

## THE CHIGI ATHENA.

### [PLATE I.]

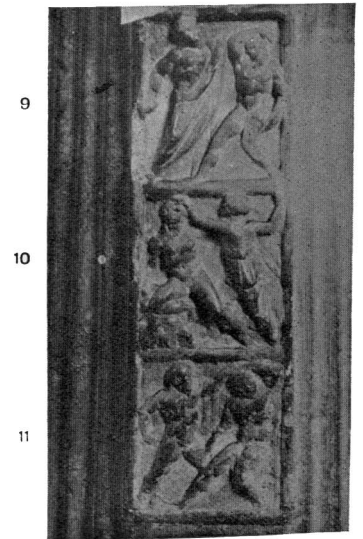
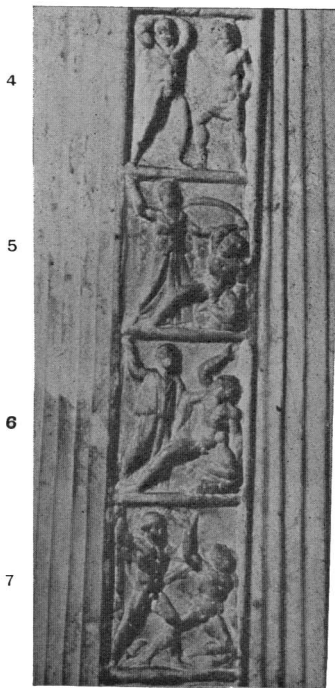
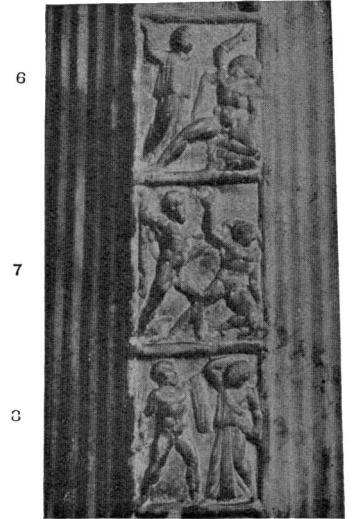
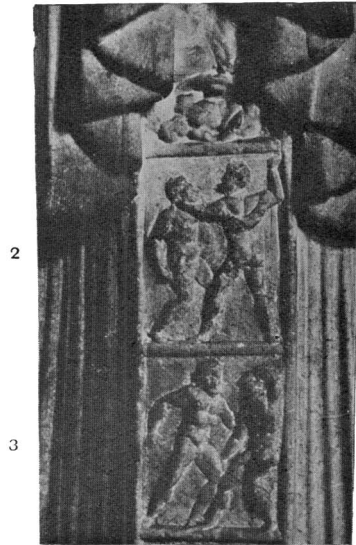
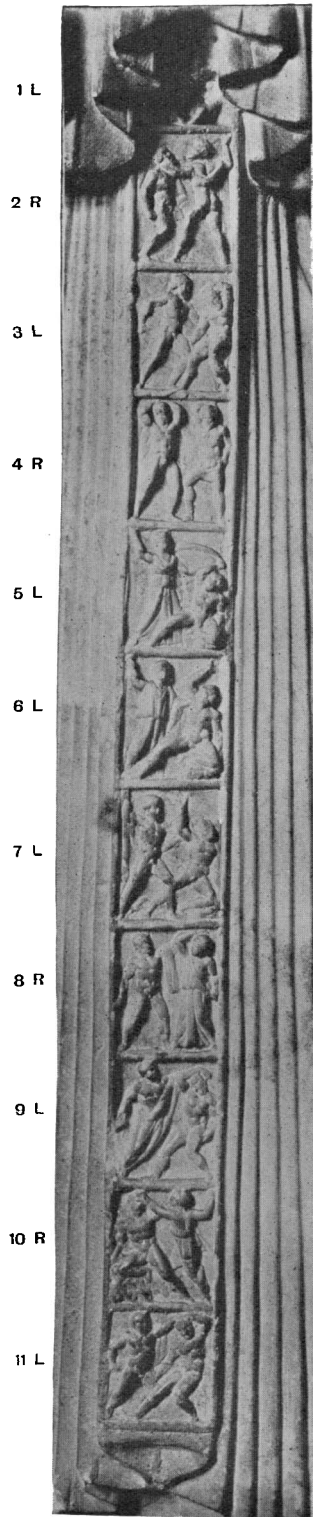
THE Chigi Athena (Fig. 1 and Plate I.) or, to give it a better known name, the Dresden 'archaistic' Athena, is one of a class that has only recently come to its rights—the 'archaistic' statues. In them the old and the new are blended without either losing its identity, but the motive of the mixture has long been disputed; is it the new masquerading under a fictitious archaism, a Chatterton in marble, or is it an honest but not too precise transcription of the ancient archetype? The answer of modern archaeologists is in most cases for the honest transcript.

A well-known group of genuinely archaic statues preserved at Athens show dresses decorated with a vertical stripe corresponding to the decorated stripe of the Chigi Athena (Plate I.). This band of ornament is painted, usually with a maeander pattern: it forms part of a scheme of decoration which ran along the borders of the over garment, so that where we find it we expect to find also decorated borders. But on the Chigi statue, (1) it is carved with reliefs of technique resembling the Argivo-Corinthian bronze strips, (2) there are no other bands of decoration, (3) these reliefs are in style much later than the pose and details of the statue would suggest. Other modernizations on the archaic might be noted, but they are comparatively trifling changes in the modelling of the body or the folds of the dress, almost inevitable in a free copy by a later hand. The panelled scenes would seem to be a deliberate 'archaistic' addition. Criticism has gone further and declared these figures to be arranged anyhow giving a general impression of Gigantomachy scenes but not bearing closer examination—a sure index of the archaistic designer. But granting all this, it has been suggested<sup>1</sup> that the later imitator had before him an archaic statue on which this stripe was decorated with incised drawings of a similar nature, the remains of former painting; thus the statue would represent in general an ancient Athena statue though in the execution lapsing into the current style.

