



Countries and Cities in Ancient Art

Author(s): Percy Gardner

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## COUNTRIES AND CITIES IN ANCIENT ART.

[PLATE V.]

CITIES may be regarded in two lights. Firstly, they may be considered as collections of houses, with public buildings, market-places, and walls; as features of the natural landscape; as definite localities, with form, arrangement, and parts. Secondly, they may be regarded as bodies politic; as masses of inhabitants rather than groups of buildings; as personal rather than local. And it is obvious that by far the greatest interest attaches to them in the second aspect. In the first, however beautiful, they are but material, outward and visible; in the second they are living, spiritual, and immortal, with beliefs and customs, with heart and conscience. It is the people who make their city in its physical aspect, and it is only interesting as incorporating their history, and representing their character.

This is of course true always and everywhere. But no nation has been more fully alive to the truth than the Greeks. Among them the city was more homogeneous, more fully organized, more unified than among us, was more of a person and less of a place. If we further consider how strongly Greek art tended to avoid natural scenes of any complication, and to clothe all kinds of powers and abstractions in human form, we shall see how natural it is that the national painting and sculpture of the Hellenic race are scarcely ever occupied in bringing before us the external view of cities, but devote their energies to the portrayal of bodies politic in their human and moral aspects with the best resources at their disposal.

The arts which preceded that of Greece, those of Egypt and Assyria, frequently depict cities in as naturalistic a manner as was possible in the undeveloped state of art. Indeed the sieges of cities, with all their exciting passages, are a subject specially affected in Oriental art from very early times; and the authors of the wall-paintings of Egypt and Assyria spend all the resources at their disposal in bringing before us the exact details of attack and defence of city walls, of assault and repulse, storm and plunder. Even to the semi-Greek art of Lycia such subjects were attractive. On the monument of Pericles from Xanthus we find the incidents of the attack and defence of a city portrayed with all the resources of Greek art of the best period. The walls and towers and buildings of the besieged city are rendered

as exactly as the artist could render them. Such material representations of cities are of course common on Roman arches and pillars. Nor are they quite unknown to the best art of Greece. Pausanias in describing the painting of the Iliupersis at Delphi by Polygnotus writes of it<sup>1</sup>: *γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Ἐπειὸς γυμνὸς καταβάλλων ἐς ἔδαφος τῶν Τρώων τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέχει δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ἵππου μόνῃ τοῦ δουρείου.* But in this great painting the walls of Troy seem but an episode, they are brought in not as the main features of the scene, but that their destruction may add a touch of pathos to the picture. Similarly the walls of Troy are depicted on a red-figured kylix,<sup>2</sup> but only as a background to the true subject of the vase, the flight of Hector before Achilles.

But naturalistic representations of cities as places, though not unknown to good Greek art, are but little in accordance with its instincts. As we approach the culminating point of Greek art, it centres more and more in the representation of human beings. The tendency to represent every force of nature and every material scene in human guise grows stronger and stronger. And we can easily understand that cities regarded in their higher and more human aspect lent themselves very naturally to this tendency. It is scarcely a metaphor to speak of a city as a personality, and to ascribe to it in its corporate capacity the qualities which appear in its history and make it a factor in politics or commerce or religion.

The text on which the present paper is a commentary is a group of four silver statuettes of the greatest cities of the Roman world, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch (Pl. V.), which were found at Rome in 1793<sup>3</sup> and now are among the treasures of the British Museum. But it seems best, instead of describing at this point these interesting statuettes, to leave them until we naturally come to them, following an historical order, in the last pages of the present paper.

Countries and cities (countries as the abodes of races of men, and cities as the abodes of bodies of citizens) are represented in four ways in the art of the Greeks and Romans. I will first enumerate these ways, and then examine in succession the instances of each offered us in works of ancient art. Afterwards I will quickly run over the representations in historical order, to show the order of their development and to exhibit the light which they throw on the history of art. The four methods of representation are these:—

- I. By the guardian deity.
- II. By eponymous hero or founder.
- III. By allegorical figure.
- IV. By a Tyche or Fortuna.

<sup>1</sup> Paus. x. 26, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. pl. 203.

<sup>3</sup> Visconti, *Una antica suppelletile &c.* Pls. xix., xx.: D'Agincourt, *Sculptura*, Pl. ix.

## I.

First then come representations of cities and countries by the persons of their guardian deities. It may perhaps be thought that this is no true case of personification; that the guardian deity of a city stands rather in the place of a personification of it, and shows that the Greeks usually avoided such personifications. To which the reply is that the guardian deities of cities are in Greek belief so closely united to the communities over which they preside that it is almost impossible to distinguish one from the other, and in fact that often one passes into the other.

The first set of monuments which comes before us for consideration is the Athenian reliefs published by Schöne.<sup>1</sup> These are small reliefs in marble placed at the head of various decrees of the people, to which decrees they form an illustration or a sort of frontispiece. They may be compared with the Athenian sepulchral reliefs alike as to period and as to style. A few of them belong to the fifth century, the most to the fourth and third. As works of art they are by no means impressive; their scale is small and they are not the work of great masters. In fact Schöne points out the curious fact that they were not charged for by the workmen who executed them. We have plenty of records of sums voted by the Athenians for engraving treaties and decrees on stelae, sums of ten, twenty, even thirty drachms, according to the length of the decree; but no word is in any case said as to payment for a relief to accompany it. But whatever was done at Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries partakes of the wonderful skill and taste so rife there at the period. These decorated reliefs are well composed, and executed with dignity and sobriety. And besides being pleasing they give us useful information; they furnish the archaeologist with valuable materials for interpreting some of the feelings of the Athenians of the day.

On Schöne's seventh plate is a relief (No. 48) which contains two figures. One is clearly Athene, the virgin-goddess of Athens. She gives her hand to a small and stiff archaic figure who wears a modius, and over whose head is the inscription ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΞ. Below the relief is an inscription which seems to have recorded the conclusion of a treaty between Athens and Neapolis, or Neopolis, which had sent to the metropolis two envoys, Demosthenes and Dioscurides. The date of the inscription is fixed to the year B.C. 356. It is evident from the analogy of this whole class of reliefs that Athene here stands for the city of Athens and that the goddess Parthenos appears as representative of Neapolis, whichever Neapolis it be. Artemis had a cultus as Parthenos in Chersonesus Taurica, as well as in the islands of Leros and Patmos; and it was on the coasts of the Aegean Sea that Athens at the time of the second Athenian maritime league had most influence. Looking in this direction Schöne lights on Neapolis on the Macedonian coast,

<sup>1</sup> *Griechische Reliefs.*

which was a colony of Athens, and which the Athenians would be just then thinking of protecting against the ambitious designs of Philip. And it turns out that there is at Berlin a coin of the Macedonian Neapolis, having on one side a female figure wearing a modius and not unlike the figure of our relief. It therefore seems certain that this city among all those called Neapolis is the one intended on our relief. The unimportance of the town is gently indicated by the small stature of its protecting deity in comparison with Athene.

It is noteworthy at first sight that while Athene is represented by the sculptor in the best way he could, though he probably had in his mind the colossus of Pheidias, yet Parthenos is represented as an archaic statue; not the goddess is portrayed, but the image of her which was worshipped at Neapolis. This is a rare instance, but the reason is obvious. The goddess Parthenos was purely local; probably she did not exist in poetic legend, and was not portrayed in other or later statues. She could not be thought of apart from the particular statue of her cultus, and if the sculptor had tried to modernize or improve her he would have made her unrecognizable. In fact in the case of all these deities of non-Hellenic origin there was no way of improving or adapting the artistic type, which was stereotyped by the cultus-statue; unless indeed they could be identified with personages of the Greek Pantheon, and so brought into the stream of Greek artistic progress. The many-breasted goddess of Ephesus could only gain a more satisfactory artistic form by being identified with the Greek Artemis; and Sarapis could only become a fit subject for the Hellenic sculptor when he was recognized as a form of Zeus.

Relief No. 52 belongs to the fourth century. It heads a decree in honour of one Sotimus of Heracleia. The relief represents Sotimus being brought into the presence of the seated goddess of Athens by the guardian deity of Heracleia, Heracles himself. Only the feet and club of Heracles are visible; but he too is represented like Athene in the style of contemporary art.

One more relief (No. 54), which is detached from its inscription, represents an alliance between Athene and a draped goddess who wears a small stephane and holds a long sceptre. She would seem to be Hera, and to present in bodily form either Samos, or perhaps Argos, her chief seat in Hellas.

There is at Palermo another Athenian relief, of the same class but an interesting variety.<sup>1</sup> It is at the head of a very important document recording the alliance of B.C. 362 between Athens and several of the Peloponnesian states, the Arcadians, the Achaeans, and the people of Elis and Phlius, the alliance which led up to the battle of Mantinea and the death of Epaminondas. The deities who are in the inscription invoked as protectors of the alliance are Zeus Olympius, Athene Polias, Demeter and

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaion* v 101, Kumanudes. Engraved *Bull. Cor. Hell.* ii. Pl. xi.: cf. Hicks, *Histor. Inscr.* No. 94.

Cora, the twelve gods and the Severe Goddesses—*Σεμναί*. On the right of the relief is Zeus seated, headless but identified by the symbol of the thunderbolt; over against him is a standing headless goddess clad in chiton and diplois, bearing a sceptre; and further to left Athene, part of whose head remains. Here the Olympian statue of Zeus seems to represent not only the Eleians but also the Arcadians, and in fact all Peloponnesus. The figure of Athene stands for Athens; but what can be the meaning of the third figure, the goddess holding a sceptre? Köhler<sup>1</sup> suggests that she may be an impersonation of Peloponnesus. This is possible, but it seems more likely that the person intended is she who is combined in the oath with Zeus and Athene, Demeter, the goddess of Eleusis, who stands beside Athene with strong religious meaning, to offer a further guarantee of the good faith of the Athenian republic.

The character and meaning of these reliefs may best be elucidated by the comparison of a series of monuments of a considerably later date, indeed of Roman age, but of a not dissimilar character, the so-called alliance-coins issued by several great cities of Asia Minor in imperial times. They reach us especially from Ephesus and Smyrna and Miletus, the great Ionian cities of the Asiatic coast; and in spite of their late date they are full of the spirit of Greek art and religion. They too record alliances, but not such as could leave a trace in history; for the *pax Romana* only allowed religious and commercial conventions between the subject cities, and not any real political alliances.

The first set of coins<sup>2</sup> which we shall examine records an alliance of the reign of Commodus between Athens and Smyrna. This alliance is celebrated by three distinct coin-types. In all, Athens is represented as of old by her guardian deity Athene; but Smyrna, as not entirely given to any one cultus, is represented in three distinct ways;—first, by a winged Nemesis who holds in her hand a noose while a wheel is at her feet; second, by Cybele or Mater Sipyrene who is seated on a throne, with the Phrygian tympanum under her arm; third, by Zeus Nicephorus who is also seated in state. And these same three deities occur one by one in conjunction with Asclepius on coins which record an alliance between Smyrna and Pergamon, and one by one in conjunction with the Zeus of Laodiceia on coins commemorating an alliance with Laodiceia. For Pergamon and Laodiceia were respectively devoted to the worship of Asclepius and Zeus as much as Athens to that of Athene.

