XVIII. *Observations on the Xanthian Marbles recently deposited in the British Museum.* By SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq.

Read 2 March, 1843.

PREVIOUS to describing the interesting remains discovered by Mr. Fellows, in Lycia, in the years one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine and one thousand eight hundred and forty, and subsequently removed by the British Government, and deposited in the National Collection, it will be necessary to understand the variety of art exhibited on these marbles, and to take a succinct view of the vicissitudes experienced by the races which occupied the valley of the Xanthus. The manner in which the marbles were removed has been already announced elsewhere to the public; and the present Dissertation is only intended to consider them in respect to art, mythology, and the local history of the Xanthians.

The early arrival of a Cretan colony is veiled under the myth of the unsuccessful revolt of Sarpedon, who emigrated with the defeated party to the Milyas, whose people were at that time called Solymi.^a The Lycians were then named, as at the time of Herodotus,^b by their neighbours Termilæ, Tramilæ, or Tremilæ, a name perhaps alluding to the triple division of the Milyas. In the Iliad^c Iobates, King of the Lycians, receives Bellerophon, and orders him to subjugate the Solymi, a proof that the Tramilæ and the Solymi were distinct races, and the latter, in all probability, the aboriginal occupiers of the soil. These Cretan settlers, who apparently occupied the coast,^d seem to have been followed by an Attic colony, of which the mythic leader

^a The Solymi were stated to be a Scythic race: ἐθνῆ Σκυθῶν. Cf. Hesychius voce Solymi. Apollonius, Lex. ἐθνὸς βαρβαρικόν; Scholiast. ad Pindar. Olymp. xiii. places them between Lycia and Pamphylia. Josephus, Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 16. allies them to the Jews.

^b Lib. i. Clio, 173.

^c L. 184—6.

^d According to Ephorus they first ruled the sea. Scymnus Chius, l. 543-5.

was Lycus,^d the son of Pandion, the same prophet who introduced the rites and orgies of the Eleusinian deities into Messenia, where he delivered them to Aphareus.^e The Lycians are stated, by the most credible writers, to have derived their name from this Lycus,^f who was driven from Attica by Ægeus; but Menecrates, in his *Lyciaca*,^g and Menander derive the appellation from the wolves, which led Leto, or Latona, to the Xanthus. The goddess, according to this myth, after giving birth to Apollo and Diana in Asteria, came to Lycia to bathe them in the streams of the Xanthus: but, meeting with the fountain Melite, endeavoured to wash the children there. Being driven thence by shepherds, she was shewn by wolves (λύκοι) the road to the Xanthus, and when she had drunk some of the waters, and washed the children, she changed the name, out of gratitude to the animals, from Trimilis to Lycia, and turned the shepherds into frogs. This story is much more recent than that of the emigration of Lycus, while the name of Lycia is found from the time of Homer to the Romans. Hecataeus makes Lycia the daughter of the Xanthus.^h The inscriptions in the Lycian language have not been sufficiently decyphered to make out the general geographical nomenclature; for, although *Tramilæ*ⁱ occurs on the monuments of Xanthus, too little has been read to decypher the meaning of the context, with which it is found. The Lycian story is here connected with the Argive myths, for Argos continued to be the seat of government of the house of Danaus, till Proetus and Acrisius, the sons of Abas, contended with one another for the throne. Acrisius, the father of Danae, and grandfather of Perseus, is stated to have succeeded in expelling Proetus, who, driven from the Peloponnese, returned with a band of Lycians, and forced Acrisius to share the sovereignty with him, and, according to the legend, built with the aid of Lycian Cyclopes or Cheirogastores, the walls of Tiryns and Mycenæ.^j To follow the mythic history of Lycia, Bellerophon is

^d Herodot. loc. cit.

^e Paus. lib. iv.

^f Herodot. vii. 92.

^g As cited in Antoninus Liberalis, cap. xxx. Cf. Latini, *Mythogr. Tres.* i. 187.: ii. 17. The same story is told of Demeter or Ceres, i. 10. 95.

^h Steph. Byz. Voce Παράπα.

ⁱ By Mr. Daniel Sharpe, for whose ingenious researches vid. Fellows's Journal.

^j See Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 61. 111. Cf. Latini, *Mythogr. Tres.* ii. 131. who make "Abantem . . . qui et Iobates dicitur," and send Bellerophon against the Calydones. Strab. viii. p. 572. Poll. I. 5. 50.

sent thither by Proetus and received by Iobates, king of the country, and three labours are imposed upon him, as on all the personages of the heroic age: the destruction of the Chimæra—the conquest of the Solymi—and the repulse of the Amazons. To these he adds the annihilation of the party which lay in ambush at his return.^k At the Trojan war Sarpedon and Glaucus appear as leaders of the Lycians, the former the son of Jupiter and Laodamia, the latter his friend and companion, who assumes the command of the forces on the death of Sarpedon, who is killed by Patroclus, and his corpse conveyed by Death and Sleep to Lycia, to be honoured with a stele and tomb.^l There is some reason for supposing Pandarus, the celebrated archer, to have also led a tribe, or colony, of the Lycians to Troy; and Mr. Sharpe has endeavoured to identify the inhabitants of the city of Tlos of the Xanthus with the Trooneme of the inscribed obelisk in the Lycian language. Without rejecting his theory, we must wait for more decisive evidence; because that monument may record a general conquest of Asia Minor, in which the inhabitants of the Troad would, of course, figure. The appearance, however, of coins of what I shall term the early Lycian league, with this word, tends much to strengthen the ingenuity of the hypothesis. But, as we are not here treading upon historical ground, it is of comparatively little value to the geographical distribution. From the epoch of the Iliad to the age of Cræsus, the Lycians appear to have enjoyed a federal independence, consisting of the aboriginal race, using perhaps an Indo-Germanic dialect,^m and the swarms of Greek settlers, who peopled Asia Minor; but the Lydian monarch is stated to have brought them under his yoke along with the other nations of Asia Minor.ⁿ The resistance they offered upon this occasion is not stated, and they formed a dependency upon Lydia till the age of Cyrus.

The rapid rise of the Persian monarchy under Cyrus alarmed the court of Sardis; and on the subjugation of his brother-in-law, Astyages, and of the Median empire, Cræsus, after consulting the oracle, resolves to attack the Persians. The fall of Sardis, and capture of Cræsus by Cyrus, left at liberty

^k The story of Bellerophon is a Corinthian myth. We have no trace of Corinthian settlers at Xanthus. It seems modelled on the Attic and Corinthian myths.

^l This was probably to Xanthus, where there was an heroum to Sarpedon.

^m Vid. supra. These were a Scythic race.

ⁿ Herodot. Clio, i. 28.

a division of the Persian army for the conquest of Lycia; and Harpagus^o the Mede, the general of Cyrus, who had succeeded Mazares, the conqueror of the Ionians, marched down upon that country with a mixed corps of Persians, Ionians,^p and Æolians. It was probably brought against them, because, in the stand made by the Ionians against Cyrus, the Ionians had chosen for leaders the Glaucidæ or royal family of Lycia, with the Codridæ of the Caucones Pylîi for their kings.^q This event must have happened later than 546 B.C., probably in the consecutive year. The expedition of Harpagus was directed against the South-Western states of Asia Minor, the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians; the Carians surrendered without a blow, as did also the Cnidians of Triopium; but the people of Pedasus held out, and fortified Mount Lide, and were only taken by blockade. The most desperate resistance was made by the inhabitants of Xanthus; when driven from the plain by the allied forces they took refuge in their citadel, collected in it their wives, children, and treasure, and burnt or destroyed themselves rather than submit to the invader. Of the whole population only eighty families, whom chance^r had placed beyond the limits of the city, escaped the calamity; and, although Xanthus regained a portion of its consequence and its power, the inhabitants were new-comers, perhaps settlers allowed by the Persians, who might have distributed the lands among their Ionian and Æolian subjects. They must have soon recovered from the blow, for they sent fifty ships of war to the expedition of Xerxes against Greece,^s and paid, with the Ionians, Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyæ, and Pamphylians, 400 talents of silver to the Persian government annually, ranking as the most powerful satrapy of their victors, retaining a portion of the free government to which they were devoted, and having their own monarchs for satraps. An isolated fact about this period is the attack by the Lycians upon the people of Telmisus under their king Pericles, and the subjection of the former.^t Little

^o Herodot. Clio, i. 171. Cf. *ibid.* 80. Harpagus was present at the siege of Sardis.

