to the figure of Zeus on the coins of the Hecatomnids.³

Coins of the Hecatomnid princes are shown in Fig. 2 *a, b, c*.

Mausolos. *Æ.* Tetradrachm, Rhodian standard.

Obv.

Head of Apollo, nearly to front;
laurel wreath and chlamys.

Cf. *B.M.C. Caria*, Pl. 28, No. 2.

Rev.

ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΛΟ. Zeus standing to
r. with axe and spear. Under the
r. elbow Κ (retrograde).

Fig. 2 *a* = *B.M.C. Caria*, p. 181,
No. 7.

Idrieus. *Æ.* Tetradrachm, Rhodian standard.

Obv.

Head of Apollo, nearly to front;
laurel wreath and chlamys.

Rev.

ΙΔΡΙΕΩΣ. Zeus standing to r. with
axe and spear. Between his l. foot
and the spear Ε.

Fig. 2 *b*.

B.M.C. Caria, Pl. 28, No. 5.

Pixodaros. *Æ.* Didrachm, Rhodian standard.

Obv.

Head of Apollo, nearly to front;
laurel wreath and chlamys.

Rev.

ΠΙΞΩΔΑΡΟ[Υ]. Zeus standing to
r., with axe and spear.

Fig. 2 *c*.

B.M.C. Caria, Pl. 28, No. 13.

The coins of Hecatomnos himself bear a very similar figure of Zeus Stratios, but with a lion standing, in place of the Apollo. (*B.M.C. Caria*, Pl. 28, No. 1). Those of Orontobates are similar to the coins of the Hecatomnids, except that Zeus carries a sceptre (*ibid.* Pl. 45, No. 4).

The distinctive mark of the figure on the relief is the group of six protuberant objects in the middle of the body, suggestive at first sight of the monstrous breasts of the Ephesian Artemis. They have, however, no relation, even of a monstrous kind, to the anatomy of the body; they are clearly on the top of the drapery of the tunic. Above them is an object like a large circular necklace or torc, far more definite in its outline and formal in its shape than the vague edges of drapery on the

³ It may be convenient to state the dates of the Hecatomnid dynasty. Hecatomnos was made satrap of Caria 387 B.C. Mausolos reigned 377-353 B.C., Artemisia, his wife and sister, 353-351 B.C. The surviving brother

and sister, Idrieus and Ada, reigned jointly 351-344 B.C. Idrieus died, and Ada reigned alone 344-340 B.C. and, after an interruption (by her brother Pixodaros 340-334 B.C.), again 334-323 (?) B.C.

two human figures. It would seem, therefore, that Meurer⁴ is right in interpreting the objects in question as a pectoral ornament, only accidentally suggestive of human breasts.

This view is confirmed on the whole, by the more antiquarian rendering of the statue on the Roman coins.

Euromus. Æ.

Obv.

ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ. Heads of Augustus and Livia confronted.

Rev.

ΕΥ [ΡΩ]ΜΕΩΝ. Zeus standing to front, with double axe and spear. Eagle at his feet.

Fig. 2 *d*. Hogarth, *Ephesus*, Pl. 52, Fig. 10.

B.M.C. Caria, Pl. 17, No. 8.

Mylasa. Æ.

Obv.

ΠΟ ΣΕΠΤΙ ΜΙΟΣ ΓΕΤΑΣ. Bust of Geta to r., bareheaded, wearing cuirass and cloak.

Rev.

ΜΥΛΑΑ ΣΕΩΝ. Tetrastyle shrine with shield in pediment. Within, Zeus to front, with calathos, double axe, and spear.

Fig. 2 *e*. Hogarth, *Ephesus*, Pl. 52, No. 14; *B.M.C. Caria*, p. 133, No. 37. Pl. 22, Fig. 5.

The two Roman coins evidently represent archaic temple images. Both are of a stiff columnar form, and hold out axe and spear, but in detail there are considerable differences. That of Euromus (Fig. 2 *d*) has a broad girdle, and protuberances at regular intervals from the shoulder downwards. That of Mylasa⁵ wears a calathos. The body from the waist downwards is swathed in crossed bands. Long knotted fillets, similar to those of the Artemis,⁶ hang to the ground from each elbow. In the middle of the breast there seems to be a pectoral ornament similar to those of our relief.

A figure not unlike that of the coin of Mylasa, but beardless and without the fillets, was seen by J. T. Wood, in the garden of a Turk at Mylasa.⁷ It is not known what became of it.

We have to deal therefore with three types of figure, (1) the temple image of the coins of Euromus and Mylasa, and Wood's Mylasa relief, (2) the comparatively free standing figure of our relief, with the pectoral ornament, (3) the freely treated figures of the Hecatomnid coins.

