THE SCULPTURES OF THE LATER TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHEBUS.

THE sculptured drums of the columns of the Ephesian temple are important works both in scale and in beauty. Each of them was nearly twenty feet in circumference and six feet high. The most perfect of the drums, now in the British Museum, had eight life-size figures filling this space (Fig. 1); one of them is obviously Hermes, and the drum which bears it may conveniently be named from this figure.

FIG. 1.—DESIGN OF THE HERMES DRUM.

A few weeks after the first consignment of the Ephesus Sculptures arrived in England, an excellent account of them, which seems later to have been forgotten, was printed in *The Saturday Review* (Jan. 11, 1873). In a reference to it in Didron's *Christian Iconography* (English ed. vol. ii. p. 153) the author of the article in question is said to have been Sir Frederic Burton. He suggested that the subject of the most perfect drum was connected 'with the katachthonian deities.' The seated figure on the right of what seems to be the centre of action was identified as Pluto, the next in front as Persephone, and the beautiful winged youth as Thanatos. 'This mysterious figure has been thought to represent Eros, we should venture to call it Thanatos. . . . The head strongly answers to the character of the Genius of Death as conceived by the Greek imagination. We think,

however, that the presence of the sword decides the question, and we recall the passage in the *Alkestis* of Euripides where Thanatos appears armed with the sword, ready as "priest of the dying," to sever the lock from the victim.' The author spoke further of 'this unique illustration of this unique passage,' but he just missed the full implication of his own words and proceeded to identify what is probably the central figure as Demeter instead of Alkestis. Sir F. Burton further spoke of the figures as shewing 'the pathetic character of the new Attic school'; he referred to the feminine softness of the figure which he called Thanatos and the *Schwärmerei* of its expression. He thought that the object in the hand of 'Persephone' was a diadem, and he noticed a resemblance between this figure and 'the noble statue at Munich known as the Leukothea,' which is now understood to be the Eirene of Kephisodotos. He described the sculptured square blocks, out of which Wood tried to make a frieze, as having belonged to a podium sculptured with the Labours of Hercules. Altogether this was a remarkable essay; Dr. Carl Robert called it a 'beautiful article.'

No official notice was taken of this excellent piece of work and, in 1877, when Wood published the account of his excavations, no identifications were offered. In 1879 Dr. Carl Robert independently identified Thanatos, Pluto, and Persephone. He suggested that the whole subject on the Hermes drum represented the passage in the story of Alkestis which Sir F. Burton had been reminded of, and went on to name the central figure Alkestis.

This identification of the subject is still accepted with hesitation in English books—thus in Dr. Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States* (v. p. 57) it is said that 'the only certain figure in this enigmatic scene is that of the youthful Hermes'; but it is allowed that 'the theory of Prof. Robert holds the field.' For an interesting contribution to the discussion see Mr. A. H. Smith's article in *J.H.S.* xi. p. 278, from which the drawing reproduced in Fig. 1 is taken.

The fact that Burton and Robert reached nearly identical results quite independently must go far to establish their interpretation, which might now be accepted without reservation. The figures which were on the part of the Hermes drum opposite to him are broken away, but it is certain that there were eight figures in all, as stated in the British Museum *Catalogue*. From the way the drum is now set up above a square pedestal it is easy to see that four of the figures are placed exactly centrally above the four sides of the pedestal, with another four facing the angles. The first of the figures to the right of the Hermes, of which any large part remains, was a majestic male, seated, draped and having sandals with open-work sides. These sandals are identical with others which appear on two copies of the temple statue of Asclepios at Epidauros. They are more elaborate than, but of the same type as, those worn by the Hermes of Praxiteles. Compare also a bronze foot in the Greek Dress collection at the British Museum, which must, I think, have belonged to a fourth-century statue. By a curious chance of chronological arrangement, illustrations of one of the Epidauros reliefs and of the Ephesus drum come next to one another in Mr. Hill's *Masterpieces*.

