APOLLO SEATED ON THE OMPHALOS:

A STATUE AT ALEXANDRIA.[1]

(PLATE IV)

§ 1.—This small statue of Apollo (Plate IV, *a*) now in the Museum at Alexandria, is worthy of remark not only from the excellence of the style, but also from the rare occurrence in sculpture of Apollo represented as seated on the Omphalos. In fact so far as I know there is no other statue in the round shewing Apollo so seated.

The provenance of this statue is not definitely known. It was bought in Alexandria in 1892, and may perhaps have been found somewhere in the neighbourhood of that city. Dr. Botti in his catalogue of the Museum says[2]:—'Elle peut appartenir à l'époque hellénistique.' In my opinion there is no doubt that it dates from the Hellenistic period.

It is of ordinary white marble, and in its present condition is about 48 metre high. It has suffered considerable damage. The god is headless,

[1] For permission to publish this statue I am indebted to M. Dutilh, Assistant-Director of the Alexandria Museum. The photograph reproduced in the plate is the one published by the Museum. I should like to acknowledge here how much I owe to Dr. Botti, whose recent death is a very severe loss to Alexandrian Archaeology. It would be hard to say how much I have profited by his generous assistance and advice during my work in Alexandria. My friend, Mr. E. S. Forster, has most kindly allowed me to use and publish his own conclusions about the connection of the Dresden Aphrodite group and the Berlin Triton, which he was the first to demonstrate. I have to thank Dr. Herrmann for the photograph of the former; and Prof. Kekulé and Dr. Watzinger for leave to publish the latter. I also owe much to the very great kindness of Mr. Bosanquet, and Mr. Stuart-Jones, Directors of the British Schools at Athens and Rome, both of whom have read this paper in proof; and to Mr. Cecil Smith as regards the illustrations, especially those of the coins in the British Museum.

[2] Botti, *Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie*, Salle 2, No. 9.

and has also lost his left hand and his right arm. Both feet too are broken off; and the original base is missing. Of the lost parts, however, the head and left hand were made separately and set on, as also the right arm which was probably raised; a dowel hole is distinctly visible in the drapery on the right thigh. Apollo is represented as semi-nude: he is draped merely in an ample himation which is thrown round the legs and lower part of the body, and over the left arm just below the elbow. As the left arm rests on the thigh there is no unnatural spreading of the folds. The god sits upright in an easy position and faces straight forward; the legs are in a most natural attitude. The right foot was drawn back to rest against the omphalos, while the left was advanced a little and placed rather in front of the other. The forms of the body are all well modelled, and the anatomy is good. The treatment is perhaps a trifle soft, but as regards the muscular development, there is just the necessary amount of exaggeration to shew the superhuman character of the person represented; and the texture of the surface is sufficiently natural. Further the handling of the drapery is masterly: the cross rhythm obtained by the position of the legs is good, and the natural treatment of the folds on the left leg and thigh well deserves attention, especially in the contrast between the loose deep folds hanging below the knee and the shallow compact creases that fall across the thigh. The omphalos itself is a plain truncated cone about ·22 metre high and calls for no special remark. The statue is full of charm and seems to suggest by a certain restraint of execution that it is a reduced copy, probably of a bronze. All the finer gradations of modelling are absent. The date of the original might reasonably be placed in the third century.

Several questions naturally arise out of the description of this statue. The origin of the type has to be considered, and its occurrence in Egypt: and the provenance and derivation of any similar representations of Apollo in Greek Art. Lastly I propose to examine the details of style which have led me to assign it to the third century B.C.

§ 2.—Similar Types on Reliefs and Painted Vases.

There is no other free statue representing Apollo seated on the Omphalos. But there are several reliefs which shew him so seated.

(1) Votive relief in the National Museum, Athens (No. 1388 v. Sybel 4017).

In the centre Apollo (?) is seated to the right on a netted omphalos, but he is turned round rather clumsily to the left, so that the body is almost full face: he is semi-nude; the left arm wrapped in the drapery rests on the thigh, while the right arm is upraised and held some object. The face is much damaged, and perhaps was bearded. The limbs are long and slender. On his right stands a male, and on his left a female worshipper or god. The general style is that of the fourth century, especially as regards the handling of the drapery which is carelessly executed with little feeling for the limbs beneath.[1]

(2) Votive relief at Ikaria, Attica. (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1889, p. 473, Pl. XI. 1.)

On this slab, the right hand side of which is broken away, Apollo is seen seated to the right on the omphalos, and playing the lyre, which he holds in his left hand, with his right. He is clad in a long himation, which leaves the right arm and shoulder bare. The position of the feet cannot be seen, and the features are destroyed. The omphalos is a plain truncated cone. Behind the god stand two female figures, presumably Artemis and Leto. The relief seems to date from the fourth century.

(3) Votive relief, also at Ikaria (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1889, p. 471, No. xi. Pl. XI. 3.).

In the centre is Apollo seated to the right on the omphalos, and draped in an ample himation, so arranged as to leave the right breast and shoulder bare. The treatment of the head, especially of the hair, shows clear traces of archaism. The right hand holds out a patera, while the left holds up a lustration branch. The left foot is drawn back against the omphalos, while the right is advanced across the other foot. Before Apollo is an altar, in front of which stands the worshipper. Behind Apollo stands Artemis clad in a long chiton with the diploïs: she is easily identified by the quiver on her shoulder. The omphalos is plain, but plentiful traces of red colouring are still visible. Mr. Buck assigns no date to this relief, which apparently is a local production of the fourth century.

(4) Votive relief in the British Museum. (*Cat. Sculpture* i. No. 776. Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.*, *Atlas* xxi. 8.)

On the right is Apollo, draped as on the two previous reliefs, seated on the omphalos to the left. The right arm which apparently holds the lustration branch[2] is upraised, while the left lies on the lap. The right foot is drawn back against the omphalos, while the left is advanced across it. The hair is long and curly, falling down the neck. The face is expressionless and commonplace. The omphalos is a plain conical stone. Before Apollo stand two female figures represented in full face: they are apparently Artemis and Leto. The latter holds the offering, a box of incense. On the left is the worshipper, a man with his two sons behind

[1] Miss Welsh, who has been kind enough to re-examine this relief for me, writes that the 'worshippers' from their size must be gods. 'Apollo' is certainly bearded: and the provenance points to the Asklepieion: the omphalos is possibly a rock. Other deities besides Apollo sit on the omphalos; probably the deity here is Asklepios: and the relief may date from the late fifth century. v. Reisch, *Festschrift f. Bennaorf*, p. 140; Furtwängler, *Ath. Mitt.* 1878, p. 186, 1; Duhn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, p. 162.

[2] Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.*, 3, p. 284, calls it a sceptre, v. *Museum Marbles*, ii. 5, where it is also suggested that it is a sceptre or a torch.

him, all dressed in Roman military costume. The relief seems to belong to the first century A.D.: the poor execution being characteristic of the period, and the good design due to the conservatism of religion.

(5) Relief at Vienna (*Antiken-Sammlung*, Room XI. No. 154) from Modena, 65 m. × ·49 m.[1]

On the extreme left on a square plinth stands a circular altar decorated with the usual bucrania and garland pattern. A fire burns on it. On the right is a netted omphalos rather flat in outline. On it sits Apollo to the left. He is semi-nude, wearing only a himation, which rests on his left shoulder, falls down the back and over the legs. The right hand and arm are not visible. The left elbow rests on the head of a bearded, ithyphallic herm which stands behind the omphalos. Apollo leans over backwards to that side in an easy attitude. The head looks down in a manner that suggests deep thought; but the face is commonplace, of the usual late type, with high fat cheeks, a drooping mouth, and deepset eyes. The hair is parted in the centre and filleted; it streams down the back of the neck in long locks, some of which stray over the shoulders. The general design is not bad, and the execution is facile, but spiritless. It is undoubtedly Graeco-Roman work of about the second century A.D., and probably a modification of an earlier type.

Further there is a small terracotta from Taman, which represents Apollo in conjunction with the omphalos.[2] But the god is not seated on it: he sits on a tall square plinth, and uses the omphalos, which is quite plain, as a footstool. In this respect the terracotta is similar to two marble statues, one in the Villa Albani,[3] and the other at Naples,[4] where the omphalos, in both cases completely covered with fillets, is used as a footstool.

Two red-figure vases show a personage seated on the omphalos. On the first vase, at Naples,[5] Apollo is clearly the deity intended, since the subject is the coming of the suppliant Orestes to Delphi. The god sits on a fillet-covered omphalos to the left; he is semi-nude, having an himation wrapped round his legs only; in his left hand he holds the lyre, and in his right the laurel branch. Both arms are raised, and entirely free from the drapery: otherwise the position, especially of the legs, is like that of the Alexandria Apollo.

On the other vase, once in the Castellani collection,[6] is shewn a fully draped male divinity, seated to the right on a plain omphalos; he holds a thyrsus in his left hand, while the right hangs loose at his side. This figure is clearly intended to represent Dionysus, and so the vase can be disregarded as useless for the present subject.

§ 3.—SIMILAR TYPES ON COINS: THE APOLLO OF THE SELEUCIDAE.

A certain number of states used as a coin-type the figure of Apollo seated on the omphalos. These fall into two classes, autonomous and regal.

[1] v. Cavedoni, *Marmi Modenesi*, p. 192, Pl. I. Von Sacken, *Die Antiken Skulpturen in Wien*, Pl. 18, p. 38.

[2] *Comptes Rendus*, 1870–71, ii. 3, p. 164.

[3] Clarac, Pl. 486 B, 737 a.

[4] Clarac, Pl. 485 and 486 A, 937.

[5] Heydemann, *Naples Vase Cat.*, No. 1984. Baumeister, p. 1110, Fig. 1307.

[6] Now in Lyons, *Journ. Int. Arch. Num.*, 1901, Pl. 13, 2.

A. *Autonomous.*

(1) CHERSONNESUS in Crete. Apollo to right; holds lyre and plectrum; filleted omphalos; figure nude. *B. M. Cat. Crete*, Pl. IV. 1.
Æ. *circa* 350–300 B.C.

(2) DELPHI. Apollo to left; holds lyre and long laurel branch; filleted omphalos; clad in long, sleeved chiton. *B. M. Cat. Central Greece*, Pl. IV. 13.
Æ. *circa* 346 B.C.