^p ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνάς καὶ Αἰολέας. *ibid.*

^q Herod. i. 141.

^r Herod. Clio, i. 176.

^s *Ibid.* vii. 92.

^t Theopomp. lib. xii. in Photii Biblioth. Cod. clxxvi. The perfect Lycian coins reading ΠΙΡΕΚΛΕ Πηρεκλε . . and the clipt ones with ΙΡΕΚΑΙ, ΙΡΕΚ . . ηκλε, ηρεκ, may be of this monarch, who must have reigned about 400 B.C.

is known of the fate of Lycia, till the war of the Peloponnese, when the Athenians, who levied contributions upon Rhodes and Caria, may have done the same upon the Lycians.^u

During the contest between Alexander and Darius, upon the capture of Hyparna, a small fort garrisoned with Greek mercenaries, Alexander marched down into Lycia. He followed the course of the Xanthus, and the cities of Pinara, Xanthus, and Patara, with thirty smaller forts, fell into his power, and he then, although in the depth of winter, marched into the Milyas. The Xanthians are said to have made a defence as obstinate as their former one against Harpagus.^x At the siege of Tyre they furnished ten ships of war, probably from Phaselis, to Alexander,^y and at his death were handed over to Nearchus.^z This assignment of a maritime province, so natural for the admiral of Alexander, is borne out by Diodorus, for Nearchus followed the fortunes of Antigonus, in the army of whose son^a were enrolled 500 Pamphylians and Lycians, probably *hoplitæ*; and in the fourth year of the cxvii. Olympiad, Ptolemy, in the war with Antigonus, sailed to Phaselis, which he took by siege; and, having entered Lycia, stormed and took by assault Xanthus, which had a garrison from the forces of Antigonus.^b From this time they passed to the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ. After the defeat of Antiochus, they were ceded by the Romans to Rhodes; but the Lycians, ever jealous of their liberties, resisted the appropriation, and the Romans, when called upon to decide the dispute, restored to them their liberties.^c The next interruption to their freedom was the attack made upon them during the civil war between Brutus and the Triumvirs, for the purpose of levying a contribution. The Roman general was assisted in his enterprise by the people of Oenanda, and laid siege to them in a regular manner. By the stratagem of feigning careless watch, he induced them to sally, and the besiegers rushed in along with the

^u Cramer (I.A.) *Asia Minor*, lib. ii. 173.

^x Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* lib. i. s. xxi. Appian. *Bell. Civ.* iv.

^y Arrian, lib. ii. c. xx.

^z Justin, lib. xiii. s. 4.

^a Λυκίους δὲ καὶ Παμφυλίους πεντακοσίους, Πέρσας τε τοξότας, κ.τ.λ. As no *hoplitæ* are mentioned, it is probable the Lycians and Pamphylians composed them. Diod. Sic. xix. c. 69.

^b Ξάνθον φρουρουμένην ὑπ' Ἀντίγονου κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν. Ibid. xx. c. 27.

^c Polyb. lib.

besieged in the repulse from the lines ; the gates were lowered, and a large body of Romans were shut up in the town, and occupied the Sarpedonion ; their comrades without, emulated by the people of Oenanda, scaled the walls, when the inhabitants of Xanthus gave a third instance of their love of liberty—destroyed themselves, their wives, and their children, few surviving the capture.^c From that time they seem to have followed the destinies of the Roman empire ;^d under Tiberius they were afflicted with an earthquake, and his successor Claudius reduced them to a Roman province. Another earthquake happened under the Antonines.^e

The town of Xanthus was situated seventy stadia from the sea, upon the left bank of the Sibres,^f or Sibrus,^g called by the Greeks Xanthus,^h both terms meaning the yellow river. The old name of the city is stated to have been Arna,ⁱ but, whether so called by the Greeks or Solymi, is uncertain ; while according to Hecataeus it took its name from a Cretan or Ægyptian founder of the name of Xanthus.^k The discovery of its site shews it to have been situated upon a plateau of elevated ground, in form nearly rectangular ; the elevated part, close to the river, rising about 200 feet, was crowned by a building, termed by Mr. Fellows the ancient Acropolis ; and the walls rebuilt by the Romans in this locality contained the most ancient remains, and the seats and ornamented chairs of the theatre inserted into them. On the brow of the Acropolis stood the Harpy tomb, and an ancient theatre of Greek workmanship ; while the other part in the city, which lay to the east of it, and further from the river, contained a melange of Greek and Roman edifices.

The government of the Lycians appears to have been a federal republic of

^c Appian. lib. viii. 634.

^d Under whom they enjoyed a certain share of liberty. Herodes Agrippa says,—*Χωρίς ὅπλων φορολογοῦνται.* Joseph. ii. 16. ^e Paus. lib. vii.

^f Ibid. Panyasis says, *Σιβρὸς ἐν ἀργυρεῷ*, “ in the silvery Sibrus.”

^g Homer. Il. i. 174.

^h Stephanus Byzantinus in voce. Arne is a Greek name. One of the chief towns of Bœotia bore it. Another, in Thessaly and Chæroneia, was anciently called by the same name. It might have been introduced with the Æolian migration. See Thirlwall, History of Greece, i. p. 254. ⁱ Cf. Cramer, Geogr. of Asia Minor, ii. 243.

^k Fragment. Histor. Græc. roy. 8vo. Par. 1841, p. 16.

six-and-twenty towns—each of which returned members or deputies to the general confederation which was held at one of them. After electing a Lyciarches they chose the other members of the administration. Each town sent in proportion to its size and importance from one to three members. This league is attested by the archaic and more recent drachmæ; on the former appears the head of a lion's skin and a three-pronged instrument,¹ the latter have the laurelled head and lyre of the Lycian Apollo. Their laws were partly Carian, and partly Cretan:^a according to Heraclides Ponticus they were governed by customs rather than laws,^o were distinguished by having been governed by women, and from this sex they traced their descent; false witnesses were sold, and their property brought into the public exchequer.^p It is to be presumed that in other respects their manners were Greek; but the testimony with regard to their conduct is conflicting, they being alternately depicted as superior to their neighbours, or as thieves. Their arms resembled the Greeks, breast-plates, greaves, darts, goat-skins round their shoulders, and caps surmounted by feathers upon their heads;^q their hand weapons were daggers, falchions, bows, and reed arrows not tipped with feather. In the use of the bow they particularly excelled.^r Their language was Greek, and that of the Solymi^s an Indo-Germanic dialect; their letters, with scarcely an exception, archaic Greek; their architecture, sculpture, and painting, all derived from the Greek settlers, tinged with a few local peculiarities; their religion, Greek myths adapted to the country.

I. Of all the remains transported to England the most archaic in point of style and execution are those found among the ruins of the old city, at the supposed Acropolis, on the left of Mr. Fellows's last plan. These were evidently the relics of an older building, having, according to Mr. Fellows, been built into the walls at the time of the Romans. They are distinguished

¹ I suspect the *τρία μέλεα*, "three limbs," of this, was allusive to the name *Tramilæ*.