Turning next to a group of coins of the same period which record the alliances of Ephesus we find, just as we should expect to find, the city of Ephesus in these records represented by Artemis. On two alliance-coins of Ephesus and Miletus, Ephesus is in both cases represented by the *διππετὲς ἄγαλμα*, the image which fell from heaven, or rather the origin of which was lost in the mists of time. Miletus is in one case represented by the archaic statue of Apollo which stood in the Didymaeum, the celebrated work of

<sup>1</sup> *Mittheil. d. deut. Inst. in Athen*, i. 197.

<sup>2</sup> These coins and those which follow will be

found described in Mionnet, under the cities where they were struck.

Canachus; on the other occasion by a more ordinary type of Apollo playing on his lyre. Ephesus and Laodiceia on an alliance-coin are represented each by an image of their deities. In the coins recording an alliance of Ephesus and Alexandria in the time of Gordianus Pius we have greater variety. On one specimen we find the archaic figure of the Ephesian Artemis placed between Sarapis and Isis, the consort whom Sarapis stole from Osiris. On a second, we see Sarapis enthroned holding in his hand a small simulacrum of Artemis Ephesia. On a third we have Sarapis in his customary attitude, with hand raised, and Artemis of the Hellenic type standing with bow and arrow. On a fourth are two heads jugate, of Sarapis and of Artemis who is identified by the symbol of a torch.

We might cite many more coins of this class, but enough have been mentioned to establish its general character. It is not a little interesting to observe that in idea there is scarcely any difference between Athenian reliefs of the fourth century before our aera, and reliefs from Ionia of the second and third centuries after our aera. Of course the character of the alliances commemorated in the two cases was different. In the one case they were weighty political contracts with a bearing on history; in the other mere conventions for agonistic, religious, or commercial purposes.<sup>1</sup> But at the later as at the earlier period, the city was deemed to be most fitly represented by the guardian deity who was its protector. And we find in the later class of monuments precisely the same fluctuation between deity and statue which we noted in the earlier. In the early Athenian reliefs we found Athene and Heracles represented not by any archaic simulacrum but by an impersonation in the style of contemporary art; but on the other hand the city of Neapolis was represented by the very image of the local goddess Parthenos, an archaic figure far below the powers of contemporary art. The same thing holds in the alliance-coins, in which Miletus is represented sometimes by an archaic statue of Apollo and sometimes by a type of developed art, and Ephesus as well by the running huntress Artemis as by the rude oriental simulacrum. But of course in execution the earlier series of reliefs is far superior; and it is superior in the way in which the two divinities represented are (usually) united into a single group; whereas on the coins we have usually merely two detached figures side by side. Placing the image of one of the deities in the hand of the other seems but a clumsy attempt to unite the two into a single group. The idea of the jugate heads is far more ingenious and successful; but it is one which does not belong to early art.

It is unnecessary at any length to show how natural it was for Greeks, whether in early or late times, to put forward in art the guardian deity of a city as its representative. That deity really admirably embodied the higher personality of the state. When colonies set forth from a Greek city they bore with them a copy of the image of the chief deity of the metropolis,<sup>2</sup> and by worshipping it kept ever fresh the tradition of their origin. When

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. lxxvii.

colony of Perinthus. See Gardner's *Samos*, Pl.

<sup>2</sup> A good instance on the coins of the Samian v. 14.

one city conquered another it bore off to its own temples the image of the presiding deity of the vanquished city, and by so doing imagined that it incorporated that city with itself. Thus the Argives carried off to their own Heraeum the statue of Hera from Tiryns, when they had conquered the people of Tiryns,<sup>1</sup> and from that moment Tiryns ceased to be. Thus Antiphemus, founder of Gela, after destroying Omphace,<sup>2</sup> a Sicilian town, carried off to Gela the Daedalian statue of their god; and thus the Cyzicenes wrested from the conquered people of Proconnesus their statue of Mater Dindymene. In the same way Zeus Homagyrius represented the personality of the race of the Achaeans, Zeus Dodonaeus that of the Epirotes, Apollo that of the Delians.

## II.

The second mode in which the Greeks embodied country and city was in the person of eponymus hero, or founder—*κτίστης*. This method also is thoroughly consistent with what we know of Greek belief and Greek art. The Greeks almost always had in their cities temples dedicated to the founder; if they could they placed his bones underneath their market-place. They looked for his aid in war, especially in case of an invasion; and he came, as the hero Echetlus appeared to defend with his plough-share the Athenian army at Marathon. If they knew the historical origin of their city they raised the historical founder to the rank of a hero or demi-god. If they had no historical founder, sometimes even if they had, they imagined an eponymous hero for their city who was simply the people in person and in venerating whom the citizens exalted themselves. The hero thus exalted or thus invented became the spiritual ancestor of each inhabitant; as related to him all alike, they were also related one to the other, and no figure so well as his could represent the city in its dealings with foreign states, or with strangers whom the city wished to honour with crowns or immunities or *proedriae*.

It is difficult to draw any line between the cases of embodiment of a city in the person of the founder and mere allegorical renderings; for when a Greek artist wished to form a concrete image of any city, he naturally thought at once of the hero or heroine, usually of the same name, who was regarded as its actual or virtual founder; he at all events gave to his artistic creation the attributes most suited to such founder. When we find a statue of Cyrene it is really impossible to say whether it is intended to represent the nymph Cyrene or the city Cyrene; probably the sculptor had both in his mind. Yet there are some cases—and, with such alone we will deal in this section—in which a hero or heroine is clearly put forth as the representative in art of a city or a district.

The first instance is again one of the alliance-reliefs published by

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, ii. 17, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, viii. 46, 2.

Schöne.<sup>1</sup> It represents Athene seated, giving her hand to a male figure clad in a short chiton who stands before her. Behind him is a dog and some rocks. The inscriptions which the relief accompanies record honours voted by the people of Athens to those of Methone, a city of the Macedonian coast, supposed to be a colony of Eretria in Euboea. The date of the relief is soon after B.C. 424. Schöne seems undoubtedly right in recognizing in the male figure a local hero of the people of Methone. And as Plutarch states<sup>2</sup> that Methone was in ancient days inhabited by a man named Methon, an ancestor of Orpheus, we may feel justified in giving the name Methon to the figure of our relief. That he is represented as a hunter who pursues game on the mountains is not unnatural, for the inner lands of Macedon were mountainous and uncultivated and the abode of hunters and shepherds. The early date is very noteworthy; the relief is almost contemporary with the Parthenon sculptures; and it seems likely that we may expect hereafter to find still earlier representations of the same class.

On a coin of Cyzicus of Antoninus Pius, at a period almost six centuries later, we find a relief of very similar character. It commemorates an alliance between Ephesus and Cyzicus; and comprizes two male figures who stand hand in hand, and are proved by the inscriptions behind them to stand for Ephesus and Cyzicus. We have record of a hero named Ephesus who is said to have been a son of Caÿster and to have aided Croesus in building the archaic temple of Artemis; and we hear of a hero named Cyzicus who in the time of the Argonauts was ruler of a district of the Propontis and was slain by accident by them in a night-alarm. And that these heroes are intended to be represented in the coin-type rather than impersonations of the cities of the same name seems certain, for in the age of the Antonines, as will appear later, cities in Asia Minor were, when personified, represented by female figures, usually wearing turreted crowns. They would scarcely take the forms of young hunters. Yet though Ephesus and Cyzicus are heroes and not cities, each stands for and represents the personality of the city he founded. On another coin which records an alliance between Ephesus and Pergamon, Ephesus is represented similarly by its eponymous hero, who carries in his hand the statue of the Ephesian Artemis, for which according to the legend he found a resting-place.

But perhaps the best of all instances in which a founder is set forth as a complete embodiment of the personality of a city is to be found at Tarentum. Early in the fifth century the Tarentines dedicated at Delphi statues, by Onatas, of Taras and Phalanthus, the one the mythical and eponymous, the other the historical founder of the city. And throughout the long series of the splendid coins of Tarentum, from the time of Onatas onwards, these two heroes, more especially Taras, represent in the most complete and lively manner all the activities and successes of the Tarentines. The Tarentine cavalry was excellent, so their heroes appear constantly on horseback

<sup>1</sup> viii. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Quaest. Graecae*. 11.

performing military evolutions and crowned for success in the games. The Tarentine wine was good, so Taras on the coins bears a bunch of grapes or carries a thyrsus. The Tarentines were skilful fishers, so Taras as he rides on his dolphin's back spears the fish of the sea through which he passes. Tarentum was a city of shipping and of cavalry; so on one side of her coins Taras rides his dolphin, on the other Phalanthus mounts his steed, repeating age after age the exploits by which they were supposed to have won fame, and furnishing a constant model to the ambitious youth of Tarentum.

Cities are sometimes embodied also in the person of the mother of their founder, some local nymph who has been the object of a passion of Zeus, or Poseidon, or Apollo, and has become the foundress of a race, and mother of an eponymous hero. We may mention one or two of these in passing, though they are not for our present purpose important. For mostly they appear only in connexion with the deity who was their lover, and lose their local and distinctive character.

One of the most celebrated of the amours of Zeus was that carried on with the nymph Aegina, daughter of Asopus, who became mother of Aeacus and the local nymph of the island which bore her name. In the best illustration of this episode on a vase,<sup>1</sup> Zeus appears taking Aegina from the midst of her sisters, laying a hand on her and barring her flight with his sceptre: her sisters fly in terror to their father Asopus. The whole scene forcibly reminds us of many vase-paintings representing the seizure of Thetis by Peleus; and the Naiad daughters of the river are not to be distinguished from the Nereid sisters of Thetis. The subject of this vase is precisely like that of a votive group, dedicated by Phliasians at Olympia, of uncertain period<sup>2</sup>—'Nemea is the first of the daughters, next Aegina, on whom Zeus is laying hands, then Harpina, then Corcyra, then Thebe, and last Asopus.' In a variant form of the legend, Zeus is said, in the form of an eagle, to have carried off Aegina, and late works of art adopt that view; but our vase adheres to the more artistic and nobler tradition.

It is remarkable that all these nymph-daughters of Asopus bear the names of celebrated cities, with which legend connected them as foundresses. Some writers have supposed that Corcyra, Harpina, Thebe, and the other cities were all founded from the banks of the Asopus, and that the legends thus arose. But history will not bear out this view. The fact is that there were several rivers called Asopus in Greece, one in Boeotia, one in Argolis, one in Aegina. Thebe must have been the daughter of the Boeotian Asopus; and the other eponymous nymphs the daughters of the various Asopi in various neighbourhoods. But the general fact remains interesting. It is almost always the daughter of a river who gives her name to cities, as the spring with which she is ultimately identified made the city inhabitable.

There are many other local nymphs who are associated with Poseidon.