The remains of the Ephesus figure would perfectly suit the identification with Pluto. (See 'Hades' in Reinach's *Répertoire*.) Four or five years ago I pointed out that the figure between Pluto and Hermes, called Persephone by Burton and Robert, closely resembled the statue of Eirene by Kephisodotos, and I have recently found that Sir F. Burton, as mentioned above, had observed the same fact. The likeness between the two figures is so remarkable that no accident, or even vague memory, could account for it. The relief on the Ephesus column is essentially an adapted copy of the statue. The figures stand in the same way, are of similar proportions, are draped alike, and the figure in relief, like the statue, may have looked toward her left. The upper garment of each, which is very full, is fastened on both shoulders. The turned-over part is dragged across from the right shoulder to the middle, forming a wide flap there; beneath this show two or three inches of intricate folds falling over the girdle and forming an arched line across the figure; then the drapery falls in heavy, straight masses to the ground, which it nearly touches. It is strained tight by the right thigh, and the right leg is partly withdrawn behind a big vertical fold at the side. The toes of the feet and the sandals break the lower edge of the drapery into pretty ripples. Behind the shoulders the drapery, falling straight, frames the figure in upright lines.

How can we account for this resemblance? And is it possible that there is more in it than the imitation of an attitude? If it were possible to suppose that the figure was a type and that Eirene herself could appear here to mediate between Alkestis and Pluto, it might be suggested that the unexplained curved object which she held in her right hand was a horn. The Eirene relief in the Theatre of Dionysos again follows the same type and holds a cornucopia. Further, enough remains of the drapery of another figure which stood behind Pluto to show that it was a female, and this might be Persephone if the other were not. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the two figures on the column resemble so closely figures of Persephone and Pluto on several vases, where she is shown standing before him as here,¹ that the balance of probability is in favour of this identification. On these vases Persephone usually carries a torch.

It does not seem possible to decide what the object was which was carried by the female figure in the relief. All that is certain is that the left hand holds a short cord or strap which seems to have been connected with a curved object held in the raised right hand. Possibly Persephone gives Alkestis—who is putting on her mantle—a diadem or head covering.

In view of other points to be mentioned below, it should be remembered that Kephisodotos was the father of Praxiteles.

The beautiful figure of Hermes which comes next has much to remind us of Praxiteles. Besides the characteristic attitude, points of detail like

¹ See especially the Munich vase figured in Miss Harrison's *Mythology of Athens*, Fig. 38. This group in turn is like figures of Zeus and Athene which are found on more than one vase,

and it may derive in the first place from the central group in the East front of the Parthenon (see *J.H.S.* 1907, p. 244).

the modelling of the knees and the fullness over the eyes recall the Hermes of Olympia. It seems, however, to have been still more like an Eros said to be after Praxiteles, which is represented on a coin; this had the bent left arm and the drooping right arm (see Collignon, vol. ii., Fig. 141). Dr. Farnell thinks that 'the face is slightly Scopaic in character,' and he suggests that 'this Ephesian relief may have become widely known as a recognised type of Hermes.' It may not be doubted that this figure is a master's work and closely connected with the art of either Praxiteles or Scopas.

'Alkestis' is an extremely beautiful figure. Professor E. Gardner has criticised it as 'incongruous with the scene of so much pathos. The artist seems most concerned to find a graceful motive for each figure: the lady is even fixing her mantle over her left shoulder.' (*Greek Sculpture*, p. 421.) The gesture, however, is surely expressive for one who is being called to go on a journey. It is, indeed, one of many points which confirm the identification of the subject. The design of this figure should be compared with the Artemis of Gabii in the Louvre, who 'with a charming gesture adjusts on the right shoulder a mantle' (Collignon, vol. ii. fig. 144). The original of this statue is ascribed to Praxiteles. This master, however, did not invent the gesture, which may be traced back to the great Fifth Century. A figure extraordinarily like the Alkestis of the Ephesus column appears on an Attic vase in the Vatican, which has been illustrated by Michaelis (p. 139) as a parallel to a metope of the Parthenon (Fig. 2). The figure on the vase is

FIG. 2.

