



The Pergamene Frieze: Its Relation to Literature and Tradition

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THE PERGAMENE FRIEZE:
ITS RELATION TO LITERATURE AND TRADITION.

I.

THE frieze of the Pergamene altar, on which the battle between the gods and giants is represented, however its artistic work may be judged, will always hold henceforth an important place in the history of Greek art. The main outlines of its subject, the broad marks of its style, have already been made known in England through descriptions and photographs. A slight knowledge of the frieze will show one at once a mass of elaborate detail, which finds its place there because the artists have endeavoured to express in their work the various traditions which have grown up around the myth. We have therefore to deal here with a learned and reflective art; and to search out its full meaning is to ask how it stands in relation to the earlier tradition. When one looks at the forms which these enemies of the gods are here made to assume, one remarks instantly the distinction between those who are rendered with full human shape, and those whose bodies are a combination—often motley enough—of animal forms appearing side by side with the human. Now it is with this distinction that the whole history of the development of the tradition is concerned—and it is my aim to show that the Pergamene work reproduces the elements which an analysis of the myth discloses. The earth-born giants may have been regarded under three different aspects—as autochthones, a primeval race of men, or a race anterior to men, (2) as daemones, or beings that belonged to the worship of a primitive people, (3) as allegorical figures, as personifications of certain physical forces, certain powers in the natural world

hostile to man. It is obvious that these ideas need not be distinct, and that by a fusion of the last two the giant may appear as a daemon whose being is rooted in certain elementary operations of nature. But one may ask the question—and the answer intimately touches the Pergamene frieze—whether, whenever the giants appear either in literature or art, there is always one and the same original conception in the background, or whether the one and the other of the above-mentioned ideas is prominent at different times and in different places ?

It may seem curious that their characteristic features were far more plastically defined in the earlier poetry, and far more plastically embodied in earlier art than in the later. In the *Odyssey* they are conceived as human in shape, and only in their strength supernatural, and in one place Homer speaks of them as men. (*Batrach.* 1, 7),

Γηγενέων ἀνδρῶν μιμούμενοι ἔργα Γυγάντων,

Reference is made to them in the *Odyssey*, where Eurymedon is said to be king of the insolent generation of giants, who in some way or other perish with him. In the *Theogony* of Hesiod they are given the same attributes which they habitually retain on the earlier vase-representations,

Τεύχεσι λαμπόμενοι δολίχ' ἔγχεα χερσὶν ἔχοντες.

At the same time the monster Typhoeus is known to both of them, but known in a form entirely distinct from the shape of men; while at a later age, owing to the artificial system of poets and mythographi, or to a natural popular confusion, he becomes admitted into the earth-born brotherhood who appear now in an altered character. In the detailed account of the gigantomachy, given by Apollodorus (1, 6) they are described as serpent-footed, and some time before this a change had come over the artistic representation, for a winged figure with serpent-feet cowering before a god appears on the frieze from the temple of Priene; and henceforth the normal type is no longer plastic or purely human. At what time and through what means the altered representation became dominant is a question which for the moment may be passed by: it is only important to perceive that the new creation of winged serpent-footed beings brings the allegorical character of the myth far more prominently forth.

For as in the imagery used by Hesiod to describe the deadly nature of Typhoeus, one can discern an imaginative picture of volcanic eruptions, subterranean fires and sounds, so there is probably a like symbolism in these transformed figures of the giants. The serpent¹ is a symbol which has various meanings in various applications, sometimes regarded as the type of prophetic wisdom and brooding contemplation—and therefore assigned as a familiar to Apollo and Asclepios—always appropriate also to those who have some close connection with the earth, who draw their origin from it, or whose function is specially to work upon it; and thus the serpents are yoked to the car of Demeter and Triptolemos, and where the animal is found with Dionysos it is probably a mark of his chthonian character. The earth-born Erysichthon sometimes appears as serpent-footed with the same significance as attaches to the dragon in the tale of the earth-born Sparti at Thebes and at Colchis. There is also a natural transition from the conception of the serpent as the animal that lives in the nether world to its application as a fitting image of death, an application which it may bear on Greek grave-reliefs, where it is often the only mark of the funereal import of the scene. The giants therefore can be conceived and represented as serpent-footed because, as personifications of the whirlwind and the volcano, they are conceived as earth-born. But the reptile-form can be significant of much else besides a purely physical fact; it has also an allusion that may be called ethical, and those beings who partake of it could be regarded as powers of darkness and evil. That this ethical symbolism was natural to a later reflection is shown by the words of Macrobius, who regards the serpent-limbs of the giants as evidence of their debased thoughts. The other parts of their complex shape plainly embody certain physical conceptions; for in many works of art they are given wings that are expressive of the rapid rush of the wind, just as in representations of the winged Boreas and Oreithyia. That the giants may be so conceived is shown allusively by the words of Aeschylus in the *Agamemnon*:

Ζεφύρου Γίγαντος αὔρα,

by the designation of hurricanes as *Τυφῶνες*, and by the myth that all the winds with the exception of Boreas and Zephyr were

¹ Vide Welcker's *Griechische Götterlehre*, i. 65-66.

sprung from Typhon. In this connection the curious representation of Boreas as snake-footed on the chest of Cypselus deserves notice; may not this form have embodied for the Greeks their perception of the rolling movement of the wind, and may not a similar conception have played its part in the explanation of the same forms of the giants? The name Alcyoneus is understood by Preller to have the same reference as the Alcyones, the ice-birds, and to designate the giant of the winter-storm; and just as the shape of the hundred-handed Briareus-Aegaeon, as well as the etymology of his second name and his connection with Thetis, speak at once to his association with the sea, so such names as Enceladus, Mimas, and Polybotes the special enemy of Poseidon, seem to be figures that personify the violence of the wind and sea. The character of Typhoeus himself becomes so typical of the whole brotherhood, that Gregory of Nazianzus is able to style them collectively¹ *κεραυνοφόροι θεοί*, and it has been supposed that the thunderbolt appears as a weapon in their hands on certain coins: as, for instance, on a coin in the Berlin collection, where a giant is seen flying over the sea; but the object in his right hand may as well be a jagged branch of a tree as a thunderbolt, or, as has been suggested, may be merely the indication of the water which he disturbs in his swimming. Neither is there any mark of the *κεραυνοφόροι θεοί* in the Pergamene frieze, when the thunderbolt indeed appears as a badge on the shield of one of the fallen giants, but without any necessary allusion to the volcanic fires. On the other hand, the legend of Salmoneus has been ingeniously combined with that of the gigantomachy by Wieseler,² who discovers in the mimic thunder and lightning with which Salmoneus insults Zeus the allusion already mentioned, and endeavours to support his theory by connecting the name with that of the giant Almops, whom Stephanos mentions in explanation of the Thessalian Almopia.

To further illustrate the character of the myth as a physical allegory, it will be enough to briefly notice the various places where the gigantomachy has been localised. The battle-field is usually called Phlegra, and this was placed either in the

¹ Orat. iii. *adv. Julian.* p. 103, D. Sec. 1, Vol. 67, p. 175.

² *Allg. Ency.* Ersch and Gruber,

Chalcidic Pallene, or in the neighbourhood of Cumae. No doubt local traditions were rife throughout Italy¹ of a gigantomachy, but later writers who refer to the myth are unanimous in regarding the Chalcidic peninsula as the scene of the primeval struggle. It was here that Ceres was wandering, according to Claudian, when she came upon the forest where the skins of the giants whom the lightnings of Zeus had overthrown were still hung up and smouldering on the trees. Against the explanation of the gigantomachy as an impersonation of volcanic action, it may be urged that the neighbourhood of Pallene—according to the reports of modern travellers—was in no degree volcanic; yet shapes of rock in a wild mountainous region may easily have suggested to a lively fancy the belief in some great event of the past that had left its print upon the face of the land. One may believe that Valerius Flaccus was describing something actual when he says (*Argon.* iv. 236)

Quisque suas in rupe minas pugnamque metusque
Servat adhuc.

And Mimas, the name of a giant who is conquered by Mars, is also the name of a mountain in Ionia opposite to Chios, mentioned by Homer as much visited by storms. Of the volcanic character of the neighbourhood of Cumae nothing need be said; the myth was also found at Cyzicus, which in Roman times was much disturbed by earthquakes. And as Typhoeus becomes more closely connected with the story, when it has come more clearly to express certain physical phenomena, it touches the present point to add that, according to the remark of the Scholiast on Pindar (*Isthm.* i. 31), every mountain was a grave of Typhon, that according to Homer there was a mountain called Typhaonium in Euboea, an island which had local connections with the giants: and again that the river Orontes was formerly called Typhon,² probably to signify the violence of a certain part of its course. Finally, the legend seems nowhere to have been more deeply rooted in popular belief than in the highlands of Arcadia, where, as Pausanias³ tells us, the people down to his time continued to sacrifice to the thunder and lightning.

¹ Cacus seems an Italian Typhoeus, according to the description of Propertius, iv. 9, 10.

² Strabo, xvi. 751.

³ Paus. viii. 29.