⁴ *Röm. Mitt.* xxix. p. 206. Compare Hogarth, *Ephesus*, p. 330.

⁵ An enlarged drawing of the figure is given by Foucart, *Mon. Piot.* xviii. p. 162, from the *Trésor de Numismatique, Gal. Mythologique*,

p. 53.

⁶ On the 'fillets' of Artemis, see Hogarth, *Ephesus*, p. 331.

⁷ Wood, *Ephesus*, p. 270, reproduced by Foucart, *l.c.* p. 163.

The more weight one attaches to the archaeological accuracy of the imperial coins, the more difficult it is to suppose that they are representations of the same figure, although the coins are separated by an interval of some two hundred years, which might account for some changes in the accessory details.

The standing figures of our relief, and the figures of the Hecatomnid coins differ altogether from the Roman coins but have curious resemblances with each other.

These would be explained if we suppose a more advanced type at Halicarnassos, rendered on the relief with its traditional pectoral ornament; and on the coins with greater freedom of movement and without the pectoral. Another alternative would be to suppose that the sculptor was acquainted with the coin types, and possibly had one in his possession, but this would not account for the sculpture being less advanced than the coin.

It is time to turn to the two other figures on the relief, identified by the inscription as ΙΔΡΙΕΥΣ Idrieus and ΑΔΑ Ada. These must without doubt stand for Idrieus and Ada, son and daughter of Hecatomnos, brother and sister of Mausolos, who were reigning jointly between 351 and 344 B.C., and who are here shown on each side of the chief patron god of their family and of Mylasa. It will be remembered that Hecatomnos was sprung from a family long settled at Mylasa, and there began to rule.

Ada stands to the front with both arms bent at the elbows, and wearing a long tunic and a mantle which passes as a veil over the back of the head, and falls over each shoulder. The part which passes over the right shoulder passes round the legs, and is gathered under the left arm. The similarity to the figure commonly known as Artemisia from the pyramid of the Mausoleum is striking, and seems to furnish good evidence that the figure so named is in fact a human portrait statue and not, as some have held, a deity. I am informed by Mrs. Strong that a very similar figure occurs on a votive relief, believed to be from Halicarnassos, which is now in the Museum of the American Academy at Rome.

The figure of Idrieus is a bearded figure, with a mass of hair in loose locks. He wears a long tunic, and a mantle which passes only round the hips and over the left arm. In the left hand he carries a spear. Here also there is some analogy to the Mausolus, though the resemblance is less striking than that of the Artemisia.

The relief, as mentioned above, was found at Tegea. The missing half of it probably contained an inscription which gave a clue to the occasion of the dedication. Scopas, one of the sculptors of the Mausoleum, had been occupied on the pediments of the temple of Athena at Tegea, at some undetermined time between 395 B.C. and the time of his work on the Mausoleum. It does not seem too far-fetched a theory that one of the subordinate craftsmen, one of those men whose modest wages are recorded in the inscriptions, went to Halicarnassos with Scopas, and returned home to dedicate our relief, on which he commemorated the chief deity and the two ruling princes of Halicarnassos.

We know that the Milesians dedicated a portrait group of Idrieus and Ada at Delphi,⁸ and that it was the work of Satyros, who may be the artist and author of the description of the Mausoleum cited by Vitruvius (vii. Praef.).

This work is too slight and hasty to represent a dedication made by the personages themselves or by a state. It must therefore be the offering of some third person who felt moved for some reason such as that suggested above to commemorate them.

FIG. 3.—GRAVE RELIEF OF MELANTES AND MENALKES.

The remaining sculptures with which I have to deal in this paper are of a sepulchral character.

(2) Grave relief (Fig. 3), with a small pediment. Ht. 109 cm., w. 51 cm. From Attica. Bought 1915. Part of the neck, the right handle, the right extremity of the lip of the vase, the top of the wing and tail of the r. dove and the top r. corner of the relief are restored.

The main part of the relief consists of a slender loutrophoros vase, of particularly graceful shape. When acquired the body was covered with

⁸ *B.C.H.* xxiii. p. 384.

accretions, and no inscriptions were visible. After cleaning two inscribed names were found, a little below the handles.

Left ΜΕΛΑΝΤΗΣ Μελάντης.

Right ΜΕΝΑΛΚΗΣ Μενάλκης.

The clear space below the names may be supposed to have been occupied with painted figures of Melantes and Menalkes.^{8a}

The distinguishing feature in this relief, to which I have not been able to find a parallel elsewhere,⁹ is the pair of doves, naturalistically treated, which have alighted on the lip of the vase, and seem to be sipping rain water.

