

THE TEMPLE OF THE EPHESIAN ARTEMIS, AND THE ANCIENT SILVER PATERA FROM BERNAY.

"More than twenty-two centuries ago, in the year 356 before the Christian era, two remarkable events are recorded to have taken place on the same night. The queen of Philip of Macedon gave birth to a son destined to be the conqueror of the East, and the temple of the Ephesian Artemis was burnt by Herostratus. The Ephesian people were not long in repairing this great calamity, and the new temple which they erected far surpassed its predecessor in magnificence. It was this later temple which, when St. Paul visited Ephesus, ranked among the Seven Wonders of the ancient world, and of which the site, long sought for by travelers, was found by Mr. Wood in 1873."

I.

WITH these words Mr. C. T. Newton begins his interesting essay on "Discoveries at Ephesus." The earlier temple, which was burned by Herostratus, had certainly already been begun between 560 and 546 before our era. For Herodotus tells us that Croesus, who reigned between these years, had dedicated most of the columns in the temple. We learn from Pliny that the building of the temple took a hundred and twenty years. Furthermore, the following artists' names are associated with the building: Chersiphron was the first architect, and Theodorus of Samos, the famous sculptor who flourished somewhere about the year 600, gave his advice with regard to the method of laying the foundations; Metagenes continued the work begun by Chersiphron, and the building was finally completed by Pæonius (the architect of the temple of the Didymean Apollo near Miletus) and Demetrius. According to these data Brunn places the completion of the temple about the year 460, its beginning thus reaching back to about the year 580 before our era. Of this earlier temple, begun by Chersiphron, Mr. Wood's excavations have probably brought to light the pavement (the lowest of the three he discovered), and certainly several fragments of decorative sculpture belonging to it. These fragments are now in the British Museum. Among them there are several female heads and fragments of bodies. All these are in high relief, and are attached to a curved background with a molding at the foot from the curve of which was obtained a circle of six feet in diameter. The sculptures, moreover, are thoroughly archaic, of the sixth century. It is thus highly probable that they form part of the very sculptured columns dedicated by Croesus.

Immediately after the destruction of the temple by Herostratus the reconstruction was begun under the direction of Deinocrates, the most renowned architect of his time. Contributions by the Ephesian citizens as well

as the neighboring peoples supplied part of the means. Some of the Ephesian women even sold their jewels to contribute to the fund, and wealthy patrons dedicated columns, their names being inscribed at the foot of the fluted pillars. One of these dedications by a lady of Sardis has been discovered by Mr. Wood. When Alexander the Great came to Ephesus he offered to refund the expenses already incurred and to complete the construction of the temple at his own cost if he were allowed to dedicate the whole to the goddess with his name inscribed upon it. The priests of the temple declined this offer, thus acting very differently from the priests of Athene Polias at Priene. Mr. Newton has drawn attention to the fact that on the walls of that temple Alexander set his name as dedicator, probably immediately after his visit to Ephesus. The block of marble on which this is engraved may be seen in the British Museum. The bold, clear letters are as fresh as on the day they were cut.

After Alexander the temple and priesthood of Artemis retained, nay, even increased their importance, though the city was often unsuccessful in its policy, frequently choosing the losing side. The wealthy Ephesus presented itself as a prize to the contending princes, the Ptolemies and the Seleukidae, and passed from Antigonos to Lysimachus, to Demetrius, to the Pergamenian monarchs (Eumenes and Attalus), and finally to the Romans. Despite these political vicissitudes, Ephesus remained in the later times the most flourishing and wealthy city of Asia Minor. Under the Roman emperors it received the title of the First City of Asia, and many other privileges and titles were conferred upon it. By its sacred traditions, its wealth and splendid festivals (the festival of Artemis lasted during the whole month Artemision, *i. e.*, the latter half of March and the first half of April), it attracted settlers of various nationalities and became the goal of pilgrims and of the art-seeking patrician travelers of Rome. According to Mr. Wood's

discoveries, the theater could seat twenty-four thousand spectators. Above all, it was the temple of Artemis and its priesthood which grew in wealth and importance, and here the policy pursued, if not always the most religious, was at all events most successful in a worldly sense. The riches of the temple were continually accumulating, so that, according to Pliny, it would require volumes to describe the treasures. The Romans restored to the temple the fisheries of the Seliuousian lakes, which had been taken from it by the post-Alexandrian conquerors of the city. One of the greatest sources of income, however, appears to have been the business transactions carried on by the priesthood; for from the earliest days they established a kind of bank deposit, a business involving but few risks and likely to lead to very high profit. Kings and private individuals intrusted their money to the care of the great goddess, and her priests would reinvest this money in loans on good security. The instance of Xenophon, recounted in the "Anabasis," shows the profitable nature of these transactions. He tells us that, when about to join a warlike expedition, he deposited with the high-priest of Artemis a sum of money, the proceeds of spoils of war. In the event of his being killed in battle, this money was to be employed in any manner most pleasing and acceptable to the goddess; if he returned safe, he was to have the right of reclaiming his deposit. This he did when some years afterward he met the same high-priest at Olympia.