<sup>1</sup> *Mus. Gregor.* ii. 20: Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* pl. vi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. v. 22, 6.

Beroe appears on coins of Berytus; and seems to have been, like Amygone, surprised while drawing water.<sup>1</sup> Salamis was by Poseidon mother of Cychreus, autochthonous hero of Salamis. On a Brygos vase<sup>2</sup> we find a nymph pursued by Poseidon who seems to be determined as Salamis by the picture of the inside of the same vase, which represents the snake slain by Cychreus, and the picture of the other side, which represents Cychreus as attendant on Demeter. Almost all these local or foundress nymphs seem when traced to their source to be the daughters of rivers, and to belong to the class of naiads.

In one part of the Greek world, in the neighbourhood of Mount Sipylus on the Ionian coast, the foundress-nymphs bore a peculiar character, appearing as Amazons. Smyrna appears on coins of her city in Amazonian dress, turreted, with bipennis over her shoulder and a prow at her feet; sometimes also bearing a sceptre; Cyme holds on coins a dolphin and trident; each foundress thus adopting attributes from the city she founded. But all are alike reflections of the great deity of Sipylus, the Phrygian Cybele. In one instance we have Smyrna seated on a throne exactly in the attitude of Cybele, only clad in short Amazonian dress and having under her arm a lunated shield in place of the usual tympanum.

It may perhaps arouse surprise that I speak of these Amazonian foundresses in the same connection in which I speak of the daughters of Asopus and other river nymphs like Salamis and Beroe. But I think the distinction between the two classes of foundresses rather apparent than real. Cyme for example, one of the Amazonian foundresses, is spoken of as a nymph who was connected with Poseidon, and as such she is supposed to appear in unwarlike guise on one or two ancient monuments. The two perfectly similar cults, that of Hera at Samos and that of Artemis at Ephesus, were founded the one by nymphs the other by Amazons. The Amazons, in connection with the Ionian cities at least, were in fact mere nymphs of Sipylus and were represented as armed merely in virtue of ancient religious traditions of the district.

These Amazonian foundresses of cities often embody upon coins the cities which owed to them their origin. Amazons were said to have built many of the cities of the Ionian coast, and Smyrna, Ephesus, Teos, Magnesia, Myrina, and Cyme, all claimed to have been founded by Amazonian chiefs of the same name with themselves. We have an alliance-coin of Ephesus and Smyrna of which the type represents two Amazons armed and wearing turreted crowns grasping one another's hands. In the case of other alliance-coins, nearly or quite all the cities above-named are represented by Amazonian foundresses wearing the same turreted crowns, as to which there will be something to say when we reach the subject of civic Tyche or Fortuna. But at each city the foundress has a distinct and individual character. At Smyrna she sometimes holds a long sceptre and a bipennis, sometimes a Victory and a bipennis; some-

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* Poseidon, pl. vi. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. d. Inst.* 1850, pl. G.

times she is seated in the attitude of Cybele; and often there is at her feet a prow, whereby is indicated the naval prowess of the Smyrnaeans. At Teos, a city renowned for vines, the Amazonian eponymous heroine carries a thyrsus in place of the usual bipennis. At Cyme she holds a dolphin, a somewhat inappropriate attribute. But in all cases these Amazons represent the personality of the cities named after them and replace them in art.

### III.

It is sometimes said that allegorical figures do not belong to early and good Greek art, but are introduced into art late and by Roman influence. This however is quite erroneous. There is no period of Greek art in which we do not find a considerable admixture of figurative and allegorical personages. And indeed such are especially common in very early times. On the chest of Cypselus, dating from the seventh century, we have many instances. Night for instance appears bearing two boys, one white and one black, both with distorted feet, who are Death and Sleep respectively. Justice as a beautiful woman scourges Injustice who appears as an ugly one. Eris interferes in the combat of Achilles and Memnon, *αἰσχίστη τὸ εἶδος ἐοικυῖα*, and Ker with teeth like a wild beast and claws for nails stands near Polynices. In the period of developed art figures of this class become rarer; but they are never wanting. On one of the Attic reliefs published by Schöne<sup>1</sup> we have a figure of Eutaxia. Euphranor made a statue of Arete, and Agoracritus one of Nemesis, while the Kairos of Lysippus appears, if we may consider recently published reliefs with the subject of Kairos to fairly represent it, to have been even of an extravagantly allegorical character. When we pass the age of Alexander, these symbolical figures become more frequent. In the celebrated Pomp of Ptolemy II. of Egypt<sup>2</sup> we have figures of Eniautos and of Penteteris, and the four Seasons bearing their proper fruits. And in the Pomp of Antiochus IV.<sup>3</sup> we hear of a series of statues of Night, Day, Earth, Heaven, Morning, and Noon. On the coins of Alexandria we have an extraordinary number of fanciful figures, Euthenia (Felicitas), Keleusmos (Sign of attack), and so forth; indeed one may suspect that it was not the Greeks who borrowed from the Romans in this matter, but the Romans from the Greeks, more particularly the Greeks of Alexandria, whose shadowy philosophical tendencies set up a host of imaginary personalities, virtues and vices, habits and actions, and clothed them in artistic form.

Of course there are differences in character between late and early allegorical figures; or rather between the allegorical figures of mature art on the one hand and those of early and late art on the other. In the best period allegorical figures are marked by dignity and simplicity, and the emblems are fused with and incorporated into the figure itself. In early times the skill

<sup>1</sup> Pl. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. v. p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, xxxi. 3, in Athenaeus, v. p. 194.

to accomplish this was wanting; and late art rejoiced in multiplying external and easily intelligible symbols.

These general remarks will become, I hope, more intelligible in the course of our examination of one class of allegorical figures;—the impersonations in art of countries and of cities.

In forming out of cities imaginary personalities, as in so many other matters, the Egyptians showed the way to the Greeks. In Egypt cities and districts are usually represented by their deity. But in a celebrated painting of the time of Rameses II. are a set of male deities each of them followed by a female deity.<sup>1</sup> The forms are of course conventional, but the hieroglyphic text accompanying explains that each of the male figures represents a branch of the Nile, each of the females a district or city on its banks. At a later period these pairs become curiously amalgamated; and we find in a temple at Abydos in wall-sculptures of the time of Rameses III. several series of androgynous figures bearing on their head each the hieroglyphic cartouche of a nome or a city of Egypt, which seem to be considered partly as places and partly as aspects of the Nile. But more pleasing representations are not unknown; nomes and cities<sup>2</sup> alike appear as female forms, holding in one hand the Egyptian sign of life, in the other a sceptre made of lotus-stalk, and bearing on their heads the hieroglyphic sign of the city or nome which they represent, Thebes, Tentyra, &c. Most of these monuments are of Ptolemaic and Roman times; but that the idea was not first invented at so late an epoch is proved by the fact that, on a monument of Shishak, we find standing beside the king an impersonation in female form of the Theban nome<sup>3</sup>: on her head is the symbol of cultivated lands, she is armed with bow, arrow, and mace.

In Greek poetry countries and cities take on themselves more and more of human personality as time goes on. In the Delian hymn to Apollo, though the island is said to speak and to smile, yet it is spoken of as a place rather than as a person. But when Atossa in the *Persae*<sup>4</sup> speaks of two women as appearing to her in a dream, clad the one in Persian the other in Dorian dress, these ladies are certainly allegorical personifications of the peoples of Asia and Hellas respectively. Still more human and concrete is Hellas in Euripides's *Helena*,<sup>5</sup> crying out and tearing her flesh in wild passion. And in the plastic and pictorial arts of Greece we may discover a similar progress in personification from the vague to the definite and from the abstract to the concrete.

In the earlier period of Greek art our materials for tracing the history of these civic impersonations cannot be said to be abundant, but they exist. Perhaps the earliest of such impersonations is that spoken of in Aristotle's

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Geograph. Inschriften* i. 80, ii. 58, iii. 2. I have to thank Mr. R. S. Poole of the British Museum for information embodied in this paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* v. p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* pl. cxlviii.

<sup>4</sup> Line 181 *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Line 370 &c.

βοῶν βοῶν δ' Ἑλλάς  
κελάδησε κἀνωτότυξεν,  
ἐπὶ δὲ κρατὶ χέρου ξοθηκεν, κ.τ.λ.

description of the robe of Alcimenes of Sybaris.<sup>1</sup> As Sybaris was destroyed soon after the middle of the sixth century, this robe must belong to a time before that; and the description itself indicates a very early period of Greek art. On the robe were embroidered lines of animals, just such lines probably as are usual on early Rhodian and Corinthian vases, together with figures of Zeus, Hera, Themis, Athene, Apollo and Aphrodite; and at each side Alcimenes himself was represented as well as the city of Sybaris in person. But of the details of the personification of the city we have no account.

An early work of the class was the statue of Salamis made by the Greeks out of the acroteria of Persian ships—a statue of bronze twelve cubits high, dedicated by the Greeks at Delphi in memory of the great battle of Salamis and the repulse of the Persians. The date of this would be about B.C. 478. Herodotus<sup>2</sup> does not describe the statue further than by saying that it held in its hand an acroterium. This is the regular symbol of naval victory, which we find often in the hands of Nike, on early coins of Camarina for instance and therefore it well beseemed Salamis, especially considering whereof the statue was composed. This statue was the sculptural hymn of victory over the Persians, and its form was copied by the painter Panaenus, the contemporary of Pheidias, in his paintings on the barrier of the statue of Zeus at Olympia. The group painted by Panaenus consisted of Hellas and Salamis holding in her hand τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἄκραϊς ποιούμενον κόσμον. Hellas was probably placing a wreath on the head of Salamis, an action very common in works of this class.

Beside these instances quoted from literature we may set a few gathered from extant monuments of the fifth century B.C. The chief source of them is the Athenian reliefs of the class already mentioned which are collected in the work of Schöne. On them we find cities not only embodied in the persons of their guardian deities, but also sometimes in allegorical figures, who however usually borrow some of the attributes of the *πολιούχοι θεοί*.

The earliest and most important of these reliefs is not in Schöne's work, but is published by Michaelis in the *Archaeologische Zeitung*.<sup>3</sup> It is unfortunately fragmentary; all that remains is part of a somewhat archaic female figure standing to the right with arms outstretched, on her head a lofty crown or polos. The date, as indicated by a few letters of the inscription which remain, is the middle of the fifth century B.C. We should naturally have supposed the lady to be a deity, probably Demeter, but for the inscription which is inserted beside her for the express purpose of preventing this mistake, and which consists of the letters Μ Ε Ξ [ . . . ]. Michaelis can scarcely be wrong in supposing that she is in fact an allegorical impersonation of the city of the Messenians, with whom the Athenians had about the middle of the fifth century close relations. This impersonation is the more remarkable because after B.C. 454 the Messenians were wanderers, and their city in the power of Sparta. So it is the people rather than the city who is embodied in the lady

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Didot, iv. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. viii. 121.