The vase in relief is a representation of an actual vase in the round, of which many have been found in the Athenian cemeteries, and it seems to me natural to suppose that the artist who executed the relief had noted and had taken pleasure in two actual doves sipping real rain water from a real sepulchral vase. That birds resorted to the sepulchral vases for water, on occasions, is not only probable in itself, but may be confirmed by an epigram of Bianor in the *Palatine Anthology* (ix. 272).

εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ὄρνιν ἐν τύμβῳ γεγλυμμένον ἄγγος θεασάμενον
καὶ ζητοῦντα ἐν αὐτῷ ὕδωρ.

Καρφαλέος δίδυμι Φοίβου λάτρις εὔτε γυναικὸς
εἶδεν ὑπὲρ τύμβου κρωσσίων ὀμβροδόκου
κλάγξεν ὑπὲρ χείλους κ.τ.λ.

The poet tells how the raven was inspired by Apollo to fill up the vase with pebbles in order to bring the water into reach. Pliny (*H.N.* x. 60) also tells the same tale of the raven collecting pebbles *in situlam monimenti, in quo pluvia aqua durabat, sed quae attingi non posset*. Here, however, we need not assume any such display of animal sagacity.¹⁰ Such a sepulchral vase as that on which the doves are perched would not be hollowed out, but its spreading lip would serve admirably for a bird's drinking bowl.

^{8a} Marshall, *B.M. Inscr.* No. 1153. For the faded figures compare Conze, Nos. 674, 694-5, 1316, 1317 *a-e*, 1455 *a, b, c*, 1715.

⁹ A more conventional use of two doves occurs on the reliefs, Conze, 1203, 1205.

¹⁰ The story of the pebbles appears in various forms. The two given above alone connect it with a vase on a tomb. Plutarch, *De Solertia Animalium*, ix. 8, tells the tale of crows in Africa, and of a dog that had been seen on shipboard taking advantage of the absence of the sailors to put pebbles into an oil-jar.

He couples it with stories of bees in Crete that carry pebbles for ballast in a wind, and of geese in Cilicia that carry large stones in their mouths when they cross the Taurus, that by their self-imposed silence they may escape the notice of the eagles. Aelian (*De Nat. Animalium*, ii. 48) tells the story of Libyan ravens, and jars of water put on the housetops. See also Avian, *Fab.* 27; but he only speaks of an 'ingens urna' without further circumstance.

Some interpreters may be inclined to find a mystic meaning in the pair of doves above the tomb,¹¹ but to me it seems unnecessary to suppose any deeper intention than is apparent on the surface. It is instructive to compare the intense reserve with which the Greek has treated his subject, with the freedom and abundance of detail which marks the two pillars, surmounted by pairs of birds, from the Tomb of the Haterii.¹²

(3) Fragment of a grave relief (Fig. 4). Ht. 86.5 cm., w. 55 cm. Bought in 1905.

FIG. 4.—GROUP OF SEPULCHRAL VASES.

This rather fragmentary work gives parts of a highly symmetrical composition. In the centre is a large vase, not unlike that described above. The lower part of the handle that remains terminates in a small volute. On each side stand smaller vases; of that on the left only the foot and a part of the belly are extant. Below the three vases is a conventional design. A central acanthus springs up, from spreading acanthus leaves. To right (and left) acanthus scrolls fill the angles of the relief. A pair of winged lion-gryphons stand, turned outwards, their fore-paws

¹¹ For the later association of the dove with the soul, cf. Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, p. 26.

¹² Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, pls. 7, 8.

(one only is preserved) resting on the acanthus scrolls, and their tails forming a sort of volute pattern, in front of the foot of the large central vase.

There is a small group of sepulchral vase reliefs, in which the sculptor seems to have felt the need of accessory decorative forms in his foreground. For this purpose he naturally resorted to the fabulous animals, immemorially employed for decorative offices. In some examples the form is treated as if it were a part of the decoration of the vase.¹³ In others, the fabulous animals are, if the phrase may be permitted, shown

FIG. 5.—RELIEF OF STRATIOS. BOY WITH BIRD.

as alive.¹⁴ Nowhere, however, do they show such vigorous life as here.

Reliefs with the single human figure.

(4) Grave relief of Stratios.¹⁵ (Fig. 5.) Ht. 57 cm., w. 44 cm. Bought in 1907.

¹³ Compare the relief of Archiades and Polemonikos (*B.M. Sculpture*, No. 693; Marshall, *B.M. Inscr.* 1152; Conze, No. 1005) and the relief, Conze, No. 1347.