So far the giants have been regarded, first as purely anthropomorphic in such plastic forms as Hesiod had assigned to them, secondly as allegorical impersonations. But the quotation from Pausanias suggests whether they possess yet another aspect, a character which, as has been already said, may be connected with the second conception. Is the curious Arcadian practice the survival in ritual of an ancient worship? and are the giants the gods of a primitive pre-Hellenic belief? Such appears to be the theory of Wieseler, who considers them to be personifications of natural forces, and to belong to an Oriental religious system which was imported into Greek settlements; for he notices that the myth was specially dominant in places that were exposed to Oriental influences. That the myth was of foreign origin was the opinion of Diodorus Siculus, book i. ch. 26, who maintains that it was indigenous in Egypt and derived hence. But one may rather believe that the tradition belongs in common to the mythological systems of different peoples, than that the Greek belief was necessarily borrowed directly from the East; and neither in the list of giants given in the recital of Apollodorus, book i. ch. 6, nor in that contained in the theogony of Tzetzes,¹ is there any one that seems to be of Oriental origin. At the same time there are certain facts that hint—though without much directness—at this aspect of them as surviving figures of a primitive worship. We have the fact mentioned by Pausanias of the Arcadian ritual; we have also much that is curious in the tradition concerning the giant Pallas, and his relations to the goddess Athene, and the various elements and cognate forms of the myth have been combined by K. O. Müller in *Hyperboreische Studien*, where he shows that in many accounts there is some being, male or female, who stands intimately near to Athene herself, and is slain by her: sometimes it is her father Pallas, the Titan who in Hesiod is the father of Nike,² and the goddess of victory is in the *Ion* of Euripides (1528) identified with Athene herself;

μὰ τὴν παρασπίζουσαν ἄρμασιν ποτε
Νίκαν Ἀθήναν Ζηνὶ γηγενεὶς ἔπι.

The same Pallas is the father of many divinities of light, among

¹ Published by Bekker, *Abhand. d. k. preuss. Acad. d. Wiss.* 1840.

² So also in Tzetzes' *Theogony*, 190.

whom is Selene, and the goddess of Dawn, whom Ovid calls Pallantis. Sometimes the name is applied to a female friend of Athene, a kind of foster-sister, who is at last also slain by the goddess.¹ The name is found again in Arcadia, the land of the giants' battles, attaching to Pallas the Lycaonid, one of a family that is the enemy of the gods. From all this Müller draws the conclusion that here is an ancient remnant of the dual aspect of the gods, that Pallas-Athene is herself combined of two natures, the one beneficent, the other deadly, the one divine, the other as it were gigantic, both warring upon each other, until the latter is overcome.² Whatever force attaches to the argument that proves an affinity of nature because of an identity of name, attaches also to the fact that Athene bears the name of Enceladus.³ Again, the power of the aegis which is conspicuously Athene's weapon, and which seems part of her very personality, is personified in the gigantic Aegis, a monster who seems in every way comparable with Typhoeus, and who wastes Phrygia, Cilicia, and Egypt, until it is slain by Athene, and its skin is henceforth her emblem and natural weapon.⁴ The story, as told by Diodorus, iii. 69, seems once more to illustrate a mysterious connection between Athene, the goddess of the lightning, and the giant-world. Have we not also allusions to the same affinity between an Olympian deity and these enemies of Olympus in certain of the myths of Hera? Once or twice she is seen⁵ or her presence can be conjectured on the vases that represent the gigantomachy; but the part she takes in the action is prominent neither in literature nor in art, and in what remains of the Pergamene frieze one searches for her figure in vain. Is this so because, though an Olympian, she is not yet divested altogether of her old nature as earth-goddess, and of the kinship that thus she bears with the giant-family? Some shadow of such old belief remains in the tale told in the Homeric hymn of Apollo, l. 306, where Hera seems to take the place of Gaea and for a grudge against Zeus brings forth Typhoeus. It is Hera also who rears up the γηγενεῖς of Cyzicus to be a trouble

¹ Apollod. 3, 12, 6.

² Cf. the Pallantis rocks, Callimachus, *Lav. Pall.* 42.

³ Hesych. *Etym. Mag.*

⁴ Cf. Eur. *Ion*, 987, where the earth

is said to produce the monster Gorgo, whom Athene slays.

⁵ Vase from Altamura, published by Heydemann, *Gigantomachie auf eine Vase*, &c.

and danger to Heracles.¹ These scattered myths are so many hints suggesting a conclusion which presents the gigantomachy, especially as represented on the Pergamene frieze, in a new light. The gods may on the theory of Müller be regarded as fighting against no alien beings, but against an older group of deities who are powers of the same elements from which the younger Olympians are now seeking to dispossess them in order to rule in their turn. And certainly there is in it given to us at once this strife and this affinity; the deities of the sea are in contest with the unruly powers of the sea; the goddesses of the nether world are thrusting their torches lit from subterranean fires against giants whose wild serpent shapes personify similar forces: the wind-god, Boreas, is fighting for the gods against enemies in whose ranks are the powers kindred to him. Thus it is natural that in certain cases confusions should arise. Among the sea-deities upon the Pergamene frieze, is a figure plainly marked as a sea-Triton, fighting on the side of the Olympians, while in the *Theogony* of Tzetzes quoted above Nereus and Triton are found among the giants. The same confusion is there in connection with Briareus-Aegaeon, who in the *Iliad* appears as a power subservient to Zeus, but who becomes latterly conspicuous in the gigantomachy as the enemy of the gods. But if he and his fraternity are really the divine persons of a primitive nature-worship, we should expect that they should be brought into connection with the Titans, the gods who belong to the older cycle of Cronos; and an attempt has been made by Wieseler to prove that a connection not only can be found, but is original and essential. That it can be found in later art and in later literature is undeniable; thus in more than one representation the myth of the Titan Atlas was applied to certain phases of the giants' contest. Not only are certain mountains and rocks named from them, not only at the end of the battle, as we are told by many poets, did the aegis of Athene transform a great number to stone,² whose petrified shapes one might still discern in the highlands of Pallene,³ but on later works of art one sees giants serving as architectural supports, that is, performing the function of Atlantes.⁴ It is possible, as I shall show, to understand in this sense the lines of Naevius—

¹ Apollonius Rhod., *Argon.* i. 989.

³ Claudian, *Gig.* 98-103.

² Lucan, *Phars.* ix. 655.

⁴ *Ann. dell' Instit.* vi. p. 153.

Inerantque signa expressa quomodo Titani
Bicorpores Gigantes, magnique Atlantes
Runcus atque Purpureus, filii terras;

and the serpent that is found in at least one representation, where Atlas is supporting the heavens, suggests his connection with the earth-born.¹ At the same time Wieseler quotes certain passages from later writers that seem expressly to show the intimate union between the giants and the Titans. After the enumeration of names in the *Theogony* of Tzetzes, quoted above, the narrative goes on to speak of the victory of Zeus, who in the same battle overthrows both the one and the other,

Τροπούται καὶ Γίγαντας, τροπούται καὶ Τιτᾶνας.

And Wieseler concludes that this list of names is drawn mainly from some lost passage in Hesiod's *Theogony* which contained an account of the gigantomachy given as part of the *Titanomachy*; and although this view seems rightly contested by Schömann,² yet there are proofs that the connection between giants and Titans is comparatively early. Those, indeed, that Welcker³ adduces from Euripides seem inconclusive; but according to the Scholiast on the *Argonautica* of Apoll. Rhod. i. 1165, Eumelus had written a Titanomachy in which Briareus-Aegaeon, the son of Ge and Pontus, was a combatant on the side of the Titans. In spite, however, of identity of names and early confusion, it is hardly credible that the myths are originally the same; for while the Titans may be forms of a primitive worship, of which the embodied ideas are not yet individualised and severed from the group, many of the giants are particular local conceptions, and the people of any locality may well have had fancy enough to create these in accord with some peculiar feature of the place without borrowing the shadowy forms of an old religion. The *γῆγενεῖς Δευτέρνιοι* driven out by Heracles from the Phlegraean plain of Campania, and buried near Luca, according to Strabo, vi. 281, c, are surely connected with no worship, but according to him connected rather with a *πηγή δυσώδης*, a noisome pool in the neighbourhood. If, then, the Titans are a vague system of gods that belong to an early

¹ Müller, *Denk. d. a. Kunst.* 2, 825.

² *Opusc.* 2, p. 400.

³ *Griechische Götterlehre*, i. p. 287.

nation-worship; the giants seem a later creation, based, perhaps, on the same physical conception, and in some cases standing to the gods in the same relations as the Titans, yet localised and independent.