To investigate the difficulty, we must first determine at what date we should find real archaic parallels. At once the Aegina excavations come to our

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor Percy Gardner for this: one debt remembered out of the hundreds I have lost sight of.



DETAILS OF THE CHIGI ATHENA.

aid. The long known Athena of the west pediment is precisely similar in dress, except for the snake-belt; so much so that on a cast at Dresden our statue has been fully restored on the model of the Aeginetan statue. Among the

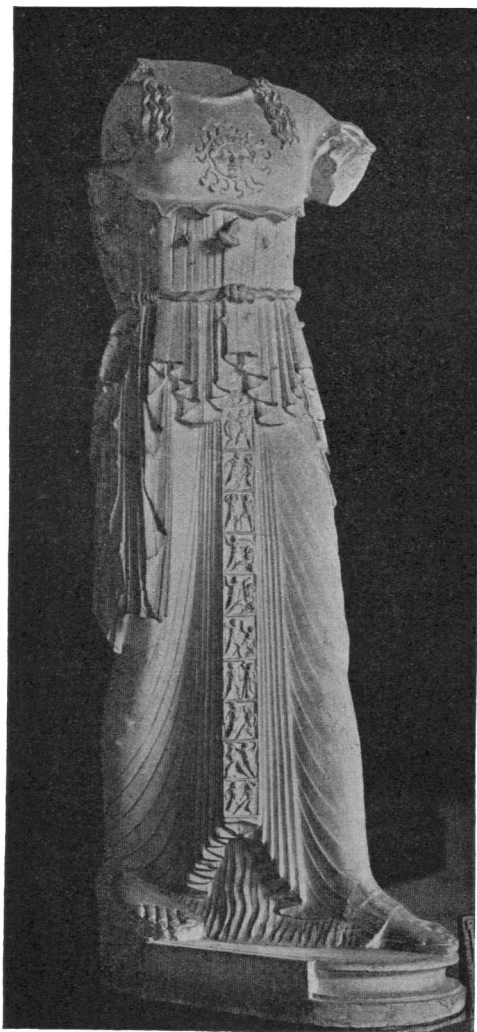


FIG. 1.—THE CHIGI ATHENA.  
(From a cast in the Ashmolean Museum.)

non-pedimental figures of the recent discoveries<sup>2</sup> there has come to light the lower part of an Athena which in pose and dress exactly resembles ours—allowing for the exaggerated number of folds in the latter. Similarly it is the vases contemporary with the Aegina sculptures<sup>3</sup> that present the type of Athena with the Ionian peplos (fastened with one pin on the right shoulder or one pin on each shoulder as in the Chigi figure). A metope from the Athenian Treasury at Delphi and many bronze statuettes confirm the attribution of the type to the period about 480 B.C. at the latest.

The Gigantomachy is later—a *prima facie* conclusion. Is this a solitary instance of later ornament of this kind added to work of earlier style? Even the question occurs—Is this a solitary instance of a stripe ‘metoped’ vertically with figured scenes? Two specimens answering both questions at once in the negative have been unearthed.

The first is the Helios torso in the Vatican.<sup>4</sup> A youthful nude male torso after an original of the second half of the fifth century B.C. has from the right shoulder to the left hip a broad baldrick of about the same breadth as the Chigi stripe on which in panels are

carved in low relief the signs of the Zodiac. The parallel is perfect; this is a genuine antique, for its discovery about 1825 on the site of the Teatro

<sup>2</sup> Furtwängler, *Aigina*, Text, p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* Duris cup at Vienna; Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, i. 174.

<sup>4</sup> Amelung, *Catal. Vatican, Chiaramonti*, 592; Text i. 710, Pl. I. 76; also Dar.-Sagl. Fig. 775; Roscher, i. 2002.

Valle<sup>5</sup> is recorded in Cardinali's *Memorie*, 1825. The drawing in the Codex Coburgensis would seem to be of the statue itself, not of a replica (as Amelung suggests), for these drawings were evidently done in Rome about the beginning of the nineteenth century (water-mark on earlier sheets 1806) at various times; this is borne out by another drawing in the Codex which seems to be that of the headless river god mentioned in Cardinali as found about the same time as the Helios torso.

The signs from shoulder to hip are from the Fishes back to the Ram; amongst them are the scales borne by a youth. We can therefore fix a *terminus post quem*; the Greeks knew of no Libra or Zygos in the best period; their corresponding sign was Chelae, the claws of the scorpion. Thiele<sup>6</sup> gives roughly the first century B.C. as the date of the innovation; the Teubner editor of Geminus (1898)<sup>7</sup> holds that Geminus did not know of the Zygos but only of Chelae; if we accept this editor's date for the text as written at Rome 77 B.C., the new sign must have been introduced in the second quarter of the century, since Varro<sup>8</sup> certainly knew of it. Its varying artistic types do not admit of accurate dating; two coins<sup>9</sup> struck under Antoninus Pius have on one the scale-bearing youth, on the other merely the balance itself, while at Denderah even in the reign of Tiberius the mere balance is found; yet it has been said that the balance in the hand of a figure is earlier than the mere instrument: the truth seems to be that both types were in use together during a long period. Neither can any definite distinction be made between the youth and the maiden type. To seek a *terminus ante quem* by examination of the Zodiac types would not lead to any profitable conclusion.

However, we must regard the use of the Zodiac for decorative purposes as belonging mainly to the second and third centuries of our era; we find traces of it in the first century, but apparently as a novelty; in Petronius's *Cena* it is the ornament round the edge of one of the shield-like repositoria. It is found on coins as a border from the reign of Antoninus Pius on, generally coupled with personifications of the seasons or of nature. This is probably to be connected with those other instances where we find it used for the decoration of shield margins.<sup>10</sup> The same shield influence will account for its use on plaques and gems.