(3) CYZICUS. Apollo to right; holds lyre and patera; semi-nude; netted omphalos. *B. M. Cat. Mysia*, Pl. IX. 13. Æ. *circa* 330–280 B.C.

(4) CHALCEDON. Apollo to right; holds bow and arrow; netted omphalos; figure nude. *B. M. Cat. Pontus, etc.*, Pl. XXVII. 12 and 13.
Æ. *circa* 280–270 B.C.

(5) ELEUTHERNA, Crete. Apollo to left; nude; omphalos netted, by it lyre; holds stone; wears bow and quiver. *B. M. Cat. Crete*, Pl. VIII. 13.
Æ. Date 300–200 B.C.

(6) RHEGIUM. Apollo to left; holds bow and arrow; figure nude. *B. M. Cat. Italy*, p. 380, No. 83. Æ. *circa* 203–89 B.C.

(7) SINOPE. Apollo to right; holds lyre and plectrum; nude; netted omphalos. Overbeck, *Kunstmyth. III., Münztafel III.*, 37.
Æ. 189–183 B.C.

B. *Regal.*

(1) Nikokles of PAPHOS. Apollo to left; holds bow and arrow; netted omphalos. Mionnet, *Suppl.* vii. 310. Æ. 320–310 B.C.

(2) Seleucid kings. The type of Apollo on the omphalos may almost be said to be the family badge[1] of the Seleucids: it will be seen that it was adopted by the usurper Alexander I. (who claimed to be a son of Antiochus IV.), and his son Antiochus VI. It was used as a coin-type of the following kings, Seleucus I. (Æ. only), Antiochus I., Antiochus II., Antiochus Hierax (?),[2] Seleucus III., Antiochus III., Seleucus IV., Antiochus IV., Antiochus V., Demetrius I., Alexander I., Antiochus VI., Demetrius II. Naturally the type varies considerably, but the main feature is the same:—the god sits to the left on a netted omphalos, holding out in his right hand an arrow (occasionally two or three[3]) and in his left a bow, the end of which rests on the ground either at his side or behind him. Other noticeable variations are the following:—

Antiochus I. Æ. God to right; playing lyre; semi-nude; tripod behind.
B. M. C., III. 12.
Æ. God to left; holds arrow and lyre; semi-nude.
B. M. C., IV. 16.

Seleucus III. God to left; holds bow only; semi-nude; tripod behind.
B. M. C., VII. 7.

[1] v. Bevan, *House of Seleucus* i. 121, 265.

[2] His elder brother and rival, Seleucus II., never used this type, but Apollo standing by a tripod. It seems remarkable that the rightful king should never have used the great Seleucid type.

[3] *B. M. Cat. Seleucids*, iii. 3 and 6.

Antiochus II. God to left; holds bow only; nude.
B. M. C., V. 3.
Antiochus Hierax (?). Similar to last, but semi-nude.[1]
B. M. C., VII. 1.

Rarely is the god given boots[2]; sometimes[3] the himation serves as a kind of cushion on top of the omphalos, and the god is nude; sometimes one end falls across the thighs. Naturally, too, the attitude differs, Apollo may sit upright, he may also lean forward or loll backwards. Correspondingly the figure is sturdy and muscular, soft and effeminate, or in the latest coins only, entirely without any sense of true proportion.

This completes the list of extant types of Apollo on the omphalos. Nothing of any value for the present question can be drawn either from the vase-paintings or the reliefs, none of which date from the period to which the Apollo is presumed to belong. Statue-types occur but rarely on vase-paintings and reliefs. On the other hand, well-known statues were frequently represented on coins. Among the coins enumerated above, the most striking likeness is shewn by the types of Chalcedon, Rhegium, and Sinope, that used by Nikokles[4] and that of the Seleucid dynasty.

The continued appearance of this type on the coinage of this dynasty from the reign of Seleucus I to that of Demetrius II is in itself evidence that it was borrowed from a well-known statue. Perhaps such a statue existed at Antioch representing Apollo as *θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενος*.[5] The resemblance of the coin-type to the Alexandria statue is remarkable. The position of the legs is the same throughout the series. The drapery on the tetradrachm attributed to Antiochus Hierax mentioned above, shews exactly the same feeling for texture and rhythm, and frequent analogies for the treatment of the nude torso of the statue can be found amongst the tetradrachms issued by Antiochus II.[6] and Antiochus III. It is the same youthful and muscular torso, well-developed, and beautiful to look on, but untrained and out of condition.

[1] It was probably a coin similar to one of these that influenced the Parthian type of Arsaces on the Omphalos who holds a bow only (*v.* Babélon, *Rois de Syrie*, Pl. LXIII.). The type however was not used till the time of Mithradates II. 123–88 B.C., *v.* Wroth, *B. M. Cat. Parthia*, Pl. LXVII. *seqq.*

[2] Macdonald, *J.H.S.*, 1903, p. 105, Pl. I., 4 and 5.

[3] v. the Plates in the *B. M. Cat.* or in Babélon, *op. cit.*

[4] **Γῆς ὀμφαλὸς ἡ Πάφος καὶ Δελφοί**, Hesych. *s.v.* This explains the type as regards Paphos. C. O. Müller, *Antiquitates Antiochenae*, p. 58 (Göttingen, 1839).

[5] Plato, *Rep.* iv., 427.

[6] On the coins of this king, however, there is less softness.

The idea of superhuman power is given in both by a certain exaggeration. Perhaps it is better and more true if put the other way round. In both cases, in the statue and in the coin-type, the god is represented naturally enough as a powerful youth, sufficiently human in appearance; but to prevent the godhead being hidden by the manhood, the human form is exaggerated. That is to say, the strength of the man, his muscles, are consciously and purposely made superhuman. The same process was gone through by the creator of the Farnese Heracles; the artist made the god in the image of an improved man. This is the first step. Then there is a desire to make the superhuman god more manlike, and this is done—not by decreasing the muscular exaggeration, for that would weaken him—but by adding fat to fill up the hollows between the great muscles and to make the forms round and smooth.[1] This is the stage represented by the Seleucid coins mentioned and the Apollo under discussion. The two essentials of godhead, strength and beauty, the one suggesting the power to punish and protect, the other the divine attribute of mercy in all its aspects, are fully realised by the qualities of this style and type.

There is one difficulty in connecting our Apollo of Alexandria with the Seleucid type. In nearly every case[2] the Seleucid Apollo wears his hair in a somewhat archaic fashion. It is bound by a fillet, and fastened in a knob at the back; thence three long plaits hang down, one over each shoulder and one down the back. The hair of the Alexandria Apollo was never so arranged; there is no trace whatever of plaits either on the shoulders or the back. Still, if it be admitted that this Apollo is probably a reduced copy of a bronze original, there is no difficulty in supposing that such details were altered by the copyist, especially if he copied a cult statue some years after it was set up.

§ 4.—THE CULT AND THE STATUES OF APOLLO AT ANTIOCH.

Apollo was the patron divinity of the Seleucids. Seleucus I. was said to be his son,[3] and constant references were made[4] to the divine ancestry

[1] I have already referred to this in discussing the deification of the Philetaerus type. *v. Journ. Int. Arch. Num.*, 1903, p. 146. I have since had an opportunity of examining the British Museum gem there discussed: unfortunately there is no doubt that it is a forgery.

[2] For exceptions see the two coins of Antiochus II., *B.M.C.* v., 1 and 2.

[3] Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, i. 121. 1.

[4] Bevan, *op. cit.* ii. 275.

of the house. At Seleucia in Pieria there was a cult of Antiochus I. as Ἀντίοχος Ἀπόλλων Σωτήρ;[1] the divine ancestor and the deified royal descendant were blended. At Daphne, the traditional scene of the metamorphosis of the fugitive maiden, where the laurel into which she was changed was still shewn,[2] there was a sacred grove of Apollo. It was here that Seleucus, when he founded Antioch, built a shrine to adorn which he sent for Bryaxis to make a great cult statue of the god. Of this cult statue a description is extant: it represented the god standing, of wondrous beauty, clad in a long chiton and playing the lyre.[3] This is only one side of the god's power. There was also an oracle at Daphne,[4] and with this an omphalos may have been connected. Here by the oracle it is possible that another cult image was set up shewing the god seated on the omphalos. But in Antioch itself there was a spot called ὁ ὀμφαλός[5] where stood an inscribed omphalos: this naturally enough was the square at the intersection of the two great streets of the city. For Antioch, like Alexandria and the other famous cities founded at this time, was regularly laid out with a series of small streets parallel to one or other of the two great arteries that ran through the city from end to end at right angles to each other. This square then was in all likelihood, as Müller argues, most appropriately decorated with a statue of Apollo seated on the omphalos,[6] probably in bronze. Müller refers to the type of the coins, and suggests that it was copied from a statue that stood in the centre of the city. Also he notes that the attitude of the right hand of the god on the coins bears a strong resemblance to that of the well-known Tyche of Antioch.[7] It is

[1] *C.I.G.* 4458. Bevan, *J.H.S.* 1900, p. 27.

[2] Müller, *Antiq. Antioch.* p. 43.

[3] See the passages in Overbeck, *S.Q.*, 1321 *seqq.*

[4] Nonnus, *Narr. ad Greg. Inv.* ii. 14, p. 165 περὶ Κασταλίας. Πηγὴ ἦν ἐν Δάφνῃ τῇ κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν ἐν ᾗ λέγεται τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα παρεδρεύειν καὶ μαντείας καὶ χρησμοὺς τοῖς ἐρχομένοις περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ λέγεσθαι.