<sup>3</sup> For 1875, p. 104. The relief is at Leyden.

of the relief. Her likeness to Demeter may arise from the fact that Demeter was, as we know from Messenian coins, regarded as the representative deity of the race.

A relief on Schöne's seventh plate (No. 49) is at the head of a decree passed by the Athenians in B.C. 393, in honour of the cruel tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse, and his brothers Leptines and Thearides. In it Athene again appears, accompanied by her serpent, giving her hand to a draped female figure who holds a long torch. Athene is of course Athens, but who is the other? Schöne supposes her to be an allegorical representation of Sikelia. And this interpretation is by no means unlikely. The head of Sikelia, with her name, appears on bronze coins of Sicily of the period of Timoleon.<sup>1</sup> And as Demeter and Persephone were the chief deities of Sicily, it is not unnatural that the impersonation of the island should hold a torch. Of such transference of an attribute from a *πολιούχος* or *(γραιή)χος θεά* to the land which she protects we shall find several instances hereafter. Nevertheless some might be inclined to see in the present figure rather Demeter as the representative of Sicily than an impersonation of the country, and though the question cannot be settled because only the lower part of the figure is visible, this is certainly a not unreasonable hypothesis.

Relief No. 51 on plate VIII. offers us three figures instead of two. Unluckily we can see only the lower parts of these figures, yet enough to enable us to discern their import. The decree below is in honour of the Samians, praising them, or rather the Atticizing section of them, for some signal service performed against the Laconian party. Schöne conjectures the date to be B.C. 412, when the Athenian dominion was rudely shaken by the calamity at Syracuse, and even Chios revolted, Samos alone remaining a firm ally. We have Athene as usual. In front of her is a smaller female figure, rising on tiptoe to place a wreath on the head of a draped goddess. Schöne suggests that the crowning figure is Boulê, and the crowned figure Samos is in female form. But it seems to me more probable that the crowning agent either Nike or else Pistis or some other allegorical attendant of Athene.

Another relief<sup>2</sup> of the class, over a decree of alliance between Athens and Corcyra, also has three figures. These are explained by M. Dumont as being Athene representing Athens, Demos, and an embodiment of Corcyra. The figure taken for Corcyra is a veiled lady in aspect not unlike Hera, and very different from the Corcyra whose head appears on coins of the island,<sup>3</sup> who is crowned with ivy and has the aspect of a Dionysiac nymph or maenad. The head of Hera occurs conspicuously on early coins of Corcyra,<sup>4</sup> and it is not impossible that it is that deity who figures in our relief.

Somewhat later, as we approach the fourth century, instances become more frequent. Aristander of Paros, the supposed father of Scopas, sculptured a statue preserved at Amyclae of a woman holding a lyre, and representing

<sup>1</sup> Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* ii. pl. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Br. Mus. Coin Cat. Thessaly to Aetolia*, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 120.

Sparta. After Alexander we can scarcely imagine Sparta in art otherwise than as armed, but there is better taste in this earlier image. Euphranor made a colossal group of Arete and Hellas, Hellas, no doubt, receiving a wreath from Arete. Cephisodotus, father of Praxiteles, set up at Megalopolis a statue of that city, ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις, immediately after its foundation. As Megalopolis was a brand-new city, there could in this case be no question of foundress or eponymous heroine; the sculptor must have set himself deliberately to incorporate the city, as yet scarcely built, in human form; the purely allegorical nature of the image is very clear. In the time of Philip of Macedon the people of Byzantium and Perinthus set up, as we learn from the *De Corona* of Demosthenes,<sup>1</sup> a group representing the Athenian Demos being crowned by the cities of Byzantium and Perinthus, each figure sixteen cubits high. A part of one of these figures is supposed to have been recently discovered.

One class of places would be especially likely to be embodied by the Greeks in art at an early time, and that is the seats of the great games of Greece, Olympia, Nemea and the rest. The head of Olympia, with an identifying inscription, occurs on coins of Elis. Similarly we hear of painted tablets by Aglaophon representing Alcibiades seated in the lap of Nemea, and crowned by Olympia and Pythia.<sup>2</sup> On a beautiful red-figured kylix<sup>3</sup> of the potter Hieron we find, at the scene of the outsending of Triptolemus, an impersonation of Eleusis. Here she stands behind Persephone, in nymph-like form. In her hand is a twig, which seems to stand for the sacred grove of Eleusis; with the other hand she raises her dress, an attitude common to many goddesses in early days. She is veiled, a most unusual thing in a local nymph—a fact which can best be explained by considering that the local personification takes her attributes from the great local goddess: because Demeter is essentially a veiled goddess, her Eleusis is also veiled. Possibly also there may be in the veil an allusion to hidden mysteries. We might be tempted, on the analogy of this vase, to call the subordinate figure so often present in this scene Eleusis; but Kekule remarks that as no nymph Eleusis is mentioned in the old literature, it is not likely that she would be introduced save as an exception. And his argument is the more interesting to us as it shows that we have here to do with a clear and distinct personification of a town, and not with a mere foundress.

We should however be able to form but a vague idea of the representations of places in the good time of Greek art were it not for a very interesting bronze mirror discovered at Corinth and published by M. Dumont in the *Monuments*<sup>4</sup> of the French Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. This mirror is of an excellent time of art, early in the fourth century. It is engraved with a tool by a very skilful hand, the background being gilt and the figures silvered. On it are represented two figures—Corinthus, a bearded,

<sup>1</sup> P. 256.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. xii. 534 d. from Satyrus: these writers give the impersonations as Ολυμπιάς and Πυθιάς.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* ix. 43. Overbeck, *K.M.* iii. pp. 543, 4, Atlas xv. 22.

<sup>4</sup> For 1873.

Zeus-like figure seated to the left, holding a sceptre, and Leucas, a young female figure standing behind his throne and placing a wreath on his head.



CORINTHUS AND LEUCAS.

In every way this group is important and admirable. M. Dumont can scarcely praise it highly enough from the point of view of art. He calls attention to the majestic pose and noble countenance of Corinthus, to the way in which the muscles of the body are depicted with perfect truth by a few strokes of the tool of which not one is false or superfluous. He remarks the beauty of the drapery of Leucas, and the simple and noble manner in which the two figures are grouped. A less admirable peculiarity is the realism with which the hair on the breast of Corinthus is portrayed.

But the meaning of the group is even more important than its style of execution. To begin with, there can be little doubt that it is a copy or a reminiscence of a more important work in sculpture or painting, designed and executed at a time when Leucas wished to testify in the usual Hellenic

fashion her gratitude to Corinth for favours bestowed on her, perhaps protection granted against the jealousy of the neighbouring Corcyra. It would be easy to cite from Greek writers a dozen instances of works of sculpture with a similar motive. I need however mention but two: the already cited group representing the Demos of Athens crowned by Byzantium and Perinthus, and a group mentioned by Polybius<sup>1</sup> in which the Demos of Rhodes was represented as crowning that of Syracuse. But the thing for special notice is the choice made by the artist who made our group of types for the two cities. We do not find here, as so often at Athens during this period, the guardian deities of each. The guardian deity of Corinth was notoriously Aphrodite, and that of Leucas Artemis, whose archaic statue is the regular type of the Leucadian coins. But the figure which here represents Corinth is a mature man, of stately and Zeus-like aspect, holding a sceptre. There was an eponymous hero of Corinth, Corinthus, said to have been a son of Zeus, and his existence in the legend probably gave our artist the idea of expressing the city of Corinth by a figure of Zeus-like type. In the same way, as I have elsewhere pointed out,<sup>2</sup> the Demos of Rhegium appears as a Zeus-like figure, also holding a sceptre, because Zeus was the civic deity of Messene, one of the mother-cities of Rhegium. The city, even when not represented by its deity, borrows to some extent the form and attributes of that deity. And by making Corinth like Zeus, and Leucas like a youthful goddess, the whole group could look like father and daughter, and Leucas could in the expressive language of art be brought into tender and filial relation to the mother-city, whom, unlike Corcyra she respected and loved. Next take the figure of Leucas. Here again the question arises whether we have a goddess, a foundress, or an allegorical figure. If a goddess, she must be either Artemis or Aphrodite. There is no attribute to indicate either goddess, though it must be confessed that the head of our figure strikingly resembles the head of Aphrodite on coins of Leucas. But probably the intention is, as in the case of Corinth, to embody the city in the person of an eponymous heroine, and then to mould the type of that heroine in the form of a goddess of the island. Thus, whether we say that our group represents Zeus crowned by Artemis, the hero Corinthus by the nymph Leucas, or City by City, we shall in each case express a part of the truth. But the absence of attributes, the freedom of grouping, and the inscriptions alike tend to show that political rather than religious meaning here predominates.

On Sicilian coins of the time of Timoleon<sup>3</sup> we find at various places, probably Adranum and Alaesa, a head indicated by the inscription round it to be intended for Sicilia. This is a beautiful nymph-like head, sometimes crowned with myrtle—a charming creation. Timoleon first made the Greeks of Sicily feel their common interests and nationality; he made a Hellenic Sicily and the idea which the statesman embodied in laws and alliances the artist in his turn embodied in outward form.

<sup>1</sup> v. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, p. 37.

In the period which followed Alexander the Great, allegorical representations of cities and countries became far more common. This was but natural. The Greeks became intimately acquainted with many new cities and fresh regions, and began to see that each had an aspect and character of its own. Their art too became wider and of more varied effort, and the spread of philosophy made all abstractions and ideas more suited to their minds. And in addition to these general causes, there was the particular one that the Greek kings wished in their triumphal processions to carry images of districts or of cities which they had liberated or which they had enslaved. For even in their triumphal processions and their triumphal arches and columns, if the truth were known, the Romans would perhaps be found to be little but imitators of the Greeks, and their works to differ from those of Hellenistic times mainly in their greater formality.

So in the wonderful procession of Ptolemy II., the description of which in Athenaeus<sup>1</sup> is quite a *locus classicus* for Hellenistic art, we find many representations of places. Corinthus, this time represented in female form, and wearing a golden diadema, stood near the statue of Ptolemy himself. There was also a statue of Nysa, the description of which is well worth citing, for even if we must consider Nysa here rather as a Dionysiac nymph than as a place impersonated, yet the description will help us to judge how actual cities were depicted. 'There was,' the description runs, 'a seated statue of Nysa eight cubits high, clad in a saffron chiton flaked with gold over which was a Laconian himation. And she stood up mechanically, without any application of force, and poured out a libation of milk from a golden bowl, and then sat down again. And in her left hand she held a thyrsus bound with fillets. Her wreath was of ivy leaves formed of gold and grapes of precious stones.' Also there followed in the pomp figures of all the Greek cities of Asia and the islands which were under Persian rule. So again in the temple erected by Ptolemy IV. to Homer there were around the statue of the poet figures of all the cities which claimed him as their scion.