The history of this development, or rather degeneration, of sacerdotal functions appears to me a very natural one. The awe pertaining to sacred edifices and to everything connected with them, and the comparative inviolability of their rights to possession, gave them from the earliest times the greatest security of tenure; and thus, throughout the history of Greece, they naturally became the public treasuries, especially when the god or goddess was the national deity closely connected with the origin and existence of the state. But then comes the decisive moment for the direction which this power is to take. If in this relation between the ancient church and state the national element in the conflux of tradition and institutions is the more decided and supreme, the sacred treasure-house becomes the national treasury. This was the case at Athens, where the temple of Athene Parthenos was the treasury of the Attic commonwealth, for a time even of the Greek confederacy. If, on the other hand, the sacerdotal element was the more pronounced in the national community, if the tradition and con-

stitution of the place was of a hierarchical character, the custom of accumulating treasures was sure to develop into some form of financial enterprise. This was the case with the Artemision of Ephesus.

After the time of Alexander the Great, the sanctuary of Artemis formed a separate suburb of the town, completely independent of it. The boundaries of the sacred municipal property were often a question of dispute, and were frequently readjusted by the various rulers under whose sway Ephesus came. In the time of Antonius the Triumvir the sacred domain of the Artemision extended twice as far as it had in the time of Mithridates, who had already enlarged the boundaries assigned by Alexander, so that a part of the Artemision extended into the city and the landmarks of the sacred precinct stood in its very streets. The priesthood, too, was quite autonomous in its organization and rule, and the right of asylum which the Romans bestowed upon it freed those who once entered the sacred precinct from all civic authority.

The liberal donations and endowments made by devotees of all countries, carefully preserved and increased by skillful management, were another source of great wealth. Finally the temple was possessed of a large income from the fines and confiscations imposed by the state on those who violated its laws. Of the nature and amount of these fines we receive an adequate notion from the most valuable inscription found by Mr. Wood in digging in the theater, to which we shall have to recur in the course of this investigation. "It tells us how one Vibius Salutarius, a Roman of equestrian rank, who had filled very high offices in the state, dedicated to Artemis a number of gold and silver statues, of which the weight is given, and a sum of money to be held in trust, the yearly interest of which is to be applied to certain specified uses. On the 6th of the first decade of the month Thargelion (May 25th), on which day the mighty goddess Artemis was born, largess was to be distributed to various public functionaries in the *pronaos* of the temple. The members of the Ephesian *Boule*, or senate, were to receive one drachma each. The six tribes of the city, the high-priest and the priestess of Artemis, the two *Neopoioi*, or surveyors of the temple, the *Paidonomoi*, who had charge of the education of the boys, and other fortunate personages, came in for a share of this munificent dole. The heirs of Salutarius were made liable for the due payment of the bequests in case he should die before paying over the principal or making an assignment of the rent of certain lands for the payment of the interest. The trust is

guarded by stringent enactments. By a letter of Afranius Flavianus, proprætor, which is appended to the deed of trust, a fine of fifty thousand drachmæ (rather less than ten thousand dollars) is inflicted on any one, whether magistrate or private person, who attempts to set aside any of the provisions of the trust; one-half of this fine is to go to the adornment of the goddess, the other half to the imperial fiscus."

Ephesus and its temple thus thrive and flourished throughout the whole duration of the Roman empire, and drew to its center of wealth and splendor visitors and residents from all parts of the world. Among the varied nationalities which made up the population was also a Jewish community, and to them there came, in the years 54 to 57 of our era, a Jewish man, who on his journey from Jerusalem to Damascus had become converted to the new faith, and who felt that he was destined to extend the influence of his own conversion over a wide circle of humanity. Paul first began to preach to the Jews in their own language and by an appeal to their own sentiments, then (for his training at Tarsus had made him conversant with Greek culture) to the Greeks in the schools of the Sophists; and thus was founded the Christian community which, at first small in numbers, grew so rapidly that the younger Pliny referred to this growth as an alarming phenomenon, seeming to him to require the energetic intervention of the emperor. "The temples of the gods," he says, "are empty, the sacrificial animals driven to the town find no purchasers, and even the country is affected by the new heresy." The trades and enterprises which depended upon the pilgrims flocking to the temple suffered and languished. This was especially the case with the silversmiths who sold to the pilgrims reproductions in silver of the temple and its sculptures.

During the Hellenistic revival of Hadrian Greek religion and art began to thrive anew, and so also the worship of the Ephesian goddess flourished again. Her temple again appears on the coins of Hadrian, and over one hundred years later it is figured as intact on the coins of Valerian.

Soon after this the barbarian hordes flooded the country, the Goths devastated the whole district, and in the year 262 of our era the temple was pillaged and destroyed. The city, however, remained flourishing, and was the center of Christian worship. Its first bishop had been Timotheus, appointed by Paul, and it had such sacred associations as its claim to possess the grave of the Virgin Mary and the residence of St. John the Evangelist. In Whitsuntide of the year 431 the first council

was held there, and it became the great meeting-place of the Christian world of the East.

In the thirteenth century the Turks invaded the country, destroyed the city, and built under the fortress, out of the fragments of the temple, the mosque of Selim. Even this mosque has been destroyed. At the foot of its ruins there is the small Turkish village of Ayasuluk.

Of the temple of the great goddess no sign remained on the surface. Luckily for us, as at Olympia the Alpheius, so here the Cayster covered what remained with a thick alluvial deposit.

It was owing to the persevering energy of Mr. Wood that some of the fragments of the great temple were brought to light in 1871. Of all the excavations made of late years there is hardly one that offered such difficulties and dangers. In the most unwholesome of climates, Mr. Wood dug for more than four years, during which 132,221 cubic yards of earth were excavated. There was no visible indication of the temple-site, and he had often to dig to a depth of twenty feet.

It was through the above-mentioned inscription of Salutaris, discovered while digging in the theater, that Mr. Wood succeeded in finding the site of the temple.