[5] Malal. p. 233, Lib. xi. 340, 4 and 14. There is a topographical difficulty as regards the omphalos. It is argued that there could have been no omphalos till Antiochus IV. built Epiphania, and added the fourth portion to the city, for it is certain that Antioch was a tetrapolis. Förster says the omphalos mentioned was that of Epiphania. Babélon (*Rois de Syrie*, p. lxvi.) assumes an omphalos in the centre of the tetrapolis, each city being separately walled. Erdmann (*Kunde d. hell. Städtegrund*, p. 23) imagines that the later additions merely completed the original plan of Seleucus I. Müller assumes from the coin-type that there was originally a spot called ὁ ὀμφαλός. The whole topography of the city is unknown. Conjectures from the texts are unprofitable: excavation is the only remedy. For references, etc., see Förster, *Jahrbuch*, 1897, and Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.*

[6] *Antiq. Antioch.* pp. 49, 57, 58, 60. *Dict. Gk. and Rom. Geog.* p. 143.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 43. The Tyche in the Vatican (Helbig. 382) is also a reduced copy of a bronze. v. *B. M. Cat. Seleucids*, Pl. 27, 5–8 and Babélon, *Les rois de Syrie*, 29, 8–12.

reasonable to suppose that the hand of the Alexandrian Apollo was held in a similar position. At all events the position and tension of the muscles of the right shoulder seem to make it evident. If such a statue existed, which is extremely likely, it must be looked on as the archetype of the Alexandrian statue and the Apollo of the Seleucid coins. But how is it to be restored? I am inclined to think that neither the coins nor the Alexandria statue give the exact type, but that a compromise must be made between the two. Personally I believe it was very similar to the reverse type of a very striking coin of Antiochus I.[1] The god sat upright on a netted omphalos holding in his right hand some arrows[2] and in his left against the omphalos a bow. His hair would be worn as illustrated on the coins. In the unimportant details of the hair and the fillet-net on the omphalos[3] the artist of the Alexandria statue did not follow the original. On the other hand this statue gives the drapery correctly, and the god was semi-nude as on a few coins; so the nudity of the great majority of the coins is due to the diecutters' dislike to reproducing such drapery on a small scale. It would appear clumsy and awkward, as in the Zeus type of the tetradrachms of Alexander the Great. Müller further believed that this statue was set up by Antiochus I.[4]: true the type of Apollo on the Omphalos appears on some coins of Seleucus I., but only on copper. It is Antiochus I. who adopts the type as the arms of the Seleucid house. So indeed it is more than probable that if such a statue existed it was set up by Antiochus I., though his father adorned the city he founded with many statues.[5] Then such a statue should shew the exaggerated human form necessary to represent a deity in accordance with the spirit of that time.

[1] *B. M. Cat.*, iii. 3.

[2] For a good suggestion as to the meaning of the bow and arrows see Müller, *op. cit.* p. 43, where however in a note he says he believes the arrow pointed to the ground indicates that the god's anger is appeased.

[3] The fillet-net might have been rendered by painting.

[4] *Loc. cit.* of course the difficulty of the omphalos must not be forgotten.

[5] Besides the cult statue at Daphne he set up a bronze Athena φοβερά in appearance (Mal. p. 201), which was taken to the Capitol at Rome in Pompey's time with another bronze he set up, a Zeus Ceraunius (Mal. p. 212). Malalas (p. 202) also mentions as dedications of Seleucus I. a marble statue of the horse that saved his life when he fled from the jealousy of Antigonus (cf. the horsehead on Seleucid coins (*B.M.C.* i. 6), and the story of Alexander and Bucephalus) and one of a priest, Amphion, also of marble.

§ 5.—THE DATE OF THE APOLLO OF ALEXANDRIA; ITS CONNEXION WITH ANTIOCH.

Now, on the earlier coins of Antiochus I.[1] Apollo is very sturdy and muscular, in fact too muscular: he is the god manufactured from the superhumanly developed man. Later coins of Antiochus I., and those of his successors shew the softening process above mentioned. Antiochus I. reigned from 280–261 B.C. Antiochus II., his successor, died in 246 B.C. Antiochus Hierax, the latter's son, lost the throne he had usurped and his life about 227 B.C. Antiochus III. succeeded his elder brother Seleucus III. in 222 B.C. The softening process then may be said to commence about 250 B.C., and to last till well after 222 B.C., for Antiochus III. did not die till 187 B.C. This corresponds with the conclusions which I drew from a study of the Pergamene coins:[2] the exaggerated style stops after the reign of Eumenes I., who died in 241 B.C.; and the softer style is dominant throughout the coinage of Attalus I., 241–197 B.C. Of course this is only the general tendency of the style of the coinage: coins of Antiochus III., which are plentiful, might be found shewing a less soft type than the average. Thus we may feel justified in placing the date of our Alexandrian Apollo at the end of the third century.

If the above argument is accepted, this Alexandria Apollo is the second work that can be connected with the Seleucid capital, the art of which was hitherto represented only by the Tyche of Eutychides.[3] Antioch[4] must have been rich in works of art. It was a large and wealthy city, and of great strategical and political importance from its situation at the end of the great trade-route to what was then the Further East. Though it is seldom wise to go by such resemblances, I have above quoted in support of my views Müller's remarks that the gesture of the right hand of the Apollo recalls that of the Tyche. Dr. Paul Herrmann in publishing a statuette of Aphrodite grouped with a Triton at Dresden (Fig. 1) remarked

[1] *B. M. Cat.* iii. 3, Cf. also the coin of Nikokles.

[2] *Journ. Int. Arch. Num., loc. cit.*

[3] Förster, *Jahrb.*, 1898, p. 177, describes a bronze group of wrestlers from Antioch now in Constantinople. Schreiber, *Arch. Anz.*, 1899, p. 134, referring to wrestler groups found in the Delta, claims the type as Alexandrian; cf. Perdrizet, *Rev. Arch.* 1903, p. 392.

[4] For the history and extant remains of Antioch see Müller, *De Antiq. Antioch.* and Förster's excellent article *Jahrb.* 1897, p. 103 *seqq.* where many other references are given.

that it resembled the Tyche in another particular.[1] The attitude of the Triton, as he half rises from the waves on the left hand of the goddess, reminds one at once of the position of the Orontes as he rises from the water swimming before the Tyche. This statuette, which shows traces of painting, is obviously from its lack of detail and sense of superficiality a copy of a larger work. The detail of course was largely rendered by painting. Aphrodite is represented nude. The left leg is the supporting leg, while the right, the free leg, is bent backwards from the knee to rest on the fish-body of the Triton. The inclination of the neck, the dropped left and the raised right shoulder indicate that she was wringing the salt-water from her hair. The Triton on her left swims beside her obliquely, but raising himself from the waves he looks up and backwards at the goddess. The arrangement of the hair in long, smooth, flowing locks, rising up from the forehead and streaming down behind is almost exactly similar to that of the Orontes.

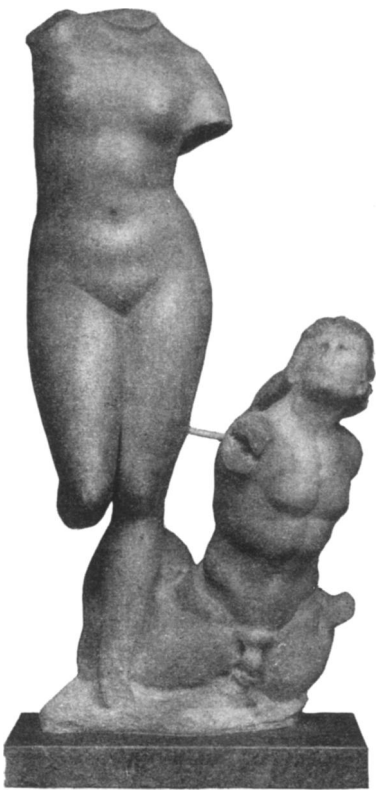


FIG. 1.—GROUP OF APHRODITE AND TRITON, AT DRESDEN.

The rendering of the body of the Aphrodite has just those qualities of care and delicacy which indicate an original of high artistic value. Equally noticeable is the fresh and lifelike modelling of the Triton. His hair shews clear traces of red paint, which probably rendered the finer detail the copyist could not indicate plastically on a reduced scale. Similarly the scales

[1] *Arch. Anz.*, 1894, p. 29, Fig. 12, 0·46 m. high. Dr. Herrmann says it may possibly have come from Alexandria; even if this is correct, it proves nothing as regards its real origin. It may quite well be a modern importation into Egypt. See below. Schreiber, *Gallierkopf*, p. 16, compares it with an Aphrodite at Cairo which is much restored including the base and dolphin. There are similar statuettes at Alexandria, Brussels, Berlin, Paris, and elsewhere: the provenance in most cases where known is Syrian or Egyptian, but the style seems generally to be of Roman date. v. Furtwängler, *Helbing's Monatsb. ü. Kunst u. Kunstwissenschaft*, *Heft* 4. Schreiber, *Phil. Woch.* 1903, p. 301. Reinach, *Rev. Arch.* 1903, p. 231, 388. Botti, *op. cit.* i. 1155–1165.

of the fish-body from his waist downwards are missing, and these also must have been rendered by painting. Otherwise there is nothing to prevent a comparison, and an identification of a Triton in Berlin[1] (Fig. 2) with this figure. Unfortunately this Triton is badly damaged—the fish body, which was apparently separately attached, is lost; both arms are broken off. The nose, chin, and hair on the top of the head are restored: and further, the whole is badly weathered. However, even if a study of the face yields nothing, the poise of the head and the treatment of the hair is the same. Add to this a heavy, powerful torso, well modelled as regards the anatomy, but in detail rather over-developed, causing individual muscular features to be too prominent. Still the whole is excellently and freshly rendered with a fine sense of the proper combination of strength, grace, and effect. Consider this with the two features of the face that are clear, deep-set eyes looking upward from beneath a heavy brow, and the fine flow of the rounded locks of the hair, and at once a likeness to Pergamene work is apparent. If it be compared, however, with the Triton of the Great Frieze, a difference is to be observed. The Berlin Triton is more restrained in execution, and has none of the extravagance of line and detail so characteristic of the Great Frieze. It may therefore be earlier in date.

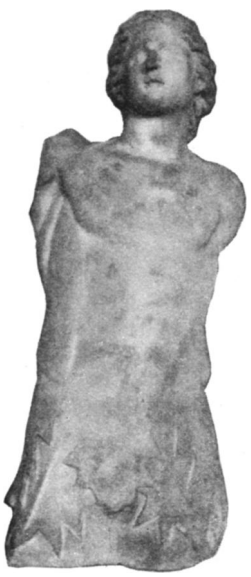


FIG. 2.—STATUE OF TRITON IN BERLIN.

Further it is very tempting to claim the Daphne in Florence[2] as also the work of an artist of Antioch. In the first place the subject itself connects it with Antioch; secondly the idea of representing Daphne at the instant of metamorphosis seems to be exactly that which would appeal to a mind brought into contact with the fantastic art of the East. But the provenance of the statue is Italian; and any attempt to prove the connexion would be in the present state of our knowledge absolutely unprofitable.