¹⁴ Conze, Nos. 1074, 1348, and the present example.

¹⁵ Marshall, *B.M. Inscr.* No. 940.

Within a distyle heroon, surmounted by the side view of a roof, a boy stands to left, wrapped in a large mantle, and holding out a bird in his right hand.

Inscribed on the architrave ΣΤΡΑΤΙΟΞ Στράτιος. Some part of the foot of the relief is wanting, so there is some uncertainty as to the motive. In a large number of reliefs,¹⁶ where the pet bird is held out like this, the object is to excite the pet dog. There are, however, a few¹⁷ where the dog is not present, and the condition of the present relief leaves the spectator free to choose. It appears to me that the object of interest to which the attention of the figure is directed is

FIG. 6.—RELIEF OF A GIRL WITH A MIRROR.

farther away than the bird, and that the balance of the composition demands the dog.

(5) Relief of a girl with a mirror. (Fig. 6.) Ht. unrestored, as in figure, 62 cm., w. 36 cm. Bought, 1909.

The relief has now been restored as a distyle shrine, surmounted

¹⁶ See Conze, Nos. 954, 956-7, 959-61, 963, 967-72, 977-81, 982a-85, 987, 989. is doubtful in the case of Nos. 940, 944, 974-6, 986.

¹⁷ Conze, Nos. 938, 946, 962. The matter

by a pediment. A girl, with a long, sleeved tunic and a large mantle, stands to the front, holding up a mirror¹⁸ in her left hand. The waves of hair occur on some of the fourth century mirror cases, and the relief seems to be of that period.

(6) Fragment of a relief of Hierokleia¹⁹ (Fig. 7). Ht. 37 cm., w. 49 cm. Found before 1888, at the works of G. Grypaïos in the street τῆς Πηγᾶδος, leading to the Garden of the Piræus. Bought 1907.

FIG. 7.—RELIEF OF HIEROKLEIA.

Within a distyle shrine, surmounted by a pediment with small acroterial ornaments, is the head of a girl. The architrave is inscribed

ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΙΑΝΑΥΣΙΝΙΚΟΥΕΚΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΝ

Ἱερόκλεια Ναυσινίκου ἐκ Κεραμέων.

The figure seems to have been a single standing figure and is so classed by Conze, but this cannot be decided with certainty.

(7) Fragment of the relief of Klearete²⁰ (Fig. 8). Ht. 37 cm., w. 44 cm. Bought 1910.

¹⁸ The use of a mirror as a feminine attribute on the reliefs is less frequent than might have been expected. See Conze, Nos. 157, 310, 360. The mirror in the Villa Albani relief (Müller-Wies, ii. Pl. 24, No. 257) appears

to be modern.

¹⁹ *Berliner Philol. Wochenschr.* 1888, p. 163, No. 9; Conze, No. 868; *I.G.* ii. 2130 b; Marshall, *B.M. Inscr.* No. 936.

²⁰ Marshall, *B.M. Inscr.* No. 937.

Within a delicately-finished distyle shrine, surmounted by side acroteria, and a central acroterion with a nude Siren, is the head of Klearete.

Inscribed on the architrave,

ΚΛΕΑΡΕΤΗ Κλεαρέτη.

Mr. Marshall notes that the feminine form of the name seems to be new.

The figure was no doubt standing. Seated figures are usually less central, and the head is lower in the composition. A near parallel may be found in the head of Aristarete, Conze, No. 863. The Siren, usually with one hand raised to its head, is of course a very frequent addition to

FIG. 8.—RELIEF OF KLEARETE.

the reliefs.²¹ The curve of its spreading wings is decoratively treated, to conform to the outline of the acroterion.

The next relief is an example of the group of two figures.

(8) Relief of Melitta²² (Fig. 9). Ht. 94 cm., w. 41 cm. Presented by Messrs. Cubitt, 1909.

The relief is surmounted by a simple pediment, with acroterial

²¹ Conze, Nos. 1663-1679 *a*, and the scattered examples enumerated *ibid.* text, iii. p. 356.

²² Walpole, *Memoirs*, ii. p. 560, No. 27;

C.I.G. 808; Kaibel, 48; Conze, No. 130; *I.G.* ii. 2729. For further reff. and for *ισοτελοῦ* see Marshall, *B.M. Inscr.* No. 942.

ornament. Within a panel, a draped woman, seated to r. on a chair with footstool, holds out a hand to a girl standing before her. The girl holds out some object. Mr. Marshall suggests a flower, but a doll is more usual on the reliefs.