But even if one granted that these giants, whose monstrous form and actions show them to be the shadowy personations of physical forces, may be identical with the Titans, yet the question still remains about the *λαὸς ἀπάσθαλος* of Homer, and the warrior-giants of Hesiod 'gleaming in arms, with long spears in their hands': are these clear-cut plastic figures essentially one with those mysterious volcanic powers? This combination seems to be implicitly admitted by Müller, when he maintains that the Pallantids of Attica are ultimately the same with the giants at Pallene; and Wieseler in the *Allgemeine Encyclopædie* tries to show the propriety of the combination by an argument based on the identity of names. Eurymedon, the king of the giants in the *Odyssey*, appears, according to Wieseler, in Propertius,¹ conspicuous on the Phlegraean battle-field; but according to the authority of all the MSS. the name Eurymedon does not appear at all. Nor does the emendation seem altogether necessary. But if it were inevitable, does it prove any more than that the learned Latin poet chooses to combine artificially the *Γίγαντες* of Homer with the Phlegraean combatants? Does it prove any rooted connection between two groups of myth? Nor because the name 'Porphyryon' is found at Corinth² belonging to one of the line of Sisyphos, need we see here any necessary connection between the nature-powers and the beings that are nearer to mankind; for such names, like the name of Pallas, upon which Müller builds so largely,³ can well be given, so to speak, spontaneously, that is, without reference to some original myth concerning genealogical affinities. If, indeed, Tzetzes' muster-roll of names were borrowed directly from a passage now lost of Hesiod's *Theogony*, and they were borne by personages who play their part in the Titanomachy, then perhaps one would have no more reason to say that the figures which one sees on early vase-paintings in the equipment of Homeric warriors are in any way distinct from the preternatural creations of a later art. But a

¹ *Elegies*, iii. 7, 48.

καὶ Πορφυρίων.

² Schol. Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* iii.
1094—Σισύφου παῖδς ἐγένοντο Ἄλμος

³ *Vide* Welcker's *Götterlehre*, i. p.
790-791.

great difficulty will then at once arise. If the giants were always conceived, or in their origin were conceived solely as elemental forces, never more humanly as a primitive race of men, how could early poetry and early art present them with such plastic clearness in perfectly human outlines? We might have expected the reverse, and in an analogous instance the reverse is found. The gods of the Olympian system were probably in the view of early belief high impersonations of different parts of the natural world; but at a very early time they became divorced from their element, owing to the peculiar power and quality of the Greek religion in transforming such ideas. The elemental significance of Athene as goddess of the pure heaven, or of Hermes as a god of the clouds or winds, recedes, and forms merely the background of local tradition. The deities become real figures, of separate life, with a power of action higher but not obscurer than the actions of men. But, according to Wieseler's view, the belief concerning the giants was developed and expressed quite differently; being in the origin merely the shadowy forms of the volcano and the storm, they suddenly in early poetry and art gain clear human features, and have lost, as far as their representation goes, their physical associations, while in later literature, poetry, and art, they appear conspicuously as allegorical figures, symbolisms of nature. Now those who maintain the theory of Wieseler may explain this as arising merely from the helplessness of archaic art, which could represent human forms and animal forms, but lacked the skill to combine these in any organic union. It may be urged that it was reserved for the later art, with its love of allegory and power over it, to overlay what was human in a figure with shapes and attributes drawn from the animal world, and to arrange and combine with such skill that the multiform product should be at once living and symbolic: and one may support the explanation by pointing to the representation of river-deities which in earlier sculpture is more plastic, in later more allegorical; but it would still have to be shown why the vase-painters of the sixth and fifth centuries were unable to present the giants otherwise than as human, and yet were able to give to Typhoeus, the kindred personage, a medley of abnormal forms that showed, however clumsily, his physical character. But the explanation, even if in certain cases it may be allowed some

force, yet fails here ; first because it leaves the difficulty in the literary account untouched. Why are the giants in Homer and Hesiod purely human, save for superhuman strength and stature, if for these poets also the *γῆγενεῖς* are conceived clearly as natural forces ? Certainly the Homeric imagination was as a rule clear and plastic, but not always so, for the figures of Eris and Ate are on the whole formless and allegorical, and there is little that is anthropomorphic in such a creation as Scylla, still less in the Hesiodic Typhoeus. Why again, when such an art as the Pergamene had acquired its mastery over symbolic expression, are the old human forms still found surviving by the side of the new preterhuman creation ? According to a dictum of Wieseler, this is never the case ; the human and the 'bicorpores' cannot appear side by side, and when they seem to be brought together, as in the Vatican relief, he pronounces the winged serpent-footed giant to be Typhon. But he is of course refuted on this point by the discovery of the Pergamene frieze. When we see there the contrast I have mentioned, we see the influence of two separate myths, of the myth concerning the *γῆγενεῖς*, or Autochthones, a primitive race that borders on the later families of men, and the myth that has created certain figures out of the wild forces of nature ; and these are kept distinct by Welcker in his *Götterlehre*, and surely with justice. For tradition knows of certain tribes of giants that have no discoverable point of contact with the elements of the world of nature. Passing by the authority of Homer and Hesiod, one may say this with great probability of the Pallantids of Attica. That the name of giant may be applied to them, one can gather from a fragment of Sophocles, *Aegeus* (fr. 19, ed. Dind.) :—

ὁ σκληρὸς οὗτος καὶ Γίγαντας ἐκτρέφω
Πάλλας.

These are the enemies of Theseus finally driven out by him at the head of his Athenians ; the story is filled up with interesting detail by Plutarch, who tells us that the tribe of Pallene were betrayed by a Hagnusian, and that henceforth down to his time there was no intermarriage between the men of the demes Pallene and Hagnus. For explanation, one may find here the shadowy expression of some physical phenomenon, but thus one

loses sight of the palpable fact that the myth is a political myth containing an account of a struggle between an earlier and a later generation, and the contrast between the two forces in this 'gigantomachy' will be well illustrated by the frieze of the Theseum—with whatever theme it deals—by the contrast there shown between fierce and wild strength on the one side, and the finer athletic form of the men of Theseus. The giants referred to by Apollonius Rhodius who attack the Argonauts near Cyzicus seem again no more than the primitive men of the savage country. Now in following out the myth through the later authorities one can see that the human aspect it assumes is often due to an artificial euhemerism; but when one has eliminated all that can be ascribed to this tendency, there still remains this mythic-historic element, if one may thus designate the tradition concerning the giant-Autochthones, and from this also, as well as from the other physical tradition, the legend of the gigantomachy could arise: for it is natural that the men of the later generation should conceive of their aboriginal predecessors as the enemies of the gods, or as the type of an older system that was there before the reign of law, and the gods may have been believed to play the same part here as they played in rooting out the impious families of the Phlegyae and the Lycaonids.¹

Now because the significance of this human tradition has been partially absorbed by that other which may be called physical, since in it is the conception of physical forces that are personified as living gigantic powers, the beings of this cycle were at an early time invested with human forms, and gain a human ethical interest, and become connected with traditions where a similar interest prevails. The myth of the Aloades is regarded by Lenormant² as purely human, for they are the children of the threshing-floor and the corn-field, who wax insolent on their newly-won prosperity; though there may be other phases of the myth, it must be admitted that this is a prominent one, and at the same time Lenormant seems wrong in separating too sharply the gigantomachy and the enterprise of the Aloades. For Wieseler in his article shows that both the legends are localised in Crete, and that the names of the

¹ Cf. *Myth. Vat.* ii. 58, de gigantum sanguine natus Lycaon.

² *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i. p. 55.

Aloades appear in the second line of Tzetzes' list of the giants in his *Theogony*. But both in literature and art there are more certain indications that the two legends overlap. On the fragment of an ewer in Naples, the giants are seen piling stone upon stone to raise a fortification from which heaven may be scaled, and the action reminds vividly of that of the Aloades, and is illustrated by the lines from the *Aetna* of Lucilius (?) :—

Jam coacervatas nituntur scandere moles,
Impius et miles metuentia provocat astra ;¹

and the illustration is still clearer in the words :—

Construitur magnis ad proelia montibus agger
Pelion Ossa terit, summam premit Ossan Olympus.²

Among the Theban Sparti, the ancestors of the mythic royal family at Thebes, and themselves sprung from the dragon, the offspring of Ares and Gaea, are such names as Echion and Pelorus, names that are also found in Claudian's *Gigantomachy* ; and the recital in the *Argonautica* of Jason's combat with the earth-born Colchians, many of whom are cut down before half their body has emerged from the soil, may possibly be coloured by remembrance of the figure of Ge similarly shown in many representations of the gigantomachy.

The history of the Lycaonids, of Tantalus,³ of the Phlegyae to whom belongs Tityos the assailant of Leto and the victim of the arrows of Apollo, have all points of contact with the history of the giants, and help also to bring into relief the human aspect, the ethical issues of the myth. Still more prominent is the connection between the Centaurs⁴ and the giants ; the latter, like the former, are mighty hunters. And in the *Birds* of Aristophanes as in the transitional and later vase-paintings, the trophies of the chase, the skin of the leopard and the lion, form their clothing and defence, while their weapons are sometimes

¹ 50, 51.

² 48, 49.

³ Cf. *Myth. Vat.* i. fab. 2. Ceres, i.e. Terra, irata ob sui Tantalique irrisum, produces the Titan giants.