After the expansion of the limits of the Greek world, what can be

[1] *Ant. Skulp. Berlin*, No. 286. From the Museo Grimani, 1·29 m. high. It is described as work of the Hellenistic period. It is of 'Parian' marble: the Dresden group is of marble like 'Parian.' The two Tritons in the Vatican seem to be different both in style and type. v. Helbig, *Führer* 191. Amelung, *Sculp. Vat. Mus. Gall. Lap.* 105.

[2] Brunn. *Denk.* 260, Collignon, ii. p. 589, Fig. 308.

called 'Cosmopolitanism' is to be expected. An illustration of it is the career of Bryaxis who worked in Athens, at the Mausoleum, at Antioch, and at Alexandria.[1] Inscriptions give the names of artists from Antioch and Rhodes as working at Alexandria;[2] the inscriptions of Pergamon contain the names of Athenian, Boeotian, and Pergamene artists;[3] 'Rhodian Art' through the Laocoon approaches 'Pergamene.' So no great strictness is to be observed in splitting up later Greek Art into Schools.

Presumably the statue in Alexandria was found there. I believe it, however, to be an importation. It may be either an ancient or a modern importation. If modern, it may have reached Alexandria from one of the Syrian ports. It is a well known fact that Egypt (Cairo and Alexandria) is one of the great centres for the sale of antiquities in the Nearer East, the others being Constantinople, Smyrna, and Athens; for instance a find of coins would be practically unsaleable at Alexandretta, but in one of these tourist centres would command a good price. If not, the importation is ancient. Apollo was worshipped in Egypt at Abydos, Alexandria (evidence on coins of Nero's time), Apollonia, Hermonthis, Memphis, and Naucratis.[4] Apollo Δαφναῖος was worshipped in Pannonia, Dalmatia, Daphne (Lycia), Daphne (Attica), and Pergamon.[5] No assistance can be got from these references. There is however a very plausible theory that can be drawn from the history of the period to account for the importation. About 198 B.C.[6] Antiochus III., to obtain influence in Egypt, arranged a marriage between his daughter Cleopatra and the young Ptolemy Epiphanes. Now just as a supply of Nile water was sent to Antioch with Berenice on her marriage with Antiochus II. to promote the fertility of the union of the Ptolemy and the Seleucid,[7] so it may well be believed that there went with Cleopatra to Alexandria the cult of the reputed ancestor of her house. One of her attendants may well have taken with him a small replica of the god that protected the house he served. The date fits in well with the date assigned to the statue. There remains the possibility that it is purely Alexandrian in origin: and that there was in that city

[1] Overbeck, *S.Q.* 1316 *seqq.*

[2] Löwy, *I.G.B.* 187.

[3] *Inschrift. v. Pergamon*, 49, 75, 132, 133, 136, 138. Many other similar instances could be quoted.

[4] Pausanias, ii. 27, 6, apparently refers to an Egyptian Apollo at Epidaurus.

[5] The necessary references will be found in Pauly-Wissowa, *Apollon.*

[6] v. Bevan, *op. cit.* Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptolemies*, p. 306.

[7] v. Bevan, *op. cit.* i. 179.

a private or public cult of the Delphic Apollo, of which nothing is known.

§ 6.—THE THREE CENTURIES OF THE HELLENISTIC AGE.

There can be no doubt that this Apollo on the Omphalos belongs to the Hellenistic period. Its date has been determined by a comparison with the types of Seleucid coins; its position in Hellenistic Art has now to be considered.

At the outset I wish to abandon the adjective 'Hellenistic,' as applied to the art[1] of the period between the death of Alexander the Great and that of Cleopatra (VI.). 'Hellenistic,' I take it, is to be applied to the products of Greek civilisation in non-Hellenic lands, and adapted or altered by their non-Hellenic ideas. Thus we may take the Parthian coinage as an instance of true Hellenistic Art:[2] the coinages of Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus are more Hellenic than Hellenistic. Those of the Attalid, Seleucid, and Ptolemaic dynasties are Hellenic. They are the products of the genuine Hellenic Art, transplanted, it is true, in the case of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic coinages into foreign lands. What designation can be adopted instead of 'Hellenistic Art'? Dr. Adolph Holm proposes to abandon the title altogether, even for historical purposes, and to speak of the 'Graeco-Macedonian Period.'[3] This is too clumsy; it is also impossible to use the terms 'Age of the Diadochi' and 'Age of the Epigoni,' because those periods overlap, and there is no label for the long period between 240 and 30 B.C. I propose to speak of the art of the Third Century, the Second Century, and the First Century; but I also propose a somewhat arbitrary chronological arrangement of the centuries. There are three great breaks in Hellenistic history. The first section begins at the death of the founder of Hellenism in 323 B.C. The second section dates from 220 B.C.: Antiochus III. reorganises the Seleucid Empire; Philopator begins the degradation of the Ptolemaic dynasty; Attalus I. is at the height of his prosperity and power; Philip V. succeeds

[1] As will be seen from what is said below, it is rightly applied to the history of the period.

[2] Compare also the statues of the tomb of Antiochus of Commagene at Nemrûd Dagh, Mitchell, *Ancient Sculpture*, p. 608. The coinage of Bactria is at first Hellenic, but soon degenerates into the Hellenistic. The Ptolemaic coinage also degenerates into the Hellenistic: and so does the Seleucid, but only during the civil wars of the last Seleucids.

[3] *History of Greece*, iv., p. 5–8.

to a realm carefully preserved and strengthened by Antigonus Doson; Athens is free; and Rhodes and Byzantium control the Aegean as Egypt decays. With 133 B.C. the last section begins, and lasts till the Roman subjection of Egypt in 30 B.C. In 133, Rome, already mistress of Achaia and Macedonia, had just succeeded also to Asia. The Seleucid power was soon to be once more in the feeble hands of Demetrius II.; and in Egypt, Euergetes II. was emending Homer and massacring the Greeks of Alexandria. So I intend to treat the third, second, and first centuries as corresponding with these sections.

§ 7.—THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT 'ALEXANDRIAN ART.'

There has been no little argument as to the general tendencies of Greek Art in these three centuries. It is generally admitted that Realism,[1] or rather Naturalism, which demands *genre* subjects is the dominant feature. There is coupled with this a love for sensational and dramatic effects; but Idealism survived, though in a very weak form. In other words the two essential characteristics are what M. Collignon and M. Courbaud call 'le Réalisme' and 'le Pittoresque.' Here one enters upon controversial ground, and it is necessary to state the various views held upon the subject. M. Courbaud gives 'le Réalisme' almost entirely to the artists of Pergamon, and 'le Pittoresque' to Alexandria.'[2] This, as a general statement, is fairly correct as regards the art of Pergamon; but the controversy is not about Pergamene art—there is too much indisputable evidence to allow much discussion on that head. It is Alexandrian art that is the battle-ground. There is considerable monumental evidence here also, of which the Alexandrian, that is to say Egyptian, provenance can hardly be called in question. There are in the museum at Cairo over twenty, and in that at Alexandria over one hundred and twenty specimens of Greek sculpture belonging to this period.[3] Yet it is not on these that the

[1] The Realism of a work of art depends on the influence exercised by the model: the 'Realism' of the period under discussion is a close observation and accurate reproduction of natural objects, scenes, and passions. It is practically a romantic effect, but is entirely unacademic. Cf. the Barberini Faun, the Laocoon, the Marsyas group, the 'Vénus Accroupie' and the Alexandrian Grave-Reliefs (Pfuhl, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, p. 258).

[2] *Le Bas-relief Romain*, p. 251.

[3] Some of them may of course be modern importations. Several of these are mentioned below, or by Schreiber (*Gallierkopf. d. Mus. b. Gizeh*) and Amelung (*Bull. Com.* xxv. p. 110). A brief description of others is to be found in Botti, *Musée Gréco-Rom. d'Alexandrie*; what Botti

theory of 'le Pittoresque' is based, but on a series of 'Hellenistic Reliefs,' mostly in Italian museums, and with few exceptions all of Italian provenance, and on several rather grotesque statues—also not from Egypt—of fishermen, peasants, and the like, treated with a brutal and exaggerated accuracy in repulsive details.

§ 8.—THE SO-CALLED ALEXANDRIAN GROTESQUE.

M. Collignon, in illustration of 'Alexandrian Art,' refers to a large number of such grotesques, which are chiefly bronze and marble statuettes. It will be convenient to give a list of them.

(1) Nile. Vatican. Braccio Nuovo. 109. Fig. 287.[1] Marble statue.
(2) Fisherman. Pal. Conservat. Fig. 290. Marble statuette.
(3) Fisherman. Brit. Mus. Fig. 289. Marble statuette. Townley collection.
(4) Peasant woman. Pal. Conservat. Fig. 291. Marble statuette.[2]
(5) Tumbler and crocodile. Brit. Mus. Fig. 293. Marble statuette. Bought in Rome by Townley.[3]
(6) Youth. Cab. des Méd. Fig. 294. Bronze statuette. From Châlon sur Saône. Roman work.

To build up theories of Alexandrian art, or to attempt to prove *réalisme aigu* and *vérité impitoyable* as its essential motives, on such evidence as this is all the more dangerous because the provenance of all the monuments in question is Roman;[4] and, further, I believe the marble of the two British Museum figures to be Italian. But Professor Schreiber, whom M. Collignon follows, refers to yet more more monuments of similar style. These are:—

(7) Atlas. Athens. Demetriou Coll. From Alexandria. Bronze statuette.
(8) Hawker. Athens. Same coll. From Alexandria. Bronze statuette.

there calls the 'Alexandrine' style is that soft ideal style determined by Amelung and Schreiber. I would especially call attention to the female heads – Botti, Nos. i. 23, 30, 31, 33, 34, and 36–39, xiv. 9, 12, and 14.

[1] These numbers refer to Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpt. Grecque*, vol. ii., chap. iv.

[2] Cf. *Mus. Chi.* iii. Pl. 44. Infant Harpocrates in arms of aged woman. Torso, much broken. Judging from the other works found with it, it is possibly Hadrianic. Dr. Pfuhl has been kind enough to call my attention to this torso and give me notes upon it.