In this inscription of Salutaris special mention is made of the silver and gold figures and ornaments (the *eikones* and *apeikonismata*), some of which weighed from two to seven pounds; special instructions are given as to the earth to be used in cleaning them, called *argyromatike*. "At every meeting of the popular assembly, and at all the gymnastic contests, and on every other occasion to be fixed by the senate and the people, these figures are to be carried from the *pronaos* of the temple to the theater, duly guarded, and then back to the temple. During the transit through the city itself they are to be escorted by the Ephebi, who are to receive them at the Magnesian gate and accompany them after the assembly to the Koresseian gate." Here was the clew to the site of the temple. "Having found the Magnesian gate, Mr. Wood proceeded to look for the portico, built by the Sophist Damianus in the second century A. D., which led from that gate to the temple, and of which the purpose was to protect from bad weather those who took part in the procession. Mr. Wood succeeded in tracing the line of this portico for some distance outside the city. It followed the line of an ancient road, and pointed in the direction of the plain at the foot of Ayasuluk. Another road tended in the same direction, starting from the gate near the Stadium, which Mr. Wood rightly assumed to be the Koresseian gate mentioned in the Salutaris inscription. Advancing northward

toward the point where these two roads tended to converge, he came upon an ancient wall, an inscription on which showed that it was the Peribolus of the Artemision; after which to find the site of the temple itself was only a matter of time."

Though the final and exact account of the discoveries which Mr. Wood made with regard to the temple is still to be expected, the results of his excavation enable us to form some conception of this splendid structure, which was justly considered one of the seven wonders of the world. In size it was one of the most impressive edifices of antiquity, about twice as large in its area as the Parthenon of Athens. According to Pliny, the whole temple was four hundred and twenty-five (Greek) feet in length by two hundred and twenty feet in width. After speaking of the tomb of Por-senna and the hanging gardens of Thebes [? Babylon], he continues: "But the temple of the Ephesian Artemis is a work of truly admirable magnificence, which was raised at the joint expense of all Asia, and occupied two hundred and twenty years in building. It was placed on a marsh, in order that it should not be endangered by earthquakes or cleavings of the ground. Besides, that the foundation of such a pile might not be laid on a sliding or unsuitable foundation, they laid a bed of charcoal, over which they placed fleeces of wool. The total length of the temple is four hundred and twenty-five feet, its width two hundred and twenty feet. [It has] one hundred and twenty-seven columns, each the gift of a king and sixty feet in height. Of these thirty-six are ornamented with carvings, of which one is by Scopas. Chersiphron was the architect who directed the works."

The temple was what is called a dipteral temple; that is, it had a colonnade of two rows of columns supporting the roof on all sides. The colonnade was erected on a podium or platform, pyramidal in shape, rising in three grades. This podium was no doubt profusely decorated with sculptures in relief, of the nature of which the newly discovered reliefs from the great altar of Pergamon give an idea. Flights of smaller steps, practicable for use, intersected this platform and led up to the temple porticoes.

The point in which lies the greatest difference of opinion among modern archæologists concerns the number of columns in the peristyle surrounding the temple, and this has led to ardent discussion quite recently.* The point at issue, of the greatest importance as regards the construction of

the temple, turns upon the placing of a comma in the text of the passage of Pliny. In the translation given above, I have taken the ordinary reading and the one underlying Mr. Fergusson's restoration. In his reading of the Latin text *columnae centum viginti septem a singulis regibus factæ lx pedum altitudine*, there is no comma, and thus there would be a hundred and twenty-seven columns each given by a king. Mr. Wood places a comma after the *centum*, and thus reads: "One hundred columns, of which twenty-seven were each the gift of a king." Mr. Falkener places the comma after the *viginti*, reading: "One hundred and twenty columns, seven of which were each the gift of a king." Mr. Wood's restoration has the advantage over that of Mr. Fergusson that it follows the customary tradition of Greek octa-style temples in having an equal number of pillars in front and back with a similar entrance to the *pronaos* and *opisthodomos*, and also in that it avoids the somewhat startling notion that one hundred and twenty-seven kings each presented one column; though we must remember that the whole of Asia Minor contributed to the building of the temple, and that the term *rex* applied to the numberless rulers of petty principalities in that country. Finally it has in its favor that, as has already been remarked, among Mr. Wood's discoveries was the fragment of one of these pillars with the inscription showing it to have been dedicated by a lady of Sardis. According to Mr. Wood, then, there were two rows of eight pillars in the front and back, with two extra pillars in the *pronaos* and *opisthodomos*, and two rows of sixteen pillars along the sides between either façade. Mr. Fergusson's restoration, on the other hand, has in its favor that it conforms to the correct idiomatic reading of the passage in Pliny (a very strong point indeed), and that he presents a beautiful plan not without precedent in classical architecture. According to him, the entrance at the front is strongly marked, there being a wider general intercolumniation than in the back, and an especially wide one (more than twenty-eight feet) in the central entrance. He thus has three rows of eight columns in the front, besides four columns in the interior of the *pronaos*, and three rows of nine columns at the back, while between the pillars of front and back he places two rows of eighteen columns on either side. The highest tribute must be paid to the ingenuity of this restoration. Still the question can be ultimately settled only by the full and accurate publication of Mr. Wood's data and by further explorations of the site of the temple itself.

