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Archaistic Reliefs

Paul F. Perdrizet

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ARCHAISTIC RELIEFS.*

(PLATES XI.—XIII.)

On a bien voulu faire à ces quelques notes l'honneur de les insérer dans l'Annuaire de l'École anglaise. Je ne voudrais pas que l'on mesurât à la faiblesse de mes symboles la gratitude que je dois et que je garde à l'hospitalière maison de Kolonaki. Puissent mes jeunes camarades de l'École française trouver à l'École anglaise des amitiés pareilles à celles que j'y ai faites ! Je ne puis former pour eux de meilleur vœu.

I SAW the four reliefs which form the subject of the present study in Turkey; three are in the Museum at Constantinople, and one at Aïdin (Tralles), at which latter place two of them are known to have been found. I publish them together in the hope that they may add some fresh information on the difficult question of Archaistic Reliefs.

About ten years ago M. Hauser discussed this subject, the result of his enquiries being that it was a mistake to relegate *all* Archaistic Reliefs to the time of Augustus and of Hadrian, and that this mannerism originated at a much earlier date. This theory is confirmed by two recently published monuments, firstly, the relief found at Delos† in a house belonging to the second century B.C., and secondly, the fine base from Epidaurus,‡ which shows a figure of the purest archaistic style side by side with others of a kind which might well have been sculptured about 300 B.C. How far back may we place the origin of this archaistic art? Perhaps as far as Callimachos,§ who was famed for

* The translation of this article has been most kindly undertaken by Miss Hutton, to whom the writer and editor owe their best thanks.

† *B. C. H.*, xix., p. 478.

‡ Defrasse and Lechat, *Epidauré*, p. 87. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1895, Pl. 8.

§ Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 438.

his λεπτότης and for his χάρις, and whose *saltantes Lacænae* seem to have provided archaistic sculptors with one of their favourite designs. Further back than this it does not seem possible to go, nor to accept the suggestion of M. Salomon Reinach* that there is no break between archaic and archaistic art, that one ends and the other begins with Calamis, and that some monuments which are generally classed as archaistic (as for instance, the puteal of Corinth or the relief of Panticapæum), should really be considered as the final efforts of Archaism.†

There is no doubt that the archaistic style is a hieratic style, especially used for altars, puteals, palladia, bases of candelabra, and, in a general way, for monuments erected in sanctuaries; subjects relating to Apollo, whether the Delian or the Delphic god, are frequent. Now it is a curious thing that neither in the Temenos of the Delian Apollo, nor at Delphi, have any archaistic remains been found. The probable explanation is that the Romans were particularly fond of monuments executed in this style, and that the marble candelabra in the sanctuary of Pythô were carried away by Sylla and Nero. Probably, however, the greater number of Archaistic Reliefs issued from Italian studios, and hence the interest of the four here described, all of which are undoubtedly Anatolian in origin.

I.

The fragment here reproduced (Plate XI.) is the left-hand upper corner of a white marble relief which in 1895 was in the possession of Dr. Apostolidis, Consular Agent for France at Aïdin (Tralles), where I took an impression of it.‡ On the left is a bearded Dionysos facing to the right, holding the handle of a large cantharos in his right hand, and probably also supporting its foot with his left. On the right is a figure facing Dionysos, Ariadne or a Mænad (?), but of this personage nothing remains except the right hand holding a thyrsos, from the vertical position of which we may gather that the

* *Monuments et mémoires de la fondation Piot*, ii., p. 56.

† *B. C. H.*, xx., p. 451 (Pottier). *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1896, p. 278 (Lechat).

‡ Height 0·155 m., length 0·255 m., thickness 0·03 m. The drawing was made by Mr. F. Anderson from this impression.

wielder of it was not dancing, but standing motionless like Dionysos. The tablet which, when perfect, would be almost square (0·33 m. by 0·33 m.), contained only these two figures framed by a border in relief, and may have served as an ex-voto, or, on the other hand, it may have been merely a decorative panel.