^m These coins attest an early and secondary league; they are parallel in a numismatic sense to the Bœotian, the Achæan, and the Corinthian league.

ⁿ Herodot. ii. 173.

^o *De Politiis. Lycii* (*Περὶ Πολίτειων Λυκίων*.)

^p Heraclid. loc. cit.

^q Herodot. vii. 93.

^r As in *Pandarus*, this they probably derived from the Cretans.

^s Strabo particularly mentions the language of the Solymi, as one of the four which, with Lydian, Pisidian, and Greek, divided Asia Minor, and was spoken at Cibra.

by presenting a much earlier style of art, and by being executed in a rougher material. They resemble the early Greek school, such as is found on the doors of the treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ, and in the vases intermediate between the Nolano-Egyptian, or Phœnician, and Tyrrhenian styles. The subjects found upon them are a lion devouring a deer, a frieze with fowls spiritedly executed, and a satyr nearly the size of life running along the ground, and holding in both his hands the branch of a tree. These are well executed, full and muscular; but have suffered much from the elements. On comparing these with the remains of the Doric temple at Assus, in the frieze of which is a succession of animals, and in whose metopes are centaurs, it is evident that the present may have formed part of the frieze of a similar temple, and of its metopes, quantities of fragments of bas-reliefs with animals being found by Mr. Fellows during his excavations. We have, however, no data for laying down the dimensions of the temple or divinity to whom it was sacred. Of the remains, however, of this part of the city, these appear to be the most ancient and the finest executed, and the satyr has the peculiar face, long pointed ears, and tail of a horse or mule, which occurs at the earliest period of Greek art; the fowl was sacred to too many divinities in the Greek system to belong to any particular one,^t and the presence of the satyr alone is not sufficient to assign the temple to Bacchus. At Assus we have animals in the frieze, centaurs in the metopes, and the contest of Hercules and Triton.^u

II. Next to these in point of art are five pieces which form a continuous frieze, and, from the return piece at one end, not improbably of an inner hypæthral court. There is considerable reason for imagining these to be decidedly later than the Median^v conquest, especially from the peculiar manner of grooming the horses, as pointed out by Mr. Fellows. The equestrian part of this procession commences with a chariot of two horses, in which is seated an old bearded figure draped in a tunic and peplos, while a youthful auriga standing up leans over the chariot, and holds the reins of the horses; their hair is gathered in the same manner as on the staircase at

^t They came originally from Persia, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τοὺς ἑξῶ τόπους διεδόθησαν ὡς καὶ οἱ αλεκτρύονες ἐν τῇ Πέρσίδι. Athenæus, Deipnosophist. Ed. Casaub.

^u Cf. Texier, *Voy. en Asie Mineure*, pl. 112.

^v These are not so decidedly Persian as the remains at Pterium. Cf. Texier, *loc. cit.* pl. 79.

Persepolis,^w and the ends of their tails tied up. The reins held in the hands of this figure were of lead, a metal which when decomposed would not stain the marble. The chariot is followed by a horse decorated with a saddle-cloth and girth, attended at its near side by a groom, who holds its bridle, and a short knotted whip. This is followed by a second chariot similar to the first, and this by a man on horseback; the horse is apparently descending from a step, its hind leg being placed upon one; the rider is without armour, wears the peculiar woollen tunic and peplos found upon these monuments, and brings his feet close together at the chest of the animal, which he reins up to descend more safely; both the reins are here placed upon one side. With this frieze must be classed a slab with a procession of draped figures, seven of which remain more or less perfect; these are either divinities of the highest order, advancing at the head of the previous procession, or else priests and sacerdotal functionaries. This slab, which has been much exposed to the elements, is in too indifferent a state to decide easily upon its purport; the execution is, however, better than the slabs of the equestrian procession previously described. This procession, from its work and peculiarities above mentioned, is evidently of Persian^x work, and from the absence of all emblems must be considered a civil or religious one.

The Persian character of this frieze recalls to mind a civil or religious ceremony, and these processions to the temples were often followed by the institution of games. It in some respects resembles that of Cyrus, described in the *Cyropædia*,^y where that monarch goes to the temple of the Sun, in order to sacrifice; this procession is formed by the mastigophori, who keep off the crowd; four bulls sacred to the Sun, attended by Magi; horses to be sacrificed to the same; the sacred chariot of the Sun, white, with golden yokes over the horses (*ἄρμα λευκὸν χρυσοζευγὸν*); a second chariot with the sacred fire, and Cyrus himself in a third with his charioteer; two hundred horses of the stud of the monarch, adorned with golden bridles and chequered housings (*χρυσοχάλινοι ῥαβδατοῖς ἱματίοις καταπεπτάμενοι*), and sceptophori or

^w See Sir R. Ker Porter's *Travels in Persia*, vol. I. pl. xxxiv. *et seq.*

^x Cf. Sir R. Ker Porter's *Travels in Persia*, vol. I. pl. xxxiv. *et seq.*

^y Lib. viii. cap. iij.

sceptre bearers. In the procession of the frieze above described, we have the chariots with the principal personages and their charioteers, and the cavaliers (*ἵππεῖς*), the dismounted horses, and perhaps the sceptre-bearers. These, however, are not in Persian but Lycian attire, and consequently would represent the Satrap or Lyciarches, attended by the usual personages of a Perso-Greek procession in honour of the local divinities. These monuments are probably not older than the Persian invasion, 546 B. C.; although, perhaps, some of the earliest executed after it, exhibiting a mixed kind of treatment, allied on the one hand to the early Greek or Phoenico-Greek, and on the other to the Perso-Egyptian, such as occurs on the staircase at Persepolis, for the Persians and Medes derived their arts from their vassals of Greek blood in Asia Minor, and from Egypt, and had no original development of native art.

III. The next to consider is the frieze from the "Harpy tomb." Part of the subject of this tomb has been explained by Mr. Benjamin Gibson and Mr. Fellows: viz. the subjects at the four corners and the side. These represent the Harpies bearing off the daughters of Pandarus, a Cretan myth of the highest antiquity. It formed the bas-relief which decorated the sides of a chamber placed on the top of a square stele, or column, surmounted by a cornice, standing on the brow of the hill of the Acropolis or the old city. The shaft of this monument 17 ft. 6 in. high, a monolith, weighing about 80 tons, was placed upon a square pedestal, and raised by means of projecting piers^z which assisted the props; these when the shaft was raised, were either planed off, or else converted into decorations, such as lion's heads, &c. This was surmounted by the frieze 3 ft. 6 in. high. Five of these early tombs exist, viz. the one at present described; another placed on a pedestal of three steps, with sepulchral chambers excavated in the rock beneath it; a third with the Lycian inscription at Xanthus; a smaller one discovered by Mr. Forbes and the Rev. Mr. Daniell, at the foot of the Cragus; and a fifth, smaller than those at Xanthus, with the remains of a Lycian inscription, found by Mr. Fellows, and seen by M. Schönbrunn, to the N. of Cadyanda. It is probable that these pillars were surmounted by some sculpture, from

^z These were apparently intended to be converted into lions' head's spouts, resembling those on the roofs of temples, for carrying off the water. A similar set are on the Horse tomb.