The most remarkable feature of this temple was its sculptured decoration, and of this most

* J. Fergusson, "Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1882-83," p. 147, *seq.*, and "Proceedings R. I. B. A., 1883-84," p. 167; Wood, *ibid.*, p. 166.

interesting specimens have been brought to light by Mr. Wood, and are among the most precious of the great treasures of the British Museum. Among these are fragments of square blocks decorated with reliefs which Mr. Wood supposes to have belonged to the frieze, of the temple. Mr. Fergusson points out that "if they were portions of the frieze it is a most remarkable fact that he should have found and sent home the four angle-blocks of the temple and not one stone of the intermediate parts, for all those at the British Museum are sculptured on the two continuous faces." Mr. Fergusson supposes them to have formed parts of square pedestals upon which the sculptured drums of the pillars rested, and restores the whole column. It appears to me probable that these reliefs were a part of the great frieze running round the podium, of the nature of which the section through the outer portion of the podium as restored by Mr. Fergusson gives us some idea; only that then the sculptured frieze would have run continuously round the angles, and thus the divisions made by the several ascending flights of steps would require a considerable number of angle-blocks.

The most remarkable of the sculptured remains are the fragments of the sculptured drums of the columns. We must, however, feel with Mr. Newton that this exceptional practice of ornamenting with human figures the drums of columns is not in keeping with the spirit of mature Greek art, as it is quite unique in the history of Greek architecture. There is, no doubt, something unconstructive in this interruption of the weight-sustaining lines of a column, especially when the figures represented are in no way suggestive of their supporting capacity. This looks like a foreign, perhaps a Lydian, influence. Yet we must remember that the temple, in the decoration of which Scopas and Praxiteles had a share, was erected over the ruins of the previous one, rich in sacred traditions which belonged to a time in which the picture-writing tendency led the early artist to bring together in his sculptured decorations a great number of scenes. Early works like the chest of Cypselus as described by Pausanias are very instructive in this respect. Thus it seems to me probable that the profuse decoration of the later temple was suggested by the decoration of the earlier temple.

Whatever may be the artistic effect of these reliefs as part of the columns, as works of sculpture in themselves they are among the most beautiful specimens of Greek art that have come down to us, and are quite worthy to have come from the school of Scopas and Praxiteles, and even to be by the hand of

these great masters themselves. Among these, again, the most beautiful is the fragment of a drum. The drum is exactly six feet in height and a little more than six feet in diameter, and is one solid block of marble. It most probably represented a chthonic subject; for Hermes appears to be here figured as the *Psychopompos*, the leader of the souls of the deceased to Hades, and the winged youth with the sword next but one beyond Hermes is most probably Thanatos, the fair genius of death. We cannot dwell upon the supreme technical skill with which the figures are placed in the most free and natural attitudes round a circular drum, nor can we dwell upon the grace and beauty in the conception and composition of each individual figure, nor upon the perfection of the modeling in both the nude and the drapey. We can hardly be mistaken in maintaining that after the sculptures of the Parthenon these are the finest works of architectural sculpture in existence.

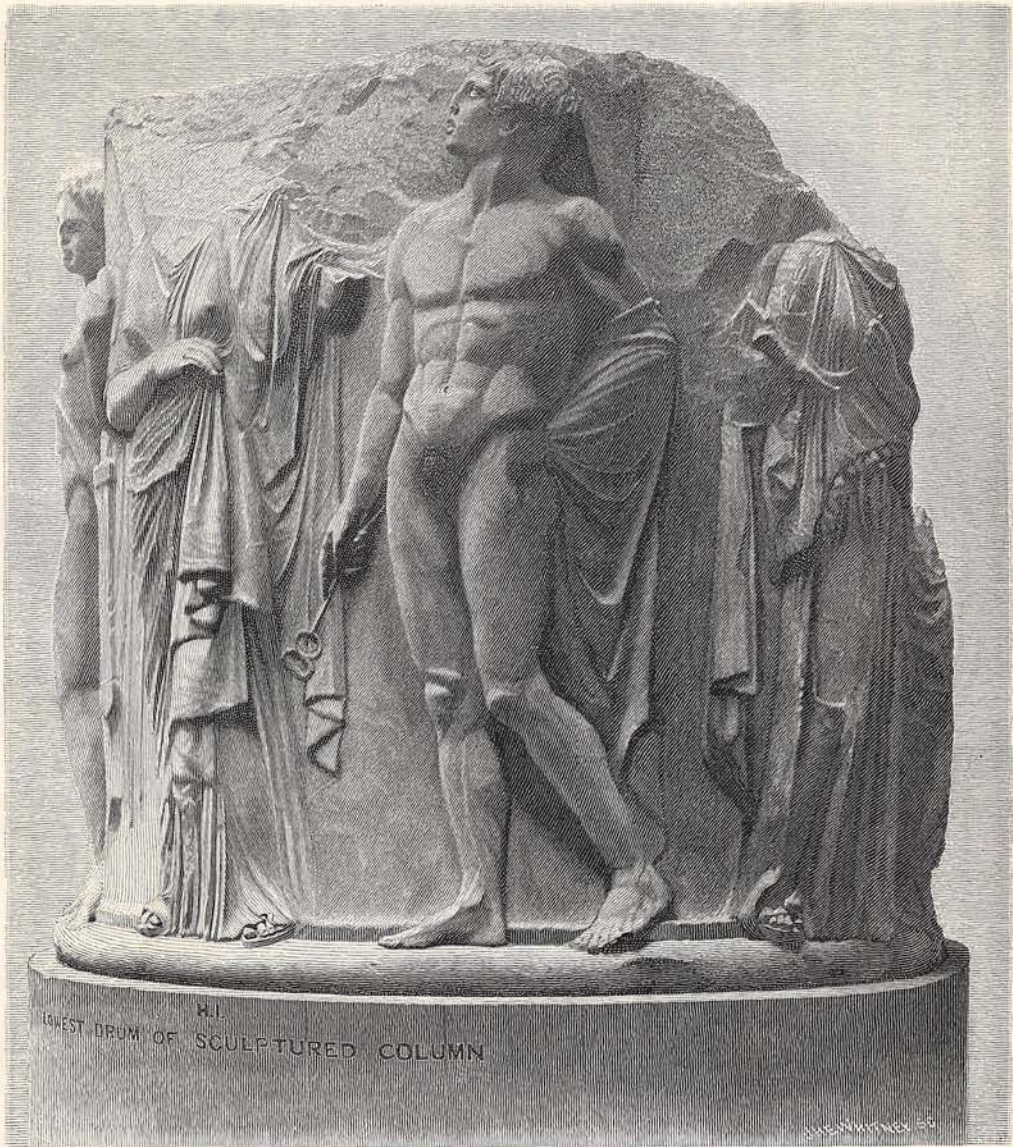
For all these things of beauty, as well as for the immense mass of historical information which the Ephesian excavations have already yielded, we are indebted to the untiring energy of Mr. Wood and to the liberality of those who supported him. At the time of writing he is proposing to complete his labors and to continue the excavation, and we hope that his endeavors to raise the required funds will meet with success. I have no doubt that in the United States, where, through the activity of the Archæological Institute and the enthusiastic and intelligent energy of Mr. Clarke and Mr. Bacon, such brilliant results have been achieved in the excavation of Assos, Mr. Wood's enterprise will meet with hearty sympathy.