The design is executed in such low relief that an impression of it could be taken with quite thin paper, and the outline of the figures is not incised, as in some of the loutrophoros reliefs; we may also note the excessive attention to detail shown in the rendering of the hair, which is as fine as if the artist were working in metal, and the studied elegance of the hand holding the vase, which is sufficient in itself to stamp the work as archaistic.

II.

The fine fragment depicted in Plate XII, *a*, also comes from Tralles (Aidin), where the late Baltazzi Bey, who secured it for the Museum at Tchinli-Kiosk, assured me that he had found it embedded in the wall of a djami,* and hence the beautiful white marble of which it is composed has weathered to a wonderful golden tone. The figure, which when complete must have been about 0·45 m. high, is probably a Dionysos. We can have no hesitation in describing the style as archaistic, for the mantle with its long pointed train, the undue slenderness of the proportions, the mincing walk on the tips of the toes, sufficiently proclaim the school to which it belongs. Though the treatment in this case is neither hard nor dry, the feet are so finely formed, the long slender hand resting on the bending thyrsos so graceful, the folds of the drapery are arranged and worked out with such a feeling for light and shade, that we can but regret the destruction of the rest of this decorative panel, which would certainly have been one of the finest and most charming extant specimens of archaistic art.

* Joubin, *Catalogue des Sculptures du Musée Impérial Ottoman* (Constantinople, 1893): "Male figure walking to the left, resting on a staff, dressed in a long floating Ionian chiton, the folds of which fall gracefully. Fine Hellenistic work." The reproduction on Plate XII, *a*, has been made from a very good photograph, taken at my request by the orders of H. E. Hamdy Bey. Dimensions: height, 0·31 m.; thickness, 0·04 m.

III.

The two large reliefs reproduced on Plate XIII. are now at Tchinli-Kiosk, and have apparently been for a long time in Constantinople, though Albert Dumont makes no mention of them in his article on the collection at St. Irene.* Where they came from is not known, for the tradition (mentioned by M. Joubin in his catalogue) which refers them to Salonica, does not rest, as the late Baltazzi Bey informed me, on reliable grounds. Both these reliefs are of white marble, which has been reddened in places by the action of fire,† and though it is not so stated in the catalogue of the Imperial Museum, we are tempted to believe that they come from the same monument, for they are of the same height and breadth, the figures are of the same size, so are the plinths, the degree of relief is the same in both, and in marble and style they are identical. What the monument was to which they belonged, it is difficult to say; I should be inclined to suggest that they are the short sides of a sarcophagus; for, owing to the absence of inscriptions, they cannot have been votive tablets.

RELIEF *a*.

The first relief has been thus described by two archæologists who evidently did not devote much time to it.

Reinach, *Cat. du Musée Impérial* (1882), No. 242: "Youth crowned by a victory holding a trophy; to the right a groom holding a horse." Joubin (*do.*), No. 122: "Ex-voto to the Dioscuri. In the middle a standing figure with long hair (presumably female), dressed in a short chiton belted round the waist and fastened on the shoulders. One hand possibly holds a weapon. To the left, one of the Dioscuri wearing a cuirass—a chlamys thrown over his shoulders—stands holding a horse by the bridle."

It is strange that it did not occur to either writer that the central figure is *Artemis*, for with her left hand she holds a bow, the string of

* *Rev. Arch.*, 1868, ii., p. 237; *Mélanges*, p. 256.