⁴ On the neck of the vase of Xenophantus in St. Petersburg, the Centaurs and giants are found on the

same frieze, vide *Compte rendu de la Comm. Archéol. de St. Petersb.* 1866, p. 141. A Centaur appears as the badge on the helmet of a giant who is attacking Zeus on the vase of Altamura, and Mimas is the name both of a giant and a Centaur. Eur. *Ion*, 215.

such as the Centaurs carry, the broken boughs of trees : as are the Centaurs, so under this aspect the giants also, and conspicuously the giant-hunter Orion, may be conceived as the type of the wild life of the forest. And again there is another more curious parallel ; as the Centaurs and Amazons are represented in battle on the same frieze of the Phigaleian temple, and the warfare of both is used as the frequent symbol of the contest between barbarism and law, and both tribes are subdued by the political hero Theseus, so we are told that on the shield of Athene Parthenos the gigantomachy and the battle of the Amazons were carved by Pheidias ; for both events are symbols of the same ethical value, and both myths are strangely connected on the vase of Melos reproduced by Lenormant in the *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, pp. 52-53, where a figure is seen wounded among the ranks of the giants that must be an Amazon. M. Ravaisson in the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association des Études grecs* 1875¹ suggests that the female figure is Eris, and that as the stirrer of strife she is the first to be struck down by the thunderbolt of Zeus. The Furies are certainly seen sometimes in the garb of huntresses on vase-representations of the lower world, but where is Eris seen with the Amazonian shield, or in what passage of poetry or art is this shadowy and allegorical personage described as struck down in actual battle ? The presence of the Amazon is here very interesting—for while thoroughly undramatic, and dissipating the air of reality that surrounded the older versions of the tale, it is rightly adapted to the moral symbolism which the artist intends, and illustrates the proneness of artists and writers especially in the Alexandrine and Imperial eras to use the gigantomachy as a type of certain historical events. One can understand the motive of Pheidias in carving this subject upon the shield for a generation in whom the recollection of the Persian wars was fresh. At a much earlier date the same myth was the theme of a trophy raised by the Megarians at Olympia to commemorate their triumph over the Corinthians. For the men of Pergamon its application was very obvious, and its meaning very real. In the last instance where we hear of it² as the probable decoration of a public monument, namely of the temple of Jupiter Tonans, its historical significance

¹ Our cut (see next page) is taken from the plate in this periodical.

² *Vide Stark, Gigantomachy.*



is the same. From the same point of view many later writers tend to regard the myth mainly as one of ethical import. Diodorus Siculus, after mentioning separate gigantomachies in Phrygia, Crete, Pallene, and Cumae, gives as the exciting cause of the contest the injustice of the giants towards men, and the consequent displeasure of the gods¹ (v. 51), and in his usual spirit of euhemerism he believes that the giants were popularly conceived as *πολυσώματοι* only because of their great strength and energy. Again in Bk. iv. 21, he recounts the legend that a combat took place in the neighbourhood of Cumae between Heracles and a tribe of giants who as regards form are in no way preternatural but described as *ἄνδρες ταῖς τε ῥώμαις πρόχοντες καὶ ἐπὶ παρανομίᾳ διωνομασμένοι*: the gods assist him, but there seems no reference here to the great gigantomachy. Is this a popular myth genuine and distinct, or is there here a trace of the euhemerism which is far more boldly stated by Eustathius,² by Theagenes, who is said to have reduced the dimensions of the whole story: the giants were merely the aboriginal savage tribe of Pallene, attacked by Heracles and his following: it happened to thunder and lighten during the battle and hence the tradition of Zeus and his thunderbolts. Explanations of a similar kind appear in Polybius and Strabo. But it is obvious that the poets both of the earlier and later Imperial eras would ignore this point of view, and take advantage of the picturesque quality that colours the myth when regarded as a drama in which the fierce powers of the early natural world play their part. In the *Aetna* this is vividly felt: and still more in the poem of Claudian which is the only systematic gigantomachy that has survived out of the mass of poetical literature which, as we have a right to assume, must have dealt with the theme. In this and in the Greek fragments attributed to him, the consciousness of the physical convulsions of nature which are embodied in the myth is always there, but overlaid with romantic sentiment, sometimes pathetic, sometimes erotic: in the Greek pendant that supplements the description we hear of the disturbances of Ocean, which the fallen giant nearly drains dry; we are told of the mountains which Enceladus hurls with all their vegetation and moving life upon them—*δένδρεα καὶ ποταμοὶ θήρῃς τ' ἔσαν*

¹ Cf. the figure of the giant Tmolus strangers to wrestle with him.
Lycoph. *Alex.* 124, who compelled ² Dionys. *Perieg.* 337.

ὄμιθές τε, a trait borrowed by contrast from more than one earlier vase-painting, where hares and other animals are seen painted upon the mountain or island which Poseidon hurls. In the picture described by Philostratus¹ whereon Zeus was depicted quelling a giant upon a mountain with his thunderbolts and Poseidon shaking the earth, the reference to the physical fact is so plain that one is left in doubt whether the earth was there given literally, or personified in female form and fainting beneath the attack of the sea-god. And it may be generally said of the later works of art, as distinguished from the literature dealing with the subject, that the treatment becomes ever less plastic—the forms become more and more allegorical;² the simple naive outlines of the Hesiodic figures who wear the hauberk and wield the spear are seen for the last time in the Pergamene frieze; henceforth the usual type is the snake-footed giant whose weapon is the rock. Now the Pergamene frieze seems to be the meeting-point of many mythic conceptions and beliefs; it is representative both of the older and newer art and fancy; for the plastic forms of the younger giants with their human interest and sentiment appear there dignifying the crowd of bizarre animal combinations, while these in their turn relieve the monotony of the older types. The action as represented there is justified from an ethical point of view, because one feels the contrast between the triumphant calm of the gods and the wild untempered rage of their opponents. At the same time the action has a picturesque effect, because in various details of the forms one is reminded of events that belong to the world of nature. But neither the ethic nor the picturesque interest obscures the dramatic; the action is morally significant and is symbolical of the processes of nature—but it is more than this, it is serious and energetic. While in the vase of Melos, where the Amazon appears among the giants, the drama loses itself in mere allegory, there is no such incongruity in the frieze, where every part is pertinent to the particular action. Again, in the fragment of the ewer quoted above the sun in his chariot and the moon on her horse appear, but not as participants in the action, rather as witnesses, or as indicators of the time and local limits of the event. In the Pergamene frieze they appear

¹ *Imag.* 2, 17.

² In Ovid, *Met.* i. 182, the monstrous character of the giants becomes exaggerated with mere poetical caprice.

again, but this time dramatically engaged, for here, though there may be redundancy, there is at least no part left unemployed.

At present the general characteristics of this work concern us merely so far as they are brought out by the points of contrast it presents or marks of affinity it bears with other works of art that tell the same tale; but the perception of many of such marks of resemblance and difference depends upon the comparison of some special scenes and particular figures. Such an examination, however, ought to be preceded by the question, whether the winged and serpent-footed giant is an original creation of the Pergamene artist, or has been borrowed from earlier works of art? One would at once be tempted to believe from the facile daring with which he deals with such forms, that here is not so much the production of a new type, that what is new is the power of happy and expressive combination.

Already as early as Plato and Aristophanes, if we look at the literary sources alone, a change had come over the representation and conception; the description of the giants is no longer Hesiodic, but in the *Sophist*¹ it is said of them that they attack heaven with rocks and burning trees; and underlying this account is the conception that is second among those I have enumerated. In the *Birds* of Aristophanes reference is made to the panthers' skins with which they are clothed; and indirectly also to the fires which they had hurled against the gods. The passage would also gain more point if we suppose that they are here regarded as winged; for then the parallel between them and the birds who are to imitate their enterprise will be complete. Again, in the *Hercules Furens*² of Euripides, the exploits of Hercules against the giants are mentioned in the same passage where his battles with monsters are being enumerated, and the context would lead one to suppose that they also are conceived as of monstrous shape. Indeed if we take the view adopted both by Welcker³ and Wieseler, that the transformation arose from the connection ever growing more intimate between Typhoeus and the giants, then we may expect to find the transformation following soon after the recognition of the connection. And as early as Pindar,⁴ they had been

¹ P. 246 a.

791, 792.

² Line 177.

⁴ *Pyth.* 8, lines 16—20.

³ Welcker, *Götterlehre*, vol. i. pp.

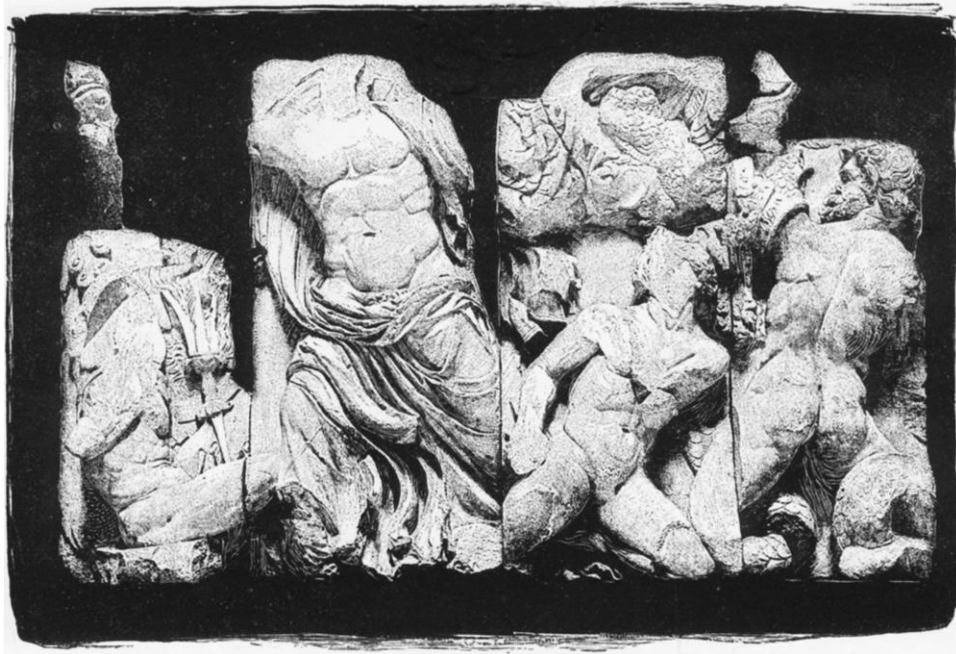
brought together as figuring in the same gigantomachy. The discovery of the frieze of Priene has set the question beyond a doubt as to the originality of the semi-human types seen on the Pergamene work ; for, as has been already remarked, the winged serpent-footed form appears on the former representation in the same action with the giants. According to the old criterion he would at once have been named Typhoeus, because of his wings, but the number of such figures on the frieze shows the invalidity of such an argument. The first express literary notice of the new type is the fragment of Naevius quoted above, a description of some work of art—perhaps, as has been suggested, an engraved shield.