II.

UPON examining the rich collection of silver vessels and statuettes discovered at Bernay in the department of the Eure, now in the Cabinet of Medals of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, I came upon a silver patera with a medallion or *emblemata* in the center, upon which, in most delicate *repoussé* work, is the figure of a youthful Hermes, nude, with a cloak (*chlamys*) hanging over his left shoulder and down by the side of his arm, a caduceus in his left hand and a purse in his right, in an attitude indicative of a slow walk, and with the head turned upwards.

The valuable discovery of this large collection of ancient silver* was made on the 21st of March, 1830. A Norman peasant named Prosper Taurin, while plowing his

* The substance of what follows has been published in the "Journal of Hellenic Studies," Vol. III., p. 96 *et seq.*



LOWEST DRUM OF SCULPTURED COLUMN, WITH FIGURE OF HERMES, DISCOVERED BY J. T. WOOD.

field situated in the hamlet Le Villeret, commune of Berthouville, arrondissement of Bernay, department of the Eure, came upon an obstacle, which, instead of simply avoiding it as his predecessors had done, he resolved to examine. Borrowing a pick from a laborer, he removed what appeared to him to be a large pebble, but what in reality was a Roman tile. When this was removed he came upon over a hundred objects in silver which were deposited on some pieces of marl at a depth of six inches, weighing considerably over fifty pounds. As with so many similar discoveries, the consideration of the weight of the silver

and its value might have led to the destruction of the remains of ancient art. Luckily Taurin listened to the advice of some intelligent friends, and the attention of local archæologists like A. Leprévost and Delahaye being drawn to the discovery, the whole collection was at last, through the intervention of Raoul Rochette and C. Lenormant, bought for the ridiculous sum of fifteen thousand francs for the Cabinet of Medals of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The patriotic peasant declined to sell it to any purchaser but a national institution of his own country.

The site of this discovery is the ancient

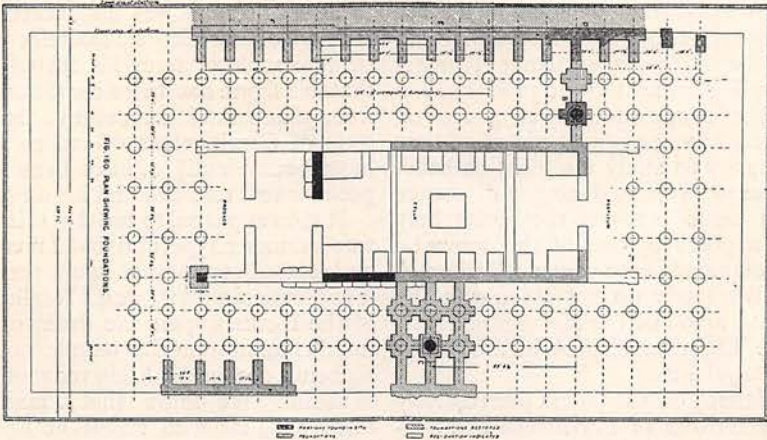


SILVER PATERA, WITH FIGURE OF HERMES. (BY DUJARDIN, PUBLISHED IN "JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.")

Canetum, and the temple of which this crypt marked the treasury was that of Mercury Augustus of Canetum, "the great god of the Gauls, in whose temple are to be seen many statues," as Caesar says. The difference in the number of objects as given by the authorities who have described the treasury (Leprévost, seventy; R. Rochette, over a hundred; Chabouillet, sixty-nine) is due to the fact that the first writer could not consider the find at leisure, while the second counted as single finds all the fragments which have since been put together. The true number is that given by M. Chabouillet. The collection comprises not only vessels and fragments, but also silver statuettes of Mercury, one of which reaches the height of fifty-six centimeters, or one foot ten inches.