the discovery of the fragment with the two lions^a found at the base of that bearing the Lycian inscription, and the appearance of a sphinx and two lions on the monument represented on one of the besieged cities in the narrow frieze.^b These figures on the top were called ἐπιστήματα, while the column itself was called στήλη, and the inscription ἐπιγράμμα. (Cf. Pollux, iii. 66, 102.) The ἐπιστήμα of unmarried virgins represented a female having a hydria or calpis. It is probable that this monument is older than the taking of the city by Harpagus, and as this general probably besieged Xanthus about a year or two later than the taking of Sardis by Cyrus, it must be prior to the year 546 B. C. and consequently about the sixth century before the Christian era. It is to be observed that the style of art is equally old with that of the Lycian coins, many of which have sunken squares on the reverse, and that the square columnar form of this monument is found in connection with the inscriptions on the obelisk at Xanthus, while the Lycian language consists of Greek characters older than the age of the alphabet of Simonides, B. C. 467. The bas-reliefs formed the walls of a small crypt or chamber, which measured seven feet square, and supported the heavy cornice. The interior^c of this chamber represented wood work, with its beams and sunken soffits, and an ancient door still exists, under the cow suckling its calf, which stands before the figure of Juno. The shaft had been shifted on its base by an earthquake, and two slabs—that with Juno and the Graces—thrown to the ground. The subject of this bas-relief is connected with the early Cretan mythology. Pandarus, an inhabitant of Miletus in Crete, the son of Hermes and Merops, one of the Oreiadæ, steals the golden dog made by Vulcan, from the temenos of Zeus, and deposits it with Tantalus, in Phrygia; and, when it is demanded by the god, takes an oath that he knows nothing about it. Jupiter, angered at the transaction, on the discovery of the dog by Mercury, overturns M. Sipylus

^a M. Raoul Rochette supposes it may have been surmounted by a truncated pyramid on a base of three steps. *Journal des Savans*, Juillet, 1842, p. 391.

^b Cf. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, sc. xciv. τῆς στήλης τοῦ λέοντος ὑποδηλούμενον τῷ ἐπιγράμματι. κ.τ.λ.

^c This had been inhabited by a Christian devotee. The interior has some crosses, and a scroll or book (?) much effaced, on which is ME(γας) θεος.? Cf. Fellows, the *Xanthian Marbles*. 8vo. 1842. p. 22.

upon Tantalus, and Pandarus flying to evade the punishment of the king of the gods, first to Athens, and subsequently to Sicily, is destroyed along with his wife Armothoe by Jupiter. His three daughters, Aedon, Cleothera, and Merope, are educated by the principal goddesses. According to Homer^d they were left orphans in the palace, and Venus brought them up on cheese, sweet honey, and wine; Juno gave them beauty and shape above all women; Diana, tallness of person; and Minerva instructed them in female accomplishments; but, while Venus ascended to heaven to ask for husbands for them, Jupiter sent the Harpies to them, and these delivered them over to the Furies to serve the Eumenides, and afflicted them in addition with a disease called *κῶων*.^e According to the scholiasts of Homer, for this poet does not define either the number of the young ladies or of the Harpies, the eldest daughter Aedon was married to Amphion, and consequently escaped this calamity; and Merope and Cleothera were the two carried off by the Harpies. But considerable difference prevailed even among the ancients themselves in the names of these females;—Polygnotus painted two—Cameiro and Clytie^f playing with astragali, and crowned with flowers,—and as these names differ, it is evident that he must have followed another tradition from that of the scholiasts. The number of the Harpies, although not given by Homer, is generally supposed to be three. They were Ocypete, Aello, and Celæno.^g To these Natalis Comes has added, upon the authority of Stesichorus, a fourth named Thyella,^h the storm. This number corresponds with that of the Harpies on the present monument; at the same time, from their being placed at the four corners of the short sides, and the difficulty of reconciling the representations on three, viz., the W. N. and E. with the myth, and their attitude being that of flying out of the picture, it is possible that they may have formed very subordinate representations. The Harpies are, as usually described, with the faces of females, their heads bound with the

^d Odys. xx. l. I. 241.

^e Schol. ad. l.

^f This painter, however, is supposed by Pausanias to have forged the names he wished on paintings. Cf. Phocic.

^g One of the Hyadæ bore this name, and was the mother of Lycus by Neptune. Schol. Hom. Il. ε. 486.

^h Mythologia, 8vo. Gen. 1651. p. 721. Cf. Odyss. XX. l. 66. *κούρας ἀνέλοντο θύελλαι Ἀρπυιαὶ ἀνηρεΐψαντο*.

sphendoné,ⁱ with the bosoms and hands of women, and the bodies and feet of vultures. There is a slight difference in the treatment of their hair, but their appearance agrees with most ancient authorities, except Tzetzes, who has given them the ears of bears. From the time of Homer^k these demons have been known to represent the storm winds, and to have been placed in Hades along with the Eumenides; they are here represented each winging rapidly through the air, and holding in their arms one of the unhappy daughters of Pandarus, dressed in the same Lycian attire which is seen upon the other figures, with the sphendoné upon their heads. At the E. angle, in addition to the one borne away, another is beheld upon her knees on the ground, and raising both hands to her face to lament the loss of her sisters. If we are to suppose that the number of persons represented in this portion of the subject, is according to the enchorial tradition, it is necessary to suppose that Pausanias and the later scholiasts must have erred in their account of the myth, while the presence of different names in the scholia of the Odyssey and the picture of Polygnotus, would render the four daughters Camiro, Clytie, Merope,^l and Cleothera,—the one lamenting upon her knees being Aedon,^m who was married to Amphion. The subjects upon the short sides are equally balanced: on the eastern side is a bearded male figure, seated on a chair without a back, with a short curled beard much resembling the Persian and Greek style. His hair has apparently been bound with a fillet; in his left hand he holds a long sceptre, and in his right an aulopisⁿ helmet with a crest, which he presents to a warrior standing before him. The warrior is clothed in a tunic, the sleeves of which come half down his arms; a breast-plate is thrown across his breast, greaves are on his legs, and he holds with his left hand an Argolic or circular buckler upon the ground. At his left side is a short sword slung by a belt round his body. Under the chair of

ⁱ M. Raoul Rochette, *Journal des Savans*, Juillet, 1842, sees an oriental, or Asiatic treatment,—the Harpies on the vase published by M. Millingen, pl. xv. p. 47, being winged females; but in MS. of Vatican as above. So also Virgil, *Æneid*. iii.

^k *Odyss.* XX. 66. Cf. Hesychius voce cit. αἱ τῶν Ἀνεμῶν συστροφαὶ θύελλαι.

^l One of the Hyadæ who bore this name was the mother of Glaucus by Sisypheus. Schol. *Hom. Il.* ε. 486.

^m Aedon was the Pamphylian name of Minerva. Cf. Hesychius voce Ἀήδων ἢ Ἀθηναία παρὰ τοῖς Παμφυλίοις.

ⁿ Ὁ ἀρκεύροσ. Cf. Sophocl. *Antigone*, l. 117. Ξύν θ' ἱπποκόμοις κορύθεσσι.

the old figure is a bear. In the myth of the daughters of Pandarus the goddesses are only mentioned as presiding over their destiny; but the figure, here, is evidently, even under archaic Lycian treatment, a warrior not a female. From the bear at the side of the throne, this should apparently represent Jupiter in the act of bestowing a helmet upon Mars or some hero, for in the early Cretan mythology the former god was nursed by the bear Helice, whom the father of the gods subsequently placed in the heaven as the *Ursa minor*.^o The two principal heroes of Lycia are Bellerophon and Sarpedon, and one of the two may be intended by the present subject.^p That of the reverse side, the east, equally represents a divinity seated; the drapery is the same, but the countenance is decidedly different, although, the upper part being broken away, it is not possible to define entirely its character. This figure is also seated in a chair, and holds in his right hand a pomegranate and a wand or sceptre, in his left a pomegranate. The figure standing before is apparently a female, and holds in one hand a pigeon by its wings. The head of this figure is also wanting. The seated figure is evidently a man, and we must recognise in this group Pluto and Proserpine. The subject of the principal long side has been generally considered better defined. This side, it is to be observed, was the principal one of the monument, and was provided with a door which led into the chamber where the remains of the dead were deposited. On the left side of the door is Juno (Hera) seated on a high-backed chair, the arms of which are supported by a pair of sphinxes. Her head is bound with the sphendoné; her form is enveloped in the usual long

^o Cf. Eratosthenes, *Ἀρκτος ἡ μικρά*. Phœnice, according to some, was seduced by Jupiter, and turned into a bear, and made the *Ursa major*. Aglaosthenes makes Cynosura one of the Idaean nymphs, nurse of Jove, from whom Philostratus named the harbour of Histo.