† The photographs here reproduced were made by order of the Museum authorities. The result would have been more satisfactory had the moss encrusting the reliefs been cleaned off. The white blotches are caused by it.

which, it is interesting to note, is given in relief, and with her right she is feeling for an arrow in the quiver, the top of which appears behind her neck. It is more difficult to give a name to the figure on the right. He wears a cuirass, therefore he is not one of the Dioscuri; moreover, on reliefs we hardly ever find one of the Dioscuri alone, and besides they are both figured on the other tablet. We have here to do with a god, because he is the same height as Artemis and Niké, and the temptation is strong to call him Ares. The Niké type facing to the right, with a trophy in the left hand and a crown held out in the uplifted right, is shown on a gem* (due allowance being made for the reversal of the design in printing). The gold coins of Pyrrhus† also show her moving to the right with trophy and crown, but the hand which holds the latter is lowered, not raised.

It is obvious that in this relief, as in the one from Epidauros, we have an archaistic figure, the Niké, side by side with figures which have no such tendency. This archaistic mannerism is shown, not only in such details of costume as the long pointed train (*en queue d'hirondelle*) and the arrangement of the hair, the *crobylos* being a rather clumsy imitation of the archaic *crobylos*, but also in the details of execution, such as the affected and over-minute rendering of the hair, the wings, and the drapery.

IV.

“Ὅταν δὲ κάμψῃς καὶ τελευτήσῃς βίον,
θεὸς κεκλήσῃ, καὶ Διοσκόρων μέτα
σπονδῶν μεθέξεις· ξένιά τ’ ἀνθρώπων πάρα
ἔξεις μεθ’ ἡμῶν· Ζεὺς γάρ ὧδε βούλεται.

Eur. *Helena*, v. 1666—1669.

The corresponding relief has no traces of the archaistic manner, but the two evidently cannot be separated from one another.

RELIEF δ.

Reinach (*op. cit.*), No. 240: “Woman standing between two men; on either side the *protomè* of a horse. Ex-voto to the Dioscuri.”

* Gori, *Mus. Flor.*, ii., Pl. 71. Reinach, *Pierres gravées*, Pl. 65.

† *Cat. of Greek Coins, Thessaly, &c.*, Pl. XX.

Joubin, No. 121: Ex-voto to the Dioscuri; in the middle stands Helen, clothed in a long tunic, her head veiled by one corner of her mantle. Roman work.

The standing, full-face figure of Helen between her brothers, represented either as riding towards her or holding their horses by the bridle, appears on a certain number of monuments of very varied origin. I propose to enumerate them, and then to try to explain the religious meaning of the type.

1. *Sparta*.—The starting point of the inquiry is necessarily Sparta, for the type originated there in the home of the Tyndaridae. From a very early period Helen was worshipped* on Mount Menelaion (possibly the site of the Homeric Sparta), and the Dioscuri had a temple there.† On the other hand, it was Kastor and Polydeukes who brought the girl Helen back to Sparta from Aphidna or Athens, whither Theseus had carried her off. Further, at Sparta have been found the records of a society which, in the first century B.C., worshipped the Dioscuri and Helen by sacrifice and banquet (*σιτήσεις*); these records are the lists of the members of the society; they do not contain the actual names of the Tyndaridae, but the reliefs engraved at the head of the lists leave no doubt as to the individuality of the divinities worshipped by the *σιτηθέντες*, for they represent Helen between her brothers.‡ Further, it has been noticed that among the officials of this society figures a *γυναικονόμος*, who, like the same official at Andania, chose by lot the *ιεραί* and the *κοραί* who were to take part in the *πόμπη*, and saw that their costume was that prescribed by custom, &c. Hence it follows that women as well as men took part in the festivals of Helen and the Dioscuri—a natural enough custom, because it was in honour of the heroine as well as of the two heroes. Now we learn from Hesychius (*s. v. κάρναθρα*) that the Spartan maidens drove in procession, in a special kind of chariot, to the temple of Helen, doubtless to the one at Therapnè, which, Herodotus tells us, already existed in the sixth century.

* *Herod.*, vi. 61; *Laudatio Helenae*, 63. Cf. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, ii., p. 316; Wide, *Lakonische Culte*, p. 340; *Rev. Arch.*, 1897, i., p. 9.