It struck me at once that there were two distinct classes of silver vases, as well in respect

of the workmanship of the *repoussé*, as of the style of the subjects represented. The one class was in very prominent *repoussé*, the figures in high relief; the other flatter and lower in relief, with slight and delicate lines. The composition of the scenes and figures on the vases with high relief was very full, with no apparent blank spaces, and was not only pictorial but essentially decorative in character. Such were especially the Bacchic Canthari, No. 2807, and the other vases down to 2814. The compositions on the vases with low relief, however, such especially as the pateræ 2824, 2825, 2828, etc., were very simple, with an absence of bold and full lines, and the very opposite of decorative. The fact impressed itself upon me that the former group was, at least with regard to its style, later than these bas-relief compositions, and that, while the

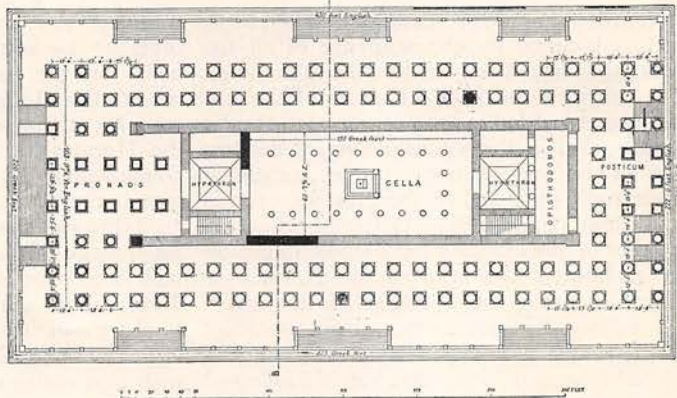
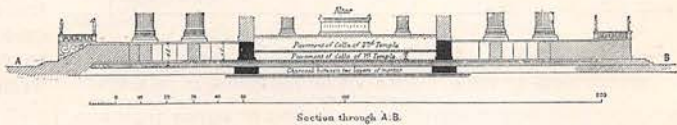


PLAN OF TEMPLE AS RESTORED BY J. T. WOOD. (FROM THE "TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS.")

compositions in high relief essentially suited their purpose in being ornamental, those of the bas-reliefs, generally single figures placed in the center of the *emblem*, were statuesque rather than decorative. And though I did not attach much weight to it at the time, I was impressed with the probability that these simple compositions were influenced by the nobler works of Greek sculpture, while the cups in high relief were ornamented with scenes of a more spontaneous composition.

The Hermes on the medallion of the patera No. 2824 (in M. Chabouillet's catalogue, the number now affixed to it in the Museum being 3051) suggested the style of Greek art from the middle to the close of the fourth century B. C., and more especially of the sculpture of Praxiteles and Scopas. There was all the softness and delicacy of modeling of the nude human figure, the keen feeling for texture, and the power of rendering the surface of the human body. Yet there was no attempt at obtruding the minute study of the anatomy upon the spectator, as is the case in the subsequent schools of Rhodes and Pergamon, nor were there any of the violent contortions or the introduction of frequent rounded and restless lines of later Greek and Græco-Roman sculpture. And finally, there was none of the conscious aca-

demical "canonism" in the building up of the human figure, as we notice it in the works of the school of Pasiteles and the Græco-Roman "Pre-Raphaelites," who wished to reproduce the simplicity of earlier Greek art and to reestablish simple canons. And still there is not that simply healthy and un sentimental character in this work which marks the statues of a Pheidias and a Polycleitus. But there is distinctly in this figure the introduction of elements of sentimentality and pathos which mark the works of a Scopas and a Praxiteles as they characterize this age in

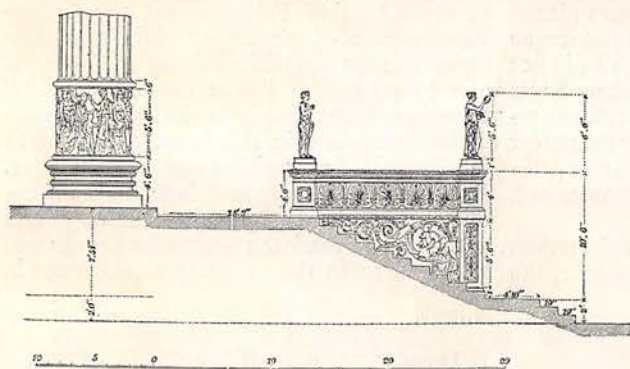


PLAN OF TEMPLE AS RESTORED BY J. FERGUSSON. (FROM THE "TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS.")

contradistinction to that of Pheidias. I have once before attempted to indicate this difference of character between the two great ages,

while examining the Hermes with the infant Dionysos by Praxiteles. That sculpture has the means of expressing such broad differences of moods and of the fundamental tone of character of the individual artists who produce such works, must be beyond a doubt to any person of normal appreciative power, who has had time and opportunity to study the mere alphabet of this language. It is as distinct a difference of tone as exists between the melancholy rhythm of a poem by one of the romantic school as compared to the verses of Milton or Chaucer. We surely do not meet with the character and mood of the Hermes of Praxiteles in the Elgin marbles or in the Doryphoros of Polykleitos.