Inscribed on the sunk panel,

ΜΕΛΙΤΤΑ Μέλιττα,

presumably the name of the foster-mother, also indicated by the word ΤΙΤΘΗ (τίτθη) immediately below the seated figure. We learn from the epitaph that the child is Hippostrata. Melitta is further described as

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ Ἀπολλοδώρου
ΙΣΟΤΕΛΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ Ἰσοτελοῦ θυγάτηρ.

FIG. 9.—RELIEF OF MELITTA.

Below is an epitaph, roughly inscribed, and in very indifferent verse. The lines seem to be divided as follows, but they cannot be reduced to the due number of feet.

ἐνθάδε τὴν χρηστὴν τίττην κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει
Ἰπποστράτης, καὶ νῦν π[οθ]εῖ σε.
καὶ ζῶσάν σ' ἐφί(λ)ουν τίτθη καὶ νῦν σ' ἔτι τιμῶ
οὖσαν καὶ κατὰ γῆ[s] | καὶ τιμήσω σε ἄχρι ἂν ζῶ.
οἶδα δέ σοι ὅτι καὶ κατὰ | [γ]ῆς, εἴπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἔστιν,
πρώτῃ σοι τι[μα]ί, τίτθη, παρὰ Φερσεφόνει Πλούτωνί τε κεύνται.

For a *τίτθη* cf. Conze, Pl. xxi. No. 42 (where the word may perhaps be a proper name) and Pl. xxii. No. 43.

This inscription was once in the collection of Lord Guilford, now dispersed.²³ It had found its way to a builder's yard, and was presented by Messrs. Cubitt.

Reliefs with family groups.

(9) Relief of Aristeis (Pl. III. Fig. 1).²⁴ Ht. 110.5 cm., w. 73 cm. From E. Attica. Bought 1910. Restorations: part of r. side of pediment; lower r. corner with part of chair, and base.

Within a distyle shrine surmounted by a pediment with acroterial ornament, is a group of three persons. A woman seated to left on a chair with a footstool clasps r. hands with a woman standing before her. Both are fully draped, with long tunics, large mantles, and shoes. Between them is seen a bearded man, wearing mantle only, with hands joined in front of his body. His look is directed towards the seated figure.

The relief is inscribed, below the pediment,

ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΣΕΠΙΧΑΡΟΥΣΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ . . . ΉΠΙΧΑΡΟΥΣΓΥΝΗ

Ἀριστεῖς Ἐπιχάρους θυγάτηρ . . . ἡ Ἐπιχάρους γυνή.

The inscription tells us plainly that the two women are the daughter and wife of Epichares, the daughter being Aristeis, and the name of the wife being lost. We may reasonably suppose that the man in the middle is the twice-named Epichares himself.

The work of the relief is rather rough and hasty, but the face of the wife is carefully finished and very pleasing. The group seems to be of the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Though not a work of the first merit, it is a typical Attic composition, and (with the relief described below of Archagora) it fills a serious gap in the national collection.

(10) Fragment of relief (Fig. 10), with a figure of an old man. Ht. 39 cm., w. 29 cm. Bought 1907.

In this fragment we have the upper part of an old man, with beard and shaggy hair, looking directly to his front. His left hand is under his beard. His mantle passes over the left shoulder, across the body under the breasts, and is wrapped round the left fore-arm. The figure is evidently the upper half of the central person in a sepulchral relief, seen in half length, like the person whom we have named Epichares in the previous relief. A closer parallel in style is supplied by the fragments Conze, Nos. 1263, 1264, and by the central figure in the group, Fig. 11 *infra*.

²³ For the history of the Guilford marbles, see Michaelis, *J.H.S.* vi. p. 47.

Antiquities in B.M. (1912), Pl. 7, Fig. 2; Marshall, *B.M. Inscr.* No. 938.

²⁴ *Guide to Department of Greek and Roman*

(11) Group of Archagora (Pl. III. Fig. 2).²⁵ Ht. 171 cm., w. 92 cm. From Attica. Bought 1911. Restored: r. side of pediment and part of pilaster; l. lower corner with man's leg below knee, r. foot of woman, and part of the footstool, part of brow and nose of man, and nose of seated woman.

Within a distyle shrine, surmounted by a pediment, with acroterial ornament of a double Sphinx, is a woman seated on a chair to l., with footstool. A bearded man stands on l., and the pair clasp right hands. Between them is a woman standing, seen in half length. The two women are fully draped

FIG. 10.—FRAGMENT OF RELIEF.

with tunics and mantles; the man has only a large mantle which leaves his right shoulder bare.

Inscribed under the pediment, near the centre.

ΑΡΧΑΓΟΡΑ Ἀρχαγόρα
ΘΥΓΑΤΗ θυγάτη(ρ).