To escape from the admission that the giants are here proved to be conceived as ‘bicorpor’ as early as the third century, Wieseler resorts to a very forced interpretation and regards the ‘bicorpores gigantes’ as so many representations of Typhoeus—so that on this work there were four groups of beings to be recognised, the Titans, Typhoeus, the Atlantes, and the giants Runcus (*i.e.* Rhoecus, mentioned in Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 221), and Porphyryon—although it is hard to understand how these four are to be distinguished. The main difficulty in the interpretation of the passage lies in the separation between the Filii Terras and the Gigantes, but the difficulty may be avoided by a version that also does more justice to the balance of the sentence, namely, by taking ‘bicorpores gigantes’ as in apposition to ‘Titani’ ; and similarly by understanding ‘Runcus atque Purpureus’ as names of the Atlantes. Naevius will thus be merely intending a distinction between the semi-human giants, whom he confuses with the Titans, and the giants of human shape, who on the work of art were serving as architectural supports and whom he therefore calls ‘magni Atlantes.’ This sense of the word, which has been adopted by Vitruvius as a technical term of architecture, one is perhaps not prepared to find so soon as the time of Naevius ; and those Etruscan works where giants are seen performing the same function are of a later age.

But Naevius might well have had in mind such an instance as that of the Temple of Acragas, where gigantic figures were carved in the place of columns.¹ Or if the suggestion I have

¹ Vide *Kunstmythologie*, p. 360, N. 160.

To fold in opposite p. 321.



ZEUS GROUP FROM PERGAMENE FRIEZE.



ATHENE GROUP FROM PERGAMENE FRIEZE.

made is incorrect, we have yet to find some meaning for 'Atlantes'; and might regard them as the Titans under the leadership of Atlas, mentioned once again, and once again also as giants, if Runcus and Purpureus are to be found among them. But, however interpreted, the passage contains at least an explicit reference to the transformed type that is seen almost to the exclusion of the older in Roman works; and whatever artist or writer it may have been who first brought this type into prominence, one can at all events say that it is not to be ascribed to the Pergamene school, and as it is first found in the art of Asiatic Greece is probably due to general Oriental influences.

II.

A comparison between the Pergamene frieze and other representations of the gigantomachy, as touching the style of composition and execution, may start with an examination of the two groups¹ of which the central figures are Zeus and Athene,² the deities to whom tradition assigns the most prominent place in the combat. On the one slab Zeus is seen with fallen giants around him, and one enemy still unconquered. Naked down to the waist—for the himation falls down behind from his left shoulder so as to reveal his torso—he stands brandishing the thunderbolt in his right hand, while, as though to gather force for his cast, his body is inclined somewhat over to the right. How far an inherited type of the Zeus Gigantomachus is here presented, we can partly decide by reference to certain Messenian coins³ and a certain bronze from Chalcis: the latter is a small archaic figure striding forward, holding the thunderbolt in his right hand, and in his extended left neither shield nor aegis as it appears, but probably a sceptre. In a Zeus Gigantomachus on the vase of Altamura in the British Museum,

¹ [We owe the engravings of these groups on the opposite page to the courtesy of the proprietors, the Century Company, New York.—Ed.]

² In Aristides (Dindorf, ii. p. 16), she is given the first place in the action,

which is there regarded as a contest between reason and unreason.

³ Cf. also the coin of Antiochus (Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, *Münztafel*, iii. 29).

the leading marks of the type recur: but a glance at the Pergamene frieze tells us at once how the artist has improved upon any conventional standard, for the simpler more naive movement in the earlier type, where the direction of the body is uniform and identical with the direction of the aim, gives place to a far richer composition here, where the body is swung somewhat back, and for the moment arrested before the launch of the thunderbolt. The same finer effect is acquired for the figure of Zeus on the vase of Melos, where he is seen in full front and appears for one moment to be pausing in his hurried forward march, as he hurls down his weapon. His left hand is here grasping the sceptre, but in our frieze is holding out the aegis which usually belongs to Athene in the gigantomachy, and is here for the first time, in any representation of the subject, ascribed to Zeus, and has much to do with the whole action: for it is not only a defence but a weapon of attack—the giant who has sunk down on his knees before the god bears no trace of wound upon him, but his limbs appear rather to be quivering with a spasm, and his left arm is clenched across his chest; moreover his stiffly strained right arm with its swollen veins is wrought so as to suggest cramp and paralysis. Now this can hardly be the ordinary effect of the thunderbolt, of which the working is quite differently given on the giant behind and to the left of Zeus, whose flesh is literally torn and blasted as though with iron and flame. It must rather be due to the petrifying power of the aegis, and another hint of its deadly quality may be seen in one of the motives in the representation on the right. The giant who is there alone carrying on the combat with Zeus is shielding himself with his left arm which a thick shaggy fell envelopes. And in comparing the elevation of this with the level of his eyes, one may believe that he is endeavouring thus to shun the sight of the aegis. With the same effect is it wielded by Athene in Claudian's *Gigantomachy*: as she dashes it into the face of the giant Pallas, his limbs are slowly numbed, and he feels himself already half stone. And what is there read might well have been suggested by what is here seen in the limbs of the giant who is sinking down at the feet of Zeus. The skill with which the stone is made to express this transformation of the flesh is unique, and the motive may have been an original idea of the Pergamene artist;

but the vase of Aristophanes¹ and the vase of Melos suggest the same conception. In the former, the giant whom Athene is attacking seems stiffened in an impassive attitude; and in the latter, she is holding the butt-end of the spear against the shield of her fallen enemy, not, as I venture to suggest, to attack him thus, but to wrest aside the shield that he may have the full view of the deadly gorgoneum. The poise of the aegis on the arm of Zeus in the Pergamene frieze exactly resembles that of the aegis on Athene's arm on the vase of Aristophanes; while in the Pergamene group, where Athene is the central figure, there is no hint given that the gorgoneum is anything more than a badge. It is curious that the later poets are unanimous in assigning the aegis to Athene, while many of them describe its power over the fortunes of the battle with words that remind of Claudian's, and may have been suggested by the Pergamene sculpture. In the *Odes* of Horace² it is the 'sonans Palladis aegis' which stays the rush of the giants; the 'oppositi virginis angues' are the bane of Typhoeus.³ According to Lucan also, it was the Gorgon on the breast of Pallas that turned the giants to mountains of stone, and brought the battle to a close,⁴ and the Greek fragment of the *Gigantomachy* attributed (without good reason) to Claudian has followed the same legend.⁵ In deviating thus from the ordinary tradition, the Pergamene artist has apparently followed his own caprice.

The weapon with which the giant on the right is threatening Zeus is probably a stone, for the muscles of his right side appear to be strained with the heavy weight that his right hand is lifting. And on the Vatican relief, published by Overbeck, (*Atlas*, taf. v.) is a representation which is an obvious imitation of a part of this, a stone is the weapon of a giant whose figure exactly corresponds. A comparison of the original and the copy illustrates well the dramatic skill of the one and the meaninglessness of the other; for while the Pergamene giant is holding out his left arm as a defence, the giant on the Vatican relief is in just the same attitude, but his left arm has neither

¹ Overbeck, *Atlas zu Kunstmythologie*, taf. v. 3 a, b, c.)

² iii. 4, lines 50—64.

³ Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, iv. 238.

⁴ Pharsal. ix. 655.

⁵ Γοργούς δείξε κάρηνον, ὃ δ' ὡς ἴδε,
γυῖα πεδθελς
ἧ φέρεν ἐν παλαμῆσιν ὁμοῖος ἵστατο
πέτρῃ.

shield nor fell, but is holding at full stretch a heavy rock—which is neither a defence nor in that position can be used as a weapon of offence. Yet the Roman copyist had found a high example of his own blunder, not certainly in the Pergamene groups, but in the frieze of the Theseum, where there is the same motive, or lack of real motive, in the attitude and action of the figure whom Theseus, or the combatant known as Theseus, is attacking, and who is threatening his enemy with two stones held in a similar fashion.¹

The giant who is here the opponent of Zeus, is of the wildest type ; but to identify him is neither possible nor even desirable ; for though on many vase representations the giant whom Zeus is overthrowing is specified as Porphyryon, yet this is not invariably the case, nor need the precedent have been binding upon the Pergamene artists, who seem to have abandoned the tradition of single combats. However he is to be named his figure possesses a varied interest, for his serpentine limb reaches to the top of the frieze, where a wing can be seen belonging to an eagle that must be attacking the serpent's head ; and this is a motive that is of frequent occurrence in the Pergamene relief, nor can an exact parallel be found in any existing work of earlier date. The eagle can certainly be found on earlier representations in accord with the tradition that regards him as the ' Jovis armiger ales,' who brings the thunderbolt to the hand of Zeus : in the vase of Altamura the bird is seated on the left arm of the god, facing the countenance of the giant ; but so placed he seems little more than a symbol : and a symbolic or purely heraldic meaning appears to attach to the contest of the owl and falcon on an early vase² where they are seen flying towards each other above the heads of Athene and Enceladus ; but in our frieze for the first time is the eagle represented as the natural enemy of the serpent, not as symbolical and partially inactive, but as seriously and independently engaged in the action.³ The Pergamene sculptors have indeed found precedent in earlier works

¹ The resemblance is striking, whether Müller's theory above mentioned is true or not.