Aphrodite. It is not certain that the corresponding figure on the Parthenon metope was closely similar, but there must have been some great original from which these several versions derived. It is just possible that some draped Aphrodite of Praxiteles followed this type, as this might account for its appearance on the Ephesus column. The figure of Alkestis suggests this master by the remarkable realism of the drapery. Besides the beautifully arranged folds, which skilfully indicate stuff of fine texture, the surface is modelled with slight transverse wrinkles which almost suggest silk, if that were possible, and give a wonderfully real effect, yet it is carved with swift mastery. This characteristic is found again in the drapery of the Hermes of Olympia and that of the Venus of Cnidus (copy). Such drapery could only be the work of a master of technique

such as Praxiteles, Scopas, or some unknown of their circle. The late Mr. G. F. Watts remarked that 'in the Hermes of Praxiteles there is evident endeavour to suggest the texture and sheen of the peculiar fabric.'

The figure of 'Thanatos' may be a creation for its place, and, if so, it is a very noble one. The idea and execution should mark its author as a great master. The head is fortunately nearly entire. The right arm, which hung loosely in front, may be traced. The body has an astonishing softness of texture, as if there were flesh under a thin skin. Notice the creases above the plump feet; and the undulations of surface; these last

probably give the remarkable 'atmosphere' to this figure. The copy of the Venus of Cnidus has something of this same quality, but probably no other existing original equals in this respect the Thanatos, which thus reflects light back on the original Venus. A Maenad of Scopas, and an Amazon of the Mausoleum frieze, also show something of the same intention. It must be a mark of the movement in sculpture at this time. The softness of the Thanatos was an essential part of the idea. Sir F. Burton noticed the 'almost sexless face' and long wavy hair. This type is found again in the Madrid Hypnos, an original work by a contemporary of Praxiteles (Collignon, vol. ii. p. 359), and in the Apollo of Praxiteles known in a copy. Professor E. Gardner has remarked of the Apollo that 'the copyist has exaggerated the softness of the figure almost to effeminacy,' but our Thanatos is evidence that just this characteristic was original. The comparison with the Madrid Hypnos is, further, good evidence to show that the Ephesus figure is rightly named Thanatos, for he and Hypnos were often treated like twin brothers. A difficulty has been raised as to the identification of Thanatos because this personage, on some of the vases, is bearded, but this was not obligatory, as is shown by a pair of these figures on a vase (Reinach, i. 149). On another vase (Reinach, i. 410) appears a winged Eros-like figure with a sword pursuing a woman, and it seems possible that this represents Thanatos and Alkestis. Compare also the beautiful cup E 12 in the British Museum.

Still further to the left, next to Thanatos, was a standing male figure with the lower part of his body draped. The garment passed across the body and was wrapped over the left arm leaving the shoulder bare. Only a little of this figure remains, but it must have been something like several of the 'magistrates' of the Parthenon frieze. In the British Museum *Catalogue* it is said that this figure leaned on a staff, but I cannot find sufficient evidence for this. The oblique lines on the marble are, I think, accidental, the result of fracture.

The other sculptured drums of which parts were found were of inferior style to that of the Hermes column with the possible exception of one which shows the remains of several female figures voluminously draped. I have before suggested that these must have represented the Muses. These figures are more closely set than are the eight of the Hermes column, and there must have been in this case nine or ten figures. Enough exists to show that there was a beautiful group of three, two being seated on either hand of a standing figure. Beyond, on the left, was another standing female, and doubtless there was yet another on the right, five at least, alternately standing and sitting. They are like the usual type of the Muses, in groups of whom it was very usual to make some seated while the rest stood. This is so, for instance, on a pedestal from Halicarnassus which stands in the Gallery just opposite to the Ephesus drum. The Ephesus figures should especially be compared with the Muses of Mantinea, which are understood to derive from originals by Praxiteles. Just enough remains of the seated figure to the left to show that she rested her right hand on her knee,

while the upper part of her body was twisted around towards the central standing figure, to whom she probably looked up. The seated figure on the right seems to have had the right leg thrown over the other. For these attitudes compare the Halicarnassus pedestal.