[3] Schreiber, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1885, p. 395, seems to have been misinformed; cf. *Anc. Marb. Brit. Mus.* x., xxvii.

[4] Figs. 288 and 292, the female head at Naples with the hair dressed in the Egyptian style and the bronze head of a Nubian from Cyrene in the British Museum are no evidence for the grotesque. One is a Graeco-Egyptian portrait, and the other is apparently an idealist study of the racial type. The other bronze statuettes referred to, p. 569, 2, are Egyptian works, but of Roman date.

(9) Fruit-hawker and monkey. Athens. Same coll. From Alexandria. Bronze statuette.

(10) Hawker. Athens. Same coll. From Alexandria. Basalt statuette.[1]

(11) Bottle in Pugioli Coll. Pigmy and Crane fighting. From Alexandria (?)[2]

(12) Bronze statuette. Cab. des Méd. Coll. Oppermann. From Alexandria (?)[3]

(13) Bronze lamp support. Berlin. Egypt. section, No. 8315.[4]

(14) 'Seneca.' Naples. Bronze Portrait from Herculaneum. Fig. 317. Several replicas. Bernoulli, *Gr. Ikon.* ii. 160.

He also quotes 4 and 6 of the list above.[5]

To these there may be added the following :—

(15) Peasant. Dresden. Small marble torso. From Rome.[6]

(16) Peasant. Dresden. Marble head. From Rome.[7]

(17) Hunchbacked Nubian Eunuch. Stuttgart. Small bronze. Found in a Roman house at Herbrechtingen.[8]

(18) Fisherman. Brit. Mus. Marble statuette. Bought by Townley in Rome.[9]

(19) Grotesque male figure Small bronze. Goethe coll. Provenance unknown.[10]

(20) Peasant woman. Rome, Magazzino Archeologico, Garden. Marble statuette, torso only.

(21) 'Living skeleton' playing lyre. Rome, Museo Kircheriano. Grotesque male bronze statuette.[11]

(22) Fisherman (?). Rome, Palazzo Massimi alle Colonne. Marble statuette, torso set on base not belonging.

and perhaps :—

(23) Fisherman. Vatican. Marble statue.[12]

(24) Drunken old woman. Marble head. Dresden. From Rome.[13]

(25) L'écorcheur rustique. Marble statuette. Louvre. Much restored.[14]

Of these monuments then only five are definitely known to have been procured in Egypt, and the two others may possibly have come from there.

[1] This and the three preceding are published by him in *Ath. Mitt.* 1885, Pls. X., XI., XII. M. Collignon just refers to them, *op. cit.* p. 567.

[2] *Ath. Mitt.* 1885, p. 392, 2. [3] *Op. cit.* p. 393. [4] *Op. cit.* p. 393.

[5] A catalogue by him of the Graf collection in Leipzig gives several bronzes, etc., from Egypt; practically all seem to me of Roman date. *Arch. Anz.* 1890, p. 155.

[6] *Arch. Anz.*, 1894, p. 173. Dr. Herrmann compares with it 4 and 18, and a figure at Naples, Phot. Brogi, No. 5668. Cf. Peasant in Vatican, *Gall. d. Cand.* 265.

[7] *Arch. Anz.* 1889, p. 99. Found in Rome; Roman work; Carrara marble.

[8] *Arch. Anz.* 1890, p. 97. It is there compared with No. 9.

[9] *Anc. Marb. Brit. Mus.* x., xxix.

[10] Michaelis, *Jahrb.* 1897, p. 49.

[11] Reinach, *Rép.* 563, 6; cf. *ibid.* 561, 1, 7, 8, 10, and 562, 2, 6; *Arch. Anz.* 1903, p. 149, 31.

[12] Helbig, *Führer*, 378, Brunn, *Denk.* 164.

[13] v. *Arch. Anz.* 1889, p. 98. Complete restored replicas in the Capitol and at Munich. I include this because it seems to me to possess nearly all the characteristics of the others. But see Helbig, *Führer*, No. 439.

[14] H de Villefosse, *Cat. Somm. d. Marbres Ant.*, No. 517.

Nearly three-quarters of the whole number are of Italian or Roman provenance. And those that have been found in Egypt seem to me to belong to the Roman period; that is to say, they cannot possibly, in my opinion, be earlier than 30 B.C. Schreiber himself, in speaking of the Grylli of Antiphilus, admits that the production of grotesques was a notable feature of Graeco-Roman art in Egypt, and suggests that they are parodies on the dissolute orgies of Canopus.[1] The statue of the Nile (No. 1) is the only monument of Roman provenance that can be definitely connected with Egypt. It is almost certainly a Roman copy of the Imperial period of an Alexandrian work. The figure of the god is modelled in the usual flowing style common in river gods: but the rendering is so soft that the original may not unreasonably be attributed to the early Second Century B.C. The composition of the group and the landscape scenes on the base can be connected with paintings of the Hellenistic period, and Egyptian motives found in Campanian frescoes.[2] As regards the marble statuettes in Rome, Dresden, and the British Museum, I am of opinion that they are of Roman workmanship. The exaggerated brutality shewn in representing the lower classes is revolting and un-Hellenic. The British Museum fisherman (No. 18) is a good instance (Fig. 3). The crude modelling of the chest with the wrinkled

FIG. 3.—STATUE OF FISHERMAN IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[1] *Ath. Mitt.* 1885, p. 392. Michaelis (*loc. cit.*) calls attention to the treatment of the penis. For an account of Canopus see Strabo, 17, 800. The Cabeiric vases from Thebes might be compared.

[2] Amelung, *Sculpt. d. Vat. Mus.* i. p. 124. Helbig, *Untersuch. Camp. Wandmal.* p. 101. It is interesting to remark that painting flourished in Egypt, v. Helbig, *op. cit.* p. 136.

skin, and the rendering of the woollen drapery[1] are neither artistic nor life-like. Such art goes beyond Nature in its search for subjects to give a fillip to the jaded taste of its patrons. But who were its patrons? This question I hope to answer later. In my opinion, till there is found in Egypt any considerable number of such works, it is impossible scientifically to assign them to 'Alexandrian Art.' Besides, the actual monuments of Greek art found in Egypt prove the existence of a totally different type of art.[2] They nearly all show the soft ideal style that has already been mentioned, and to which I shall again refer.

§ 9.—THE HELLENISTIC RELIEFS.

There is still the other great foundation of Alexandrian Art to discuss, the so-called Hellenistic Reliefs. Prof. Schreiber, who has been followed by most recent writers on Greek Art, was the first to claim them as Alexandrian, declaring that they show a complete severance from the ancient tradition of relief work. He denies the theory[3] that they are pictures translated into marble, and holds that there is here no distinction between painting and sculpture. Alexandria is for him the centre of the world in the Hellenistic period, the home of literature and civilisation, and consequently also the home of art. He derives from Alexandria certain features in Pompeian and Roman houses, especially the schemes of painting and wall-incrustation. An analysis of the well-known Grimani reliefs[4] enables him to connect with them a large series of somewhat similar reliefs scattered in European museums. As part of the material refinement, which he attributes to the broadening of Greek ideas by Alexander's conquests and the attempts to imitate Eastern luxury, he instances Alexandrian plate; and he draws his evidence from some moulds known to have come from Alexandria (which, however, I believe

[1] It is indicated by drill-holes over the surface which make it appear sponge-like.

[2] A careful study of the extant Greek terracottas found in Egypt and scattered amongst many Museums might possibly assign some grotesques to the Ptolemaic period, but only, I think, a small proportion.

[3] Philippi, *Ueber die Röm. Triumphalreliefs;* Wörmann, *Landschaft in d. Kunst d. alten Völker.*

[4] The Grimani reliefs are almost certainly Augustan both in style and technique which can be compared to the Ara Pacis and other Imperial monuments. Schreiber makes them Alexandrian 'più indovinando che dimostrando.' v. Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, Chap. ii. Altmann, *Architect. u. Ornament. d. ant. Sarcophage*, pp. 73, 77. Amelung, *op. cit.* p. 110.

to be of Roman date), and all showing similar motives in the decoration. But he clearly goes too far when he argues as if all existing plate of that period of good workmanship were Alexandrian. The three great principles of Alexandrian art are *Raumpoesie*, Material Refinement, and Life.[1] This is in brief Prof. Schreiber's creed. But before I set forth my own opinions, some reference must be made to his followers and his opponents.

Prof. Ernest Gardner[2] lays especial emphasis on the doctrine of *Raumpoesie*, which he attributes to the Alexandrians' desire to escape from their surroundings.

Dr. Amelung, who also accepts these conclusions, has tried to show the connexion between reliefs of this kind and Greek votive reliefs.[3] He refers principally to a votive relief in the Capitoline Museum, and a rather similar fragment from Rhodes, now in the British Museum; and thence to a votive relief at Munich, where the landscape element appears.[4] This landscape element is no greater than that in the Telephus frieze from Pergamon. There is still a wide gap to be bridged over between them and the 'Reliefs de Luxe' and 'Cabinet Reliefs' of 'Alexandrian Art.'

On the other side Dr. Wickhoff claims this large class of reliefs as the products of Augustan art,[5] not Roman art, but 'Hellenistic' art naturalised in Italy and subservient to Roman taste. He willingly acknowledges the likenesses between them and the Pompeian paintings: but he also finds the same style in the reliefs of the Ara Pacis, and on the cuirass of the Augustus from Prima Porta, undoubted works of the Augustan period. Above all, he thinks, the very essentials of the style of the Ara Pacis are to be found in the Grimani reliefs. Some of the reliefs show an earlier

[1] 'Alltagsleben;' Prof. Schreiber's views are expressed in the following publications: *Die Wiener Brunnenreliefs; Die Hellenistische Reliefbilder* (Plates only as yet); *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 145; *Barockelemente in d. hell. Kunst* (*All. Zeit.* 1891, 25th May); *Die hell. Reliefbilder und d. Aug. Kunst* (*Jahrb. d. Inst.*, 1896); *Die Alexandrinische Toreutik.*, and a paper in the *Arch. Anz.* 1889, p. 113 *seq.*

[2] *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 441. Other writers who follow Schreiber are Collignon (*op. cit.*) and Conze (*Arch. Anz.* 1900, p. 18).

[3] *Röm. Mitth.* 1894, p. 66, and 1901, p. 258.