Descriptions like these make us feel how infinitesimal is the portion which we possess of the great works of ancient art. It is however possible to produce a few interesting examples of personifications of places in extant works of the age of Alexander. The first is from the very celebrated vase called the Darius-vase,<sup>2</sup> the subject of which is the state and power of Darius before he set about the invasion of Greece. In the lowest of the three lines which make up the design there is represented the bringing in of tribute, in the middle line the King is seated and a Persian noble is standing on a dais and making a speech to him. In the group in the upper line Asia is seated as a draped female figure holding a sceptre. She is sending forth a female daemon who is shown by the inscriptions to be meant for Ara, the dire companion of the Erinnyes, and who stands with a torch in each hand ready to do her bidding. The object whom Asia points out for her attack is Hellas, who stands further to left, but who is placed between two trusty guardians,

<sup>1</sup> Athen. v. 197.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. d. Inst.* ix. 50, 51.

Zeus and Athene, of whom the latter lays a caressing hand on her shoulder. It is evident that so protected Hellas has nothing to fear. The vase is a red-figured one of good style but not of the early class; there is no severity about it: we cannot be far wrong if we assign it to about the time of Alexander. The design seems too elaborate and tasteful for the invention of a mere vase-painter; we cannot help supposing that it is suggested by the picture of some great master. The critics remark on its similarity of subject with the *Persae* of Aeschylus; they might say, with the history of Herodotus, of which it seems like an epitome. But it is in itself a poem, and a delightful one. The figures of Asia and Hellas are more like the imaginations of a poet than the work of a painter, particularly of a vase-painter. Asia is the proud queenly goddess accustomed to command; Hellas a younger and less dignified personality, safe not in herself but only in the protection of divine beings.

The whole design of the group reminds us at once of earlier and contemporary poetry. First of the dream of Atossa in the *Persae*:<sup>1</sup> 'There seemed to me to come before me two well-clad women, one clad in Persian garments and one in Dorian, most distinguished among living women for stature, blameless in beauty, and sisters of the same race, one having allotted to her the land of Hellas, and one barbarian lands.'—And then of the dream of Europa in Moschus: 'She thought that two continents were fighting about her, the Asian and the opposite one, and in fashion they were like women. Of them one had the appearance of a foreigner, the other was like a native and rather defended her daughter, and claimed to have given her birth and nursed her. But the other by force with violent hands began to draw her away not unwilling, saying that Europa was her destined prize by decree of aegis-bearing Zeus.' The second of these scenes is nearer the time of our vase-picture, and nearer it in feeling; we have not the distinction of Persian and Dorian robes mentioned by Aeschylus. Nevertheless in some respects, as in its religious tone and in the prominent position assigned to the Persians, our vase-picture bears traces of a design anterior to the time of Alexander the Great, though it was probably painted later.

In still later Hellenistic times we find a similar idea embodied in a more conventional group. There exists a relief of palombino marble representing Europe and Asia supporting a shield on which is a representation of the battle of Arbela, accompanied by an epigram. Jahn in speaking of this relief<sup>2</sup> shews that it belongs to a large class of Alexandrian inventions which were made for the use of schools. We need not therefore be surprised at its conventional character. Europe and Asia both appear as figures with turreted crowns clad in long archaistic drapery. Only in one detail are they distinguished, Europe is barefoot while Asia wears sandals, perhaps in remembrance of Persian slippers.

Coins struck in the fourth and third centuries B.C. furnish us with a few interesting cases of personification.<sup>3</sup> We have on them characteristic heads

<sup>1</sup> Line 181.

<sup>2</sup> *Bilderchron.* vi. M.

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<sup>3</sup> For these coins see Head, *Hist. Num.* s.vv.

of Corcyra, Libya, and Cyrene. Corcyra is crowned with ivy, as befitted the Dionysiac character of the island. Libya wears long straight curls of a Moorish or Libyan type when she appears on coins of Ptolemy II. of Egypt, or bears the scalp of an elephant on her head at a later time. Cyrene appears as a nymph. On the coins of Nicomedes I. of Bithynia, Bithynia appears seated on a throne, an Amazonian figure, holding in one hand two spears and in the other a sword, a shield at her feet, and a tree behind her. A curious variant exhibits in the place of the female impersonation of the country a male figure armed in the same manner, whom we must suppose to represent the race of the Bithynians.

Still more important are two other coins, important not only in themselves, but as giving us an idea of sculptural and monumental works of the period which have entirely perished. Among the statues noticed by Pausanias at Delphi<sup>1</sup> was one dedicated by the Aetolians after their repulse of the Gauls in B.C. 278. It represented an armed woman, intended as a personification of Aetolia. Of this statue we have copies on coins of the same age, which give us a fairly accurate idea of it. The representation is of a female figure clad in Amazonian chiton, leaving one breast free, and in the flat causia which was the usual head-covering of Thessalians and Aetolians and other northern Greeks. Her military character is denoted by the spear and sword which she holds as well as by the pile of shields on which she is seated. In the arrangement of the shields we see traces of the growing symbolism of art. Some are of round Macedonian and some of oblong Gaulish pattern, implying that Aetolia was as proud of her repulse of the Macedonian forces of Cassander and Antigonus as of the destruction of the Gauls. The pose and attributes of Aetolia are just such as are natural to the third century B.C.; but it is interesting to find that there was at that period an enterprising and original school of art in Greece proper as well as at Rhodes and Pergamum.

Another group from coins is very pleasing. It is from a coin of Locri<sup>2</sup> in Italy, of the time of Pyrrhus, and represents Roma being crowned by Pistis, Good-faith, who stands before her. The figure of Roma, who is seated, is evidently the work of an artist of the same kind as he who designed the figures of Aetolia and Bithynia. Roma wears no helmet, but is armed with a sword and clad in long drapery.

The most celebrated heads of Roma in marble are closely like the head of Pallas, and even of Pallas at a somewhat early period, with severe features. And in the Roma Aeterna of coins of the second century of our aera we have a type of Roma which can be scarcely distinguished from that of Pallas. Indeed we may say that at that time Pallas is adopted from Athens by Rome, and becomes as it were identified with the conquering city. But it is doubtful whether we can prove this identification to have taken place at an earlier time. The Roma of coins of the Caesars wears an Amazonian chiton. The

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. x. 18, 7. *Types of Greek coins*, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 199.

head of Roma on coins of the third century B.C. is in a Phrygian helmet; an allusion probably to the Trojan origin of the Romans. The type of the Locrian coin is probably taken from a work of Greek sculpture of the time, which set itself to render the City of Rome in allegoric form, and not under the guise of Pallas.

Passing to somewhat later times, to the monuments of Graeco-Roman art, the paintings of Pompeii, the pictures described by Philostratus and so forth, we find frequent impersonations of places. And as coins are of all monuments the safest and most serious, we may begin with a coin,<sup>1</sup> one of the alliance-series of which I have before spoken. This coin is of the time of Nero, and is thus decidedly earlier than others of the class. The cities whose alliance is recorded by it are Smyrna and Laodiceia. These two cities are represented by two queenly female figures, each wearing a stephane and holding a sceptre, and grasping each other's hands. These are not the guardian deities of the two cities, nor are they of the class of Tyches of whom I shall speak hereafter, but purely allegorical impersonations of two of the queenly cities of Asia. The simplicity of the figures and the absence of attributes and allusive emblems are things worthy of a better time of art, and shew that traditions of good art still lingered in Asia in the first century after Christ.

Less simplicity, though still trace of a good time, is to be noticed in some Pompeian paintings. In one of these from the Casa di Meleagro<sup>2</sup> we find excellent impersonations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, which are good specimens of late Hellenistic art. 'The personifications of the three continents,' writes Helbig, 'are admirably characterized according to the nature of their inhabitants. In the midst sits Europe with fair hair, in yellowish grey chiton girt-in, with a green-lined grey mantle over her knees, seated on a throne with green seat, the arms of which are supported by sphinxes. Her sandalled feet rest on a footstool. A maiden standing behind the throne in grey chiton holds over her head a rose-red sun-shade. To right stands Africa, with dark skin and woolly black hair, wearing white shoes and red chiton with diplois, an elephant's tusk in her hand. To left is Asia, brown-haired, in sandals, and yellow chiton girt-in, with diplois and red border, the scalp of an elephant on her head. She lays her left arm on a pillar and her head on her left hand, and holds with her right hand her garment, which falls from the pillar down her back. In the background is a sea and ship on it.'

On another picture<sup>3</sup> occurs a figure of Arcadia, in a scene where Herakles and Telephus are introduced. 'Before Herakles sits on the rocks a majestic female figure, probably an impersonation of Arcadia, in yellow chiton and mantle, a wreath of white and red roses on her head. Holding a leafless branch in her left hand and laying her extended right hand on her head she looks straight before her, without taking immediate part in the scene before her.' And this scene with Herakles naturally leads us to the

<sup>1</sup> In the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> *Museo Borbonico*, ix. 4: Helbig, *Wandge-*

*mälde Campaniens*, No. 1113.

<sup>3</sup> *Museo Borbonico*, ix. 5: Helbig, No. 1143.

celebrated Albani vase,<sup>1</sup> which contains representations of the same class and is one of the most remarkable series of representations of personified places which exists. Several of these representations are of local nymphs, and of them, as well as of the general composition of the vase, it is unnecessary to speak, but a few of the impersonations of places may be taken apart from the context. In the scene where Herakles strangles the lion, Nemea stands by, her foot on a rock and in her hand a long palm. In the next scene, that of the horses of Diomedes, Thracia appears as a female figure seated on a rock bearing the sign of her personality in a long sceptre, one of the earliest and most usual indications that a place is intended. So in the scene of Geryon there is seated behind that worthy an armed female figure holding a shield, who seems to be intended for Spain.

Among vases of the later Italian style it will be sufficient to cite a single specimen, a vase by the artist Asteas. The scene painted on it is the destruction of the serpent at Thebes by Cadmus. He is supported by Athene. In the line of background are three interesting impersonations; first, Thebe veiled and wearing turreted crown, who is seated with her elbow resting on the acropolis-rock of Thebes, under which was the grotto of the serpent. Near her is a female figure, visible down to waist, who is termed in the inscription ΚΡΗΝΑΙΗ. Millingen<sup>2</sup> supposes her to be an impersonation of the Crenaeon gate, that near the spring, but Brunn more correctly supposes that she is the spring itself, the mis-spelling not being anything unusual. Beside her, also visible down to the waist, is the hoary river-god Ismenus, who holds a sceptre. The whole background contains a regular geographical picture, the city seated on her rock; the spring beside her, and the river which flows near; and all characterize perfectly the locality where the conflict took place. These latter impersonations, however, spring-nymph and river-god,<sup>3</sup> belong to another branch of the subject, into which we cannot at present enter.

We notice one decidedly new feature in some of the impersonations of countries and cities of the Roman age. They not only appear as witnesses of mythical and heroic scenes, but they actually take part in the action which is going forward. Even in the case of the Albani vase some of the localities introduced are not indifferent to the success or failure of Herakles. And this mingling with action may be noted in a yet higher degree in case of the pictures in the gallery of Philostratus. The pictures described by that writer, whether imaginary or not, certainly are full of instruction for us and shew forth fully all the tendencies of painting in the Alexandrine age. In the picture representing the death of Pantheia,<sup>4</sup> Lydia was introduced receiving the blood of the heroine in a golden garment. In the picture representing a flood in Thessaly,<sup>5</sup> we find Thessaly herself emerging from the waters, crowned with olive and corn and holding a horse. These impersonations are

<sup>1</sup> Millin, *Gall. Mythol.* pl. cxii. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Millingen, *Mon. Ined.* i. 27.