² Gerhard, *Auserles. vasenb.* Pt. i. Pl. vi.

³ Unless put to an energetic use, the serpentine limbs of the giants become

a ludicrous and clumsy trait of the representation, as may be seen on the Vatican sarcophagus (Overbeck, *Kunst. Myth. Atlas*, Pl. ix. a, b, c, taf. v.), with its stiffened symmetrical rows of figures, and on the small reliefs from Aphrodisias in Caria.

for assigning to animals a part in the action, but never had the idea been so energetically and profusely developed through a wonderful interchange of human and animal forms. The eagles of Zeus, the dogs of Artemis and Hekate, the panthers of Dionysos, are all represented with curiously manifold invention, in varying conflict, now with the reptile, now with the human part of the giant. In the presence of these we need not recognise any hint of the tradition mentioned by Apollodorus (1, 6) concerning the transformation of the gods into animals on the occasion of the conflict with Typhoeus, for though a reference more or less direct to such a legend may be found in Horace,¹ Ovid,² and possibly in Claudian,³ yet there is no existing work of art which with any probability⁴ can be said to have expressed it. Here the animals are not only a new interest, but serve also as living attributes telling more clearly the personality of the various gods. Before examining for the same purposes of comparison some of the details of execution and composition, one would wish to know whether the group as it is presented to us on these four slabs is complete in itself, so far as the laws of frieze-work allow completeness, or whether certain other figures must be conceived, not only as contiguous but as intimately concerned in its action?

Once more one must have recourse to earlier representations: on vases, both of the archaic and perfected style, no figure is more commonly found in the gigantomachy than Heracles. Indeed, on one archaic vase published by Overbeck,⁵ he takes a conspicuous lead: for Zeus is just mounting to serve as charioteer of the chariot from which Heracles is launching his arrows. This is an unique instance of such pre-eminence, but the instances in art of his close association with Zeus and his presence in his chariot are common enough even before the days of Euripides, who emphasises the

Διὸς τέθριππα...ἐν οἷς βεβηκῶς τοῖσι Γῆς βλαστήμασι
Γίγασι πλευροῖς πτήν' ἐναρμόσας βέλλη
Τὸν καλλίνικον μετὰ θεῶν ἐκώμασεν.⁶

¹ *Od.* ii. 19, 21.

² *Metam.* v. 326.

³ *Gigantomachy*, 51.

⁴ The coins on which a giant is seen overthrowing a griffin or stag are shown

by Wieseler to bear an entirely different meaning.

⁵ *Atlas zu Kunstmythol.* taf. iv. Pl. 6.

⁶ *Herc. Fur.* 177.

The tradition therefore preserved by Apollodorus and mentioned also by the Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* i. 100, that Heracles is the indispensable mortal whose aid was necessary to the victory of the gods, is probably ancient, and certainly rife in the second century B.C.; thus one will expect to find him on the Pergamene frieze not far from Zeus, not far, that is, from the crisis of the action. Now on the left of this group, just above the shield of the disabled giant, there is an indication of his presence—namely, there is to be seen the skin and nails of a wild beast's paw, which must have belonged to a lion's fell, and from its position one may conclude that it was enveloping the left arm of some combatant. The fell would certainly be appropriate enough to some giant hunter, but if a giant were here, he must have been erect and dangerously threatening Zeus from behind, so that the greatest of the gods at the critical moment of the battle would be waging a contest of very doubtful issue; for, that the supposed enemy is confronting any of the deities on his right side, the position of his left arm, from which the fell must be conceived to hang as a shield, renders improbable. In all likelihood, therefore, one should see here a fellow-combatant of the gods; and in this case the lion's skin speaks decisively for Heracles; for whose presence on any other part of the frieze there is neither the evidence of fact nor of natural appropriateness. A few words are necessary to substantiate this, since in point of fact two attempts have been made to discover the hero in other scenes. Immediately on the right of Group I.¹ where a young god is struggling in the serpentine folds of a giant, is preserved the fragment of a head, a right hand holding a club, of a torso with a lion's skin around it: and Dr. Furtwängler² would recognise Heracles here. But the situation and some of the details are inconsistent with this view, for the form is that of a combatant who is defending himself while still retreating, and the locks of hair that can be seen on the back of the head are the thick matted clusters that belong to the type of the earth-born. Still less tenable is Overbeck's belief, which he expresses without reserve, that the figure who is entangled in the giant's coils is none other than Heracles himself. Undoubtedly the motive of this group is

¹ The letter refers to the arrangement in the Assyrian hall of the Berlin Museum.

² *Archæolog. Zeit.* 1882, p. 162.

reproduced with some exactness in the small Roman work in Wilton House, where the opponent of the giant is certainly Heracles: but that we have no warrant for arguing from the personality of the one to that of the other is shown by the numerous instances of that imitative spirit which borrows a traditional motive and then, to secure a kind of originality, applies it to a different theme. Without quoting others it is sufficient to point to the Vatican relief, already mentioned, where the figure of the giant who is attacking Artemis is in all essential points a replica of the giant who in the Pergamene frieze is withstanding Zeus. But even if the copyist rarely allowed himself such liberty of application, yet it is wholly impossible to believe that the combatant who of all on the side of the Olympians is brought into imminent, almost desperate peril, should be Heracles, he, whom earlier and later tradition represents as the victorious champion of the gods. For him the shield which the combatant bears is unsuitable, the stature altogether too unpretending; and the copyist who wrought the Heracles of Wilton House, while borrowing directly from this group, has been obliged to alter the composition in certain essential points, for he wished to represent a victory of the demi-god, and the prototype he selected was shown on the verge of defeat: while the latter therefore is being lifted from the ground and is vainly trying to secure a footing on the slippery coils of his antagonist, the Heracles is made to stand more firmly and securely, and the upper limbs are less entangled.

Both for positive and negative reasons it seems best, therefore, to assume the presence of Heracles hard by Zeus: and if both are given together one might expect some prophetic allusion to the certainty of victory, as on the gigantomachy on the frieze-relief from Aphrodisias in Caria there is a trophy erected near Zeus with obvious significance. Now there is a slab for which as yet no certain place has been found, showing a chariot drawn along by four winged horses over a huddled mass of dead giants: and near the relief on which Zeus is seen was found a female torso of slim and delicate proportions. That this is Nike and that she was guiding the chariot of Zeus, is supported by the analogy of many vase representations, and if all these slabs can be brought together, the chariot will form a

brilliant feature in the whole central scene, as, in fact, it forms in the vase of Melos, and the havoc that the onset of Zeus has made among the giants will be still more impressively shown. A Zeus Gigantomachus fighting from his car is a picturesque motive which appears on the vase of Ruvo; but here he has descended, his whole form is shown, and the plastic effect is heightened.

As regards the composition it is the multitude of figures brought together that distinguishes this from earlier representations, where the composition as a rule resolves itself into single groups, in accord with the early tradition of single gigantomachies, or perhaps rather with the limitations of archaic art. On the more picturesque vases of the fourth century, one sees some sort of attempt to render the intricacies of a general battle, where masses are ranged against masses. The vase of Melos¹ preserves on the whole the monomachy as the leading motive, yet the whole group, with its profusion of figures, does not altogether break up into pairs of combatants set over-against each other. On the crater from Ruvo, the connection between Artemis and her opponent is somewhat indirect and distant, while the scene depicted on the fragment of the 'ewer,' published by Overbeck, *Atlas*, Pl. V., 8, *a*, shows us the united group of giants acting *en masse*. How the frieze of Priene dealt with the problem, is a question which the surviving fragments are hardly sufficient to answer; but judging from these, and from the character of other battle-reliefs belonging to this date, one must believe that it adhered to the older and simpler method of grouping, which on work of a comparatively small scale would offer interest enough. But more was demanded of the Pergamene sculptor, who must cover some four hundred feet of frieze with incidents of the same action. To rely purely upon the motives of single combats was to run the risk of an intolerable monotony. On the other hand, a condensation of the figures into groups might result in such a lack of interest as the lack one complains of in some parts of the Xanthian frieze. In the Pergamene group of Zeus, as well as in many others, one sees how well the artist has avoided either risk; for

¹ The student of the Pergamene gigantomachy will be often reminded of this vase, on account of its elaborate

detail and varied movement. *Vide* Heydemann, *Gigantomachie auf einer Vase aus Altamura*, p. 15.

he has secured plastic precision and definiteness of intention by strongly marking the two protagonists, and, independently of the use of animal forms, has gained a variety of motive by crowding the basement with dead and dying, and thus providing a subordinate theme, a picturesque background. The god is seen not merely to be striking down his single enemy, but to have overthrown the phalanx of which he formed a part; and among the motives of rhetorical pathos, with which this work is so masterfully endowed, none is in this sense more moving than the forms of vanquished giants lying often with their faces buried in the dust, their hair streaming downwards, and their figures frequently shown by means of a skilful foreshortening. This mode of filling the basement seems to have constituted an epoch of relief-composition, to have formed a style which Roman work was quick to reproduce. On sarcophagi that present the overthrow of the Niobids, on the Vatican sarcophagus of the gigantomachy, the lower ground is filled with figures whose attitudes elaborately express the pathos of death and defeat, and remind vividly of similar groups in the great frieze. In the last quoted Roman work there is this other similarity and this point of difference as compared with the Pergamene: a general gigantomachy is rendered, and no scenes of separate conflicts, but the giants are so banded together as actors in a common cause, that individual interest is lacking.