The constant use of the Zodiac on Mithraic monuments<sup>11</sup> deserves our special notice as most probably it is this influence that accounts for the Zodiac belt on our figure. Especially appropriate are the Selinus mosaic<sup>12</sup> and the Modena relief,<sup>13</sup> in both of which a nude youth stands in the

<sup>5</sup> That is, in the Campus Martius near the Thermae Agrippae and the Stadium Domitiani.

<sup>6</sup> *Antike Himmelsbilder*, 1898.

<sup>7</sup> Appendix, p. 263, n. 15 to p. 93.

<sup>8</sup> *De Ling. Lat.* i. 6.

<sup>9</sup> *B.M.C. Alexandria*, 1078, 1079.

<sup>10</sup> Aboukir Medallions, third cent. A.D. (*Jahrb.* 1908, p. 163; *Journ. Intern. Num.*,

1907; Dressel, *Abhdl. Berl. Akad.* 1906, esp. n. on p. 26, though the Aeschylus reference is not to the point); Achilles' shield on Iliac table, *Röm. Mitth.* 1891, pp. 182 sqq.

<sup>11</sup> See Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, ii. and i. p. 110.

<sup>12</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, Pl. III.

<sup>13</sup> *Rev. Arch.* xl. Pl. I.

elliptical frame of a Zodiac belt—in the former case Helios, Sol invictus, in the latter Kronos. Even for the shield use, the Mithraic cult may have been responsible, for we recall the mystic 'degree' of 'soldier' and believe it probable that a Zodiac shield<sup>14</sup> was part of the mystic paraphernalia; even independently of esoteric motive, the prevalence of Mithraism in the great camp cities with the help of such monuments as those of Heddernheim and Osterburken<sup>15</sup> might introduce the motive. These considerations seem to us to render it likely that it was in the period of Mithra's supremacy (say the second century after Christ) that a copyist thus chose to associate a Greek Apollo of the fifth century with the current symbolism, if not wholly with the prevailing cult.

In confirmation of a late date we note that the clumsy baldrick must have been especially designed to receive the symbols as it does not correspond in length or position with belts known to us on pure Greek monuments. Furthermore in the best period a work inspired by the Greek spirit would have avoided this staccato motive and would have preferred a continuous scheme, such as a maeander or a scroll, or hunting scenes like those on an antique bronze belt with silver inlay, now at Florence.

Our other instance comes from farther afield, but temerity may be pardoned where real parallels are all but unknown. Among the acquisitions of the Egyptian department of the British Museum in 1909 were three limestone statues, once painted, from a Ptolemaic temple in Upper Egypt. They are of the archaistic Egyptian type that is distinctive of the Ptolemaic period; their date is given by one of them, a statue of Ptolemy IX., 147–117 B.C. The one of present interest is the lion-headed divinity, down the front of whose loin-cloth runs a band bordered by a ridge on each side and divided into three metope-like fields by groups of four horizontal bars with a depending fringe; that is, a short stripe like our Chigi stripe, but having four dividing bars instead of one and fringed at the end: in the three fields are figures in low relief completing the analogy.

Hettner, in the second edition of the Dresden catalogue (1869), describes the stripe on the Chigi figure as 'recalling the practice of Egyptian art,' referring, I presume, to the bands with hieroglyphics. Comparing the Ptolemaic statue with other Egyptian statues of the British Museum, one finds the same relation existing between them as between the Chigi statue and a real archaic statue. This stripe on Egyptian statues represents the end of the girdle: any motive, therefore, used to ornament it, ought to run along the length of the strap, not across its breadth, and such we find to be the case in statues of Usertsen III. (c. 2330 B.C.), where the only pattern is that of a textile strap. In earlier statues the girdle is left plain. In statues of XVIII.–XIX. dynasties (c. 1600–1350 B.C.) the hieroglyphic stripes appear, the hieroglyphs being cut in intaglio not in relief. The figures on the Ptolemaic statue are not hieroglyphs of letters, but the figures or

<sup>14</sup> A shield occurs as a Mithraic monument in Cumont, ii. Mon. 176, Fig. 158. The border seems to be the 'Labours' of Mithra.

<sup>15</sup> Cumont, ii. Pl. VI, VII.

emblems of three gods—Bes in the first field, the Horus hawk in the second, the Hathor head in the third—and they are cut in relief. Their purpose is to show that the god is a combination of Bes, Horus, and Hathor, much as the Zodiac signs give a meaning to the Vatican torso. The Ptolemaic statues bear traces of the influence of Greek art: are the girdle ‘metopes’ due to that same contact? The one is Greek, the other is Egyptian—we of the Greeks do not dare to make any bold steps amid Egyptian mysteries. Enough that the analogy points to an age when men forgot the need for adapting the design to the purpose of the object adorned.

The archetype of the Athena must have been painted: the aegis has no scales carved on it, and yet no Greek of the period to which the Athena type belongs would have left the aegis without scales: both the Aegina Athenas had the scales painted on and so had the Acropolis terra-cotta plaques already described in this *Journal*.<sup>16</sup> After the Pheidian period the scales disappear except in those statues which do not deserve the name of archaistic, for instance the Athena from Herculaneum and the recently discovered ‘Minerva’ of Poitiers. Thus the absence of scales on our figure points rather to its being a genuine copy of an archaic original than to a sometime indication of the scales merely by painting—a practice apparently not usual in archaistic works. In fact the Chigi Athena seems to have been copied from an archaic statue that had lost its colours. Else, where is the pattern that should run along the borders of the peplos? The sculptor who carved the centre band would not have neglected to carve the border pattern if any were visible.