<sup>3</sup> See the article on Greek river-worship contributed by the present writer to the *Trans-*

*actions of the Royal Society of Literature* in 1876.

<sup>4</sup> ii. 9, *ad fin.*

<sup>5</sup> ii. 14.

however subordinate to the design of the groups, and are rather to be considered as local nymphs than as the embodiment of countries. One however of Philostratus' impersonations of places may be specially mentioned because it closely tallies with existing monuments. In the picture of Palaemon 'there is present,' says Philostratus, 'Isthmus in form of a deity, reclining on the ground. On his right hand is a lad, Lechaem I think. And the maidens on his left are Cenchreae.' Now Isthmus is represented not unfrequently on the coins of Corinth<sup>1</sup> as a young male figure standing, holding in each hand a rudder, which rudders signify the two harbours of Lechaem and Cenchreae, one on each sea. But Aphrodite,<sup>2</sup> the representative of Corinth, also appears on a coin of late date on the acropolis-rock between two reclining male figures, each of whom holds an oar. Over one is the inscription LECH, over the other CENCH, and it would seem that the two are personifications of Lechaem and Cenchreae, perhaps in the persons of Leches and Cenchrias, two sons of Poseidon,<sup>3</sup> who were eponymous heroes of the harbours. On a third coin,<sup>4</sup> issued in the reign of Hadrian, the same two harbours appear in the form of two draped female figures standing together with arms entwined, and each holding a rudder. Putting the three coins together we obtain something nearly like the group described by Philostratus.

As we advance in Roman times the material abounds. The sculptures and reliefs set up by Roman Emperors in memory of their warlike achievements simply abound in personifications of countries, provinces and cities. I will cite a few instances out of many. The figure of Germania Devicta, formerly called Thusnelda, at Florence is one of the first of the class. And it is a work shewing real imagination, for the national characteristics are developed, so to speak, from within the statue, and not merely laid upon it from without; the artist has seized the spirit of the German people with the same skill with which the artists of Pergamon seized the real type of the Gauls. The great mass of personifications of Roman times are of a more outward and superficial character. The identity of the place portrayed is indicated by some outward symbol, or by an inscription.

The monument known as the Puteoline basis was found at Puteoli in 1693. It is the oblong basis of a colossal statue of Tiberius, erected by the Augustales of Puteoli in A.D. 30. It is however only a copy of a very celebrated work of early imperial times, the great monument to Tiberius erected a few years earlier at Rome by twelve of the great cities of Asia, which had been in great part destroyed by an earthquake in A.D. 17 and had been restored mainly by the wise liberality of Tiberius. In return they erected a colossal statue to the Emperor and placed around it the statues of their twelve cities. Afterwards two more cities, Cibyra and Ephesus, having been destroyed by a later earthquake and also restored by Tiberius, statues of those cities were added to the group, making fourteen in all. The Puteoline

<sup>1</sup> See this *Journal* vi. 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. ii. 2, 3.

<sup>4</sup> See this *Journal* vi. 64.

monument is interesting as a record of this very celebrated work, but it is the more interesting as presenting copies in relief from statues which we have reason to suppose were in the round. There are remains of good art in the work; and it has not the vulgar and conventional character which is so common in Roman public monuments; no doubt it represents the best that the cities of Asia could do in the way of art at the beginning of the Christian era. It is admirably discussed in a paper by Otto Jahn,<sup>1</sup> whom I here follow.

On the front of the basis are two figures which seem, though the inscriptions are very much defaced, to stand for Magnesia and Sardes, the two cities which most suffered from the earthquake. Sardes veiled and draped lays her hand on the head of a naked youth. Jahn thinks that the fertility of the land of Sardis caused the artist to represent her as a sort of Kourotrophos with a child.

The figure of Magnesia is obscure, and she holds an uncertain attribute. Philadelphiea holds a long staff and has a hieratic appearance; on which Jahn remarks that Johannes Lydus<sup>2</sup> says that Philadelphiea used to be called 'little Athens' because of its many temples and statues and feasts. Tmolus is very distinctive, a young male figure naked but for the nebris over his shoulder, and his cothurni. On his head is the mural crown which seems very inappropriate and as to which we shall speak in the next section. He raises his right hand to grasp a branch of a tall vine which grows beside him; in his other hand was perhaps a patera. In all but the mural crown which marks him out as a city he is a representative of the vine-growing mountain of Tmolus; his male form, the nebris and the boots are all appropriate to mountain gods. There occurs on coins a bearded male head with the inscription ΤΜΩΛΟΞ. Cyme is not as on late coins of that city an Amazonian figure with a short chiton and holding a trident, but a fully draped female figure; the personality of the state carries it against that of the foundress. Temnus is not unlike Tmolus, a young male figure holding a thyrsus. Here again the cause of the peculiar character of the impersonation may be the confusion with a mountain, the Temnian range: but a Dionysiac figure is quite natural in the case of a city so productive of wine and so given over to the worship of Dionysus. Cibyra appears as an armed female figure holding spear and shield. The shield however is round and neither that nor the form of her chiton corresponds to the habit of Amazons, though an Amazonian figure does occur on coins of Cibyra. Rather, like the later Roma herself, she is a free copy of Pallas, and the type of a warlike city in which the making and the use of arms are alike understood. Myrina comes next in close and full drapery, veiled and leaning on a sacred tripod; in her hand is a laurel bough. She has the appearance of a priestess and we cannot doubt to which shrine her duty is paid. It is to

<sup>1</sup> *Berichte der Kön. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Philol.-Hist. Classe*, 1851, p. 119. A rough engraving in Overbeck's *Griech. Plastik* ii. p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> *De Mens.* iv. 43.

that at Gryneium in Aeolis; and the tripod seems to contain allusion to the oracle of Apollo which existed at Gryneium.

Ephesus is not here represented by her founder Androclus, nor by her guardian goddess Artemis, but by one of those Amazons who founded the Ephesian shrine. The cut of her chiton shews her Amazonian nature; in her right hand are poppies and ears of corn, symbols of the fruitfulness of her soil, and her foot rests on a bearded mask of a river-god, the Cayster. Behind on a pillar is the well-known figure of the Ephesian Artemis. The pillar is of course the temple, the Artemisium, and it is curious to note that that temple is not in the limits of ancient Ephesus; but stands to the left behind it as one approaches from the sea. The flames which seem to rise from the turreted head of the city are unexplained. Apollonidea follows, also Amazonian, but of less hard and martial character. In her hand is an object which has not been identified but which looks like the bottom of a lyre. Next comes Hyrcania, whose short chiton and chlamys remind us of the dress worn by Macedonia on coins of Hadrian. The inhabitants of Hyrcania were of Macedonian stock settled there probably in Gaulish times, as an outpost against invasion.

Mostene bears in hand and bosom flowers and fruit and is a soft maidenly form. The trident and dolphin of Aegae refer to the worship of Poseidon which flourished in the city although it was not on the coast. Hierocaesarea, the guardian deity of which city is Artemis, is represented by a turreted Amazonian figure. It is worthy of remark how well the artist has understood how to vary the types of Amazonian founders who frequently appear in this relief. No two are like, but each has some small difference appropriate to the city whose personality she embodies.

Beside these cities of Asia we may place some reliefs found at Cervetri in 1840 representing three cities of Etruria. Canina at once called attention to the fact that a statue of Claudius is recorded to have been placed on a four-sided pedestal, on each side of which were three figures of principal towns of Etruria. The three cities here represented may well be works of the time of Claudius. They are: (1) VETVLONENSES a male figure, facing, naked, raising his right hand to grasp a pine-tree, and holding in his left an oar. He is as Braun<sup>1</sup> remarks altogether Poseidonian, which is the more remarkable as Vetulonia was not on the coast. It was however celebrated for its springs, in which, in spite of the warmth of the water, fish were found, and the reference must be to these. (2) VVLCENTANI a veiled female figure seated on a throne holding a flower. We can scarcely hesitate to see in this figure a seated Juno or Venus. In that case both Vetulonia and Vulci will be represented not by allegorical figures, but by local deities, even local statues of deities, which is a remarkable instance of Greek influence in Etruria. (3) TARQVINIENSES, a veiled and togate male figure, right hand holding a scroll. This figure looks like that of a priest or augur and Tarquinii was a noted home of Etruscan religious rites. Whether he represented the city or rather the Demos it is not easy to say.

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1842, p. 37.

The Puteoline and Cervetrian reliefs shew us what the later Greeks could do in representing cities as persons. With them we may compare an important series of monuments which belong to Rome alike in design and execution, the series of coins issued by Hadrian and recording his reception in various districts of the Roman world. These have been known from the beginning of the renaissance and greatly influenced sculptors, painters, and medallists in modern times. They are artistically as well as archaeologically interesting and convey to us in a series of pictures what the Romans thought at the time of the various provinces which they ruled. Out of many it is necessary to take a few as specimens. We take first Achaia and Asia, in order to contrast them with the Hellas and Asia of the Darius vase. Achaia kneels before the Emperor clad in drapery the lightness and elegance of which are clearly intentional; in front of her are prize-vase and palm. The last shred of reputation which clings to her in the days of her degradation, is that for the beauty of men and women, for being the nurse of athletes and the scene of agonistic contests. The legend of the coin is *Restitutori Achaiae*, and how well Hadrian deserved the title is known to every archaeologist. Asia wears a turreted crown, as the district full of great cities, and holds the same long sceptre which she bore on the Darius vase.

Of Africa we have two representations. In the first she stands greeting the Emperor, wearing on her head an elephant's scalp, and holding ears of corn in her hand. The elephant's scalp comes down to her from a string of predecessors, Alexander the Great, and Libya on coins of Egypt and Cyrene. The ears of corn contain transparent allusion to the fruitfulness of North Africa, one of the granaries of the Roman Empire. In the second representation she reclines, holding in one hand a scorpion, in the other a cornucopiae. The scorpion furnishes us with a good instance of a purely allegorical attribute, for obviously it is not a thing that any one would hold in his hand. We see how art at this time gives no life and reality to its creations, but makes of them often mere bundles of attributes, speaking to the intelligence but not to the heart or the aesthetic faculty. Similarly the figure of Sicily in this class of coins wears on her head the three-legged symbol of the island, making her figure not merely unreal but actually hideous. Britannia also appears twice and in interesting guise. In the first case she stands as a turreted figure holding in one hand a rudder, shewing that thus early the destiny of Britain to rule the waves was not unsuspected by the Roman conquerors. Here we have a type of the Roman cities of Britain, with their wealth and their commerce. But the second figure represents the ruder and more unconquered parts of the country. Roman Britain welcomes her master, but the island itself seemed in the imagination of some artists to be best represented by a barbarian woman clad in long tunic and cloak seated amid the hills with spear and shield. It is a tribute to the noted valour and independence of the Britons that there is more of distinct barbarous individuality in this figure than in any other of the series. Gallia is a more simple figure wearing the Gaulish cloak. Macedonia wears a short chiton and a hat, and holds a

whip. From earliest to latest times Macedon was a land of cavalry. Closely like Macedonia is Mauretania, another horse-loving region, who carries two spears like the Macedonian heroes on early coins of that district and leads a horse. The figure of Judaea is remarkable. She holds in one hand a cista, she is veiled and before and behind her walk children holding palms. Cappadocia wears a lion's skin and holds in one hand Mount Argaeus the chief deity of the Cappadocians, in the other a standard. Dacia, seated on a rock, holds shepherd's staff and standard.