^p The difficulty of defining a subject so general as an elderly man delivering or receiving a helmet from a warrior, suggests the possibility of its being intended for Iobates the king of the Solymi giving Bellerophon instructions to destroy the Chimæra. The bear would appear under the throne of the king in the same manner as the lion does under that of Agamemnon on certain monuments. As the destruction of the Chimæra was the first of the three labours, it is probable that this is the one intended; and, although at a later period Bellerophon was provided with the winged Pegasus and winged petasus of Mercury, or helmet of Hades, in the earlier works of art he appears as a mere warrior. (Cf. Millingen, *Anc. Un. Mon. bas-reliefs*, pl. iii.)

Lycian dress, which trails behind her feet; these are placed upon a hypopodium or footstool, and her right hand holds a patera.^q Immediately before her, on the doorway, is a cow suckling a calf. This type, which is found on the coins of Dyrrachium, presents an allusion to the myth of the Argive Juno, in relation to the story of Io; and the cow was sacred to this goddess, females being drawn to her ceremonies in cars yoked to white cows.^r At the other end is a figure corresponding to Juno in her hair and attire, seated on a chair. The arm of the chair is ornamented with the head of a ram, and the back terminates in the head and neck of a swan.^s This figure has been conjectured to be Aphrodite or Venus. Facing her stand three females in similar drapery, holding the edge of their garments, fruit, and a flower of the balaustium.^t These are the three Charites or Graces, Euphrosyne, Aglaia, and Thalia, the daughters of Jupiter and Eurynome, according to Hesiod and Onomacritus, and of Ægle and Helios, according to Antimachus, while Hermesianax enrols Pitho in their number.^u They were the handmaids of Venus, and in the Homeric hymns^v adorn the goddess at Paphos, previous to her visiting Anchises. On all the works of high antiquity they were represented as on the present monument draped.^x If the figure on this portion of the monument be Venus—a supposition fortified by the form of the chair-back upon which she is seated—and not Minerva, it is evident that the artist has not represented the Homeric story—for to reconcile it with that account it would be necessary to suppose the female figure upon the short side holding the dove or pigeon Venus,^y and the deity before whom she stands Jupiter. The figures just described should then be Juno, the Graces, and Minerva.

^q For Juno holding the patera or phialé, cf. Visconti, Mus. P. Clementino.

^r Cf. Palæphat. de Incredilib. 43, 51, ἄμαξα βοῶν τὸ χρῶμα λευκῶν. Cadmus founded Thebes where a cow lay down. Apollod. iii. 4.

^s This does not necessarily imply Juno; the chair of Jupiter is found thus. Cf. De Witte, Vases Magnoncourt, No. I.

^t Cf. Canino Vase, No. 4. De Witte, Desc. d'une Coll. d. Vases peints, 8vo. Par. April, 1837; where two of the Charites hold flowers, the third not.

^u Pausan. Boeot.

^v Hymn iii. l. 53—67.

^x Paus. Ibid.

^y For an archaic statue of this goddess holding a dove, cf. Clarac, Mus. du Sculpture, pl. 626 A., No. 1290 B.; perhaps Aphrodite-Koré, cf. Ibid. 632 c., 1422 I.; cf. pl. 762 A., where a youthful figure holding a bird is at the side of another reclining figure holding poppies.

There now remains only one side to describe, but the subject of this is enveloped in equal obscurity with the others. An aged figure with a peculiarly long and flowing beard, and in the usual attire, is represented seated upon a chair, the arm of which is supported by a triton; in his left hand he holds a wand or sceptre, in his right the flower of the balaustium. Before him stands a youthful figure holding in both hands a cock and fruit, followed by another apparently female, with a flower, holding in her left hand a long sceptre, upon which she leans; at her side is a dog, whose head is turned upwards, looking at the figure; and behind the chair of the principal personage are two figures resembling the Graces upon the other side. There is considerable difficulty in making out the mythology of this side. Mr. Fellows, indeed, has conjectured the standing figure and the dog to represent Diana; but it is not certain that the figure is a female. On the hypothesis of the whole subject being in connection with the Harpies, it would be admissible—but there can be little doubt that detached myths are intended. From the youthful figure holding the cock and pomegranate, which in other instances appears connected with Ganymede^z and the story of the rape of the son of Tros by the father of the gods, or Minos, we may have here—Pandarus bringing to Tantalus the living dog of gold, stolen from the temenos of Jupiter in Crete, which crime caused the delivery of his daughters to the Harpies; the same Tantalus seated and having before him Ganymede holding the cock and pomegranate, and behind his chair Pluto his mother, or Euryanassa his wife, and Niobe^a his daughter. It is true that upon the chair of Tantalus the arm is formed by a triton, which would justify the supposition that the figure was intended for Neptune. If, then, in the figure holding in his left hand a blown flower, and in his right a wand, we must recognise the monarch of the ocean treated according to Lycian art, the whole scene must then receive a different interpretation, and we shall have Amymone and Amphitrite behind the chair; the boy Hermes in front, and the figure leaning on the staff and attended by the dog, Artemis or Diana. The effect of the whole of this monument was

^z Cf. Lenormant, *Ch. Elite d. Mon. Cer. pl. xviii.* for Jupiter and Ganymede, holding a wheel, or hoop, and a cock.

^a According to Xanthus, the Lydian historian, as cited by Parthenius in his *Erotica. c. 33*, she was the daughter of Assaon, and wife of Philottus.

aided by colour ; blue remained on the back-ground, and red in part of the accessories. There are two more slabs or sculptures which fall into the class of archaic work ; one is that of the two lions whose anterior parts spring from a rectangular pedestal, and which, found by Mr. Fellows at the base of the inscribed obelisk, is supposed by him to belong to the top of this monument, in which case it must have formed the top or *ἐπιστήμα* of this object ; and that similar ornaments decorated the capitals of columns, appears from the paintings at Pompeii, where a column on Mount Ida has its capital surmounted by these animals, in allusion to the story of the Idæan mother. The other is a sphinx seated at a door.

Of all these objects the most interesting is the Harpy stele, or tomb, as it has been called, and there can be little doubt that it marked the site of the deposit either of some of the princes or monarchs of the royal family, descended from Pandarus—the whole story having a relation to death—and that premature.

This monument was enriched with colour, portions of which I can testify to having seen, a blue on the back-ground, and scarlet upon the crest of the warrior ; the lower moulding was also ornamented with a coloured pattern in egg and tongue moulding, and the chair of the figure on the north side with a pattern of rosettes, and the helix or antefixal ornaments. The colours, indeed, on this lower moulding do not remain, but their presence is attested by corroded surface of the marble where they were not placed. The style of this monument is only to be compared with the bas-relief of the supposed Leucothea and Dionysus in the Vatican. It is to be observed that it was never finished, the sides being polished only half way from the base, and the projections by which it was raised never fashioned into lions' heads.

IV. Having disposed of the monuments of the old city, I shall proceed to consider those of the new town, larger in extent and more productive in sculptures of pure Greek art : indeed, from the specimens found here, it is evident that this portion of the town was that founded by the colonists who succeeded the early inhabitants, destroyed by the invasion of the Ionians and Persians.^b The friezes here discovered, four in number, are of high value, not merely to the history of the progress of art, but also to its study ;

^b See former part of my paper, Herodot. Loc. cit.

and the statues exhibit peculiarities of treatment and story, which will be subsequently discussed.