The centre strip itself does not necessitate a model showing traces of a design on this part: the motive is obvious—the Panathenaic Peplos was famous even in Roman times, well known by literary allusion, even to those who had never seen it. So our sculptor made use of the easiest surface on the dress to supply the essential Gigantomachy; he even did violence to the proper folds of the peplos in order to secure the field he desired; a glance at the illustrations will show that the folds taper upwards, but the figured band does not. It was to Athena Polias that the peplos was borne and to Athena Polias were made dedications of little bronze Athenas<sup>17</sup> with poised lance just like our figure. Probably in the sculptor’s mind this type stood for Athena Polias.<sup>18</sup> The type evidently was the canonical<sup>19</sup> cult-type of Pallas as late as the Bosco Reale treasure in which, on a lagona, we find it receiving cultus from two Nikai; the Macedonians may have helped to spread its worship, for in a slightly varied form it was one of their distinctive coin types, and presumably therefore their protecting goddess.

Yet if the sculptor meant to reproduce the Peplos, it is easy enough to

<sup>16</sup> *J.H.S.* xvii. 1897, pp. 306 *sqq.*

<sup>17</sup> *E.g.* Dar.-Sagl. 2536.

<sup>18</sup> It is hard to see why Furtwängler in *Roscher* i. 694 admits a connexion with the peplos but rejects any connexion of this statue with the Polias.

<sup>19</sup> The same type of Pallas occurs on coins of Claudius and Domitian (an interesting denarius); on the Aboukir medallions it figures on Alexander’s armour beside a fighting giant (Dressel, *l.c.*, Plate II. c). It differs from the real Palladion type in the position of the feet.

show that he was wrong. Figured garments on Attic monuments have always their scenes embroidered in broad horizontal bands; we may refer to the Euthydikos Kore with the chariot-race pattern, many of the figures on the François vase, fragments of similar style,<sup>20</sup> the well-known Eleusis vase by Hieron, a r.-f. Dionysus vase,<sup>21</sup> but most important of all a r.-f. fragment<sup>22</sup> of an Iliupersis vase of the best period showing a Palladion with figure-embroidered dress, almost certainly inspired directly by the Athenian Peplos. Later analogies, such as the dresses on the vases of the Meidias style,<sup>23</sup> the hieratic drapery from Lycosura, the painting in the Palazzo Barberini of the goddess Roma (never far from the Greek Athena) with figured dress,<sup>24</sup> all argue for the decoration in horizontal bands, broad and long. We are strengthened in this opinion by comparing Euripides, *Hecuba*, 470, where the captive's task 'in the city of Pallas, the fair-throned goddess' is to 'yoke colts,' embroidering them, or 'the brood of Titans whom Kronides lays to rest,' on a peplos, evidently the Panathenaic peplos. Now though the yoked steeds probably are to be associated with the gods in the Gigantomachy (see the metopes of the east front of the Parthenon), yet the constant use of chariots with winged steeds in *horizontal* bands of dress-ornament on the earlier Attic vase of the François style and the similar use of chariotless Pegasi on the later r.-f.<sup>25</sup> style (Actor vase at Naples) are valuable commentaries on the Hecuba passage. The proof is not conclusive, but it renders it more than likely that the peplos was embroidered with the battle of the Titans in a long band:<sup>26</sup> it stands to reason that such a scene might be rightly split up into metopes when the metopes are arranged as in a temple, and supposed to be continuous, but not when they are arranged over one another as on the Chigi band.

It is easy to show that we have not an actual reproduction of the peplos, whatever the artist's intention may have been, but it is not easy to determine whether the stripe arrangement was based on an actual archaic fashion. On an interesting series of vases, long known as 'Tyrrhenian,' more recently as 'Corintho-Attic,' there appears on the garments a broad stripe running from the neck or girdle to the lower edge of the dress, and the stripe is frequently divided into figured fields broader than they are high: the figures consist almost always of animals, such as a pair of 'confronted' sphinxes or a bird.<sup>27</sup> A similar dress is found on a very archaic mirror-handle in the Louvre,<sup>28</sup> on a Palladion figure in a bronze strip from Delphi,<sup>29</sup> and on a bronze from Albania.<sup>30</sup> The very early cult image recently

<sup>20</sup> Graef, *Die antiken Vasen der Akropolis zu Athen*, Pl. XXIV.

<sup>21</sup> Gerhard, *Trinkschalen*, Pl. IV.

<sup>22</sup> 'Eφ. 'Aρχ. 1885, Pl. V. 3.

<sup>23</sup> On the Talos vase (*F.R.H.* 38-39) the border figures on the Dioscuri's chitons seem to be a Gigantomachy.

<sup>24</sup> Dar.-Sagl. 2255.

<sup>25</sup> It is now generally accepted that in this type the influence of stage dress and 'proper-

ties' is predominant; stage dress in turn was a survival of ancient costume.

<sup>26</sup> Note especially the Athena on a Panathenaic amphora, Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, i. 212-3.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. 'Eφ. 'Aρχ. 1883, Pl. III.; *Jahrb.* 1893, Pl. I.

<sup>28</sup> *Mon. Grecs*, ii. Pl. XI.

<sup>29</sup> *Delphes*, iv. Pl. XXI. 4th field.

<sup>30</sup> *Rev. Arch.* 1872, Pl. XV.

discovered at Prinia in Crete has similar figured garments.<sup>31</sup> All of these monuments are far earlier in type than our Athena, and none of them are dressed in the Ionian peplos, but all apparently in the Doric. There is something radically different about the figured fields: they are substitutes for bands going completely round, whereas ours is strictly the decoration of a narrow stripe.

There is, however, one type of Attic dress which approaches that of our statue. It is the usual Doric peplos, but down from the waist runs a vertical band. On the François vase this is often decorated with a maeander or a wavy line; on the Burgon Panathenaic amphora Athena's dress has this stripe decorated with simple metope-like divisions containing squares; of vases of the same class, this band seems to have been generally present in the cock-pillar series; <sup>32</sup> it occurs also on an Attic Kore,<sup>33</sup> where it was divided into metopes.