It may be judged how entirely at home the artists of Hadrian's age were with these personifications, if we turn to the coin which bears a figure of the Circus Maximus; a young male figure reclining, holding wheel and meta, both symbols of chariot-races.

#### IV.

There is one class of late representations of cities which claims a somewhat special attention. We have already spoken of several figures which bear a turreted crown and of some which bear a cornucopiae. Now turreted crown and cornucopiae, separately or together, are the special marks of *Τύχη* or Fortuna. There is a large class of representations in late art of Tyche as the goddess of this or that city, who is in fact the embodiment and representation of the city, and is modified in different places to suit her to the situation, the character, and the inhabitants of each.

It is often supposed that the localization of Tyche to a place or her appropriation to a person is a result of Roman influence. The Romans and Etruscans believed in *genii*, who accompanied all living things from birth to death, and formed for each man a sort of second ego. The genius was the indwelling spiritual and divine element, whether of place person or thing, and led the subject to which it was attached to good or evil. Some spoke of two *genii* as belonging to each man, one good who led him aright and rejoiced in his happiness, and one evil who led him astray and met him in misfortune. The genius of the Roman people occurs often on coins as a youth holding a cornucopiae, and the genius of a Roman general or emperor was his representative in the veneration of the people.

Nevertheless it is easy to prove that Tyche not only in her general aspect but also in her application to persons and places is a thoroughly Greek idea. *Τύχη* or *Ἀγαθή Τύχη* possessed temples in nearly all the great Greek cities, and received constant worship as the giver of good and ill fortune to men. At Argos, according to Pausanias,<sup>1</sup> there was a very ancient temple of Tyche, which was the place, according to Pausanias' guides, where Palamedes dedicated the dice of which he was the inventor. At Syracuse there was an ancient temple of Tyche which gave its name to a quarter of the city, the Tychaeum; and at Pharae a temple of Tyche contained an ancient statue of

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ii. 20, 3.

the goddess. More recent was the statue of Tyche by Praxiteles at Megara, and the statue at Elis made of gilt wood, but with head hands and feet of marble. Beside this latter was a figure of Sosipolis, a youth with star-spangled chlamys holding cornucopiae, whose form was copied from an image of a dream, and who seems to have been almost exactly the Roman genius, or the Greek Ἄγαθος δαίμων. Also of good Greek time was the statue at Thebes by Xenophon representing young Plutus in the arms of Tyche as his mother or nurse. At Aegira too there was a statue of Tyche holding a cornucopiae, beside whom was a winged youth whom Pausanias took to be Eros, and drew the moral of a close connection between good fortune and love. The moral is a good one, but Jahn is disposed to cut away the whole ground of it by maintaining that the winged figure which Pausanias supposed to be Eros was really a winged Plutus, a form of that deity by no means unknown in antiquity. It is also recorded that Damophon of Messene made for the Messenians a statue of Tyche which they placed in the temple of Asclepius beside an allegorical figure by the same sculptor representing Thebes.

We are not without actually existing representations of Tyche, dating from a good period. In the reliefs published by Schöne from Athens of the pre-Macedonian period<sup>1</sup> she appears once without attributes standing beside Agathos Daimon who is represented as a draped and bearded man holding a cornucopiae. In another representation she is seated, holding in one hand a patera in the other a cornucopiae. She needs but the addition of a mural crown to be exactly like one of the city-Tyches at a later period.

It is however superfluous to heap up proof of the recognition of Tyche by the Greeks; it will be more to the point to shew how she became specialized to individuals and to cities. There is nothing of this specialization in Homer and Hesiod, but it already begins in Pindar. His twelfth Olympian Ode begins with the praise of Tyche, whom he hails as the daughter of Zeus Eleutherius, and as the goddess who guides the swift ships on the sea, and on land rules swift wars and public councils.—Here Tyche is merely Fortune, but yet the way in which the goddess is besought to watch over Himera suggests that cities were her special care. According to Pausanias<sup>2</sup> and Plutarch, Pindar speaks of Tyche as *φερέπολις*.—In an inscription from Mylasa<sup>3</sup> of Persian times we find the phrase Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, which shews that the Greek cities of Asia supposed a special Tyche to be attached to and to watch over the great King of Persia. And the same deity was attached to the Seleucid Kings who succeeded the Persian. The people of Magnesia, in an Oxford marble,<sup>4</sup> take an oath by Zeus, Gê, Helios and other deities, and the Tyche of King Seleucus, Seleucus II., that is, of Syria.

The earliest instance which we hear of in art of a specialized goddess Tyche, is to be found in the statue made by Bupalus for the people of Smyrna about the 50th Olympiad. Pausanias<sup>5</sup> says of Bupalus: “He made for the

<sup>1</sup> *Gr. Reliefs*, pl. xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> iv. 30, 6; Pindar, Frag. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.G.* 2693b.

<sup>4</sup> *C.I.G.* 3137, l. 61.

<sup>5</sup> iv. 30, 6.

Smyrnaeans a statue of Tyche and was so far as we know the first artist who represented her with a polos on her head, and in one hand the horn called by the Greeks the horn of Amaltheia," *i.e.* a cornucopiae. Modern archaeologists suppose that this was a civic statue, that is, not a representation of Fortune in general but of the Fortune of the particular city of Smyrna. And they seem to be right, for these attributes are precisely those which adhere to the City-Tyches in the Alexandrine age, and were no doubt adopted by them on good authority. From the time of Bupalus however, we have to come down a long way before we again reach a statue of Tyche which seems clearly meant to be the impersonation of a city.

The city of Antioch was founded by Seleucus I., the General of Alexander, and named by him after his father Antiochus; and soon after the building of the city a commission was given to Eutychedes, a pupil of Lysippus, to execute a statue of Tyche for the rising city. He executed the commission in such a way as to make an epoch in art. It is evident that his intention was not merely to make a statue of the goddess of Fortune, but to embody in that statue the complete personality of the new city. It is clear that he was very much at liberty in his task. A city built yesterday could have no sacred traditions; there was no *πολιούχος θεός* or *θεά* in possession who might fitly represent the place, not even a mythical ancestor or eponymous hero whose form it might assume. He had but to seek out the form which seemed to him most appropriate for the embodiment of the city, and to select attributes and attitude with a view to the satisfaction of the intellect and the aesthetic faculties of the people of Antioch.

So to represent the position of the city he placed the Tyche on a rock, and let her feet rest on the river Orontes which passes the foot of the rock; he placed in her hand ears of corn to signify the fertility of the surrounding country, he draped her closely as becomed the wealthy heiress of the Persian empire. He placed on her head a line of towers to signify the fortifications of the city. All this is mere symbolism. But in the attitude and bearing of the figure the sculptor reaches a higher kind of symbolism. He produces on us the impression which the city produced on visitors, a stately city full of wealth, pleasant to dwell in, a queen enthroned giving law to Asia, and yet persuading rather than commanding. Of this statue we probably possess a copy in the well-known statue of Antioch in the Vatican.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the first archaeologists have of late years written about this statue. Prof. Michaelis spoke of it in the *Archäologische Zeitung* of 1866,<sup>2</sup> and expressed a serious doubt whether the statue of the Vatican was really a copy of the work of Eutychedes. He maintained that it was more probable that Eutychedes made a Tyche of more usual type, holding rudder and cornucopiae, and remarks that such a figure is found on coins of Antioch and in numberless bronze and other figures. But archaeologists have not followed

<sup>1</sup> This statue is figured in Wieseler's *Denkmaeler* xlix. 220, and in the histories of sculpture.

An inferior copy appears in our plate.

<sup>2</sup> P. 255.

Michaelis in this view; and we cannot call his conjecture happy. No doubt the type of Tyche holding rudder and cornucopias is common at Antioch as elsewhere; but there is nothing to connect it with Eutyichides, or with Antioch in particular. It was one of those fixed conventional allegorical types, like Spes and Virtus and Annona, which became common everywhere in Roman times. It is doubtful if an instance of it can be found at so early a period as B.C. 300. But the figure of which the Vatican statue gives the type appears at Antioch alone, and is evidently there in high honour, as we are told the statue of Eutyichides was. It is in every way worthy of a disciple of Lysippus; it recalls the best time of art and yet has something in it of Alexandrine style; it is in short the very thing we should expect. And from the time of Tigranes onwards this figure occurs as a frequent type of coins struck at Antioch.

We are however not left to mere probabilities, for there is a passage in Malala which may be considered decisive of the question. Malala is a writer of small authority, but in a matter of this kind his voice is to be trusted, since he wrote when Antioch was still in Christian hands. He says<sup>1</sup> that there was set up in the theatre of Antioch a statue of gilded brass representing a seated figure placed above the river Orontes, and that this was the attitude of the Tyche of Antioch *εἰς λόγον Τύχης τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως* whence it seems clearly to follow that the figure reproduced in the Vatican statue, the coins of Tigranes &c., was at all events about the 6th century A.D. called the Tyche of Antioch; and it seems very unlikely that it can have been called otherwise at an earlier time. And as the Tyche of Antioch was according to Pausanias' express statement<sup>2</sup> the work of Eutyichides, we can scarcely hesitate to see in the Vatican statue a replica of that sculptor's masterpiece.

More happy is Brunn's criticism<sup>3</sup>: "The movement of the goddess is so managed that the whole right side of the body is turned towards the left. The right foot is crossed over the left and on it rests the elbow of the right arm, while the left to correspond with this attitude is drawn back to give support to the body which presses in this direction." "Through the movement of the figure, especially the drawing back of the one arm, is developed an abundance of most charming motives for the drapery. Few works survive from antiquity which can be compared with this in the grace of the whole composition. Scarcely can any one escape the fascination which it exercises, and I am far from wishing to mar any one's enjoyment of it and delight in it. Nevertheless I must distinctly call attention to the distance to which this cultus-statue is removed from those of earlier days. Of the religious seriousness and the solemn dignity which were proper and even essential in earlier times to statues of the Gods, there is here in this Tyche scarcely a trace; not even the severe decorousness of older days can be spoken of as a marked feature of this statue. Rather it is in general design nearer to the statues of genre; its essential feature is that of general human

<sup>1</sup> *Chronogr.* xi. p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> vi. 2, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Griech. Künstler* i. 412.

grace. Well may a city which rises on a pleasing hill from a lovely valley cause such an impression. Yet this impression is quite different from the feeling of elevation which a work inspired by a lofty idea must produce in us. This judgment, as already stated, is no detracting from the merit of Eutychedes; but it had to be spoken, in order to mark the changed times and the complete alteration in methods of representation, which even in cases where opportunity offered to produce a lofty ideal gave preference rather to what was pleasing and graceful. We can the less omit to note this because precisely this work, though we possess only copies of it, seems specially apt to throw clearer light on the time immediately preceding it, and in particular to set before our eyes the elegance, the *jucundum genus* of Lysippus in its more concrete form, as adapted to flatter the outward sense."