As regards the technical execution of this group in the Pergamene frieze, there is much that is at once striking and apparently novel. The artist has been able to maintain a very life-like distinction between the different stuffs or materials:¹ the flesh and the drapery, the shaggy folds of the wild beasts' fell upon the giant's arm, the leathery scales of the serpent and the plumes of the eagle above are all minutely characterised; and the facility of half revealing, half concealing organic forms, could never be more effectively shown than in the treatment of the giant's arm on the right, where the great outlines of the limb appear shadowed through the thick wrapping. The same motive less powerfully worked out had been seen

¹ The skill with which the leather wrapping is treated on the boy in the British Museum, who is biting the leg of his comrade, makes for the theory

which the character of the subject and the semi-barbaric forms suggest, that the work belongs to the Pergamene school.

before on the cylix of Aristophanes in the form of the young giant who is sinking down before Artemis and is lifting an arm in supplication. Again, the Pergamene artist seems scarcely to be dealing with a hard material in his execution of the thunder-bolt that has struck down the giant on the left: where the lower part has entered the thigh, the flesh is splintered and torn as though with spikes, while in the upper part the conventional treatment that seems almost inevitable to sculpture seems to have been avoided, and in its working and appearance it is flame and vapour scorching and blasting the arm. One is reminded again of the crater of Ruvo where the flakes and flashes of the fire are seen descending upon the wildest of the giants.

The same power over the distinction of forms noticed already is again seen in the rendering of the muscular system of the gods and the giants, when they are compared simply in regard to the human anatomy. The law of relief-work, the necessity of filling a certain space, made it impossible to express the difference of the two natures in any distinction of stature, and in accord with the old tradition the giants that are human in shape are given merely the heroic proportions. In those exceptional cases of plastic representations, where the gods or the giants appear of diminished size, certain conventional reasons¹ for such a rendering can be given. Here the character of the one set of combatants is expressed more in accord with the spirit of sculpture by a distinct handling of the muscles: and the naked torso of Zeus is illustrative of the limits within which the idea of divine strength was worked out. The forms are indicative of vigorous effort in the very highest degree, but the muscular surface shows rhythmical gradations and a balanced rise and fall. On the other hand, the wild untempered strength of the giant is characteristically rendered by crowding the muscles into a mass so as to produce a striking effect of force without minute articulation, without athletic fineness. And this is also found on vase-representations that are anterior to our present period; on the vase of Melos, for example, and on the cylix of Aristophanes, there appears an attempt to distinguish between the combatants by a distinct muscular treatment: the contrast in the latter scene between Apollo and his opponents

¹ As for instance on the relief from Aphrodisias, *Denkmäler d. a. k.*, 845a, b.

is especially marked. To the Pergamene school must be ascribed the creation of the ideal barbaric type of face and form, and the fine analysis in which Brunn¹ has set forth the traits of the dying Gaul may be with considerable correctness applied to the dying giant of the Attalid group and the giants of the Pergamene frieze, whose likeness to the Gauls in physiognomy has already been remarked by Professor Gardner. The style seems also to have been used for works of art where it was less obviously applicable: the muscles and veins on the torso of the Heracles Farnese are treated in noticeable accord with this Pergamene canon that is applied to the giants, and the resemblance is all the more natural inasmuch as the motive of the figure had already been presented on a slab of the smaller Pergamene frieze, where Heracles is seen resting on his club and lion's skin, and contemplating the infant Telephus.

The group that alone can be compared with the group of Zeus for richness of detail, skilful execution, and dignity of action, is that on which the achievements of Athene are depicted. Unlike the former it represents not so much the battle itself as the moment following the battle, and the two opposite motives of triumph and pathos. Armed with shield and helmet, and with the aegis drawn obliquely, as is common in later works, across her breast, Athene is moving rapidly to the right, while her left hand is violently grasping a fallen youthful giant by the hair: he has sunk helplessly upon his knee, and the serpent of Athene is inflicting a deadly wound upon his breast. On the left is a winged Nike flying swiftly to crown Athene, for this must be the motive of her extended right arm. Below emerges a figure whom the inscription on the right and the horn of plenty by her side mark as the mother of the giants, who rises from the earth to plead with Athene for her children. The action of Nike as well as the movement of the giant himself attest that the struggle is over: for it is clear from the representation that the hand with which he tries to free himself from Athene's grasp has lost all power, the fingers seeming to close upon the flesh without pressure. As the serpent's fang is just entering his breast, and there is otherwise no trace of a wound upon him, the nature of the force that has overthrown him may seem doubtful, and it

¹ Brunn's *Künstler-Geschichte, Die Kunst von Pergamon*, s. 445.

might suggest itself that the gorgoneum on the breast of Athene has worked the same effect here as the aegis on the arm of Zeus, so that the stiffened and powerless left arm might be thus explained. Now on the earlier black-figured vases this emblem is never seen on the aegis—on the vase of Altamura it is there, but her weapon is still the spear; and while in the vase of the Louvre there may be a hint, as I have suggested, of that use of the aegis in Athene's gigantomachy which the Latin poets have so emphasised,¹ and though the tradition may have been rife before the Pergamene period, yet the artist of this group can hardly have followed it. Otherwise, the aegis and gorgoneum would surely have been brought into greater prominence, not as it were introduced parenthetically: and the face of the dying giant is so wrought that one cannot have been required to imagine that at that moment a frozen insensibility was creeping over it. It fits better with the rest of her equipment to suppose that the spear has been her weapon, as on the greater number of representations it is: and that she has thrown this away now that her victory has been secured over the company of giants opposed to her. For this, like the Zeus group, is no scene of single combat; the basis of the frieze is heaped with the dead and dying: the enemies she has overthrown seem on the whole of human form,² and two at least are armed with the Homeric cuirass, namely, the one on the left who is lying stretched out on his back sideways along the base, and the giant on the right who is burying his head upon his arms. On the other hand the Latin poets, such as Lucan and Claudian, who recount the power of her aegis in the battle, are fond of confronting her with the serpent-footed: and the small relief on the handle of an amphora from Ruvo,³ now in St. Petersburg, which repeats the central motive of this group, shows Athene standing on the coils of her enemy. When one examines the composition, one discovers that

¹ Cf. Claudian's *Gigantomachy*, lines 91—93—

Tritonia Virgo
Prosilit, ostendens rutila eum Gorgone
pectus :
Aspectu contenta suo, non utitur hasta.

² Corresponding with the figure of the winged giant whom Athene is dragging down, there might seem to have

been another of like form on the right if the fragment of a wing has to be thus interpreted; but its texture seems to be hardly that of a giant's or an eagle's wing; might it belong to the winged horses that are drawing the chariot of Athene Hippias?

³ Overbeck, *Atlas*, Pl. iv. 7 a, b.

many of its chief motives are rooted in an inherited plastic tradition, however original the system and application may be. The figure and action of the goddess cannot indeed be paralleled in other representations of Athene Gigantomachus; there is, in fact, as much or more difference between this and the early type as between the Zeus of the Pergamene and the Zeus of the early representations of this action. On many of the black-figured vases, on vases of the style of the fifth century, such as the vase of Altamura, on the cylix of Aristophanes, her form is in essential points the same with that of the Herculaneum-Athene whose movement is free of all complication; for she is striding with an uniform motion forward, extending her aegis on her left arm and brandishing her spear in her right. An altogether different arrangement appears on the crater of Ruvo, and the amphora of the Louvre, whereon the moving form shows a far greater complication of lines. Yet neither the earlier nor these later types at all resemble what we see on the Pergamene frieze: here the form is simpler and grander than the later, and far more varied and effective than the earlier, and the distinction is based on a difference of idea, as the difference between the goddess in combat as she there appeared, and the goddess whose triumph is beginning, as here.