The best executed, although not the most interesting of the two friezes, found among the debris of the new town, is the one 3 ft. 4 in. broad.^y

It is executed in fine Parian marble, and consists of twelve slabs, and as there is no authority for placing any of these friezes from their own evidence, and there are only two return friezes with an angle, while their breadth, nearly that of the frieze of the Parthenon, would infer at least twice as many slabs as are in the collection—there are at present no data for their arrangement.

There however appears, in most of the friezes of Greek temples, a continuity^z of action which prohibits the intermingling of subjects of a different kind, and imposes upon the artist a direction either towards the centre of the subject or else entirely from one end to the other; and as the broad Lycian frieze consists of slabs, on which are represented a contest of hoplitæ against horsemen, and foot combats, it is evident that they must be referred to different sides, and cannot blend up with one another—the horse and foot must have belonged to one side, or proceeded along one or more sides in one direction, while the foot combats must have proceeded in another.

There are five slabs of the horse combat. On one, (1.) a bearded warrior, in a helmet with a crest, has struck down his opponent from his horse; the horseman has a long tunic girdled round the loins, and the hoplites places his left foot upon his head, and draws out his blood-stained weapon. The hoplites has an Argolic buckler, and tunic fastened by buckles on the shoulder and by a girdle round the waist; a naked warrior, with a helmet only, restrains the horse from escaping. On another (2.) a horseman armed in the lightest possible manner, with the petasus on his head and tunic girdled round the waist, with chlamys flying behind him: on his feet are endromides, or hunting boots, the straps terminating in the head and tail of an animal. He directs a back-handed blow at a warrior. (3.) A horseman in a

^y For their general position Cf. Fellows's *Xanthian Marbles*, 8vo. Lond. 1842, Map of Xanthus.

^z Vid. Ross, *Wiederaufrichtung des Tempeis der Niké Apteros*. Cf. also Parthenon Frieze—that of Phigalia—and the remains of the Theseum.

chlamys and tunic, whose horse is killed, attacked by a naked warrior armed only with a helmet; behind is a similar warrior. (4.) A bearded warrior in a breast-plate, zoma, and tunic; in his left hand is an Argolic buckler, with his right he hurls a lance at a horseman in the same armour as himself, before whom stands a warrior with a crested helmet and Argolic buckler, discharging an arrow at his opponent. (5.) Another slab represents the greater part of a warrior in a petasus, on horseback. (6.) Another slab has a warrior in a tunic like the first, galloping over a dead body, old, bearded, in a tunic and crested helmet; behind him stands a naked warrior,—on the return piece is a warrior in a tunic, or Persian, rapidly flying. Of the other slabs two represent Persians who, bearded and wearing upon their heads the cidaris, long tunic, and anaxyrides,^a have struck down warriors armed in the Greek fashion. Behind one of the Persians is a naked warrior; the action of the other has been so violent that his cap has broken its strings,—a naked warrior lies dying at his feet, while his companion endeavours to cover him with his buckler.^b The other three slabs represent combats between warriors purely Greek. On one are three warriors, one struck down to the earth, another hurling a lance, a third standing over him. On another, two warriors contending, and a naked warrior stabbing one in a tunic upon the ground. The principal slab of this portion, however, represents a warrior bearded, in a Corinthian helmet, with tunic, breast-plate, and Argolic buckler, contending with another warrior similarly armed, but with a helmet with cheek-plates, like those represented on the coins of Calymna in Caria; behind the warrior, in a Corinthian helmet, stands another in a long tunic and helmet, discharging an arrow.^c

There are many subjects to which these general combats may apply; but the figures here represented, it must be insisted on, are Persians, none of the Homeric heroes being ever represented by Asiatics with the cidaris, the anaxyrides, and the long tunic. The Persians here are as distinct as on the mosaic of Pompeii,^d and the frieze of the temple of the

^a This resembles the dress of the Persians on the Niké Apteros—they have there, however, the γέφυρα, or lunated buckler.

^b A group nearly the same occurs *ibid.*

^c This resembles many of the contests in the Iliad, as that of Achilles and Memnon, Ajax and Hector. Cf. Ægina pediment and Vases *passim*.

^d Mus. Borbon. vol. viii. pl. 34.

Niké Apteros.^e They are victorious, and this coincides with the historical interpretation to be given to this portion of the frieze, which should allude to the Persian and Ionian invasion, a subject treated more amply in the narrower frieze. The figures on horseback have been supposed to be Amazons, a subject certainly easily explicable by the exploits of the national Corinthian hero Bellerophon against this people, but their sex is apparently male; they wear the petasus or pilema, while the Amazons always wore the helmet or cidaris; the Amazons used the pelta or lunar buckler—these have none; the endromides is the only approach to their type, but this the Amazons have in common with other Asiatics.^f It is probable that this part is connected in story with the Persian frieze; but it may form part of the exploits of Bellerophon against the Solymi, the Amazons, and the ambush laid ^g for him by Iobates on his return, while the heroic combats might be taken from the myths of the Iliad, the contests of Sarpedon, and deeds of Pandarus, the celebrated archer. The full face horseman, unarmed, wearing the petasus, strongly resembles Bellerophon as occasionally represented in his exploits—as against the Chimæra.^h On the other hand, if this subject must be referred to the Persian invasion entirely, it may be suggested that the greater breadth admitted more readily of the combats of cavalry than the narrower frieze; the great objection is the extremely light manner in which some of the horsemen are armed, which more resembles a mythicⁱ than an historic subject. The story of Bellerophon takes a wider range as the early national tradition; his subjugation of the fierce Solymi, a Scythian race, probably horsemen,^k his contest with the

^e Ross, loc. cit. Mus. Marbles, Part ix. pl. viij.

^f On early vases the Amazons are armed exactly as Greek warriors, distinguished only by the white colour of their flesh. On later monuments they have not always the Pelta. Cf. Mus. Borbon. iv. pl. 21. On horseback, as here, Clarac, Mus. de Sculpt. No. 810.

^g For these subjects, Cf. Iliad. loc. cit. and Schol. ad eund. Latini, Mythogr. Tres. II. 131, give Abas... qui et Iobates dicitur. Interfecta autem a Bellerophonte, iterum ad vincendos *Calydonas* missus est. Apollod. Biblioth. II. c. 3.

^h Cf. Inghirami, Vasi fittili, tom. I. Tav. 3.

ⁱ For example, the Centauromachia, Argonautica, Theseid, and Cadmeian myth, as found on vases.

^k Cf. Caballis, name of the region of the Solymi, Cram. Geog. As. Min. loc. cit.

Amazons, "equal in arms to men," and his annihilation of the ambush of the fifty Lycians, would¹ present a national subject; but as the frieze, from its execution, is evidently contemporaneous with the narrower frieze, about which there can be no hesitation as to subject, it is, probably, from the same pile of building, a temple erected to some of the local divinities by the settlers who succeeded the primitive inhabitants, and who recorded their own exploits, like the Athenians on the frieze of the temple of the Niké Apteros, and at the same time flattered the deeds of their masters and benefactors the Persians.^m We cannot, indeed, assign to this frieze an age just subsequent to the Persian invasion, unless we are willing to concede to Lycia an earlier developement of art than in Greece proper;ⁿ while the defects in the execution, which is not equal to the spirit of the composition, is clearly to be traced to an imitation of a finer style by a people inadequate to rival it.

V. I now proceed to consider the narrow one, measuring 1 ft. 11½ in. broad, which, in point of art, is contemporaneous with the preceding. This has, apparently, formed the external frieze of a small rectangular temple, to which may belong part of the pediment removed to the Museum. It has been conjectured by Mr. Fellows to represent the capture of the city of Xanthus by Harpagus,^o an hypothesis exceedingly plausible. It must be premised that, having been discovered in separate slabs, at the base of the temple, and in cisterns, and the localities not actually taken down at the time, the replacing of the slabs is entirely conjectural with respect to all but the angle stones; the subject, however, is the taking of a town, or towns, by an allied force of Persians and Asiatic Greeks, which exactly agrees with the local history.