There is no inscription on the left, over the man, and there are no traces, so far as the state of the marble allows a judgment, over the woman. One

²⁵ *Guide to Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in B.M.* (1912), Pl. 7, Fig. 1; Marshall, *B.M. Inscr.* No. 939.

must suppose that the sculpture was designed for a family group, and that the daughter Archagora died first, and had her name inscribed. For the others, the inscriptions were never completed.

The double Sphinx is a common scheme, where a conventional and strictly symmetrical ornament is required. It is easily understood, where, as in the case of a tripod foot, both sides of the animal are partially in view together; compare the Sphinx under the vase of Archiades and Polemonikos.²⁶ It is a natural development of the same idea to employ it when the two sides are practically in one plane as here, and in Conze, No. 860.

The pose of the middle figure is strikingly similar to that in the background of the relief of Damasistrate (Conze, No. 410), and there are

FIG. 11.—RELIEF OF METAGENES AND PHILOUMENE.

other points of resemblance between the two reliefs. In this relief or Archagora, as in that of Aristéis, the work is not of the highest class—but we have a good typical example of a fourth-century relief, with its careful composition and gentle sentiment.

(12) Upper part of a relief of Metagenes and Philoumene (Fig. 11.)²⁷ Ht. 41.5 cm. w. 49.5 cm. Bought, 1915.

This relief, if it were only more complete, would make an interesting companion to the two preceding.

²⁶ *B.M. Sculpt.* i. No. 693; Conze, No. 1005.

²⁷ Marshall, *B.M. Inscr.* No. 939 a.

Within a distyle shrine, surmounted by a pediment with small acroteria, and a vase in the middle of the field, are three figures. On the left a seated woman is looking to the right. Her veil falls from the back of her head. We see three fingers of the left hand raised to hold the edge of the veil.

Facing her, and looking towards her, is a standing figure of a young woman. She has flowing hair, and a long tunic with a belt, and cross bands meeting in a central boss between the breasts. It is likely that she clasped hands with the seated figure. In the middle of the group is an old man, looking to the front, with drapery over l. shoulder, and about l. wrist. His right hand under his chin rests on his left, and the left may be supposed to be supported by his stick.

Inscribed on the architrave.

ΜΕΤΑΓΕΝΗΣ ΕΠΙΓΕΝΟΥΣ

ΚΥΔΑΘΗΝΑΙΕΥΣ

Μεταγένης Ἐπιγένοῦς

Κυδαθηναίεύς

The man is necessarily Metagenes. suggests that the standing woman is Philoumene. In that case we may suppose, with Mr. Marshall, that she was daughter of the unnamed sitting woman, and step-daughter of Metagenes.

It is possible, however, that the inscriptions concern the two principal figures in the composition, and that their position in relation to the figures need not be too closely considered. In that case the seated woman is Philoumene, wife of Metagenes.

For a very similar composition see Conze, Pl. 77, No. 332.

In the class of sepulchral reliefs, partaking of a votive character, we have the following example.

(13) Fragment of a relief (Fig. 12). Standing warrior. Ht. 76 cm. w. 35 cm. Found in sinking a well, at Rhodes. Bought 1905.

An armed warrior stands before a lofty cippus, surmounted by a vase, and with a serpent coiled up at its base. The figure is heavily armed with plumed helmet and cuirass. He has a fine tunic

H.S.—VOL. XXXVI.

ΦΙΛΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΤΗΛΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ

ΚΥΔΑΘΗΝΑΙΕΩΣ

Φιλουμένη Τηλοκλέους

Κυδαθηναίεύς

The position of the inscription

FIG. 12.—WARRIOR AND SEPULCHRAL SERPENT

beneath the cuirass, and a small scarf over his arm, both scarf and tunic terminating in characteristic folds, treated in the archaistic manner. He also has socks, and sandals treated with minute rendering of the details, consisting of a framework round the heels, laced in front with a thong. In the right hand he holds a spear, carried on the right shoulder. The point is downwards, and although the pose of the figure would suggest that the spear is needed as a support, the point seems to be in air, in front of the serpent.

The relief is an interesting addition to a well-known group, one of which has long been in the Museum and is exhibited in immediate proximity. (See No. 14.)

FIG. 13.—LIBATION SCENE. WARRIOR AND SEPULCHRAL SERPENT.

(14) Votive relief. (Fig 13.)²⁸ Standing warrior before a trophy (helmet, cuirass, greaves on a tree stem), and a woman pouring a libation to a serpent coiled about the trophy. On the right a groom with a horse.