The nearest parallel that any plastic work presents belongs to a wholly distinct cycle of mythic representations; the two figures of Athene and Nike appear together on the Roman puteal of Madrid which Schneider¹ has published, and exhibit a striking resemblance, which Petersen has pointed out, to the pair on the frieze. It is the moment after Athene's birth which is there given, when the goddess wearing helm, aegis, and shield, is moving rapidly away to the right followed by her familiar Nike who flies to lift a crown to her head. That this type should have been borrowed for the gigantomachy is no unnatural derivation, if the legend preserved in Sidonius Apollinaris,² which connects Athene's birth with the battle, has come down from earlier sources than the Roman. The tale is plainly allegorical, whether it expresses a physical or psychic allegory, and is therefore well in accord with the style of Alexandrine

¹ Vide *Die Geburt der Athene*, Wien Fleckeisen, *Jahrbuch für Philologie*, 1881, s. 486.

² Sid. Ap. Carm. vi.—
Diva Gigantei fudit quam tempore belli
Armatus partus vertice dividuo.

tradition. Yet the Pergamene artist has markedly improved upon that which he has borrowed, if indeed he has borrowed from the type of which the Madrid puteal is a later reproduction. For the frieze shows us the movement of Athene balanced and checked by that of Nike, so that there is, so to speak, a thesis and antithesis ; in the figures on the puteal there is merely a repetition of one and the same movement.

A goddess dragging back the head of her enemy is a motive of frequent occurrence in the frieze, and though applied on this slab with more effectiveness than is elsewhere gained, is yet an arrangement of the figures that had long become traditional in plastic art. The opportunity for fine balance that it gives had commended it to the artists of the Phigaleian frieze, and it belongs to an earlier date still, if the work on the peplos of the Dresden Athene, whereon it also appears, is an accurate reproduction of an archaic type.¹ But it does not seem to have been borrowed for the representation of Athene Gigantomachos except by the Pergamene artists, by those who were approximately contemporary, and those who were later and possibly influenced by their tradition. I have already noticed the relief on the handle of the amphora from Ruvo ;² the Pergamene motive is there, and again in a rude but unmistakable form on an Etruscan mirror.³ The part that Athene's serpent is here taking in the action is not assigned to it, as far as I have been able to discover, in any early work of the gigantomachy ; but on a vase showing the style of the fifth century, where Dionysos is attacking a giant, the serpent is aiding the god, as it is here fighting for the goddess ; and on the other handle of the same amphora from Ruvo is a giant around whose limbs a serpent is coiled that cannot belong to his own form, but must be the familiar animal of Athene. Perhaps the greatest importance of this part of Athene's group lies in this, that it has given the cue to the main motive of the Laocoon. One other point of resemblance between the Pergamene and great Rhodian work I wish soon to indicate, after considering one last and obvious link of connection between the Pergamene and other renderings of the same

¹ Henceforth it seems to have been very commonly used for scenes of the gigantomachy ; as it is probably to be found in the frieze of Priene, once on

the crater of Ruvo, and more than once on the Louvre vase.

² Overbeck, *Atlas*, Pl. v. 7 b.

³ Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, lxvii.

theme. And this is the figure of Gaea, whose presence in the gigantomachy is conspicuous in the art that belongs to the end of the fourth, and to the beginning of the third century. On the vase of the Louvre she is not found, but on the cylix of Aristophanes, and on the fragment of the ewer, she is seen emerging from the earth, more completely revealed in the first than in the second, there pleading, here encouraging, her sons. In the later representations, where the part that physical symbolism plays in the whole tradition becomes more and more prominent, her figure belongs naturally to the story, and to the story as told not only by art, but by the Latin poets, and perhaps she was to be recognised in the picture described by Philostratus—where her presence would be an expression of the same thought as that which has given her a place at the scene of the sufferings of Prometheus on a relief of a sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum.

The group of Athene is also interesting for the physiognomy it shows, for the face of the dying giant is most characteristic of the whole type, as regards the treatment of features. The long waving hair, falling down the cheeks and swaying above the forehead in loose thick clusters, is essential to this peculiar barbaric ideal, and serves as the best mark of identity for many remains of otherwise doubtful meaning. Such hair on the head of the so-called 'dying Alexander' is a certain sign, and fragments of the same character on the Athenian torso published and described in the *Mittheilungen des deutschen Instituts* (Pl. viii. 1880), strengthen the belief which the treatment of the flesh suggests, that we have here to do with work that belongs to the same theme and the same style as the Pergamene frieze; that these are giants such as Apollodorus (i. 6) describes, *καθειμένοι βαθειάν κόμην ἐκ κεφαλῆς καὶ γενείων*. This trait seems common to all the heads, but the faces, though akin in the leading features, are in a marked degree distinguished according to age and the circumstances of the action: the corrugated forehead with a strong bar across the centre, the deep eye-sockets, the lines about the nose and mouth, the high full curve of the lips, the depression in the chin under the mouth, the tall throat firm yet slim, these are characteristics of the younger giants, and many of the elder, and in their total effect produce a set of features that may be called relaxed or undisciplined, mobile in

the highest degree, because the deep shadows that rest upon them add much to the expression, now of rhetorical pathos, now of fierceness. To the situation and character of the youthful form whom Athene is overthrowing, a countenance moulded with Peloponnesian style and severity would of course be inappropriate, yet, while wrought more expressively than some, the face is firmer and more under control than others, in fact stands midway between that of the young serpent-footed giant (placed under slab *A* in the Assyrian Hall near to the combat of Hekate and her following), whose face is, so to speak, broken up and confused with a distorting sentiment of ferocity, and on the other hand such countenances as the so-called Orion's, whose features are sternly controlled so as to hint rather than express the passionate nature, or as that of the giant who has sunk down beneath the sea-Triton, and who seems too near the point of death to express in his face more than a subdued and quiet sorrow. These seem to be the three types of features found in the younger giants, which can be easily brought under a common genus. Distinct from these are those of the elder, which, again, as far as I have been able to judge, offer three distinctions. Nearest to the younger type, and a development of this, are the features of the double-formed giant whom Hekate is attacking. In spite of the wild expression of hair and overhanging eyebrows, there is some nobility remaining here, and a certain melancholy which has reminded of Poseidon. On others, again, one sees the lower traits more developed, and animal features are mixed with the human, so that ethical expression is no longer attempted, but the artist has sought to display his skill in fusing the two natures, to produce a type which may be called the brutalised human ; but the animalism becomes more and more prominent until the form is simplified, and the type is merely brutal. Now, though the countenance of the giants is thus worked out by the Pergamene School with an unique variety of forms, yet in this as in so many other cases they are carrying out tendencies that had been found in earlier art. On the vase of the Louvre, on the cylix of Aristophanes, on the vase of Ruvo, on the fragment of the ewer, the giants are characterised with the long hair, the protuberance on the forehead, and, as far as I can judge from the drawings, with the deep eye-sockets ; and where Ge appears she bears in her countenance

the marks of affinity with her kindred, as may be noticed even in the mutilated Pergamene fragment; and on the crater of Ruvo we have the distinction brought out with some plainness between the older and younger forms; while on the whole the countenances of the giants on most of the vases are rounder than on the frieze. Now many of these features belong to the pathetic and excited style that marks so many of the faces in Alexandrine art, and this singular forehead may have been a mannerism of the Pergamene School, for it appears on the smaller slab in quite different themes. Yet the type of the giant head is a distinct creation, and the frieze, where far more powerful characterisation is found than in the dead giant of the Attalid group, is the culminating point in this creative process. In the later Roman representations of the gigantomachy, on the fragment of the frieze in the Vatican, and on the sarcophagus, the features are stereotyped into a conventional expression of ferocity, meaningless, and lacking distinction. In the giant of Wilton House a few old forms are preserved as it were in petrefaction.

There are two other works of art which demand special mention in this connection. In the *Archaeologische Zeitung* (p. 162, 1880) a short criticism of the so-called dying Alexander's head has been given by Blümner, who draws the indisputable conclusion that the work is Pergamene, and represents a dying giant; and Overbeck in his *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, ii. 112, goes so far as dogmatically to pronounce it a fragment of the altar-frieze itself. But this view is altogether untenable, not only because the head is on a larger scale than any that are seen on the frieze, but because there are no marks on it to show that it was ever attached to a background. If then it came from the frieze, it must have been altogether disengaged, and there are no heads yet discovered which are so treated. Nor is there any countenance on the frieze which does not differ from this in some essential points, and its likeness to the head of the giant who has been overthrown beneath the sea-Triton has been perhaps exaggerated; the pose of the neck is more restless and constrained in the Florentine work than in the latter, the throat is fuller and less firm, and while both show the characteristic treatment of the hair, the eyes, and mouth, yet there is much difference in the two expressions; for in the face of the giant

there is less contorted agony, less of the yearning for life, and the suffering is more subdued, so that there is pathos without weakness, and in accord with this difference of feeling the face is less marked with lines and depressions.

Another head that should be brought into the present comparison is the head of Laocoon, which while differing in many important respects from the Pergamene giant-type, has one marked point of resemblance : to serve the purposes of expression, the artist has so emphasised the fleshy parts of the face that the permanent bone-structure is hardly seen, and we may say of this as of many faces on the frieze, that the organism of the countenance, so to speak, is relaxed with pain. And this identity of treatment in the Rhodian and in some of the Pergamene work accords well with the resemblance which is obvious at first glance—and would be still closer if, according to the right theory of restoration, Laocoon's arm were placed over his head—between this *tour de force* of the Rhodian rhetorical plastic and the young giant encompassed by the serpent in the Pergamene group of Athene.

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(*To be continued.*)