The slab which is the key to the story represents a Persian monarch or officer of the highest rank, having on his head a cidaris strapped round his

¹ The Latini, *Mythogr. Tres.* ii. 131, call Bellerophon "qui et Perseus." This is incorrect. This myth resembles that of the Attic Theseus, who destroys the Amazons, Centaurs, and Pallantids.

^m Under whom the country was till the age of Alexander.

ⁿ Compare the Theseum and Niké Apteros temples, founded in the middle of the fifth century B.C.

^o Already detailed in the *Prolegomena*. Cf. Fellows, *Xanthian Marbles*, p. 39.

chin, and a breastplate on his breast, with a chlamys^p thrown over his shoulder, receiving a deputation of two of the elders (*πρεσβείς* or *γέροντες*) of the city, who stand elevating their hands, and deprecating his wrath. They are attired in the tribon. The Persian is seated upon a four legged stool (*δίφρος*), which terminates in lions' claws, and is attended by a *σκιαδηφόρος*, or umbrella-bearer, who holds this over his head as a mark of the office of King or Satrap.^q Behind him are three warriors, two with crested helmets, and Argolic bucklers, with long tunics^r girdled round their waists, and a third with similar attire, and the addition of a mitra (*ζῶμα*) to the corslet.^s The Persian figure is the one conjectured to be Harpagus, and the guards his Ionic and Æolian allies. Some of the figures behind the chair are looking backward. The other slabs from the same side represent a massacre rather than a contest. It is probable that this slab joined the angle one on which are three other warriors, attired like the preceding, and looking in the same direction; a supposition strengthened by the return slab, presenting a warrior who leads by a cord or chain four captives, unarmed, bearded, with their hands tied behind their backs. These wear long tunics girdled round the waist. It is highly improbable that the old men should be mixed up in the actual contest which prevails in the other slabs, since this side of the temple must have depicted the moment when the vanquished people surrendered themselves to their conqueror; it is therefore the more likely that the only other two slabs which belong to this side are those with a procession of six figures, the first with an Argolic buckler, having at his side a boy with a corytos, the next a Persian^t regarding a bearded figure holding a lance, and wearing a crested

p This armour is an alliance of Greek and Persian.

q Thus the Persian monarch on the staircase of Persepolis. Ker Porter, *Travels*, loc. cit. Cleopatra in the painting at Pompeii, *Mus. Borbon*, tom. ix. 4. Of the Royal state of Alexander, when he imitated the Persian manners, Phylarchus in *Athenæo*, xii. 55, p. 539: Κατὰ δὲ μέσσην τὴν σκηνὴν χρυσοῦς ἐτίθετο δίφρος, ἐφ' οὗ καθήμενος ἐχρημάτισεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων πανταχόθεν ἐφεστηκότων.

r These represent the two classes, Ionians or Æolians.

s Herod. vii. 93, 97, merely states that the Æolians were armed like the Greeks, and so the Ionians; the coins of these people give their armour like the last described.

t This figure much resembles Harpagus, and, if it does not belong to this side, might represent him at the moment of attack.

helmet and a shield, from whose lower part is attached a scarf.^u These are followed by two figures, apparently Persian, the first addressing the second. It is probable that the greater portion of the slabs of this side have not been removed to England, the only other slab which is in apparent connection with this subject being the return piece of one of the angles. On this are three figures whose action is in the same direction; the first apparently holds a shield, the second an umbrella, and the third a four-legged seat and a bag. These are Persians, perhaps, laden with the spoil of the captured city, or else the personal attendants of the Satrap. This arrangement of these slabs perfectly coincides with the story; here we have the Persian chief receiving the *πρεσβείς* who come to intreat for the lives of their fellow countrymen, the haughty general is attended by his Asiatic Greek mercenaries or subjects, and the *πρεσβείς* are ushered in by the principal officers of the Persian camp, attended by a crowd of plunderers, while a scene of indiscriminate massacre takes place behind. Harpagus made no effort, we are informed, to save the town.

We must turn from this point, which is to be considered the consummation of the conquest and natural end of the story, to another portion, which is equally distinct, the main assault of the city. The city, or rather this portion of it, is represented as a circular tower (*πυργός*) serving as a bastion to a narrow short flank, in which is the principal door with folding leaves; on the other side is a low square bastion or watch tower, provided with open windows (*ὕπολάμπας*); the Lycian party on the walls here amount to four; their heads only are visible, and they wear helmets like the Carian *αὐλώπις* or the Corinthian *κυνέη*; they prepare to repel their assailants with stones. A warrior has already mounted the walls in a helmet with cheek-plates, and having on his left arm an Argolic buckler. The assault is vigorously conducted; the storming party have already planted a scaling ladder (*κλίμαξ*), and three hoplitæ wearing helmets with crests, breast-plates, mitræ and Argolic bucklers, ascend by placing one hand on the ladder: their advance is covered by two archers beneath the ladder, also completely

^u This drapery appears often on the fictile vases of Millingen, *Vases Peints*. It is not mentioned by ancient authors.

armed; another advancing party of the hoplitæ is called on by an officer, the first rank kneeling down and covering themselves with their bucklers. Two other parties also advance rapidly in file, one distinguished by their bow-cases at their left side, apparently Persian. There is good reason for supposing this to be the correct arrangement of these slabs, because in every frieze the action must follow in an uniform manner, and it is evident the scaling party could not be mixed with the desultory combats and the wounded figures of the other slab, which face in a contrary direction.*

The subject of the third side is the assault of another city, or portion of the same. The city is here represented by a triple wall, with circular battlements. The walls are lined with defenders, armed with Corinthian helmets or pilei, and Argolic or circular bucklers; they are reduced to the last extremity, for their only weapons are stones. The second and third walls have a narrow curtain between their flanking towers, and a female in the attitude of grief casts her right hand on her head, and her left upwards. Two warriors stand without the walls defending the city, one with a pilema casque, the other with a crested helmet, and the shrouded shield. The assault is led by warriors armed in the Greek fashion in the two manners previously described, and behind them follow several of the assailants.

There now remains only the fourth side to describe; this has remaining two long slabs representing part of a fortified town with its square, angular bastions, and curtains, with sallyports in the towers. The walls are deserted, but from the embrasure of the towers unarmed citizens are anxious spectators of some fray. In this part of the city is a rectangular edifice, surmounted by a sphinx and two lions, resembling the stele found on the brow of the hill of the citadel. This may be the Sarpedonion, or the Harpy tomb, which, without doubt, were two of the principal edifices of the town. To this portion of the subject must be referred the numerous slabs in which the Ionian and Æolian Greeks are victorious over their opponents.

* The heads of these figures are mutilated, and their caps or helmets consequently indistinct, which would have decided their nation. Cf. Herod. loc. cit. vii. 61, ὑπο δὲ φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο.

There is nothing to oppose the hypothesis that this frieze represents the Persian conquest by means of its tributaries, the Ionian and Æolian Greeks; the attire of the principal character, and his attendant umbrella-bearer, is in perfect accordance, and in the principal figure we have the cidaris or the tiara, called the *πίλος ἀπάγης*, and the breast plate, formerly worked out by colour, and representing the scale armour (*λεπίδος σιδηρέης ὁ ψινίχθυ εἰδέος*) of these people. The reason of the prominent part taken by the Asiatic Greeks may be referred to the strong probability that the conquest was effected by their means, and that they were settled by the Persians on the spot, and the possessions of the Tramilæ shared among them. If the four sides represented, according to the hypothesis, the capture of Xanthus only, it is to be observed that four different circumstances must be depicted, and we then have the fall of the city in the following order: 1. The Lycians driven from the plain, and their countrymen beholding the assault from the walls. 2. The assault of the main gate, and its defence by a sally. 3. The escalade of the Acropolis. 4. The *πρεσβεῖς* interceding with the victor, and the spoils brought to him.