[4] Furtwängler, *Beschreib.* No. 206.

[5] *Roman Art* (English translation of the *Wiener-Genesis*, introduction), chapter ii. especially. Mrs. Strong, the editress, by her championship of Dr. Wickhoff's views clearly implies disbelief in those of Prof. Schreiber.

less developed style, and are, he thinks, probably Campanian productions.[1]

M. Courbaud, the latest follower of Schreiber, tries to refute Dr. Wickhoff's arguments,[2] and in a scholarly study of the whole question briefly restates the case and the arguments for an Alexandrian origin. He does not, however, claim that these reliefs show an entirely new spirit in art, but finds their origin in the friezes and metopes of temples, and says that they are the products of evolution rather than revolution in art.[3] He does not go so far as to claim Alexandria as the home of *toreumata*, and he admits that the practice of wall-incrustation was not unknown in the other Greek Kingdoms of the East.[4] In his conclusions he does full justice to the excellences of later Greek art, and points out that it is not in Alexandrian art, but in the later Greek art as a whole that the sources of Roman art must be sought. He meets Wickhoff's argument that only one of the reliefs, and that a late one from Megara, is of Greek, while all the others are of Italian provenance, by asserting that they are Roman copies; and he relies further on Schreiber's unconvincing arguments as to the drill holes on the Megara relief and the use of Italian marble in Alexandria,[5] In reply to the arguments based on the comparison of the Ara Pacis and the Prima Porta Augustus with the Grimani reliefs, he asserts that not only are they not contemporaneous, but that the Grimani reliefs are earlier and that the 'Hellenistic Reliefs' served as models for the Ara Pacis.[6]

There are two opponents of Prof. Schreiber, to whose views I have not yet referred, Prof. Adolph Holm and Dr. Dragendoff. As my opinions to a large extent coincide with theirs, and as I shall rely on many of their arguments, I intend to present them with my own, giving the necessary references in footnotes.

[1] Schreiber compares South Italian vases with some of the 'Hellenistic Reliefs': *Jahrb.* 1896, p. 100, 61.

[2] *Le Bas-relief Romain*, Book 3, chap. 2.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 266, 4.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 292, 1, p. 290, 6, p. 287, 1.

[5] *Jahrb.* 1896, p. 82, notes 15 and 18. Amelung, *Bull. Arch. Com.* xxv., p. 125, 1, believes the Grimani reliefs, if of Carrara marble, to be Roman copies or imitations.

[6] Petersen, *Ara Pacis August.* p. 169 *seqq.*, refers to this controversy and seems to support Schreiber by proving the Tellus slab later than the Carthage relief in the Louvre. But the Carthage relief has still to be proved Alexandrian, v. Dragendorff, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 103, p. 87. Further, both the Carthage relief and the Tellus slab seem to be extracts from a larger composition, probably a painting. In the rendering of the flowers etc., the Grimani reliefs are totally different, and in style and technique are closely connected with the sacrificial scene of the Ara Pacis.

In the first place *Raumpoesie*, as Holm[1] rightly says, is older than the time of Alexander. He instances the laying out of the Piraeus under Pericles. It was no new invention of Alexander's time to plan out cities on a large scale and with regular streets. There is no mention of an Agora in Alexandria, unless the Meson Pedion counted as such. Above all, Alexandria, as Prof. Mahaffy says, was not a Greek city: it had no constitution like the Seleucid foundations and besides contained a large native population and many Jews.[2] Holm also argues that Alexandria is no true example of *Raumpoesie*. Its acropolis rises but little above the rest of the country, which is very flat. The city itself is hemmed in between the sea and Lake Mareotis. On either side are the fen-like delta and the desert: and cultivation is impossible without irrigation. He quotes Antioch with the groves of Daphne and situated in the rich Orontes valley as more likely to suggest the idea. I would add Pergamon, the key of the fertile Caïcus Valley. From the top of its lofty palace-crowned Acropolis the eye can survey Sipylus, Tmolus, and the hills towards Ida, and seawards can descry Mytilene. Somewhat similar too is the situation of Ephesus at the mouth of the Cayster, resting half in the valley and half on rocky Coressus, and of Priene, with its view from Mycale across the Meander at Miletus below Latmus. Again there is Tralles rising amidst rich groves of figs and olives, or Laodiceia amongst the cornfields. There is Smyrna too, the pearl of the Levant. This poetry of space then is not of necessity peculiarly Alexandrian. Next there is the question of material refinement. Holm shows that this too was older than Alexander's time, and did not originate in the period immediately succeeding his conquests. The career of Alcibiades is sufficient evidence; and to go back further—it is possible to refer to the conduct of the Ionians before Lade. Besides, Agesilaus had invaded Asia before; Xenophon too and the Ten Thousand had penetrated to the Euphrates.

Schreiber lays great stress on the practice of wall-incrustation with different marbles. He gives references to remains of wall-incrustation seen at Alexandria[3]; and comparing this with the Pompeian wall-paintings he argues that these represent Alexandrian walls. The central picture is the Relief, and it is framed in architectural ornament and slabs of rare marbles.[4] He boldly states, 'Weder in Athen oder sonstwo

[1] *History of Greece*, iv. p. 456 *seqq.*
[2] *Hist. of Egypt, Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 9 *seqq.*
[3] *Brunnenreliefs*, p. 48.
[4] *Brunnenreliefs*, p. 13.

in Griechenland noch in Kleinasien hat die Wandverkleidung nennenswerthe Reste hinterlassen.'[1] Such arguments have little weight. The recent excavations at Alexandria by Dr. Noack reveal three levels, Early Hellenistic, Augustan, and Hadrianic.[2] Wall-incrustation seen on the surface should belong to the uppermost level. I would rather refer to the ruins of the palace at Pergamon, and the southern market-hall of the early imperial forum at Ephesus.[3] Holm moreover urges that surely the comparatively small number of good Greek houses at Alexandria could not have had more influence on the Roman house than all the vast number that must have existed in the large cities of Asia Minor. What of the fine houses at Delos and Priene? Further, the classical references Schreiber gives are from Post-Augustan authors. In that time all Greek decoration would be labelled Alexandrian; just as in England all Greek vases were formerly called Etruscan. Against his view Dragendorff cites Pliny and Vitruvius on the decoration of the palace of Mausolus.[4]

Holm also points out that Alexandria was not the home of the rural poets of the third century. That school was Siculo-Coan. Alexandrian literature was stiff, pedantic, and academic. Callimachus was an elegant versifier: and the tragedies of Lycophron surely would only have been understood by the members of the Museum. It was Theocritus that Vergil imitated. Compare Catullus' version of the *Coma Berenices* with the *Attis*, which must have had its origin in Asia Minor.

It was Egyptian art that the Ptolemies encouraged.[5] But for the head identified as Soter I. at Thera,[6] the best known portraits of them are all in the Egyptian style.[7] The Greek element in Egypt gradually declined in power and importance. This decay began with the revolts that succeeded the battle of Raphia (217 B.C.) and culminated under Physcon, who treated the Greeks so ill that they parodied his official title into 'Kakergetes.'[8] The coinage of the Ptolemaic dynasty is

[1] *Jahrbuch*, *loc. cit.*
[2] *Arch. Anz.* 1899, p. 133; *Ath. Mitt.* 1900, p. 215.
[3] *Oest. Jahreshefte*, i., *Beib.* p. 71.
[4] Plin. 36, 47; Vitr. 2, 8, 10.
[5] Holm, *loc. cit.*
[6] v. Hiller von Gärtringen, *Thera*. i. Pl. 21.
[7] *E.g.* Philometor at Athens, Six, *Ath. Mitt.* 1887, p. 212. Berenice, Naples, Arndt, *Gr. und Röm. Porträts*, 99, 100. Vienna, v. Schneider, *Album der. Ant. Sammlung*, 6, xiii. 1. Epiphanes, Alexandria, Botti, 5. k. etc.
[8] Mahaffy, *op. cit.* pp. 264, 382.

extremely poor from an artistic standpoint, and shows little originality.[1] After the time of Philometor it rapidly degenerates. The head of Soter I. becomes a caricature and the eagle is barely recognisable as such.

Finally, Alexandrian life is hardly well illustrated by some monuments that Schreiber instances. Holm points out that several of the Pompeian paintings containing 'Alexandrian' elements also show rocky river-banks.[2] Michaelis, too, appeals to common-sense when he says that the stork-vases from Boscoreale cannot be Alexandrian in origin because the stork is unknown in Egypt. Any observant traveller in Asia Minor, on the other hand, knows that the stork standing guard over its nest is one of the commonest sights in that country.[3] Again, to take instances from the Hellenistic reliefs, are the rough tree-crowned cliffs figured in the Grimani reliefs typical of Alexandrian landscape? Is there in the neighbourhood of Alexandria any mountain to serve as a model for that on which Endymion sleeps? The palm is the typical tree of Egypt, but it does not figure in the Munich relief of the peasant on the road to market. And in how many of the other reliefs does it appear? Could the harbour of the Capitol relief, with the rising ground behind, represent any Egyptian port near Alexandria? To multiply instances of this kind is idle. It is impossible on such grounds to accept the theory that Alexandria was the centre of later Greek art. I fully agree with Dragendorff that Alexandria was not only not the sole, but not even the most important centre in the art of that period.[4] If more argument were needed, I would refer to the undoubtedly Alexandrian reliefs that are extant, the Grave-reliefs. Dr. Pfuhl[5] has shown how quickly their style degenerated. Only one relief, and that a very early one, is of marble (Pentelic)[6]; the rest are of local limestone. Painting was much in vogue, and the earlier reliefs, which I shall mention later, are pleasing. But Egyptianising elements appear early; all idea of proportion is soon lost, and the later first century reliefs of this class are vulgar and burlesque. Through-

[1] Cf. Poole, *B. M. Cat.*, p. xxxiv.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, cf. Helbig, *Camp. Wandmal.*, Pl. 7, 8; Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, Figs. 267, 271.

[3] *Preuss. Jahrb.*, vol. 85, p. 55. Cf. Dragendorff, *op. cit.* p. 107.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

[5] *Ath. Mith.* 1901, p. 258; see the excellent illustrations there.