Two heads of the figures on the Hermes column are so nearly complete that it would be easily possible to restore plaster casts of them. A third important fragment of a woman's head (No. 1239) rests in a case where it is difficult to see it, but it appears to be a beautiful work. As the hypothesis on which Dr. Murray proceeded when he placed the sculptured drums above the sculptured pedestals has broken down, it would be very satisfactory to students if the drums could now be set on a lower level where they might be readily seen. The two beautiful heads are now about twelve feet from the floor.

The sculptured pedestals seem to have been of a more uniform style than the drums. The subject on one of them (No. 1200) has been called the Combat between Heracles and the Amazon, but, as noted in the *Catalogue*, neither figure is of the usual type. A fully draped woman pulls violently at the arm, or the lion-skin mantle of a male figure seated before her. He has a stick which is certainly not the club of Heracles although it might be part of many other things from a spear to a distaff. Next to the woman was a figure which in the *Catalogue* is called a female, of which only the arm covered with a long sleeve remains. Such a sleeve should belong to either an Amazon or an Oriental male. The supposed Heracles seems to be falling backwards in a helpless kind of way which suggests a Bacchic subject. I venture to suggest that it represents Heracles and Omphale.²

The female figure which is nearly perfect is a wonderful piece of vigorous workmanship, the drapery is very true; a loose flap under the right arm shows that the chiton was of the split form. This figure resembles in some degree one on the balustrade of the Temple of Nike at Athens, and it has been pointed out that some figures of Victories leading animals to the sacrifice on another of the Ephesus pedestals resemble others on the Nike balustrade. On this same restored pedestal a fragment (1201) has been fixed, which is described as Heracles seated; 'a small part of the left thigh, and the left hand are preserved.' Is not the 'thigh' rather a part of a serpent? In this case the subject might be Heracles and the Hydra, or the Garden of the Hesperides.

On the left side of block 1204 was a female figure with a stag which may be compared with a figure of Artemis on a vase (*J.H.S.* 1905, Pl. II.); and also with the well known Diana of Versailles. On the front of the same pedestal is a combat 'between Heracles and a giant . . . This group is in very high relief and large masses . . . were separate pieces attached by

² Compare an illustration under 'Heracles' in Daremberg and Saglio where Omphale wears the lion's skin and Heracles carries the distaff. It is there said that it was a favourite Alexan-

drian subject. For Heracles and the Amazon compare the fine sarcophagus in the B.M. with the metope of Olympia.

dowels' (B.M. *Catalogue of Sculpture*). The evidence seems rather to suggest a work of repair. No. 1205 is 'a combat between some male figure—perhaps Heracles or Theseus—and a Centaur.' Some mane-like hair which appears where the human and beast-like parts join spreads down over the shoulder of the composite creature and shows again at lower points, just in front of the knee of the male figure, and again at the angle still lower. It evidently formed a sort of fringe around the junction of the two parts. Such a treatment is unusual for a Centaur although there seems to be a suggestion of something of the sort on one embossed on a silver vase of late Hellenistic work found at Bernay. Enough remains of another pedestal, as skilfully fitted together at the Museum, to show that there was a Nereid riding a hippocamp on each of the four sides. The Nereid on fragment 1209 is described as having 'the right arm extended holding a fold of her mantle.' The drapery falling from her right hand passed in a mass of folds across her lap. The body was covered with a tunic of thin material clinging close to the forms—wetted drapery was obviously appropriate here. (Compare the Xanthos Nereids.) This Nereid floated clinging to her steed and clasping its neck with her left arm, the tresses of her hair were blown out horizontally. This figure when complete must have been very like one on a vase figured by Reinach (ii. 309 = Fig. 3). It also resembles the Aphrodite riding on a goat as represented on a mirror after an original supposed to be by Scopas (see Collignon, vol. ii. Fig. 116). Here again we have the drapery flying out from the head, held by the hand of the bent right arm and returning in a mass across the lap. Fairly accurate restored diagrams could be made of two of these Nereids. Another of the pedestals was sculptured with the Victories leading animals to the sacrifice mentioned above (see *Catalogue*). Here as on the Nereid pedestal one general subject doubtless filled all four sides of the block and this was probably the case with all of them.