According to Herodotus the Lycians would not be saved, and buried themselves with suicidal valour under the ruins of the walls, while another author seems to attribute their annihilation to the relentless ferocity of Harpagus, as well as their own courage.

However satisfactorily this may agree with the local history, there are still one or two points yet to be weighed; one is the attire and state of the supposed Harpagus. It was the peculiar privilege of kings to wear the tiara erect,^y and the satraps, and even princes of the blood, lower the tops of their caps, in the presence of their sovereign at least; but if this rule was inviolable, and we felt assured that the artist was acquainted with it, this figure should be Cyrus, and some of the subjects of the bas-reliefs the fall of Sardis, the capital of the country whose monarchs were lords of Lycia, the subjection of which to the arms of Persia had filled Europe and Asia with its fame. Have we here

^y See Mosaic of Pompeii, Mus. Borbon. viii. pl. 34. Cf. Suidas, voce *τιάρα*. The cidaris or pilos of Darius is erect, while all the others are flat.

Cyrus, and Crœsus brought before the founder of the Persian monarchy? The Lydians resembled in their costume the Greeks, and, according to Ctesias,^z the wife of Cyrus was so afflicted at seeing the death of her son before her eyes, as to fling herself from the walls. It is not necessary to suppose that the Greek subjects of Persia limited themselves to the local history, for they may have recorded other conquests; but the Ionians and Æolians^a had no share in the fall of the Lydian monarchy, while they proffered a tardy submission to the Persians,^b and were compelled to stand the issue of a contest under leaders (βασιλεῖς) selected from the Glaucidæ of Lycia, and the Codridæ of the Caucones Pylii.^c The hypothesis of the capture of the city seems the most probable.

There are seven statues from the same place, which are, apparently, of the same period and execution as the friezes, and although not sculptured with that delicacy and refinement which characterises the Athenian school, yet distinguished for the boldness of conception. They are much mutilated, and the heads of none remain; but their forms, draped in a light transparent tunic^c clinging to their limbs, are represented in rapid motion, with the emblems of a dove, dolphin, eel, and crab, or tortoise, at their feet. They either represent the Horæ or Seasons, for which they appear too numerous, or else the Nymphs, the Potameids, or Nereids. In style of drapery they bear considerable resemblance to the figures called *Danzatrici* in the paintings at Pompeii,^d while it appears from Athenæus that a dance was named after the Nymphs and Nereids.^e They may have been placed on a pediment, but being nearly of a size it is possible that they decorated the façade of a temple like that of Jupiter at Aezanes,^f where similar figures placed on pedestals

^z Photii Bibliothec.

^a We have no known instance in Greek art of Persians armed like Greeks. On the Niké Apteros frieze and Pompeian Mosaic, they wear a tunic, chlamys, anaxyrides, pilei, and torques. Cf. Mus. Borb. vol. viii.

^b Herodotus, i. 141, 2, *ibid.* 146.

^c This kind of drapery, which recalls the Coia vestis, may be seen on the supposed Helen, Mus. Borbon. vol. viii. pl. 5.

^d Mus. Borbon. viii. 32-40. ^e Lib. v. c. ii. p. 130. ^f Texier, *Asie Mineure*, pl. 27.

and under arches are disposed in corridors upon the sides of the temple. On one of the cornices brought by Mr. Fellows from the same spot, which is ornamented with an egg-and-tongue and astragal moulding, is a circular mark with a pin-hole in the centre, where a statue or column has stood, and in this case they may have been placed on the top of the main building, or of a corridor. They clearly represent Nereids, or sea nymphs, passing over the sea, and treading upon the shore, and may have composed part of a group, in which was represented the arrival of Leto from Asteria, a myth peculiarly connected with the oracle of Patara, one of the most celebrated of those in Asia Minor, and which exerted considerable influence over the inhabitants of Greece Proper, and was only rivalled in renown by that of Delos. Besides these, are two statues of females, draped in tunics, apparently, from the apex of a pediment.

The other monuments consist of the half of three pediments from small *ναοί* or tombs. The first, measuring 7 ft. 2 in. long, by 3 ft. high in the centre, has a combat of six warriors, three armed in casques, and the others in helmets; the first is struck down to the earth, and has in his neck a hole in which he has been pierced by a metallic weapon. The legs of the advanced horse of the attacking party alone remain. There is also the left side half of another pediment, measuring 2 ft. 5 in. long by 3 ft. 1 in. high. On it is a female figure, seated on a chair; on her head is a modius: with her left hand she raises the edge of her garment, forming a kind of veil. Before her feet is a girl, also having on her head a modius, and behind her are the remains of a draped male figure standing.^h These much resemble a group of Hera,ⁱ or Juno, who is often seen in the attitude of making a veil with the edge of her peplos; in which case the figure leaning upon her knees should be Hebe. That behind is uncertain, if not a worshipper of the goddess. Corresponding to this is the half of another pediment, of fetid limestone, having in the centre an aged figure, seated upon a chair, holding in his right hand a sceptre; under the chair is a sleeping dog: behind it stand six

^h Similar figures, supposed to be Proserpine, are found in bas-relief on the rocks near Acræ, in Sicily. See *Il Duca di Serradifalco, Antichità della Sicilia*, fo. Palermo, 1840, p. 25.

ⁱ As on the friezes of the Theseum and Parthenon.

male figures, and the pediment is closed by a dog. The dog is found as the companion of Jupiter and Pan, and might allude to the hero Lycus or Lycaon, whose sons were six in number, and would correspond to the figures in the present pediment, which are apparently rather the children of the principal personage than a sacrificing party. This measures 2 ft. 7½ in. high, by 8 ft. 8½ in. broad.

VI. The remaining monuments consist of two narrow friezes, portions of two statues, and metopes. These are of inferior interest to the preceding, much more recent, and nearly entire. On one, 1 ft. 7 in. high, and surrounding a building, is represented a sacrifice, with the priests bringing oxen, goats, hares, fruits, and various viands, towards a lighted altar. The other sides represent a hunt, apparently of Persians, on horseback, with the *cidaris* and tunic, who chase the bear and the boar. The hunters are provided with dogs, and one blows the horn, while another is apparently dismounted from his horse. On the other sides are a combat of warriors, partly *hoplitæ* against *hoplitæ*, and of foot soldiers against foot soldiers, and a procession bearing offerings, apparently of dresses and of horses. This frieze appears to be nearly complete: the upper and lower part is enriched with a deep moulding, and the slabs have also an interior moulding. They were united by leaden clamps. The fragments of the other frieze, which is much more imperfect, represent a funeral repast, and a procession or group of figures leaning upon staves, and conversing. They much resemble the magistrates on the frieze of the Parthenon. This slab is apparently unconnected with that of the others representing the entertainment. The remaining monuments are the portions of two statues, one representing a youth bearing off a female; and two metopes, with their triglyphs, from a small temple, representing in very salient relief the bust of the Lycian Artemis, full face, with *corytos* and *sphendoné*.

These monuments, of inferior interest and execution, close the rich harvest of Greek art, obtained by Mr. Fellows from the site of the ancient Xanthus; and the projected expedition of that gentleman to Lycia will probably not only enrich by additional objects the national collection, but throw more light upon those already acquired, by com-

pleting some which require additional portions for their collation and arrangement.

I must here express the obligations I am under to Mr. Fellows for the valuable information relative to the different places in which the monuments have been found; and to Mr. Hawkins, for several important suggestions relative to the art and mythology of the people.