The whole in a distyle shrine. Ht. 65 cm., w. 113 cm. Brought from Greece by Topham in 1725. Presented by Sir. Joseph Banks and the Hon. A. C. Fraser in 1780.

Besides having the relief on its face, the stone is also inscribed on its upper and lower edges with a series of names in the dative, with their ethnics, e.g., *Φιλίσκῳ Κυδιμάχου Τροιζηνίῳ*. The older editors have connected the inscription with the relief, and supposed a list of the fallen in some engagement. Mr. Marshall points out that the list is probably a list of Proxeni, analogous to that from Oreos in Euboea²⁹ . . . *τοῖσδε ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος προξενίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις κατὰ τὸν νόμον. Ἴδαι Δρωνίλου Ἐχιναίῳ κ.τ.λ.*

²⁸ *B.M. Sculpt.* i. No. 750, and reff. *ibid.*;
Marshall, *B.M. Inscr.* No. 1154 A.

²⁹ Dittenberger, *Syll.* ² ii. 494.

The inscription and the relief are therefore quite independent of each other, which is a satisfactory conclusion, in view of the fact that it is impossible to devise an arrangement which would allow of their use together. It then becomes necessary to examine the evidence to ascertain whether inscription or relief was first on the stone, and the result of such an examination is to leave no doubt that the inscription preceded the relief. The inscription is on the upper and lower edges of the relief, its beginning being towards the right hand side of it. There are two dowel holes (C and D in Fig. 14) on the lower edge of the relief, on which the stone was bedded, when the relief was in use, and there are two dowel holes (A and B) on the left hand edge, serving the same purpose for the inscription.

FIG. 14.—VOTIVE RELIEF = FIG. 13.

One of the dowel holes (D) on the base of the relief is sunk in the inscription, making lacunae in lines 31-34, and is clearly posterior to the cutting of the inscription. On the other hand the two dowel holes (A, B) at the base of the inscription are clearly anterior to the cutting of the relief. The outer side of the pilaster has a decided lean or batter. The top, immediately below the capital, is 12 mm. inside the base. When the stone was bedded on its end, to suit the inscription, the end must have been square to the inscribed edges, and two approximately equal dowel holes were sunk in it. (See the dotted lines in Fig. 14.) The lower hole is 44 mm. deep. When the relief was carved out of the stone, and the pilaster took shape, a part of the upper hole was cut away, so that it is now only 26 mm. deep (see A' in Fig. 14). Further if we examine the hole, we see that what is left is its bottom only. The lower hole (B) shows smooth sides for half its depth, and beyond that the marks of drilling; the top hole (A') has marks of the drill in nearly all the part that is extant. The reworking of the stone can also

be traced. About 11 cm. of the distance from the bottom has not been reworked; then the side of the pilaster is 'crippled' and the inclination begins. The evidence is therefore clear that the stone was first bedded on its short end, and inscribed on its narrow sides. It was subsequently bedded on its long side, the inscription being mutilated for the purpose, and the previous bed being in considerable part cut away to give the pilaster its desired shape. The pilaster on the right side of the relief would not have been at the top of the inscribed stone, if the inscription has a heading such as that on the inscription of Oreos. It is worked uniformly throughout, and with uniform tooling.

The inscription is assigned to the third-second centuries B.C., and the archaistic relief is therefore later—a conclusion which would agree with the supposed date of such archaistic work.

The leading examples of the subject in its various modifications are:—

A. Louvre. Relief. Palladion on column, about which the serpent is entwined. Shield at its base. Warrior on right, Victory with aphlaston on left. (Mueller-Wies. II. Pl. 14, No. 48, Arndt, *Glyptothek Ny-Carlsberg*, text, p. 27, Fig. 10).

B. Dresden. Fragment of relief, with Palladion on a column, about which the serpent is entwined. Remains of the aphlaston held by the Victory (which is wanting), and most of the warrior. Herrmann, *Arch Anzeiger*, 1894, p. 171.

C. Our relief, Fig. 13. Trophy instead of Palladion. Woman not Victory, pouring libation for snake. Horse and groom on r.

D. Our relief, Fig. 12. Warrior only. Vase on cippus.

E. Relief at Mantua. Warrior and horse. Warrior holds a cup for serpent twined round altar, and shaft (supporting a votive tablet). Labus (*Museo di Mantova*, iii. Pl. 7. Arndt, *l.c.* p. 27, Fig. 12).

F. A relief in the Jacobsen collection at Ny-Carlsberg. The warrior alone on one of the three panels of a triangular base. Arndt, *l.c.* Pl. 18.