FIG. 3.

Four or five years since while working at the architectural characteristics of the Temple of Artemis I made one or two small observations in regard to the sculpture. One point mentioned above was the striking resemblance between the shoes worn by the seated Pluto-like figure on the Hermes column, and the shoes of two figures in relief on slabs found at Epidaure which are accepted as being representations of the temple-statue of Asclepios (Defrasse et Lechat, *Epidaure*, pp. 84, 85). The shoes are of open cut work and are identical in pattern, see A and B in the illustration (Fig. 4), from Epidaure and Ephesus respectively. As Scopas, who worked at Ephesus, was associated also with Timotheus at the Mausoleum, it seems possible that both may have worked

FIG. 4.

together also at Ephesus. In turning over the plates of Defrasse and Lechat's account of excavations at Epidaure, I have been again impressed

with details of likeness between the sculptures and architectural forms at Epidaurus and those at Ephesus.

A remarkable block sculptured in relief, described as a votive monument or part of an altar, is in its principle of design extraordinarily like the sculptured pedestals discovered at Ephesus (Defrasse et Lechat, p. 87). As a capping it has a bold Lesbian leaf moulding, practically identical in form and use with those surmounting the pedestals at Ephesus. Beneath on the vertical surface are figures in relief a good deal like those of the sculptured drums of the columns of the Artemision.

The most remarkable point of coincidence, however, is that figures of the Epidaurus sculpture were applied to the block so as to turn the angle. Thus a figure of Victory has the body on one face of the square stone block, while a wing and a flying mass of drapery are continued past the corner on to the other side. The conception is entirely parallel to the sculpture of 'Heracles and the Amazon' on the pedestal from Ephesus at the British Museum, for in this, too, the action of the group turns the corner of the square stone. The two works are really extraordinarily alike in conception and detail. As pointed out in the British Museum *Catalogue* the Nereids at Ephesus resemble 'the Nereids of Timotheus from Epidaurus' (see Defrasse et Lechat, pp. 74 and 76).

Again, the lion-head spouts of the cymation at Ephesus were closely like those at Epidaurus (Defrasse et Lechat, pp. 111, 123, 166, 167). In both places we have similar deeply set eyes, frowning brows, wrinkled muzzles, and stiff locks of hair. Those at Ephesus, while little like those at the Mausoleum, seem as if they might have been carved by the same sculptor who wrought those of Epidaurus. Further, the whole design of the cymation at Ephesus might have been derived from Epidaurus. The gutter-front of the Mausoleum follows an older fashion in having carved palmettes rising vertically, but the gutter at Ephesus follows a type initiated at the Erechtheum and developed at Argos, Epidaurus, and elsewhere. In this type acanthus bracts and palmettes spring from scrolls which spread laterally along the gutter front.³ Sometimes the scrolls sprang from the centre of each length and terminated against the lions' heads, at others they issued by the lions' heads and met together in the midst between them as at Ephesus (*cf.* Defrasse et Lechat, pp. 125, 123, 167). The character of the scroll-work in the last is remarkably like that at Ephesus. Frequently an antefix with a palmette carved on it was set over the centre between two lions' heads above the joint in the stone gutter. This may have been the case at Ephesus, for Wood says that he found part of a palmette antefix.

I have before pointed out that the sculptured ornament of the gutter front at Ephesus was copied at Priene, and from that its pattern may be completed. In the Museum basement are several small fragments in addition to the large piece shown in the Ephesus Gallery. With the help of these a nearly complete restoration might be made. It should be noticed that in the

³ The source for the *continuous* meandering scroll of later days.