Though we suspect that this stripe may have been figured, we have no proof of it except perhaps the Thermus metope,<sup>34</sup> where the central goddess, apparently Athena, if we judge by the thunder-bolt motive, has figured panels up the centre of her dress, very similar indeed to the Burgon vase style; this metope has undoubtedly been repainted some centuries after its first use and suggests difficulties almost as awkward as our statue, for the style of the ornaments is distinctly later than the general type of the figure; however, it is a repainting of an original, not a mere copy, so that we have no reason for thinking that any change was made except the inevitable change of style. The subjects on the panels are griffins, a boar's head, a thunder-bolt. Now the analogy of the Argivo-Corinthian bronze strips leads us to suppose that, as well as animal heraldic motives, figure-scenes with two or more persons would also be employed.

Further the publication of the Acropolis vase-fragments throws quite a new light, not yet appreciated, on vase conventions. The gem-like style of the Nearchus vase <sup>35</sup> shows us in the interior of a shield a band of decoration; it has, like our band, metope-fields filled with motives familiar in the bronze strips.<sup>36</sup> Elsewhere this part of a shield is decorated with little cross squares or simply left blank just as the dress stripe is on vases; hence we might conclude that decorative figure-panels were sometimes conventionally represented by squares with crosses or even simplified to a continuous strip.

We are thus led to admit that this particular type of dress may have been often ornamented with figured panels arranged in a vertical strip, and

<sup>31</sup> *Arch. Anz.* 1909, p. 98. It is likely that such figures as the Louvre mirror-handle or the figure with rosettes on the Olympian cuirass are derived from this early cult type. Cp. also Spartan ivories, *B.S.A.* 1906/7, Pl. IV. and Fig. 32.

<sup>32</sup> Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, i. 212, 4; 215, 1; 68, though here changed in position.

<sup>33</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, i. 19.

H.S.—XXXII.

<sup>34</sup> *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 50.

<sup>35</sup> Graef, Pl. XXXVI.

<sup>36</sup> Complete references in *Aigina*, Textband p. 395. The use of these bronze strips is uncertain; it seems very possible that they are from shields—an additional suggestion which I hope to develop and add to the many piled up already.



may be connected with the style described above of figured bands that are broad but not of the whole breadth of the stuff.<sup>37</sup> Yet these bands and strips are found only on the foldless Doric peplos or on what is perhaps an 'Ionian' chiton.<sup>38</sup>

It is important to note that the later vase painters regard a stripe from neck or girdle to lower hem as essential for an archaic idol and, judging by their conventions for Amazon and Persian dress, this stripe was often embroidered.<sup>39</sup> Thus it is rendered probable that a later sculptor would be familiar with a figured stripe as part of the dress of an archaic idol, such a dress being, however, of the Doric peplos type.

For the Ionic peplos we have no proof of anything but geometric ornament. The tapering space was unsuited for figures; perhaps our clearest monument is the exquisite bronze relief from Perugia.<sup>40</sup> As we have seen already, the sculptor of the Dresden Athena in order to secure parallel edges for his stripe, has to do some violence to the folds. It would seem then that this ornament has been added to our statue from some source other than the archetype.

We have now to examine the scenes themselves to see whether they have real meanings and whether they can give us any clue to the date. They have been discussed by Pyl,<sup>41</sup> on whom Overbeck improves.<sup>42</sup> We shall examine them for ourselves. The numbers correspond to those attached to the groups on Plate I.

1. Not clear owing to its peculiar position under the over-lap; all that can be recognised with certainty is a shielded giant overthrown beneath the hoofs of winged (?) horses coming from the left. Zeus's chariot is intended as appears from gems and coins,<sup>43</sup> but probably Zeus is not meant to be in the chariot. In both the Melian Gigantomachy vase<sup>44</sup> and the Pergamene frieze he fights in front of his chariot. At Pergamum his chariot has a similar defeated giant beneath.
2. Poseidon on the right. It is the pose of the figure on the reverse of the early coins of Poseidonia and of the Poseidon on the coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes (306 B.C.) and on the coins of Mantinea;<sup>45</sup> the very same pose occurs for Poseidon on the Lagina Gigantomachy frieze.<sup>46</sup> Granting that Zeus is represented in one of the panels, it must be 2 or 7. We shall see many reasons for giving 7 to Zeus, but here we may note the rarity of back views of Zeus in this pose: only two instances are known to me, one being merely a back view on a vase, of a well-known statue,<sup>47</sup> the other a coin of Bactria (c. 250 B.C.) almost

<sup>37</sup> *Vide Ant. Denkm.* i. 22.

<sup>38</sup> Phineus vase, Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, i. 200; gem in Roscher, ii. 1711; Dar.-Sagl. 4760,

<sup>39</sup> Dar.-Sagl. 417, 931, 1208, 2369, 2358; Roscher, ii. 1943, 2574, iii. 779, 1807, 2330.

<sup>40</sup> *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 14.

<sup>41</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1857, p. 61.

<sup>42</sup> *Kunstmythologie*, 'Zeus,' p. 376 (1871).

<sup>43</sup> Dar.-Sagl. *Gigantes*, ad fin.

<sup>44</sup> Furtwängler-Reichhold, 96.

<sup>45</sup> *B.M.C.* Pelop. xxxv. 6.

<sup>46</sup> *B.C.H.* 1895, Pl. XIII.

<sup>47</sup> Roscher, *Rép. Vases*, iii. 970

copied from Demetrius's Poseidon.<sup>48</sup> We must remember that the Demetrius coin had a wide circulation, as appears from its frequency in finds, and probably did much to fix this type.