In the Hermes on the patera from Bernay these characteristics of Praxitelean and Scopasian art are to be found. First in the attitude of the whole figure, a slow and measured walk, with one foot, as it were, listlessly dragging after the other. Secondly in the outline



SECTION THROUGH THE OUTER PORTION OF THE PODIUM AS RESTORED
BY J. FERGUSSON.
(FROM THE "TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS.")

rhythm of the figure presenting that long, slow, S-shaped curve so characteristic of all the works that have been attributed to Praxiteles, together with the peculiar effect of the up-turned head added to this position of the body. Finally, also in the soft modeling of the surface of the nude figure, however indicative of strength and agility the muscles of this youth may be, as well as in the peculiar disposition of the chlamys (repeatedly found on the replicas of the type of the Hermes of Olympia) and in the folding of his drapery.

I did not hesitate to put down the relief on this patera as being a Hermes of the Praxitelean* type and style; and herein I followed the method which I believe archæologists

* Since this was first published I have been confirmed in my opinion that this type belongs to the age of Scopas and Praxiteles; but, on the other hand, I now see reasons for considering it more probably Scopasian in character than Praxitelean.

ought to pursue. For I did not mean thereby to assert that this was undoubtedly a reproduction of a work of Praxiteles or of some definite sculptor from his school; but only that this figure had those characteristics which from the careful comparative study of the style of Greek works of art, so far as they have been identified, have been found to be peculiar to Praxiteles and his school.

It then appeared to me that this very figure was a familiar type, and that I must have seen and studied some other figure very similar to it or identical with it; and I recalled the figure of the Hermes upon the drum of the sculptured column from the temple of Artemis of Ephesus, now in the Elgin room of the British Museum. We know that Praxiteles decorated an altar with reliefs at Ephesus, and that Scopas was the sculptor of one of the drums of the columns of this temple of Artemis; and when once this association was called forth, I felt convinced that this figure was an actual reproduction of the Ephesian Hermes.

Upon comparing drawings of these two representations of Hermes, it becomes manifest that there is an intimate relation between them, the one, the silver *repoussé*, being immediately copied from the other, the marble relief of the drum in the temple.† But here the identity ends, and to suit the new destination of the silver copy, details and accessories, especially with regard to attributes and environment, were altered. For in the Ephesian relief the Hermes is one of a number of figures that surrounded the column, all of them bound together by some central idea or action; while on the patera Hermes alone is represented, and being no longer a part of a complex composition, the representation of the Hermes must in itself form a complete composition. In other words, the patera represents the typical god Hermes, the figure being borrowed from a relief representing some assemblage of chthonic deities. For I agree with those who hold that the figures on the drum of the column represent a scene from Hades; and it is here that the chthonic side of the nature of Hermes corresponds entirely with that conception of Artemis and Hecate common to the Ionian cities and islands,

† There are many instances extant showing how common it was in ancient Greece to transfer well-known types of art to works of minor art. I have recently noticed a sepulchral slab containing a figure evidently inspired by the same Hermes from the drum of the pillar of the temple of Artemis.

especially Ephesus and Samothrace. The Hermes on the patera does not throw any immediate light upon the action of Hermes in directing his head upward, for he is here looking at the branches of an overhanging tree. But it appears to me that in the Ephesian relief the action of Hermes in looking upward is to indicate his double nature, which, though chthonic in part, is essentially concerned with the world above and the actions of man and of the Olympian gods.

In order to translate the Hermes of the Ephesian relief into a self-contained composition and a representation of the god Hermes pure and simple, the silversmith thought fit to surround him, upon the patera, with all his attributes. To this aim are to be attributed the slight deviations of the figure on the silver relief from its marble prototype. These deviations are, in the first place, that while the Hermes of Ephesus has the right shoulder free and the chlamys wound round the left forearm, the hand hidden behind his back, on the Hermes of the patera the chlamys is fastened round the neck and is gracefully slung over the left shoulder, leaving the left hand free. In the second place, while the Hermes of Ephesus holds the caduceus in the right hand, on the patera the caduceus has been transferred to the left hand and replaced by a purse in the right.

As it was the object of the silversmith to bring together as many attributes as possible, it was important that both hands should be free; the left hand could not, therefore, be hidden by the chlamys, and the cloak had to be fastened round the neck and hung over the shoulder; he could thus dispose of two attributes, the caduceus and the purse. He did not leave the caduceus in the right hand, because then the purse in the left would not have stood out well against the somewhat similar lines of the drapery, and being pressed for room on the right hand, he could not bring the caduceus in freely between the thigh and the square pillar on the right of the god.

The other attributes that are grouped about the figure are square pillars to the right and left, a common and early monument of the worship of Hermes. On the pillar on his right is placed a cock and below it some eggs, and on the left hand a tortoise. Both cock and tortoise are frequently represented as attributes of Hermes,—the tortoise a reminiscence of his invention of the lyre, the cock a symbol of the god of generation. The buck upon his left is a symbol of the same side of the nature of Hermes the protector and multiplier of herds, and is frequently represented on one side of Hermes on small bronzes, with the cock on the other. The tree, of which part is visible overshadowing the top of the right-hand

pillar, indicates the vegetation that surrounds the whole, and points to Hermes as the protector of pastures. The skill with which all these attributes are combined in this restricted space and tend to give life and symmetry to the whole composition points to a silver-worker of no ordinary artistic capacity.