Museum the lion's head (1234) is fixed too low in relation to the rest of the cymation; the bottom of it should probably not come below the 'bed' of the gutter and the total length of a gutter stone should be about 5 ft. 8½ ins., that is three stones to a columniation. As set up now each stone would have been about 5 ft. 10 ins. long.

Our comparisons may help to settle the date of the later Temple of Artemis. I doubt the stories that the older temple was burnt on the night of Alexander's birth, and that the newer temple was built by his architect, Deinocrates. At least both these tales may be myths.⁴ It seems certain that the temple must have been completed with its roof before the smaller but somewhat similar temple at Priene, for the gutter of Ephesus was copied at Priene but in a much inferior style. This gives us a lower limit of time at about 330 B.C. On the other hand, the roof of Ephesus had probably not been reached when the Mausoleum had its gutter set in place, for that, as said above, is of an older type.

From these comparisons a date about 340 or 345 may be suggested for the roof of the temple of Ephesus, but this vast structure must have been many years in course of construction, perhaps twenty or thirty. Timotheus seems to have been working at Epidaurus about 370, and Kephisodotos wrought his Eirene about the same time. Now, if Timotheus was at the Mausoleum with Scopas about 350, it may be suggested that he also worked with Scopas at Ephesus before that time. The sculptures at the Mausoleum seem to me to be later in style than those at Ephesus, although the riding Persian found at the Mausoleum is very similar to the Amazon of Timotheus at Epidaurus, as has often been pointed out. The pedestals and sculptured drums of the columns at the Temple of Artemis would, I think, have been wrought as the works neared completion, and not when the blocks were set in place at an earlier time. Yet I cannot think that these sculptures were wrought later than the middle of the fourth century.

A sculptured lion's head of noble style now exhibited in the Ephesus Room, No. 47 [53], is described as having, perhaps, formed part of the gutter, and it is assigned to the archaic temple, but this I do not think possible either in point of time or of function. It seems to me of fine central style and it probably formed part of a sculpture in the round. At the back a part of the shoulder is still attached; and it is clear from the parting of the mane that the neck was sharply turned from the shoulder almost at right angles. This appears to be the head described by Wood as having formed part of a statue.

It will be remembered that Wood thought that the blocks of the square sculptured pedestals were fragments of a frieze. It is absolutely certain, however, that they made up square blocks a little over six feet wide on each side, and each in four pieces, for all, or nearly all, are angle pieces, and the average dimension of the completer ones is a little more than three feet measured horizontally. It seems not to have been remarked that Wood gives

⁴ Deinocrates is said also to have built the wonderful tomb of Arsinoë.

us sufficient information to show that all these were dug up at or near the entrance front, that is, the west end of the temple. Thinking, as he did, that they formed parts of the frieze he would have been glad to tell us of any fragments found elsewhere, but he does not. The sculptured drums of columns, on the other hand, were found both at the east and at the west ends of the temple. According to this evidence there were square sculptured pedestals at the west end but not at the east end, although there were sculptured drums at both ends. Now it is almost impossible to suppose that similar sculptured drums would be elevated in one case on pedestals and in the other be set six feet lower in level on the pavement. This same difficulty, indeed, applies equally to the inner row of columns on the entrance front. Unless the pedestals and the drums were built to range at the same level,⁵ the pedestals taking the place of the drums in the outer row, an awkward question as to level must have arisen. It is difficult to see how any reasonable arrangement other than this can be suggested except that of Dr. Murray, who placed the pedestals entirely beneath the level of the platform; but that solution is impossible having regard to the evidence and the structural necessities of the case, for the platform was a great foundation, and it is unthinkable structurally that the enormous weight-bearing columns should have been built outside this foundation.

W. R. LETHABY.

⁵ The drums are 'exactly six feet high' according to Wood; in the British Museum *Catalogue* they are said to be a quarter of an

inch less, while the pedestals are stated to be six feet one inch.