[6] No marble is found in Egypt north of Assouan. Consequently it would be expensive, and just as easy to import from the islands and Attica.

out the whole series there is no trace whatsoever of any landscape element.[1]

Prof. Schreiber also claims for Alexandria an ideal school, basing his theory of this upon the Head of a Gaul in the Cairo Museum.[2] But the provenance of this head is unknown, and it is doubtful if it is Egyptian. He says it is believed to have come from the Fayûm ; on the other hand there is a report that it reached Egypt with a miscellaneous cargo of antiquities from Thasos.[3] It can certainly be classed amongst the products of Greek art in the late third or early second centuries ; as far as style and technique are concerned, I see no essential difference between it and the Pergamene works of that time. Further, the head is not merely damaged, it is also unfinished, and is possibly a spoiled piece of work.[4] An ideal style certainly did exist in Egypt in the Ptolemaic period. It was a refinement of the fourth century style, but it did not progress. Greek art in Egypt was purely exotic, and grew weaker and weaker as the Greek element decayed. Schreiber mentions several examples of this ideal style,[5] notably the head of Alexander and the silver statuette of a boy with a goose, both found at Alexandria, and now in the British Museum. This delightful statuette is proved by coins found with it to be earlier than 240 B.C.[6] It belongs then to the latter half of the third century. Schreiber deduces from these and other works [7] a tendency to softness. Dr. Amelung, who accepts this as well as Schreiber's other conclusions, has made further exploration in this ideal art.[8] He remarks that the most striking quality of the marbles from Alexandria is their extraordinary *morbidezza*. He bases his argument on several heads from Egypt at Munich and Dresden, and connects with them by reasons of style several others in various museums. He finds similar connexions with the Aphrodite and Triton at Dresden above mentioned, and several of the ' Hellenistic Reliefs.' It is a very careful and illuminating study, especially in regard to the class of Egyptianising works.[9]

[1] Contrast the Grave-reliefs from Smyrna and Ephesus at Berlin, *Ant. Skulpt.* Nos. 809, 810, 830.

[2] Schreiber, *Der Gallierkopf d. Museums bei Gizeh.*

[3] For this information I am indebted to Mr. Edgar of the Cairo Museum.

[4] A close examination reveals a good deal of superficiality in the Great Frieze, but then there is all the difference between relief work on a high podium, and a free statue.

[5] *Op. cit.* p. 15 *sq.*

[6] E. Gardner, *J.H.S.*, 1885, p. 1.

[7] *Op. cit.* p. 18.

[8] *Bull. Arch. Com.* xxv. p. 110, 1897.

[9] I entirely fail to see however any *morbidezza* in the head at Vienna referred to already above.

This must complete my brief survey of the views held by the several scholars who have written on Alexandrian art, believing it to have possessed distinctive characteristics of its own, and to have been the art of the Hellenistic period. All honour is due to Prof. Schreiber for the bold insight with which he has treated the subject, and for his inestimable services as pioneer in the rehabilitation of later Greek art.

§ 10.—THE EVIDENCE OF DATED COINAGES.

Complaint might justly be made that so far all previous doctrines as to later Greek art have been rejected, and that no alternative is put forward. I return then to the one class of monuments that gives a series of dated originals, the coins of the Antigonid, Seleucid, Ptolemaic, and Attalid dynasties (see Plate IV, *b*).

In the Seleucus head on the coins of Philetaerus[1] (283–263 B.C.) the portrait head shows the idealisation of the individual type and the consequent exaggeration of separate features. The Athena of the reverse shows little departure from the principle of idealism: if it loses in dignity it gains in refinement. The coinage of Eumenes I. (263–241 B.C.) presents similar characteristics. The second and later type with fillet and laurel wreath entwined show some effort towards toning down the exaggeration, and the hair is more precisely treated. In the coins of Attalus I. (241–197 B.C.) the deified head becomes calmer: there is more care exercised in the execution of details such as the laurel wreath and the hair. But in the face the modelling becomes soft. The type of reverse is altered: there is a movement towards naturalism, and a fine artistic feeling pervades the whole. With the coins of Eumenes II. (197–159 B.C.) the naturalistic movement continues. In the best coins the Philetaerus head is a portrait; it is treated as a whole freely and naturally. The Athena type goes yet further towards making the divine appear more human. In the reign of Attalus II. (159–138 B.C.) the workmanship of the coins is more careless.

FIG. 4.—TETRADRACHM OF ANTIOCHUS I.: B.C. 280-261.

[1] See the plates in Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen d. Dyn. v. Perg.*

The same naturalistic spirit continues, but there is too much familiarity in the rendering. Fatal ease of workmanship produces in this case a rather fantastic effect. Then there are the Cistophori, introduced by Attalus I. The type itself in its essentials is naturalistic. The ivy wreath is beautifully rendered, and the serpents are marvellously natural. It is impossible here to go through the other three series in detail. It is worth remarking, however, that under Philip V. (220-179 B.C.) an oak wreath appears on the reverse of the Macedonian coins, and is continued under Perseus (179-168 B.C.) with the addition of an eagle of a vigorous but rather careless type. The coins of the Four Confederations that succeeded are of very refined, soft workmanship, and a full naturalistic spirit. Similarly it is possible to trace the development of the Ptolemaic eagle from a smooth ideal to a natural, active bird of prey in the coinages of Epiphanes and Philometor; and thence to the last and worst stage which is rather of the scarecrow type under Alexander and Auletes. The Seleucid coinage presents problems which I cannot here discuss in detail, but in the main its tendency down to the death of Antiochus V. in 162 B.C. is the same.

FIG. 5.—CISTOPHORUS OF PERGAMON, B.C. 200-133.

What is the net result? There is a general tendency in the art of the third century to become soft, and this is succeeded in the second century by a wave of naturalism.[1] I do not mention the first century since the statue, of which this paper is the subject, has been shown to date from the borderland of the third and second centuries. Thus it can be said that the ideal school continued during the early part of the third century—witness the Nike of Samothrace. Then follows heroic exaggeration, which undergoes a softening process; and there finally appears in the second century a style of pure Naturalism. As illustrations we may first take the Dying Gaul and the Herakles at Alexandria.[2] Then to show the toning process towards softness there are two grave-reliefs at Alexandria[3]. On one a lady is bidding farewell to her children, a most

[1] Wickhoff's claim that naturalism is purely Augustan is as extreme as Schreiber's view that it is specially Alexandrian; v. Dragendorff, *op. cit.* pp. 102, 104.

[2] *Arch. Anz.* 1896, p. 92, Fig. 1.

[3] Pfuhl, *op. cit.* Pl. 18, 1 and 2.

pathetic scene: the other represents a lady parting from a friend or a sister. The high relief and the fine modelling of the faces and the soft, graceful drapery add much to the effect. And here should be placed the Apollo on the Omphalos, and a little later the Bellerophon on Pegasus at Alexandria.[1] For the fully developed soft style the best example is the famous female head from Pergamon.[2] The indescribable delicacy of the modelling of the face is heightened by the liquid quality of the eyes. The perfection of soft beauty can go no further. The next step is backwards as shown by the Apollo Belvedere, where it has gone so far that all line and modelling are in a state of flux. Somewhere about the same date as the Pergamon head might be placed the exquisite youthful athlete from Tralles.[3] This exhibits Naturalism pure and simple. Parallel to it is of course the Telephus frieze, and here the landscape element begins.

§ 11.—RELIEF-SCULPTURE IN ASIA MINOR, AND ITS MIGRATION TO ITALY.

From this point it will be allowable for me, without discussing the general tendencies of art in the first century, to attempt to trace the development of the relief. After the Telephus frieze the next reliefs that may be mentioned are the series set up by Eumenes II. and his brother Attalus in the temple of their mother Apollonis at Cyzicus.[4] A brief poetical description of them survives in the Anthology. They all portrayed instances of filial piety; and most noticeable is the fact that the myth of Romulus and Remus figured amongst them. These were probably later than the Telephus frieze, so it would not be unreasonable to assume a certain landscape element. They are also votive reliefs[5] and there is a connexion with Rome. With these reliefs it is possible to compare such groups as the Prometheus Lyomenos from Pergamon,[6] the Marsyas group, the Farnese Bull, and perhaps the Niobid group. In the Prometheus

[1] *Arch. Anz.* 1896, p. 92, Fig 3.

[2] Collignon, *Perg.* p. 204; cf. the Dionysus, Farnell in *J.H.S.* 1890, p. 187 and the bronze Apollo from Egypt in the British Museum, Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 353, Fig. 151.

[3] At Constantinople, *Arch. Anz.* 1902, p. 104.

[4] *Anth. Pal.* III; Farnell, *loc. cit.* p. 194.

[5] v. Amelung's views quoted above.

[6] Collignon, *Pergame*, p. 222. Milchhöfer, *Befreiung d. Prometheus.*

group the Caucasus is personified; the Farnese group, restored though it is, shows similar personifications. These groups all aim at the dramatic, as, apparently, did some of the Cyzicus reliefs. The seventh, for instance, treated the punishment of Dirce; and the eleventh dealt with the petrifaction of Polydectes by Perseus. This may have been rendered by the method employed on the Great Frieze, where the limbs of the giant before Zeus are becoming stiffened, or by that shown in the Daphne at Florence and on the frieze of the Lysicrates monument.

The next step is shown by reliefs like one in the Vatican[1] and another found in the Via del Colosseo.[2] The motives and the methods used for rendering them clearly go back to originals from Asia Minor.[3] The subject is a Gigantomachy against a landscape background; this is one step further than the Pergamene friezes. But here the chain breaks. I know no other example that can be connected to continue the series. A gap occurs, and the next examples to be quoted are both on Roman soil, the monument of the Julii at St. Rémy, and the Ara Pacis. The origin of the first[4] is to be traced, from its shape, to monuments like the Mausoleum and the circular building at Ephesus and, from the method of treating the scenes, to the Pergamene altar. The relief apparently migrated from Greek to Roman lands. How can this be explained? Rome became mistress of Macedonia and Achaia after 146 B.C., and after 133 B.C. inherited Asia, a hundred years before she occupied, and over fifty before Roman troops entered Egypt. This must have had some effect on Roman art. 'Alexandrian' elements in painting and mosaic are found in the pre-Augustan period in Campania.[5] Collignon[6] admits that the art of Pergamon had considerable influence in Southern Italy. Farnell[7] also believes in such a possibility, and compares the Alexander Mosaic from

[1] Müller-Wieseler, No. 848, second edition. Helbig, No. 145.