I confess to being under the charm which in attitude and drapery this statue so conspicuously possesses. Perhaps when one came from the dreary inlands of Syria and saw a city like Antioch embowered amid its groves, full of stately streets, theatres, and palaces, one would rejoice with a delight which was to a great extent of the senses. Perhaps also if in the desert one wished to recall the memory of the beautiful city, scarcely any image which the heart of man could conceive would seem so appropriate as the Tyche of Eutychedes.

What is certain is that the statue of Eutychedes vastly pleased those for whom it was made. Pausanias says of it: *μεγάλας παρά τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἔχον τιμάς*. And it unquestionably also made a marked impression on the art of the period. Many of the cities of Asia followed the example thus set, and caused their portraits, so to speak, to be taken in the attitude and style of the Tyche of Antioch. A survey of the coins of Asia at the beginning of the Roman age would shew that the fashion thus set spread not only over Syria, but as far as the banks of the Tigris, where the Partho-Greek city of Seleucia<sup>1</sup> is represented on coins as seated in the same way on a rock with a river at her feet.

Some of the most interesting evidence of the wide currency of the scheme is furnished by a splendid hoard discovered in Rome in the year 1793,<sup>2</sup> consisting of several objects in silver, notably a splendid casket of a bridal character, and four silver statuettes of the greatest cities of the Roman world at the time when it was buried, not earlier than the fourth century, A.D. The clothing, hair, and attributes have been gilt, and the patterns on the dresses are produced by a graving-tool.

These figures, which have hitherto been very imperfectly figured, are represented by a photographic process on our plate, No. V. Their style, as might be expected from the age of their production, is but poor, yet there are about them traditions of beauty.

Beneath the feet of each statue is a leaf; and fitting into the back of each is a square socket, adapted to receiving the head of a pole, which was

<sup>1</sup> Head, *Hist. Numorum*, p. 690.

xx.: D'Agincourt, *Scultura*, pl. ix.

<sup>2</sup> Visconti, *Una antica suppelletile &c.* Pl. xix.

held in place by a silver pin attached to a chain. Probably the statuettes formed the decoration of the poles of a litter, or the cross-pieces of a chair. Of these figures one is a copy of the statue of Eutychides and stands for Antioch. A second figure seated wearing helmet, and holding sceptre and round shield is evidently the deified Roma who is familiar to us from coins and reliefs. A third figure is helmeted like Roma, but there is more profusion of ornament in her attire, and she holds patera and cornucopiae. She is evidently the new Rome, Constantinopolis, who appears helmeted on coins of her founder Constantine. The fourth figure wears like Antioch a turreted crown; she holds in each hand ears of corn and her feet rest on the prow of a ship. She must be the fourth great city of the Roman world Alexandria. To her ears of corn and prow would be alike appropriate, as a great mercantile city and the capital of a region of corn. She holds ears of corn and rests on a corn-basket on coins of Hadrian struck at Rome, and on an Egyptian coin of Antoninus Pius holds rudder and ears of corn, while a prow appears on either side of her to symbolize her two harbours. All these figures save Antioch are alike in dress and attitude; and if we compare their jejuneness and conventionality with the splendid freshness of the statuette of Antioch we shall see how different the genius of Eutychides was from that of his followers and copyists.

We have however taken these late Tyches of Constantinople and Alexandria somewhat out of turn. We return to the time of Alexander and find that in Alexandria from the first as in Antioch there was a temple of Tyche. In the midst of it was a statue of the goddess holding a wreath, as Libanius<sup>1</sup> says, to symbolize the victories of Alexander. This figure crowned the Earth, Gê, who in turn crowned her conqueror, τὸν νικῆσαντα, who must no doubt be Alexander. The group sounds as if somewhat clumsily composed, but this clumsiness may be in the description by Libanius. Of it we have I think no remains.

Noteworthy examples exist of other civic Tyches of Alexandrine and Roman times. In a relief<sup>2</sup> in the Louvre we have a very pleasing group of three of these figures engaged in sacrifice. They all wear turreted crowns and wreaths, and seem to be occupied in sacrifice. One holds the twig or lustral bough: the composition of the group though not early is very pleasing.

A figure of Syrian origin, which we may well compare with the statue of Eutychides, represents the Fortune not of a city but of a monarch. It is to be found on the coins of Demetrius I., the Syrian King;<sup>3</sup> and represents a goddess seated on a throne, holding in one hand a short sceptre, in the other a cornucopiae. As the Tyche Antiocheia represents the glory of a city so this other type represents the majesty of a monarch, the one attribute indicating his sovereignty, the other his wealth. We have proof that the subjects of the Syrian Kings recognised a royal Tyche in the celebrated

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> Clarac, pl. 222, No. 301.

<sup>3</sup> Figured in *Types of Greek coins*, pl. xiv, No. 15.

Oxford inscription which records an alliance between Smyrna and Magnesia, wherein an oath is taken by the Fortune of King Seleucus.<sup>1</sup> Whether the coin-type be taken from a work of sculpture or not we have no means of deciding: but nothing can be more probable.

Among those coins of the Antonine age which record the alliances of the cities of Asia Minor we frequently find Tyche representing one of the cities concerned. In such cases she wears a turreted crown; but the attributes which she bears are not constant. Sometimes, as on coins of Pergamon and Laodiceia, she holds a sceptre; sometimes, as at Nicomedia and Perinthus, she grasps an oar. Not unfrequently she holds in her hand the chief deity of the town she represents. Thus on the coins of Mytilene, Tyche carries a simulacrum of Dionysus, on those of Laodiceia she carries the figure of the Laodicean Zeus. Frequently of course she carries her conventional Roman attributes of rudder and cornucopiae; and even in that case seems on coins of this class to stand rather for the fortune of a city than for the goddess Fortuna herself.

There is another class of impersonations, not quite strictly of places, but of groups of people, which may best be mentioned here, the figures of Demos which are with the kindred figures of Boulê common in later Greek art, and which have at least in part a local significance. The Athenian Demos appeared at not a very late period in local art. Leochares, one of the sculptors of the Mausoleum, set up in Piræus a statue of Demos, and we hear of a more inexplicable and complicated painting of the Athenian Demos by Parrhasius, which is said to have combined the most dissimilar attributes, passionate, unjust, inconstant, placable, humane, piteous, boastful, puffed up, humble, haughty, and so forth. Such at least is the account of Pliny. We have a representation of Demos from Athens of the very period of Parrhasius; but far from being a great work of imagination it is of the simplest description. It is in one of the reliefs collected by Schöne,<sup>2</sup> which represents a man being crowned in the presence of Athene by Demos, who appears in the guise of a bearded citizen, and Boulê who is female. Similar figures of Demos in late art are very usual. And on the late alliance-coins Demos sometimes appears carrying the figure of the deity of a city and representing it just as Tyche represents cities. For instance on an alliance-coin of Pergamon and Ephesus each city is represented by a draped male figure who carries the simulacra of Asclepius and of Artemis respectively. But Demi on these late coins are not always nor even usually bearded: they are often youthful, representing the eternal succession and constant self-renewal of a body politic.

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It may be well here shortly to sum up the results we have reached. It was the custom of the best age of Greek art on official documents such as

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<sup>1</sup> *C.I.G.* 3137, line 61.

<sup>2</sup> Pl. xvi. No. 75.

treaties and public decrees to represent the city or cities which took part in them in the person of a guardian deity or an eponymous hero. And this custom even persisted to the latest days of Greek and Graeco-Roman art; even on alliance-coins of the times of Philip and Gallienus it is the rule and other methods of representing cities are the exception.

Meantime beginning in the stirring times which followed the Persian wars another method of representing cities and countries was slowly making way. This was the method of embodying their personality in allegorical female figures. This was a method of inventive genius, and the first works in which it was used bore a decidedly poetical character, were the original designs of great artists and present to us in plastic form the same ideas which we find in the poetry and drama of the same age. Beside the *Persae* of Aeschylus we may put the group representing Hellas as crowning Salamis. By the side of the *History* of Herodotus we may set the original painting which suggested the design of the beautiful vase with the representation of Hellas and Asia. But impersonations are in this age marked by a severe dignity and noble simplicity, and their meaning is embodied in their very forms rather than merely laid on them in the shape of external attributes.

When we come down below the age of Alexander we find this simplicity disappearing. In future not a change of form or a hint conveyed by attitude or expression distinguishes the persons of various cities and districts, but an external overlaying of attribute. And the types differ widely from one another, some are even of the male sex. No longer simple they borrow attributes, sometimes from the situation and nature of the city or district represented, sometimes from the quality or nationality of its people, sometimes from the culture or natural productions of its neighbourhood. More often still they borrow form and attribute from the chief deity of the place, becoming either Apolline or Dionysiac or Palladian as the case may be; or sometimes becoming assimilated to the supposed nature of some hero or founder. As we approach Roman times the class of personifications is greatly enlarged, for the idea that races of men with varying characters exist in countries within and without the borders of civilization has been expanded. The embodiment of nations and provinces in national dress and with national peculiarities of physique becomes thus possible.

The introduction of the class of City-Tyches, which takes place in the age of Alexander, is noteworthy in relation to cultus as well as to art. It was a distinctly religious idea, but the religion which dictated it was of the last age of Greek independence. The goddess Tyche or Fortune was far more usually worshipped in the later than in the earlier days of Greece; as respect for the Olympian deities decreased, respect for her increased, and her temples arose in every city. And in the time of Alexander, when might was right, and every energetic officer and stalwart soldier dreamed of carving out a kingdom for himself, the worship of Fortune was the one remaining superstition in the breast of mankind. So it was in the case of cities. The old city deities gradually lost their hold on the civic mind. And as human beings, kings

and generals, occupied the position formerly held by the gods, so the city became an object of cultus to the citizens. They believed in her destiny, her star, her future, and regarded her as better able to watch over and protect them than the invisible deities. As the degenerate Athenians sang to Demetrius Poliorcetes, 'Other deities are far away, or hear not; they either are not or care nought for us; but thee we see present neither of stone nor wood, but real. To thee then we pray.' After all the Fortune of the City was a less ignoble object of devotion than a libertine like Demetrius.

PERCY GARDNER.



Heliog. Dujardin.

SILVER STATUETTES OF CITIES