3. Hephaestus on the left. He is one of the few gods who do not grasp their enemies with the *left* hand. A possible explanation of this is in the custom of arming Hephaestus with two fire-tongs holding hot bolts:<sup>49</sup> with his left he would be burning the giant's flank, while his right is ready with the second tongs. For the nude type of Hephaestus we may compare Reinach *Rép. Vases*, i. 66, 208, 330. It may be noted that all the other gods have drapery.
4. Ares on the right. It is difficult to determine which is the god in this group. The figure to the right is undoubtedly wearing a cuirass, the lappets or flaps of which can be seen above the skirt of the chiton. The other figure wears an animal skin on his shoulders (more visible on Plate II. or on III. A), while his hands are in position for hurling a rock.<sup>50</sup> We have therefore called the former the god Ares and the latter a giant. On the Aristophanes cup<sup>51</sup> and on the Lagina frieze Ares is distinguished by his armour. The uncertainty of the issue of the combat here corresponds to that of the fourth field from the end, to which it corresponds also in the respective positions of divinity and giant. We must note that the pose of the god is elsewhere found for Apollo<sup>52</sup> and for Hermes.<sup>53</sup> It is indicative of a swordsman. The god's lowered left hand ought to hold the scabbard.
5. Athena on the left requires no proof. Parallels abound, of which perhaps the best is a plaque from a Campanian vase.<sup>54</sup>
6. Hera on the left. The Doric dress is typical of Hera and the motive recurs for her on the Aristophanes and the Melian vases.
7. Zeus on the left. This pose<sup>55</sup> was consecrated by centuries of use from such early works as a Chalcidian vase<sup>56</sup> or a Perugia bronze<sup>57</sup> down to the Mithraic relief from Virunum<sup>58</sup> or from Osterburken.<sup>59</sup> The drapery varies during these centuries; at first the god is rather fully draped, then comes the Hageladas statue<sup>60</sup> which seems to have fixed for long the type with the chlamys on the shoulders; this lasts through the fifth and fourth centuries; then in Pergamum and Lagina

<sup>48</sup> Cp. Hill, *Hbk. of G. and R. Coins*, vii. 10, with viii. 1.

<sup>49</sup> See Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, ii. 256, Brygos style.

<sup>50</sup> Cp. Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, ii. 41.

<sup>51</sup> Dar.-Sagl. 3561.

<sup>52</sup> Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, ii. 41.

<sup>53</sup> Cnidian frieze, and Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, ii. 256.

<sup>54</sup> *Mon. d. I.* v. Pl. XII.

<sup>55</sup> For the giant's pose cp. the Villa Albani relief of the death of Kapaneus by lightning (Roscher, ii. 951).

<sup>56</sup> Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, ii. 120.

<sup>57</sup> *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 15, 4.

<sup>58</sup> Dar.-Sagl. 5091.

<sup>59</sup> Cumont, ii. Pl. VI.; Strong, *Rom. Sculpt.* Plate XCV.

<sup>60</sup> See especially coins of Messene and the Olympia Bronzes, Pl. VI. and VII.

we find a type with impossible drapery that is derived from the Pheidian seated Zeus. The nearest of later monuments to our Zeus is the Virunum Mithraic fragment, probably because it was copied from an earlier type.

There is one slight point of difference, which may be capricious but is worth noting, between the drapery of our Poseidon and that of our Zeus. Poseidon wears his chlamys in the orthodox shawl fashion. Zeus's drapery sweeps from behind his back to the front of and below his right arm and then over the arm in full view to fall behind in a long scarf. A moment's reflexion shows this to be more suitable for the bestowal of the himation than for the chlamys. The himation was by Zeus worn draped under the right arm; a hasty flinging-back of the garment would cast it back over the upper arm, thus encircling the arm; and the himation is a longer piece of cloth than the chlamys.

Between the right legs of the god and the giant is an object (?) which I have examined over and over again on the Ashmolean and the British Museum casts and on Plate I. I must confess that I have not been able to determine its nature: the following interpretations suggested themselves—(1) the god's familiar animal coming to help him,<sup>61</sup> (2) the head of Ge emerging to intercede for her children (this appears constantly on versions from the fifth century on—especially à propos is the Aristophanes cup), (3) a piece of carelessness on the sculptor's part. This third seems ruled out on consideration of the extreme care taken with such details as garments and feet when in the most remote plane; for instance, a similar little irregularity of surface behind Hera's left cheek seems not to be careless work but a rendering of her veil. (4) Professor Treu has kindly written to me that in his opinion it is a part of the rocky ground on which the contest takes place.<sup>62</sup> However, independently of the interpretation of this object there seems to be reason in regarding this figure as Zeus.—(1) He is near Athena as on almost every representation of the Gigantomachy—Cnidian frieze, Megarian Treasury (Treu's restoration), Aristophanes cup, Pergamum, Melian vase. (2) Terming the groups L and R, according as the divinity is on the left or right, we see that there are three L's in the centre and then above and below an alternation of L and R: thus Zeus, his consort, and his daughter are united at the centre as in the Cnidian frieze. Take the panels from their vertical arrangement and place them in horizontal order and we find that with the two exceptions

<sup>61</sup> Very commonly Dionysus is helped by the panther, on the Megarian pediment at Olympia Poseidon by a sea-monster, at Pergamum Zeus by the eagle, and so on—the Monteleone chariot (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, 586-7) gives a good instance.

<sup>62</sup> Professor Treu refers for proof to the rocks on which the giants support themselves in

fields 5, 6, 7, 10. The argument does not seem conclusive, for there the rocks are essential to the motive, whereas here it would be merely a picturesque addition without parallel in the other fields. If so, then it is grist to our mill; this especially favoured field must present the chief divinity.