To complete the series, reference should be made to (G) a disk at Naples (*Mus. Borb.* x. Pl. 15), where the Victory with aphlaston and the warrior (helmet in hand) occupy the two sides; and (I) to a relief at Ince (Gerhard, *Akad. Abh.* Pl. xxiii. Fig. 6. Victory and Palladion much modified).

The variations of type enumerated above show clearly that a celebrated type became a stock piece of the sculptors, and received very various applications. In its earliest form, the subject would seem to have been a votive relief in honour of an Athenian naval victory. Furtwaengler (*Meisterwerke*, p. 202) suggested that it might be connected with the name

of Callimachos, the master of minute finish, and with the Palladion offered by Nicias on the Acropolis. However this may be, the naval associations occur in *A*, *B*, and *G*. The warrior was dissociated from his naval character, and appears as the heroified soldier in *C*, *D*, and *E*. The horse is introduced in *C* and *E*, but in *C* it has the air of an interpolation. It is feeble and mechanical, and spoils the balance of the original composition. In *E* the female figure is suppressed, and cippus, man and horse make a new composition. Finally, in the Jacobsen base, the warrior alone is introduced purely as a piece of decoration. The incompleteness of *D* makes it difficult to place exactly in the series. The vase crowning the cippus is a favourite incident in the late landscape reliefs, and seems later in feeling than the trophy of arms of *C*.

I conclude with a Roman relief.

(15) Panel of a Roman sarcophagus (Fig. 15).³⁰ Ht. 24 cm., w. 50 cm. Bought 1911, from a private owner. Formerly in the possession of Seroux d'Agincourt. Restorations: face of Mars, r. arm of bridegroom.

FIG. 15.—PANEL OF A SARCOPHAGUS. MARRIAGE SCENE.

The subject is plain enough. It is a Roman wedding. In the middle is the *dextrarum iunctio*, the bride and bridegroom joining their right hands. The *pronuba*, seen between them in the usual scheme, with a hand on the shoulder of each, draws them together. Whether she is a mortal *pronuba*, or Juno herself we cannot certainly decide. The headdress and costume here as on several other marriage reliefs, suggest Juno.

On the left is the *paranympheus*, or best man, a fully dressed Roman gentleman. Next him, but looking much out of place at a Roman wedding

³⁰ Guattani, *Mem. Enciclopediche Romane*, V. p. 33, and Pl. Brunn, *Annali d. I.* 1844, p. 193.

in his heroic stark nudity is Mars. At the other end are Victory with wreath and palm-branch, and Fortune with rudder and cornucopiae. There is an interesting little class of these Roman marriage reliefs, in which gods are present as allegorical symbols. They attended the weddings of Cadmus and Harmonia, and of Peleus and Thetis. But on the Roman sarcophagi they are mere shadows of their former selves.

There is a curious sarcophagus³¹ found some years since near Rome, showing the wedding of a man who had made a fortune in the African corn trade. Besides the bride and bridegroom, the *pronuba*, and the best man, we have personifications of the island of Pharos carrying a big model of her lighthouse—of the city of Alexandria—of Fortune with all her attributes, and a corn measure—and of Africa with her corn.

Here in the same way we have the attendant figures of the personified qualities of Valour, Victory, and Good Fortune.

I do not think that the wreath of Victory is meant to mark the bridegroom as a successful suitor. Victory may greet the soldier, the athlete, the charioteer, the musician, and she sometimes accompanies Aphrodite, to mark her conquests, but I do not think she would mark out the bridegroom as the brave who has won the fair. It is rather the soldier than the bridegroom, for whose career victory, fortune and valour are indicated as hoped-for accompaniments. A Victory places a wreath in the same way on the head of the elderly bridegroom on the Campana sarcophagus at Petrograd³² 'per mostrarlo come uomo insigne per vittoriose imprese.'³³ This is brought out still more clearly in some of the sarcophagi,³⁴ showing other events in combination with the wedding. In those cases, the Victory attends her hero where he is posing as a conquering soldier, and not as a bridegroom.

The subject is in fact nothing else than a war-wedding, celebrated under the most distinguished and fortunate patronage.

A. H. SMITH.

³¹ *Bull. Arch. Com.* v. Pl. 18.

³² *Mem. d. I.* iv. Pl. 9; *Wien. Vorlegeblätter*, 1888, Pl. 9, Fig. 3a.

³³ *Brunn, Ann. d. I.* 1844, p. 189.

³⁴ See the Mantua sarcophagus, *Wien. Vorlegeblätter*, l.c. Fig. 1a; the Frascati sarcophagus, *ibid.* Fig. 2a; and the Uffizi sarcophagus, *ibid.* Fig. 5a.