† *Stephan. Byz.*, s. v. *Θεράπνη*.

‡ *Annali*, 1861, pp. 38—40, Tav. d'Agg. D.; *Ath. Mitth.*, ii., pp. 201-3. I conclude it is owing to an oversight that Engelmann (*Roscher's Lexicon*, i., p. 1972) states that one of these reliefs was found at Gythion. Only one list of members is complete. The present description is based on M. Foucart's masterly study (*Inscrip. du Péloponnèse*, No. 163A).

This temple had a cultus-statue to which the Helen on one of the lists of the *σπηθέντες* is certainly referable; she is depicted standing on a pedestal with *ταινίαι* or *στέμματα* in her hands, like those held by the Artemis of Ephesus or shown on the Delphic omphalos, on tripods, altars, &c.* On her head she wears a polos, which recalls the headdress of the small leaden figures found in such quantities in this same temple at Therapnè, which either represent Helen herself or female worshippers engaged in celebrating her festival.†

2. *Tarentum*.—It is well known that the worship of the Dioscuri flourished at the great Lacedaemonian colony of Tarentum, but neither here nor in any of the Dorian cities of Magna Graecia, where the coin-types prove the existence of a deeply-rooted devotion to these heroes, does, so far as I know, the schema of the three Tyndaridae exist.

3. *Tyndaris*.—The worship of the Dioscuri flourished also in Messenia, and a Messenian colony in Sicily bore the name of Tyndaris. The coins of this city have for a reverse type one of the Dioscuri on horseback, or the two stars which were the emblems of the swan's sons; on the obverse, a female head with the inscription **ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΣ**, representing the *ἡρώσσα* who gave her name to the colony, but Helen between her brothers does not appear as a coin type.‡

4. *Asia Minor*.—We must now travel far from Sparta to find a large series of monuments representing this type, namely to Pisidia and Milyas, where their presence has been accounted for by assuming the existence of local myths, analogous to the Spartan tales of the Tyndaridae, and that the Helen of Pisidian coins and reliefs is a local heroine;§ this is, however, a gratuitously unnecessary supposition, as the existence in Pisidia of monuments which bear the same design as the lists of the Spartan *σπηθέντες* is more easily explained in the light of the following facts:—

* Furtwaengler, *Masterpieces*, p. 408. For the Artemis of Ephesus, cf. *Cat. of Gr. Coins, Ionia*, Pl. 13. For the altar, cf. Schreiber, *Reliefbilder*, Pl. LXVI. For the lyre of Apollo, cf. Schreiber, Pl. XXXIV.

† I published these figures in the *Rev. Arch.* (1897, p. 9, Pl. I., II.), and endeavoured to show the pre-Dorian origin of the religion the existence of which they prove. Two collections exist—one in the National Museum at Athens and one in Munich.

‡ *Zeitsch. für Num.*, iii. 27, Pl. I. (von Duhn).

§ Hill, *Catal. of Gr. Coins, Lycia*, p. lvii. M. Radet does not touch on these Lacedaemonian settlements in his remarkable essay (*Rev. Arch.*, 1893, i., p. 185).

Selgé, one of the most important cities in Pisidia, owed its second foundation to Lacedaemonian colonists. The testimony of Strabo (xii. 570) is confirmed by the evidence of coins, for we have one struck on the occasion of an alliance between Selgé and Lacedaemonia (Mionnet, iii. p. 525, No. 192).

Sagalassos, to the north of Selgé, is probably a colony from that town, for its name is formed by adding the termination *assos*, so frequent in names of Pisidian cities, to the word Selgé. The hero **ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΩΝ** is represented on the coins of Sagalassos, as well as the Dioscuri and their twin altars.