- of Zeus and Hera (probably conceived as abreast) the gods are fighting back to back; here again we find the vases<sup>63</sup> and Lagina corroborating our arrangement. This is important, for it points to an external source of inspiration, perhaps a series of metopes or a frieze.<sup>64</sup>
8. Aphrodite on the right. The goddess has the left breast bare, for the drapery has slipped down her arm to just below her elbow and she holds an end of it in her left hand. The group is strongly reminiscent of the Tyrannicides of Kritios and Nesiotes, the giant in the Aristogeiton pose even to the piece of drapery,<sup>65</sup> Aphrodite in the correct pose of Harmodius. The bare breast motive for Aphrodite dates from the fifth century on.
  9. Apollo on the left or Dionysus (?). The drapery of the god is of quite a late type chiefly prevalent in the fourth century. Our attribution to Apollo bases itself on the Apollo of the Marsyas scenes, where he is a triumphant spectator at the defeat or the punishment of the Satyr<sup>66</sup> and on an Apollo statue in a bas-relief from the arch of Constantine.<sup>67</sup> Even further the god seems to have, for his weapon in his right hand, a plectrum. It is hard to tell whether the god is bearded or not: what appears to be a beard may be only some blemish. If he is bearded, of course it would be Dionysus, but the pose is most unsuited for thrusting with a thyrsus.
  10. Artemis on the right. A pose consecrated to Artemis from the end of the fifth century.<sup>68</sup> The Lagina figure and her opponent<sup>69</sup> are as close to our figures as we could demand. The Constantine relief<sup>70</sup> shows us a similar type in a cult statue: we quote this relief, because the types it gives for cult images must have been very common and easily recognisable.
  11. Herakles on the left. The demi-god did not always get a central position in the Gigantomachy.<sup>71</sup> Apparently on this figure, alone of all, can one trace a weapon in relief: a raised mass crosses the body of the demi-god from his right hand to just beneath his left breast; it would seem to be a club.<sup>72</sup> This last field is somewhat short and helps to give

<sup>63</sup> Both the Paris cup (Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, ii. 256) and the Aristophanes cup.

<sup>64</sup> The decorated band would then be a document of first-rate importance as an antique copy of some presumably well-known monument.

<sup>65</sup> Pyl is wrong in regarding this drapery as exceptional on the giants; Poseidon's opponent has some wrapped round his left arm, and the giant in 3 wears an animal's skin.

<sup>66</sup> Cp. Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, i. 14, 406, 452, 510, 511; ii. 324, where the drapery is very similar in most cases.

<sup>67</sup> *Ant. Denkm.* i. 42, 2. The sculptures of

this arch are of course plunder from a Flavian monument.

<sup>68</sup> Dar.-Sagl. 2371, 3562 (the Mattei relief, a combination of the earlier types both of Artemis and the giants with the later) and a bronze in the British Museum (*B.M. Bronzes*, Pl. XI.) are good instances from the fifth century on.

<sup>69</sup> *B.C.H.* 1895, Pl. XIII., XIV.

<sup>70</sup> *Ant. Denkm.* i. 43, 8.

<sup>71</sup> Cp. the Museo Gregoriano bronze strip (*Ant. Denkm.* i. 21), where he is last.

<sup>72</sup> For the position we may compare *Delphes*, iv. Pl. XXI. (fifth field) and *J.H.S.* xiii. Pl. IX.

a stumpy appearance to Herakles than whom the giant seems taller.<sup>73</sup> Herakles seems to be clad with his usual lion-skin over head and shoulders.

Whether our attribution of the divinities is correct or not, is immaterial; our purpose is to show that the scenes are rendered and arranged with care the giants may all be much the same, yet that sameness often serves a purpose, as for instance to emphasise the three central scenes as one important group. The charge of meaningless repetition has been levelled against it as a proof of lateness, if not of forgery, and yet the Aristophanes cup, belonging to one of the most artistic ages, is quite as full of repetition. So close is the resemblance with this vase that we must suspect that the same sources were drawn on by both, even though the statue may be centuries later than the vase.

The only thing that balks our interpretation is the want of attributes—a trident for Poseidon, a thunder-bolt for Zeus; yet it is not unlikely that these were once present. On the back-ground essential details are often worked in so faintly that only very close examination reveals them—Artemis's right foot, Poseidon's drapery—and yet the anatomy of the figures is rendered with a view to effect at a distance, the essential shadows being deeply marked—almost impressionism in marble. The reconciler of all these disagreeing elements is colour—colour to supply for the absence of attributes, colour to render the faint work as visible as the 'impressionistic' work. We recall the Pergamene sculptural details on shield handle and sandal and the Prima Porta statue of Augustus with its elaborate cuirass that did retain its colours and we add our Athena to the list of those works wherein detailed carving seems to be the groundwork for painting, not a colourless substitute for the archaic drawing and painting.<sup>74</sup>

At last we find ourselves in a position to discuss the date and bring together the several strands we have spun. Our attempts must be based mainly on the band of decoration. Beyond the proportions of the statue as a whole, and the style of the Gorgon-head, which both point to the beginning of the fourth century at the earliest, there is little else to be had from the rest of the statue. The *motives* of the panels go back in part apparently to the fifth century, as for instance to the Theseum metopes; this is confirmed by vases with the same round of motives that date from the end of the fifth century (the Aristophanes and the Melian vases). At least one motive—the Apollo—would seem to be later; not earlier than the middle of the fourth century. The cuirass in the Ares panel

<sup>73</sup> So deliberately in archaic vases (Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, 255 bis, 451, 452).

<sup>74</sup> How freely sculpture and painting could be interchanged in the late period has been recently proved by the extraordinary finds reported from Cyrene (*J.H.S.* xxxi. p. 301) of statues on which the faces were not carved but

painted. With such documents as the Pagasae or the South-Russian tombstones, and the sarcophagi from Carthage (*Mon. Piot*, 1905), we are only now beginning to realise what share painting took in sculptural work in the later periods.

is of a type (rounded lappets) not in use till the fourth century; the Aristonantes stele and some Thessalian coins are probably our first monuments to show it. The Poseidon may well be influenced by the Demetrius coin which would bring the date down to the end of the fourth century. However, the examination of motives merely gives us a *terminus post quem*, for motives enjoyed notoriously long life in Greek art.