This medallion was found separated from the body of the patera, and was subsequently fitted into it. A circular rim with the inscription, DEO. MERC. IVL. SIBYLLA D. S. D. D. (*de suo dat dedicat*), was also added. Though this dedication most probably belongs to the patera, there is no doubt that it is of later date than the emblema. There can be no doubt that the artists in such silver-work made merely the emblemata, or medallions, which they furnished to the commoner silver-smiths, who soldered them into the body of such a plate. Such medallions are actually mentioned by Pliny, and that the separate working of the ornamental parts was practiced in antiquity is evident when we find that even in the lower phases of art this was the case. So the Gorgon's head on the center of a shield was beaten out of a separate piece and fastened to the front, as is evident from the passage in Aristophanes, in which we hear of this medallion flying away from the shield, and even from instances which point to the fact that the central decorated part of vases and lamps was made separately and then fitted into the rest.

The next and most interesting question is: What is the connection between a Hermes from Ephesus and a silver patera from the north of Gaul? or rather, since there is an undoubted connection, the one being the original and the other the copy, how can we account for the presence of a comparatively early work from Ephesus on a donation to a temple of Mercury in the north of Gaul belonging to a late Roman period? This would be most clearly accounted for if we could assume that the Romans were fond of and preserved old Greek plate as we value *cinquecento* Italian plate; secondly, if such plate was in antiquity chiefly produced at the place where the original model of the figure on the patera was preserved, and if it was customary for such silver-workers to reproduce the designs of the great sculptors and painters, and of such works as the Hermes under consideration in particular.

In our case these circumstances are not only possible, but even the most probable. With regard to the first condition, we learn from Pliny that in his time the art of beating silver had gone out, an art which had reached high perfection in Greece before his time, and had supplied the wealthy Romans with costly ornaments. The works of these old masters

in silver *repoussé* were highly valued, and he mentions exceedingly high prices for some old Greek plate, paid chiefly, as he says, for the antiquity of the work, so that sometimes these were valued highly even if the design was almost entirely effaced. We shall therefore not be astonished to find early Greek work in a late Roman community. With regard to the second point, we find that Pliny mentions among these famous Greek *repousseurs* a great number who were from Ephesus, the works of the greatest of whom, Mentor, were destroyed in the destruction of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. With regard to the third point, we learn that Mys, the most famous metal-worker after Mentor, executed his works in silver chiefly after the design of the painter Parrhasius of Ephesus. But the most important information in this respect is that given by the New Testament in the Acts of the Apostles (xix. 23, etc.), from which we learn that the profession of silversmith was the most widely spread at Ephesus, and that great gain came to them from the production in silver of small copies of the temple (*ναός*) of Artemis. Now it is on the drum of a column of this very temple of Artemis that the relief of Hermes is found, which is the prototype of that on the patera of Bernay.

It might be urged that our medallion is not of original Ephesian work, but is a later copy from some early silver-work. This is possible, but surely not probable. That the silversmith who made the medallion had the drum of the pillar from the temple of the Ephesian Artemis or some representation of it before him, is clear to every archæologist; and there is no reason why we should have to introduce other intermediate works of the same kind, when its connection with the Ephesian relief is undoubted, and when we bear in mind that Ephesus was in an earlier period, as well as in the time of Paul, the home of silver-work, and that the later Romans valued and preserved this ancient Greek work as being ancient and Greek. The Ephesian silversmiths were continually employed in making miniatures of this very temple. Now when they had to make a medallion to such a silver plate, they would naturally place on it one of the figures which they were in the habit of producing. They would be largely employed in producing objects in silver besides the miniatures of the temple, and I believe that such silver vessels and ornaments (mentioned in the treasuries of other ancient temples) are referred to in the inscription of Salutaris alluded to in the first part of this paper.

It is not often that the far-reaching results of a simple application of the comparative

study of style become so palpably visible and appreciable as in the case of this identification. Nor are there many instances in which the poetry which accompanies a special study, popularly reported to be "dry as dust," so forcibly impresses itself upon us. The recognition of certain facts before unrecognized, and the establishment of truth within a certain group of things and their relation, is no doubt in itself the immediate and supreme aim of research. Yet it is none the less refreshing occasionally to cast a side-glance at the artistic aspect of what has been sought simply for the truth's sake, and to see the poetry that surrounds the discovery of truth.

We cannot but be impressed with the amount of history that seems to be condensed into the narrow compass and the material forms of this small plate. Its form and its history are large chapters of the world's history in miniature,—unverbal, without letters, lines, and pages.

It contains a Greek Hermes, reproduced by an Ephesian silversmith, from the temple of Artemis of Ephesus, valued highly for its origin and antiquity by some noble Roman, who followed the sweep of his empire's conquests, and whose wife in the far north of Gaul dedicates it to the Latin Mercury. It affords an actual tangible illustration of a passage in the New Testament; thus bearing in itself some immediate relation to the worship of the Hellenes, the Romans, and the Christian world. Who knows what use it served at feasts, religious or domestic, in antiquity, and what tales it could tell!

And then it was buried for centuries in the treasury of Mercury of Canetum, whose temple Cæsar saw, through all the middle ages, while the hoof of a knight's horse may have trodden over its crypt, quietly resting unchanged while dynasty followed dynasty, and the French Revolution swept over the country, until a Norman peasant in the nineteenth century, plowing his soil to raise corn to be sent to Paris or some foreign market, comes upon it and unearths it, and it finds its place in the Museum in the Rue Richelieu. What a mass of associations, different in character, in time, and space, are gathered in the center of this plate!

We may be allowed for once to feel gratified at the power of the simple application of systematic observation, which can pierce through the mist of over two thousand years, can baffle the complex maze of the changes of history, and of hundreds of miles of distance, in tracing a plate found in the nineteenth century in the north of France back to its origin in a time preceding the Christian era in Ephesus of Asia Minor.

Charles Waldstein.