Amblada, another Pisidian city, boasted also of its Lacedaemonian origin, as is shown by the inscription on its coins, **ΑΜΒΛΑΔΕΩΝ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ**. So far, we have no coin from these three towns, Selgé, Sagalassos and Amblada, representing Helen between the Dioscuri, but there is no doubt that it was from here that the worship of the Tyndaridae spread through Western Pisidia, where its existence is attested by the reliefs of *Alifaradin* and *Jazir* * in Milyas, and by the coins of *Termessos Major* † and *Codroura*, ‡ all of which monuments, whether coins or reliefs, date from Imperial times.

From Western Pisidia the type passed into Lycia, as is proved by a coin of *Acalissos*, § and a relief from *Telmessos* which M. Bérard describes as follows: "Bas-relief of poor workmanship representing two horsemen facing one another and a draped female statue, doubtless the Dioscuri and the Artemis of Telmessos." || While it is true that the inhabitants of this city worshipped Artemis, it is certain that the draped figure standing between the Dioscuri can be no other than their sister Helen.

5. *Attica*.—Reference has already been made to the story which connects the three Tyndaridae with Attica; but no Attic bas-relief representing Helen between her brothers has been found in Attica, save the sarcophagus at Kephisia. ¶ Perhaps this sarcophagus, which is not of particularly late workmanship, was made for a member of the great Kephisia family to which Mikion and Eurykleides belonged, the two brothers who were for some time at the head of affairs in

* *Reisen in Lykien*, ii., pp. 168—171.

† *Cat. of Gr. Coins, Lycia*, p. 270.

§ *Op. cit.*, p. 40, Pl. IX. 12.

¶ *Ulrichs, Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, Pl. XVI. = Roscher, i., 1591.

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 211, Pl. XXXIX. 9.

|| *B. C. H.*, xiv., p. 176.

Athens and were poisoned by order of Philip V. of Macedonia. Tetradrachms which bear the names of Mikion and Eurykleides* have the Dioscuri as a magistrates' symbol; we know that they were worshipped in Attica, as the *μεγάλοι θεοί* in the deme of Kephale at the entrance to Laurion (Paus. I, 13, 1), as the *ἄνακες* at Athens (*ibid.* I, 18, 1). The priest of the *ἄνακες* had a special seat in the theatre of Dionysos (*C. I. A.* iii. 290) and their worship, which was of long standing (*τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον*), is mentioned in inscriptions as early as the 5th century (*e.g.*, *C. I. A.* i. 34). It is quite possible that the great Kephisia family to which Mikion and Eurykleides belonged discharged the duties of priests of the *ἄνακες* at Athens; possibly, too, they boasted of having offered hospitality to the two heroes, or again, like the great Spartan family of Eurykles,† they may have claimed descent from them. The coincidence of the two names Eurykles and Eurykleides is at any rate curious.

Finally, in ending this account of the Athenian worship of the Dioscuri, it may be mentioned that, judging from Pausanias' account of the group in the *Ἀνακείων*, neither the type of Helen between her brothers, nor that of the Dioscuri by themselves on horseback, existed at Athens (*αὐτοὶ τε ἐστῶτες καὶ οἱ παῖδες καθημένοι σφισὶν ἐφ' ἵππων*).

6. *Macedonia*.—At Stobi, in Macedonia, M. Heuzey found a bas-relief without any inscription, representing the Dioscuri and Helen.‡

7. *Epirus*.—Ampelius, in enumerating the *mirabilia mundi*, mentions a mural picture of Castor, Pollux, and Helen at Ambracia in Epirus. "*Ambraciae in Epiro in pariete sunt picti Castor et Pollux et Helena, manu autochthonis, et nemo invenire potest quis pinxerit.*"

8. *Origin unknown*.

A votive relief of unknown origin in the Museum at Constantinople shows a group of Helen between her brothers§ and bears the following inscription, ΑΓΑΘΩΝ · ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ · ΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΙΣ || · ΚΑΤΕΥΧΗΝ

9. In the Lewis Collection is a carnelian which represents a female figure (Helen) standing between the equestrian figures of Castor and

* Head, *Attica*, p. 66, Pl. XI. 7; cf. Théodore Reinach, *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, i., p. 172.