If we admit an hypothesis which would seem to be supported by an examination of the monuments, that the substitution of elaborate carved detail for the mere painting of ornament came in with the second-century Pergamene school, then of course we reduce the age of the copy by a century and a half and we have brought it to the period of our Egyptian analogy.

There is one general consideration which we have left over—what we shall call the metoped scheme, that is a system of decoration availing itself of metope-like fields. It appeared in the early archaic period on vertical strips, some of which in bronze are preserved to us;<sup>75</sup> but the Greek mind with its sense of decorative fitness seems to have abandoned it in favour of running patterns, maeanders, hunting scenes, horse-races. A striking confirmation is to be found by comparing the earlier decoration of the interior of the shield<sup>76</sup> with the later processional motive which develops itself along the available space.<sup>77</sup> As instances of the same feeling may be cited a relief from a quiver case,<sup>78</sup> a sword sheath,<sup>79</sup> and the haft and sheath of a dirk,<sup>80</sup> in all of which the figure decoration develops itself in a continuous band along the length of the object, even though the object ordinarily would hang vertically; all three are of good Greek workmanship.

Later, however, poverty in decorative skill, and love of stories more than of mere ornament apparently caused a reversion to the metope style. The earliest instance I can quote is the Smyrna terra-cotta tablet<sup>81</sup> of the second century B.C., where on either side of the central Cybele-aedicle are three metopes vertically over one another with dancing figures of fourth-century type. The great Mithraic monuments, of eclectic art but obviously owing much to Hellenistic work, are bordered or crowned with the metope scheme.<sup>82</sup> Then there is a series of monuments with Herakles motives; note especially a votive relief of the second century after Christ<sup>83</sup> closely resembling the Mithraic reliefs; here the labours of Herakles form the subjects in the border; the motives are descended from earlier works. The Heidenturm<sup>84</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Cp. the fields on the handles of the François vase (probably after a bronze model) and the Acropolis vase by Nearchus, Graef, Pl. XXXVI.

<sup>76</sup> Graef, Pl. XXXVI.

<sup>77</sup> The Bologna Krater, Furtwängler-Reichhold, 75, 76.

<sup>78</sup> *Rev. Arch.* 1896, Pl. XIV.

<sup>79</sup> *Arch. Anz.* 1902, 45.

<sup>80</sup> *Dar.-Sagl.* 58 and 59.

<sup>81</sup> Roscher, ii. 1650.

<sup>82</sup> See Cumont, ii., especially the large plates

Their motives, too, are of interest, for many of them are obviously taken from fifth-century work.

<sup>83</sup> Roscher, *sub* 'Omphale,' Fig. 7, Nat. Museum, Naples.

<sup>84</sup> *Journal of Roman Studies*, i. Pl. V. This article was set up before I saw Mrs. Strong's valuable paper. I can now only refer the reader to her notes on Mithra, p. 14 and the Igel Säule, pp. 24-26. The figures on the uprights in Plate V do not look like *putti*.

at Igel (third century after Christ) near Trèves has a zodiac circle on its front between two 'voided' pilasters divided into figured metopes like our strip; the subjects of these metopes look like a disjointed Gigantomachy. Similarly, parallel to the zodiac coins mentioned above, we find coins of Hadrianopolis under Gordian bordered shield-wise with the metoped labours of Herakles. In two cases, bases of statues have the labours in a similar setting of metopes.<sup>85</sup> Lastly the scabbard of the 'Tiberius' sword in the British Museum<sup>86</sup> may be contrasted with those of Greek work above. Other instances of the general reversion in later times to the metope design<sup>87</sup> might be cited, down to the consular diptychs, but the task would be as wearisome for the reader as for the compiler.

Our argument is not final; yet, having reason to believe that the style of decoration of the Chigi Athena was not derived directly from an archaic statue, but at most from a 'contaminatio' of two archaic styles, the selection of the figured metoped strip would be more likely to occur in the later period we have just reviewed, when instead of decorative *patterns*, a legend-cycle was preferred. The range of date is wide—from the middle of the second century B.C. to the second century after Christ or even later. For reasons that do not apply to the Athena we referred our Helios analogy to the later date, our Ptolemaic to the earlier. Here we prefer the earlier date, in the Pergamene period, when art patrons had a fondness for the old masters of Aegina,<sup>88</sup> and when art still felt free to modify while it copied.

After all is said, the statue remains but a copy; perhaps even the metopes are only the copy of a well-known series—if so, they would be all the more important. Still the study of such a monument is instructive, for it concentrates attention on questions of detail, which, if once solved beyond doubt, would set up another land-mark in the waste places of Graeco-Roman archaeology.

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<sup>85</sup> A bronze (*Museo Borbonico*, vii. Pl. LXI.; the base, of Roman date, is later than the statue) and a suspect marble (*Ann. d. I.* 1854, p. 93, Fig. 23).

<sup>86</sup> *Guide to Grk. and Rom. Life*, p. 103, fig. 91.

<sup>87</sup> Cp. the different schemes adopted in different centuries to decorate (i) the sandals of Athena Parthenos (continuous battle scene),

(ii) the Conservatori sandal (*Lycosura*, *J.H.S.* xxxi. 308), (iii) the base of Herakles' statue above. All presented the same problem. So did the Ephesus bases. The labours of Herakles appear metoped on a late sarcophagus to be contrasted with the continuous scenes of earlier monuments of the same shape.

<sup>88</sup> Cp. Pausanias, viii. 42. 7.