[2] Helbig, No. 727. *Bull. Arch. Com.* 1887, Pl. XIV, now in the Magazzino Archeologico. I refer only to the left hand fragment. It is necessary to observe that the two fragments do not belong to the same frieze. One shows quietly moving figures against an open landscape background; the other figures in violent motion with the background filled up by flying drapery. Further the relief-height and style are not the same.

[3] Cf. especially 6 and 14 of the Cyzicus reliefs, Apollo and Artemis killing Pytho, and Apollo and Artemis slaying Tityos for offering violence to Leto; cf. also the reliefs from Telmessos and Aphrodisias, Farnell, *loc. cit.* 202.

[4] *Ant. Denk.*, l. 17.

[5] *e.g.* the first or incrustation style of wall painting at Pompeii.

[6] *Pergame*, p. 215.

[7] *loc. cit.* pp. 193, 199.

Pompeii with the Pergamene frieze. Helbig[1] connects the Dove Mosaic from Hadrian's Villa in the Capitol and the ἀσάρωτος οἶκος of the Lateran with Sosus of Pergamon. Courbaud also denies Schreiber's conclusion that Pergamon had no influence on Roman art, and claims that it should not be dispossessed of its share in favour of Alexandria.[2] Pernice and Winter trace the type of the Athena vase of the Hildesheim treasure to the Pergamene coins.[3] Then I would attribute these 'Hellenistic Reliefs' to the art of Campania in the first century, and believe that the series continues through the Augustan period as evidenced by the Ara Pacis and the stucco reliefs[4] of the Villa Farnesina and so on to the end of the second century after Christ. But might not these reliefs have been imported? Careful search amongst the marbles found off Antikythera revealed nothing that could be identified as a relief; and yet this cargo, now almost universally admitted to be a cargo of shop copies of the late first century, contained such popular works as a Farnese Herakles, an Aphrodite of Cnidus, and a dancing Maenad.[5] No relief of this class except the late one from Megara has been found in Greece. None have been found in Asia Minor[6]; still, little excavation has been carried on there as yet. Besides, Pasiteles was apparently a follower of Antigonus as regards the history of art, and this carries the thread back to the lost literature of Pergamon. Only two of the 'Hellenistic Reliefs' however have been found in Southern Italy, the bronze from Puteoli now presumably at Parma and the Maenad relief from Cumae in the British Museum. Three have been found in Africa[7]; one at Cherchell, which is a replica of another relief in the Louvre[8]; the other two are the famous Carthage relief, and a small fragment also now in the Louvre. A connexion between Africa and Campania by way of Sicily is of course

[1] *Führer*, Nos. 458, 715. v. *Plin.* 36, 184.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 318, 342.

[3] *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, p. 26, *sqq.*

[4] Dr. Furtwängler has been kind enough to send me the following information about the Egyptian stucco reliefs in his possession. 'Die Stuccoreliefs aus Ägypten die ich habe, sind klein und von denen der Farnesina recht verschieden. Das eine reproduciert offenbar das Stück einer kostbaren Metallvase, und stellt eine idyllische ländliche Opferscene dar. Das andere, ebenfalls klein und decorativ, zeigt einen geflügelten Triton und eine Nereide'; v. Altmann, *op. cit.* 78, 1.

[5] Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ. 1902, p. 158, Nos. 10 and 12. Svoronos, *Funde v. Antikyth.* xi. 1, xvi. 2, xviii. 7.

[6] The frieze of Hunting Erotes from Ephesus is of Roman date.

[7] Schreiber, *Wiener-Brunnenrel.* p. 50, p. 95, No. 38. *Hell. Rel.* 58.

[8] H. de Villefosse, *Cat. Somm. d. Marb. Ant.* Nos. 1891 and 8.

easy; and Africa became a Roman province after 146 B.C. Further, M. Héron de Villefosse now identifies the bust on the 'Alexandria' phiale from Boscoreale as Africa.[1] But none of the important reliefs have actually been found in Southern Italy, and the wall decoration at Pompeii is fresco, not incrustation. So as evidence fails, the question as to where this style of relief developed must remain open. We may conclude that it began either in the Hellenic East or West about the end of the second century B.C.; and that there is no evidence for assigning it entirely to Alexandria.

Similarly the grotesques, especially the marble statuettes, which have been attributed to Alexandria by reason of bronze grotesques of the Roman period, should, in my opinion, be assigned also to Campania. Those extant are probably Roman copies or imitations of earlier works. That grotesques were popular in that region is shown by the Phlyakes vases which date back to the fourth century. Its inhabitants were rich, idle, and luxurious. It was celebrated for dissolute orgies: the *Senatus-consultum de Bacchanalibus* is sufficient evidence. In a word the general standard of life was such as would demand ultra-naturalism in art to stimulate minds on which simple pleasures palled. Somewhat similar were the tastes of the French aristocracy before the Revolution. But I do not deny Egyptian influence in this region. It began in the time of Philadelphus and increased as the grain trade was more and more carried on by way of Rhegium and Puteoli. Still, it was at first probably limited to cults only.[2] Egypt was only one of the many centres of Greek civilisation which influenced Italy in that period.

Just as none of the later Greek sculptors[3] mentioned in the literary sources for the history of art at this stage was by birth Alexandrian, so also not one of the famous *caelatores* referred to by Pliny or other authors was a native of Alexandria.[4] And a fine silver dish from the Crimea, the one

[1] *Le Trésor de Boscoreale, Mon. Piot*, p. 177.

[2] Walters, *B.M. Cat. of Bronzes*, p. lvi. In the second Pompeian style Egyptian motives are comparatively rare, but are common in the third style. v. Wickhoff, *op. cit.* p. 129. Mau, *Dec. Wandmal. Pomp.* p. 108.

[3] Athenaeus (iv. 83) quoting Menekles mentions grammarians, philosophers, geometers, musicians, painters, trainers, physicians, and other artists as driven from Alexandria by Euergetes II. Painting certainly flourished in Egypt (Petronius, *Sat.* ii.; v. Helbig, *Untersuch. Camp. Wandmal.* p. 136); had sculpture also flourished, sculptors would not be included under 'other artists.'

[4] Those whose birthplaces are known are Stratonicus and Tauriscus of Cyzicus, Ariston and

piece of plate that is without doubt an original of the Hellenistic period, bears the monogram not of Ptolemy, but of an Antigonid or Seleucid king.[1] This, coupled with the Athena vase from Hildesheim and the stork cups from Boscoreale, at least shows that Asia Minor, which certainly contained a larger Greek population than Egypt, has some claim to be considered as a producer of later Greek *toreumata.*

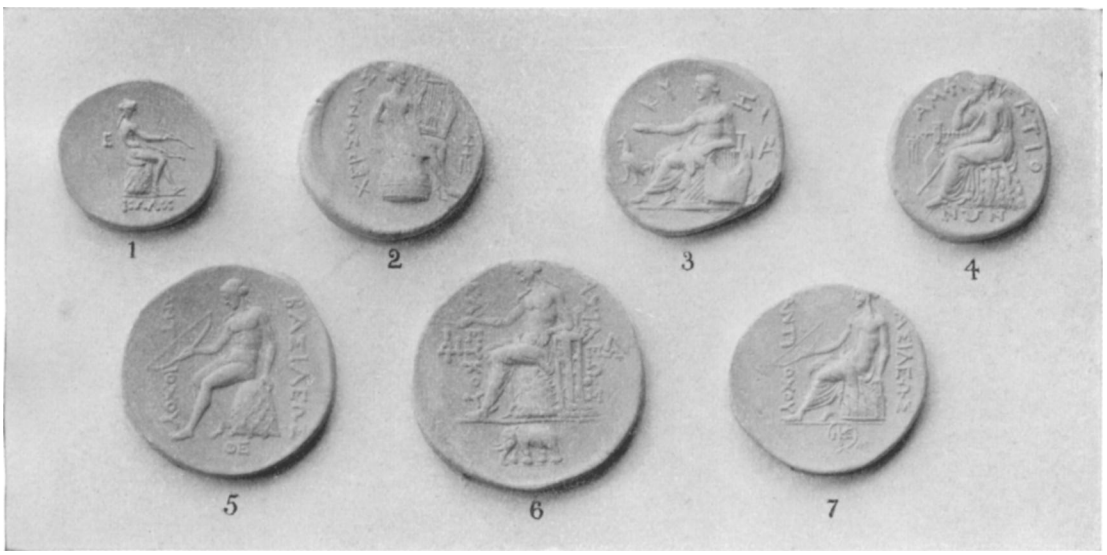
To return to my main theme, it will be seen, I think, that the soft ideal style, coupled of course with a preference for *genre* subjects, discussed by Amelung and Schreiber, falls easily into its place in later Greek art, the evolution of which I have above deduced from the coins. The Apollo of Alexandria falls into line with other monuments of the period; and so do the sculptures of Pergamon, which are at present classed as one school divided into an earlier and later period. Cosmopolitanism is the keynote of the art of the Hellenistic period: the four series of coins examined show exactly the same general tendencies. By such a method, which I believe to be the only scientific one for treating a period of which there is no extant literary history, it should be possible to arrange all the plastic monuments of later Greek art. I am well aware that Schreiber has stated with truth 'Ich weiss, dass jeder Versuch in der wirren, heimatlosen Masse der hellenistischen Skulpturen Ordnung zu schaffen, das Zusammengehörige auszusondern, örtliche Gruppen oder gar eine consequente Entwicklung herauszufinden, auf grosse Schwierigkeiten stösst und manche Bedenken wach ruft.' But this is what I mean to attempt and what I hope some day to be able to accomplish by the method used in this paper.

ALAN J. B. WACE.

Eunicus, of Mytilene, Kallikrates of Lacedaemon, Myrmekides of Athens and Poseidonius of Ephesus (see Overbeck, *S.Q.* p. 421). Rizzio, *Röm. Mitth.* 1897, p. 296, claims Rhodes as the home of Toreutic Art.

[1] Reinach, *Ant. Bos. Cim.* Pl. 30; cf. *C. R.* 1877, p. 36. It also bears the name of a Rhescuporis, King of Bosporus.

a



b

Apollo on the Omphalos.

a. Marble Statue in Alexandria. *b*. Selected Coin-types.