† Weil, *Die Familie des C. Julius Eurycles* (*Ath. Mitth.*, vi., p. 10); *B. C. H.*, xxi., p. 209.

‡ *Rev. Arch.*, 1873, ii. p. 40, reproduced in the *Mission de Macédoine*.

§ Joubin, No. 123.

|| *Sic.* Joubin Διοσκούρις.

Pollux. Helen holds a sceptre in her hand and has the crescent above her head, as in the coin of Termessos Major.*

10. In the British Museum is a gold ring from the Hamilton collection, which has the Dioscuri on foot leaning on their lances, and between them Helen veiled, the lunar crescent on her head.

Monuments not referable to the motive.

11. It has been stated more than once that the type of Helen between the Dioscuri occurs as early as the chest of Cypselos. But Pausanias says: Εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι Διόσκουροι, ὁ ἕτερος οὐκ ἔχων πω γένεια, μέση δὲ αὐτῶν Ἑλένη· Αἴθρα δὲ ἡ Πιτθέως ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλένης τοῖς ποσὶν ἐς ἑάφος καταβεβλημένη.† Thus a scene was described representing four people, Helen and Æthra between Castor and Polydeuces. This scene, the central group of which must have been in violent motion, was quite different from the hieratic ἐπιφανεία of the Tyndaridae on the monuments before enumerated.

It is curious that one of the twins on the chest was represented beardless, the other bearded, though this curious variation does occur on one extant monument, a sarcophagus at Arles,‡ on which, however, as the work belongs to a late period (possibly the 3rd century, A.D.), it is probably connected with the sepulchral nature of the monument, and with the symbolical ideas with which the designers of Roman sarcophagi were deeply imbued.§

12. No mention so far has been made of the numerous Etruscan mirrors, which are decorated with this design of Helen between her

* Described by Middleton as "a standing figure of the Oriental Artemis or Moon Goddess between Castor and Pollux." *The Lewis Collection at Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge*, p. 68, No. 97.

† V., 19, 2. Cp. Dio Chrysostom, xi., p. 325 R. For the discussion cp. H. Stuart Jones, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1894, p. 76.

‡ *Gaz. Arch.*, 1878, Pl. I.; Le Blant, *Sarcophages Chrétiens d'Arles*, p. 38.

§ Maurice Albert, *Le culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie*, describes a Roman lamp with only one figure and that one bearded, but it is impossible to discuss it without a personal examination, and I am tempted to believe that the figure is not one of the Dioscuri. The author further (*op. cit.*, Pl. III.) reproduces a lamp which exists in the Cabinet de France, which, as he states, bears bearded heads of Dioscuri (similar lamp in d'Agincourt, *Sculpture antique en terre cuite*, Pl. XXIV. 5); but these Dioscuri are really the Cabiri of Samothrace, who were assimilated to the Dioscuri. In proof of this assimilation, compare a lamp in the British Museum (Sloane Collection), which represents Dioscuri heads beardless, but surmounted in the same way by the four-pointed star. The vases quoted by Mr. Frazer (Paus., iii., 616) have no bearing on the question of the Dioscuri.

brothers,* and the reason for this omission is that the treatment of the subject on the mirrors is so entirely different from that on the monuments previously described, that we must carefully avoid confusing two types which differ so widely. On Etruscan mirrors Helen is nude or semi-nude; her brothers, without their horses, stand beside her in heroic nudity; and their meeting, at which others are often present, is treated in a spirit of gallantry quite in accordance with the object decorated. The Spartan reliefs and their derivatives show us a widely different scene. Helen is there fully draped like a sober matron, and her brothers join her, but not, as once at Aphidna, to take her back to the paternal roof. On the *σιτηθέντες* reliefs and on the one from Alifaradin she wears a polos; on the two from Constantinople (Relief *b*, Plate XIII., and No. 9 of our list) her head is veiled in her mantle; the Stobi relief gives her an aureole, and one of those from Sparta places her on a pedestal: hence it would seem as if the locality implied, so to say, in these reliefs, were the interior of the temple of Therapnè; we have the statue of Helen, and hither her brothers come or are coming, *ἐπιφανέστατοι θεοί*, to take part in *ξένια* in their sister's temple.

The Kephisia sarcophagus, on which the Dioscuri have no horses, offers no valid argument against this explanation, and from another point of view has an important bearing on it, for it proves the sepulchral appositeness of our type. It is well known that the two Dioscuri without their sister often appear on Roman sarcophagi; the two heroes, who had been cut off in the flower of their youth, appropriately symbolized sudden and premature death; on the other hand they were *the* heroes *par excellence*, patron saints, as it were, of the dead, who, like them, became *ἥρωες*; finally, being *θεοὶ σωτῆρες*, saviours of men, they were helpful, not only to the sailor, but to the dead, and what Castor and Pollux did for *ἥρωες* Helen would naturally do for *ἡρώισσαι*. Helen, who had helped Hades to garner so rich a harvest, was no mere mortal, she was a daughter of Zeus—*Διὸς κόρη*—; at Sparta she was a goddess. In the same way, Phaedra at Troezen seems to have been the object of a cult. It is certainly she who appears to be referred to in a dedication in the local dialect found at Troezen by M. Legrand, *B. C. H.*, xvii., p. 94. In Italy, as in all Latin lands, the brothers of Helen were

* Gerhard, *Etrusk. Spiegel*, ii., 203; v., 71—81; Albert, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

represented without her on sepulchral monuments, but this was not the case in Greek countries.

It has already been suggested that the two Constantinople reliefs (*a* and *b*) are the short sides of a large sarcophagus. The Macedonian relief from Stobi is probably not a votive tablet, but a sepulchral relief; Helen seems to be carrying a torch, as if she were really an under-world divinity, another Persephoné or Hecaté. With this relief we may connect another Macedonian one, from Cerdylum near Amphipolis,* which is extremely important as proving the funereal character of the schema of Helen between the Dioscuri and its bearing on the study of the worship of the heroes. On a pedestal stands the statue of a woman (Calliopé), a draped full-face figure; this pedestal bears the inscription **ΧΑΙΠΕ**, the farewell to the dead; the brothers of Calliope, two of whom have Thracian names, Zelmoutas, Dioscourides, Zeipyrrion, ride up at a hand gallop, two to the left, one to the right. The inscription styles them *ἡρώες*; if they had been only two not three in number, should we not call their tombstone an ex-voto to the Dioscuri? for the same idea which suggested this sepulchral monument is certainly the basis both of the Stobi and the *σιτηθέντες* reliefs.

To return to these latter, it is very probable that the Spartan society regarded the Tyndaridae especially in the light of funereal divinities and protectors of the dead. The development of the beliefs relating to the heroization of the dead is a somewhat late one, and we saw that the lists of the *σιτηθέντες* were not anterior to the 1st century B.C.

We may quote the words addressed by Horace to Vergil's ship—

“Sic te diva potens Cypri
Sic fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera,” &c.

or by the Dioscuri themselves to their sister Helen in the lines of Euripides:†

[Σωτῆρε δ' ἡμεῖς σὼ κασιγνήτω διπλῷ
πάντον παριππεύοντε πέμψομεν πάτραν.

And we also know that the Pharos was dedicated to the “Saviours” (Θεοὶς σωτήρησι), *i.e.*, quite as much to the Dioscuri as to Ptolemy Soter

* B. C. H., xviii., p. 436.

† *Helena*, v. 1664, 1665.

and Arsinoë. The Dioscuri were in fact the tutelary heroes, not of the dead only, but also of those "that go down to the sea in ships," and in both characters their sister Helen was associated with them, though, according to popular belief, they brought fine weather to the sailor and she brought storms.* The question therefore arises whether among the monuments which give all three Tyndaridae together there are any where their claim to representation is based on their seafaring character. It is possible that the relief of Agathon and the one found by M. Bérard in the seaport town of Telmessos (Makri) were offered by sailors, but there is absolutely no means of proving it. The greater part of the monuments which depict the three Tyndaridae come from inland towns and have no connection with the sea at all. A votive tablet offered to them because they were seafaring deities would be something new, and as far as our present knowledge goes we may affirm that the schema of the three Tyndaridae is purely heroic and funereal in meaning.

PAUL F. PERDRIZET.

[The sculpture represented in Pl. XII. *b*, is the fragment of an archaistic relief in the possession of M. E. Duval, of Morillon, Geneva, which is described by Von Duhn in *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1895, p. 54, fig. 10. The small text illustration there given led me to believe that this fragment must have formed part of, if it did not actually join on to, the Tralles relief on Pl. XII. *a*. The two fragments are unquestionably in the same style, and have certainly represented parts of the same subject.

M. Duval, with great courtesy, specially photographed his fragment for me, and gave me permission for its republication, furnishing me at the same time with fresh details which make it clear that the two fragments are from separate monuments. Thus the opinion of M. Perdrizet, who had almost from the outset contested the *rap-prochement*, was absolutely confirmed; but he kindly agreed that the Duval fragment should appear on his plate, and allows me to add this note. The juxtaposition of the two, reduced to the same scale, is sufficiently suggestive to answer for itself; and I think it will be conceded that my supposition, though mistaken, was not unnatural.

M. Duval's account is as follows:—"This Bacchus, or priest of Bacchus, was procured for me in 1886 by the late M. Walter Fol, who was then at Rome. He never informed me of its provenance, but in a letter which he wrote to me at the time he stated that other less important fragments of the same altar accompanied the one sent me, and specified two heads of rams which in all probability bordered the composition on either side. The marble is Greek, of a very close grain and very hard; it is, however, not Parian. The dimensions are 0.256 m., greatest height; 0.19 m., greatest width. The thickness of the upper part is 0.022 m. for the whole width; the lower part on the right side is 0.015 m. thick, but only 0.005 m. on the left side (not including the reliefs). The two surfaces, although both plane, are not parallel, there being an in-

* Maurice Albert, *op. cit.* pp. 64, 65.

crease of 0.010 m. at the lower right-hand corner. The most salient part of the relief at the break measures (including the thickness of the slab) 0.032 m., and when this is compared with the thickness (0.04 m.) of the Tralles fragment at the same point, it seems scarcely probable that the two fragments can form part of the same relief; the more so, as the width of the Tralles fragment (0.31 m.), which is almost entirely occupied by the figure, would give a measurement altogether out of proportion to that of the upper part of the figure on the other fragment."

Though, therefore, it is fairly clear that the two fragments are from separate monuments, it seems to me equally clear that both, when complete, represented the same type of Dionysos. It is a variation of the type given in Hauser, *Neu-Attische Reliefs*, Pl. I., No. 10. The mention of rams' heads in M. Duval's letter makes it probable that his fragment is part of a three-sided base, such as is described in Hauser under type VII., *a*; on p. 135 he describes one such example (No. 47 of his list) which has rams' heads at the upper corners. This same base (*op. cit.*, p. 36) has a relief of Dionysos which must resemble ours very closely. The popularity it enjoyed among sculptors of archaistic works is referred to by Hauser, who mentions the fact that no less than four examples of it are known to him.

C. S.

RELIEF AT AIDIN (TRALLES).

(b)

(a)

(a) RELIEF FROM AÏDIN AT TCHINLI-KIOSK.

(b) RELIEF IN THE POSSESSION OF M. DUVAL AT MORILLON.

(b)

(a)